

but essentially I want DASCHLE's bill, too." Now, believe it or not, we sent him a bill with \$4 billion. He vetoed it and said, "Now you've got to give me what Senator DASCHLE's bill has."

Mr. President, we have had the best people in this body working on agriculture who put this emergency package together. And believe me, the \$4 billion package would make the American agriculture whole. There would be no net loss of income to the agriculture community. They know it. The experts know it. But because it is an election year, and because of the turmoil that exists that I have alluded to earlier in my conversation with the Senate here, the President now holds agriculture programs hostage. If we do not do it his way, we will close down the Department of Agriculture. Frankly, if we did, it would be the President's—it would be on his shoulders, not ours. But you know, it will get worked out. I just thought everybody ought to know how these things work.

Now, should it matter? We have worked for 20 years to get a balanced budget and a balanced budget agreement. The result has been nothing but good news for America. Almost everybody that even touched the issue lays claim to having done it all, including the President who claims the entire economic well-being of the country is because he is President. He can do that. That is fine.

The truth of the matter is, there are plenty—plenty—who deserve credit, including the Federal Reserve, including Republicans in the Senate, Democrats in the Senate, the same in the House. But it really started happening, in terms of restraining the budget, when both bodies became Republican. And we can go back and trace that. That is when we fixed welfare to save money, that is when we changed Medicaid to save big dollars, and on and on.

Let's go home, let's wrap this up in the next few days, but let's remember the facts. And let's not let this superheavy, politically charged environment color things such that we are going to take that surplus we take so much pride in, and find out in 3 or 4 months that there is only 25, 30, 40 percent of it left, even though we were told, "You're going to really use it up if you cut taxes." What happened? We did not cut taxes, and it got used up. Interesting.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Arkansas.

FAREWELL SPEECH

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I rise this afternoon to speak, for what may be the last time, on the floor of the Senate. It is a very bittersweet time for me, after 24 years, most of which have been spent at this very desk. I might say at this moment that I have been blessed by having Senator KEN-

NEDY as my seatmate these many years, and before him Senator GORE—both truly outstanding men.

In order to deliver a speech such as I am about to deliver, Mr. President, I do not think there is anything wrong with listing some of the defining moments in my life, because this speech is really more for the benefit of my children and grandchildren than it is for my colleagues or the people of America.

First of all, I was blessed by my parents. I remind my brother from time to time that everybody was not so lucky in choosing their parents as he and I were. And that really is the reason that I stand here as one of 1,843 men and women ever to serve in the U.S. Senate. We were taught when we were children that when we died we were "going to Franklin Roosevelt". And the reason we were taught that is because we were very poor. Most people do not realize that the South, from 1865 until about the time Franklin Roosevelt became President, was still living almost as a conquered nation. National politicians paid very little attention to the South.

In our household, we were poor during the Great Depression. And I might say, the Great Depression is certainly one of the most important defining moments of my life. But it was during the Great Depression that Franklin Roosevelt began to provide all kinds of things for people in the South that they had previously thought unthinkable.

We didn't have indoor plumbing. We didn't have running water. We didn't have paved streets. We didn't have much of anything. The people in our community died of typhoid fever in the summertime because the outhouse was just a few steps away from the well from which we drew our drinking water. Then Franklin Roosevelt began to provide immunizations for children against smallpox and typhoid. It was free. We got those shots at school.

We had then what we called hobos or tramps; today we call them homeless people. My mother always saved a few scraps after breakfast knowing that some tramp was going to knock on the back door and ask for food. That was back before welfare came into existence. So we were very poor.

I remember when I was 12 years old my father heard that Franklin Roosevelt was coming to Arkansas. He was a great believer in America and the political system and public service. He wanted my brother and me to see Franklin Roosevelt. So we drove over a gravel road 20 miles to Booneville, AR, and when the train on the Rock Island line pulled in, Franklin Roosevelt came out on the back platform, obviously being held up by a couple of Secret Service men. I tugged on my father's arm and I said, "Dad, what's wrong with him?" He said, "I will tell you later." On the way home, he told us that Franklin Roosevelt had contracted polio when he was 37 years old, he couldn't walk, and he carried 12 pounds of steel braces on his legs.

Then he told my brother and me that if Franklin Roosevelt could become President and couldn't even walk, there was no reason why my brother and I, with strong minds and bodies, couldn't become President, too. I never took my eye off that goal until many, many years later.

In the following year, my father was president of the Arkansas Retail Hardware Association. They gave our family \$300 to go to Los Angeles to the national convention. I can remember the big party at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles in 1937. I had never stepped on a carpet before in my life, and the Biltmore was filled with thick carpet. We just loved it. We didn't stay at the Biltmore. We were staying at the \$2-a-night cabin.

