the code. This would put the Commissioner at the table and give the commissioner a sufficient amount of independence to say this is what it will cost, or that it requires an index and some measure of cost to the taxpayer.

We heard Mr. Rossotti talk about his need for power. It's surprising how little management authority the Commissioner has, though you will not likely see that having an impact immediately. Long-term, there is no question that is going to have an impact. My guess is that most Members have heard complaints coming from citizens that they know have to go to a regional office to get an answer to a question or get a problem solved. That is because what IRS has done is increasingly centralized the decision-making process. And what Mr. Rossotti, correctly, is trying to do is decentralize that process, so you have human beings in offices at the local level helping to make decisions. The way he is proposing to do that is to end the stovepipe stricture that exists and create functional structures. He needs the law to be changed in order to have the management authority to get that done.

So I thank the majority leader very much and the Democratic leader, Senator DASCHLE, for their determination to get this done. I thank Senator GRASSLEY and Senator ROTH. And before I leave the floor, I also want to thank Secretary Rubin. There was an awful lot of attention paid to a conflict that Congressman PORTMAN, who was cochair of this effort, and I had having to do with an independent board for the IRS. We worked out those disagreements. Lost, unfortunately, in the process of debating that is another change we put in place, which was to require some consolidated oversight on Congress' side and the purpose of both is so that we can get to a point where you have a shared agreement, you have consensus between the executive and legislative branch about what you want the IRS to do. It is impossible to make technology decisions.

The administration is asking for another $400 million for tax system modernization. Without this piece of legislation in place and Mr. Rossotti with the power and consolidated congressional oversight, I would vote no on that.

This process began with Senator SHELBY and I on the floor adding money for the creation of this commission. Congressman Lightfoot and Congressman HOYER, the ranking member of the Subcommittee on the Treasury, were involved in the House. It began because Senator SHELBY and I saw that the General Accounting Office had said that nearly $3 billion of money had been wasted trying to modernize the information systems at the Internal Revenue Service. Unless you can get an environment where the legislative and executive branch say we agree on the plan, we support the plan, we support what we are trying to do—everybody from the private sector and the public sector said, take another $100 million, or $400 million, or whatever you can, to put into technology and it is going to be more money down the rat hole.

To get this done by the 15th of April gives us an opportunity to increase confidence that when we give the IRS the technology money they need to modernize their system, it is likely to be that they will do the right thing. I also predict, Mr. President, that there is a title in here that hasn't been given a lot of attention because it is not very controversial. I think that 10 years from now it may be seen as one of the most significant parts of this legislation, and that is powerful incentives to move to the electronic world, electronic filing, and the removal of the some of the disincentives in place right now to electronic filing. I don't want to talk about the information superhighway, but the air rates for electronic filing is less than 1 percent; for the paper world it is 22 percent. The cost to the taxpayer to run the IRS, as well as the cost of the taxpayer to comply is substantially higher in a paper world than an electronic one.

Since the IRS deals with 100 million households on an annual basis, I also would forecast that if we can get the IRS into the electronic world so taxpayers will know with certainty what their bill is—for most families, it is one of the largest bills they have to pay. In Nebraska, for just the Federal obligation in taxes, the average individual contribution to Washington on an annual basis is $4,600 a year. So for most families, their tax obligation is one of the largest obligations or bills that they have to pay, and uncertainty about that can make it difficult for them to do financial planning.

I forecast that the electronic filing section of this bill is going to be something that is going to benefit taxpayers in lots of ways, and I also believe that it is going to be the sort of thing we will have to do in lots of other areas of Government if we are going to get the unit cost of Government down and the efficiency of the operation of the people's Government up.

So I appreciate very much knowing now with certainty that this bill will be brought to the floor prior to the 30th of March and, more importantly, prior to the 15th of April, because I think the American taxpayers have waited for this all too long.

## RONALD REAGAN WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report S. 1575.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1575) to rename the Washington National Airport located in the District of Columbia and Virginia as the ''Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport.''

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, first let me say to both the majority leader and the minority leader that the author and the cosponsors of S. 1575 are pleased that we were able to come to terms on the process by which we manage the legislation that would name Washington National Airport the Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport in memory of a great President of the United States. We hopefully are still on a timeframe by which this could be done in time for his birthday, which is this Friday. He will celebrate his 87th birthday.

