

taken and also because of the very, very skillful diplomacy—very skillful diplomacy—of the Secretary General, I would like to thank the Secretary General for his effort.

We haven't dotted all the i's and crossed all the t's, and we have not seen the specifics, but I believe as a United States Senator that his mission was a sacred mission. I am very hopeful that we will have a political settlement. I am very hopeful that diplomacy will have worked, and I think the world will be better for that. Whenever we can avoid loss of life, let's first do that.

So we all wait to see. From what I have read, from what I have heard, and the Secretary General is a man who is very careful with his words, when he says he believes this will be acceptable to the United Nations, to the Security Council, I don't think he would have said that unless there is good cause for it.

So I am very hopeful that this will be acceptable to the Security Council, and we will have a resolution to this conflict without having to go to war, without having to take military action.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, let me briefly talk about this campaign finance reform bill that is coming to the floor. By the way, this, I think, will be the business of the Senate this week. This is a core issue. This is the core problem, and this is going to be a real important debate for our country. I think it should be very clear to everybody in the country where all of us stand.

I know we have differences. Probably the Chair and I have differences on this issue. But I can't help but believe that we can't get some good things done together, because I can't but believe that any of us who have been through these campaigns just hate this system. It is just crazy.

I remember when I ran in 1990 in Minnesota the first time around. It was as if the only thing that mattered was how much money you had in terms of who gets to run, in terms of whether you have a viable campaign, in terms of who wins, in terms of what issues get discussed, in terms of who the people are who have access to the Congress all too often, as opposed to so many of the people who don't.

This is a core issue, and if you believe that each person should count as one and no more than one in a representative democracy, all the ways in which big money have come to dominate politics severely undercut our democracy. As a matter of fact, I think it is part of what has led to this serious decline of participation of our citizens which really can only lead to decline of our democracy.

So there are many concerns that people have, and they care about a lot of issues that are important to themselves and their families. But the prob-

lem is, they don't believe that their concerns are of much concern in the Halls of the Congress or, for that matter, the White House, because they believe that the political process in Washington, DC, has become so dominated by big money and special interests.

How important it is that we at least take some steps toward eliminating some of this corrupting influence of this big money and try to begin to make these campaigns sane, try to begin to make these campaigns at least a little bit more of a level playing field.

The Washington Post had an editorial today:

McCain-Feingold is already a limited bill.

I agree. I wish we had the clean money-clean election option passed by Maine and Vermont, but McCain-Feingold is a very important step forward.

For lack of votes, the original proposals meant to clean out the stables of congressional campaign finance almost all have been dropped. Congress's indignation with regard to financing of presidential United States campaigns somehow does not extend to the financing of its own.

Well, I would just ask people in Minnesota and people in the country: Please be vigilant. Please keep an eye out on our work. Do not let the U.S. Senate block reform. And do not let the U.S. Senate pass some piece of legislation that has that made-for-Congress look with a great acronym which pretends to do so much and ends up doing so little.

That is the worst of all cases. I'd just as soon we not do anything as opposed to passing something which we claim will make an enormous difference but really does not and will just add to the disillusionment of people in our country.

So I just say, this will be an important week. This is going to be an important debate. I hope we will get some things done.

For my own part, if the majority leader will let us, I will have a set of amendments that will apply to the Congress. I will have a set of amendments that will apply to our campaigns which will be an effort to begin to go after some of the influence of big money in congressional campaigns along with some of the other things that we will be talking about, like soft money.

If I cannot bring those amendments to the floor in this debate, I will bring these amendments to the floor in the next bill that comes up or the following bill that comes up, because I do not think there is any more important issue that is facing this country.

So to Minnesotans and to people in the country: Please hold all of us accountable. Do not let people get away with blocking reform. Do not let any of us get away with passing some piece of legislation which has no teeth and makes really no difference at all. Make sure that we take some steps in this U.S. Senate that will at least get some

of this big money out of politics and at least move us a little bit more toward elections as opposed to auctions going to the highest bidder.

Mr. President, I think that I have about run out of my time. I yield the floor to my colleagues from Connecticut.

Mr. DODD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ABRAHAM RIBICOFF

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to commemorate an extraordinary life. We in the U.S. Senate have lost a former colleague and a leading light of the U.S. Senate—Abraham Ribicoff.

