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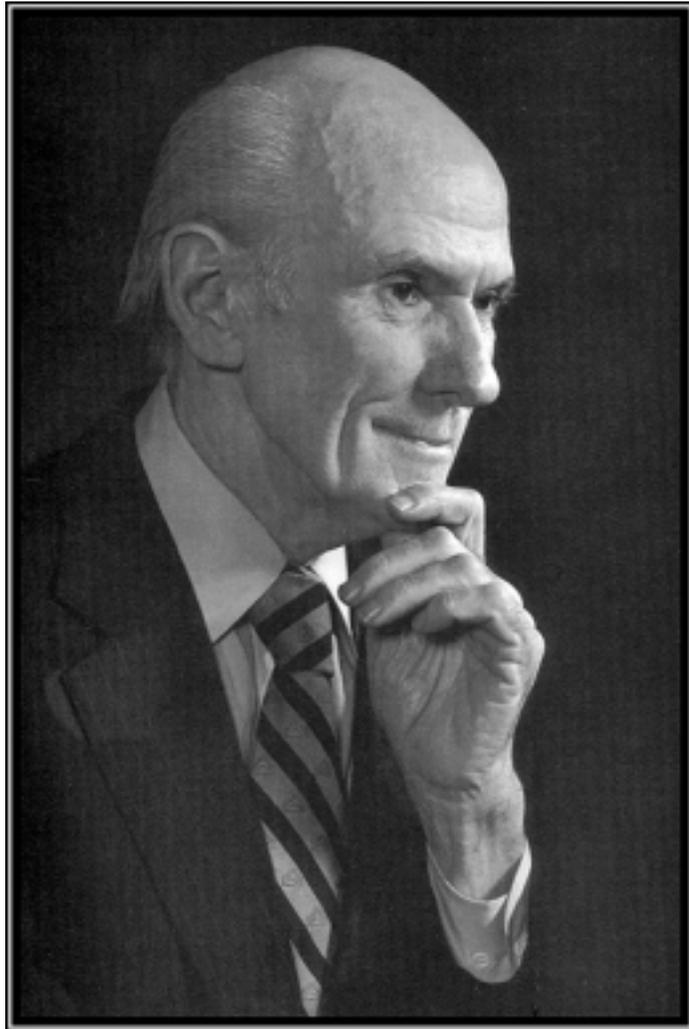
Alan Cranston

LATE A SENATOR FROM  
CALIFORNIA



MEMORIAL TRIBUTES  
AND ADDRESSES

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Alan Cranston



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S. Doc. 107-2

# Memorial Tributes and Addresses

HELD IN THE SENATE AND  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES  
TOGETHER WITH MEMORIAL SERVICES  
IN EULOGY OF

## ALAN CRANSTON

*Late a Senator from California*

One Hundred Seventh Congress  
First Session



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*Compiled under the direction  
of the  
Joint Committee on Printing*

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## BIOGRAPHY

ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON was born on June 19, 1914, in Palo Alto, California, to William MacGregor Cranston and Carol (Dixon) Cranston, both of Scottish descent. ALAN CRANSTON and his sister Eleanor grew up in Los Altos, where their father was in the real estate business.

At Mountain View Union High School in Los Altos, Mr. CRANSTON was on the football and track teams, edited the yearbook, and wrote articles for the school newspaper. After graduating in 1932 he studied at Pomona College in Claremont, California, for a year. He then spent a summer term at the University of Mexico before enrolling the following year at Stanford University, where he majored in English. Discussions with campus friends about the Depression, the New Deal, and the rise of nazism in Germany had an important influence in shaping his ideas. His keen interest in journalism led him to work as a reporter for small-town newspapers during college vacations.

After obtaining his B.A. degree from Stanford in 1936, Mr. CRANSTON joined the staff of the International News Service. From 1936 to 1938 he served in England, Germany, Italy, and Ethiopia as a foreign correspondent. He returned to the United States in 1939 and settled in New York City, where he contributed articles to the *American Mercury* and the *New York Times Book Review* and lectured on such topics as the dangers of American isolationism, the looming war, and the threat of fascism.

Having read the original of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in Germany, Mr. CRANSTON discovered that the version then being distributed in the United States had been edited to delete passages that might alert Americans and the world to the threat of nazism. He prepared a brochure, an abridged version with anti-Nazi explanatory notes, and sold it for 10 cents a copy. The brochure, published by the Noram Publishing Company in 1939, sold 500,000 copies before Hitler's agents got it banned by American courts for copyright infringement.

In 1939 Mr. CRANSTON moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked until 1941 as a representative of the Common

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Council for American Unity, an organization whose objective was to exercise a liberalizing influence on legislation. After the United States entered World War II, he joined the staff of the Office of War Information. He served there for 2 years, from 1942 to 1944, as Chief of the Foreign Language Division. It was partly as a result of Mr. CRANSTON's efforts that Italian citizens in the United States were removed from classification as enemy aliens. A post-war Italian premier later suggested that it was that act of friendship toward Italians that helped to expedite Italy's decision to make peace with the Allies. Mr. CRANSTON is also credited with the idea of having an American town renamed Lidice in memory of the Czechoslovakian town wiped out by the Germans in 1942. In response, the Czech-American townspeople of Stern Park Gardens, Illinois, renamed their town Lidice.

In 1944 Mr. CRANSTON enlisted in the U.S. Army as a private and was assigned to an infantry unit in the United States. Later he served as editor of *Army Talk* and co-authored a pamphlet entitled "Fascism." Discharged as a sergeant in 1945, Mr. CRANSTON returned to Washington with the determination to devote his efforts to world peace and international organization. His book, "The Killing of the Peace" (Viking Press, 1945), is an account of events from 1916 to 1923 that led to the defeat of the League of Nations, with emphasis on the role of the United States. The *New York Times* selected it as one of the 10 best books of 1945.

Mr. CRANSTON had a pioneering role in the world federalist movement that evolved after World War II with the advocacy of the formation of a Federal union of nations. He directed the executive committee of Americans United for World Government and in 1945 took part in the Conference on World Government in Dublin, New Hampshire, which was attended by 30 writers, editors, lawyers, educators, and others dedicated to the quest for peace. At that conference he was assigned the task of presenting to U.N. delegates, who met in London in February 1946, the "Dublin Declaration," which proposed the transformation of the U.N. General Assembly into a world legislature with "limited but definite and adequate power for the prevention of war." During that period Mr. CRANSTON served as chairman of a world government conference at Princeton, New Jersey, and in 1945-46 he was executive secretary of the Council for American-Italian Affairs, Inc.

In early 1947 he returned to California, where he embarked on a successful career in real estate. He became the

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head of Ames-Cranston Co., a Palo Alto firm founded by his father. He later became president of Homes for a Better America, a Los Angeles building company, and vice president of the Carlsberg Financial Corporation, a Los Angeles land investment firm.

Meanwhile, Americans United for World Government and five other organizations merged in February 1947 to form the United World Federalists, Inc., and Mr. CRANSTON was elected head of the new organization's San Francisco chapter. He later became chairman of its Northern California branch. In 1949 the national executive council of the United World Federalists unanimously elected Mr. CRANSTON its national president. He served until 1952 and continued to serve for years as 1 of 12 honorary vice presidents of the United World Federalists.

An active Democrat, Mr. CRANSTON was a founder of the California Democratic Council, a federation of local Democratic clubs formed to revitalize the party after its defeat in the 1952 presidential election. He became the first president of the council in 1953 and served until 1958. In his first bid for public office, Mr. CRANSTON successfully ran for Controller of the State of California in 1958, becoming the first Democrat to hold that office in 72 years. He was elected to a second 4-year term in 1962.

Mr. CRANSTON entered the U.S. Senate race in 1964 in view of the ill health of incumbent Democratic Senator Clair Engle of California. He lost the Democratic nomination to Pierre Salinger, former White House press secretary. In the Republican landslide of 1966, Mr. CRANSTON was defeated in his bid for a third term as Controller, although he received 47 percent of the vote.