The agreement is consistent with the argument that we have made all along that this is a memorial. The amendment process should be related to the context of the memorial, and extraneous issues should not have been a part of the amendment process. There is an integrity in this unanimous consent. All of these amendments are relevant, and all of them relate to the concept of whether this ought to be done or not.

We just heard from the Senator from Nebraska about his agreement or concurrence with the agreement that we would bring up IRS reform by April 15th. I, too, echo his agreement that that be done. But I did not believe it ought to be a part of this memorial. It diminished the nature of this for it to become a legislative vehicle for extraneous matters. No matter how important they are, they should not have been dealt with in the context of the memorial to former President Reagan.

I see the Senator from Nevada is present. I ask, if I might, is he here on behalf of the amendment under the agreement that we have just agreed to?

Mr. REID. What amendment is that?

Mr. COVERDELL. It has here ''an amendment to be offered by Senator REID regarding the FBI building.''

Mr. REID. I say to my friend from Georgia that is the reason I am here.

Mr. COVERDELL. I yield the floor in deference to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I will shortly send an amendment to the desk to delete the name J. Edgar Hoover from the FBI building.

Let me preface my remarks by saying how much I respect and admire President Reagan. When I served in the House of Representatives, I, on a number of occasions, sided with the President on a number of issues that I felt were important to the country and to the State of Nevada. President Reagan was a good friend of the State of Nevada. His No. 1 adviser and counselor was the Senator from Nevada, Paul Laxalt, for whom I also have great respect. I wouldn't do anything to withhold this measure from passing in time for his 87th birthday. This is not something I am going to talk a long time about. It is just something that I have

been looking, for more than a year, for an opportunity, for a vehicle to remove Mr. Hoover's name from the Federal Bureau of Investigation building.

I say to the sponsor of this bill that I commend and applaud him for being as tenacious as he has been in making sure this is done prior to the President's 87th birthday, which I understand is this Friday. I hope that the President, even though he is ill, will understand what an important act of Congress this is. It is one of many things that is going to be done to honor President Reagan's name. We, of course, have the largest Federal building in Washington, DC proper that will be named after him in Federal Triangle. There is going to be an aircraft carrier named after him, the largest in the Nimitz class that will be named after President Reagan. All of these honors are appropriate.

I want to make sure that I stress in my statement here today that my amendment has nothing to do with any attempt to take away the naming of the building for President Reagan. I hope that my friends on the other side of the aisle will support this amendment.

Let's look at J. Edgar Hoover. When I first became interested in this, I would show a book, ''J. Edgar Hoover, A Man and His Secrets,'' by Curt Gentry. Curt Gentry is a personal friend of mine. Curt and I have worked together for many years on a number of different things. I have the greatest respect for him. It took him 10 years to write this book, the most thorough research ever done on J. Edgar Hoover by Curt Gentry. It is a fine book. It is very readable. As you all know, he also wrote the book on Charles Manson called ''Helter-Skelter,'' which was also a best-seller.

I became convinced that we needed to do something to take the name off that building when I learned that, among other things, J. Edgar Hoover had a longstanding secret investigation of Quentin Burdick from North Dakota. Try that one on for size. Quentin Burdick from North Dakota was investigated by J. Edgar Hoover for his subservience. I would suggest to everyone that all of us who served with Burdick would suggest he was nothing other than a patriot.

Among other things, when J. Edgar Hoover died, his secretary had all of his personal records taken out of the FBI building and taken to his home. These were files on people. We will never know the full extent of the investigation this man did over the five decades that he was involved with the FBI. We know that it took, on a daily basis, working the longest and as hard as people could, 2½ months to shred the personal files which he had on people. We have learned in years past—and this is one—that he conducted investigations of many, many people. We could go through a long list of people he conducted investigations on. The index of this book that I have before me goes over names of people who are fine Americans who he had secret investigations done on.

We all know of the work that he did to cause all the problems he could to the person from Georgia, Dr. Martin Luther King. And the things he did alone to Dr. Martin Luther King was about as un-American as anything could be.

J. Edgar Hoover's name on the FBI building is a stain on the building. Arguably there is no other public official of this century who did so much to undermine the civil liberties as did J. Edgar Hoover. That says a lot because we have had many people who have been involved in going after people's civil rights and civil liberties, and I would say Hoover was at the top of the list. This was engaged in while he was head of the FBI. We have learned since he died that he did many different things.

