

also work hard and have earned a share of the surplus in the form of a tax cut.

The President's tax rate cuts are skewed to the rich and the average Arkansan won't see a real cut, if at all, until 2006. Forty-nine percent of Arkansans have adjusted gross incomes under \$20,000 and the average household income in Arkansas is \$29,019. About 85 percent of Arkansas families don't make enough to qualify as one of the "model families" that President Bush has been talking about in his speeches. In other words, only about 15 percent of Arkansans would get a \$1,600 tax cut. The other 85 percent of Arkansans deserve a real tax cut too.

I believe in creating a new ten percent bracket like the President, but under my plan it be fully implemented this year. That will bring thousands of dollars to Arkansas families immediately and over the next 5 years will mean significantly more to the Arkansas economy than will the Bush plan.

I also want to expand the 15 percent bracket by \$10,000. This will mean that 85 percent of Arkansas taxpayers and small businesses never make it out of the 15 percent bracket and will never pay more than about an 11 percent effective Federal tax rate. Expanding the 15 percent bracket would mean that a couple earning \$55,000 would get \$980 more than they would under the Bush plan, regardless of whether they have children or not. The only way for average citizens to get a significant tax cut under the Bush plan is to have children. Single people and people who are no longer raising their children deserve a tax cut too, and I propose to give them one.

I do believe in doubling the child tax credit as the President proposes. However, I believe it should be partially refundable for working taxpayers as their Earned Income Tax Credit is phased out. Approximately 140,000 Arkansas families, or 37 percent of Arkansas families with children, will not benefit from the President's plan because their incomes are too low to owe federal income taxes. By making the child tax credit partially refundable, low-income working parents would get the benefits of the child tax credit just like I do. At the same time, I believe it is unfair to phase out the value of exemptions and credits for high income individuals. What's good for the goose is good for the gander. If we are going to give a \$1,000 per-child tax credit to working families, then we should give that credit to all working families, rich and poor.

We also must fix the Alternative Minimum Tax, AMT. I have asked the President in person, I have asked him in writing, "How will your Administration address the AMT?" Many of you may not know that the AMT, which is designed to prevent affluent taxpayers from sheltering their tax liability in credits and deductions, will soon have an unintended consequence for 37 million Americans. These middle income workers will be paying higher rates and

filing out more forms if we do not act. At a minimum, the AMT exemptions should be raised and indexed, and family credits should be protected from the AMT's bite.

With our private savings rate at a negative for the first time in our history we should encourage more private savings by increasing the IRA and 401(k) contribution limits as part of an overall retirement security and expansion act. Increasing private savings is an important way to keep capital reserve up and interest rates low. The fiscally conservative thing to do is include the pension bill in this year's tax relief.

I support eliminating the so-called marriage penalties in the tax code, but we should do it in a way that is fair to widows and singles. Taxpayers should not be punished for getting married, but nor should they be punished when their spouse dies or if they choose not to get married.

Lastly, the estate tax should be repealed within the next three years. While the revenue estimates of repealing the estate tax have been high, I believe there are many ways we can ensure that death is no longer a taxable event without breaking the treasury. In the short run, we may have to provide for a mark-to-market fee to provide for a stepped-up basis for inherited property or a higher capital gains rate for inherited property, but no tax would be paid unless the asset was sold. In short, the U.S. tax code should not be an obstacle to family farmers and small business people who want to pass on their legacy.

At the end of the day, Vice-President CHENEY would get about a \$1 million tax cut under my plan, instead of the \$2.4 million he would get under the Bush plan. However, average Arkansans would see thousands more and those dollars will be spent and saved in Arkansas where they belong. A family of four with a \$30,000 income would get a \$1,600 per year tax cut which is approximately \$484 more per year than they would get under President Bush's plan. My plan would put more money in Arkansas and the South, and would cost \$400 billion less than the President's \$1.6 billion plan. That cost savings is important, because ultimately, I will not support any tax cut plan that would endanger the long-term solvency of Social Security and Medicare and inhibit our ability to retire the national debt.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Monday, April 23, 2001, the Federal debt stood at \$5,673,969,614,244.57. Five trillion, six hundred seventy-three billion, nine hundred sixty-nine million, six hundred fourteen thousand, two hundred forty-four dollars and fifty-seven cents.

Five years ago, April 23, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,106,372,000,000. Five trillion, one hundred six billion, three hundred seventy-two million.

Ten years ago, April 23, 1991, the Federal debt stood at \$3,433,997,000,000. Three trillion, four hundred thirty-three billion, nine hundred ninety-seven million.

Fifteen years ago, April 23, 1986, the Federal debt stood at \$1,959,815,000,000. One trillion, nine hundred fifty-nine billion, eight hundred fifteen million.

Twenty-five years ago, April 23, 1976, the Federal debt stood at \$600,771,000,000. Six hundred billion, seven hundred seventy-one million, which reflects a debt increase of more than \$5 trillion, \$5,073,198,614,244.57. Five trillion, seventy-three billion, one hundred ninety-eight million, six hundred fourteen thousand, two hundred forty-four dollars and fifty-seven cents during the past 25 years.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following tributes by current and former members of the Senate and House of Representatives at the memorial service for the late Senator Alan Cranston be printed in the RECORD.

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

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO SEN. ALAN CRANSTON BY SENATOR MAX CLELAND

On February 6, over 200 admirers gathered in Hart SOB 902 to pay tribute to our dear friend Alan Cranston, who left us on the last day of the year 2000. Joining with me as sponsors of this event were the Senators from West Virginia (Mr. Rockefeller), California (Mrs. Feinstein and Mrs. Boxer), and Massachusetts (Mr. Kennedy), and the former Senator from Wyoming (Mr. Simpson). Ten members and former members spoke, and a short film about Senator Cranston's recent activities was shown. At the end of the program, Alan's son, Kim, spoke. It was a memorable afternoon for all in attendance.

The Program Cover pictured Alan and his beautiful, now seven-year old, granddaughter Evan. On the second page appeared the following words of the Chinese poet and philosopher Lao-Tzu, which Alan carried with him every day:

A leader is best
When people barely know
That he exists,
Less good when
They obey and acclaim him,
Worse when
They fear and despise him.
Fail to honor people
And they fail to honor you.
But of a good leader,
When his work is done,
His aim fulfilled,
They will all say,
"We did this ourselves."—Lao-Tzu

The program participants and sponsors were shown on the third page as follows:

Musical Prelude: United States Army Strings.

Introductions and Closing: Judge Jonathan Steinberg.

Speakers: Senator Max Cleland, Senator Alan Simpson, Senator Edward Kennedy, Senator Diane Feinstein, Senator Barbara Boxer, Representative G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery, Representative John A. Anderson,

Representative George Miller, Senator John Kerrey, Senator Maria Cantwell, and Kim Cranston.

Family in attendance: Kim Cranston, Colette Penne Cranston, Evan Cranston, and Eleanor (R.E.) Cranston Cameron.

Event Sponsors: Senators Cleland, Simpson, Rockefeller, Kennedy, Feinstein, and Boxer.

The back page of the program set forth Senator Cranston's Committee assignments and the acknowledgments for the Tribute, as follows:

Senator Cranston's 24 years of service in the United States Senate exceeded that of any California Democratic Senator and was the second longest tenure of any California Senator. He was elected Democratic Whip seven times, and his service of 14 years in that position is unequalled. His Committee service was:

1969-93: Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

1971-73 and 1975-79: Chairman, Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization.

1973-75: Chairman, Subcommittee on Small Businesses.

1979-85: Chairman or Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on Financial Institutions.

1985-87: Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on Securities.

1987-93: Chairman, Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs.

1969-81: Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Human Resources).

1969-71: Chairman, Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs.

1971-73: Chairman, Subcommittee on Railroad Retirement.

1971-81: Chairman, Subcommittee on Child and Human Development.

1981-93: Committee on Foreign Relations.

1981-85: Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, International Operations, and Environment.

1985-93: Chairman or Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

1977-92: Committee on Veterans' Affairs, Chairman or Ranking Minority Member.

In addition, Senator Cranston served on the Committees on the Budget (1975-79) and on Nutrition and Human Needs (1975-77), and on the Select Committee on Intelligence (1987-93).

Event Planning and Arrangements: Bill Brew, Fran Butler, Kelly Cordes, Chad Griffin, Bill Johnstone, Susanne Martinez, Dan Perry, Ed Scott, Jon Steinberg, Lorraine Tong, Elinor Tucker.

As I said at the Tribute, I would not be in this body were it not for Alan Cranston. My colleague, the Senator from Washington (Ms. Cantwell), expressed that same sentiment in her remarks. Alan Cranston will always be an inspiration for us. He will live in our memories and the memories of all those who served with him and were touched by the causes he championed and in the hearts and minds of those he so ably represented in his beloved State of California. Following are the transcript of the Tribute, and the document, "Legislative Legacy, Alan Cranston in the U.S. Senate, 1969-1993," that was distributed at the Tribute.

A LEGISLATIVE LEGACY—ALAN CRANSTON IN THE U.S. SENATE, 1969-1993

AN OVERVIEW

As an eight-year-old boy, Alan Cranston lost his first election to be bench monitor in his Los Altos grammar school. As an adult, he became the state's most electable Democrat and one of the most durable and successful California politicians of the 20th Century. During decades of political and social turbulence, when no other California Demo-

crat was elected more than once to the U.S. Senate, Alan Cranston won four Senate terms in the Capitol, serving a total of 24 years. It is a California record unmatched except for the legendary Hiram Johnson, a Republican who held his Senate seat from 1917 to 1945.

In addition, Cranston was elected to seven consecutive terms as the Senate Democratic Whip, the number two party position in the Senate. That, too, is an all-time Senate record for longevity in a leadership post. Alan Cranston is credited with rebuilding the Democratic Party in California through grass-roots activism and organization. In the mid-1950s, he organized the then-powerful California Democratic Council, a vast network of party volunteers that in 1958 helped sweep Republicans from most statewide offices. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown was elected governor, Democrats seized the California Legislature, and Cranston began two terms as State Controller of California.

Senator Cranston sought the Democratic Party nomination for President in 1984. His campaign, though ultimately unsuccessful, raised to new heights public support for international arms control and a superpower freeze on nuclear weapons.

In terms of political style, Senator Cranston drew upon an earlier Earl Warren tradition of bipartisanship, and was well served by a diversified base of political support. Representing the California mega-state in the Senate, Cranston skillfully balanced a wide array of insistent and sometimes conflicting state interests. He steered a delicate course between the state's giant agribusiness interests and those of consumers, family farmers and farm workers; he weighed the claims of home builders and growing communities with the need to preserve open space and wildlife habitats; and he nurtured and led the California epicenter of the national arms control and peace movements, while effectively representing the home of the nation's defense and aerospace industry.

The record of Congressional measures from 1969 to 1993 adds up to a catalogue of literally tens of thousands of legislative actions on which there is a Cranston imprint. These include the large events of the past quarter century—Vietnam, the Cold War, civil rights, the rise of environmentalism, conflict in the Middle East, Watergate, the energy crisis, and equal rights for women.

The Cranston mark is on thousands of bills and amendments he personally authored affecting virtually every aspect of national life. Without this legislative record, America would be a different and poorer place in the quality of life and environment for a majority of our people. Rivers would be more polluted, the air less clean, food less safe. Fewer opportunities would be open to all citizens, fewer advances made in medicine and science; there would be less safe conditions in workplaces.

Despite facile and careless cynicism about the work of government, the achievements of the nation's Legislative Branch from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s have made a distinct and meaningful difference in the lives of millions of Americans. Alan Cranston's particular contributions to progressive legislation is notable. The difference a single U.S. Senator can make is demonstrated by a study of all votes cast in the Senate over two decades in which the outcome was decided by less than five votes and often by a single vote. Between 1969 to 1989 there were over 2,500 such votes in which Alan Cranston's influence often was critical to the outcome.