But the night of the big party, everybody was in tuxedos and long dresses, except my parents. And all the children were dressed in tuxedos, too, even in that Depression year of 1937. But I can remember my brother and I had on long pants and white shirts, no tie, no coat. We were terribly embarrassed. My father sensed that, and so the next day he told us that he knew we were embarrassed but he reminded us that the most important thing was that we were clean, our clothes were clean, our bodies were clean, and the kind of clothes you wore really were not all that important. He made it OK.

When I was 15 years old, I had a high school English and literature teacher named Miss Doll. Every member of the U.S. Senate has been influenced by a college professor or high school teacher, maybe a preacher or somebody else. She was my influence.

I remember my mother, who had a tendency—not to denigrate my mother—to not build our self-esteem. My father was working against that, trying to teach us self-esteem, not ego, but esteem.

We were reading Beowulf in English, a great piece of literature. We would read a paragraph and discuss it. One time it came my time to read. I started reading, and all of a sudden—I read about 2 pages and Miss Doll still hadn't stopped me—I looked up and she was standing there. She looked at me and she looked at the class and she said, "Doesn't he read beautifully?" "Doesn't he have a nice voice?" And she said, "And wouldn't it be tragic if he didn't use that talent." At first I thought she was making fun of me, but she did more for my self-esteem in 10 seconds than anybody, except my father, ever did. Some of my political detractors think she overdid it.

And then just out of high school, but only after 6 months at the University of Arkansas, I went into the Marine Corps. World War II was raging. It was a terrifying time. I fully expected to be killed in that war. The Marines were taking terrible casualties in the South Pacific. Happily, I survived that. The best part of it was when I got home there was a caring, generous, compassionate Federal Government, waiting with the GI bill.

While my father would have stolen to make sure we had a good education, my brother went to Harvard Law School and I went to the University of Arkansas and later Northwestern University Law School—both expensive schools my father could never afford. I studied political science and law. The reason I did that is because my father wanted me to go into public service. He wanted me and my brother to be politicians. He may be the last man who ever lived who encouraged his sons to go into politics.

In my first year in law school, he and my mother were killed in a car wreck. They were tragically killed by a drunken driver. Neither of them had ever had a drink in their life. That is what made it so bizarre. The big disappointment of my life was that my father didn't live to see me Governor or Senator.

The next defining moment of my life is when our children were born—first Brent, then Bill and then Brooke.

The next defining moment was when I was practicing law in a little town of 1,200 people and decided to run for Governor. The day I filed, a poll was taken statewide. It was the last day of the filing deadline. I found that of the eight Democrats in the primary, I had 1-percent name recognition. It was probably the most foolhardy thing I had ever done in my life. But I was trying to keep faith with my father, and I believe strongly in our country and I believe in public service.

The next defining moment in my life was shortly after I was elected Governor I got an invitation to go to Kansas City to speak at a Truman Day dinner. I told them I couldn't go, the legislature was in session. I just assumed those legislators would screw the dome off the capital if I left town. They came back and said, "If you will agree to do this, we will let you spend an hour with President and Mrs. Truman," and that was more than I could resist. So I went and spent that hour with President Truman and he asked me how I liked being Governor. I said, "I don't like it, it's a real pressure cooker. I am just a country lawyer. This is all new to me and the press is driving me crazy."

I was telling him what a terrible job being Governor of Arkansas was, and it suddenly dawned on me I was talking to a man who had to make the decision to drop the atomic bomb that ended World War II. And so I shut up. And then he told me, as I left, "Son, while you are looking at the ceiling every night in the Governor's mansion, wondering what you are going to do, remember one thing: The people elected you to do what you think is right and that is all they expect out of you. They have busy lives. So, remember, always tell people the truth; they can handle it."

That didn't sound like very profound advice to me at the time. But indeed it was. I have thought about it every day of my life since then.

Secondly, he said, "When you are debating in your own mind the issues

that you have to confront, you think about this: Get the best advice you can get on both sides of the issue, make up your mind which one is right, and then you do it. That is all the people of the State expect of you—to do what you think is right."

So when I drove off the mansion grounds 4 years later, coming to the Senate, as I told my Democratic colleagues the other night, most of whom know this, I came here with the full intention of running for President. I had a very successful 4 years as Governor. I thought the world was my oyster and I fully intended, as I say, to run. The reason I didn't run is because after I had been here for a year, I realized that this whole apparatus was much more complex than I thought it was.

I told my children, if I had three lives to live, at the end of the last one, I would look back prior to 10 years at the end of it and realize how dumb I was. I was so smart when I graduated from high school, I could hardly bear it. When I got out of law school, the problem was compounded. When I drove off the mansion grounds, I was quite sure I was ready to be king of the world.