Because the sponsor of the bill is from Georgia, I hope that he will join me in this effort.

Twenty-five separate actions were taken against Dr. Martin Luther King in the 1960s by J. Edgar Hoover that had no statutory basis—none. By the FBI's own admission, the allegations of ''Communist'' that flew over Dr. King were never proved nor established. There was a concerted undercover campaign of continuous wiretapping of his home, his office, and travel accommodations for over 3 years. The FBI Director himself approved of an attempt to disrupt Dr. King's marriage. The FBI launched an aggressive campaign intended to, among other objectives, replace Dr. King with a civil rights leader more acceptable to J. Edgar Hoover. When Dr. Martin Luther King received the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent a thinly veiled recommendation in a letter to Dr. King himself that Dr. King kill himself before accepting the prize.

J. Edgar Hoover went to extraordinary lengths to pursue a vicious vendetta against Dr. King, and I don't think I need to dwell on that anymore. Dr. Martin Luther King did not need this aggravation, this intrusive interference with this person's life.

The reason I mention Dr. King is because he is a very prominent figure. This happened to prominent and not-so-prominent people, anybody that J. Edgar Hoover felt needed to be looked at, and he did so in spite of what the law might have been because he was the law in his own mind.

Under his direction, the FBI continued to harass activists, or protesters, or any political movement. They didn't have to be in the civil rights movement—any political movement. He moved in with his minions, harassed, and did whatever he could to disrupt people. This was carried out by intimidation, slander, and threatening to disrupt their marriages, force them out of jobs, and smear them in the eyes of parents and teachers. Letters were used to incite violence between rival black groups, counting on contracts to be placed on certain leaders' lives in each group. Additional letters were forged over local Communist Party leaders' signatures to attack the employment practices of Mafia-owned businesses in order to intensify further animosity between these organizations.

The full extent of the FBI involvement will never be known because, as I have indicated, most all the records of relevant and highly pertinent Bureau documents were destroyed after he died in 1972.

So now that Americans have the real story on this demagoguery, we might be shamed into a more appropriate name for the FBI headquarters. I say to my friend from Georgia that my original intent was to take the name off the building and insert some other President's name—President Eisenhower, President Bush, or President Truman. But I do not want to make this a political debate. I think we should go ahead and name the airport after President Reagan and get Hoover's name off the FBI building. Then I am happy to work with my friends from the other side of aisle to come up with an appropriate name for the FBI building. But I don't think it does this country any good to have this man's name affixed to the FBI building. Here is a person who spent his entire life taking away people's rights.

So I hope this does not become a partisan issue. As I have indicated to my friend from Georgia, I hope there is a large vote for the Reagan bill from this side of the aisle. But I also hope there is a vote on the other side of the aisle to get this man's name off the Federal Bureau of Investigation building. I have so much respect for that organization and the people who work in it. I have spoken to FBI agents who really do not want his name on the building. The more time that goes by and the less people who worked under his influence, the more this happens all the time. The FBI is known today as an entity that protects people's rights, not take rights away.

So I hope that the message has been made. I only use one example. That is Dr. King. If anyone wants more information, I can certainly spread across this Senate the records of hundreds of people who were treated the same way that Dr. King was treated.

AMENDMENT NO. 1640

(Purpose: To redesignate the J. Edgar Hoover FBI Building in Washington, District of Columbia, as the ''Federal Bureau of Investigation Building'')

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID) proposes an amendment numbered 1640.

At the end, add the following:

**SEC. ____. REDESIGNATION OF J. EDGAR HOOVER FBI BUILDING.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—The J. Edgar Hoover FBI Building located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue

in Washington, District of Columbia, shall be known and designated as the ''Federal Bureau of Investigation Building''.

(b) REFERENCES.—Any reference in a law, map, regulation, document, paper, or other record of the United States to the building referred to in subsection (a) shall be deemed to be a reference to the ''Federal Bureau of Investigation Building''.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I would just state in closing that we have numerous newspaper articles: ''FBI Aide Terms Effort to Villify King Illegal;'' ''FBI Can't Justify Acts Against King;'' ''FBI Labeled King Communist;'' ''Senate Probe Bares Secret Files;'' ''Crusade to Topple King;'' ''Kelly Explores FBI Effort to Destroy King;'' ''King Widow Demands Reopening Martin Luther King Murder Probe;'' ''FBI Supervisor Linked to Dr. King Case;'' '' 'No Legal Basis for Harassing King,' FBI official says;'' ''FBI Tried to Kill Reverend King's Reputation.'' And I say again there are numerous people who were treated as badly, if not worse, as Dr. King. And if there is any question from anybody on either side of the aisle in that regard I would be happy to supply that information.

