

They were trying to work out this bill. There were a lot of executive branch people in the room. Treasury Secretary Bill Simon was in the room, along with other executive branch people. I was just sitting there about 5 or 10 minutes, and up walked a senior House Member, Congressman Burke from Massachusetts. He said, "Sorry, you can't be here."

I asked, "Why? Why can't I be here?" He said, "Well, it's the rules."

I said, "What rule is it?"

He said, "Well, it's the Senate rule."

I said, "What Senate rule is it?"

He said, "I'm sorry, you just can't be here. Nobody can be here. No other Member of the House and Senate can be here. Not even Congressman Bill Green can be here."

Bill Green, who was then a Member of the House Ways and Means Committee who successfully authored the provision on the floor of the House to modify the percentage of the oil depletion allowance, even he couldn't be in the room. All the people allowed in the room were the conferees. It was closed doors and that is it.

I said to Congressman Burke at the time, "Look, I'm not going to cause a fuss here, but this is wrong. It is just not right that this is not open to the public, certainly to Members of the Congress."

That afternoon, I stood before the House, along with Congressman Ab Mikva, who also did not like that process, and we voiced our disagreement and displeasure. Next year, things opened up because it was the right thing to do.

Perhaps I have too much of a personal investment in this, but I do believe the people are much better served the more the process is open and the more the process is not corrupted as, in my judgment, this process is.

Again, about half of the U.S. Government bills, which did not pass the House or the Senate or go through committees in the full light of day, which did not pass the floor of the House, some of which were not even brought up on the floor of the House or the Senate, were put in this huge bill, then sent back to the Senate and the House unamendable. No amendments are in order, Mr. President, in this process; none.

I suppose there is a reason for that because none of us know what is in the bill. How can we offer an amendment if we don't know what is in the bill? I asked the Parliamentarian not long ago: How much of this is authorization, how much is appropriations? He said, "Senator, we just don't know; this huge stack here is too big for us to have gone through it by now. We just don't know."

As I said, Mr. President, I am in an anxious position here because a lot of good is in this bill. But the process, in my view, is wrong. That's why I voted no on the bill.

The provisions that are in this bill I would have worked for in separate

bills, in separate agriculture bills or Agriculture appropriations bills or in other authorizing bills that would ordinarily come before the Congress.

Again, I am not going to be a purist about this, I just want to be practical. We have done this 2 years in a row, dumping so much in such a very undemocratic way into a huge bill written behind closed doors, written by only a few Members of the House and Senate and the administration. This process dangerously disenfranchises most Senators, House Members and American voters.

We, as Senators and House Members, don't have an opportunity to go back to our people and say, "What do you think of this provision?" They don't have an opportunity to say to us, "We don't like what is in there, vote this way or that. They are disenfranchised, cut out of the process.

This is not legislation by representative democracy, Mr. President. It is legislation by a very few, by oligarchy.

At a deeper level, what does that do? It further undermines the people's confidence or belief in Government. This process does that. It confirms some of the worst views a lot of Americans have; namely, oh, those guys back there in Washington are just out for themselves; they don't care about us.

Mr. President, we must draw the line. Enough is enough. We all know that the more issues are actually fully debated—and I mean debated—the more the public has a chance then to see what is going on, and they themselves get more involved. To the extent we do that, this country will be stronger. We know that. We also know that the less the people are involved, the less they know what is going on, and the weaker this country is going to be.

Mr. President, we are the world's oldest democracy. We have a form of government where the people elect their representatives to do their nation's business. We are not a kingdom, we are not a monarchy. And we will be the leader in the next century if people are more involved in government. And they will be more involved in government the more we, as representatives, respect them, respect their views, want their views, want them to be able to comment on what we are doing or not doing.

But on the other hand, the more we disrespect people by hiding behind closed doors, in the dark of night, the more we will cause a further deterioration of our government and weaken the United States role as the world leader that we want to be in the next century.

Finally, Mr. President, let me say that this is a sad moment for me. I cast my vote with reservation, fully aware of the good that this bill contains. But vote no I must, simply because I think that to vote yes would be to cast a vote for exclusivity and against the democratic process. I worked very closely with some individuals who made a few of this bill's important provisions real, and I do not want now to be vot-

ing against their reference. They made a good effort and did a very good job, given the situation they were in, given the circumstances they faced. They were helpful to those of us who were working for our States and had nothing else to do—no alternative—but to try to work with this abominable process.

