

I was the majority leader of the Senate during that 100th Congress. I worked closely with Senator KENNEDY and he worked closely with me.

In just 2 years, Senator KENNEDY pushed through more beneficial social legislation than many Senators produce in a lifetime.

Mr. President, this country has seen remarkable changes over the past 35 years. Not the least of those changes has been a shift in political attitudes from the optimism and compassion that characterized the 1960's to the more hardened and occasionally cynical climate of today. But, throughout those changes, Senator TED KENNEDY has remained faithful to his vision of an America in which the rights of those without money, jobs, health insurance, or education are protected. Others may bow to the vagaries of public opinion but not Senator KENNEDY. Instead, relying on a political and legislative acumen than may owe something to his well-known expertise as a sailor, Senator KENNEDY uses the winds of popular sentiment to achieve his goals. Many times where others meekly follow the course of these powerful winds, Senator KENNEDY calmly lifts a dampened finger aloft to test their force and direction, then he very expertly and patiently tacks back and forth until he reaches, his chosen destination. Even the strongest headwind is not enough to dissuade him, for he knows that hard work and dedication can conquer the most imposing obstacles.

Despite his passionate and unswerving convictions, Senator KENNEDY is also one of the most accommodating Members of the Senate. Throughout his career, he has sought out partnerships with Members regardless of their ideology or party in the interests of passing wise and necessary legislation. Even in these partisan days in which we live, Senator KENNEDY consistently seeks to find common ground with those at all points along the political spectrum. Senator KENNEDY has repeatedly put the national interest ahead of petty partisan squabbles.

Not that he is above partisanship at all. We are all capable of being partisan at times; some of us more than others, perhaps. But this open-minded approach to lawmaking, this brave refusal to succumb to the partisan animosity that permeates Congress today, may well be one of the Senator's greatest legacies.

I said at the beginning of my remarks that I believe Senator KENNEDY to be one of the most outstanding Senators this Chamber has seen. Lest I be accused of hyperbole and exaggeration, or of excessive kindness toward a friend, let me make clear that my words are not motivated by simple kindness. Senator KENNEDY's legislative dexterity and bipartisan approach, are a rare combination indeed. I fear that many of today's politicians will be judged harshly by the historians of tomorrow for their fickleness, their shal-

low rhetoric, their willingness to pander to popular opinion. But not so my good friend and esteemed colleague from Massachusetts.

I have remarked before, and I remark today, that had TED KENNEDY been living in 1789 at the time the first Congress met, he would have been a powerful factor in pressing forward with the legislation that was enacted in that first Congress. A formidable opponent, a knowledgeable and dedicated legislator, TED KENNEDY would have been in the forefront of those who were advocating the Judiciary Act, and I have no doubt that he would have left his imprint upon that legislation.

Had he been living at the time of the Civil War, serving in the U.S. Senate, again, he would have been recognized as a forceful leader.

In the days of reconstruction, again, Senator KENNEDY would have made his mark in the U.S. Senate.

Had he been a Senator during the years of the New Deal, he would have allied himself with Franklin D. Roosevelt and would have been a strong supporter of the landmark legislation that was enacted in those difficult years.

I think that if TED KENNEDY had been living prior to the Revolution, he would have joined men like Samuel Adams and John Adams and John Hancock, from his State of Massachusetts, in resisting the edicts of George III, the King of England.

So, in summation, I say that TED KENNEDY would have been a leader, an outstanding Senator, at any period of the Nation's history.

TED KENNEDY and I have not always been the best of friends. There was a time when we were not. That time has long been relegated to the ashes of the past. When I was majority leader of the Senate, and also when I was minority leader of the Senate, and when I was majority leader again, as I have already indicated, in the 100th Congress, I leaned much on TED KENNEDY's knowledge, his expertise, his support. He was one of my strongest supporters in the Senate. In caucuses or on the Senate floor, I could always count on TED KENNEDY to be there when I needed him.

So, TED KENNEDY and I formed a friendship in the finest sense of that word.