The figures do not include thousands of legislative decisions reached by less narrow margins. Nor do they reflect the additional influence of Senator Cranston as a behind-the-scenes strategist, nose-counter, marshaler

of forces and shrewd compromiser who always lived to fight another day. The sum of thousands of "small", quiet, often little-noticed and uncelebrated legislative actions over near a quarter-century adds up to steady progress in nearly every area of American life.

As for one man's place in such a record, former Vice President Walter Mondale called Senator Cranston: "The most decent and gifted member of the United States Senate."

Even with so diverse a legislative record, certain points of emphasis and priority emerge. Although never an ideologue, Senator Cranston was passionate in pursuit of world peace, for extending opportunities for those left out of the mainstream, and for protecting the natural environment. Asked by a reporter what he "goes to the mat for," Cranston replied: "Peace, arms control, human rights, civil rights, civil liberties. If there's an issue between some very powerful people and some people without much power, my sympathies start with those who have less power."

During the eight years that remained to him after he left the Senate, Alan Cranston worked tirelessly on issues of war and peace, speaking out for human rights, and for preserving the environment of the planet for present and future generations. In 1996, he became chairman of the Global Security Institute, a San Francisco-based research organization which he founded together with former Soviet President and Nobel Peace Prize winner Mikhail S. Gorbachev to promote world peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

EARLY HISTORY

Few people in modern history have entered the U.S. Senate as freshmen better prepared than Alan Cranston to combine lifelong concerns over foreign and domestic policy with an understanding of the inner procedural, political and human workings of the institution. It was a preparation which made it possible to gain and hold on to Senate power as Democratic Whip for 14 of his 24 years in Congress.

In 1936, as a 22-year-old foreign correspondent he joined the International News Service (later part of United Press International), immediately after graduating from Stanford University. He was sent on assignments to Germany, Italy, Ethiopia and England in years leading up to the outbreak of World War II. He personally watched and listened as Adolph Hitler whipped his audiences into mass frenzy. He saw Mussolini strut before tens of thousands in Rome. He covered London in the fateful years "while England slept," and he watched as the world seemed helpless to act against the dark march of fascism.

Three years later, following his return to the United States, Cranston learned that an English-language version of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" was being distributed in the U.S. He was alarmed to discover that, for propaganda purposes, parts of the text had been purposefully omitted. These were passages which would have made clear the nature and full extent of Hitler's threat to the world. To warn Americans against Hitler, he wrote a complete and accurate version of the book, with explanatory notes making the Dictator's real intentions clear. It was published in tabloid form and sold a half-million copies before a copyright infringement suit brought by agents of the Third Reich put a stop to its further distribution.

Senator Cranston's strong commitment to human rights and peace, and his alertness to the dangers of totalitarian one-man rule, were clearly shaped by witnessing first hand the rise of fascism in Europe and the deadly chain of events leading to the Second World

War and its Cold War aftermath. His first work in Washington, serving in 1940 and 1941 as a representative of the Common Cause for American Unity, entailed lobbying Congress for fairness in legislation affecting foreign born Americans. This activity gave him an opportunity to learn at close range the inner workings of the Senate.

With the outbreak of war, Cranston served as Chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information in the Executive Offices of the President. When offered a draft deferment in 1944, he declined it and enlisted in the Army as a private, where he was first assigned to an infantry unit training in the U.S. Because of his experience as a foreign correspondent and journalist, he became editor of *Army Talk*. His rank was sergeant by VJ Day.

While still in the Army, he began researching and writing a book in hopes of influencing international decision-making in the post-war world. It was an account of how, in the aftermath of the first World War, a handful of willful men in the U.S. Senate, opposed to President Wilson and the 14-point peace plan, managed to prevent U.S. participation in the League of Nations, ultimately undermining the peace and setting the stage for a second World War.

In 1945, "The Killing of the Peace" by Alan Cranston was published. The New York Times rated it one of the 10 best books of the year. The book served to warn against the folly of repeating the same isolationist mistakes that followed World War I. The Cranston book also presented a meticulous description of the byzantine inner workings of the U.S. Senate during the debate over ratification of the League of Nations treaty. At age 31, the future Senator revealed a full appreciation of the critical role played by individual egos, personalities and interpersonal relationships in the legislative process, and showed how awareness to such human factors could be critical in determining the outcome of a vote.

The immediate post-war years in Washington and publication of *The Killing of the Peace* marked the real beginning of Cranston's determination to become a member of the Senate. He wanted to enter that institution where he could promote world peace and causes of social justice.

From 1949 to 1952 he served as national president of the United World Federalists, dedicated to promoting peace through world law. He was a principal founder of the California Democratic Council, established to influence the direction of the Democratic Party in the state, and was elected as the first CDC President in 1953 and served until 1958.

He was elected California state controller in 1958, which placed him among the top ranks of the party's statewide elected officials. He was reelected in 1962 and served until 1966.

SENATE ACHIEVEMENTS

Foreign affairs

Elected to the Senate in 1968, during the height of fighting in Vietnam, Senator Cranston quickly allied with so-called "doves" which were a distinct minority in Congress at that time. Together with Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, Alan Cranston co-authored the first measure to pass the Senate cutting off funds to continue the war in Southeast Asia. The Brooke-Cranston Amendment paved the way to the U.S. Congress ultimately asserting its prerogatives over military spending and provided for the orderly termination of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Senator Cranston played key roles in shaping the SALT and START arms pacts, and in framing debate on virtually every new weap-

on system, arms control issue and foreign treaty from 1969 to 1993. A recognized leader on the Foreign Relations Committee, Alan Cranston was a highly respected voice on behalf of arms control, nuclear non-proliferation, peaceful settlement of international conflict, human rights around the world, sensible and compassionate approaches to immigration and refugee issues, foreign trade and long range solutions to problems of famine, disease and oppression in the Third World.

In addition to U.S.-Soviet relations, those specific areas of foreign policy in which Senator Cranston made a significant impact include the passage of the Panama Canal Treaty, efforts to bar military aid to the Nicaraguan contras, aid to Israel and efforts toward peace in the Middle East, helping to bring a halt to U.S. involvement in a civil war in Angola, and opposition to apartheid in South Africa.

Environmental legislation

Among the legacy of Alan Cranston's years in the Senate is a wealth of parks, wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, wild rivers, scenic areas and coastline protection measures. With just two bills in which Alan Cranston and Rep. Phillip Burton of San Francisco teamed—the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978 and the Alaska Lands Act of 1980—as much acreage was placed under federal protection as all the parks lands created earlier in the 20th Century combined. Senator Cranston was the Senate sponsor of legislation creating the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, the Channel Islands National Park, a 48,000 acre addition to the Redwoods National Park, and the inclusion of Mineral King into Sequoia National Park. He sponsored 12 different wilderness bills which became law between 1969 and 1982. He helped close Death Valley National Monument to open pit mining and was an architect of the Endangered Species Act and the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

He worked diligently throughout his Senate years for the California Desert Protection Act, that called for setting aside millions of acres of desert lands as wilderness and park preserves, and creating better government conservation efforts for a vast portion of the California desert ecosystem. His efforts ultimately came to fruition when Senator Dianne Feinstein, during the first Clinton term, was able to enact into law the Cranston crusade for desert preservation.

Even this long list does not tell the complete story of Senator Cranston's environmental record, which includes clear air and clean water legislation, control of toxic wastes, liability for oil spills, restoration of fish and wildlife resources, and support for new technologies for cleaner fuels. No other period in American history has seen so much been accomplished for environmental protection as the last three decades of the 20th Century, and Senator Cranston was an essential but largely unheralded architect of these policies.

Civil rights/Civil liberties

In his first term as a Senator, Alan Cranston wrote the amendment that extended to federal workers the civil rights protections earlier mandated to private employers. He also played a key strategic role in ending a filibuster which threatened the extension of the Voting Rights Act. He authored the first Senate bill to redress grievances of Japanese-Americans interned in relocation camps during the Second World War. Cranston co-authored landmark legislation protecting the civil rights of institutionalized persons. He was the first U.S. Senator to employ an openly-gay person on his staff, and he fought official discrimination against homosexuals

in immigration laws and access to legal services.

Aware from his days as a journalist of the importance of protecting news sources, Senator Cranston fought the Nixon Administration to preserve an unfettered and free press in America. He successfully blocked legislation in 1975 that would have created an Official Secrets Act threatening First Amendment freedoms.

Health care

Both on the Senate and Human Resources Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research, and as Chairman of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, Senator Cranston worked to secure for all individuals access to health services necessary for the prevention and treatment of disease and injury and for the promotion of physical and mental well-being.

He authored the law, and extensions and refinements of it, that provided for the development nationwide of comprehensive medical services (EMS) systems and for the training of emergency medical personnel. He steered the original Emergency Medical Systems Act through Congress, then persuaded a reluctant President Nixon to sign it into law. A few years later, the Cranston measure was quite possibly responsible for saving another President's life. It was at a special trauma care unit at George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, D.C., established in part by the EMS law, where President Reagan's life was saved following an assassination attempt in 1981.

Senator Cranston also wrote laws that have made a broad range of family planning services available to individuals who cannot otherwise afford or gain ready access to them. He authored legislation that improved services to families of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) and encouraged expanded research efforts. Legislation to support community efforts to control venereal diseases and tuberculosis were shaped by Senator Cranston. He authored several provisions of law substantially increasing funding for AIDS research, education, and public health activities.

He wrote the law that expanded and coordinated federal research in arthritis, and he helped create the National Institute on Aging. Totally separate from his role as a federal legislator, he helped establish the private, non-profit Alliance for Aging Research to spur research scientists to find answers for the chronic disabling conditions of aging, including Alzheimer's Disease.

His commitment to healthy aging was also personal. A lifelong physical fitness buff and accomplished runner, he set a world record for his age group in 1969, running the 100-yard dash in 12.6 seconds. He broke his own record three years later running in the University of Pennsylvania Relays at age 59.

Rights for persons with disabilities

When Alan Cranston came to the Senate, disabled persons had virtually no legal protection against unjust discrimination and there had been little progress toward removing physical barriers that excluded them from public buildings and facilities. He was acutely aware of these injustices due to crippling disabilities suffered by members of his immediate family. He often characterized people with disabilities as "the one civil rights constituency any of us can be thrust into without a moment's warning." He led efforts to enact legislation in 1973 for the first time outlawing discrimination in federally-funded programs and requiring that federally-funded buildings be made accessible to disabled individuals, and promoting the employment and advancement of persons with disabilities by the federal government and federal contractors. The sloping sidewalk

curbs for wheelchairs on nearly every street in the nation stem from Alan Cranston's early advocacy for disabled people.

Children and families

Senator Cranston authored a rich body of legislative reforms that humanized and vastly improved adoption assistance, foster care, child custody and child care. He was a leader in sponsoring child abuse and neglect prevention laws and in investigating the abuse of children in institutions.

He was responsible for extending the original authorization of the Head Start preschool education program. He authored successful bills extending Medicaid coverage for prenatal health care for low-income pregnant women. He co-wrote the landmark L975 law designed to provide educational opportunities for handicapped children, and he was a strong supporter and developer of children's nutrition and feeding programs throughout his time in the Senate.

Many private organizations honored Cranston for his work, including the North American Conference on Adoptable Children, which named him "Child Advocate of the Year" in 1979, the California Adoption Advocacy Network, the Child Welfare League of America, the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, the California Child Development Administrators Association, and the JACKIE organization, which cited "his leadership in obtaining national adoption and foster care reform."

Veterans

Though opposed to the Vietnam War, he was deeply compassionate toward those who fought America's most unpopular war. Able to separate the war from the warriors, he was an early champion for the Vietnam veterans, especially for improving health care in VA hospitals and clinics.