Abe Ribicoff, Mr. President, was born and raised in New Britain, CT. He was the son of poor Polish immigrants. Yet this humble son of Connecticut rose to become one of our State's and our country's most distinguished public servants. He served in this body for 18 years—beginning in January of 1963 and retiring in 1981.

One of the highest honors I have had in public life, Mr. President, was to succeed Abe Ribicoff in the U.S. Senate, and I take great pride in the fact that in 1981 Abe Ribicoff placed my name in nomination for this office.

Abe Ribicoff believed fervently that the highest calling one can have in American life is public service. He obeyed that calling as few Americans ever have. He is the only person in our Nation's history to have served as a State legislator, a municipal judge, a U.S. Representative, a Governor, a Presidential Cabinet Secretary, and a U.S. Senator.

But to appreciate Abe Ribicoff, it is important to understand that he did more than occupy an impressive collection of public offices. What distinguished Abe Ribicoff from his peers, from his predecessors, and from those who have come after him is not the number of offices he held, but the manner in which he held them. Abe Ribicoff brought to his life's work integrity, candor, high principle, an unshakeable faith in America's Government, and a deeply held belief in the goodness and decency of our people.

Abe Ribicoff had the rarest and most important of all qualities we seek in public leaders—courage in the public arena. Time and again, in ways large and small, he demonstrated a commitment to principle even in the face of fierce opposition. He was willing to fight for what he believed to be right. And he fought hard, though always—always—in a decent and honorable manner.

In Abe Ribicoff's politics, there was no place for meanness, no place for personal attacks. He understood the importance of public opinion, but he never relied on polls to shape his political decisions. He was guided not by emotion, not by numbers, but by judgment, by reason, and by principle.

One of the defining moments in his public life took place in 1968 at the Democratic National Convention. Here was a man, Mr. President, a first-term Senator, not unaware that he was confronting the entire national leadership of his party, willing to take a stand and make a very, very public display and call for civility in our society.

In doing so on that day, he appealed, in my view, to what is best about our Nation and ourselves—our capacity for tolerance and understanding; our belief that in a truly civilized society we live by the rule of law, not by the rule of force; that in fact it is right that makes might.

In this moment, the world learned what we in Connecticut had long known, that Abe Ribicoff was a national gift.

His entire career stood above all for the belief that America is a land of limitless opportunity and equal justice.

He abhorred discrimination in all its forms, and he knew it in his own life. During his campaign for Governor in 1954, an ugly whispering campaign questioned whether Connecticut was ready for a Jewish Governor. Abe Ribicoff answered from the heart. In a famous address in Connecticut, Abe Ribicoff said:

In this great country of ours, anybody, even a poor kid from immigrant parents in New Britain, could achieve any office he sought, or any position in private or public life, irrespective of race, color, creed, or religion.

The voters of Connecticut, Mr. President, answered that they agreed with their Governor-elect.

Even when he himself was not touched by the sting of discrimination, he acted to do what was right. In 1956, a young Senator from Massachusetts was mentioned as a possible Vice Presidential candidate. Ironically, many Catholics, mindful of the discrimination that still existed against them, questioned whether America was ready for an Irish Catholic in the White House after what had occurred to Alfred Smith in 1928.

Abe Ribicoff, speaking to the Irish Catholic leadership of the Democratic Party, took exception.

I never thought [he said] I'd see the day when a man of the Jewish faith had to plead before a group of Irish Catholics about allowing another Irish Catholic to be nominated for the position [of Vice President].

In no small measure, Mr. President, it was Abe Ribicoff's faith—faith in his country and faith in a candidate that propelled John Kennedy to the Presidency just a few years later.

Once again, Mr. President, in 1976, questions were raised about whether a southern Governor and a born-again Baptist believer could serve as President of the United States. Without a moment's hesitation, this Connecticut Yankee said yes. Judge the man, judge his ideas, but do not judge his personal faith.

Abe Ribicoff lived most of his professional life at the highest, most austere

and auspicious levels. He knew his share of Governors, of Senators, of Presidents. But lest we forget, Mr. President, he also knew struggle. He knew hardship growing up among the shops and mills of New Britain, CT. And he knew discrimination and he knew defeat, having lost his first campaign in the Senate by a slim margin.

But even as he rose to the very top of public life, he never forgot about those that he served. He knew that all principles are in the end empty letters and hollow rhetoric if they are not connected to people's lives. The instrument of Government, the laws of the land mean little if they do not help ordinary citizens surmount obstacles and obtain their noblest aspirations.