I also ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, first I thank the Senator from Nevada for his opening acknowledgement about the appropriateness of this legislation to honor former President Reagan. I appreciate his acknowledgement of the nature of the timeframe, that we are wanting to do this in conjunction with the President's 87th birthday.

I thank the Senator from Nevada for acknowledging that, indeed, this is a very unique period in the twilight years of the former President, and that he is bravely and courageously struggling with an illness; that he has used that illness as a last attempt to do public good by calling attention to its nature and highlighting the problem to the Nation. And I appreciate very much those generous remarks on behalf of the former President.

With regard to the presentations the Senator has made on behalf of his amendment, there will be a recorded vote up or down, and the Members of the Senate may make their decision as to their agreement or not with whether or not the current name of the FBI building would be removed and left to future congressional action to determine if another name should so honor the building.

I also agree with the Senator in his admiration of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It has had some difficult times, but clearly it has been throughout our history an instrument to which the American public looked for security and integrity.

Today, of course, the central objective is to fulfill the goal of S. 1575 which is to honor former President Reagan in this very fitting way by redesignation of Washington National Airport as Ronald Reagan Washington National Airport.

I thought it might be useful, Mr. President, to share some of the Nation's efforts to encourage the Congress and the President to get this job done by Friday. Resolutions are being introduced and passed throughout the country in support of the renaming of National Airport for President Reagan. On January 16, 1998, the California assembly passed a resolution in support of this legislation. Of course, it is extremely fitting because former President Reagan was twice elected Governor of the great State of California, where he served successfully and with integrity and purpose. I have been told that a similar resolution was introduced yesterday in the South Dakota Senate by Senator Alan Aiker and in the Maine House of Representatives by Representative Adam Mack. The Alabama House of Representatives, my neighboring State, has passed a resolution in support of the redesignation of National Airport. The Arizona Senate has passed a resolution in like support of redesignation. The Idaho, Illinois, and Ohio legislatures will introduce resolutions next week. In Wisconsin, a resolution has been introduced and will be voted on this week. In addition, on February 6, President Reagan's 87th birthday, the Wisconsin legislature will vote on a plan to name the new Department of Administration building in Madison after former President Ronald Reagan.

Mr. President, I am glad this short-lived filibuster has come to an end and that we can move on to resolution of this legislation.

As I said when we began the debate on this legislation, there are fewer than 12 namesakes of former President Reagan. As indicated by the Senator from Nevada, assuming the success of this legislation, I think we are going to see a growing crescendo across the country. As we look back on the Reagan Presidency, if you had to find a word that characterized it, it was ''optimism''—optimism, a complete belief in the spirit and nature of the American people. Historically, there are very few eras for which the principles of American freedom were more center point, almost on a par in a sense with the founding. President Reagan's policies unleashed unprecedented economic liberty, created millions and millions of new jobs, created unprecedented growth, created and made the value of economic liberty fall into the homes of millions and millions of Americans across this country.

Sometimes when we talk about American liberty we tend to focus on the component of keeping ourselves free from impoundment by adversarial forces, the Axis powers and Adolf Hitler, Saddam Hussein. But one of the critical components of American liberty is economic liberty. We fought the War of Independence over economic liberty. And there has not been another American leader so committed to it as was former President Ronald Reagan. He fought for it throughout his entire life and, as President, implemented policies that enriched it in every corner.

Having said that, he was also one of the strongest proponents of defending our freedom through strength, and as we said over the last several days his strong conviction with regard to the Soviet Union, which he labeled ''the evil empire,'' was unprecedented in changing the fortunes of world history as he brought down the Berlin Wall and he brought down the Soviet Union's grasp over millions of people in the world. So he was seeing to liberty not only at home but liberty abroad.

Mr. President, I see the Senator from Nevada is seeking recognition, and I will yield the floor to the Senator at this time.

Mr. REID. I extend my appreciation to the Senator. I want to complete anything I have on this legislation prior to our automatic 5 o'clock break, and I want to say a couple things.