In his first year in the Senate, Alan Cranston was assigned chairmanship of a Labor Committee subcommittee dealing with veterans. He used that post to draw national attention to inadequate and shocking conditions in VA hospitals, which were overwhelmed by the returning wounded from the Vietnam war. When a full Committee on Veterans Affairs was established in the Senate, he chaired its subcommittee on health and hospitals and later chaired the full committee for a total of nine years.

Among a few highlights of this record: improvements in compensation for service-connected disabled veterans, education and training programs tailored to Vietnam-era veterans, requirements for federal contractors to give preference in hiring for Vietnam-era and disabled veterans, and a long list of initiatives to improve health care in the VA medical system.

Alan Cranston wrote the law that created a national network of VA counseling facilities known as "Vet Centers" to aid returning Vietnam veterans in coping with readjustment to civilian society, and helping to identify and treat the condition known as post-traumatic stress syndrome.

He was among the first to draw attention to the health problems believed associated with exposure to Agent Orange and he gave the VA specific authority to provide Vietnam veterans with medical care for those conditions. He also helped bring to light health problems of veterans who were exposed to nuclear radiation as part of U.S. government atomic testing in the 1940s and 50s, and he fought to allow compensation for subsequent medical effects of the exposure.

For more than a decade he fought to allow veterans legal rights to appeal VA decisions on claims for benefits and ultimately succeeded in establishing the United States Court of Veterans Appeals. His very last day in the Senate, Alan Cranston was responsible

for passage of three veterans bills: Veterans Re-employment Rights, Veterans Health-Care Services, and the Veterans Health Care Act.

Women

Another constant throughout the Cranston Senate career has been his efforts aimed at eradicating sex discrimination and providing equal opportunities for women.

He worked hard, both in the U.S. Congress and in the California legislature, for passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. He authored provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act precluding discrimination in hiring and retaining women employees and those who are pregnant. On the Banking Committee he pioneered laws prohibiting discrimination against women in obtaining credit and benefiting from insurance policies.

He consistently championed women's access to health care and reproductive health services. He was the Senate author of the Freedom of Choice Act to codify into federal law the *Roe v. Wade* court decision.

ADDENDA

Any summary of the Cranston record would be incomplete without also noting the following:

Senator Cranston helped lead the opposition in the U.S. Senate to G. Harrold Carswell and Clement Haynsworth, both nominated by President Richard Nixon to the Supreme Court. Both nominations were defeated.

When Robert Bork was nominated to the Court, it was a vote count taken by Democratic Whip Alan Cranston that first showed the nomination could be overturned. Senator Cranston skillfully used this information to persuade swing vote Senators to reject the Bork nomination.

During the Carter Presidency, when Cranston had the patronage power to recommend federal judicial appointments, he instead established a bipartisan committee with the California Bar Association to assist in screening candidates based on merit. Under this system four women, four African-Americans, two Latinos and one Asian were appointed to the U.S. District Court in California. In addition, one African-American, one woman, and one Latino were appointed as U.S. Attorneys.

He long championed federal support for mass transit, including the Surface Transit Act, which for the first time opened up the Federal Highway Act to allow mass transit to compete for federal funds on an equal basis with highways.

As Housing Subcommittee Chairman on the Banking Committee, he led efforts to pass the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1987, the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987 and then succeeded in gaining enactment of the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act in October 1990, a landmark law that set a new course for federal housing assistance, stressing production of affordable housing units, improved FHA insurance, elderly and handicapped housing expansion, special housing for people with AIDS, and reform of public housing. Passage of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 culminated Senator Cranston's 24 years of major legislative achievements steadily aimed at making housing more available and fostering community economic growth.

He helped strengthen the Resources Conservation and Recovery Act, the basic law which allows the federal government to regulate hazardous waste material to insure that it is safely managed.

He headed efforts in the Senate to break the filibuster mounted against Labor Law Reform.

Over more than two decades, he provided diligent oversight and direction for all federal volunteer programs, including the Peace Corps, VISTA, the ACTION Agency, Foster Grandparents, and the Retired Senior Volunteer Program.

POST-SENATE CAREER

From 1993 until his death just hours before the first day of 2001, Alan Cranston pursued the opportunity afforded by the end of the Cold War to abolish nuclear weapons. He worked on the issue as Chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation, and then as President of the Global Security Institute in San Francisco, which he helped establish. An important accomplishment of the Institute was to put together, with a coalition of groups called Project Abolition, the Responsible Security Appeal, which calls for action leading to the elimination of all nuclear weapons. At Cranston's urging, this document was signed by such notable people as Paul Nitze, General Charles Horner, and former President Jimmy Carter. Project Abolition, founded by Cranston, promises to be the foundation for a wider nuclear abolition campaign in the years ahead.

During the decade of the 1990s, he traveled to the Indian Subcontinent, in Central Asia and elsewhere, working with national leaders to accommodate peaceful change in the world, especially the development of pluralistic, free societies in the former Soviet Union. In the very last years of his life, he was more often at home, in the sprawling Spanish Colonial style residence in Los Altos Hills, where he was surrounded by three generations of his family. He assembled a magnificent library encompassing a wide range of California, American and International history and politics, in thousands of books, artworks, memorabilia and photographs. To this library would come many friends, political allies old and new, former staff and an occasional journalist intent on an interview. Former Senator Cranston made this assessment of his priorities in one interview, just months before his death:

"I am an abolitionist on two fronts. I believe we have to abolish nuclear weapons before they abolish us, and I think we have to eliminate the incredibly important and significant role of money in politics before we're going to have our democracy working as it should work. If we blow ourselves up in a nuclear war, no other issue, no matter how important it may seem to be, is going to matter. And until we get money out of politics, money is going to affect every issue that comes along, often adversely to the interest of the public. So let's abolish both."

Years earlier, while preparing to retire from the United States Senate, he expressed gratitude for the opportunities to make a difference on behalf of California and people throughout the world:

"It has been a privilege I have cherished and for which I can never adequately thank the people of California. It is my hope that many of the accomplishments achieved over these past 24 years in the areas of world peace, the environment, and in the effort to secure a better quality of life for millions of Americans will survive and serve as the basis of continued progress by others in behalf of future generations."

FEBRUARY 6, 2001, 2:00 PM, MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO ALAN CRANSTON, U.S. SENATOR 1969—1993, HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 902, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. On behalf of the sponsors, Senators Cleland, Simpson, Rockefeller, Kennedy, Feinstein, and Boxer, welcome to this Memorial Tribute to Senator Alan Cranston. At the outset, I want to express our appreciation to the U.S. Army

Strings for their Prelude musical offerings today. Also, thanks to C-Span for covering this event. This turnout today is itself a wonderful testimonial to the work of this man of the Senate, Alan Cranston, and we are absolutely delighted that his family has journeyed here from California to share in this Tribute—his son, Kim, and daughter-in-law Colette, and their child and Alan's granddaughter, Evan, who graces the program cover with Alan, and we are so happy that Alan's wonderful, 91-year-old sister, R.E., who wrote a biography about Alan, is with us as well.

During his 24 years as a Senator, Alan Cranston did much to better the lives of the people of his state and the people of this country and all countries. You will hear much about those efforts and achievements today. In my role, I am a proxy for the scores of staff who worked for Alan Cranston over his Senate career. I began in March 1969, almost at the beginning, and stayed 21 and a half years. I've always thought that one could tell a great deal about the kind of person someone was by how those who worked most closely with him felt about him. I think it speaks volumes about Alan Cranston—and Alan is the way he asked his staff always to refer to him—that so many worked with him for so long. In fact, five worked for him for his full 24 years; two others worked more than 20 years; five others for 15 years or more, and three or four for 10 or more years. I doubt that any Senator has surpassed that record for staff loyalty and staff satisfaction.

Alan was wonderful to work for and with. He was not a saint, of course, but he was a gentlemen, through and through. He gave respect to get respect. To me he was a mentor, a teacher, an inspiration, and a friend. I loved him. I will always remember him. And when I do, I will think back to our last meeting—at dinner on November 13. He was strong and vibrant and full of passionate commitment to the cause of the elimination of nuclear weapons. I remember our hugging goodbye. It was a great hug, but I wish I had held on a littler longer.

A few announcements before we get to our speakers: First of all, I want to remind each of you to please sign one of the guest books in the lobby before you leave. I hope you've each gotten a program. If not, you can pick one up on the way out. And also on the way out, there is a paper on Senator Cranston's legislative legacy in the Senate.

Before I introduce our first speaker, I want to note the presence here—now or expected—in addition to those who will speak, of many distinguished members of the Senate and House: Senator Rockefeller, who is one of our sponsors; Senator Lugar, Senator Leahy, Senator Dodd, Senator Bingaman, Senator Sarbanes, Senator Dorgan, former Senator DeConcini, and Representatives Waxman, Filner, Roybal, Capps, and Harmon. Also with us is former Senator Harris Wofford, who spoke so eloquently at the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco on January 16, and Mark Schneider, former Director of the Peace Corps, which Harris Wofford was instrumental in starting, in which Senator Dodd served as a volunteer in Central America, and in which Alan Cranston believed so deeply. We are also honored to have the presence of three Cabinet members, all from California—Secretary of Transportation Norman Mineta, Secretary of Agriculture Ann Veneman, and Secretary of Veterans Affairs Tony Principi.

Our first speaker has timed it impeccably. (Laughter.) Our first speaker is, fittingly, the lead sponsor of today's tribute. Simply put, Alan Cranston loved Max Cleland—as do I. They first met in 1969, and I'm sure Senator Cleland will talk about that. Alan was

truly overjoyed at Max's election to the Senate in 1996. I want to express my gratitude to Max personally and to his staff, Bill Johnstone, Farrar Johnston, and Andy VanLandingham, for all of their help with the arrangements for this event.

And now our first speaker, Senator Max Cleland of Georgia. (Applause.)

Senator MAX CLELAND. Thank you all very much and thank you Jon Steinberg for being uncharacteristically brief. (Laughter.)

I see so many of my colleagues here. Really my first real exposure to the United States Senate came about because Alan Cranston cared. He was an unusual individual. I visited the Dirksen Building here for the first time in December of 1969. I was still basically a patient in the VA hospital system when I was asked to appear before something called the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs about how the VA was handling returning Vietnam war veterans. That meeting was chaired by a tall, lean freshman California senator named Alan Cranston. I really didn't know him then, but it became the start of a three-decade friendship.

In 1974, I ran unsuccessfully for Lieutenant Governor in Georgia, and, other than my own priority for my own race, my second priority in the whole world in terms of politics was to make sure Alan Cranston got re-elected in 1974. Actually, Alan was very kind to me, and brought me out to California, and I got a chance to campaign for him and kind of clear out some of the cobwebs that I had in my own mind about politics and about life. We campaigned together and I found him just as inspiring and invigorating in that campaign as when I had met him in '69.

It's amazing how life works. Little did I know that, as someone from Georgia, someone from California would be critical in my continued service in public life. I did lose my race for lieutenant governor in 1974 and, therefore, was unemployed. Christmas Eve, 1974, I called my friend Jonathan Steinberg, and said "I just wanted to wish you the happiest of holidays" and said "by the way, if you're looking for anybody who wants to work, I'm available." He said, "are you serious?" And I said "I am deadly serious." Well, it was Alan Cranston that made it possible for me to get a \$12,500-a-year job on the staff of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee in the spring of 1975. That was more money than I'd ever made in my whole entire life.

I was there a couple of years and, in the summer of 1976, when a young man from Georgia named Jimmy Carter seemed like he was destined to win the Democratic primary, Alan Cranston talked to me and said "I think you ought to be the new head of the Veterans' Administration." That scared me to death. I said, "well, if you really think I can do it, let's go for it." He talked to Senator Nunn and talked to Senator Talmadge. By the August convention of the American Legion, a convention in Seattle, Senator Cranston pulled Jimmy Carter aside and said "I have two requests." I don't know what the other one was, but he said "the second one is to make Max Cleland head of the VA." And Jimmy Carter replied, "I love Max Cleland."