We share a liking for history, a fondness for poetry, and a love for the U.S. Senate. TED KENNEDY does his work well in the committee. When he comes to the floor, he comes with a batch of papers in his hands and with a head full of knowledge in respect to the legislation which he is promoting. I count him as one of the most effective Members of the Senate.

I admire TED's steadfast purpose, his tireless work, his easy humor, and his kind nature. But, most of all, I admire his courage. He has experienced more personal tragedy and deep sorrow than most of us could bear and still retain our sanity. Yet, he goes on. He contrib-

utes. He endures. He laughs. He leads. He inspires. He triumphs.

I have watched him weather and work and grow in wisdom for 35 years. He has an excellent staff. One would have to have an excellent staff to be able to turn out the massive amount of work and to provide the leadership that he has so many times provided in enacting landmark legislation. He is ever on an upward track.

Herman Melville put it this way:

... and there is a Catskill eagle in some souls that can alike dive down into the blackest gorges, and soar out of them again and become invisible in the sunny spaces. And even if he forever flies within the gorge, that gorge is in the mountains; so that even in his lowest swoop the mountain eagle is still higher than other birds upon the plain, even though they soar.

So here is to my friend and colleague as he celebrates his 35th anniversary. May he ever soar.

I close with a verse by one of my favorite poets, Edwin Markham, a verse that I think typifies Senator KENNEDY: Give thanks, O heart, for the high souls That point us to the deathless goals— For all the courage of their cry That echoes down from sky to sky; Thanksgiving for the armed seers And heroes called to mortal years— Souls that have built our faith in man, And lit the ages as they ran.

I again thank my true friend, and he is my friend, has been for all the years that he has been in the Senate, JESSE HELMS, for his kindness in arranging for me to proceed at this moment.

I thank him very much.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. Madam President, I can assure the able Senator from West Virginia—I have always described him as a Senator's Senator—it is always a pleasure to cooperate with him any time, and I enjoy listening to him because I learn something every time.

Mr. BYRD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Senator.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina is recognized.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. HELMS, Mr. DEWINE, and Mr. GLENN pertaining to the introduction of S. 1397 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SPECTER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be extended by 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The remarks of Mr. SPECTER and Mr. BYRD pertaining to the submission of Senate Resolution 146 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

(The remarks of Mr. BUMPERS and Mr. GORTON pertaining to the introduction of S. 1401 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak for up to 15 minutes as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

FAST-TRACK LEGISLATION

Ms. COLLINS. Mr. President, in the life of a country, as in the life of an individual, there are times when we must choose between moving forward and standing still. Our trade policy is at just such a crossroads: We must decide whether to help promote freer trade and more open markets or try to preserve the status quo.

As we confront this issue, we must recognize that the world is changing and that even an economic superpower can do no more than postpone the inevitable. Our resolution of this issue will determine whether the United States continues to move forward on a wave of export-driven growth or risks permitting other economies to leave us behind. I believe it is time to stand behind our commitment to free trade and work to bring other countries into open trading relationships that will mean jobs and prosperity for our citizens in the century ahead. That is why, Mr. President, I have decided to support the fast track legislation.

In developing my position on this legislation, I have been guided by one overriding consideration - will its enactment improve the lives of the people of Maine? Will it mean more customers for Maine businesses? Will it mean more opportunities for Maine entrepreneurs? And most important, will it mean more jobs for Maine workers? While free trade is not without problems, I firmly believe that the long-term answer to all of these questions is yes.

International trade is an increasingly critical part of Maine's economy. In 1996, for example, my State exported more than 1.2 billion dollars worth of goods. Considering both the direct and indirect impact, those exports translated into 13,500 Maine jobs.

But this export-led growth is just the beginning. I believe the people of Maine have the ingenuity, the drive, and the work ethic to flourish in a world of freer trade and more open markets for U.S. goods. From successful retailers like L.L. Bean, to manufacturers like Pratt & Whitney, to financial service companies like UNUM, to high-technology companies like Portland's ABB, to paper mills throughout my State, Maine enterprises have proven that they can compete in a global economy. These com-

panies recognize that much of their future revenue and job growth will come from serving customers beyond our borders.

