

together nine different appropriations bills.

This is not merely a difference of procedure. We all know that omnibus spending bills are fundamentally undemocratic, because they deny the American people the right to have their representatives the chance to vote on the details of how the Government is spending their money.

Omnibus bills are invitations to abuse. Last year, for instance, the Republican leadership used conference negotiations to attach to the omnibus a series of provisions that could never have passed the House or Senate on their own. We don't know what provisions will be attached to the omnibus this time, and we won't until the spending bill comes out of conference in November.

One thing is clear. This is not the way the Framers intended us to legislate or fund our Government. And it is not what the American people sent us here to do. They deserve better. They

deserve leadership that put their needs first.

Throughout this Congress, we should have applied a simple test to our work. With each piece of legislation that came before us, we should have asked: Does it do right by America? Does it do right by our troops fighting for our security overseas? Does it do right by the seniors who need help buying prescription drugs? Does it do right by middle-class families struggling to make ends meet? Does it do right by our children whose future is in our hands?

Doing right by America demands a politics of common ground. We were able to achieve this common ground for the people of South Dakota.

And as the Intelligence Reform Act proved, Congress is able to put aside partisan politics for the sake of all America, as well.

We are capable of doing right by America. We have made progress, but clearly there is much work left to be done.

I look forward to taking up this work again next year, tackling the challenges of the American people, creating a true politics of common ground, and doing right by America.

FURTHER REVISED APPROPRIATIONS ALLOCATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, today, I submit a revised allocation to subcommittee for fiscal year 2005. The allocation has been modified to conform outlays for the outcome on the conference on the Department of Homeland Security Appropriations Act.

These allocations are a revision to those printed in Senate Report 108-356, submitted on September 23, 2004.

I ask unanimous consent that a table setting forth the revised allocation to the subcommittees be printed in the RECORD.

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

FURTHER REVISED ALLOCATION FY 2005
(\$ millions)

Subcommittee	Discretionary		Mandatory		Total	
	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays	BA	Outlays
Agriculture	16,772	18,282	58,312	44,305	75,084	62,587
Commerce	39,792	40,440	704	705	40,496	41,145
Defense	390,931	415,689	239	239	391,170	415,928
D.C.	560	554	—	—	560	554
Energy & Water Development	27,988	27,897	—	—	27,988	27,897
Foreign Operations	19,386	26,785	43	43	19,429	26,828
Homeland Security	32,000	29,819	867	863	32,867	30,682
Interior	20,226	20,137	54	59	20,280	20,196
Labor-HHS-Education	142,317	140,936	342,503	342,402	484,820	483,338
Legislative Branch	3,575	3,696	113	112	3,688	3,808
Military Construction	10,003	10,010	—	—	10,003	10,010
Transportation-Treasury	25,439	69,601	18,261	18,262	43,700	87,863
VA, HUD	92,930	101,732	38,912	38,535	131,842	140,267
Total	821,919	905,578	460,008	445,525	1,281,927	1,351,103

Source: Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate.

VOTE EXPLANATION

(At the request of Mr. REID, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I would like the RECORD to reflect that I was necessarily absent for the vote on the conference report to H.R. 4520. While I believe that there were some missed opportunities on this legislation, overall I support the bill. I voted for the original bill when it passed the Senate and to invoke cloture on the conference report. Had I been present, I would have voted in support of the conference report.●

RETIRING SENATORS IN THE 108TH CONGRESS

PETER, WE HARDLY KNEW YE

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, at the close of the 108th Congress, we say farewell to Senator PETER G. FITZGERALD who is leaving us after one term.

The former congressional intern, commercial banking attorney, and Illinois State Senator was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1998. In fact, he was the first Republican in Illinois to win a Senate seat in 20 years.

It has been a busy 6 years for Senator FITZGERALD. During his brief tenure in this chamber he served on the Senate Agriculture, Commerce, Government Affairs, Small Business, and Aging Committees. He was active in a number of legislative areas, including mutual fund reform, consumer safety protection, aviation, environmental, and agricultural issues. And he actively pursued the expansion of overseas markets.

During his 6 years in this chamber, Senator FITZGERALD threw himself into some of the most challenging and complex issues considered by the Senate. In 2000, he attacked waste in Government contracting and crafted legislation to improve the process by which contractors are awarded taxpayer monies. He later worked with me to address the Pentagon's "revolving door"—an egregious practice utilized by government contractors in exerting influence over the contracting process. In 2002, the former commercial banking attorney lashed out at Enron executives who robbed thousands of workers of millions of dollars of their life savings, and he later crafted legislation to reform the mutual fund industry.