He again entered the race for a Senate seat in 1968 and won. Identifying himself with minority groups and the poor, Mr. CRANSTON called for "justice through equal opportunity for all regardless of race, religion, or class." He asked for "peace and security on the streets," and for "an immediate and unconditional halt of the bombing" of North Vietnam, but rejected demands for unilateral withdrawal of American forces before an "honorable peace" was achieved. He advocated replacement of the military draft by a volunteer army and called for a sweeping reform of taxation on the Federal, State, and local levels.

At the opening of the 91st Congress in January 1969, Senator CRANSTON was assigned to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (later Human Resources). He was Chairman

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of its Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee and a member of its Subcommittees on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty; Health; Labor; and Migratory Labor. He later served as Chairman of its Subcommittee on Child and Human Development. He also served throughout his 24 years on the Banking and Currency Committee (later Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs) and its Subcommittees on Housing and Urban Affairs (later becoming its Chairman in 1987); International Finance; Production and Stabilization; and Securities. He served on the Veterans' Affairs Committee from its inception in 1971 and became its Chairman in 1977. Beginning in 1981, he served on the Foreign Relations Committee and chaired its Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. He also served on the Budget Committee, the Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs.

He began his first term supporting legislation on such subjects as agriculture, conservation, voting rights, the environment, employment and training, poverty, children, health care, women's rights, and improved veterans' benefits. He opposed the controversial antiballistic missile system, and gained a reputation for being a liberal Democrat identified with the cause of world peace and the struggle for human rights on many fronts. A hallmark of his legislative approach was to work with a Republican Senator in a bipartisan effort, for example, on veterans' issues. As Democratic Whip for a record 12 years, he was a leader in seeking to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and advocated establishing formal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China while working to ensure the security of Taiwan.

[Mr. CRANSTON's Senate record is summarized under "A Legislative Legacy" and may be found on page 112.]

He ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic Party nomination for President in 1983, campaigning principally on three issues: nuclear arms control, improved U.S.-Soviet relations, and the economy.

Mr. CRANSTON served 24 years as Senator, ending in 1992 when he chose not to seek a fifth term after he was diagnosed as having prostate cancer. During much of his Senate career, he focused on civil rights, the environment, and veterans' issues, but the centerpiece of his agenda was nuclear arms control, a goal that in retirement led him to join former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as chairman of a San Francisco-based think tank called the Gorbachev Foundation

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USA, which was dedicated to nuclear disarmament. He later became president of the Global Security Institute, which he founded. The Institute's most important accomplishment was to put together, as part of a new coalition of groups called Project Abolition, the Appeal for Reasonable Security, which calls for nuclear abolition and steps toward that end, and was signed, at Mr. CRANSTON's urging, by President Jimmy Carter, Paul Nitze, General Charles Horner, and other dignitaries. The appeal will be circulated by Project Abolition as the foundation of a wider nuclear abolition campaign in the United States in the future.

He married Geneva McMath in 1940. They had two sons, Robin MacGregor and Kim Christopher. Mr. CRANSTON's first marriage ended in divorce, and he married Norma Weintraub in 1978. His eldest son Robin was killed in a traffic accident in 1980. The second marriage also ended in divorce.

To the end of his life, Mr. CRANSTON pursued his twin passions of arms control and environmental protection. He also kept active in California politics by running the Committee for a Democratic Consensus, which raised funds for candidates. Shortly before his death, Mr. CRANSTON completed a book entitled "The Sovereignty Resolution."

Mr. CRANSTON is survived by his sister Eleanor, who wrote a biography "Cranston, the Senator from California"; his son Kim and Kim's wife Colette; and a granddaughter Evan—all residing in Los Altos Hills, California.



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MEMORIAL TRIBUTES AND  
ADDRESSES

FOR

ALAN CRANSTON



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## Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *January 4, 2001*

### TRIBUTE TO FORMER CALIFORNIA SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Madam President, this past weekend, our Nation lost one of its finest public servants with the passing of former California Senator ALAN CRANSTON.

Senator CRANSTON served California well, and our hearts and thoughts go to his son Kim and the rest of his family at this difficult time.

Senator CRANSTON holds the distinction of being the only Democrat in our State's history to win four terms to the U.S. Senate, serving 24 years.

Born in Palo Alto, California, in 1914, ALAN CRANSTON was a tireless champion for peace, justice and human rights. He was also a steadfast advocate for the poor and oppressed.

Senator CRANSTON was educated at Stanford University where he excelled as both a student and athlete. After graduating, Senator CRANSTON worked as a correspondent for the International News Service and then served his Nation well in the U.S. Army in World War II.

In 1939, ALAN CRANSTON edited the first unexpurgated English translation of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" published in the United States in an effort to alert Americans to the dangers of the Third Reich.

In fact, Senator CRANSTON had the very unique experience of being sued by Hitler for copyright violation for his work on this editing project and—in true ALAN CRANSTON form—he wore this as a badge of honor and demonstrated that he would stand up to anyone in pursuit of Democratic principles and ideals.

His first service in elected office was when he won his race for California State Controller in 1962. He then ran successfully for the Senate in 1968 and was elected seven times as Party Whip.

He was called by many as one of the best "nose counters" in the Senate. My esteemed colleague and former Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd said of Senator CRANSTON, "He is

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absolutely superb when it comes to knowing how the votes will fall in place on a given issue.”

Senator CRANSTON also was a strong leader in an effort to protect our environment. I am proud to say that he was the original author of the Desert Protection Act, and he called me shortly after I won election to the Senate in 1992 to ask me if I would take over the effort to get the bill approved. In 1994, we amended the bill a number of times but were able to get it passed and make the legislation a reality.

This landmark measure created two new national parks—Death Valley and Joshua Tree—and one national preserve—the Mojave. In total, the measure has permanently saved and protected over 7 million acres of pristine California desert wilderness for all time.

As Thomas Jefferson said in 1809 that “the care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government,” it appears to me that Senator CRANSTON demonstrated this view with strong and forceful advocacy of arms control.

In the Senate, ALAN CRANSTON played a leading role in moving the SALT and START Arms Control Treaties through this body, and he drafted the first bill to eliminate funding for the Vietnam War.

In 1983, ALAN CRANSTON said that ending the arms race would be the paramount goal of his run for the Presidency. That effort was not successful, but his effort to promote an honest dialog on this issue grew, and he continued to work toward a more peaceful planet right up until the time of his death.

In 1996, he became chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation USA based in San Francisco, founded by former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and devoted to nuclear disarmament.

More recently, he served as president of the Global Security Institute, a think tank devoted to the same end. The Institute recently persuaded more than 100 international civilian leaders, including 44 former Presidents and Prime Ministers, to sign onto its nuclear weapon elimination initiative.

Signators included former President Jimmy Carter, former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, Nobel Laureates Kenneth Arrow and Elie Weisel, Coretta Scott King, astronaut Sally Ride and retired Supreme Allied Commander General Andrew Goodpaster.

Former Representative Lionel Van Deerlin described Senator CRANSTON’s devotion to nuclear disarmament well when

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he said, "He's got to be remembered for pioneering, when the Cold War was still on, limiting the worst weapons ever conceived."

In summing up the career of Senator ALAN CRANSTON, I believe a recent editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* aptly sums up his life and his service to our Nation:

[Senator CRANSTON] toiled in the trenches during a long political career in behalf of California and world peace. The value of his efforts and dedication was not fully appreciated at the time and was overshadowed by his departure from the Senate. It's that body of work that should be remembered and celebrated now.

Madam President, our Nation is no doubt a better place because of Senator ALAN CRANSTON's service, and we will miss him deeply.

FRIDAY, *January 5, 2001*

ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, on December 31st the Nation lost a remarkable man.

At his home in Los Altos, California, lands-end of the Nation and State he served, ALAN CRANSTON did not witness the beginning of the new millennium.

It has been said that death is the great leveler. But ALAN CRANSTON's accomplishments in life have clearly set him apart.

Nearly seven decades ago, a young American journalist from California published an unexpurgated version of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf," "My Struggle"—revealing, as few had previously done, the true depth of the danger and the evil that Hitler embodied. Hitler successfully sued for copyright violation, and ALAN CRANSTON wore that loss as a proud badge throughout his life.