First of all, just so the record is clear, there were a number of things written about J. Edgar Hoover but one of the most telling things was written on the day of his death when a local columnist wrote about some of the things they were beginning to discover in some detail, the files he had kept on people. And this one columnist indicated he had reviewed the titillating tidbits about such diverse figures as Marlon Brando, Harry Belafonte, athletes like Joe Namath, Lance Rentzel, Joe Louis, Muhammad Ali, and, of course, he was always hard on all black leaders. Included in this article was Ralph Abernathy and Roy Ennis. After Dr. King was assassinated, he continued his work going after his widow. It wasn't good enough that he had attempted to vilify this man; he went after the widow.

And then I guess it is all summed up by a note that President Nixon sent to John Dean when he said, and I quote, ''He's got files on everybody,'' which I guess is true. I deleted some swear words in the note from Nixon to Dean.

So I hope that we could get this part of the history at least off the FBI building. It is a great institution. Whenever I can do anything legislatively to help the FBI, I have done that. I think they are a great organization that today we should be proud of, and in spite of J. Edgar Hoover the FBI I think has a great reputation.

Mr. President, let me just say, since I see my friend from Arizona in the Chamber, and I know we have a 5 o'clock break, a couple words to extend my appreciation to the majority leader for setting a time certain that we can take up the IRS bill, which certainly is one of the most important things that we can do, the restructuring of the Internal Revenue Service. It passed the House widely last year. We should have

passed it ourselves last year. I think it is important that we move forward on this as quickly as we can. It is important legislation to, among other things, change the burden of proof in a tax case from the taxpayer to the tax collector. Certainly it seems that would be an appropriate thing to do. It needs to be restructured. It will pass overwhelmingly when we get to it. I hope that Chairman ROTH will move forward with hearings as quickly as possible so that we can have all that done. There is no excuse we cannot move forward with this on the date in March the majority leader has selected.

Mr. MCCAIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, many opponents of this legislation have expressed concerns about Congress stripping the local airport authority of its control. As many of my colleagues know, I have long advocated that the Federal Government get out of the business of running National and Dulles airports. The Federal Government, much to my chagrin, mandates the number of hourly operations at National Airport and the length of nonstop flights to and from National Airport, known to many of us as the so-called perimeter rule. My attempts to deregulate National Airport have been met with ardent local resistance.

I just want to take this opportunity to say that National and those who represent it cannot just accept the Federal regulations that are convenient for them and that they like. If they oppose our activities with respect to an airport that's still federally owned, I urge them to step up and oppose all Federal statutes that specifically address Washington National, such as the perimeter rule.

I say to those who are raising this concern about our involvement by acting congressionally in renaming the Washington National Airport the Ronald Reagan Airport, I hope that you will express at least a scintilla of that same zeal in trying to remove the Federal requirement that every flight that leaves National Airport can go no further than what, just by coincidence, turns out to be the western edge of the runway at Dallas-Fort Worth Airport, which rule happened to have been put in by the former Speaker of the House, Jim Wright. I know that is purely coincidental.

The reality is that there are very strict Federal regulations that govern National Airport and Dulles Airport, and those regulations should be removed. So I continue, of course, also to be amused at the fact that at Washington National Airport, hundreds of thousands of dollars of revenue on an annual basis are lost, or perhaps millions, because of the reserved parking places for Members of the Congress, diplomats and judges. But that problem has been, to a large degree, solved, because the very clever and intelligent people that run Washington National Airport, when faced with occasional complaints by people who were struggling past empty parking lots with a sign on them that said ''Reserved for diplomats, Members of Congress and Supreme Court Justices,'' struggling people like women with children, elderly individuals who had to go much, much further away because these parking lots are reserved close in to the airport, they solved this problem for us, and it probably will not come up again, because they took down the signs that said, ''Reserved for diplomats, Supreme Court Justices and Members of Congress,'' and they put up signs that said, ''Reserved.'' So, for all intents and purposes, that problem is pretty well resolved.

The fact is that it is outrageous and it is a disgrace. It is, again, an example of the Federal involvement in National Airport.

