

Fund. Among CDF's findings was the chilling statistic that a child dies from gunfire every 92 minutes in the United States. And over the last 10 years, the rates of child gun deaths have nearly doubled.

A Center for Disease Control survey found that on an average day, 1 in 20 high school students carries a gun to school. But it is not just a high school problem. A few years ago in San Francisco, a 7 year old second grader was suspended for bringing his mother's junk gun to school, where he threatened to shoot a classmate.

What can we do to fight this problem? One Step is to end this junk gun double standard.

In my State of California, a bill to prohibit the manufacture and sale of junk guns passed the State senate last year, but was blocked in an assembly committee in January.

However, this is a problem that the U.S. Congress created, and it is one that the Congress should fix. Clearly, a nationwide ban would be the most effective way to keep these firearms out of the hands of criminals.

My bill applies prospectively only. It does not affect any guns currently in circulation.

I am proud that my legislation has been endorsed by the California Police Chiefs Association and the chiefs of some of California's largest cities including Willie Williams of Los Angeles, Fred Lau of San Francisco, Art Venegas of Sacramento, and Louis Cobarruviaz of San Jose. In all, 27 California police chiefs and sheriffs have endorsed my legislation. It has also been endorsed by the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, a leading national antiviolenace organization.

I am introducing this measure at the same time that Congress is moving backward on gun issues by reopening the assault weapons ban. I am confident that with the leadership of President Clinton, Senators DIANNE FEINSTEIN, PAUL SIMON and others, we will defeat efforts to roll back our progress on assault weapons, but I believe that just holding our ground is not enough. We must continue to move forward.

What is a junk gun? There are many differences between models, but they have certain traits in common. They are small and light, which make them highly concealable. They are made of inferior materials like zinc, instead of higher quality metal alloys. And they lack important safety features that can help prevent accidental shootings. Junk guns are cheap—some can be bought for as little as \$69. The most striking feature in common is that junk guns are used disproportionately in crimes.

One recent study conducted by the U.C. Davis Violence Prevention Center found that junk guns are 3.4 times as likely to be used in crimes as are other firearms. This view was confirmed by Chief Ronald Lowenberg, president of the California Police Chiefs' Associa-

tion who wrote to me, "There is no doubt that 'Saturday Night Specials' are disproportionately represented in homicides and other crimes." According to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, of the 10 guns most frequently traced at crime scenes, 8 are junk guns.

Junk guns' price and concealability—the factors that make them so attractive to criminals—are also the factors that make them unsuitable for general use.

What about junk guns for hunting and target shooting? According to firearms experts, they are totally unsuitable because of low accuracy and high failure rates. And what about home and self protection? Again, junk guns are ill suited for the job. These guns are inaccurate, poorly constructed, and lacking important safety features. Keeping a junk gun in the house is an invitation to disaster.

I know of one case in which a man was killed when his gun fell from its holster as he bent over to get a drink of water from a fountain. In another case, a man was critically injured when a junk gun he kept in his car fired when the car hit a bump in the road. These tragedies could have been prevented if these junk guns had better safety features.

I plan to fight hard for this bill, and I am confident that with the strong support of law enforcement and citizens' groups around the country, we will prevail.

TRIBUTE TO EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I wish to pay tribute to our wonderful colleague and dear friend Ed Muskie who passed away late last month. A distinguished public servant, an accomplished legislator, and a man of great integrity and humanity, Edmund Sixtus Muskie represented the best of the Senate and of the Nation.

Throughout his career in public service Senator Muskie exhibited a rare and remarkable gift; his extraordinary ability to see opportunities where others could not and to translate those opportunities into positive changes for the people of Maine and the Nation.

Ed Muskie began his career of dedicated public service in the Maine Legislature where he initially served as part of a small Democratic minority. From this modest beginning, he assumed the reins of the Maine Democratic party and revitalized it by exercising the vision and leadership necessary to involve people more fully in the political process. His efforts led to his own election as Maine's first Democratic governor in 20 years, and in 1958, he became the first popularly elected Democratic Senator in Maine's history.

