

I want to thank Senator DOLE, the majority leader, who designated it S. 1, demonstrating with his leadership and with his conviction that this is the sort of new partnership that he wants to see ordered in a federalist system where local, State, and National Government works in partnership, not one dictating to the other from the Federal level down.

I thank Senator ROTH and Senator DOMENICI—Senator ROTH, of course, is the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee; Senator DOMENICI is the chairman of the Budget Committee—for all their efforts during the winter recess and their help in crafting this legislation.

During that period of time, also, Senator EXON, who is the ranking member on the Budget Committee, and his staff were very helpful. I think, with Senator EXON being a former Governor, he knows how important this is.

Senator LEVIN, during the course of 11 days, certainly provided a great deal of input, a number of amendments that really we found quite acceptable that I think will enhance the bill. So I appreciate Senator LEVIN's efforts on that.

Senator BYRD was certainly conscientious as we proceeded through this entire process. He offered an amendment which I think is a key amendment, which really strengthens this bill.

Then the Senator who I will now reference, the Senator from Ohio, Senator GLENN, who has been a great partner in this whole effort. I think what is significant is that in the last session, the 103d session of Congress, when the Democrats were in the majority and when he was the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee and before unfunded mandates was a household term, Senator GLENN realized that we needed to do something about that and so we crafted legislation. But it was his partnership, as we worked through this, that I think really helped us in a major way get to today, the fact we are going to provide to the American public, to the taxpayers, relief from these unfunded Federal mandates on the State and local governments. The mayors can now be the mayors they were elected to be. Governors can now be the Governors they were elected to be.

I think often of that quote from Ben Nelson, the Governor of Nebraska, who said he was elected Governor of Nebraska, not the administrator of Federal programs in Nebraska.

But I just have always been a great admirer of JOHN GLENN's. Working closely with him, when you work that many hours together, you really, I think, determine the essence of an individual.

It has been an honor, literally, standing at your side and I appreciate all of your help on S. 1.

I also would like to acknowledge some folks that I think too often we do not say enough about, and that is the staff that helped us. On my staff, Buster Fawcett, who is my legislative direc-

tor and really was the architect of the language of this, and Gary Smith, who worked with the State and local officials throughout the country in coordinating their desires and wishes in the legislation and their support for this.

Both Buzz and Gary served with me when I was the mayor of Boise, ID. Buzz was the city attorney and Gary was the administrative assistant. We brought the team with us to Washington, DC.

We have added to that team Brian Waidmann, who is now my administrative assistant. But his understanding of the process and his methodical approach was instrumental in getting us here and Wendy Guisto, also of my staff, who helped us with the research.

On Senator DOLE's staff, we cannot say enough about Elizabeth Greene, who was just tremendous in helping us as we needed to understand the different aspects of this process; and David Taylor, a young man who just has a grasp of where the end line is and what it takes to get there in a fashion that others respect, and, yet, you get there in a fashion that no one feels that they have been upset, upset in getting the job done.

Senator DOMENICI's staff, Bill Hoagland, Austin Smythe, Jennifer Smith, and Anne Miller just played a key role with the intelligence that they have about this whole process; and Senator ROTH's staff, Frank Polk and John Mercer, with their working relationship and understanding of how Government should work; Senator GLENN's staff, Sebastian O'Kelly, Larry Novey, and Leonard Weiss.

We have come to know these people and to respect them, and I think it is demonstrated that there is a bipartisan spirit here that can and should work.

Senator BYRD's office, Jim English, and Senator EXON's office, Bill Dauster.

Senator HATCH's staff: Ed Whelan provided superb advice on the constitutional aspects of this legislation.

Senator BROWN's staff: Bennett Railey also provided expert legal advice and often on very short notice.

Senate Labor Committee staff: Steve Solon and Ted Verheggen provided excellent help on labor law issues.

Republican Cloakroom staff: Brad Holsclaw, Sarah Whittaker, Hillary Newlin, Mike Smythers, John Doney, Dave Schiappa, Ky Fullerton, and Dick Gibbons.

Democratic staff: Marty Paone, Lula Davis, Arthur Cameron, and Kelly Riordan.