In closing, Mr. President, I want to say that next year it is critically important that we prevent this process from happening again. We have done this two years in a row, and each year more and more and more is getting dumped into this omnibus conference report process. If this trend continues, then within a year or two maybe three-quarters of Government is going to be in there; maybe everything is soon going to be in there, which means I might as well not report for work until the final 3 weeks of the Congress, because that is where it is all done, with those few people behind closed doors.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HAGEL). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### FAREWELL TO RETIRING SENATORS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, in this last day of the 105th Congress, I think it is appropriate that we take a little more time to express our appreciation and our admiration for our retiring Senators. I look down the list: Senator BUMPERS of Arkansas; Senator COATS of Indiana; Senator FORD, the Democratic whip, of Kentucky; Senator GLENN, who will soon be taking another historic flight into space; and Senator KEMPTHORNE, who I believe is also going to be taking flight into a new position of leadership and honor. This is a distinguished group of men who have been outstanding Senators, who have left their mark on this institution. I believe you could say in each case they have left the Senate a better place than it was when they came.

Have we had our disagreements along the way? Sure, within parties and across party aisles. I have to take a moment to express my appreciation to each of these Senators. I especially want to thank Senator FORD for his cooperation in his position as whip. We worked together for a year and a half as the whip on our respective side of the aisle and we always had a very good relationship. Of course, I have already expressed my very close relationship for Senator COATS and for Senator KEMPTHORNE.

To all of these Senators, I want to extend my fondest farewell.

As majority leader, I feel a responsibility to speak for all of us in bidding

an official farewell to our five colleagues who are retiring this year.

It was 1974 when DALE BUMPERS left the governorship of Arkansas to take the Senate seat that had long been held by Senator Fulbright. There are several Senators in this Chamber today who, in 1974, were still in high school.

Four terms in the Senate of the United States can be a very long time—but that span of nearly a quarter-century has not in the least diminished Senator BUMPERS' ENTHUSIASM FOR HIS ISSUES AND ENERGY IN ADVANCING THEM.

He has been a formidable debater, fighting for his causes with a tenacity and vigor that deserves the title of Razorback.

It is a memorable experience to be on the receiving end of his opposition—whether the subject was the Space Station or, year after year, mining on public lands.

Arkansas and Mississippi are neighbors, sharing many of the same problems. From personal experience, I know how Senator BUMPERS has been an assiduous and effective advocate for his State and region.

No one expects retirement from the Senate to mean inactivity for Senator BUMPERS, whose convictions run too deep to be set aside with his formal legislative duties.

All of us who know the sacrifices an entire family makes when a spouse or parent is in the Congress can rejoice for him, for Betty, and for their family, in the prospect of more time together in a well earned future.

Senator DAN COATS and I have a bond in common which most Members of the Senate do not share. We both began our careers on Capitol Hill, not as Members, but as staffers.

I worked for the venerable William Colmer of Mississippi, Chairman of the House Rules Committee, who left office in 1972 at the age of 82. Senator COATS worked for Dan Quayle, who came to Congress at the age of 27.

Despite the differences in our situations back then, we both learned the congressional ropes from the bottom up.

Which may be why we both have such respect for the twists and turns of the legislative process, not to mention an attentive ear to the views and concerns of our constituents.

Now and then, a Senator becomes nationally known for his leadership on a major issue. Senator COATS has had several such issues.

One was the constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. Another was New Jersey's garbage, and whether it would be dumped along the banks of the Wabash.

The garbage issue is still unresolved, but on other matters, his success has been the nation's profit.

He has championed the American family, improved Head Start, kept child care free of government control, and helped prevent a federal takeover of health care.

His crusade to give low-income families school choice has made him the most important education reformer since Horace Mann. His passionate defense of children before birth has been, to use an overworked phrase, a profile in courage.

Senator COATS does have a secret vice. He is a baseball addict. On their honeymoon, he took Marcia to a Cubs game. And when he was a Member of the House, he missed the vote on flag-burning to keep a promise to his son to see the Cubs in the playoffs.

To Dan, a commitment is a commitment. That is why he is national president of Big Brothers. And why, a few years ago, he kept a very important audience waiting for his arrival at a meeting here on the Hill.

He had, en route, come across a homeless man, and spent a half-hour urging him to come with him to the Gospel Rescue Mission.

Here in the Congress, we must always be in a hurry. But Senator COATS and his wife, Marcia, have known what is worth waiting for.

They have been a blessing to our Senate family, and they will always remain a part of it.

Senator WENDELL FORD stands twelfth in seniority in the Senate, with the resignation of his predecessor, Senator Marlow Cook, giving him a six-day advantage over his departing colleague, Senator BUMPERS.

He came to Washington with a full decade of hands-on governmental experience in his native Kentucky. He had been a State senator, Lieutenant Governor, and Governor. With that background, he needed little time to make his mark in the Senate.

In that regard, he reminds me of another Kentuckian who make a lasting mark on the Senate.