But the depth and breadth of Ed Muskie's vision extended far beyond Maine politics. Upon his arrival in the U.S. Senate, he continued to exhibit the same straightforwardness and independent thinking that won him the

trust of the citizens of Maine. These traits enabled him to make the Environment and Public Works Committee the forum which produced this Nation's landmark environmental protection legislation, the Clean Air Act and the Water Quality Act. These critical environmental statutes changed the way Americans view our precious natural resources and his work provided the foundation upon which all subsequent environmental protection statutes have been built.

In addition, his efforts were instrumental to the passage of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, establishing the beginnings of the modern coordinated Congressional budget process. As the first chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Ed Muskie was committed to the effective disciplined Federal spending; demonstrating that promoting fiscal responsibility and meeting the needs of our people were complementary objectives.

Throughout his lifetime of public service, Ed Muskie was a man his country could turn to in a time of crises. As a U.S. Senator, a vice-presidential and then presidential candidate, and as Secretary of State, he demonstrated an unsurpassed commitment to improving the welfare of all Americans. In his candid, forthright and honest way, he encouraged the free exchange of ideas within the democratic process, working to transcend partisan boundaries and foster what he called a "politics of trust" in this Nation.

One of his many legacies to our country is the large number of former Muskie staff members who under his leadership made such extraordinary contributions to our Nation's welfare. Many of these individuals continue to render dedicated public service and they constitute a national asset which is yet another tribute to Ed Muskie's sterling qualities.

Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity not only to honor the life and service of Edmund Muskie, but to extend my deepest and heartfelt sympathies to his wife, Jane, and to his children, Stephen, Ellen, Melinda, Martha, and Ned, and their families. We thank them for sharing their husband and father with the Nation—America is a far better place for Ed Muskie's contributions.

On Saturday, March 30, 1996, an exceptionally moving service for Ed Muskie was held at the Church of the Little Flower in Bethesda, Maryland, followed by burial at Arlington National Cemetery. At that service, eloquent and heartfelt eulogies were delivered which greatly moved all of us who were present. In testimony to Ed Muskie's life of quality and honor, I ask unanimous consent that these eulogies be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the eulogies were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY STEVE MUSKIE

Rev. Clergy, President and Mrs. Carter, Ed Muskie colleagues, family and friends. From

my mother and everyone in our family, I want to thank you for coming here today to remember and honor my father. I expect that you will hear others speak about Dad's political life and the work he did over his long career of public service. But I would like to take a few minutes to tell you a little about some of the things that we, his wife, children and grandchildren, remember fondly. Thursday night we had a family dinner to celebrate Dad's 82nd birthday. We drank a toast to him, sang happy birthday and the youngest of Mom and Dad's seven grandchildren blew out the candles on two birthday cakes that we brought to the party. Of course, the celebration was bittersweet because Dad was not physically present. But he was present in spirit, in the thoughts of all of us who learned from him and loved him, you could see and hear the evidence all around the room—in the sixteen people there—some blood relations others bonded by marriage into the Muskie family. I saw it in their mannerisms, vocal inflections, proclivity for puns or quiet contemplation, in a hearty laugh or a mischievous twinkle of an eye. They were the telltale signs of Dad's lasting imprint on our lives. We have all been recalling images of Dad, many of which had been lost for a long time, tucked away in the recesses of our memories.

For me, one of the most vivid is an image of cold summer mornings at our Birch Point cottage on Maine's China Lake, forty years ago. The odor of smoke and the crackling sound of a fire just coming to life greeted Ellen and me when we padded down the stairs and climbed on to Dad's lap as he sat next to the fireplace in a big leather chair. While we warmed ourselves by the fire it was Dad's way to repeat the story that we most enjoyed hearing, a tale of young Biddo Bear who woke one cold morning, just as we had, and went with his father on a fishing trip. The story was replete with the kind of sound effects the public never heard from Dad during speeches. For example, Dad talked about Biddo Bear's father's tug on the starter cord of their small boat's outboard motor—Paroom! Putt-putt-putt! "They drove down the lake to catch some fishes," he said. That was a time when Dad was governor and the demands on his time were less than they were by the time the last of his children were almost grown. My brother Ned recalls that even when Dad was secretary of state, he regularly showed up at school, casually dressed and surrounded by security agents to attend a baseball game in which Ned might be pitching or to help Ned haul luggage and boxes into a new dormitory room. Ned of course swears the security agents didn't do any of the work.

