

have it make some difference that you lived at all."

When I think of my great friend and how he described what life meant to him, I am reminded of the Ralph Waldo Emerson verse, "Success." It goes:

SUCCESS

To laugh often and much;
To win the respect of intelligent people and affection of children
To earn the appreciation of honest critics
To appreciate beauty, to find the best in others;
To leave the world a bit better, whether by a healthy child,
a garden patch or a redeemed social condition;
To know even one life has breathed easier because you have lived;
This is to have succeeded.

If Emerson was correct about the definition of success, then Ed Friend, Jr., succeeded enough for many, many lifetimes. In knowing Ed, I was always struck by how his simple but eloquent family name—"Friend"—so defined who he was an how he lived. No other epitaph would be needed than simply his name—Friend. He was a friend to his community, State, country, profession, and to the many, many individuals fortunate enough to have known him over the years.

I extend my sincerest condolences to Ed's wife, Hermione, and to their children Frances Ellen and Edward M. III in the wake of this tremendous loss, and ask unanimous consent that a copy of the June 6, 1995, Birmingham News tribute to Ed be printed in the RECORD.

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

GENERAL FRIEND

"He left his imprint on all segments of our society. He was selfless."

Those two short lines from Birmingham-Southern College President Neal Berte sum up well the life of longtime civic activist Edward M. Friend Jr., who was passed away Monday at the age of 83.

You'd be hard pressed to discover something Gen. Friend attempted that he did not excel in.

As a soldier, he received numerous battlefield decorations for his efforts in the Normandy invasion and in the Battle of the Bulge—including the Bronze Star with Cluster, the Croix de Guerre with Palm and the Legion of Merit. Later he was named a brigadier general in the U.S. Army Reserve. Over this past weekend Gov. Fob James appointed him a major general in the Alabama National Guard.

As an attorney, he came back to Birmingham after World War II to help form what would become one of the state's largest law firms.

But as a community leader, he was unbelievable. Among the civic organizations he served as chairman or president of at some point were: the Rotary Club, the Birmingham Bar Association, the United Way, the Birmingham Legal Aid Society, the Birmingham Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America, the Family Counseling Association, the Metropolitan Arts Council, the University of Alabama President's Cabinet and Temple Emanu-El.

In his spare time, he even occasionally penned a letter to the editor about some community problem or effort.

During the recent Memorial Day holiday an aging soldier interviewed about his war service responded that it changed his whole life. Thereafter, he said, he worked hard to always show that he was worthy to have been one of the survivors.

Who knows if that same sort of experience colored Gen. Friend's life?

To say that his was a worthy one for Birmingham is an understatement.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE?
THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, more than 3 years ago I began these daily reports to the Senate to make a matter of record the exact Federal debt as of close of business the previous day. On Mondays, of course, my reports are always as of the previous Friday.

As of the close of business Friday, June 9, the Federal debt stood at exactly \$4,899,367,488,389.95. On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,598.08 as his or her share of the Federal debt.

It is important to recall, Mr. President, that the Senate this year missed an opportunity to implement a balanced budget amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Regrettably, the Senate failed by one vote in that first attempt to bring the Federal debt under control.

There will be another opportunity in the months ahead to approve such a constitutional amendment.

UNION COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, yesterday at Union College in Schenectady, NY, I was privileged to deliver the commencement address on the occasion of the bicentennial anniversary of that institution's charter. The elements, however, did not cooperate. As the thunder began to rumble, I cut my address short. But as this morning's Albany Times Union noted, my parting promise to the gathered was: "I'll put the rest in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of my address be printed in the RECORD.

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

UNION COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
(By Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan)

In a world made up of some 192 nations, of which a scant 51 existed a half century ago, and of these only eight having existed for a whole century without having their form of government changed by violence, it is a rare experience to graduate from a college founded a full two centuries ago in a new and novel nation with tiny resources and doubtful prospects which not only endures to this day, but stands now pre-eminent among the nations of the world.

It is a matter worth reflection. And a setting designed for just that, by an architect trained at the court of Louis XVI. Union College was, of course, the first educational institution chartered by New York State. It promptly broke with the past creating, as Roger G. Kennedy has written, "a scientific,

almost polytechnical course, in defiance of the classical curriculum then almost universal in America." This was so very much in the spirit of the new republic, evoked in The Federalist papers published up and down the Hudson Valley, not a dozen years earlier.