Legislative clerks: Scott Bates, Dave Tinsley, and Kathie Alvarez.

Journal clerks: Bill Lackey, Mark Lacovara, and Patrick Keating.

Parliamentarians: Bob Dove, Alan Frumin, Kevin Kayes, and Beth Ann Smerko.

Elizabeth MacDonough of the Official Reporter's Office.

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I want to extend a special thank you to Tony Coe, of the Senate Legislative Counsel's office. He worked closely with Buzz Fawcett of my staff in drafting every word of this bill. I am grateful, and I was well served.

Finally, I want to thank the citizens of Idaho for the opportunity they have given me in serving in the Senate. I hope they will take a small measure of pride that the effort to reform unfunded mandates was born in Idaho.

Mr. President, again, I thank all who participated with us.

I also want to acknowledge and thank my wife, Patricia, and my kids, Heather and Jeff, because for many nights the closest they got to dad was watching C-SPAN. Anyway, I will be home tonight.

I thank the people from Idaho, because I appreciate the honor of serving them. They are people who are straightforward. That are honest and sincere. They just said, "Why don't you go back there and do a job for us, and not on us." And I think that is what we accomplished here with Senate bill 1.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I am particularly appreciative of the remarks of my distinguished colleague from Idaho. He was not on the floor when I made my remarks about him a little while ago. But I talked about our excellent working relationship, and I appreciate the remarks very much.

REGARDING THE DEATH OF BOB BADGLEY

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, Wednesday, January 25 was a sad and somber day in southern Ohio. On that day, America lost a patriot, Ross County lost a legend, and I lost a friend. Bob Badgley was one of my earliest and strongest political supporters—and he came to be a good and dear personal friend as well. Over the years, I called on "Badge" often for advice and counsel. He was 76 years young when he passed away on Wednesday, and I know his hundreds of friends—indeed thousands—around the State are going to miss him as much as I already do.

Although Badge never aspired to hold high public or elective office himself, he devoted countless hours to myriad volunteer activities that benefited his State, his community, and the Democratic Party that he loved so much for so long. On Tuesday, President Clinton delivered his State of the Union address. I don't know whether Bob was

watching that speech on what proved to be the last night of Bob's life, but I hope he was. Because when the President recognized and lauded citizen involvement, he was saluting Bob Badgley and the kind of life he lived—and I know that would have made Badge smile.

These days, I know it has become fashionable to be cynical about politics and all things political; to be suspicious about the motives of anyone who would willingly involve themselves in the political process of our Nation. But Bob believed that if we want good government, we have to be willing to help bring it about. And he believed that we all have a responsibility to try. So Bob served as Chairman of the Ross County Democratic Party; he served on that county party's executive committee continuously since 1957, and at the time of his death, he had served 29 years on the Ross County Board of Elections.

Somehow, he also found time to run his own electronics and vending businesses, and to be active in the Ross County Senior Citizens Center and related community services. In fact, Badge devoted so much time to community service that he received the Humanitarian Award from the Chillicothe Businessmen's Association in 1973, and the Community Service Award from the Ohio Department of Aging in 1992—the only Ross countian ever to receive the latter award.

Mr. President, there is a little story I want to tell about Bob that happened recently. I had my family out at Vail, CO, for a skiing vacation over the holidays. We came back to Washington a couple of days before we were to go back in session in early January. I think we came back on New Year's day. On our telephone answering machine at home there was a recorded message left. It was from Bob Badgley to Annie and to me. He said that he and Jeanne, his wife, had just been sitting around talking about particular friends and what they meant, and he thought it was a good time to call and just tell us what it meant. And he did so on that recording, and it meant much to me and I made a little note and had a note on my desk to call him back. Because of duties here in the Senate, being so busy in the next few weeks or so, I had not called. The note is still over there on my desk for me to call Bob Badgley. So it was particularly poignant for me when I heard of his demise the other evening.