Another powerful image is of Dad seated at the dining table surrounded by several of the youngest grandchildren. They always wanted to be near him at meal time, because he inevitably played games with them, walking his fingers across the table to tickle them or to catch their tiny hands in his big ones until Mom gently chastised him "now stop that poppa." The kids grinned feeling they had gotten away with something. As much as I would like to stand here displaying my photographs of Dad, these images and others like them are much more powerful than those captured by a camera because they improve and evolve with age and the mix of other memories we recall. They will never leave us. However wonderful and comforting those images are, more important are the lessons we learned and the characters we developed as a result of watching and trying to follow Dad's strong examples. My youngest sister, Martha, told me yesterday that her interest in social work really grew from some of those examples. She said:

"Dad believed that all people really are equal. That the color of your skin, the

source of your beliefs, where you live or how much money you have doesn't matter."

When Greg Singleton, from the SW side of Washington, lived with us for several summers, "It was never any question," said Martha, "that he would be treated exactly like the rest of us." Martha's statement made me realize that we have all grown up and lived under the strong influence of both the public and private Ed Muskie. Today we acknowledge our love and gratitude and share with you a celebration of his life.

REMARKS BY LEON BILLINGS

People who loved Ed Muskie, welcome. As was so often the case in the thirty years I worked for Ed Muskie, 15 of which I was paid, I have the honor of speaking for the staff. Those who actually worked for the Senator and those he thought worked for him. The nameless, faceless staff. A couple of years ago, I had lunch with the Senator. By then I was in my early 50s, about the same age he was when he hired me. I decided that I could start calling him Ed. So we sat down and I used his first name and he looked at me and said, so its going to be Ed now is it? So Senator * * * Before I tell a couple stories I remember of some of our lighter moments, I want to say something about your role as this nation's most important environmental leader. Many times you would take a globe of the earth in your hand and point out that the earth's atmosphere was no thicker than that thin patina of shellac that covered that globe. And you would say, "that's all that protects human life. That thin layer, no thicker than that layer of shellac is all that is between humankind and extinction." That analogy in simple terms stated your commitment to achievement of a healthy environment. A concept you invented, a concept you institutionalized and a concept that you internationalized. You changed the way the world acts towards the environment. That legacy will endure as long as people breathe on this earth. From the Clean Air Act of 1970 to Global 2000 as Senator and Secretary of State, you took a problem too few people cared about and converted it into a movement and then into a reality. I recall after the Senate unanimously passed the Clean Air Act in 1970, Senator Eugene McCarthy said to Senator in the elevator, he said "Ed," (he could call him Ed) he said, "Ed you found an issue better than motherhood, there are even some people opposed to motherhood." So everyone here, please take a deep breath, and while holding that breath think just for a moment that each of us, our children, our grandchildren and the children of centuries yet to come, owe a single debt to you, Senator Muskie.

Sometimes working for you wasn't a day at the beach. But we were rewarded by your brilliance, your courageousness and your creative public policy mind. You evinced incredible loyalty. People stayed with you for years, for decades. What a luxury it was to be associated with someone about whom there were no doubt, no doubts about intellect, commitment and integrity. And Senator you gave us a lifetime of stories. Some are even repeatable. Each of us has a favorite and I'm going to tell a couple. Senator Muskie was an avid fisherman and though I was never invited to accompany him, I want to recall two occasions both of which involved President Carter. On the way back from the funeral of Prime Minister Ohira in Japan, the President and Senator Muskie went fishing in Alaska. And when they came back I learned that the President had caught many fish, and the Senator got one. I asked him to explain the difference and he said gruffly, "its easy to catch them if the secret service ties them down." And you know that's all the explanation I got!