We do well to consult those incomparable essays from time to time, and not simply because the new Speaker of the House of Representatives admonishes that we ought. The first thing to note, or so it seems to me, is the conscious, proclaimed assertion of the Founders that they had discovered what Madison termed "a new science of politics" based upon principles—uniformities—in human behavior which made possible the re-introduction of republican government nearly two millennia after Caesar had ended the experiment. Given what Madison termed "the fugitive and turbulent existence of ancient republics," who could dare to suggest that a modern republic could fare better? Well, Madison could. And why? Because careful study had produced new knowledge. To cite Martin Diamond:

"This great new claim rested upon a new and aggressively more 'realistic' idea of human nature. Ancient and medieval thought and practice were said to have failed disastrously by clinging to illusions regarding how men ought to be. Instead, the new science would take man as he actually is, would accept as primary in his nature the self-interestedness and passion displayed by all men everywhere and, precisely on that basis, would work out decent political solutions."

Until that time, with but a few exceptions, the whole of political thought turned on ways to inculcate virtue in a small class that governed. But, wrote Madison, "if men were angels, no government would be necessary." We would have to work with the material at hand. Not pretty, but something far more important: predictable. Thus, men could be relied upon to be selfish; nay, rapacious. Very well. "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition." Whereupon we derive the central principle of the Constitution, the various devices which in Madison's formulation, offset "by opposite and rival interests, the defect of better motives." (See Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Came The Revolution", Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1988, pgs. 302-303.)

The American revolution and the new nation emerged from a crisis of legitimacy in the old European order. The Founders genius was to adapt to that order rather than seeking to abolish all traces of it. As, for example, the French revolutionaries did when they changed the names of the days of the week and declared 1792 to be L'annee Une. Year One.

There is a striking parallel between these political revolutions of the late 18th century and the economic revolutions of our time. In the course of the past half-century the United States essentially has learned to manage an industrial economy. This learning followed a crisis of legitimacy in the old economic order which unlike the Soviet Union, for example, we did not abolish but did, in fact, transform.

1945 was, of course, the 150th anniversary of the founding of Union College. It was also the year that World War II came to an end. V-J Day was September 2; Union celebrated its Sesquicentennial two weeks later. I was in the Navy then, (as was Joseph Hinchey) and remember those days. The great question here at home was whether the end of the war would mean the resumption of the Great Depression of the 1930s, and generally speaking, the crisis of capitalism which had brought on the war, or was widely held to have done.

Just what does it mean to speak of a "crisis in capitalism?" If the term seems puzzling today, it would not have been then. Then it meant going from 3.2 percent unemployment in 1929 to 24.9 percent in 1933, and averaging about 18 percent for the remainder of the decade. Stop and imagine for a moment searching for a job—let alone your first job—when one-fourth of the labor force is unemployed. This was the worst experience, worldwide, in the history of industrial economies. At the height of the Depression 13 million workers were unemployed in the United States.

It seemed, moreover, to be just the latest swing in a steadily amplifying cycle of boom and bust. We have almost lost this memory. The Panic of 1893. The Panic of 1908. The Crash of 1919, of 1929, of 1938. Already, at the beginning of this century, it was widely held that free enterprise capitalism just couldn't work. A great socialist movement began. George R. Lunn, the first socialist Mayor in New York, was elected here in Schenectady in 1911. Not untypically, he came out of the Midwest and was an ordained Presbyterian minister—having received his Doctor of Divinity degree from Union. In 1912, an ambitious Harvard graduate, Walter Lippmann, came here to be the Mayor's executive secretary. This seemingly was where the future lay. And, of course, there was soon a Communist Party in the United States, actively supported by "Moscow gold," as it was sometimes and not inaccurately termed. For Communists the end of the age of capitalism was assumed to be instantly at hand. There was thunder on the right, as well; and as the Depression settled in, a great crisis of confidence in the vital center.

Then knowledge appeared which changed everything. It began with measurement; just what were these business cycles that so often turned into disaster? Obviously, not the ancient rhythm of winter, spring, summer, and fall. But what? A nice place to start is the foundation of the National Bureau of Economic Research at Columbia University, the only institution of higher learning in New York older than Union. C. Wesley Mitchell, who was director of the Bureau for near to half a century (1920-45), put it nicely:

"Our best hope for the future lies in the extension to social organization of the methods that we already employ in our most progressive fields of effort. In science and in industry . . . we do not wait for catastrophe to force new ways upon us. . . . We rely, and with success, upon quantitative analysis to point the way; and we advance because we are constantly improving and applying such analysis."

Then theory. Principally by John Maynard Keynes in England refuting the assumption of classical economics that markets automatically return to an equilibrium, with all resources employed. An economy could settle in at high levels of unemployed people and underutilized capital.

Next practice. During World War II, here in the United States, the new economics performed surpassingly well, notably as regards inflation which actually declined during the war years.

Finally, there was law. In the Employment Act of 1946, Congress declared it to be:

"The continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government . . . to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Note the genius of that language. The by now century-old dispute over capitalism had been a dispute over ownership, with the left calling for public ownership as against private. Of a sudden, we changed the terms of the debate. Now we were talking about employment, production, purchasing power. And measuring progress in an Annual Eco-

nomie Report of the President, prepared by the new Council of Economic Advisers.