Time and again he showed himself to be a Senator who is not intimidated by

complexity. He did not simply talk about the issues of the day, he took time to study them, and understand them, and then try to do something about them. Time and again he demonstrated that he was a workhorse, not a show horse. The Senate needs more members like him, Senators whom we can look to when confronting difficult and complex issues.

And the Senate needs more Senators like Senator FITZGERALD who, on a number of high-profile issues, including gun control, health care, patient's bill of rights, and the environment, ANWR drilling, put the good of the people of his State, in particular, and the American people, in general, above partisan party interests and ideology.

In attacking political corruption and cronyism, he was bipartisan, not simply in rhetoric, which is easy, but rather in action, which is a good deal more difficult.

I wish Senator FITZGERALD and his wife Nina the best as they begin a new phase of their lives.

SENATOR JOHN BREAUX

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, when the 109th Congress convenes in January, 2005, this Chamber and our Nation will, unfortunately, be without the services of Senator JOHN B. BREAUX.

This will truly be a loss to the Senate and to our Nation. With the retirement of Senator BREAUX, we lose a man of exceptional political experience. This son of an oil-field worker and a dressmaker began his political career as a staff aide to Congressman, and later, Governor, Edwin Edwards.

Mr. BREAUX was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives seven times, the first when he was just 28 years of age, making him the youngest member of the United States Congress at the time. He served in the House for 14 years where he, among other things, was a principal architect of the 1983 reauthorization of the Endangered Species Act.

In 1986, he was elected to the U.S. Senate, and has served three terms in this chamber. Now, after 32 years of congressional experience, Senator BREAUX is leaving us.

With the retirement of Senator BREAUX, we lose one of those Senators who is always ready and willing to reach across the aisle to find common ground, to achieve the workable compromise. He has constantly demonstrated the ability to reach beyond partisan and ideological differences, without abandoning his basic principles. Politics is said to be the art of compromise, and this was an art that Senator BREAUX constantly practiced. On issue after issue, including health care, energy production, tax cuts, and welfare, he demonstrated his ability to broker bipartisan deals, his penchant for deal making, and his talent for fashioning legislative coalitions. With his efforts to break Senate stalemates on Medicare, Social Security, education, health care for the uninsured, and other issues, he earned a well-deserved reputation as a behind-the-scenes mediator. Senator BREAUX exemplified the wisdom of not allowing the perfect to be the enemy of the good.

Even when I disagreed with him, which I have, I still admired his efforts to find that workable solution. Even when he was unsuccessful, which was rare, I still respected his skill and the cause he was advocating. With wit, determination, and patience he is always in pursuit of a constructive course of action, and that won him many admirers, including me.

Because of his efforts and his considerable skills, he chaired the National Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare and he co-chaired the National Commission on Retirement Policy. He also served as chairman of the Special Committee on Aging and as chairman of the Surface Transportation and Merchant Marine Subcommittee. He is currently the senior member of the Finance Committee.

Recognizing and appreciating his leadership abilities, in 1993, his Democratic colleagues elected him chief deputy whip, and in this position Senator BREAUX has served this chamber, my party, and our country effectively and successfully for more than a decade.

With the retirement of Senator BREAUX, the Senate will also be losing a fine musician. Every year at Mardi Gras, Senator BREAUX entertains the multitudes by playing a washboard. As a musical instrument, a washboard is not a fiddle, but I am sure it sounds good, as good as a washboard can, I guess.

With the retirement of Senator BREAUX, we will be losing a Senator known for his disarming humor. During the anthrax problem of October 2001, he boasted that the fish in his office would survive because "they are not weak Northeast fish . . . They are strong Louisiana fish." I think that was supposed to be funny. If it was supposed to be a fact, I will put up a good West Virginia mountain rainbow trout any day against his Cajun aquatic bottom feeders.

Most importantly, with the retirement of Senator BREAUX, we will be losing a good man. A man who was always there to help. A man whose word is his bond. A man who has constantly demonstrated his loyalty to this chamber and to his country. A man who came up the "hard way," without anything being handed to him, but through hard work, dedication to duty and to his State and our country, fashioned a remarkable and successful career.

I wish Senator BREAUX and his wife Lois the best as they enter the next phase of their lives and careers.

SENATOR GRAHAM

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the Bible tells us that "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

When BOB GRAHAM came to the United States Senate, "much" was expected from him because much had been given.

He came to the Senate from a wealthy and successful family. His father, Ernest "Cap" Graham, was a wealthy and successful Florida dairy man and politician. His half-brother, Phil Graham, was a well-known publisher of a major newspaper here in the Nation's capital.