The other night I told Senator SARBANES I really regret that I have not been as effective a legislator as I should have been. He said, "Everybody feels that way." What I was really saying, I suppose, is I wish I had known then what I know now. In my dying breath I will look back and think about, really, how I was not as smart this Saturday afternoon as I thought I was. That is what a living, learning experience is.

So I chose not to run for President. By the time I felt that I was qualified to be President, I decided that it demanded a price that I was not willing to pay. Not to be purely apocalyptic about our future, because I am not, I must say, in all candor, partisanship has reached a point in this country, and the demands for political money have become so great—two very insidious things—that good men and women are opting out of public service, and not to enter public service. Money is corrupting the political process and it threatens our very democracy.

Since I announced that I would not run last year, I confess to you, Mr. President and colleagues, that I have voted in ways that I would not have if I were running. I think of the few times when I would have had to worry about what kind of a 30-second spot that vote would generate.

I have cast my share of courageous votes since I have been here, as Harry Truman admonished me to do. I have always tried to use simple tests as to how I voted; How would my children and grandchildren judge me? Did it make me stronger or the Nation stronger? Did it do any irreversible damage to the environment? Is it fair to the less fortunate among us? Does it comport with the thrust of our Constitution, the greatest document ever

conceived by the mind of man? Or does it simply make me stronger politically because it satisfies the political whims of the moment? Or does it simply keep the political money supply flowing?

Speaking of courageous votes, I voted for the Panama Canal Treaties in 1978 and, in all fairness, in 1980, had I had a strong opponent, I would not be standing here right now. I lucked out. But I can tell you, people were absolutely livid about my vote on the Panama Canal Treaties—a fabricated political issue. I ask the American people and my colleagues, who today has been inconvenienced by the Panama Canal Treaties? Is this country any weaker? The truth is that it is stronger. Our relationship with Panama is much stronger. It was the Quemoy and Matsu issue of 1978.

Incidentally, Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma voted against the Panama Canal Treaties and made a minute-and-a-half speech in doing it, while the rest of us were pontificating for hours trying to justify our positions. He announced he would not run again because, coming from the conservative State of Oklahoma, he knew he didn't have a prayer of being reelected, so hot was that issue.

When I voted against Ronald Reagan's prayer in school amendment—the only southern Senator to do so, my opponent tried to take advantage of it. But the American people and the people of my State—once you explained what was involved to them, where the school prayers would be written or adopted by the school board and required saying in the schools—came to understand the perils of the amendment. I always tell youngsters, and college groups particularly, when you think about that, you tell me which country that has an official state religion you want to live in.

Mr. President, one of the greatest moments of my life was when I was Governor and a man came into my office wanting me to talk to the highway department about a late penalty they were going to assess him for being 60 days late in completing a highway job. To shorten the story, I said, "If I do this for you, how do I explain to the next guy who walks in the door why I can't do it for him? I don't want to start down that road." After a long conversation, when he started to walk out after I told him I could not, under any circumstances, comply with the request, he said, "Governor, that's the reason I voted for you."

This institution is a great place. It is supposed to be the deliberative body. The Founding Fathers intended the lower House, the House of Representatives, to be the House of the people. They expected this place to be the deliberative body. It is a curious thing—and the minority leader here knows this—every amendment, every bill that comes up, we immediately start trying to figure out, how stringently can we limit the debate on this issue? There are times when that is fully justified,

and there are times when only if you fully air something do the Senate Members really come here well enough informed to vote on it.

We are still the oldest democracy on Earth. We are still living under the oldest Constitution on Earth, and without men and women of goodwill being willing to offer themselves for service, there is absolutely no assurance that that will always be. Thomas Jefferson said, "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." He was not just talking about military vigilance. We are still woefully inadequate in this country in the field of education. If I were the President of the United States and I were looking at a \$70 billion surplus, I would make sure the first thing we did was to pass a bill that said no child in this Nation shall be deprived of a college education for lack of money. Look at all the statistics where we rank among the developed nations in education. And look at the state of health care. It is good for those who can afford it. And 45 million who have no health insurance and no health care do the best they can.

Mr. President, I have been richly blessed in my life, as I said, mostly by devoted parents, and good Methodist Sunday school teaching. My mother wanted me to be a Methodist preacher and my father wanted me to be a politician. Think about growing up with that pressure. I am personally blessed with a great family. If I died tomorrow, the people of Arkansas would take note of it, and there would be headlines in all of the papers in the State. But if Betty died tomorrow the people of our State would grieve. She has founded two organizations.

When Ronald Reagan announced to this country that we might just fire one across the Soviet Union's bow to get their attention, he terrified her. She and a group of congressional wives met around my kitchen table for about 6 months. Finally, I came home one night, and she said, "We are forming an organization. And we feel so strongly about it that we are going to put 'peace' in the name. We are going to call it Peace Links". Ultimately, she had almost 250 congressional wives conscripted into that organization.