At a time when Medicare was described as "socialism," Abe Ribicoff knew that it embodied the obligation of a compassionate society to care for its elderly. When some called civil rights laws an affront to "States rights," he knew that they could make the promise of equal justice a reality for millions of Americans. When others said that a Governor and a Senator should not spend his time fussing about highway safety, he knew that a tough approach to speeding and drunk driving would save lives and spare families immeasurable grief and sorrow.

We have spoken of Abraham Ribicoff as a public servant, but he was much more than that. He was also a husband and a father. To his wife Casey and to his family we convey our deepest sorrow.

He was also a teacher. I consider myself extremely—extremely—fortunate to have been able to call on him many, many, many times since he left office in 1981 for his advice and counsel and guidance and just good old political conversation. No one—no one—in this world of political life could have had a better mentor than I did in Abe Ribicoff.

Mr. President, I want to close with a reading from Hebrew text. It captures, I believe, the essence of this man whose passing we all mourn today. Let me quote it:

A good name is to be chosen above wealth, and character rather than silver and gold.

Blessed is the one who bequeaths a good name to his descendants.

There are three crowns: the crown of Torah, the crown of priesthood, and the crown of royalty,

But the crown of a good name excels them all.

Even a long life ends too soon, but a good name endures forever.

Blessed is he whose noble deeds remain his memorial after his life on Earth is ended.

Mr. President, I yield to my good friend and colleague, Senator LIEBERMAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Chair and thank my friend and senior colleague from Connecticut. I thank him for his eloquent and moving tribute to

Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff whose passing yesterday we mourn on the floor of the Senate today. I would like to just add a few words to my colleague's extraordinary statement.

Mr. President, as Senator DODD has referred to that critical moment in the 1954 campaign of Senator Ribicoff for Governor of Connecticut, when there were expressions of bigotry, of anti-Semitism, and Senator Ribicoff at a turning point in his own career rose to challenge those whispers directly in the eloquent words that Senator DODD has spoken in what has become known in Connecticut political lore as Abe Ribicoff's "American Dream Speech." In the bottom line of it was Senator Ribicoff saying, "Abe Ribicoff believes in the American dream." And indeed he did. The extraordinary life that he led that ended yesterday, after 87 years, is a testament to the vitality of the American dream.

Mr. President, there are many other great civilizations and democracies in the world, but I must say the more that I have the opportunity to visit them the more I come back home appreciating how unique this great country of ours is, how we have created here an ethic of mutual respect, of a fairness of opportunity that has allowed people who are capable, who are willing to work hard to rise to the highest levels in our society, whether it is in the public sector, the private sector, in the arts, sports, whatever.

In that moment of crisis, in a campaign that, if he had lost, probably his public career would have ended, Abe Ribicoff stood up and directly confronted and challenged those who did not believe in the American dream, who were prepared to stimulate an effort against him because of his religion, to say that he believed in the American dream and had confidence that the people of Connecticut did. Also, of course, they vindicated that confidence on election day.

His father was an immigrant from Poland—Polish, Jewish—came to New Britain, CT, worked at first as a peddler, then as a factory worker, and raised a son and other distinguished members of the family who rose to extraordinary and proud heights.

Abe Ribicoff worked for everything he achieved. He had—if I may borrow from a phrase that my colleague mentioned earlier—he had a regal quality to him. It is a remarkable thing to say, when you think of the humble origins from where he came, but it was within himself, his dignity, his intelligence, his civility, his honor and integrity that those qualities remarkably in the hurly-burly of the political life that we lead remained intact.

He worked his way forward, ultimately graduating from the University of Chicago Law School. He came back to Connecticut and began to practice law. And very soon he went into public life.

As Senator DODD said, he has a record that as far as we know is unequaled in America because of the extraordinary range of offices he held—State legislator, judge, member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Governor, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Kennedy Cabinet, and then the capstone to his career, 18 extraordinarily distinguished and productive years as a U.S. Senator.

I want to comment on a few of those periods of his life and end with a personal word. When Abe Ribicoff became Governor of the State of Connecticut, he led an administration that constituted a turning point in the history of our State and, in many ways, pointed the direction for the future of the Democratic Party. As I have been thinking over the last 24 hours of some of the accomplishments that characterized Abe Ribicoff's career, it seems to me he was a "new Democrat" before anybody thought of the term.