So President Carter wound up in January 1977 as President of the United States, and Alan Cranston wound up as Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and I only had two friends in Washington; one was President, and the other was Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee. (Laughter.) So I was nominated in March of 1977, as the youngest head of the Veterans' Administration, and, thanks to Alan Cranston, I was confirmed in record time, and took over that agency, with really the support of Jon Steinberg and Alan. They were my constant guides, and sometimes spurs, and encouraged me all the way.

One of the things I'm proudest of that we were able to do, is put together something called the Vet Center Program. Alan Cranston, since 1971, had been introducing in the Senate something called psychological readjustment counseling for Vietnam veterans and their families. It would usually pass the Senate, die in the House, and had no Presidential support; but I was able to talk to President Carter, we were able to put the administration behind this legislation. It passed, and we were able to sign it into law, and I put together one of the very first Vet Centers in 1980 in Van Nuys, California. Now, there are some 200 scattered around the country. Some three-and-a-half million veterans and their families have received counseling through this program, and Alan Cranston was basically responsible.

Let me just say that, in 1973, he helped to pass legislation that helped the disabled in this country, that required that federally-funded buildings be made accessible, that promoted the hiring and advancement of people with disabilities by the Federal government. He established something called the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, which has the responsibility for setting standards for accessibility and for assisting and forcing compliance with accessibility laws. I was named to that Board by President Carter in 1979.

Throughout the remainder of the 70s, Alan worked to revamp federally-assisted state voc-rehab programs, sponsoring laws that gave priority to the most seriously disabled. In 1980, he sponsored legislation to make some improvements in that program at the VA, and in 1990 he was a leading cosponsor of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which has been a pioneer piece of legislation, as we all know.

I just want you to know that I wouldn't be in the United States Senate, I wouldn't have ever been head of the Veterans' Administration, without the mild-mannered distinguished gentleman from the great state of California. I mourn his passing, and we will miss him. God bless you. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you very much, Max. Speaking of the ADA, I see Senator Harkin here. We welcome you.

Alan referred to our next speaker as his best friend on the Republican side. They served together as their respective party leaders on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and as Assistant Floor Leaders, or Whips, as they were also called. Another tall, lanky, hairline-challenged Alan, former Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming.

Senator ALAN K. SIMPSON. Jonathan and former colleagues and friends and family, Kim, Colette, Evan, and Eleanor, and Cabinet members, including one Norm Mineta, who I met at the age of 12 in the war relocation center at Hart Mountain. He was behind wire, I wasn't, and I should have been and he shouldn't have. (Laughter.) But, anyway, it's a long, wonderful friendship, with a guy I love, and I'm so damn proud of you, pal, even when you did that when you were in Boy Scouts, I'll never forget. (Laughter.)

Well, it's a great honor and privilege to honor my old friend. To be asked is very, very moving to me, and I want to share just a few memories and thoughts about a very special friend. I came to the Senate in '79. Al was Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and that's when I first met Max. I said, "Max, you have a wonderful job there, Secretary of Veterans Affairs; veterans never pick on each other—ha, ha, ha." Well, anyway, it was an interesting time, Max, wasn't it? Well, enough of that. Butch is here and he would correct anything that I said. But it fell to my pleasant luck to soon become the ranking member in 1980, the Reagan Administration. Well, I knew who Al was, I knew of

his journalistic prowess, of his warning to his countrymen about Adolf Hitler, and the two versions of "Mein Kampf", one for domestic consumption and one for the naïve and the unwary, and Alan was sending out the alert. I knew of his athletic achievements and his stamina, and I very soon learned of his powerful loyalty to America's veterans.

He was so cordial to me, and his staff, so very helpful to this new, pea-green freshman. And what a staff it was: Jon Steinberg, Ed Scott, Bill Brew, Babette Polzer. Well, I sought their counsel, and plumbed their expertise. Al would occasionally check up on me, "how are you? Can we be of more help?" I said, "I need a lot more help." But then I built my own staff. And, oh, to all of you who will be deprived of staff one day. Staff deprivation is a serious issue (laughter); it is the most shocking of the transitions (laughter), and my wife, a beautiful woman of 46 years, she said "Alan, your staff is gone, you have no staff, they are not here, and I am not one of your staff." (Laughter.) But, there was Biblical precedent for this, you look it up in the Good Book, it says, "Jacob died leaning on his staff". (Laughter.) Now, so along came Ken Bergquist and one Tony Principi, in those early years. Tony seems to have moved along nicely in life, a wonderful human being with rare gifts, who has been bestowed again on the veterans and the people of this country. He will be serving very wisely and very well as Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and I'm damn proud of you, too, pal.

Tom Harvey then came on. But Tony and Jon Steinberg became a very dynamic duo, they worked with Tom Harvey in those early years. And, as I say then, in '80, I became in the majority, and the first call I received after the election was from Al Cranston. Of course, who else? In that cheery voice, he said "congratulations, Mr. Chairman." Well, I thought, the power, I felt the surge . . . (laughter) . . . and I thought how like him to do that. Well, we cranked out some good legislation together. With Sonny here, another dear friend on the other side of the aisle, and John Paul Hammerschmidt, then Bob Stump, those were men of my faith, my political faith. And Sonny used to sit next to me and say: "Don't do it pal. I know what you're going to do. Just shut up, won't you?" (Laughter.) I know we're not going to let that get away now, Sonny.

Anyway, the changing of the guard went well. The only hitch was that all of the veterans organizations had selected National Commanders and Officers from California. Well, you know how that goes. And now their guy was gone, and the cowboy from Wyoming was in the saddle. Well that was very much fun to watch, I loved it. It was painful for Jonathan, but I loved it. And we were able to, when I took over, we were able to get Steinberg's statutory language down to one paragraph in one page. We never let him go two pages with one paragraph. And he had a tendency to do that.

Then, in 1984, I was honored to become the Assistant Majority Leader, and who was the Assistant Minority Leader? Al Cranston. We worked closely together. We enjoyed each other, we trusted each other. We gave good support and counsel to Bob Dole and George Mitchell, and we thought it was a silly idea, but that we oughta make things work. And even when Al was running for President, imagine me, being the ranking member of a committee with Kennedy and Hart and Cranston, all three of them running for President. I went to them and I said "you cannot use these chores of mine for your great cycle, and I won't ever use the committee to embarrass you" That's the kind of friendship I had with Ted, with Al, with Gary, it was

very special, and it can be that way again. I urge it upon you all. Anyway, he ran for President, he gave it his all, as he did in every phase of his life, but the brass ring eluded, eluded his grip, and he came back to his Senate home, his pride intact. The only time I really, really flustered him, I was flush with power. Now a member of the majority, the fever of the majority burned in my bosom like a hot Gospel. I ambled over to his offices, his spacious offices, great view, two fireplaces, couches, cozy chairs, comfort, oh, and I said "Al, yes I think this will do very nicely [(laughter)] for my new Whip office." And the blood drained from his face. And I said: "No, no, just kidding, Al. You represent millions, I represent thousands. But when the wind shifts around here, and you Dems have the horses, don't let 'em come around my office with a tape measure and some greedy looking guy with a clipboard." And he said, "it's a deal." And we had a handshake. Then the time came, and no one ever darkened my door, no unworthies with tape measures ever came to see me.

So, we legislated together, we argued, we collaborated, we joshed and laughed with each other, we took pleasure in confusing people. Same first name, same hairstyle; "hairing impaired" is what we called it in political correctness. Same gaunt, emaciated frame. Same gait, same grin. And, people would come up to me and say, "I just think the world of you and you ran for President, and your views on the environment and nuclear freeze thrill me to death." (Laughter.) And I'd say, "No, no; I'm Al Simpson," and they'd say "Not you!" (Laughter.) And Al said he got that in reverse about, you know, twice a month, too, so we would compare that, and our constituents were often not in alignment, you might imagine. But the best one, though, and then I'm going to stop: Cheney, Gulf War, Secretary of Defense, he called and he said, "we're going over to a game in Baltimore; bring Ann", and we went over to the game, and 53,000 Oriole fans, "Hey Cheney, we love ya! Great stuff!" You know, I said "Boy, this is getting bad in here." We left in the seventh inning and went back down through the bowels, where all the guys, the beer drinkers and the cigar smokers, were, and they went "Hey, Cheney, baby, you're all right—we love ya!" And I turned to him and I said, "You know, they never treated you like this in Casper." And a guy from the audience said "Hey, I know the big guy, too; that's Al Cranston!" (Laughter.) So, I can assure you he loved that story (laughter), when I told him that.

Well, he handled life well. Stuck to his guns, worked through pain, met life full in the face, as if in a track meet, headed for the tape, and he loved that thrill. Many would have buckled; not Al. The pain of loss of the Presidency, the pain of loss of family members, the pain of loss of Norma to Parkinson's Disease that withered her, that withered their union. The pain of cancer, the pain of accusation and assault by the media, the pain from his peers at that time; we talked about that, oh yes we did, of that sense of being singled out, very painful.

And he left the Senate and went on to vital other things, and meaningful things in his life, undaunted, head high, smile on his face, fire in the belly, finishing the course laid out. And we knew on one unknown day he would be taken from us. And we shall miss him. But not mourn him. For he was a man of vigor and joy and vision. And my life is much richer for having shared a significant piece of it with Alan Cranston. A race well run, my old friend. God rest his soul. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Senator Simpson, we greatly appreciate your having rear-

ranged your schedule to come down here from New York and we know you have to leave to go back there.

We're going to show a very short film now, it's only two or three minutes, but we thought we ought to have Alan with us.

Film

NARRATOR. Moscow, Winter, 1998.

VOICE. Alan, you don't wear a coat in the Russian winter?

ALAN CRANSTON. I don't believe in them.

VOICE. He doesn't believe in them. It's like John Kennedy, it's . . .

NARRATOR. That was Alan in retirement. For most people, a time to slow down. But at 84, as he approached the Russian Duma, Alan Cranston was a man on a lifelong mission.

ALAN CRANSTON. I got into all this way back shortly after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I met Albert Einstein. He told me, as he told others, that the whole human race could be wiped out by nuclear weapons. I've been working on it ever since.

NARRATOR. And forty years later, after trillions had been spent on weapons of mass destruction, Alan emerged with a collection of allies that astonished even him.

ALAN CRANSTON. One very dramatic moment, when Lee Butler, who had command of all of our nuclear weapons, gave his first public address at the State of the World Forum, in San Francisco, revealing the concerns he had developed about the whole deterrence policy and the ongoing dangers from reliance on nuclear weapons. And, as he spoke, presiding right next to him was Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the country that we would have destroyed. At the very end of this remarkable speech, Gorbachev and Butler stood up and embraced each other. That was a very dramatic moment.

Two weeks ago, General Butler and I made public a statement by 48 past and present heads of state and some 75 other national leaders from 48 nations, advocating specific steps towards abolition. Despite these and other favorable developments, there is significant doubt, skepticism, cynicism, and outright opposition to much of this. So, plainly, there is much to do, and we have a lot of hard thinking to do about what is in order. But let me say in closing that I do not believe that we need to wait, and I do not believe that we can afford to wait, until the end of the next century, to fulfill the obligation of our generation to all generations that preceded us and all generations that hopefully will follow us, to deal with the threat to all life that exists and is implicit in nuclear weapons. Thank you.

JUDGE JONATHAN STEINBERG. That film that was pulled together from a larger documentary by George Crile, a former CBS producer, who has developed documentaries on nuclear arms for "60 Minutes" and CNN. We are indebted to him and the Global Security Institute, of which Alan Cranston was President, for making that film available to us.

And now we will go a little bit out of order, and hear from one of this event's sponsors, the Senior Senator from California, whose work with Alan Cranston goes back many, many years and who, among many other achievements, carried on successfully with some very important environmental initiatives that Senator Cranston began.