I told her "you are going to get your husband beat." We are from a conservative State. People in Arkansas believe in a strong defense. People across this Nation believe in a strong defense. She said, "You men are going to get my children killed."

She had already spent all of her public life, from the time I was Governor until this day trying to immunize all of the children in this country. And I am not going to go through all of the successes that she has had, which have been staggering.

The Western Hemisphere is free of polio. Africa will be free of polio by the year 2002. Asia will be free of polio by the year 2004. And measles is next.

I tell you, she deserves a lot of credit for the virtual elimination of childhood

diseases in this country. She went to see President Carter when he first came to power. She said, "I tell you something you can do that will have a lasting effect on the health of this Nation, and it will help you a lot when you run again." He put Joe Califano at her disposal. And today she and Rosalynn Carter have an organization called "Every Child By Two." She is still going at it—peace and children.

I have three beautiful children, and six beautiful, healthy grandchildren. I have been blessed with exceptional staff members, most of whom are more than staff members. They are very good friends. I have been blessed with the support of the people of my State in winning almost every election by 60 percent or more of the vote. I was much more liberal than my constituents. I like to believe that they respected me because they knew what I stood for is what I believed instead of what was politically expedient at any given time. But, for whatever reason, I will always be grateful to them.

Our State does not deserve to have been torn apart for the past 6 years. I know so many innocent people who have been destroyed, financially and mentally, by a criminal justice system gone awry. You would have to go back to the Salem witchcraft trials to find anything comparable.

I do not, nor does any Senator, condone the President's conduct. Call it whatever you want—reprehensible, indefensible, unconscionable. Call it anything you want. But most of us take pride in President Clinton's Presidency. And the American people are still saying they like him. But completely aside from that, as I say, I weep sometimes for the unfair treatment to my State, and so many innocent people in it.

I have been blessed by unbelievable friendships of colleagues. Those friendships will probably wane. It is almost impossible to maintain a relationship with a colleague once you leave here. That is really tragic. But I am realistic. And I know that is what it will be. I know we will have a difficult time having the same kind of relationship, if any at all. But I want them to know that I value their friendship. I value my service with them. I have served with some truly great men and women. And, as Senator BYRD likes to say, only 1,843 men and women have ever been so privileged to serve in this body.

I am already nostalgic about this Chamber—24 years in this Chamber, the Cloakroom, the hearing rooms, the Capitol itself. For 24 years, the first 20 of which I went home almost every weekend and came back on Sunday night, I never failed, as we flew by the Washington Monument, to get goose bumps. And I hope I never do. So, colleagues, I thank you for being my friend. To the people of my State, I thank you for allowing me to serve here.

I want to teach, in order to teach children that politics is a noble profes-

sion. My father said it long before Bobby Kennedy did. It is a noble calling. And the minute it becomes what so many people think it is, who do you think suffers? All of us do. So I want to inspire this oncoming generation, as my father did me, to get involved in the political process and public service. You have a duty and a responsibility.

So, to the U.S. Senate, to all of my colleagues, God bless and Godspeed.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS). The Senator from New Jersey.

SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this is one of those moments that one feels a bit overwhelmed—to follow DALE BUMPERS in a discourse that he gives here on the floor. This is a task that I never liked—to get on the floor after DALE BUMPERS moved us with his oratory and described his feelings for this institution and our responsibility. But there is another reason that I am really feeling uneasy; that is, the prospect that this place will be without DALE's voice, without his wit, his humor, but more importantly, his commitment to the people of this country.

I want you to know, DALE, what a sacrifice I make today. I decided to stay here rather than to go to a budget conference down the hall trying to wrestle with the issues of the day. So I sacrificed that time just so I could stand on this floor to hear your terminal speech. That is devotion and friendship, I assume.

I have to say that one could see the position that DALE has earned over the years, because people were as generous and as warm and as friendly from the other side of the aisle. That doesn't mean that we always agree, and it doesn't mean that we always share a similar direction for our country.

But DALE has succeeded in winning friends, in making sure that we never forgot about who it is we are here to serve. We could make lots of jokes, but one never wants to compete with DALE's humor. I think about the only close match was with DALE BUMPERS and Alan Simpson. That was a good team. The jokes were always better when we were off the floor somehow. But beyond the wit, beyond the humor, beyond the jokes was always this incredible pursuit of what is right for our country and what is right for our people.

I have submitted a written statement without the kind of eloquence I wish I could have borrowed from DALE. He was right, he was accurate when he said his impression of his IQ was overblown. All of us agree with that.

We know DALE well. We love him. We love to tease him a little bit. There were very few times on this floor when DALE could not get attention from others, and it wasn't just the volume; it