Before 1929 the average business cycle contraction lasted nearly 21 months following an average expansion of slightly more than 25 months. About even. Over the past fifty years, however, the average recovery has lasted 50 months, with contractions shortened to an average of 11 months. A very different world. In all this half century, the largest decline in output was 2.2 percent, in 1982. Compare that with a drop of 9.9 percent in 1930; followed by 7.7 percent in 1931; followed by 14.8 percent in 1932. As of now, for example, we are in our 10th post-war expansion which reached its 50th month in May. During the half century period, the size of our economy has quadrupled, and real income per person has more than doubled.

Is our world transformed? Well, yes it is. And it would do us no harm to take note between bouts of self-abasement. The legitimacy of a free enterprise society, with free labor and free markets is acknowledged across the globe.

Now then, are our troubles behind us? Assuredly not; obviously not. My colleague and friend, Senator Bill Bradley, observes that "the fragile ecology of our social environment is as threatened as that of our natural environment." (I would say vastly more so.) He continues:

"The market is governed by the logic of economic self-interest, while government is the domain of laws with all their coercive authority. Civil society, on the other hand, is the sphere of our most basic humanity."

True enough. Marine Corps Major Stephen Ganyard recently called attention to the passage in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) by Adam Smith, who had something to do with all this market business, in which he writes that in our actions we cannot "prefer ourselves so shamelessly and blindly to others," even if that is the natural inclination of our feelings. (As Madison would have thought.) In our time, Joseph Schumpeter has explained, in Eugene D. Genovese's words, "the ways in which capitalism relentlessly destroys the pre-capitalist institutions and values necessary for its social and political stability." Consider, if you will, the state of the American family. Or note that in Washington today the talk is less about how the economy can create jobs but how a dependent population can be induced to take them. But surely that only strengthens the case for a "science of politics" that seeks, however so often in vain, to understand the world which we inherit but which we also in some measure create.

And so, then, on to the Third Century.

CAPTURE OF GILBERTO RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I applaud last week's capture of Gilberto Rodriguez Orejuela, a notorious member of the Cali cartel responsible for smuggling an enormous volume of cocaine into the United States and the subject of criminal indictments in Florida and Louisiana. The arrest is a significant achievement by Colombia's antidrug forces, but the real test of Colombia's commitment to the struggle against narcotics traffickers lies ahead. Colombia's record regarding prosecution, conviction, and sentencing of narcotics traffickers is marred by corruption. Orejuela's arrest must be followed by a thorough judicial process that strictly adheres to the rule of law.

TRIBUTE TO ARMAND COCCO

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, with the death of Armand F. Cocco, Sr., I, and I might add Senator ROTH, have lost a good friend, and my State of Delaware has lost one of its most conscientious citizens. With his wife and constant teammate of 47 years, Anna Zebley Cocco, he devoted a lifetime to energetic service to others.

Mr. Cocco, a member of the Delaware Industrial Accident Board, was a 45-year member of the Plumbers & Pipe Fitters Union Local 74, acting as their political liaison for the union and testifying in court for workers who had been diagnosed with asbestosis. He had no formal education beyond high school, but he was a student of human nature and a skillful advocate who gained impressive achievements for his community without ever claiming any character other than that of an ordinary citizen. He was my friend for more than 25 years, but he could still surprise me with interests and talents of which I had been unaware. He never stopped.

I first met Armand Cocco when I was a young man, a member of the New Castle County Council and a candidate for the U.S. Senate. It was then that he and his wife asked whether I would meet with them, and they came charging full-blown into my office with their usual brisk enthusiasm about a plan that was going to widen a four-lane highway, an expressway through one of our oldest suburban communities. As they saw it, they were going to convert this modestly busy local road into an expressway that would divide and overshadow their community, literally divide their community right down the middle. And as Anna said, it would amount to a "Chinese wall" in this older, stable community. They were determined to stop it, with the determination they shared, confidently and persistently, with Delaware public officials of both major parties.

I know it will surprise no one in this body that energized citizens often change the outcome of a predetermined decision. A quarter of a century later, that expressway still stops literally at the threshold of the community they were so resolute in defending.

If Armand and Anna Cocco were a political force to be reckoned with—and they certainly were—they were also friends whose support could be counted on by public officials in both parties, as our Democratic Governor Tom Carper could tell you and my Republican colleague, Senator ROTH, as well as my Republican colleague, Congressman CASTLE could testify.

Armand Cocco was an adroit and accomplished political activist but no party could claim his exclusive allegiance. No party could claim a narrow partisan interest on his part, but he consistently worked for the public interest. He was a very demanding citizen, but he never asked more than he was willing to give. And shoulder to shoulder, along with his remarkable