Senator Dianne Feinstein of California. (Applause.)

Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN. Thank you very much. Thank you. It's really a great honor and a privilege to be here. I just want to recognize two members of the California House delegation that came in. First is Lois Capps, from the Santa Barbara area, and Jane Harmon, from the southern Los Angeles area. And I'm not sure whether Paul Wellstone and Jeff Bingaman were introduced earlier, but I want everybody to know that they're here, too.

Alan Simpson is a hard act to follow, there's no question about that. I look at life this way: That we're here but for an instant in an eternity. No one really knows when that instant is over, and the only thing that really matters is what we do with that instant. Because, when it's over, there's nothing we can take with us other than the legacy, leave behind. Alan Cranston first came into my life in 1962, and that's when I first met his sister, R.E., and it was in his campaign for State Controller; believe it or not, it was the first campaign for which I ever volunteered, and so I've always kind of taken a special interest in a lot of his achievements. From that point on, I found this former long distance runner really to be a tireless workhorse for all Californians, and, as a matter of fact, for all Americans. This was a man who really loved the intricacies of the legislative process. He was the consummate vote counter. He possessed the uncanny ability to assess competing camps, to quickly find where votes would fall and determine whether the best course of action was to fight or compromise. Unfortunately, neither my friend Barbara Boxer nor I really had an opportunity to work with him in his nearly quarter of a century here in the Senate, but I think these traits are legendary, I think they're known by all.

Alan Cranston yielded a whole array of wonderful accomplishments, but I want to just concentrate today on a few things in the environment. And, in the true spirit of the legendary Californian conservationist John Muir, Alan Cranston became a very passionate architect of measures to preserve our God-given natural treasures. Alan Cranston was the original author of something called the Desert Protection Act. Shortly after I won in 1993, and knew I was coming to Washington, the phone rang, and Alan said, "Would you be willing to take over the effort to pass a Desert Protection Act?" And I said, "Of course." And we came back and we revised the language, rewrote the bill somewhat, changed some of the concepts, and moved it ahead. But, the basic originator of this, let there be no doubt, was Alan Cranston. The bill was filibustered, but we were lucky in the Senate, we got it through, and it became a reality in 1994. And the legislation created the largest park and wilderness designation in our nation. Over six million acres, two new National Parks, Death Valley and Joshua Tree, and one National Preserve, the East Mojave. And so because of that, we have actually protected, well I said six, but it's actually closer to seven million acres of pristine California desert wilderness for all time. Thank you, Alan Cranston.

He was also the lead sponsor of legislation which established the Golden Gate and the Santa Monica National Recreation Area, the Channel Islands National Park, a 48,000 acre addition to the Redwoods National Park, and the inclusion of Mineral King into the Sequoia National Park. He also sponsored twelve different wilderness bills that became law between 1969 and 1982. He helped close Death Valley National Monument to open-pit mining. He helped craft the Endangered Species Act, the Marine Mammal Protection Act, and with just two bills, on which he teamed with the late and wondrous Phillip Burton of San Francisco, the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978, and the Alaska Lands Act of 1980, as much acreage was placed under federal protection as all the park lands created earlier in the twentieth century combined.

So, I can truthfully say, without his service, America would have been a different, and certainly a poorer place, in terms of our environment and the quality of life for many of our citizens. Alan Cranston leaves a legacy of preservation that will be remembered and enjoyed and certainly by his beautiful

seven-year granddaughter Evan, who is here today. And I think, for my granddaughter, for Barbara's grandson, and for all of us, who really look at this land and want to do what we can to protect it.

This was a very special Californian. And life wasn't always easy for Alan, either. But I think his ability to keep his eye on the goal, to establish what he established, whether it was from the translation of Mein Kampf, to his work against nuclear devastation, to his environmental record, Alan Cranston truly lived that instant in eternity, and he has truly left us a good legacy. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. I'm sure there are others that I failed to mention. I thank Senator Feinstein. I know that Senator Reid is also here, and again I apologize if I missed anyone.

No Senator has worked on more causes closer to Alan Cranston's heart and soul than has Senator Edward M. Kennedy. I am particularly grateful to him, because it was through his chief counsel, Jim Flug, who is also here today, that I was introduced to and came to work for Alan in 1969. Senator Cranston and Senator Kennedy served together for 12 years on the Labor and Human Resources Committee, which Senator Kennedy chaired from 1987 to 1995 and again for 17 days this year.

Our next speaker, Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

Senator EDWARD M. KENNEDY. Thank you, Jonathan. To Kim, and Colette, and Evan, and R.E.—let me begin by saying that I loved Alan Cranston too. I will never forget the 24 years of friendship and leadership and achievement with which he graced the Senate and the nation. And so it's a special privilege and honor for me to be part of this tribute today. Alan is profoundly missed by his family and friends, his colleagues in the Congress, and by all those around the world who pursue the great goals of hope and progress and peace.

I must say—I grew up thinking Cranston was a city in Rhode Island. But Alan taught each of us that Cranston stands for something else as well—the very best in public service.

Alan loved to lead behind the scenes—for 14 of those 24 Senate years with us, he was our Democratic whip, and he wrote the book about the job. In those great years, we used to tease Alan about the position, because so few people outside Congress knew what it involved. Since Alan was from California, a lot of people thought the Minority Whip was the name of a Leather Bar in Malibu. (Laughter.)

But seriously, Alan was a giant of his day on many issues, and his concern for social justice made him a leader on them all. We served together for many years on the Labor Committee and especially the Health Subcommittee, and his insights were indispensable. I always felt that if we'd had another Alan Cranston or two in those years, we'd have actually passed our Health Security Act, and made health care the basic right for all that it ought to be, instead of just an expensive privilege for the few.

Perhaps the greatest legacy that Alan left us was his able and tireless work for democracy and world peace. Every village in the world is closer to that goal today because of Alan. No one in the Senate fought harder or more effectively for our nuclear weapons freeze in the 1980's, or for nuclear arms control. His hope for a nuclear-free future still represents the highest aspiration of millions—even billions—throughout the world.

I also recall Alan's pioneering efforts to press for Senate action to end the war in Vietnam, and his equally able leadership for civil rights at home and human rights around the world. We know how deeply he

felt about injustice to anyone anywhere. And his leadership in the battle against apartheid in South Africa was indispensable.

Throughout his brilliant career, the causes of civil rights and human rights were central to Alan's being and his mission—and America and the world are better off today because Alan Cranston passed this way.

A key part of all his achievements was his unique ability to translate his ideals into practical legislation. Few if any Senators have been as skilled as Alan in the art of constructive legislative compromise that fairly leads to progress for the nation.

He was a vigorous supporter of the Peace Corps, a strong overseer of its performance, and a brilliant advocate for all the Peace Corps Volunteers. He was a champion for health coverage for returning Volunteers, and one of the first to understand that good health coverage had to include mental health services as well.

In many ways, his first love was the Peace Corps, and I know that President Kennedy would have been very proud of him. Even before he came to the Senate, he had his first contact with the Corps, as a consultant to Sargent Shriver. As Alan often said, he became involved because he was so inspired by my brother's vision of a world where Americans of all ages could work side-by-side with peoples throughout the world to put an end to poverty.

Because of Alan, the Peace Corps today is thriving as never before—free of the partisan tensions that divide us on other issues—spreading international understanding of Alan's and America's best ideals—educating new generations of young Americans about our common heritage as travelers on spaceship earth—teaching us about the beauty, the richness, and the diversity of other peoples, other languages, other cultures and about the enduring importance of the greatest pursuit of all—the pursuit of peace.

Near the end of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," there is a passage that tells of the death of Valiant:

"Then, he said, I am going to my Father's. And though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not regret me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battle who now will be my rewarder.

"When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the river-side, into which as he went, he said, 'Death, where is thy sting?' and as he went down deeper, he said, 'Grave, where is thy victory?' So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.'

We loved you, Alan. We miss you. And we always will. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you, Senator.

Our next speaker was elected to the Senate seat that Alan occupied when he retired in 1993. She and Senator Cranston collaborated on many matters while she served in the House of Representatives, and she authored with Senator Feinstein a lovely resolution of tribute to Senator Cranston that was adopted by the Senate on January 22. On behalf of Alan's family and his extended family and all his friends, we express our gratitude for this most gracious action.

Senator Barbara Boxer of California. (Applause.)

Senator BARBARA BOXER. Thank you. To Alan's family, beautiful family, and to my dear colleagues who are here, it certainly has been my honor for the past eight years to serve in the seat that was held by Alan Cranston for 24 years.

Alan was a deeply caring human being and he cared even for those whose distant cries were not always heard in Washington.

From civil rights to arms control, from cleaning up the environment to improving the lives of our nation's veterans—Alan's work knew no geographic boundaries. But, sometimes Alan's legacy on women's rights gets overlooked and that is what I'm going to speak about today.

From his earliest days in the Senate, Alan made improving the lives of women a priority. In 1969, he supported the Equal Rights Amendment. Remember the ERA. It failed. But, in 1972 he became a proud cosponsor again of the ERA, and it passed. But he didn't stop there—he wrote letters and he got on the phone to California legislators considering the measure, urging their support, and his work paid off and California ratified it that same year. Unfortunately, not all the states followed suit. But Alan did not stop his advocacy. He continued over the next decade to push for the Amendment's ratification and when time ran out, he cosponsored another ERA in 1983 and another one in 1985, even before he knew he was going to have a granddaughter. Alan would not give up.

He worked to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. He was the principal author of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act Amendments of 1972, which extended protections against gender discrimination to federal employees in the workplace. And he was the very first member of Congress to introduce legislation aimed at eliminating wage discrimination in the federal workplace.

Alan understood the challenges faced by working mothers. He worked to provide child care for this nation's working families, introducing some of the first ever legislation to provide care both before and after school. He knew that many kids were without adult supervision, and I was so proud when under the Clinton Administration, we saw after-school funding increase from \$1 million in 1997 to \$845 million in 2001. Alan, you laid the ground work for that.

He also worked tirelessly to protect a woman's right to choose, authoring the Freedom of Choice Act to codify *Roe v. Wade*. I proudly carry that bill now. He pushed for increased access to family planning services for low-income women and teenagers, and fought to provide medical care to low-income pregnant women, who otherwise would have been left without it and would not have had healthy babies.

And he didn't stop there. He sought to level the financial playing field for women, pushing for laws prohibiting discrimination against women trying to obtain credit. And we forget today when we open our mailboxes and we keep getting all these applications for credit cards, there was a time when a woman could not get any credit. We thank you, Alan, although we have to restrain ourselves now and then. We appreciate the work you did.

Alan was responsible for the first appointment of a woman to the federal court bench in California. I've personally, and I know Dianne, we've recommended many women; five of those that I recommended to President Clinton were nominated and confirmed. Alan laid that ground work too.

An advocate for equal education for young women, he fought hard for Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and you know what that is, equal opportunity for our children, for our girls in athletics.

And the list goes on and I will stop there with it, because it could go on and on. But I stand before you today, as a Senator who is carrying on the progressive work of Alan Cranston. His belief that women are equal has borne fruit.

If you look around today in the Senate, there are 13 women Senators from both parties. That's just in this building. Next door—and we have a couple here—there are 61 women in the House. We are doing better now, but as my friend Barbara Mikulski often says, it takes the "Sir Galahads," to get us there, and Alan was definitely a Sir Galahad.