Last month, I traveled to Ashland, the home of Henry Clay, to receive a medallion named after the man once known as Harry of the West. Senator FORD was a prior recipient of that award, and appropriately so.

Henry Clay was a shrewd legislator, a tough bargainer, who did not suffer fools lightly. That description sounds familiar to anyone who has worked with Senator FORD.

He can be a remarkably effective partisan. I can attest to that. There is a good reason why he has long been his party's second-in-command in the Senate.

At the same time, he has maintained a personal autonomy that is the mark of a true Senator. He has been outspoken about his wish that his party follow the more moderate path to which he has long adhered.

Senator FORD's influence has been enormous in areas like energy policy and commerce. Contemporary politics may be dependent upon quotable sound-bites and telegenic posturing, but he has held to an older and, in my opinion, a higher standard.

One of the least sought-after responsibilities in the Senate is service on the Rules Committee.

It can be a real headache. But it is crucial to the stature of the Senate. We all owe Senator FORD our personal gratitude for his long years of work on that Committee.

His decisions there would not always have been my decisions; that is the nature of our system. But his work there has set a standard for meticulousness and gravity.

All of us who treasure the traditions, the decorum, and the comity of the Senate will miss him.

We wish him and Jean the happiness of finally being able to set their own hours, enjoy their grandchildren, and never again missing dinner at home because of a late-night session on the Senate floor.

There are many ways to depart the Senate. Our colleague from Ohio, Senator JOHN GLENN, will be leaving us in a unique fashion, renewing the mission to space which he helped to begin in 1962.

In the weeks ahead, he will probably be the focus of more publicity, here and around the world, than the entire Senate has been all year long.

It will be well deserved attention, and I know he accepts it, not for himself, but for America's space program.

For decades now, he has been, not only its champion, but in a way, its embodiment.

That is understandable, but to a certain extent, unfair. For his astronaut image tends to overshadow the accomplishments of a long legislative career.

In particular, his work on the Armed Services Committee, the Commerce Committee, and our Special Committee on Aging has been a more far-reaching achievement than orbiting the earth.

With the proper support and training, others might have done that, but Senator GLENN's accomplishments here in the Senate are not so easily replicated.

This year's hit film, "Saving Private Ryan," has had a tremendous impact on young audiences by bringing home to them the sacrifice and the suffering of those who fought America's wars.

I think Senator GLENN has another lesson to teach them. For the man who will soon blast off from Cape Canaveral, as part of America's peaceful conquest of space—is the same Marine who, more than a half century ago, saw combat in World War II, and again in Korea.

His mission may have changed, but courage and idealism endure.

In a few days, along with Annie and the rest of his family, we will be cheering him again, as he again makes us proud of our country, proud of our space program, and proud to call him our friend and colleague.

Senator DIRK KEMPTHORNE came to us from Idaho only six years ago. He now returns amid the nearly universal expectation that he will be his State's next Governor. It will be a wise choice.

None of us are surprised by his enormous popularity back home. We have come to know him, not just as a consummate politician, but as a thoughtful, decent, and caring man.

This is a man who took the time to learn the names of the men and women who work here in the Capitol and in the Senate office buildings.

In fact, his staff allots extra time for him to get to the Senate floor to vote because they know he will stop and talk to people on the way.

During the memorial ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda for our two officers who lost their lives protecting this building, Senator KEMPTHORNE noticed that the son of one of the officers, overwhelmed by emotion, suddenly left the room.

DIRK followed him, and spent a half-hour alone with him, away from the cameras. The public doesn't see those things, but that's the kind of concern we expect from him.

His willingness to share credit gave us our Unfunded Mandates Act and reauthorization of the Safe Drinking Water Law. And his eye for detail and pride in his own home State led to the transformation of that long, sterile corridor between the Capitol and the Dirksen and Hart office buildings.

Now, as tourists ride the space-age mechanized subway, they enjoy the display of State flags and seals that form a patriotic parade. It delights the eye and lifts the spirit.

If you've ever visited Idaho, known its people, and seen its scenic wonders, you don't have to wonder why he's leaving us early.

You wonder, instead, why he ever left.

Years ago, he explained his future this way: That he would know when it was time to leave the Senate when he stopped asking "why" and started saying "because."

We're going to miss him and Patricia, and no one needs to ask "why." Even so, we know the Governor will be forceful spokesman on the Hill for all the governors.

They could not have a better representative. The Senate could not have a better exemplar. We could not have a better friend.

Mr. President, I would also like to pay tribute to two members of my Senate team who plan to leave us by the end of the year.

As our Sergeant at Arms, Greg Casey holds one of the Senate's highest positions of trust and authority. It is an awesome job, overseeing the hundreds of employees who keep the Capitol in operation.