After a career in journalism, service in the U.S. Army during World War II, business, and local politics, ALAN CRANSTON joined the Members of this U.S. Senate in 1969 by virtue of his election in the previous November.

Here, Senator CRANSTON's vision and rich composition of experiences, talents, and wisdom enriched our Senate deliberations.

In 1977, when I was elected Senate Democratic Leader, Senator CRANSTON won election as Assistant Democratic

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Leader, or "Whip." In all his years of working, first as my proverbial "right hand" and, subsequently, as a close colleague in the Senate leadership when I became President Pro Tempore, Senator CRANSTON was a conscientious adjutant and a congenial friend and partner in numerous legislative efforts. Unfortunately, words alone cannot adequately convey the respect in which I held Senator CRANSTON, nor the solid appreciation that I felt for Senator CRANSTON and for his loyalty, his supreme dedication, his high purpose, his contributions to the Senate's work through many years.

He was a fine lieutenant, if I may use that term. He was always there when I needed him. And many times I said that he was absolutely the best nose counter that I had ever seen in the Senate.

But friendship and respect are not always easily forged. Tragedy makes a bond. In 1980, Senator CRANSTON was dealt Fate's glancing blow with the death of a child, a loss of a promise to the future, when his son Robin Cranston died in a traffic accident in 1980, at the age of 33. Two years later, my wife Erma and I were dealt a similar blow with the death of our grandson, John Michael Moore, in a traffic accident.

Mr. President, a valedictory is not always sad and it is fitting that Senator CRANSTON's final words on this floor regarding his career be repeated here. On October 8, 1992, he made these short and poignant remarks:

Mr. President, a Senator from California gets involved in myriad issues. Just about every issue that exists has an impact, somehow, in the remarkable State of 30 million people that I represent. So I have been involved in countless issues over my time in the Senate.

Most of all, I have dedicated myself to the cause of peace, and to the environment. In many a sense I believe that my work on the environment is probably the longest-lasting work I have accomplished here.

When you deal with a social issue, or a war and peace issue, or an economic issue, or whatever the results, the consequences are fleeting. Whatever you accomplish is soon changed, and often what you have done leads to new problems that then have to be dealt with.

But when you preserve a wild river, or a wilderness, or help create a national park, that is forever. That part of your State, our Nation, is then destined to be there forever after, as God created it.

I worked with particular dedication over these years, too, on issues of justice, equal rights, human rights, civil rights, voting rights, equal opportunity. I worked for democracy and freedom in my country and in all countries. I focused particularly on housing, and transportation, and veterans.

I thank the people of California for the remarkable opportunity I have had to serve them in the Senate for almost a quarter of a century.

Today, I along with millions of Americans, thank my friend, ALAN CRANSTON, for his work, his life, and his vision.

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No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friends or of thine own were; any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind; and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.

I yield the floor.

#### AUTHORITY FOR PRINTING OF TRIBUTES

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the tributes to ALAN CRANSTON, late Senator of the State of California, be printed as a Senate document and that Senators have until Friday, February 9, 2001, to submit said tributes.

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

MONDAY, *January 22, 2001*

#### SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

The following concurrent resolutions and Senate resolutions were read, and referred (or acted upon), as indicated:

By Mr. INOUE:

S. Res. 11. A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate reaffirming the cargo preference policy of the United States; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mrs. BOXER (for herself and Mrs. Feinstein):

S. Res. 12. A resolution relative to the death of ALAN CRANSTON, former United States Senator for the State of California; considered and agreed to.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Kohl, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Wellstone, Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Conrad, Mr. Kerry, Mrs. Carnahan, Mr. Dayton, Mr. Kennedy, Ms. Stabenow, and Mr. Schumer):

S. Res. 13. A resolution expressing the sense of the Senate regarding the need for Congress to enact a new farm bill during the 1st session of the 107th Congress; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

#### SENATE RESOLUTION 12—RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF ALAN CRANSTON, FORMER UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

Mrs. BOXER (for herself and Mrs. Feinstein) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

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S. RES. 12

Whereas ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON had a long and distinguished career, beginning with service as a foreign correspondent and continuing with service in the United States Office of War Information and in the United States Army;

Whereas ALAN CRANSTON was a leader in his State before coming to the Congress, serving as State Controller of California for eight years;

Whereas ALAN CRANSTON served the people of California with distinction for 24 years in the United States Senate;

Whereas Senator CRANSTON was a lifelong advocate for world peace and the defense of democratic institutions;

Whereas Senator CRANSTON was an unwavering friend of the environment and California's remarkable natural resources;

Whereas Senator CRANSTON was a leader in the United States Senate in many areas, including the fields of affordable housing, mass transit, veterans affairs, civil rights and education; and

Whereas Senator CRANSTON left a lasting legacy in his post-Senate career through his efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons and to eliminate the scourge of nuclear weapons from the planet, efforts which continued until the day he died: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable ALAN CRANSTON, former member of the United States Senate.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That when the Senate adjourns or recesses today, it stand adjourned or recessed as a further mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable ALAN CRANSTON.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to share with the Senate my thoughts on the life of a friend and former Member of this body, Senator ALAN CRANSTON.

ALAN passed away on December 31, 2000, at 86 at home in California. It was a quiet end for a man who throughout his career raised his voice for so many. ALAN enjoyed a long life and was blessed with a keen mind, a strong spirit and simple common sense. In return for these gifts he worked to his last days to make this world a more peaceful and humane place. I will miss him and his example very much.

ALAN was first elected to the Senate in 1968. He served the people of California in this Chamber for four terms, eventually retiring in 1993. It was my honor to have been elected to the seat he vacated.

Prior to his Senate service he was Controller for the State of California. He served his country in World War II, first in the Office of War Information and then in the U.S. Army. After graduating from Stanford University and before the onset of the war, ALAN was an overseas correspondent for

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the International News Service, covering such places as England, Germany, Italy and Ethiopia.

While a correspondent he saw an English language version of "Mein Kampf," sanitized to hide the truth from Americans. He published his own version highlighting the "worst of Hitler" and was sued by Hitler's publisher. While he lost the suit, a half a million copies had already been distributed, helping to educate many about the true nature of nazism and Hitler.

As U.S. Senator he stood out as a tireless and effective advocate for his constituents. No matter how he grew in stature and influence within this institution, he never forgot those who sent him to Washington and why. ALAN cared deeply for people. He pursued policies that reflected his unwavering belief in the fundamental dignity and worth of others.

As Chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, ALAN played an invaluable role in America's efforts to assist our servicemen and women and their families. In addition, he was a national leader on the environment, civil rights, workers' rights, education and so much more. A consensus builder, he achieved success through a firm understanding of the issues and a finely developed sense of not only what was needed, but what was possible.

ALAN left his mark on many issues, but his true passion was world peace. As a witness to the horror and devastation of World War II, he committed himself to creating a world where conflicts between nations could be resolved without bloodshed. He was an outspoken opponent of the war in Vietnam and made the abolition of nuclear weapons a central part of his agenda in the Senate. Upon his retirement, he devoted himself to the latter cause almost exclusively.

Encouraged by the end of the Cold War, after leaving the Senate he became chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation, which later changed its name to the State of the World Forum. Based in San Francisco, the Forum has developed into a widely respected organization for the discussion of global issues. In recent years, the Forum has hosted multi-day gatherings attended by world leaders. This year's gathering occurred in New York and coincided with the U.N.'s Millennial Summit. As an authority on non-proliferation, ALAN CRANSTON prepared the program on the subject for participants who included former Heads of State and some of the most influential minds in foreign affairs, business, the arts and the media.

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ALAN also formed the Global Security Institute. There he and others conceived of Project Abolition, the Responsible Security Appeal. The purpose of this coalition is to rally people, politicians and governments to support policies that lead to a world safe from the nuclear threat. I am sure ALAN would be pleased that this effort will continue even without him.

Recently, CNN founder Ted Turner and former Senator Sam Nunn announced that they were forming a foundation with an annual budget of \$50 million dedicated to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. This is great news, and further evidence that ALAN's message of peace continues to resonate. In many ways, this foundation is a tribute to him and his legacy.