In Connecticut, where the party had most of its strength in the cities, Abe Ribicoff and others—including my colleague's distinguished and beloved father, Senator Tom DODD—reached out from the cities to the suburbs, to the smaller towns, and broadened the reach of the Democratic Party in our State. In doing so, he not only achieved personal success and paved the way for partisan success in the future throughout the State but served with the public and the public interest in Connecticut mightily.

Abe Ribicoff as Governor was a fiscal conservative. He believed in balancing the budget. He believed in governmental reform. He focused on public safety questions such as highway safety. He never hesitated to work across party lines. During his 6 years as Governor, there were times when the Republican Party controlled one or, I believe, both Houses of the State legislature. He had a guiding principle that he adopted and articulated that carried him very well, right through the Senate years. It is what he described as the integrity of compromise. He said, in this business of politics there is nothing dishonorable and certainly not dishonest about compromising your initial position to get something done. What is the value, he would say, of holding to that initial position as strongly as you originally felt if just moving a little bit—as long as it is not against your conscience and your principles—allowed you to do something for the people.

He had a distinguished, very popular career as Governor, winning a very close victory in 1954, then going on to win an enormous landslide in 1958. As Senator DODD has said, he played a pivotal role, along with our State Democratic chairman, John Bailey, in the election of JFK as President, there, again, as my senior colleague has said, giving another testament to Abe Ribicoff's belief in the American dream.

President Kennedy asked Senator Ribicoff to become a member of the

Cabinet, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. He served there with distinction. He did some of the early work that led to the Medicare Program, which today is so critical to so many millions of Americans to provide decent health and is itself one of the reasons the average lifespan of the American people is longer today than it was before Medicare started.

The truth is, as he said to those of us who were privileged to know him and as he said after his retirement from public life, that the year and a half as a member of the Cabinet were not the happiest years of his career. In fact, they were probably the least satisfying. He was very honest about it. He said, "I'm used to being my own man. I was Governor, I was a Member of Congress. I'm used to being my own man, instead of having to support positions that are someone else's that I really didn't support or having to oppose other positions that I really did support."

He served with distinction but not with pleasure and took the opportunity to run for the U.S. Senate in 1962. That, I think, was the most productive and the most satisfying time of his remarkable career. He was again ahead of his time here. He worked on subjects like environmental protection before the great burst of activity in that area occurred in the 1970s. He had a hearing and invited the mother of the environmental movement, Rachel Carson, after she published her book "Silent Spring," to testify before his committee. From that testimony, he worked on pesticides and other threats to the environment and public health. He continued the work that he started at HEW and played a leading role in the passage of the Medicare Program, serving as a member of the Finance Committee. He continued the work he had done in Connecticut on highway safety and did some very important legislative work to raise the standards for automotive safety of the American people. He was a great believer in free and fair trade and a strong supporter of the kind of governmental stimulus to the private sector that creates economic growth. He was very much in that sense a person of the Senate.

He worked very easily and comfortably across party lines. Again, remembering the integrity of compromise in a body of 100 people with a lot of strong opinions, you need people who are bridge builders, and Senator Abe Ribicoff built some extraordinary bridges that have so dramatically improved the quality of American life.

Mr. President, if I may end on a personal note, Senator Ribicoff was for me a hero, an inspiration, and a mentor. In 1954, when he first ran for Governor, I was a kid in Stamford, CT, beginning to develop an interest in politics. I was taken by his strength, by his independence, by the way he carried himself. Because he and I shared the same religion—both members of a minority religion—I wondered how he would fare. In

some sense, he tested in a most public way the faith that my own dear parents gave me that this is a great country, this is a country of opportunity; people will judge you not by how you worship but by how you work, how you conduct yourself, what you propose to do.

Of course, in that election in 1954, the people of Connecticut vindicated Abe Ribicoff's faith, my parents' faith and in that sense gave me that faith at a critical time in my own life.

In the 1960s, as a college student, I had the great opportunity to work for Senator Ribicoff for two summers. This is sometimes what happens to Senate interns. We end up in the field of our dreams, as it were, here in the U.S. Senate, first in 1962 on his committee, his Campaign Finance Committee, working in the State, and then in the summer of 1963 as one of his first summer interns. We developed, I don't even want to at that stage call it a friendship, but he was a mentor, he was a teacher. I learned an enormous amount from him and will forever be grateful that when a few years later, in 1970, I decided to tackle public office as a State senator, he was gutsy enough and supportive enough to endorse me. It happened to be a Democratic primary against an incumbent, so it was quite a boost for a youngster, running without previous officeholding experience, to receive the support of the distinguished U.S. Senator whom I have talked about in terms of compromise and the integrity of compromise.