I would like to be serious for just a moment, if I could. I want to thank Senator COVERDELL. I thank Senator COVERDELL for bringing this issue up and for his usual tenacity in seeing this thing through. But I also want to say it's not just tenacity that characterizes Senator COVERDELL, it's a willingness to discuss and negotiate this issue with those on the other side of the aisle so we have reached what I think is a reasonable agreement that would resolve this issue. I thank my friends on the other side of the aisle who have been willing to enter into this agreement so we can have their legitimate concerns ventilated in the proper parliamentary fashion, the way we do business around here in the Senate.

I was disturbed last Thursday when apparently we were going to go through some kind of filibustering over this issue, rather than resolve it in the way we are resolving it now. I didn't think it was a good way for us to start the year. So I thank my friends, especially the Democratic leader, Senator DASCHLE, for his characteristic willingness to resolve the differences we may have had.

Each of these amendments which are germane will be voted on. I am sure many of them have merit. I remind my friends on the other side of the aisle, they feel very strongly and with great affection for their heroes. And their heroes are deserving of their respect and affection. And we on this side of the aisle share that respect and affection for their heroes. Perhaps not to the degree, but certainly we share the affection and respect. We also on this side of the aisle believe that Ronald Reagan did marvelous things, not only for all Americans but all citizens of the world in providing an opportunity for peace and freedom. He did keep the United States of America as a beacon of hope and freedom to all mankind and I believe that what we are going to do is exceedingly appropriate. I am pleased that we will be able to resolve this. I am sure that in the minds of many of us there is never any way we will be able to properly honor and commemorate his services to our Nation. What we are doing is done in a very small and insignificant fashion in the grand scheme of things.

Again, I thank Senator COVERDELL and I thank my friends on the other side of the aisle for their cooperation with us on this issue. I pledge, at least for myself and I think most people on this side of the aisle, that when an issue of this nature arises which is emotionally as well as intellectually important, that we will try to show and should show the same consideration to you as was displayed on this issue.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I thank my cosponsor, Senator MCCAIN of Arizona, for his remarks and for his support of this effort and for the enormous contribution he has made to our coming to this point. He spoke to an amendment that I want to take just a second on.

We understand there will be an amendment that would suggest that this is an intrusion into local matters. This is, of course, an amendment that I would encourage all my colleagues to oppose. I would just cite the Federal law that contemporarily governs Washington National. It says:

> The Federal Government has a continuing but limited interest in the operation of the two Federally-owned airports which serve the travel and cargo needs of the entire metropolitan Washington region as well as the District of Columbia and the national seat of Government.

To be candid about it, I think if it weren't for the Congress, National Airport, like many other close-in metropolitan airports, would have been closed. It is just that the Congress would never have accepted that. Of course it was funded by the Federal Government through 1987, and since that time has received appropriate grants from several Federal entities. So I believe the idea that there is not an appropriate national and Federal role here cannot be substantiated. This is one amendment—I have not seen the exact language—but that I would encourage opposition to. I see my good friend from New Jersey is on the floor to make comments. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, I know to many Americans it may be strange or bewildering with so many issues before the Congress that we are debating naming, honoring, Americans by placing their names on different public facilities. But who we honor, and the names we attach to public buildings and locations, matters. By whom we choose to honor, we set standards about ourselves. We communicate with future generations the qualities of people that we admire and the things in American history that

are important. The Senator from Georgia has rightly noted the considerable contributions of former President Ronald Reagan. The Senator from Nevada, Mr. REID, has offered an amendment of importance for another reason.

Standards change. Nations learn conduct and behavior. No sooner had the Soviet Union fallen than statues of Stalin and Lenin tumbled to the streets. Samoza, Marcos, Batista had probably not even left office when their names and statues were removed from public places.

In America through the years we have had despots of a different order, people who lived in a free society but did not always respect the law. They were part of the U.S. Government but not always in its best traditions. The Senator from Nevada has raised an issue before the Senate that the name of J. Edgar Hoover remains on the FBI building in Washington, DC. Every year, thousands of American schoolchildren wander down Pennsylvania Avenue to visit the FBI headquarters. Because the FBI now is often a model of law enforcement in our country, because the country has been fortunate to have Louis Freeh as its director, who respects the law and is in the highest traditions of our country, neither those schoolchildren nor many of our citizens, probably, remember or understand that there was a time when the Federal Bureau of Investigation's leadership, under J. Edgar Hoover, neither lived within nor always respected the law.

Mr. COVERDELL. Will the Senator yield for just one moment for an administrative note?