Senator ALAN CRANSTON was a leader and citizen that California, the United States and the world could be proud of. Although we are all a little poorer today at his passing, in the final tally we are all much richer for having known him and benefited from his time among us.

I yield the floor.

#### RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF ALAN CRANSTON

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of S. Res. 12 introduced earlier today by Senators Boxer and Feinstein.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the resolution by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A resolution (S. Res. 12) relative to the death of ALAN CRANSTON, former United States Senator from the State of California.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution and preamble be agreed to en bloc, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements relating to the resolution be printed in the *Record*.

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

The resolution (S. Res. 12) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

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WEDNESDAY, *January 24, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, ALAN CRANSTON was here in the Senate when I first arrived in 1983. He was a staunch advocate not only for California but also for a host of progressive policies at the national level. He was dedicated to protecting the environment, to expanding voter opportunities for all Americans, to closing the gap in our society between the rich and the poor. He was a champion of equal rights for all. He was a foe of bigotry in all its forms.

Perhaps his greatest passion during the years he served in the Senate was reducing the threat of nuclear war. He led the fight for arms control. Even after he left the Senate, he continued his work and spoke out for arms control and for the de-alerting of nuclear weapons.

I remember meeting with ALAN last year at Ricky's Hyatt House in Mountain View, California. I was in the Bay area, and I called ahead to see if he was available for breakfast. He said it was near his home and that he would meet me there.

He was a little less vigorous during that breakfast than he had been in earlier visits, but his commitment to arms reduction was undiminished. I remember thinking at the time how impressive it was to see someone who felt strongly enough about his views to find a way to continue advocacy of those views after leaving public office. It was clear that although he had left public office, he had not left public service.

ALAN CRANSTON lived a remarkable life, and we are all fortunate that he devoted so much of that life to public service. I, for one, will miss ALAN's wise counsel and his passionate commitment to making the world a better place.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I rise today to talk about a subject that brings me great sorrow—the passing of my old friend and colleague, former California Senator ALAN CRANSTON.

Senator CRANSTON passed away suddenly last New Year's Eve, at the age of 86. His sudden death came as a shock to all of us who remember him for his abundant energy and enthusiasm.

ALAN was elected to this body for the first of four terms in 1968. He was already a legend in the Senate when I ar-

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rived here for the first time almost 18 years after him, and I consider myself very fortunate to have had the opportunity to serve alongside him. I will always remember him fondly, both for the kind of person he was, and the kind of Senator he was.

ALAN was elected Democratic Whip an unprecedented seven straight times, and served in that role in both the majority and minority. Having now served as my Party's Whip for 2 years, I can say that nobody who holds that office can possibly ignore the long shadow that he still casts over it.

Recently the Senate approved a historic power-sharing agreement under which both parties would have an equal number of seats in each committee. It remains to be seen how this arrangement will work in practice, and whether the split will create more cooperation, or more gridlock.

But I think that if we in the Senate are to make it work, we would do well to follow the model set by Senator CRANSTON. Those of my colleagues who did not know him personally would do well to study the lessons of his life and his career.

The press called him "Colorless CRANSTON," a nickname he wore with pride, because it reflected his fundamental belief that legislative accomplishment was far more important than crafting sound bites or scoring political points. When you needed to find ALAN, you didn't look in the press gallery or the recording studio—you looked for him in the cloakroom, where he was always busy negotiating a compromise or finding ways to move legislation over obstacles.

Although he was known as one of the last true liberals, he never let his ideology get in the way of getting things done. He regularly reached out across the aisle and his close friends included some of his most vigorous and outspoken political opponents. He was a workhorse who lived by the maxim that a leader can accomplish great things if he doesn't mind who gets the credit.

Some of his greatest accomplishments found him in alliances that left outsiders scratching their heads—for example, teaming with Strom Thurmond to improve veterans programs, with Alfonse D'Amato on public housing measures, with Barry Goldwater to protect First Amendment press freedoms. Outsiders wondered whether he had sold out his old liberal beliefs, but the truth was that he was just finding ways to get things done with as little fuss as possible.

During his 24 years in the Senate, no legislation that touched on his passions—veterans benefits, disarmament,

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environmental protection, human rights, or civil rights—passed this body without his fingerprints on it, although more often than not, only those closest to him realized the extent of his contribution.

During his long and colorful career, he crossed paths with some of the most famous men in history and was present many times while history was being made. He was a track star at Stanford and member of a record-setting relay sprint team. As a young journalist, he reported on the rise of nazism in Germany, and was sued by Adolf Hitler for publishing an unsanitized version of “Mein Kampf” and revealing Hitler’s true ambitions to the world. His lifelong commitment to halting the use of nuclear weapons began after he was introduced to Albert Einstein in 1946. After retiring from the Senate, he established a think tank with Mikhail Gorbachev to promote world peace, where he worked until his death. He counted Groucho Marx among his supporters.

Yet despite these brushes with fame and the long list of bills that bear his name, he will always be best remembered in this body for the things that newspapers don’t report—for his grace, his humility, his leadership, and his devotion to his son Kim and his granddaughter. He will be missed.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in honoring our friend and former colleague, Senator ALAN CRANSTON, who died on December 31, 2000, at the age of 86 in his native California.

While ALAN CRANSTON was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1968, his public service began years before when he served in the Executive Offices of the President in 1942 as Chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information. Declining a deferment, he enlisted as a private in the U.S. Army in 1944. First assigned to an infantry unit, he became editor of *Army Talk* and was a Sergeant by V–J Day. He went on to serve two terms as State Controller of California before being elected to the U.S. Senate.

ALAN CRANSTON served the people of California with distinction in the U.S. Senate for 24 years. He chaired the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs, providing invaluable assistance to our Nation’s servicemen and women. He was in the forefront in the U.S. Senate on numerous issues of national importance, including mass transit, civil rights, the environment, women’s rights, housing and education.

I was privileged to serve with Senator CRANSTON on the Foreign Relations Committee where he played an important role during Senate consideration of the SALT II and START

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Treaties, helped pave the way for ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty, and was active in efforts to promote peace in the Middle East. Senator CRANSTON was a tireless advocate for world peace and the defense of Democratic institutions.

Throughout his Senate service, ALAN CRANSTON worked diligently to promote the reduction and, ultimately, the elimination of nuclear weapons. After retiring in 1993, he continued his extraordinary commitment and devotion to these critical efforts. He chaired the State of the World Forum, a widely respected organization for the discussion of global problems, based in San Francisco. He was also founder and president of the Global Security Institute, concentrating on a worldwide effort to reduce, marginalize and eliminate nuclear weapons.

Mr. President, ALAN CRANSTON was a leader in the U.S. Senate, a well-respected Member of this body. He had a unique ability to achieve consensus under difficult circumstances, and his wise counsel will be missed by every Member with whom he served. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to him and to extend my deepest sympathies to his family.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for as much time as I may consume.

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

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, ALAN CRANSTON was a Senator in this Chamber for a long while. In fact, in recent months he visited this Chamber, and I had an opportunity to say a few words to him. He was someone who left a significant mark, especially in the area of fighting for a policy in this country that would put this country in a leadership position to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

Mr. CRANSTON worked diligently on that issue here in Congress, but after he left his service in the Senate, he especially was interested, and active all around this country, in trying to mobilize the energy and interest for this country to lead in a range of areas dealing with stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. I recall, perhaps 6 months ago, driving down a rural highway in North Dakota and receiving a call on my cell phone. The call was from former Senator ALAN

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CRANSTON, and he was calling from California. What he was calling about was what he always talked about in recent years. He was trying to find ways to continue our country's obligation to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war.

He felt passionately about the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and was disappointed when the treaty was voted down in the Senate last year or a year and a half ago. But he never stopped working. He always believed that our country, as strong and as big as it is, had a leadership responsibility in the world to mobilize its energy and commitment to find ways to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

So today we pay honor to his memory. We should be thankful that there was an ALAN CRANSTON involved in public service. I say to his family that our sympathies go to them. We will all miss his commitment in dealing with this issue of nuclear arms reduction.