While it was true he was a moderate man in many ways, and that helped him to build the coalitions that made things happen for his constituents and for the American people, Abe Ribicoff's moderation was not a mushy vacuum moderation. It was full of principle; it was full of substance. As those of us who knew and loved him also can tell you, he was capable of leaving that moderation to go to periods of white heat when he felt strongly about something and was prepared to step out on those occasions, regardless of what the political conventions would have told him to do. The most dramatic, well-known example is the remarkable, courageous speech at the 1968 Democratic National Convention that Senator DODD referred to.

Abe Ribicoff was a towering figure who served with honor and great result. It is a source of great personal pride and no small amount of humility that I have the opportunity to stand here as a U.S. Senator today to express my own sadness at his passing and my own pride at the great career that he had and, finally, to offer my condolences to his beloved wife Casey, to his children Peter and Jane, to his stepson Peter, and to his six grandchildren. Your father, your grandfather, served America with great distinction and served in a way that should give hope to the millions of others out there who may be, as he did long ago, forming their own American dream.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The Senator from Connecticut.

MR. DODD. I commend my colleague for his eloquent statement and his remembrances of Abe Ribicoff.

On behalf of both of us, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed some very fine comments from today's editions of the *Hartford Courant* and the *New Britain Herald*, his hometown newspaper. They did excellent jobs in capturing the career and the essence of Abe Ribicoff.

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

[From the *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 23, 1998]

ABRAHAM RIBICOFF DIES AT 87

WAS CONGRESSMAN, GOVERNOR, CABINET MEMBER AND U.S. SENATOR IN 4 DECADES OF PUBLIC SERVICE

(By Charles F.J. Morse—Special to The *Courant* and David Lightman—Washington Bureau Chief)

Abraham A. Ribicoff, a storybook politician whose rare mix of talent, timing and luck took him from a boyhood dream in New Britain to a distinguished third term in the United States Senate, died of heart failure Sunday at the Hebrew Home in Riverdale, N.Y.

He was 87.

One of the state's most accomplished Democrats, Mr. Ribicoff was Connecticut's first and only Jewish governor and one of its longest-serving senators. And he became known nationally as President Kennedy's first secretary of health, education and welfare and later as the man who stood up to Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley during the tumultuous 1968 Democratic National Convention.

"Abe Ribicoff served Connecticut and our nation with great distinction, style and elegance. He is truly one of the great leaders of the 20th century," U.S. Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., said Sunday. "He displayed courage and conviction throughout his life, and he was a symbol for what public service can and should be. He will be sorely missed."

Mr. Ribicoff left Washington in 1981, declining to run for a fourth Senate term. He went to New York to practice law, "the generalist in a firm of 400 specialists," he would jest.

In a 1992 interview, he explained why he returned to his Cornwall Bridge home and sometimes took on the two-hour commute to midtown Manhattan instead of staying in Washington to enjoy elder-statesman status.

"I always felt that once a person no longer has power, he should get out," Mr. Ribicoff said from his Park Avenue office. "Nothing is as sad as seeing a person who used to have power have none."

STRONG-WILLED GENTLEMAN

Mr. Ribicoff always had a keen sense of timing. He was a craftsman of the political surprise.

On the eve of his election as governor in 1954, feeling the closeness of his challenge to incumbent Republican Gov. John Davis Lodge, and hearing some anti-Semitic undercurrents, Mr. Ribicoff went on television and winged it from the heart, telling of his American dream:

"In this great country of ours, anybody, even a poor kid from immigrant parents in New Britain, could achieve any office he sought, or any position in private or public life, irrespective of race, color, creed or religion."

No one can measure the impact of that 11th-hour emotional candor, but he won the election by a slim 3,200 votes.

"He was a true leader and a leader in many ways that were first," former Gov. William A. O'Neill said Sunday.

O'Neill recalled Mr. Ribicoff as an old-fashioned gentleman who nonetheless had strong will and fought for what he believed in.

"He was a very strong man, a firm man, yet a very compassionate person who looked out for those who could not look out for themselves," O'Neill said. "As far as political courage, he had all you needed of that."