On the other occasion, and this will be particularly memorable to some of you who are on the Senate staff. I was on the Senate floor during a budget debate and he called me over. I assumed he wanted my advice on the issue at hand. He said, "I can't find my fishing pole." He said, "President Carter is coming to Maine to fish and I can't find my fishing pole." So I called Gayle Cory, the longest and the loyalist of the Muskie staffers. She was out at his house and I asked her to find the pole and I went back and said, Gayle is at the house and she'll find the pole. And he said, "Gayle wouldn't know what a fishing pole looks like." Needless to say, Gayle found the pole, I didn't have to go out to the house to look for it, and I never learned how many fish he caught on the trip.

I want to close with one story which will be poignant to those who had the opportunity to travel with the Senator, and particularly to Jane, I think. The Senator always took the window seat on the airplane and the staff, and Jane, sat on the aisle to ward off intruders. It was his want to get on a plane and lose himself in a book or magazine and sometimes not talk to anyone for the entire five hour trip. On the occasion that Eliot Cutler remembers on a trip to Los Angeles, the Senator said not a word and at the end of the trip as they arrived to the gate, Eliot got up to proffer him his coat and he looked at Eliot and he said "what are you doing here?" He is smiling now, because I suspect he would say to us today, "what are we doing here?" Senator we came here to say good-bye. We came here to say thank you for five decades of public service and personal friendship and most of all, we came here to thank you for being the first steward of the planet earth.

REMARKS BY MADELEINE ALBRIGHT

Dear friends, my heart is sad for I have lost a friend. I asked myself why I feel such a void. Its not only the personal memories, memories that I share with many of you, although that is surely a part of it. It is also the fear that what Edmund Muskie represented, what he lived for and stood for, might somehow go with him. He has been our connection to each other, he has been our link to a proud democratic heritage. He gave validity to a vision of our country and service to it that has influenced each of our lives. There is an army of us in Washington, Maine and around the country who worked for him as he rose through the ranks of service to America. Whether we were interested in state government or just plain good government, clean air and water, a budget process that worked, a generous foreign policy that reflected our goodness and strength or just because we believed that politics and principles go together. He attracted us. Even today, when members of the Muskie team see each other any where, we exchange the political equivalent of the high-five. The reason that such a diverse group would have so much in common is that Ed Muskie didn't see his public service as compartmentalized. The federal government was not the enemy of state government. Democrats could work with Republicans. A healthy environment was important not only here, but globally. While as budget chairman, he often asked what was so liberal about wasting money, he worried about jobs and he never denied the resources needed to keep America strong. Can you imagine that he actually believed in the United Nations and Foreign Aid, not only when he was Secretary of State, but even when he was in the Senate. Edmund Muskie made history because he understood history. A lot of it he read, a lot of it he experienced personally and what he didn't know, he asked about. All of us who have been on the receiving end know how persistently he could ask questions. The look on his

face or the "not so gentle" reproach when we didn't know the answers became an enormous incentive to learn. As a result, we grew with him. In his book we all, but mostly he himself, were accountable. His roots became ours. The great American leaders and their principles became ours. When he arrived at the State Department in May 1980, having been named by President Carter, he brought with him his capacity for endless questions. He brought Leon, Carole, Gayle and Berl. The foreign policy bureaucracy had a bit of trouble with the approach, not to mention with Leon. In the department and over at the national security council, there were rumblings. "Why all these questions about environmental consequences, fiscal implications, congressional consultations and public opinion." As Secretary of State he did not leave his old identities behind. He was still Mr. Clean, the father of the budget process, the chief sponsor of the War Powers Act, an elected official responsive to the people. Still he insisted on looking at all sides, still he wanted to reason everything out. That is why he got along so famously with his deputy, Warren Christopher, another who values principle and reason. Together, they worked patiently to answer the questions and solve the problems our nation faced. Most important they negotiated the safe return of the hostages from Iran. Reuniting families and leaving for the successor administration a clean slate from which to begin. When he left his official foreign policy post, along with the rest of us in January, 1981, he simply began pursuing public policy by private means. Although he was quite in the opposition he did not use his various platforms or chairmanships, of the Center for National Policy and Georgetown's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy to mention two of my favorites, for the politics of protest but characteristically for the politics of healing. For example to consider mending relations with Cambodia and Vietnam, and in this, as in so many other things he was often ahead of his time.