I'm just going to tell you one quick personal story, and then I'll end. Alan decided to retire, I ran for the seat and won the seat, and about a year later, he made an appointment to come to see me. Now, I know this, the family must know this, but unlike the Whip's office, which someone else must have decorated, Alan's personal office here in the Hart building was not the most beautiful place, because this was not important to Alan. It was dark; it was dark leather and dark walls and the blinds were drawn, and that was it. Alan just saw it as a place to work—files all over the floor. So when I got into the office, I said: "Let's brighten it up. Let's bring California." And I ordered all of these green plants, and we opened up all the shades and we painted the walls peach and we got peach and green fabrics, and I mean, it was different. So I thought, you know, Alan was coming to see me about arms control, but I was excited that he was going to see what had happened to his office. And he came in and he sat down, and he sat there and his first thing is, "You've got to be more aggressive on arms control." Now that's the first time anyone ever told me to be more aggressive on anything. (Laughter.) But he started to lecture me and, you know, time went on, it was an hour, he still hadn't said a thing about the room. So, finally, I got up my courage, and I said, "So Alan, what do you think of the office?" And he looked around, and he looked around, and he said, "You moved my desk." (Laughter.) That was it.

Alan said about his role as Senator, and I quote him, when he retired: "It has been a privilege I have cherished and for which I can never adequately thank the people of California." Let me take this moment on behalf of the people of California to say to Alan Cranston thank you and your work lives on. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you very much, Senator Boxer, and thank you for being with us so long. I couldn't help but note when you talked about women and forging the way for women, that the U.S. Army Strings that played at the beginning of our ceremony today was composed of four women from the U.S. Army. And no men.

I want also to acknowledge the presence here of Senator Daniel Akaka, of the Democratic Leader, Senator Tom Daschle, and of Senator Hollings of South Carolina. We appreciate their presence with us very much.

Known to all veterans' advocates as "Mr. Chairman", our next speaker was the counterpart in the House to Senator Cranston and Senator Simpson as the Chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the other body, as it is affectionately called. He and Alan had to resolve many sticky and tricky issues over the 14 years that he led the House Committee, and they were always able to do so with congeniality and mutual respect.

He has been a great friend to me personally, as has been his Committee staff. I now introduce Former Representative Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi, "Mr. Chairman". (Applause.)

Representative G.V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY. Thanks very much, Jon.

To the family of Senator Cranston, my colleagues on this panel, cabinet members, other distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I'd like to thank you, Judge Steinberg and others for letting me participate in the re-

marks of this Memorial Tribute to Senator Alan Cranston.

Alan and I became friends because he was Chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee and I was Chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, and we both enjoyed working for veterans and their families. Alan was a veteran of World War II and had really a good feel for veterans issues.

You know, at first, I was a little uncomfortable working with the great Senator from California. I am kinda the hand-shaking, pat-on-the-back congressman whereas Alan was in great physical shape, and he would look down on me and say "I am sure we can work together" and we did.

He had a couple of veterans functions out in California and asked me to come out.

Going from one veterans meeting to another in different towns in California, we stopped at this restaurant, and he said they made the best vegetable soup in California. People recognized him when he walked in, but Alan wanted the soup and didn't work the crowd, so to speak.

I said to Steinberg, "explain to me", and he did, in California you had millions of people and you just don't work the crowds. (Laughter.) So, I found out about that.

Alan did many good things for veterans, and I will mention a few.

He was the architect of the Veterans Readjustment Counseling Act that Max Cleland mentioned. There are 206 centers to help Vietnam veterans to readjust and Alan did pass this legislation in 1979.

He had a strong interest in veterans health care and he passed legislation that gave thousands of veterans more access to health care. He pushed for more outpatient clinics, and more veterans use outpatient clinic facilities now and the VA, I'm happy to say, has been able to cut back on the number of hospital beds in our 172 hospitals, because of Alan Cranston and our outpatient clinics.

He was part of our team that established the U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims and worked very hard for the upgrade of the VA to a Cabinet department.

Some member of Congress, and what a mistake he made, introduced legislation to tax veterans disability compensation. Senator Cranston went berserk, he killed this tax legislation before it even saw the light of day, and he was right.

Alan was very helpful in establishing educational benefits for veterans who completed their military obligation, and, he saw to it that the educational benefits go to the actives as well as the National Guard and Reserve.

As big as California is and the many government programs that the state has, I believe he really enjoyed working for veterans and their families more than other issues in government.

He was a friend of the veteran and veterans organizations knew they could count on Alan, and he came through for them.

We all miss him and know even in Heaven Alan has an exercise program going. (Laughter and applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to note Senator Jeffords who has just joined us. We appreciate your being here.

Next, we will hear from a former colleague of Alan's who knew him long before he became a United States Senator or held any public office. He very graciously called last Thursday to offer to say a few words in tribute to Alan. I now introduce former Representative and Independent Presidential candidate, John B. Anderson of Illinois. (Applause.)

Representative JOHN B. ANDERSON. Thank you very much, Judge Steinberg, and my distinguished former colleagues in both the

House and the Senate, distinguished members of the cabinet, and Alan's family. I count it an honor indeed to be included in the group that is privileged this afternoon to say just a few words about the career of this very remarkable man. You have already heard a great deal about his commitment to the cause of civil rights, women's rights, conservation, the environment, veterans' affairs. I will not attempt to repeat the comments or the praise that could continue to be heaped upon him for the efforts that he exerted in all of those fields. But, as a member of the "other body" for 12 of the 24 years that Alan Cranston served in the Senate, I was well aware of the distinguished record that he had compiled in that body. And I would simply again state what has already been remarked that earlier than most he saw the folly of our entanglement in Southeast Asia, and I remember his very clear and clairvoyant voice calling for an end to the struggle there. He called for more than that, for an end to the arms race.

And it's really to that vision that he had in this particular realm of international affairs that I wanted to direct my very brief remarks this afternoon. Because, as a very young man he was gifted with a passion for achieving peace in our time that was shaped as someone said about a former President, I forget who it was, he had a vision that enabled him to peer around a corner of history, to see what lay beyond. In short, he was, indeed, a globalist long before globalization had become a term used in common parlance.

And it was just two years after the founding of the United World Federalists in Asheville, North Carolina, that young Alan Cranston at the age of 35 became the President of that organization and served until 1951. One of his mentors was the late, distinguished Grenville Clark, who, along with Lewis B. Sohn, wrote that very magisterial work on world peace through world law. And that indeed was the vision that Alan Cranston had. He had a vision of a democratic world federation that would emerge from what was then, when he was president of the United World Federalists, still a very nascent United Nations. He maintained that interest and served on the Board of Advisors of the World Federalists Association until his recent death.

Upon his retirement from the Senate in 1994, and this is the point, I think, that I wanted the opportunity to emphasize here this afternoon, he did not regard his career as ended. I read the account of the marvelous memorial service conducted in San Francisco just three weeks ago, in Grace Cathedral, where his son was quoted as saying that he had said that "when the end comes, I want to be able somehow to still struggle across the finish line with my head up." And he added to that that when the end came, he was still sprinting; he was not merely struggling, he was sprinting in pursuit of the goals that he sought. And he became a leading and a very strong voice in civil society in the area that, at the end of his life, I am convinced, lay closest to his heart. It was the interest in disarmament, an end to the threat of nuclear war and the achievement of world peace through world law. And he believed that that could be achieved only through the application and the use of the same federalist principles that had inspired the Framers of our Constitution to write a Constitution that would bring about peace and domestic tranquillity among the then 13 independent sovereignties who had found that under the Articles of Confederation their bonds of unity had become frayed. And it was Alan's belief, building on that historical fact, that only with a restructured and an empowered United Nations, one capable of

maintaining peace with justice, that we would recognize the goal that he sought, of world peace through world law.

It's been mentioned, I think, already, that he served as President of the Global Security Institute, a non-profit organization dedicated to disarmament and world peace. He saw security not simply as an issue confined within the narrow boundaries of nationalism but as an issue that required the forging of new bonds of global cooperation.

And one of the last and most vivid memories that I personally have of Alan Cranston was less than three years ago, when the Hague Appeal for Peace drew thousands of peace activists from around the world to the Hague, to celebrate, to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the first Hague peace conference. Alan was there as one of the leading spokespersons from the United States. And again, one of the memorable experiences of that international meeting was to attend one of its sessions and to hear him describe how he was even then busy working on a book, a book on sovereignty, a book that would seek to explain that, in this new millennium, the old Westphalian theory of state sovereignty was simply not sufficient unto the needs of our present age, and we had to reconceptualize that term in a way that would allow the formation of democratic global institutions that would carry out the goals of disarmament and build a world in which peace could be achieved through reliance on the rule of law.

Those are the memories that I will certainly carry with me, as inspiration for the remainder of my life, and I thank you, Alan Cranston, for the things that you did, both in the Senate, and then in those very important years when you carried forth your ideas and lived for your ideals as a strong member of American civil society. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. I think that gave us all an important glimpse of the formation of Alan Cranston's philosophy and thinking and I know that there are a number of people from those early days in the United World Federalists who are here today, including Neil Potter and Ted Waller, who worked with Alan so many years ago at the founding of that organization.

Our next speaker has served for 26 years in the House of Representatives. He worked very closely with Alan on many initiatives of significance to their California constituents and particularly to the children of their state and the children of the entire country. We are very grateful that he has taken time to be with us throughout this entire ceremony this afternoon.

Representative George Miller of California. (Applause.)

Representative GEORGE MILLER. Well thank you, and to all of you, to family and friends, and colleagues. I am very, very pleased to be able to participate in this memorial to an extraordinary life, to clearly one of the leading California statesmen of the 20th century.

My familiarity with Alan Cranston goes back long before my politics, when as a young boy, I sat in the living room of our home and listened to Alan Cranston and my father and many other California politicians plot campaigns and create and organize the California Democratic Council, which changed the politics of California, changed the Democratic Party in California, launched their careers, and later the careers of so many other progressive politicians in the State of California. It was a profound organization, in terms of its influence in California. In the post-war, in the conservative years, it was an organization, that led by Alan, would speak out on nuclear arms control, on civil rights, on the rights of labor—these issues that became the cornerstone for

so many of us who later sought to run for political life in the State of California.

I think it's rather fitting that we remember Alan at this time. Because we can remember when a conservative administration came to this town twenty years ago and sought to launch an attack on programs for the poor, on women and the ill, on foster care and adoption, on child health, on handicapped education, and so many other programs that were targeted for elimination. Alan and his colleagues not only led that fight, but participated in it, stood their ground, and fought against those efforts, and today, when we see a new administration arriving in town, we're no longer talking about the elimination of these programs, we're talking about making them work better. We recognize the beneficiaries of these programs, and the benefits to our society. We now see that, in fact, because of the fight that was made a long time ago, we now have a legacy of understanding the role and the importance that government plays in so many American's lives, and the necessity of it. We've heard it with respect to veterans, we've heard it with respect to the environment, to women, and to so many others in American society.

Many of us would think that if you look at the last quarter of the 20th century in American politics, you would think of extreme ideological behavior, you'd think of political chaos, and you would suggest that not a lot got done. But, as already had been mentioned here, if you look at the legacy and the workload and the work product of Alan Cranston, you would recognize that, in fact, it was a golden age of legislation for people like Alan Cranston. He was able to put his signature and his work into so many efforts that became the law of the land. I recall two of those, working with him as a colleague in the House. One was in the 70s; in the late 70s, after five years of working together, of holding hearings, site visits, talking with families and children, we put together legislation to deal with the problems of foster care, to children who were trapped in a system from which they could not escape, families who could not get their children back from that system, and the impact that it had on these children. That law was later signed by President Carter, and it was Alan's tenacity that allowed us to get it through.