For all these reasons and more, Annie and I will miss Bob deeply. But we are grateful to have known him, and that the good Lord allowed Badge to touch our lives. And we hope that for his wife Jeanne—and for the entire Badgley family—it will be at least some consolation to know that Bob will live forever in our hearts and in our memories. In that most important sense, we will truly never lose, our Badge.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MOYNIHAN addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

FREE TRADE WITH AN UNFREE SOCIETY

MEXICO AS A LENINIST STATE

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, of the many novel ideas which we associate with the advent to office of Representative NEWT GINGRICH as Speaker of the House, none is more singular than his suggestion that we would all do well to read, or perhaps reread, "The Federalist." As a New Yorker, I much applaud the proposal, and would presume on the Senate's time to invoke that venerable tradition in the context of the current debate over the proposed United States guarantee of Mexican debt.

The most striking, at least to my mind, of those 85 essays by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay is the assertion that the proposed new Constitution was based on a "new science of politics." If I may cite a commentary of my own, written some years ago, the establishment of the American Government in the latter part of the 18th century took its foremost distinction from the belief of those involved that they were acting upon scientific principles. Hamilton noted, in the ninth "Federalist," that previous republics had had such stormy histories that republicanism had admittedly fallen somewhat into disrepute. This tendency could be overcome thanks to progress in political science:

The science of politics * * * like most other sciences, has received great improvement. The efficacy of various principles is now well understood, which were either not known at all, or imperfectly known to the ancient.

He went on to cite, as examples of new discoveries, the various constitutional provisions with which we are now familiar, separation of powers, the system of checks and balances, popular representation in the legislature, the independent judiciary, and so on.

How exactly had the "efficacy of various principles" come to be so "well understood"? By scientific method, of course. Which is to say, the deductive analysis of available data. Which, in turn, is to say the study of different systems of government which had prevailed at different times and places in the past.

No. 18:

Among the confederacies of antiquity, the most considerable was that of the Grecian Republics associated under the Amphycionian Council.

No. 17 (by Hamilton, naturally):

When the sovereign happened to be a man of vigorous and warlike temper and of superior abilities, he would acquire a personal weight and influence. * * * Among other illustrations of [this] * * * truth which might be cited Scotland will furnish a cogent example. The spirit of clanship which was at an early day introduced into that kingdom, uniting the nobles and their dependents by ties equivalent to those of kindred, rendered

the aristocracy a constant overmatch for the power of the monarch; till the incorporation with England subdued its fierce and ungovernable spirit, and reduced it within those rules of subordination, which a more rational and a more energetic system of civil polity had previously established in the latter kingdom.

No. 19:

The examples of ancient confederacies * * * have not exhausted the source of experimental instruction on this subject. There are existing institutions, founded on a similar principle, which merit particular consideration. The first which presents itself is the Germanic Body.

This is but a sampler. "The Federalist" abounds in analysis of the principles on which different states are founded, and the successes or failures, the strengths and weaknesses associated with each.

It is an unequaled analytic tradition. The more troublesome, then, is its disappearance in our time. Notably in the matter of our relations with the State of Mexico.

From the time it was first proposed that we enter a free-trade agreement with Mexico, I have objected for a single reason.

Mexico is a Leninist State.

The Leninist State is the most noteworthy, if calamitous, political invention of the 20th century. Having just come through a 70-year struggle with the original such State, formed as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, you would suppose we would be able to recognize one on our southern border. But then you might suppose many things about the analytic reach of the Department of State and of Treasury, only to be disappointed. Note that the American Labor movement had no such difficulty.

Let me hasten to state that Leninist principles were never fully deployed in Mexico. There was no Great Terror. Even so, "Americas Watch" records in a 1992 assessment that "torture is endemic" in Mexico. Which is to say, State torture. Political opponents are murdered. Elections are propaganda exercises, and so forth.

The central principle of the Leninist State is that a single political party holds sway over the whole of society, and in particular, governs the government. We know from the Soviet experience, and for that matter from the Mexican experience, that this is never wholly successful. Yet it is the principle. Hence, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Literally translated, the Party of the Institutional Revolution.

The simple fact is that the Russian Revolution made a great impression in Mexico—as it did in the United States and most countries in the world. But unlike most, Mexico set out to reproduce the Soviet model. So much that when Trotsky fled the Soviet Union, now controlled by Stalin, he did not settle in Paris, as failed revolutionaries were expected to do; he went instead to Mexico City. Upon his arrival in 1937, Trotsky saw that Mexico was a