Mr. Ribicoff was born in New Britain on April 9, 1910, son of Samuel and Rose Sable Ribicoff.

He put himself through New York University and married Ruth Siegel of Hartford before attending the University of Chicago Law School. The couple had two children, Peter Ribicoff of New York City and Jane Bishop of Del Mar, Calif.

Ruth Ribicoff died on April 12, 1972. He married Lois "Casey" Mathes of Florida the following August.

AN EARLY CRUSADE

Mr. Ribicoff's public career spanned 42 years. He lost an election only once.

His first elective office, won in 1938, was a seat from Hartford in the state House of Representatives. From there he moved on to a Hartford Police Court judgeship. He was elected to Congress, from the 1st District, in 1948 and as governor in 1954.

After winning the state's highest office by a hair, Mr. Ribicoff later issued an executive order mandating 30-day license suspensions for drivers convicted of speeding. Thousands lost their licenses.

During 1956, the first year of its enforcement, 10,346 licenses were suspended for speeding, as compared to only 372 suspensions in the same period during 1955. In the same year, traffic deaths were reduced by 38 from the 1955 total.

The anti-speeding crusade could have cost the gutsy young governor dearly. "Unless public officials have the guts to see it through, nothing will work," he responded to his political critics. "We need tough, hard measures if we are to save lives."

Connecticut's highway deaths continued to drop, and Mr. Ribicoff's stature soared. It rose even higher with his handling of the catastrophic floods that hit the state in August 1955. Four years later, he was re-elected by a landslide.

During that period, his timing served him well again. He was one of the first to urge John F. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, to run for president. He always considered his support of Kennedy one of the most important moments of his political career.

"Kennedy said time and time again the first man who thought he could be president was Abe Ribicoff," Mr. Ribicoff recalled in a 1979 interview. "In 1950, I said that Kennedy would be the first Catholic president of the United States. In Worcester, at the Massachusetts Democratic Convention of 1956, I proposed Jack for vice president. I nominated him in Chicago."

U.S. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said Sunday, "The Kennedy family has lost a good and trusted friend."

The late Jack Zaiman, The *Courant's* political writer for most of Mr. Ribicoff's career, recalled "a charmed political life. It seemed that whatever he did, and however he did it, it turned out right."

The people knew him instantly. He became the best-known political name in Connecticut, until Ella T. Grasso.

In a 1985 remembrance piece, Zaiman wrote that Mr. Ribicoff formed an ideal political relationship with John M. Bailey, the late state and national Democratic chairman. The two had met by chance, as young Hartford lawyers who happened to have rented offices in the same building at 750 Main St.

"Ribicoff always made it appear as if he were above politics," Zaiman wrote. "He was, so he wanted the world to know, a grand independent. No politician would run him or tell him what to do. But, underneath, he worked with Bailey and the professional Democratic politicians. He used them; they used him. He got what he wanted. He gave them, in the main, what they wanted. It was the best of all worlds for Ribicoff."

Perhaps no other political figure in the state influenced so many historical changes: The first and only Jewish governor of his state.

The transformation of Connecticut from a Republican to a Democratic state.

The end of county government.

The first successful state constitutional convention, which changed the structure of the General Assembly in 1965.

The joint Ribicoff-Bailey sponsorship of Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic elected president.

HIS ONLY REGRET

The Kennedy victory was Mr. Ribicoff's springboard to Washington. He was mentioned for U.S. attorney general but was named secretary of health, education and welfare, resigning as governor on Jan. 21, 1961.

His resignation as governor was his only regret. He acknowledged the excitement of the times; being asked to become part of the new Kennedy administration was too hard to resist, but in retrospect, he said, in 1992, "I always felt badly about it; felt I didn't fulfill my agreement with the people . . . I still do."

In 1962, he was elected to the Senate, succeeding retired U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush, father of President Bush. Ironically, he succeeded the only man who ever beat him at the polls. Mr. Ribicoff had vainly challenged Prescott Bush in 1952 at the tail end of his second term as congressman.

Mr. Ribicoff's best-remembered national moment came not in the Senate, but in Chicago, live on national television, from the podium of the 1968 Democratic National Convention. He had been expected to simply step up and nominate U.S. Sen. George S. McGovern of South Dakota for president.

That he did. Then he threw away the script and said, "If George McGovern were president, we wouldn't have to have gestapo tactics in the streets of Chicago tonight."