He came to the Senate with a wealth of experience. After graduating from the University of Florida and Harvard Law School, he served two terms in the Florida House of Representatives, 1967-1971; two terms in the Florida State Senate, 1971-1979. In 1978, he was elected Governor of Florida, where he served two terms, 1978-1986.

In 1986, having never lost an election, and with a record of accomplishments as both legislator and a chief executive, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. Therefore, no one could have been faulted for expecting much from him, and I am pleased and proud to say he has delivered.

He was a most effective member on a number of important Senate committees, including the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, the Senate Finance Committee, the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, and the Senate Com-

mittee on Veterans' Affairs. He has also served as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

In his committee work, and in his daily work on the Senate floor, Senator GRAHAM earned the respect of everyone in this chamber for his honesty, his decency, and his integrity. In the rough and tumble world of American politics, Senator GRAHAM always remained a gentleman.

He also earned the respect of his colleagues for his ability to reach across the aisle for the greater good of his State and our Nation. As a result, Senator GRAHAM established a long record of bipartisan accomplishments on issues of national security, health care, education, environment, veterans benefits, and intelligence matters.

The people of Florida have been well served by their Senator. In this Chamber, he has helped protect the workers in his State from unfair cheap imports, worked to secure the protection of the Everglades, and has fought tenaciously to reduce the traffic in illegal drugs in Florida. He was one of the principal architects of the 1988 omnibus anti-drug bill and organized efforts to attack money laundering by drug smugglers.

During his political career, Senator GRAHAM also became famous for three things. The first is his wardrobe, that is, the ties that he wears. Everyone who knows Senator GRAHAM knows that he only wears ties with an outline of Florida on them.

The second is that for almost three decades he has recorded in detail every waking moment of his life.

The third thing for which Senator GRAHAM is well known is his so-called "workdays." One day each month for the past three decades, he has performed a job, usually manual labor, in order to stay in touch with and to better understand the problems and the needs of the people of his State.

He has now performed nearly 400 different jobs. He has been a flight attendant, a truck driver, and a chicken plucker. He has cleaned up after hurricanes, and he has cleaned up after dogs as he once spent a day handling a "pooper scooper." He once spent a day bagging groceries, and has even performed on stage. He has worked with policemen, doctors, fishermen, firefighters, and teachers.

These "workdays" were not gimmicks or media events. They were important means by which he could better serve people of his State. While Governor of Florida, it was during his workday as a public schoolteacher that he experienced firsthand the serious overcrowding in his State's school system. As a result, when he got back to Tallahassee, he sought more funding for school construction to accommodate the State's booming student population.

On his 355th workday he worked in a hospital, trying to secure insurance provider authorization for treatment in the emergency department. This frustrating experience led him to introduce the Emergency Medical Services Act.

While serving customers in a Florida pharmacy, he heard from seniors who could not afford to pay for their prescription drugs. Afterwards, he played a lead role in the effort to expand Medicare benefits to cover prescription drugs for seniors.

Despite my admiration for Senator GRAHAM, I must confess that I have had my disagreements with the senior Senator from Florida. More than once, I have heard him issue his boast that, "the future of America is Florida." We all know, of course, that the future of America is West Virginia. But neither this, nor other disagreements, has deterred or subtracted from my respect for him. He has made an enormous contribution to the Senate, where he has effectively and successfully served his State and our country.

Unfortunately, Senator GRAHAM has decided that, after three terms in the Senate, it is time to leave us. We will miss his wisdom, his decency, and his remarkable dedication in service to our Nation. Much was expected of Senator GRAHAM, and he, indeed, exceeded all expectations.

I wish him and his wife, Adele Khoury, the best of health and happiness in their retirement.

SENATOR DON NICKLES

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the motto of the great State of Oklahoma is "Labor Conquers All."

How perfect this is for the senior Senator from Oklahoma, Senator DON NICKLES, who has accomplished so much, and gone so far because of his willingness to work.

As a young man, after the death of his father, DON NICKLES worked his way through college as a janitor making minimum wage. After graduation, he returned to his home town of Ponca City to help run the family business, the Nickles Machine Corporation, of which he became vice president, and then general manager.

In 1978, he was elected to the Oklahoma State Senate.

Two years later, in 1980, he was elected to the U.S. Senate as part of the "Reagan Revolution." When he took office in 1981, he was just 31 years of age, the youngest Senator in the 97th Congress. Seventeen years later, in 1998, he became the only Oklahoma Republican ever elected to a fourth term in the U.S. Senate.

During his 24 years in the Senate, for better and for worse, Senator NICKLES has remained consistently true to his basic conservative principles. Congress Daily has justly referred to him as, "the keeper of the conservative flame."