Before I end with a personal message from President Clinton, I must say one more thing. I would obviously be here in my capacity as a proud member of the Muskie political family no matter what. But I would definitely not be here or anywhere else representing the President of the United States if it were not for Ed Muskie. It might not be the right answer for feminist groups and I do love Eleanor Roosevelt. But the truth is that this man was my role model. While we all had a good laugh when he sometimes slipped into political incorrect vocabulary or shielded his female staff members from some of his salted language, he was the man who earlier than others enabled women to take their place as public servants. Because he had faith in us, we had faith in ourselves. He was the first to name a woman, Karen Hastie-Williams, Chief Counsel of the Budget Committee, as head of the Congressional Budget Office, Alice Rivlin, he gave me the responsibility as his chief legislative director, for coordinating Leon, Al From, Doug Bennett and John McKvoy. The U.N. Security Council is a piece of cake. No wonder I learned about the politics of foreign policy. Finally I want to read a letter:

"DEAR JANE: Hillary and I were so sorry to learn of Ed's death and our hearts go out to you. Our nation was blessed to have Edmund Muskie in public service for so long. As governor, as Senator and Secretary of State. He was a leader of conscience and conviction and I will always be grateful for his wise counsel. His broad knowledge of both international and domestic affairs. His stalwart protection of our precious natural resources and his unshakable integrity as a public figure and private citizen earned him support of

millions of Americans and the respect of all of us who were privileged to know him. As a mark of that respect, citizens across our country and around the world are lowering the American flag to half staff today. Hillary and I extend our deepest sympathy to you and your family and we hope you will take comfort in remembering that your husband has left an enduring legacy of public service that continues to inspire us all. We are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

"Sincerely

"Bill Clinton, President of the United States."

Dearest Jane, thank you for sharing this great man with us.

REMARKS BY GEORGE MITCHELL

Jane, Steve and Lexi, Ellen and Ernie, Melinda and Eddie, Martha, Ned and Julia, and other members of the family, Cardinal Hickey, Bishop Gerry and other members of the clergy, President and Mrs. Carter and other distinguished guests and friends of Ed Muskie. Senator Muskie once said that he didn't like being called "Lincolnesque" but it fit. With his lanky frame, his long and craggy face, his powerful voice, he was an imposing figure. He was loved and trusted by the people of Maine because they saw in him the qualities they most admire, independence, fairness, the lack of pretense, the willingness to speak the truth even when it hurt. He was plain spoken even blunt at times and they admired him for it. He had his faults and he made mistakes as do all human beings but he conquered his faults and he learned from his mistakes and as a result, he became the greatest public official in Maine's history and one of the most effective legislators in our nation's history. He accomplished much in a long and distinguished career. In that impressive record, nothing surpasses what he did to protect America's natural environment. Harry Truman once said that men make history, not the other way around. In periods where there is no leadership society stands still. Progress occurs when courageous skillful leaders seize the opportunity to change things for the better. Ed Muskie changed things for the better. When he went to the Senate, there were no national environmental laws, there was no environmental movement, there was hardly an awareness of the problem. Industries and municipalities dumped their wastes into the nearest river and America's waters were, for the most part, stinking open sewers. The air was unhealthy, the water polluted, Ed Muskie changed that. It's one thing to write and pass a law, it's another thing to change the way people live, it's yet another and a far more difficult thing to change the way people think. Ed Muskie did that. With knowledge, skill, determination and patience he won approval of the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act and America was changed forever for the better. Any American who wants to know what Ed Muskie's legacy is need only go to the nearest river. Before Ed Muskie it was almost surely not fit to drink or to swim or to fish in, because of Ed Muskie it is now almost surely clean. A source of recreation even revenue. Despite the efforts of some to turn back the clock, these landmark laws will survive because the American people know what a difference he has made in their lives. It has been said that what we do for ourselves, leaves this world with us, what we do for others remains behind. That's our legacy, our link with immortality. Ed Muskie's legacy will stand as a living memorial to his vision. It is his immortality. Each of us could say much more about Ed Muskie's public career but we are here today to pay tribute to Ed Muskie the man, so I would like to say a few words about the man who was my hero, my mentor,