MONDAY, *January 29, 2001*

ORDER FOR RECORD TO REMAIN OPEN UNTIL FEBRUARY 20 TO  
SUBMIT CRANSTON TRIBUTES

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order of January 5th with respect to the CRANSTON tributes be changed to reflect that Senators have until Tuesday, February 20, to submit tributes, and that the tributes then be printed as a Senate document.

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

TUESDAY, *January 30, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, I am being joined by former Senator Alan Simpson and my distinguished colleagues, Senators Boxer, Feinstein, Kennedy and Rockefeller, in sponsoring a memorial tribute to our former colleague and my dear friend, ALAN CRANSTON,

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who passed away on New Year's Eve 2000. The tribute will be held on Tuesday, February 6, 2001, at 2 p.m. in Room 902 of the Hart Building. I invite and encourage all Senators to join us for this celebration of ALAN's life of service to the people of our country.

TUESDAY, *February 6, 2001*

IN MEMORY OF ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, it is an honor for me to pay tribute to my former Senate colleague ALAN CRANSTON. With Senator CRANSTON's passing, we lost a gifted leader, a shrewd politician and a dedicated reformer. It seemed significant that Senator CRANSTON passed away on New Year's Eve 2000 because his life encompassed, literally, the 20th century. He was born the year World War I began, grew up during the Depression, covered the rise of fascism in Europe as a foreign correspondent and led the fight for a nuclear arms freeze during the Cold War. He called luminaries of the age among his friends, most notably Albert Einstein. ALAN CRANSTON arrived in the Senate shortly after I did and we served together for 24 years until his retirement in 1993. We even hit the Presidential campaign trail together, both running for the White House on the Democratic ticket in 1984.

Those of us who served with Senator CRANSTON will remember the tally sheets he carried around to count votes. We will also remember the talent he had for carefully preserving his own liberal ideologies while working effectively with those on the opposite end of the political spectrum. He may have offended some with his push for disarmament, but more often than not he disarmed them with his own friendly manner. Senator CRANSTON left an indelible mark on environmental, civil rights and global security policy. His legacies are the Global Security Institute, his accomplishments as a U.S. Senator and his dedication to the people of California. He will be missed, but a political giant like ALAN CRANSTON will not be forgotten.

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THURSDAY, *February 8, 2001*

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, it is with great sadness that I rise today to pay tribute to our friend and colleague ALAN CRANSTON. His death on December 31 last year was a shock. ALAN was such a life force that it is hard for me to imagine his silence and his not being there for great arms control debates.

Senator CRANSTON was a man of conviction, a true humanitarian in every sense of those words. He began his career in public policy in the 1930s as a journalist warning his readers of the dangerous rise of fascism. He knew even then that the United States was locked in an intricate web of relations with the rest of the world and that our attempts to ignore that web could only lead to calamity for ourselves and those around us. ALAN understood the concept of globalization at least 50 years before it gained such notoriety to earn a name.

It was primarily that impulse to engage the world that brought ALAN into elective office and eventually to the U.S. Senate. As State of California Controller from 1958 to 1967, he worked to rationalize the booming State's finances and ensure that all Californians could benefit from that phenomenal rise.

But it was in the Senate where ALAN could most effectively work toward his vision of a peaceable world. Before the people of California sent him here in 1968, he learned about the Senate's moderating influence and the consequences of its shirking that role. In his post-World War II book, "The Killing of the Peace," ALAN explained how the U.S. Senate's defeat of the League of Nations contributed to the outbreak of that war and the horrible events that followed.

Most of his activities during his impressive 24 years here were an expression of his deep desire for the Senate to avoid similar mistakes. He brought a special seriousness of purpose and attentiveness to arms control issues as diverse as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and ongoing production of the B-2 stealth bomber. On several occasions, I joined him in opposing the production of new, destabilizing types of nuclear weapons, and I was always struck by ALAN's sense of nuance and willful resolve.

ALAN was not one to ignore his own personal responsibilities to the Senate. As Democratic Whip, ALAN made this

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body run efficiently. If there is anyone who was never afraid to count the votes, it was ALAN. He knew how to smoke us out on our intentions. What made him so effective was his persuasive argumentation and downright persistence. Sometimes he could change my mind faster than he could run a 100-yard dash, which was pretty fast considering he was a lifelong record-setting sprinter.

It was not surprising that after his Senate career he led the non-profit Global Security Institute where he continued to press for arms control initiatives. The Institute provided a perfect platform from which he could promote his expanded notion of security. After the Cold War, ALAN realized before everyone else that security no longer meant merely protection from weapons of mass destruction. He saw that security in the new millennium was also about avoiding environmental degradation, securing our food supply, and educating our children.

ALAN was a forward thinker and an alternative voice at a time when conventional wisdom demanded examination. He worked to make our world safer, and he was a good friend. I will miss him greatly.

THE ALAN CRANSTON I KNEW: INTENSITY, INTEGRITY, AND  
COMMITMENT

Mr. BIDEN. A couple of weeks ago I had the sad duty to travel to California to represent the Senate and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at a memorial service for Senator ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON. It was a moving ceremony, a chance for all those in attendance to re-dedicate themselves to the noble goals which shaped ALAN CRANSTON's life.

ALAN CRANSTON will be remembered by those of us who knew and loved him as a man of peace who devoted much of his adult life—four terms in the Senate and a decade as director of the Global Security Institute—to the tasks of promoting nuclear arms control and encouraging world peace. These are not small objectives, but of course ALAN CRANSTON's interests extended beyond them, literally, "from the Redwood Forests to the Gulf Stream waters." Never content to sit on the sidelines, ALAN CRANSTON fought tirelessly for the causes in which he believed: nuclear disarmament, the environment, civil rights, and decent housing. He brought the intensity of a sprinter and the endurance of a marathoner to each of these causes.

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During his tenure as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1981 to 1993, ALAN CRANSTON was a devoted supporter of strong U.S. leadership in the world, whether it meant promoting the development of democracy in the Philippines and Cambodia or working to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

ALAN CRANSTON knew that the United States could not go it alone in the world. In an age when American unilateralism, if not isolationism, has gained a certain currency in Washington, ALAN CRANSTON's life reminds us that the highest aspirations of the American people are those which lead us to care about others and work with others to address common problems.

The intensity, integrity, and commitment ALAN CRANSTON brought to public service stand as an example we all might follow as we begin work in this 107th Congress.

Mr. President, I would ask unanimous consent that a transcript of the remarks made at Senator CRANSTON's memorial service be printed in the *Record*.

[The memorial service may be found on page 51.]

WEDNESDAY, *February 14, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I join many of my colleagues in paying tribute to former Senator ALAN CRANSTON, who died on New Year's Eve, 2000. Since I came to the Senate in 1985, I have had the honor of serving on the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and my first 8 years on the committee were under the superb chairmanship of Senator CRANSTON. During our years, I came to know and appreciate his unbounded dedication to the veterans of this country, and his extraordinary record of leadership and commitment to our Nation throughout his 24 years of public service in the U.S. Senate.

Senator CRANSTON played an integral role in veterans affairs from his first days in the Senate, serving initially as Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee of the then-Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. When that subcommittee became the full Committee on Veterans' Affairs in 1971, he was a charter member of it. He became Chairman of the full Committee in 1977, was Ranking Member from

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1981 to 1986, and then Chairman again in 1987, until he left the Senate in 1993.

Throughout his tenure, Senator CRANSTON demonstrated a devoted commitment to the men and women who risk their lives for the safety and welfare of our Nation. Although he opposed the war in Vietnam, he was a strong champion for the rights and benefits of those who served in it.

Senator CRANSTON's vision—to ensure that our country upholds its obligation to meet the post-service needs of veterans and their families—was the inspiration for the many pieces of legislation passed during his tenure. He showed his concern for disabled veterans and their families in many ways, including authoring support programs that provided for grants, cost-of-living increases in benefits, adaptive equipment, rehabilitation, and other services.