This is well understood in Maine. The United Paperworkers International Union has pressed the administration to negotiate reductions in European tariffs to help open foreign markets to the products its members make in Maine and elsewhere and to generate more export-related jobs. As Prof. Charles Colgan of the University of Southern Maine, a noted trade expert, stated in a recent letter to me, "The . . . vote on Fast Track authority for the President to negotiate additional trade agreements is an important vote for Maine. International trade is an increasingly vital part of the Maine economy. . . ."

Perhaps the clearest reason to support fast-track authority was set forth in a letter from the State of Maine's director of International Trade, who wrote as follows: "I simply feel that our best hopes for long-term economic prosperity here in Maine lie in creating international opportunities for our people, and not in limiting our access to new and emerging economies. However, well-intentioned, restricting our ability to trade will never create new jobs for Maine people."

Mr. President, I said earlier that we face the decision of whether to move forward. But in reality, the world will change with or without us, and thus, the real question is not whether we move forward, but whether we move forward wisely. That is the standard against which we should judge our trade policy, and against which we should judge this legislation. To me, this means that our trade strategy must meet three tests.

First, since some citizens may be temporarily disadvantaged—through no fault of their own—by the changes freer trade can bring, we must assist them to adjust to changed conditions. Second, we must ensure that free trade is genuinely free, for that is what "fair trade" really means: If we do not insist that other countries open their markets to fair competition from U.S. goods, the system will collapse. Third, as we give the President the authority to negotiate trade agreements, we must preserve an appropriate role for Congress in this vital area of national policy.

After weeks of studying this issue, listening to my constituents, and consulting with U.S. trade officials, it has become clear to me that the renewal of fast-track authority meets my three criteria and is very much in the best interests of my country and my State.

First, while the rising economic tide that comes from free trade ultimately lifts all boats, it may impose costs upon some of our citizens in the short run. For this reason, I was greatly encouraged by the President's promise to expand Trade Adjustment Assistance programs—and to expand them to include not only workers directly af-

ected by trade adjustments but also workers in businesses supplying affected companies. This change should prove particularly beneficial to small businesses in Maine and elsewhere.

Second, I am pleased to have received assurances from the office of the U.S. Trade Representative that they share some of the important concerns of Maine's citizens with regard to ensuring that trade is really free. More specifically, Ambassador Barshefsky has made clear to me in writing that she regards Canada's bulk easement rules on potato imports to be an unfair trade barrier that must be pursued with the Canadian Government. Ambassador Barshefsky has committed to me that she will begin bilateral talks with the Canadian Government, beginning no later than March 1998. In addition, Ambassador Barshefsky has assured me that she views Canadian potato subsidies as a very serious matter that also must be addressed. Having established open markets as the norm, our trade officials must work—and, I have been assured, are working—to ensure that foreign governments keep their promises.

Furthermore, I want to emphasize that passage of this legislation will not in any way hinder the ability of an industry to bring challenges under current trade laws against unfair trade practices, such as subsidies provided by foreign governments. Members of the farmed salmon industry in Maine have brought such a case. They seek relief from the adverse effects of dumping and subsidization, and of unequal conditions of competition, which give their Chilean competitors an unfair and illegal advantage.

It was only after I became satisfied that fast track would not negatively affect the Maine salmon industry or its ability to pursue its legitimate grievances under current law that I decided to support this legislation. As a representative of the salmon industry recently advised me, what is most critical to them is "the preservation of effective remedies under existing law and their vigorous enforcement." This legislation not only preserves existing remedies but also has as one of its objectives the pursuit of illegal activities by other nations. Thus, it recognizes that free trade is not achieved by the stroke of a pen on an agreement but rather by a commitment to the vigorous enforcement of our trade laws.

Third, this bill carefully addresses the need to preserve the proper balance of powers and responsibilities within our Government. While it restricts Congress' power to amend the terms of trade agreements, it maintains our right to reject them. Indeed, it goes farther than any prior fast-track legislation to protect Congressional prerogatives. For example, it limits the application of the fast track to agreements which advance specifically enumerated negotiating objectives set out in the bill, which preserves our ultimate authority to set the goals of U.S. trade policy.