my friend. Thirty-four years ago this week, I received a telephone call that changed my life. It was from Don Nicoll, Senator Muskie's Administrative Assistant and close friend who is here today. He invited me to come to Capitol Hill to meet the Senator who was looking for someone from Maine to fill a vacancy on his staff. To help him evaluate me, Don asked that I prepare a memorandum on the legal aspects of an issue that was then being considered by the Senate. I prepared the memo and went up for the interview. I thought the memo was pretty good, but unknowingly I had made a huge mistake. I reached a conclusion that was the opposite of the Senator's. I had never met him but he didn't bother with any small talk. Within minutes of our introduction, he unleashed a ferocious cross-examination. He came out from behind his desk, he towered over me, he shook his finger at me and he took my memo apart, line by line. I was stunned, so intimidated that I couldn't control the shaking of my legs even though I was sitting down. I tried as best as I could to explain my point of view and we had what you might call a lively discussion. As I left he said the next time you come in here, you'll be better prepared. That's how I learned I'd been hired and I sure was better prepared the next time. Ed Muskie was even more imposing intellectually than he was physically. He was the smartest person that I ever met with an incisive analytical mind that enabled him to see every aspect of a problem and instantly to identify possible solutions. He challenged everyone around him to rise to his level of excellence. No one quite reached his level, but those who took up the challenge were improved by the effort. Those who knew him learned from that relationship, those of us who worked for him, most of all. Just about everything I know about politics and government I learned from him. Just about everything I have accomplished in public life, can be traced to his help. No one ever had a better mentor or a better friend. No discussion of Ed Muskie would be complete without mention of his legendary temper. After he became Secretary of State, a news magazine in an article described his temper as entirely tactical, something that he turned on and off at will to help him get his way. I saw him a few days later, he showed me the article, in fact he read it to me, and then he said laughingly, "all these years you thought my temper was for real." Well, I said, you sure fooled me, and a lot of other people. I think the reality is that it was both. When he yelled at you it was terrifyingly real, but you could never be sure that it wasn't also a tactic to move you his way, to get you to do what he wanted done and that's the way he wanted it and liked it. Almost as unnerving as one of his eruptions was the swiftness with which it passed and was forgotten. He was a passionate man and expressed himself with emotion. His point having been made, he moved on, he didn't believe in looking back or nursing grudges and maybe that's how he got past the disappointments he suffered. It surely also helped that he was a secure man, confident in, and comfortable with his values. Those values were simple, yet universal in their reach and enduring in their strength. They were faith, family and country. He was constant in his faith. He was comforted by it and he was motivated by its message. The prayer printed on the back of the program today written by Senator Muskie more than a quarter century ago with its emphasis on compassion and tolerance was the essence of his faith. He was totally devoted to his family, especially to Jane. They would have celebrated their 48th anniversary in May and for all those years, she supported him, she comforted him, she helped him. He was a