The other one of course, that's been mentioned here, is the California Desert. Alan started pioneering that effort so many years ago, so many years before we actually considered it on the floor of the House or the Senate. Where he walked over those areas, he hiked over them, he spent time with the constituents who were interested in them, with the organizations that were trying to preserve them. Kim has spent much time in that area. And, after Alan left the Senate, I managed the bill on the floor of the House. The opponents were numerous; we used to have to have security and armed guards to go into the hearings on the California Desert Bill. They held the controversial ones in Beverly Hills, so that people would have trouble getting there, it was a grand ploy. And it worked. But, in any case, the opposition in the House was incredible. We spent many, many, many days debating this legislation, on again, off again, part of the day, into the night. They filed numerous amendments, all of which had unlimited debate time. They had a coterie of people who would speak on every amendment for the maximum time allowed, so that they could delay this bill and not see it enacted. I called Alan and I said, "Alan, we've got to accept some amendments to speed this along. The members of the House are starting to call me Moses, they've said they've been in the desert for so long on this legislation." I said,

"Some of these amendments, what can we accept to narrow this down", and he said, "None". And I said, "Alan, this is the House, it will never stop", and he said, "None". He said "We can't accept them". I talked to him about a couple of amendments to move the boundaries, he said, "No, I've been there; I've been there and if you go to the bottom of that canyon, you're going to find a little spring down there—most people don't know it exists. You can't put that outside the park, that's going to have to be in." Well, it's turned out he was right. Dianne managed the bill on the Senate floor, and Bill Clinton signed it into law, and now it's one of our leading attractions in the nation and certainly in the State of California. Those who opposed it are now seeking authorizations and appropriations for visitors centers and various support systems for the park. (Laughter.) The Chambers of Commerce now think that this is a cash register and they'd like to have it expanded, they'd like to have the boundaries expanded, they'd like to have the protections upgraded, so that more visitors would come and bless their economy. It was Alan Cranston's foresight that brought that about.

You know, the political mentor to so many of us, Phil Burton, used to say to us that when you came to the House or you came to the Senate, that it was a privilege and it was an honor, and you had to pay the rent, you had to pay the rent all the time to stay there. And I think that Alan fully understood that while this clearly was the world's most exclusive club, he still had to pay the rent, and he did over and over and over again, on behalf of so many Americans, on behalf of our environment, on behalf of world peace, on behalf of human rights. He paid the rent constantly to earn his right to stay here and to work and to work and to work on behalf of all of us. And I think we should thank him, for all of the fights that he made, and all of the ground that he stood, on behalf of America, and all of its people. Thank you very much, Alan. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you, Representative Miller.

Next, we will hear from a Senator who served on two Committees with Alan—Banking and Foreign Relations—where they shared many common interests. Senator Kerry was a highly decorated veteran of Vietnam and a co-founder of the Vietnam Veterans of America, an organization which was to play an important role in the enactment of much legislation that he and Senator Cranston championed, particularly the Veterans' Judicial Review Act that created the Court on which I am honored to serve along with another former Member of Congress who is also with us today, Chief Judge Ken Kramer.

Senator Kerry succeeded to the Democratic leadership of the Banking Committee's Housing Subcommittee, which Senator Cranston had chaired from 1987 to 1993. Also, I know that Senator Kerry shares the passion that Senator Cranston lived and breathed for ending the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. (Applause.)

Senator JOHN KERRY. Thank you, Jonathan. Kim, Colette, Evan, and R.E., it's a very special privilege to join with all of you today in remembering the remarkable life and achievements of our friend, Alan Cranston.

As we've heard today, and as we all know, Alan was a sprinter, a record-holding sprinter, who, in his sixties, was only two seconds slower than he was in his twenties when he set the records. And I think it's safe to say that those who knew him well would agree that he really sprinted through life; he

sprinted through the United States Senate, always with a yellow pad in his hand and a felt-tip pen, covered with ink, with more things on that pad to do in one day than most of us would venture to accomplish in a week or a month, and he got them done. And always with this incredible, mischievous twinkle in his eye. He had fun advocating and challenging the system.

One of the most enduring images of Alan would be at the Iowa caucuses in 1984 at the Holiday Inn in Keokuk, Iowa, where he was seen sprinting barefooted down 40-meter hallways, then he'd walk back, and he'd repeat the exercise for about 40 minutes. And I think that understanding that, we can understand why it was no coincidence that Alan's favorite hotel was the Chicago O'Hare Hilton, where they had 250-meter hallways. (Laughter.)

Three weeks ago in California, we had a tender goodbye to our friend, this sprinter, at a memorial service—calling to mind the many ways in which he enriched our lives and this country.

There in the Grace Cathedral, we heard Colette Cranston say that in death Alan Cranston "has become my Jimmy Cricket—that little voice in [her] conscience that says, 'Colette, think before you leap.'" It would not be an exaggeration to say that that warning was a characteristic of Alan—think before you leap, and, most of all, he wanted us to think, he wanted us to look, and, by God, he wanted us to leap. He implored us to put a public face on policy. He wanted us to think not in terms of statistics and numbers and programs, but in terms of people; and the people he spoke of most often, as all of my colleagues who served with him will remember, were senior citizens, children, those without decent housing, immigrants, those in need of a helping hand regardless of race or religion. He was a moral voice, a voice of conscience, someone who understood that even as he remained vigilant in defending the needs and wishes of his home state of California, he was also a global citizen and he knew and felt the responsibilities of this institution, towards the rest of the world.

Through four terms as a United States Senator, he also remained a man of enormous humility—on his answering machine he was simply "Alan"—as he was to so many who worked with him and knew him. And this personal sense of place and of restraint made it easy to underestimate the contributions that he made to the Senate, and to our country. Certainly he never paused long enough to personally remind us of the impact of his service, of the history that he was a part of and the lives that he touched.

I first met Alan in 1971 when I had returned from Vietnam and many of our veterans were part of an effort to end what we thought was a failed policy in that country. In Alan Cranston we found one of the few Senators willing not just to join in public opposition to the war in Vietnam, but to become a voice of healing for veterans of the war—a statesman whose leadership enabled others, over time, to separate their feelings about the war from their feelings for the veterans of the war. At a time when too many wanted literally to disown this country's own veterans, Alan Cranston offered them a warm embrace. He was eager to do something all too rare in Washington: To listen—and he listened to veterans who had much to say, much of it ignored for too long. He honored their pride and their pain with his sensitivity and his understanding.

That's when I first came to see the great energy and the commitment that he brought to issues affecting veterans, especially those of the Vietnam era. He was deeply involved on veterans' health care issues, among the

first to fight for the recognition of post-Vietnam stress syndrome, a leader in insisting, together with Sonny Montgomery, on the extension of coverage under the VA, under the GI Bill. And when the Agent Orange issue came to the fore, Alan insisted on getting answers from a government that was unresponsive. He made sure that veterans and their families got the care that they needed. Under his leadership, together with his partner in the House, they increased GI Bill benefits for Vietnam veterans—and I tell you that that was a time when veterans too often had to fight for what was their simple due, whether it was a memorial here in Washington, or simply to have the government recognize that it was a war, and not simply a conflict. Alan's leadership made all the difference. It's a sad truth in our history that a weary nation indeed seemed eager to turn its back on the entire war by also turning its back on so many veterans. It should forever be a source of pride to the Cranston family that Alan was chief among those who insisted that America honor that service and keep faith with sons who left pieces of themselves and years of their lives on the battlefield in Vietnam.

This was a man who fought with extraordinary passion for everything. And he fought at the most difficult of times. Not just for veterans, but as we've heard from others today, he fought against all that war represents—remembering that war, and the killing that follows it, is the ultimate failure of diplomacy.

Alan Cranston was above all else a man of peace. And he was a man of peace not as a matter of public policy, but as a matter of personal passion. Remember: This was a man who, in 1934, found himself in the same room as Adolf Hitler. Five years later, he wrote a critical English translation of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in an effort to reveal the German leader's true plans. And he wore Hitler's ensuing lawsuit as a badge of honor, proud that he had stood up to try and warn the English-speaking world about the evils of Nazism.

Throughout the rest of his service he used public office to force Americans to listen to other prescient warnings—about nuclear war, about the arms race, about hopes for peace that he refused to give up even as others chose to beat the drums of war.

Senator Cranston came to his famous commitment, as we learned from the film, after meeting with Albert Einstein in 1946. And he left that meeting convinced that he had found his mission and he would indeed spend the balance of his life arguing that conviction before the world.

As a member of the Senate leadership and a senior voice on the Democratic side of the Foreign Relations Committee, he worked tirelessly to reduce the nuclear threat. Obviously, there were many of those efforts, but one of the most unpublicized was his effort through the 1970s and 80's, when he convened a unique group known as the "SALT Study Group". A senators-only gathering monthly in his office, off the record, face-to-face to define the confines of the debate. He knew the impact that quiet diplomacy could have on the issues, but on this issue above all that he cared about the most.

He loved the Peace Corps, and he fought for it. He fought to attach human rights conditions on aid to El Salvador. He was a leading national advocate for the mutual verifiable freeze. He was always an idealist whose increase in political power, gratefully, was always met by progress for the issues that he cared about so deeply. It was not just the work of a career, but the work of a lifetime—and after he left the Senate, we all know the remarkable commitment that he

continued with Mikhail Gorbachev and ultimately in his founding of the Global Security Institute.

He did that because he sensed that the end of the Cold War, with all of the opportunity that it afforded, which he understood, still left us a world that was more dangerous, and he was haunted by the threat of nuclear terrorism. We missed his voice in the debate on the test ban treaty, and we miss him even more today.

When he left the Senate, Alan reflected on his service and he said of his own legacy, simply: "Most of all, I have dedicated myself to the cause of peace."

That dedication was real, it was lasting, and the legacy of peace for a good and peaceful man who gave living embodiment to Culbertson's simple, stubborn faith that "God and the politicians willing, the United States can declare peace upon the world, and win it." That belief was Alan Cranston—and it's a belief still worth fighting for. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Our concluding speaker from this body is also one of its newest members. She traveled to California three weeks ago, as did Senator Kerry, as he told us, to attend the ceremony attended by over a thousand persons at the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. For reasons that I know she will share with us, she will be—along with Max Cleland—a living legacy of Alan Cranston in the United States Senate.

Senator Maria Cantwell of Washington. (Applause.)

Senator MARIA CANTWELL. Thank you. To Kim and Colette and Evan and R.E., thank you for allowing me to share this occasion to remember Alan and to have been there a few weeks ago and to see so many of the friends and faces that Alan touched.

People today have talked about Alan's legislative career—the many pieces of legislation that will live with us for a long time. But I'd like to share with you today maybe a different Alan Cranston that I knew as I worked on his Presidential campaign in 1983 and 1984. Some people might think running for President is a glorious task, but it is a very difficult one that I think Alan knew would help aid the cause and message that he wanted to fight for. In fact, I'm not from Washington state originally; it was Alan Cranston that dropped me off there in 1983. In fact, the first time I ever visited, I was a part of his presidential campaign staff, in which he left me at SEA-TAC Airport in Seattle and went on about his business to campaign. But people who knew Alan knew that he jumped into that race to deliver a message for the right reason. I was fortunate enough to have read R.E.'s book about Alan, and knew all the things that Alan had fought through in his life, some of the things that have been mentioned today. About being sued by Adolf Hitler for translating in next to no time a version of "Mein Kampf". Being a pre-World War II journalist and being smart enough to understand what was going to be advocated and running back to the United States and having that published. And all of the other wonderful things that Alan did in helping women, and on the environment; one thing I haven't heard mentioned today is his work with Native Americans, which is something that I recognize.

But what was amazing about Alan from a personal perspective, and you definitely get to know someone from a personal perspective when you travel with him on a presidential campaign, is that Alan was very self-disciplined. John Kerry talked about his running, and that was something that was very important to Alan on a daily basis. And, yes, I can attest to the fact that he did sprint in the hotel corridors when you didn't schedule

time for him to run outside. But, when Alan, challenged with the fact that maybe some of the other hotel guests found it shocking to find somebody so tall and long running down the halls at 7:30 in the morning, the Senator replied, "well maybe I should start at 6:30 instead." (Laughter.)