As he spoke, he looked directly down at the city's legendary Mayor Richard J. Daley, whose police were gassing and mauling young anti-war protesters in full view of the network cameras.

Daley shouted back from his seat on the floor. No microphone picked up his words, but the cameras caught his red faced anger and some of the more obvious profane insults formed by his lips as he glowered at Mr. Ribicoff on the rostrum.

When the uproar died down, Mr. Ribicoff's gaze returned to Daley and he added: "How hard it is . . . how hard it is to accept the truth."

GREATEST MOMENTS

Of all that he did or said during his career, Mr. Ribicoff used to talk of that Chicago moment as the one with the greatest impact. Film of it still is often included as part of retrospectives of the '60s.

"I really didn't know what I was going to say. I was just appalled at what we were seeing on television. I felt that what was going on out there was the real issue facing the party and the country," he recalled.

McGovern later offered Mr. Ribicoff the vice presidential spot on his ticket. Mr. Ribicoff declined.

"I didn't lust for that type of office, I didn't want to run all over the country doing

the chicken circuit and making political speeches, and I liked the Senate," he said.

In 1976, Charles Kirbo of Atlanta, President Carter's personal friend and adviser, felt out Mr. Ribicoff about running for vice president. The answer was no, again.

In the Senate, he listed his major accomplishments as joining John Stennis, a conservative southern Democrat, to insist on equal enforcement of new school desegregation regulations in the North and South; the creation of a Department of Education and the revision of foreign trade regulations.

Perhaps his greatest test came in 1978, when President Carter proposed the sale of advanced American warplanes to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, over strong objections by Israel, the American Jewish lobby and American Jews.

In an unusual secret Senate session Mr. Ribicoff supported the sale, warning his colleagues that the Soviet Union was threatening the entire Middle East and its oil supply, and that America had to have friends there in addition to Israel.

He saw lifelong friends turn on him as the pressure mounted.

But he led Carter's supporters to the controversial victory and said he felt completely vindicated by subsequent events in the area, including the Camp David accords.

During a Democratic fund-raiser in Hartford on Oct. 28, 1978, Carter acknowledged it.

"Our commitment to Israel, our allegiance to Israel, is unshakable," Carter said. "Sometimes there are nuances or complications or facts that can't be revealed at the time. But over a period of weeks, I think you have always seen that when Abe Ribicoff votes in Congress for a controversial issue, like for instance, the sale of F-15s to Egypt, it seems to some that he may have made a mistake or I have made a mistake in advocating it.

"But we would never have induced President Sadat to come to Camp David had it not been for that vote," Carter said.

KNOWING WHEN TO QUIT

On May 3, 1979, Mr. Ribicoff summoned the press to his Washington office for what was expected to be a routine announcement that he was seeking re-election.

"As [former Senate Majority Leader] Mike Mansfield said," Mr. Ribicoff told the gathering, "'There is a time to stay and a time to go.'

"I've watched them come and go and I have admiration for the men who know how to go out at the top of their careers. A person who's been in power a long time should know how to step aside and open up the political process."

He had ended it—once again unexpectedly—at the top of his form. His announcement stunned his party and his colleagues.

"Most people stay one term too long," he said later, convinced his timing had been right.

"There is no such thing as a replaceable person. . . . Everyone is replaceable," he said.

When Mr. Ribicoff retired from the Senate in 1981, he joined the New York law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler. But he continued to advise presidents, governors and Congress.

In the 1990s, he would discuss how his brand of politics seemed worn. Civility was no longer an important character trait; nastiness was. When Democrats returned to Chicago for their convention in 1996, Mr. Ribicoff wanted nothing to do with it. Ironically, the man best remembered for engaging in harsh intraparty warfare had found today's politics too harsh.

"Everybody in politics today plays dirty," Mr. Ribicoff said in a 1996 interview. "Every-

body wants to say bad things about everything."

What he did in 1968 was spontaneous and heartfelt, not calculated to win political points. Today's politicians use their tempers as weapons to win poll points, and Mr. Ribicoff wanted none of that.

"I'm not a politician anymore," he said.

Mr. Ribicoff would continue working in New York, though he contracted Alzheimer's disease in later years.

When Mr. Ribicoff retired from the Senate, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, his longtime friend and ally, and former Senate Minority Leader Howard H. Baker Jr., R-Tenn., led the Senate tributes.