passionate believer in democracy and especially in American democracy. I had the privilege of traveling all over Maine and all this country with him. Back when I was on Senator Muskie's staff we didn't have the resources available today so we used to share a motel room in small towns all across Maine as I drove him from one appearance to another. And I can recall the many times he spoke of his Father who he greatly admired and who he was very influenced by. His Father was a Polish immigrant who, like many others who fled from tyranny, flourished in the free air of this blessed land. No person I have ever heard and few in our history could match Ed Muskie's eloquence on the meaning of America. Once in public office, his profound respect for American democracy led him to act always with dignity and restraint, lest he dishonor those he represented. As a result, he was the ideal in public service, a man who accomplished much without ever compromising his principles or his dignity. Character is what you are when you are alone in the dark as well as with others in the daylight. Ed Muskie's character was strong. Strong enough to light up other people's lives. He taught us that integrity is more important than winning. That real knowledge counts more than slogans or sound bites. That we should live our values rather than parading them for public approval. Many years ago, Maine's greatest poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, wrote of another great man these words: "Were a star quenched on high for ages would its light still traveling downward from the sky shine on our mortal sight. So when a great man dies for years beyond our kin, the light he leaves behind him lies upon the paths of men." A great man has died and for years his life will shine upon our paths. Goodbye Ed, may God bless you and welcome you.

Remarks by President Jimmy Carter

Ed Muskie had the appearance, the mannerisms, the actions of a true statesman. I first knew about him was when I became Governor and faced the almost overwhelming lobbying pressure from the power companies with their smokestacks spewing forth back smoke and the thirteen pump mills in our state that were destroying our rivers. I saw the difficulty then of an incredible political battle. But there was a hero in Washington which has been mentioned several times who faced much greater lobbying pressure from nationwide pollutants of our streams and air. Ed Muskie changed all of that. One of my heroes in Georgia was Dr. Benjamin Mays a graduate of Bates College which was very close to Ed Muskie. And in an unpublicized way, Ed Muskie was also a champion of basic civil rights at a time when it wasn't popular to be so. And he and Dr. Benjamin Mays worked hand-in-hand to inspire people like me and other governors and public servants around the country who looked on him with great admiration. I hope everyone here will read the prayer on the back of the program that George just mentioned that was given by Ed Muskie at a Presidential prayer breakfast in 1969, and see how pertinent it is to our nation's capital today, how Ed Muskie is needed. We saw then a budget problem in Washington and he decided to do something about it. He helped orchestrate and get passed a new budget law. He became the first Chairman of the Budget Committee and despite the equally formidable challenges that we now face, that he faced then, he was able to bring order out of chaos and to work harmoniously not only with the Senators, but members of the House of Representatives, jealous of their own prerogatives and with the Presidents who served with him. Democrats and Republicans, President Nixon, President Ford, and President

me. I think that Ed was so successful in bringing this coalition together and healing the disparities between Capitol Hill and the White House, because when he spoke you knew at least three things: First, he deeply believed what he said, second, he knew what he was talking about, and third, it was the absolute truth. So I admired him from a distance until the Spring of 1972 when Ed was campaigning for President and he came down to Atlanta for a fund-raiser. I very eagerly invited him to spend the night with me at the Governor's mansion because of my admiration and because I had in the back of my mind, you won't believe this, the thought that he was going to get the nomination and he might be looking for a southern governor to be his running mate. So I wanted to make a good impression on him and I wanted him to think that I was a little more sophisticated than I was. So that night in the so-called Presidential suite in the front of the Governor's mansion, late at night he was very tired, he had been campaigning all day, and I said "Senator would you like to have a drink?" He said "yes Governor I believe I would." I said "well what would you like," he said "I'd like Scotch and milk." I was taken aback. I knew about Bourbon and Branch Water and a few other drinks of that kind but I tried to put on the appearance of being knowledgeable and I left him in the room and went down to the kitchen to prepare a drink. I got about halfway down the hall and a terrible question came to me and I went back into the room and I think ruined all my chances of being on the ticket. I said "is that sweet milk or buttermilk?" He very gently said "sweet milk." Later when I was elected President, I turned to Ed Muskie as one of my closest and most valued advisers. He was still a hero to me and I turned to him often. In 1980, as some of you would remember, my administration was in trouble. Fifty-three hostages were still being held by militants in Iran. In April we tried to rescue them and my Secretary of State in protest resigned with a great deal of public fanfare. I was facing a revolution in my own party from Senator Kennedy and others who were more liberal than I and it seemed very doubtful that I would even be renominated as an incumbent President. I turned to Ed Muskie who had a secure seat in the U.S. Senate and I ask him if he would serve as Secretary of State, and after checking with George and others, he said "yes." In a way I thought that I was doing him a big favor but when we had the little ceremony in the White House, I introduced him as the new Secretary of State being willing to serve and his comment was, "Mr. President, I'm not going to say thanks, I'm going to wait a few months and then make a judgment about whether I thank you or not." But he brought to the State Department, as Madeleine just pointed out, his formidable knowledge as a long-time Chairman of the Budget Committee, of every domestic and foreign policy program that our nation had and that statesmanship from Maine that let the members of our Congress, the people of our nation and leaders throughout the world know, that here was a man who spoke with absolute integrity. When the Prime Minister of Japan passed away, Ohira, who was one of my closest friends as Leon has pointed out, I wasn't going to mention this, we went to the funeral with a very devout expression on our face but arranged to stop in Alaska for a day of fishing which Ed suggested as a way for me to forget my troubles. I don't guess he was worried about his own troubles. We went to a little lake about an hour and one-half helicopter flight from Anchorage and were fishing for Grayling and I have to confirm part of Leon's story, I did catch 15 or 20 Grayling, the Secret Service were quite a