Senator CRANSTON's record on issues related to the employment and education of veterans is unequaled. As early as 1970, he authored the Veterans' Education and Training Amendments Act, which displayed his heartfelt concern for Vietnam-era veterans, and served as the foundation for other key initiatives over the years.

As a strong advocate for health care reform myself, I appreciated Senator CRANSTON's efforts over the years to improve veterans health care through affirmative legislation. He brought national attention to the many needs of VA health care facilities, which resulted in the improvement of the quality of their staffs, facilities and services.

Senator CRANSTON's patience in pursuit of his goals is legendary. For example, he introduced legislation in 1971 to establish a VA readjustment counseling program for Vietnam veterans. When it failed that year, he reintroduced it in the next Congress, and the next, and the next, never losing sight of his vision. Four Congresses later, in 1979, it was finally accepted by the House of Representatives. The VA's Vet Center Program was established that year and, in the ensuing years, this program helped many Vietnam veterans deal with their adjustment problems after service, including post-traumatic stress disorder.

After the program was established, Senator CRANSTON fought successfully to make it permanent, thereby enabling Vet Centers to survive proposed cuts by the Reagan administration. He also pushed for enactment of legislation which extended the eligibility period for readjustment counseling. In 1991, Senator CRANSTON authored legislation which allowed veterans of later conflicts, including the Persian Gulf

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War, Panama, Grenada, and Lebanon, to receive assistance at Vet Centers as well.

Another example of Senator CRANSTON's persistence was his effort to provide an opportunity for veterans to seek outside review of VA decisions on claims for benefits. He began working on this issue in the mid-1970s and stayed with it through final enactment in 1988 of legislation which established a court to review veterans claims. That court, now known as the U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims, stands as a legacy to Senator CRANSTON's commitment to making sure that veterans are treated fairly by the government that they served.

The list of Senator CRANSTON's achievements is long—for veterans, his home State of California, our country, and the world. Senator CRANSTON's leadership had a broad sweep, way beyond the concerns of veterans. From nuclear disarmament to housing policy to education to civil rights, Senator CRANSTON fought to do the right thing, with energy and passion. For nearly a quarter of a century, he was a true champion for the less fortunate among our society.

His legacy is immense, and I know that his leadership, which continued after he left this Chamber, will be missed. I consider myself fortunate to have had the opportunity to work side by side with him over the years. By continuing his fight for the people we represent and the ideals we were elected to uphold, I seek to carry on his mission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article about Senator CRANSTON by Thomas Tighe, a former staff member of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, be printed in the *Record*. His thoughts on Senator CRANSTON, which appeared in the January 7, 2001, edition of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, are quite compelling.

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

ALAN CRANSTON: HE SEPARATED THE WAR FROM THE WARRIOR  
(BY THOMAS TIGHE, PRESIDENT AND CEO OF DIRECT RELIEF INTERNATIONAL)

ALAN CRANSTON stood for and accomplished many important things during the course of his life and Senate career, which, as might be expected given his low-key approach, received little comment upon his death. But having worked for ALAN—as he insisted all his staff call him—during his last several years in office, I was saddened by both his passing and the absence of public recognition for much of what his life's work accomplished.

Elected in 1968, strongly opposing the war in Vietnam, Senator CRANSTON was assigned the chair of the subcommittee responsible for overseeing the veterans health care system. He was among the very first in our country to separate the war from the warrior, as he sought to have the system do right by the returning soldiers whose wartime experiences, severity of in-

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jury, and readjustment seemed somehow different from those of earlier wars.

While retaining his aversion to war, ALAN CRANSTON devoted much of his career in the Senate to ensuring that the country's obligation to those who fought in war—however unpopular—was recognized as fundamentally important and honored accordingly. He pushed hard to expand spinal-cord injury, blindness, and traumatic brain injury care, which were lacking and desperately needed. He championed mental health services, authoring legislation to create "Vet Centers" where veterans themselves counseled each other and to fund research that ultimately obtained formal recognition and treatment for post-traumatic stress disorder as a "real" condition that affected soldiers. Drug and alcohol services, vocational rehabilitation, and comprehensive assistance for homeless veterans all resulted from his insight, his perseverance, and his commitment to those who served our country.

The terms "paramedic" and "medevac" did not exist in civilian society in the late 1960s—they do today because ALAN saw how effective the combination of medical personnel, telecommunications, and helicopters had been in treating battlefield injuries in Vietnam, and he authored the first pilot program to apply this model to the civilian sector.

Senator CRANSTON also was the most vigorous, insightful, tough, and effective supporter that the Peace Corps has ever had in the Congress—stemming from his early involvement with Sargent Shriver in the early 1960's before he was elected. I know about these issues, and his remarkable legacy, because I worked on them for ALAN as a committee lawyer in the Senate and, after he left office, as the Chief Operating Officer of the Peace Corps.

But there were many, many other issues that Senator CRANSTON not only cared about but worked to effectuate in a painfully thorough, respectful, and principled way. He was an early and stalwart advocate for preservation and judicious stewardship of the environment, an unyielding voice for a woman's right to make reproductive health choices, and of course, a relentless pursuer of world peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons—upon which he continued to work passionately until the day he died.

Those efforts have made a tremendous positive difference in the lives of millions of people in this country and around the world.

For me, ALAN CRANSTON's standard of adhering to principle while achieving practical success remains a constant source of inspiration and motivation, as I am sure is true for the hundreds of others who worked on his staff over the course of 24 years. His was an example that one's strongly held ideological and policy beliefs, whether labeled "liberal" or "conservative," should not be confused with or overwhelmed by partisanship if it prevented meaningful progress. And he insisted upon honest and vigorous oversight of publicly funded programs he supported—to avoid defending on principle something indefensible in practice, thereby eroding support for the principle itself.

Once, while trying to describe an obstacle on a Peace Corps matter, I made a flip reference to the "America Right or Wrong" crowd. He asked if I knew where that expression came from, which I did not. He said it was usually misunderstood and, as in my case, misused, and told me that it was a wonderfully patriotic statement. He stared at me calmly, with a slight smile and with the presence of nearly 80 years of unimaginably rich experiences in life and politics, and said, "America, right or wrong. When it's right, keep it right. When it's wrong, make it right."

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It was a privilege to work for ALAN CRANSTON, and to know that is what he tried to do.

MONDAY, *February 26, 2001*

TRIBUTES TO ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in mourning the death of our former colleague from California, Senator ALAN CRANSTON. The Nation lost a truly remarkable man last December.

Senator ALAN CRANSTON had a long and effective career of public service spanning six decades, including 24 years as a U.S. Senator. He first entered public service in 1942 as Chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information in the Executive Offices of the President. This began his very productive life of public service.

I served side by side with Senator CRANSTON for 6 years. In those 6 years alone he had his hand in many fundamental pieces of legislation. For example, he produced the Cranston-Gonzales National Affordable Housing Act of 1990, the first major piece of housing legislation in a decade. He was also the original author of the California Desert Protection Act, which was enacted in 1993. Throughout his long career, Senator CRANSTON was a true advocate for the environment, civil rights, and world peace.

Whether one agreed or disagreed with ALAN CRANSTON's views, we here in the Senate will always remember him for his integrity and dedication. ALAN CRANSTON fought tirelessly for his beliefs, no matter what the consequence. Yet he was also kind, energetic and thoughtful.

Put simply, I admired and respected Senator ALAN CRANSTON. I would now like to take this opportunity to extend my thoughts and prayers to his sister Eleanor CRANSTON, his son Kim, his daughter-in-law Collette Penne CRANSTON, his granddaughter Evan CRANSTON, and to his remaining friends, family and staff. We will all miss him.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, when I heard that my friend, ALAN CRANSTON, passed away this New Year's Eve, I couldn't quite believe it. I remember ALAN as a man in a constant state of motion, always pressing on for the causes he cared for, plotting the next steps, pondering how he could do

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more. It is hard to reconcile the finality of death with the endless, focused energy that defined his life.

ALAN's record of service spans the better part of the 20th century. He was a journalist who covered World War II, an author who warned Americans about the threat of Hitler, a leader of an organization that opposed discrimination against immigrants, long before that was fashionable.