Kennedy said Mr. Ribicoff would be remembered "by all of us as a colleague who was both loved and listened to as a skillful leader on all the sensitive issues of foreign and domestic policy we face together."

Baker said Mr. Ribicoff had been "a giant of the U.S. Senate."

His Connecticut colleagues at the time, Republican U.S. Sen. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., praised him as a "great friend and a valued mentor.

"A government already comprised of too few Ribicoffs honestly can't stand the loss of Connecticut's senior senator," Weicker said.

Looking back over his life, during a 1986 interview, Mr. Ribicoff said it was not a piece of legislation but people who made the greatest impact on him—the people of Connecticut during the floods of 1955.

"I saw the grandeur of the whole state in the faces of the average citizen, their leaders and how they acted," he said, "Everyone pitched in, Connecticut came together. That's a memory I will always treasure."

Besides his wife and two children, he leaves a stepson, Peter Mathes, and six grandchildren.

The funeral will be at 11 a.m. Wednesday at Temple Emanu-El, 1 E. 65th St., at Park Avenue, in New York City.

[From the New Britain Herald, Feb. 23, 1998]

ABE RIBICOFF, NB NATIVE, DEAD AT 87

NEW YORK (AP).—Abraham A. Ribicoff, a former U.S. Senator and governor of Connecticut who served as secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Kennedy administration, died Sunday. He was 87.

Ribicoff, who suffered from Alzheimer's disease, died at a nursing home in Riverdale, N.Y., said ABC's Barbara Walters, a family friend.

Ribicoff, a Democrat, had a public service career that spanned more than four decades.

"Connecticut and the nation have lost a patriot," Connecticut Gov. John G. Rowland said in a statement Sunday. "Abraham Ribicoff was one of the greatest leaders in Connecticut history. Beyond having served in all three branches of government, he stood for what was right regardless of the personal consequences."

Ribicoff began his career as a state legislator in the Connecticut General Assembly and went on to serve as a municipal judge, a congressman, governor of Connecticut, a member of Kennedy's Cabinet, a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations and, for the last 18 years of his career, a U.S. senator.

As a senator, Ribicoff gained national prominence at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, when he made a blistering speech criticizing Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley for the strong-arm tactics used to control protesters.

"I don't think anyone involved in politics will forget his speech out in Chicago," Connecticut Democratic Party Chairman Ed Marcus said Sunday. "He certainly left his mark on the political landscape of this country."

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Former Connecticut Gov. Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Republican turned independent, who served with Ribicoff in the Senate, lauded Ribicoff as a man of courage who was never afraid to go out on a limb for what he believed.

"Abe Ribicoff did what he thought was right and the devil take the consequences," Weicker said.

Ribicoff was known as a perfectionist and as one who got along with those in both parties.

His years as governor were marked by reforms of the state's judiciary system, the elimination of county governments and education improvements. He helped win national acclaim for Connecticut when he instituted a program to suspend the driver's licenses of speeders. The program helped decrease highway fatalities.

Ribicoff retired from the Senate in 1981 to join the New York law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler, but he didn't stay out of politics entirely and remained a popular adviser to presidents, governors and congressional committees. He chaired a Reagan administration commission on military base closings and testified before a panel on political campaign reform.

Ribicoff clearly enjoyed his status as an elder statesman.

"I've been around the track a lot," he said in a May 1993 interview. "I had the best of the years (in politics) and I don't want a single year back."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak up to 12 minutes.

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

PUBLIC SERVICE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MINNESOTA BROADCASTERS

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the public interest contributions of the radio and television broadcasters in my home state of Minnesota. As a former broadcaster, I appreciate their efforts in our communities, and their accomplishments should not be overlooked.

Last month, I reflected upon how radio has become an influential medium in the lives of many Americans throughout its 78 years of operation in the United States. As my colleagues know, January was recognized as "National Radio Month." Today, I wanted to highlight in broader terms, the extraordinary influence and unselfish nature of both radio and television broadcasts.

Broadcasts over the 12,200 radio stations in the U.S. serve a variety of purposes. Radio communicates with listeners during time of emergency, informs them of noteworthy community events such as fundraising drives, educates them about developing stories and current events, and entertains during long drives across our states. Americans listen to the radio an average of three hours and twelve minutes on weekdays, and four hours and 42 minutes on weekends.

Similar to the listening power of radio, television has also become a vital part of our daily lives. Since the