distance from me I might add, and Ed only caught one fish. So after we got through fishing, Ed came up to me and said "Mr. President, I'd like to make a comment about the trip" and I waited for his approval and he said "you really need to practice your cast" and I said "thank you very much, Mr. Secretary." Later he sent me a wonderful fishing rod that I still have Leon. In the last few days of our administration it was Ed Muskie's integrity, his sound judgment, his wisdom and his determination and his patience that had made it possible for us to bring every hostage home, safe into freedom. Typically, Ed Muskie did not seek any credit for that achievement, he let others take the credit. I looked up last night the citation I read when I gave Ed Muskie the Presidential Medal of Freedom. "As Senator and Secretary of State, candidate and citizen, Edmund Muskie has captured for himself a place in the public eye and in the public's heart. Devoted to his nation and our ideals, he has performed heroically and with great fortitude in a time of great challenge." His response was you forgot that I was also Governor. This week I made a statement about my friend Ed Muskie and I closed the statement by saying of all the people I've ever known, no one was better qualified to be President of the United States but Jane, I'd like to say now that I don't believe many Presidents in history have ever contributed as much to the quality of life of people in our nation and around the world as your husband, Edmund Muskie. I am grateful to him. Thank you very much.

Remarks by Edmund S. Muskie, Jr.

I could not be more proud than to be here to read to you a prayer that my father wrote. He delivered this prayer at the Presidential Prayer Breakfast here in Washington, DC in January of 1969.

"Our father, we are gathered here this morning, perplexed and deeply troubled. We are grateful for the many blessings You have bestowed upon us—the great resources of land and people—the freedom to apply them to uses of our own choosing—the successes which have marked our efforts. We are perplexed that, notwithstanding these blessings, we have not succeeded in making possible a life of promise for all our people. In that growing dissatisfaction threatens our unity and our progress towards peace and justice. We are deeply troubled that we may not be able to agree upon the common purposes and the basis for mutual trust which are essential if we are to overcome these difficulties. And so, our Father, we turn to you for help. Teach us to listen to one another, with the kind of attention which is receptive to points of view, however different, with a healthy skepticism as to our own infallibility. Teach us to understand one another with the kind of sensitivity which springs from deeply-seated sympathy and compassion. Teach us to trust one another, beyond mere tolerance, with a willingness to take the chance on the perfectibility of our fellow men. Teach us to help one another, beyond charity, in the kind of mutual involvement which is essential if a free society is to work. We ask it in Jesus' name, Amen."

CRISIS IN LIBERIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the resumption of violence in Liberia is of great concern to me. A factional stand-off over an ousted government minister has led to widespread looting, arson, and murder, plunging the country into a state of chaos. This spasm of violence is the first major interruption of the Abuja Accords, which have held peace together in Liberia since last August.