He revived the California Democratic Party in the 1950s, was the California State Controller in the 1960s, and served his first term in the U.S. Senate in the 1970s. He was a Senator for 24 years, including seven consecutive terms as Democratic Whip, and he even made a run for the Presidency in 1984. And since his retirement from the Senate in 1993, ALAN had dedicated himself to the cause he cared about most: eliminating nuclear weapons.

If you didn't know ALAN, his impressive list of accomplishments might lead you to think that he must have been a man of great showmanship and obvious charisma. But that wasn't Alan.

ALAN believed in the philosophy of Lao-Tzu: "A leader is best when people barely know that he exists. . . . But of a good leader, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will all say, 'We did this ourselves.'" Accordingly, ALAN did a lot of his work behind the scenes. He had neither the time nor the patience for back slapping and schmoozing; he liked to cut to the chase, let you know what was what, and move on to the next thing.

ALAN was never loud or arrogant or flashy. He didn't have to be. His authority came from a force deeper than personality. It came from his conscience.

The anti-war activist, Father Daniel Berrigan, once talked about the danger of "verbalizing . . . moral impulses out of existence." That was never within the realm of possibility for ALAN. Whether he was standing up for veterans, working to save millions of acres of desert and wilderness, or speaking out for nuclear disarmament, ALAN steadfastly followed his conscience, even when it led him to the uncharted paths or difficult places where no one else would go.

I don't know whether it was the result of this active conscience or his fierce intellect or some combination of the two, but ALAN had this extraordinary prescience, this ability to predict with startling accuracy what the future would bring. He understood the threat of Adolf Hitler long before many others, and he worked to warn us before it was too late. He fought discrimination against immigrants, long before most

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of us realized that was the right thing to do. He spoke out about nuclear weapons long before the disarmament movement took root in the popular imagination.

And he believed in the notion of uniform world law decades before the rise of the global age. In fact, many decades ago, he was the leader of the World Federalist Association, a group dedicated to the idea of establishing a uniform world law. Back then, the WFA must have seemed like a somewhat eccentric organization, oddly out of sync with the times.

But it was vintage ALAN, just another manifestation of his profound idealism. ALAN really believed that people of all different nationalities and races and ethnicities could rise to meet the standard of a just rule of law.

ALAN once said of nuclear deterrence: “This may have been necessary during the Cold War; it is not necessary forever. It is not acceptable forever. I say it is unworthy of our Nation, unworthy of any Nation; it is unworthy of civilization.”

ALAN had the highest hopes for our world. We owe it to him to try to live up to them and to carry out his legacy of peace in the new millennium he did not live to see.

In conclusion, I ask that a recent article from *Roll Call* on ALAN CRANSTON by Daniel Perry appear in the *Record* at the end of my remarks.

Dan Perry, a former staffer for ALAN CRANSTON, is a leader in his own right. For years he has been on the forefront of aging and health policy as head of the Alliance for Aging Research. His remarks reflect his deep admiration for Senator CRANSTON and his commitment to the Senator’s lofty ideals.

The article is as follows:

[FROM ROLL CALL, JAN. 4, 2001]

CRANSTON LEGACY SERVES AS MODEL FOR MEMBERS OF THE 107TH  
CONGRESS

(BY DANIEL PERRY)

The sharply divided 107th Congress would do well to ponder the quiet but enduringly effective political skills of the late Sen. ALAN CRANSTON (D) of California. His 24-year Senate career, during tumultuous and partisan times, showed that strong beliefs make good politics, but success begins with respecting the motives and sincerity of others, including your opponents.

CRANSTON’s sudden death, just hours before the first day of 2001, ended a life devoted to issues about which he was passionate: International peace and arms control, human rights and protection of the environment. For this Californian the quest for high public office—even the United States Senate—was never a simple pursuit of power nor an end in itself.

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Politics and policy were the means by which he could help make the human passage on earth fairer, safer and more serene. His commitment to halting future use of nuclear weapons began when he was introduced to Albert Einstein in 1946. He was still working tirelessly toward that goal when he died, at age 86, eight years after he left the Senate.

In the shorthand of the obituary writer, CRANSTON is remembered for winning four Senate elections, serving seven consecutive terms as Democratic Whip, for having run for president as the champion of a nuclear freeze and for being tarred by the so-called Keating Five scandal. While all true, that doesn't begin to describe a political career of amazing productivity and accomplishment, showing just how much one person quietly can do to shape his or her times.

By one count, there were 2,500 tallies in the Senate between 1969 and 1989 that were decided by fewer than five votes, and often by a single vote. CRANSTON was often a crucial player, not only for his vote alone but as a behind-the-scene strategist, head counter, marshaler of forces and shrewd compromiser who always lived to fight another day.

He was frequently one-half of various Senate odd-couple pairings, meshing his principles with pragmatism. He teamed with conservative Senators such as Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) to improve veterans programs, Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) on public housing measures and the legendary Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) to protect press freedoms guaranteed under the First Amendment.

CRANSTON was liberal and an idealist to the core, but never an ideologue or blindly partisan. That balance enabled him to become one of the most durable and successful California politicians of the 20th century. He was elected six times to statewide office from California.

Representing the West Coast mega-State in the Senate meant skillfully balancing myriad insistent and often conflicting home-State interests. Even as California changed politically and demographically, CRANSTON managed to steer a delicate course between the State's giant agribusiness interests and those of consumers, family farmers and farm workers; he weighed the claims of home builders and growing communities against the need to preserve open spaces and wildlife habitats.

Amazingly, he helped end the Vietnam War and was a major figure in the nation's arms control and peace movements, even as he effectively represented the epicenter of the nation's defense and aerospace industries.

It is a measure of the man that he was able to separate the warriors of Vietnam from the war itself. From 1969 to 1992 all legislation concerning America's veterans bore his stamp, especially measures improving health care and mental health services for those who fought in the nation's most unpopular war.

Teaming up with the late Representative Phillip Burton (D) of San Francisco on environmental issues, the two Californians managed to place under Federal protection as much acreage as all the national park lands created earlier in the 20th century combined.

Today there is a catalog of thousands of bills and amendments he personally authored affecting virtually every aspect of national life: civil rights, adoption and foster care reform, wild rivers, research to improve aging and longevity, workplace safety, emergency medical services and much more.

He lived by the maxim that a leader can accomplish great things if he doesn't mind who gets the credit.

The CRANSTON style has not been much in evidence in Washington during recent years. However, Members in the 107th Congress—where many a

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cause will be determined by one or very few votes—would do well to consider the lessons of his ennobling career. If they study the CRANSTON legacy and seek to emulate it, the Nation and the world will be better for it.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, Kim, Colette, Evan, R.E.—let me begin by saying I loved ALAN too. I will never forget the 24 years of friendship and leadership and achievement with which he graced the Senate and the Nation. So it's a special privilege and honor for me to be part of this tribute today. ALAN is profoundly missed by his family and friends, his colleagues in the Congress, and by all those around the world who pursue the great goals of hope and progress and peace.

I must say, I grew up thinking CRANSTON was a city in Rhode Island. But ALAN taught each of us that CRANSTON stands for something else as well, the very best in public service.

ALAN loved to lead behind the scenes; for 14 of those 24 Senate years with us, he was our Democratic Whip, and he wrote the book about the job. In those great years, we used to tease ALAN about the position, because so few people outside Congress knew what it involved. Since ALAN was from California, a lot of people thought the Minority Whip was the name of a leather bar in Malibu.

But seriously, ALAN was a giant of his day on many issues, and his concern for social justice made him a leader on them all. We served together for many years on the Labor Committee and especially the Health Subcommittee, and his insights were indispensable. I always felt that if we'd had another ALAN CRANSTON or two in those years, we'd have actually passed our Health Security Act, and made health care the basic right for all that it ought to be, instead of just an expensive privilege for the few.

Perhaps the greatest legacy that ALAN left us was his able and tireless work for democracy and world peace. Every village in the world is closer to that goal today because of ALAN. No one in the Senate fought harder or more effectively for our nuclear weapons freeze in the 1980s, or for nuclear arms control. His hope for a nuclear-free future still represents the highest aspiration of millions, even billions, throughout the world.