There is also a ceremonial component to the position of Sergeant at Arms, and Greg has performed in that role admirably well.

But behind the formalities lie enormous operational responsibilities. It is not a job for the weak of will. Greg's performance has set, for all future occupants of his office, a new standard of energy, efficiency, and spirit.

By recognizing hard work and achievement at all levels, he has led the entire Capitol work force to become more professional, more modern, and more team-oriented.

Before appointing him Sergeant at Arms, I had the benefit of his managerial skills as administrative officer to the Majority Leader.

He helped me reassemble the office after Senator Dole moved on to other efforts. And before that, he had served for years as Chief of Staff to Senator LARRY CRAIG of Idaho.

That was a natural fit, for Greg is a classic Idahoan, like his State's two Senators, to whom he has been close since his college days. He is a doer, not a talker, and is undaunted by the challenges from which others shrink. He has done a great job for me, for the Senate, and for his country.

One of his chief concerns has been the security of the Capitol.

Even before the tragic events of last July, he had begun to enhance the safety of those who visit, and those who work in, this building.

We thank Julia, his wife, and their little boy, Greg Jr., for their sacrifice of the family time that means so much to them. And we share their happiness that they will now have more time together.

The second member of my team who will be leaving in the near future is Steve Seale, legal counsel to the Majority Leader.

Steve came to Washington a little more than two years ago at my request—and gave up a seat in the Mississippi Senate to do so. Even more of a sacrifice was moving, with Miriam and their two little girls, Caitlin and Elise, from their home in Hattiesburg to the wilds of Northern Virginia.

He has poured his heart into what can be a thankless task: guarding every line of the law, while telling those in authority what they cannot do.

In official Washington today, no one needs to be reminded of how important those functions are.

Steve has handled an array of judicial, legal, and constitutional issues for me; and I have not been alone in relying on his counsel.

I have deeply appreciated his loyalty, but I have valued even more his willingness to put the law—in all its complexity and with all its restrictions and limitations—before all else, including the convenience of person or of party.

Displayed on his desk is a hand-written note from his two daughters, which, with certain adjustments in spelling, reads like this: "Dear Dad, come home for hugs and kisses."

The Senate cannot beat that offer, and I do not begrudge Steve the opportunity to put family first. Indeed, many Members of Congress will envy him.

There is a saying among persons who have been on my staff, all the way back to my early days in the House of Representatives.

They say that, once you have worked for LOTT, you always work for LOTT.

I take that as a compliment, and I'm taking this occasion to let Steve know that, in his case, it is going to apply for a long, long time.

Mr. President, before we turn to other business, I should offer one final tribute.

When the American people tune in to our televised proceedings, they often see, here beside me or elsewhere on the Senate floor, a lovely young woman, tall, blonde, and beautiful. Her name is Alison Carroll McSlarrow.

What they cannot see is that she is smart, hard-working, savvy, dedicated, principled, caring, ingenious—a master of our legislative process, expert in our Senate rules, an astute advisor, and a persistent voice of conscience to do the right thing.

She came to the Senate after teaching grade school. That experience both reflected and strengthened her interest in children. It helps to explain her opposition to the destructive policies that have for so long dominated federal education programs.

As legislative assistant to Senator DAN COATS, as a Republican staffer in the Labor and Human Resources Committee—and as my chief floor assistant when I was the Majority Whip, she has had a major impact, not only on the processes we follow, but on the policies we have advanced.

Indeed, her determination to protect the health care of the American family had a great deal to do with the defeat of the President's plan to bring that sector of the economy under government control.

For the last two and a half years, she has been my deputy chief of staff. I have relied upon her for everything from vote counts to policy analysis, from parliamentary tactics to legislative strategy.

In her office hangs a framed series of photographs, taken when she was seated next to me here. As I made some expansive gesture, I somehow knocked her in the head.

Her composure never changed; mine did. She remained the consummate professional, doing her job above all else.

Before the 106th Congress assembles in January, Alison and her husband, Kyle, Senator COVERDELL's chief of staff, will have moved to Arizona, where he will be working for former Vice President Dan Quayle. It is hard to imagine my office without her.

I will miss her expertise, of course, and the way she stands up to me more than anyone else on my staff. I will miss her good humor and her idealism. And the Senate will miss her more than I can say.

She leaves with our gratitude, our admiration, and our love.

#### TRIBUTE TO STAFF

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I have to recognize some of my own staff members. Alison Carroll McSlarrow has been my deputy Chief of Staff for the past couple of years. She has done a wonderful job. I have tried to talk her out of getting married and then out of moving to Arizona. But Kyle