Mr. TORRICELLI. I am happy to yield.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. COVERDELL. I ask unanimous consent that at the closure of the Senator's remarks, the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 6 this evening. As you know, this is for the Members' briefing on Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask for 1 minute following his remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request as amended by the Senator from Nevada? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Upon J. Edgar Hoover's death, perhaps his closest colleague in the Bureau, William Sullivan, described Mr. Hoover as a ''master blackmailer.''

We now know from historians Mr. Hoover had compiled files on Presidents of the United States and Members of Congress through illegal surveillance and wiretapping, holding dossiers on leaders of the U.S. Government. It was a practice of blackmail. It changed policies. It threatened America. And it was wrong.

Probably no one of his time, through subterfuge, within the U.S. Government, had a more adverse impact on the civil rights movement. He vigorously dispatched agents of the U.S. Government to harass the leadership of the NAACP. He called leading civil rights organizations ''Communist fronts.'' Indeed, he instructed agents to stand by and watch as racist mobs would beat up voter registration workers and civil rights workers in organized and lawful marches. To the extent that he harassed Martin Luther King, former Vice President Walter Mondale called J. Edgar Hoover ''a disgrace to every American.''

I don't know how we explain to American schoolchildren who leave their schools to honor Martin Luther King, who learn in our classrooms about the American Constitution, our respect for laws, that when they visit this proud Capital of our country, the most prominent name on the most prominent street in America is J. Edgar Hoover. But I know this, the Senator from Nevada is right, that it is a contradiction that should be removed, an explanation that no longer need be made. It is time to remove the name of J. Edgar Hoover from the FBI building. And if it is not enough that we suspected all along his intimidation of Presidents and his violation of basic rights, his biographers now give us more than enough reason. If you don't respect the Constitution, or civil rights, or civil liberties, Mr. Hoover lived outside the laws that he pretended to uphold.

It is now known that he had secret relationships with underworld boss Frank Costello, whose primary duties in organized crime including fixing games of chance and horse races. Gambling tips were given to Mr. Hoover, so he was able to support a lifestyle and live with income outside of the law. He had close contacts with members of New York's organized crime families as well, who he refused to investigate, or even acknowledge that they were a public policy problem for more than a decade. It is now claimed that outside of these illegal acts, within the bureau itself he used hundreds of thousands of dollars of public money for his own personal use.

The Senator from Nevada has brought before the Senate a painful decision, because it requires an honest reflection on a period of history of our own country.

Mr. Hoover was not in the best traditions of this country. And in a time when many fear that civil liberties in our country are sometime threatened, no longer from without but from within, it is a valuable message not only to our own people but, indeed, to law enforcement that we honor people not only who enforce the law but who live within it.

As Richard Cohen of the Washington Post observed in 1990:

> You affect the future, by what you do with the past and how you interpret it. All over the world, when regimes change, so do names. Danzig becomes Gdansk. Images of Lenin come down all over Eastern Europe, and in the Soviet Union, Stalingrad becomes Volgograd. These are all political statements. They say, ''there's a new way of doing things.''

Mr. President, exactly, there is a new way of doing things.

The Senator from Georgia offers the name of Ronald Reagan because Ronald Reagan makes us proud. He was the right way of doing things in our country, whether you agree with the naming of the airport or you do not. Mr. Hoover is an indication of the wrong way of doing things in America. I support the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada. I am proud to offer it with him. I yield the floor.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, there may be some who feel that Ronald Reagan was not the greatest President. I have already laid across this RECORD how I feel about Ronald Reagan. But everyone would say that Ronald Reagan's heart was in the right place. He was a true American patriot who did what he thought was best for this country.

The direct opposite is applicable to J. Edgar Hoover. He didn't do things that were good for this country. His heart was not in the right place. He was a vicious, mean-spirited man, and his name should be taken from the building that houses the Federal Bureau of Investigation the very same moment we rename National Airport for President Ronald Reagan.

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 6 p.m.

Thereupon, at 5:02 p.m., the Senate recessed until 5:58:32 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COVERDELL).

## RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In my capacity as a Senator from the State of Georgia, I ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 6:15.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 5:58 p.m., recessed until 6:18 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. BROWNBACK].

## RONALD REAGAN WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is considering S. 1575.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. We are returning to the Ronald Reagan legislation, is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.