Being true to his conservative principles has sometimes led him into taking some lonely stands. And his unflinching commitment to his conservative principles have led him to take positions that have angered constituents of his own State. His principles have even led him into positions on issues that have annoyed me. In addition to his views on tax cuts, I could

mention his efforts to block the Patient's Bill of Rights, his efforts to defeat increases in the minimum wage, and his effort to scuttle a Democratic initiative to help unemployed workers to be able to afford medical insurance coverage. Still, I have always admired and respected him for the firmness of his convictions and his beliefs, and his willingness to stay with them despite the consequences.

Even with the firmness of his convictions, he has never allowed himself to be trapped or bound by dogmatic partisan stands. Time and again I have watched and admired his willingness to reach across the aisle and work with Democratic Senators in bipartisan efforts to extend unemployment benefits, to win passage of a regulatory reform bill, and to secure passage of other measure that, otherwise, may well have gone down in defeat.

During his 24 years in this chamber, Senator NICKLES has served on the Senate Finance Committee, Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Labor and Human Resources Committee, Small Business, and Joint Committee on Taxation.

For 14 of his 24 years in the Senate, he has served in Republican Senate Leadership, first as chairman of the Senate Republican Senatorial Committee, and then as chairman of the Republican Policy Committee, which he transformed from a lunch club into a "conservative think tank." In 1996 and again in 1998, he was elected Assistant Republican Leader, Republican Whip.

In January, 2003, Senator NICKLES left the Senate Republican leadership to become chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, and this is where I really came to know and appreciate what an outstanding legislator he is.

As I attended Budget Committee hearings and markups held by Chairman NICKLES, I came to realize his appreciation for the Senate as an institution, and his determination to make this institution work. I saw, first hand, his efforts to accommodate differences and to restore bipartisanship to the Senate Budget Committee. While he staunchly advocated his beliefs, Budget Chairman NICKLES emphasized politeness, courtesy, cordiality, and amiability. These qualities endeared him to Democratic and Republican members of the Budget Committee.

It was here in the work of the Budget Committee that I really saw his personal side. I remember Senator NICKLES's first Budget Committee markup as chairman. Senator NICKLES arrived at the markup and announced that his daughter had given birth to his first grandchild, Nicholas Fenton Rossiter. I had seen many times the look of pride on a new grandfather's face, and it inspired me to recite a poem for his grandson. "Dear Nicholas, first, in thy grandfather's arms, a newborn child, thou didst weep, while those around thee smiled, so live, that in thy lasting sleep, thou mayst smile while those around thee weep."

But at the same announcement of the birth of his grandson, I could not help myself in reminding Budget Chairman NICKLES that, given his support for a budget that embraces record deficits, his sweet grandchild was born owing \$24,000 on the national debt.

Although I failed to disabuse him of his egregious interpretation of the budget reconciliation process, Senator NICKLES, I am convinced, has come to understand the importance of debate in the Senate. Earlier this year, he devoted many hours to studying the budget rules for ways to eliminate the so-called "vote-a-ramas" that usually accompany the Senate's budget debates. To his great credit, Senator NICKLES demonstrated that rule changes are not necessary. Together with Senator CONRAD, he orchestrated this year's budget debate in a manner that allowed adequate time for all Senators to offer and debate their amendments. For the first time in many years, there was no "vote-a-rama," thanks to Senator NICKLES.

It has been reported in the media that Senator NICKLES was discouraged and disappointed that, in his final year as chairman of the Budget Committee, the Senate was not able to reach a consensus with the House of Representatives on a budget resolution. I hope Senator NICKLES realizes that the model of civility he created as chairman of the Budget Committee will be remembered and emulated, and that this accomplishment will survive in the annals of the Senate longer than any budget document.

While I must admit that I will not miss some of the values that he so eloquently advocated, and for which he so effectively fought, I do regret anytime the Senate loses a good person, and Senator NICKLES is a very good person. During his 24 years, this outstanding Senator, through his hard work, his friendliness and his dedication and determination, has helped make the Senate a better place, and for that, I am grateful and thankful. Time and again he has demonstrated that "labor" certainly does "conquer all."

I wish him and his wife, Linda, happiness, health, and prosperity as they enter the next phase in their lives.

BUSH TRANSPORTATION POLICIES ARE WRONG FOR RURAL AMERICA

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, 4 years ago, candidates George Bush and DICK CHENEY promised those of us from rural America that they understood the challenges we face and that they would work to make our lives better. Now, the President and Vice President are going back out to the rural parts of the country, to Appalachia, to my home State of West Virginia, to tell us that we have turned the corner. They are saying that, thanks to their work during these past 4 years, our prospects are improving. They tell us that, due to their policies, job growth is increasing. And they argue that if we want