But Alan never complained about that task. And for me, in Washington state, there were lots of World Federalists, a lot of people part of the nuclear freeze movement, a lot of people very appreciative of his efforts on the environment. But Alan was also a very self-deprecating person when it came to making a moment light. And I'll never forget the time in Vancouver, Washington, where hundreds of people had showed up at eight-thirty on a Sunday morning, I think it was the Fourth of July, to hear his message about the nuclear freeze. And when he mistakenly called the host of the event, whose name was "June", "Jane", and he heard a gasp from the audience, he quickly looked down at his program and saw that he had mistakenly called her the wrong name, and all of a sudden started pounding on his chest, saying, "Me Tarzan! You Jane!" (Laughter.) Which put everybody at ease, and Alan went on to give his very important remarks to a community that I don't think has seen since the likes of Alan Cranston.

And yet, when you run a Presidential campaign, you also are a spokesperson for your issues. But I never saw Alan take advantage of that situation, where he was trying to make more than the situation called for. In fact, he was very reserved in his comments. I remember being with him on August 31, in 1983, when the Korean Airline flight 007 was shot down. We happened to be in Anchorage, Alaska, at that time, and many of you probably know the various controversies that arose out of that; 269 people were killed. And I remember waking up that morning to a press event where probably 200 different people were there, including the national press, all wanting Alan to make a statement right away; because he was a Presidential candidate, because his remarks would be all over the news. And yet Alan had the self-discipline not just to say something immediately that morning, but to say, in a calming way, "let's find out the facts, first." And when I think about that as a human being, particularly in my new post and job, in which the world moves so fast and in which people go about promoting their idea and concepts, the very human side of Alan Cranston remains with me, and I hope it does with each of you.

I talked to him in October of this year, in which I was out campaigning in Bellingham, Washington, one of the last places I had to campaign with him, and I said to him, "Senator, you dropped me off here almost seventeen years ago, and you never picked me up." And Alan reminded me that it was time to work together. So I guess I say to Kim, and Colette, and R.E., and to those of you who are going to carry on the Cranston legacy, that he left in each one of us a piece of that flame that he carried for so long. You saw it on the film. It started when Albert Einstein said to him, "nuclear arms could wipe out a whole race of people." I think Alan started saying that from that moment on, and reminded people about it until his last days. And so I hope that each and every one of you, as I will, carries part of that torch and flame that Alan had of self-discipline, knowing that he was not the message, but the messenger, in helping this fight. Thank you. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. And now we'll hear from Alan Cranston's son Kim, who I know is committed to seeing that Alan's lifelong commitment to securing world peace is carried on as his most important bequest to

his granddaughter Evan and all the children of our planet.

Kim. (Applause.)

KIM CRANSTON. Thank you, all. Those of you who were familiar with the legal pads that Alan carried around and the black pens will be happy to know that Evan is over here busy making a "to do" list. (Laughter.) I'm not sure what it all includes.

Jonathan, thank you very much for helping to organize this, and everybody else who was involved in this, the Senate sponsors, and each of the other speakers; I deeply appreciate your kind and touching words about Alan and his work here. It's good to see all of you, so many old friends. It's sad under the circumstances that we come together, but it's wonderful to see you all again. I know how much Alan cherished your friendship and collaboration over the years.

I was really truly blessed, I feel, to have, through the genetic lottery, ended up as Alan's son, and had the opportunity to get to know him as my father, as my dearest and oldest friend, and as a wonderful collaborator, mentor, teacher, and leader. And I know his loss as a leader is a loss we all share.

I've been reflecting over the last month on many of the things that I've learned from Alan and our work together, living with him, and a few things stand out that I wanted to share today. One thing that stood out for me was the remarkable style of leadership he had. Inside the program is the poem that he carried, the Lao-Tzu quote, for most of his life, that really informed the style of leadership that he practiced. It concludes with:

But of a good leader,
When his work is done,
His aim fulfilled,
They will all say,
"We did this ourselves."

And so today, we're here, recognizing what we accomplished together with Alan. And so it's an opportunity not only to mourn his loss, but to celebrate what we accomplished together, and I think, beyond that, to recommit, and commit to the ongoing causes that we engaged in with him.

Another lesson that has stood out in the last month for me was something that I really remember when I first began hearing it from him. I was told the central purpose of life was to make the world a better place, or, as one of Alan's heroes, Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "life's most persistent and urgent question is 'what are you doing to serve others?'" And it was certainly in that spirit that Alan conducted his life and committed most of his public life.

And, finally, one other thing that stands out very strongly for me, both in terms of the work that he did here in Washington, and to the work that he continued to do after he left Washington, was his recognition of the extraordinary moment in history in which we all live. In that regard, I just note that a friend commented after Alan had left the Senate, that they had seen him, and they said, "Kim, you know, he doesn't seem to be slowing down, he seems to be speeding up." And I think that was true, because he said to me that he'd felt since he left the Senate that he could really focus in on the things that he was most concerned about, to devote 100% of his energy to those causes that were of greatest concern to him. And I think the cornerstone of that was an understanding that we have entered a new age during our lifetime, when we're facing global challenges that can be addressed only at the global level, and that we need to come up with effective new approaches for dealing with those challenges.

After he left the Senate, the cause did continue, most recently in the form of the Global Security Institute, which is continuing,

and it has a great board, and a wonderful director, Jonathan Granoff, our CEO, who is here today. And I would really urge those of you who are here today who shared in those causes with Alan to look forward to opportunities to collaborate with us, because the work goes on, and Alan was just the messenger.

In closing, I'd just like to say something I know Alan closed most of his speeches with, which was, "I thank you for all you are doing, and urge you onward." Thank you. (Applause.)

Judge JONATHAN STEINBERG. Thank you, Kim. I know your father would be proud of your personal actions to pick up the torch and deeply moved by your words.

I want to close with some expressions of thanks to many people. Again, I want to note how grateful all of us are to the sponsoring Senators and to all who spoke so eloquently and movingly about the man who will live forever in my heart as "Alan," as the most important influence on the lives of so many of us in this room today.

The presence here throughout this entire ceremony of three Cabinet officials in this new Administration should remind us all of Alan's abiding belief that it was possible to form an alliance with every Senator on one issue or another, and of his commitment to do just that. Common ground and common sense was much more important to him than party affiliation or political philosophy. We thank the three Secretaries who joined us today and helped remind us of how important those sentiments are for the welfare of our country.

There are an enormous number of people who volunteered their time and did just incredible work to make this tribute as successful and meaningful as we hope that it has been. If I leave anyone out, I apologize—as I do, and as I did before, if I left out any former officeholder, who I should have recognized earlier. So, I offer special thanks, on behalf of the family and myself, alphabetically, to Zack Allen, Bill Brew, Fran Butler, Monique Ceruti, Kelly Cordes, Chad Griffin, Bill Johnstone, Susanne Martinez, Katie O'Neill, Dan Perry, Valerie Rheinstein, Alexandra Sardegna, Ed Scott, Martha Stanley, Loraine Tong, Joel Wood, and one most special person, Elinor Tucker, without whose highly efficient logistical support we would never have made it to this point. I thank Senator Rockefeller for allowing her to put in so much time and effort and to do so in such an effective way. Finally, an even more personal thanks to my wife, Shellie, for helping to keep me on an relatively even keel over the past month as this event was pulled together.

And, finally, thanks to all of you who joined us in tribute today to Senator Alan McGregor Cranston, a great American who lived his life by the philosophy of a Chinese poet Lao-Tzu, whose words on leadership, printed in today's program, Alan carried with him every day.

That concludes this Tribute. Please remember to sign the guest book, and thanks again for coming. And we'll go out to the theme song from Alan's Presidential campaign, "Chariots of Fire". (Applause.)

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

CONGRATULATING WE THE PEOPLE PARTICIPANTS FROM WYOMING

• Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, on April 21-23, 2001 more than 1,200 students from across the United States met in Wash-

ington, D.C. to compete in the national finals of the "We the People", The Citizen and the Constitution program. I am proud to report that the class from Cheyenne Central High School from Cheyenne represented the State of Wyoming in this national event. The fine students in this class include: Joe Bergene; Skye Bougsty-Marshall; Cory Bulkley; Michelle Cassidy; Ryan Day; Sara De Groot; Chris Heald; Nat Linter; Steve Lucero; Geoff Luke; Caroline Morris; Ben Silver; and Annaliese Wiederspahn. I would also like to recognize their teacher, Don Morris, who deserves much of the credit for the class' success.

These young scholars worked diligently to reach the national finals and through their experience gained a deep knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of our constitutional democracy.

I am pleased to have had the opportunity to support the "We the People" program through my work on the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I am particularly proud to note that the Better Education for Students and Teachers Act will allow schools, which choose to do so, to use federal funds to incorporate the We the People program into their study of civics and American government.

I once again want to congratulate Don Morris and these students from Cheyenne Central High School.●

TRIBUTE TO STEPHEN J. RAPP

• Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I'd like to take a few minutes to honor Stephen J. Rapp, United States Attorney for the Northern District of Iowa.

Steve Rapp has been a trailblazer in my home state of Iowa since he began his career in public service in his early twenties. Back in 1972, he won a seat in our House of Representatives, and at the tender age of twenty-five, he came within a hair's breadth of winning the Third District Congressional seat. He did eventually join us on Capitol Hill a few years later when he served as Staff Director and Counsel of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency.

After his stint in Washington, Steve returned to Iowa and served another four years in our House of Representatives where he distinguished himself as a leader on anti-crime legislation. Steve was instrumental in passing our state's rape shield law and our strong anti-drunk driving regulation. And he wrote the law that forbids release pending appeal of criminals who are guilty of forcible felonies.

In 1993, Steve was appointed as a United States Attorney for the Northern District of Iowa, and under his stewardship, the Northern District became a national torchbearer in criminal prosecutions. Steve filed America's first prosecution under Title II of the Brady Law. He also filed the nation's

first prosecution under the federal "Three Strikes" law, and the first prosecution under the Lautenberg amendment that prohibited convicted domestic violence offenders from owning a gun.

But Steve wasn't content merely to do a stellar job on the day to day duties of United States Attorney. He became a member of the Attorney Generals Advisory Committee, serving on the working Group on Interior Enforcement Immigration Law and on Subcommittees handling violence against women, organized crime, victim crime, juvenile justice and Native American issues. In addition, he served as chair of the Midwest High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area and has held forums across Northern Iowa to educate citizens and help reduce methamphetamine use.

When I think of all the work Steve Rapp has done for our state and our country, I'm reminded of the words of President John F. Kennedy who once noted, "Law is the strongest link between man and freedom." Steve Rapp has worked tirelessly to keep the people of Northern Iowa and America free, free from crime and violence, and free to raise their families and live their lives in safe, secure communities.

Steve has been honored by groups ranging from the Afro-American Community Broadcasting to the NAACP to the Black Hawk County Legal Secretaries Association. And it is my pleasure to add myself to that list and offer my deepest gratitude for his long and distinguished record of service.●

RECOGNITION OF THE 125TH BIRTHDAY OF ST. MARY PARISH OF NEW BALTIMORE, MICHIGAN

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate join me today in congratulating the St. Mary Parish of New Baltimore, MI on their upcoming one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary. Since 1876, the St. Mary's has been serving the spiritual needs of it's congregation as well as the community at large.

The history of St. Mary Parish is too long and rich for me to recount here in full, but it is important to point out that New Baltimore has been home to a Catholic community since 1805, when "horseback priests" from Canada and Detroit would come to minister in private homes. It was in 1876, as America was celebrating its centennial, that Father Aloysius Lambert was appointed the first resident pastor and the St. Mary Parish was born. Father Lambert worked to establish a church and chapel, a grade school and a rectory. Other important events in the history of the Parish include the mortgage being paid off and burned in 1938, the addition of a war memorial shrine in 1949, and the completion of a new gymnasium in 1951. This gymnasium would serve as a temporary church when the 83 year old building burned to the ground in 1958. In 1963, the cornerstone was laid in