I also recall ALAN's pioneering efforts to press for Senate action to end the war in Vietnam, and his equally able leadership for civil rights at home and human rights around the world. We know how deeply he felt about injustice to anyone

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anywhere. His leadership in the battle against apartheid in South Africa was indispensable.

Throughout his brilliant career, the causes of civil rights and human rights were central to ALAN's being and his mission—and America and the world are better off today because ALAN CRANSTON passed this way.

A key part of all his achievements was his unique ability to translate his ideals into practical legislation. Few if any Senators have been as skilled as ALAN in the art of constructive legislative compromise that fairly leads to progress for the Nation.

He was a vigorous supporter of the Peace Corps, a strong overseer of its performance, and a brilliant advocate for all the Peace Corps volunteers. He was a champion for health coverage of returning volunteers, and one of the first to understand that good health coverage had to include mental health services too.

In many ways, his first love was the Peace Corps, and I know that President Kennedy would have been very proud of him. Even before he came to the Senate, he had his first contact with the Corps, as a consultant for Sargent Shriver. As ALAN often said, he became involved because he was so inspired by my brother's vision of a world where Americans of all ages could work side by side with peoples throughout the world to put an end to poverty.

Because of ALAN, the Peace Corps today is thriving as never before—free of the partisan tensions that divide us on other issues, spreading international understanding of ALAN's and America's best ideals, educating new generations of young Americans about our common heritage as travelers on Spaceship Earth, teaching us about the beauty, the richness, and the diversity of other peoples, other languages, and other cultures and about the enduring importance of the greatest pursuit of all, the pursuit of peace.

Near the end of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," there is a passage that tells of the death of Valiant:

Then, he said, I am going to my Father's. And though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not regret me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battle who now will be my rewarder.

When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the riverside, into which as he went, he said, 'Death, where is thy sting?' and as he went down deeper, he said, 'Grave, where is thy victory?' So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

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We loved you, ALAN. We miss you. And we always will.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, it is a special privilege to join all of you today to honor the life and extraordinary accomplishments of ALAN CRANSTON.

As we all know, ALAN was a sprinter and—always with an incredible mischievous twinkle in his eye he sprinted through life. I think one of the most enduring images of him is of ALAN on the eve of the Iowa caucuses in 1984 at the Holiday Inn in Keokuk, Iowa, sprinting barefooted down the 40-meter hallway, walking back and repeating the exercise for about 40 minutes. It was no coincidence that ALAN's favorite hotel in the country, Chicago's O'Hare Hilton, boasts 250-meter hallways.

Three weeks ago in California we shared a goodbye to our friend, this sprinter, at a memorial service—calling to mind the many ways he enriched public lives and personal relationships.

There in the Grace Cathedral, we heard Colette Cranston say that in death ALAN CRANSTON “has become my Jiminy Cricket—that little voice in her conscience that says, ‘Colette, think before you leap.’” It would not be an exaggeration to say that warning was characteristic of ALAN when he served here in the U.S. Senate. He wanted us to look, and he wanted us to leap. He implored us to put a human face on public policy—to think not in statistics and numbers and programs alone, but in terms of people; and the people he spoke of most often were senior citizens, children, those without decent housing, immigrants, and those in need of a helping hand regardless of race or religion. He was a moral voice, a voice of conscience, someone who understood that even as he remained vigilant defending the needs of the homefront in California, he was also a global citizen who knew this institution had global responsibilities.

Through four terms as a U.S. Senator, he remained a man of enormous humility; on his answering machine he was simply “Alan”—as he was to so many who knew him. This personal sense of place and restraint made it easy to underestimate the contributions he made to the Senate, and to our country. Certainly he never paused long enough to personally remind us of the impact of his service, of the history he was a part of and the lives he touched.

I first met ALAN in 1971 when I had returned from Vietnam and many of our veterans were part of an effort to end a failed American policy in Vietnam. In ALAN CRANSTON we found one of the few Senators willing not just to join in the

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public opposition to the war in Vietnam, but to become a voice of healing for the veterans of the war, a statesman whose leadership enabled others, over time, to separate their feelings for the war from their feelings for the veterans of the war. At a time when too many wanted to disown its veterans, ALAN offered Vietnam veterans a warm embrace. He was eager to do something all too rare in Washington: listen—and he listened to veterans who had much to say, much of it ignored for too long. He honored their pride and their pain with sensitivity and understanding.

That's when I first saw the great energy and commitment ALAN brought to the issues affecting veterans, especially those of the Vietnam era. He was deeply involved in veterans health care issues, among the first to fight for recognition of post-Vietnam stress syndrome, and a leader in insisting on coverage under the VA for its treatment. When the agent orange issue came to the fore, ALAN insisted on getting answers from an unresponsive government about the consequences of exposure to dioxin, making sure that veterans and their families got the health care they needed. Under his leadership Congress grudgingly increased GI bill benefits for Vietnam veterans—veterans who too often had to fight for benefits they should have been guaranteed without question—indeed, for veterans who had to fight if only to have a memorial and if only to have the government recognize that they fought in a war and not a police conflict. ALAN's leadership made all the difference. It is a sad truth in our country's history that a weary Nation seemed eager to turn its back on so many Vietnam veterans who simply sought their due; it should forever be a source of pride to the CRANSTON family that ALAN was chief among those who insisted that America honor that service and keep faith with sons who left pieces of themselves and years of their lives on the battlefield in that far-away nation.

This was a man who fought with the greatest of passion for those who had fought in a difficult war—even as he was also the Senator who fought against all that war represents—remembering that war, brutality, and killing are the ultimate failure of diplomacy.

ALAN CRANSTON was above all a man of peace. With him it was not just a policy but a passion. Remember: This was a man who, in 1934, found himself in the same room as Adolf Hitler. Five years later, he wrote a critical English translation of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in an effort to reveal the German leader's true plans. He wore Hitler's ensu-

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ing lawsuit as a badge of honor, proud that he had stood up to try and warn the English-speaking world about the evils of nazism.

Throughout the rest of his service he used public office to force Americans to listen to other prescient warnings—about nuclear arms, about a dangerous arms race spiraling beyond our control, and about hopes for peace that he refused to give up even as others chose to beat the drums for war.

Senator CRANSTON came to his famous commitment to arms control after meeting with Albert Einstein in 1946. He left that meeting convinced that the threat of atomic weapons had to be stemmed—and he spent the balance of his life arguing that conviction before the Nation.

As a member of the Senate leadership and a senior voice on the Democratic side of the Foreign Relations Committee he worked to reduce the nuclear threat. One of his most important efforts was one of the least publicized. Throughout the 1970s and the 1980s, ALAN convened a unique arms control study group, the “SALT Study Group.” This Senators-only gathering met monthly in his office, off the record, and face to face to define common ground. He knew the impact quiet diplomacy could have on the issues he cared about most of all.

He loved what the Peace Corps does, and he fought for it. He fought to attach human rights conditions on aid to El Salvador and to halt contra aid. He was a leading national advocate for a mutual verifiable nuclear freeze. He was always an idealist whose increase in political power was always met by progress for the issues he cared about so deeply. It was not just the work of a career, but of a lifetime—after he left the Senate he chaired the State of the World Forum and joined with former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev as chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation USA, and in 1999 he founded the Global Security Institute.

He did that because he sensed that the end of the Cold War, with all the opportunity it afforded, created a more dangerous world, with aging nuclear weapons in increasingly disparate and unreliable hands. He was haunted by the threat of nuclear terrorism. He was passionate about the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and was angry when it went down to a shallow and partisan defeat in the Senate. We missed his voice in that debate; we miss him still more today.

When he left the Senate, ALAN reflected upon his service and his accomplishments. Of his lasting legacy, he said sim-

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ply: “Most of all, I have dedicated myself to the cause of peace.”

That dedication was real and lasting—a legacy of peace for a good and peaceful man who gave living embodiment to Culbertson’s simple, stubborn faith that “God and the politicians willing, the United States can declare peace upon the world, and win it.” That belief was ALAN CRANSTON and it is a belief worth fighting for.

TUESDAY, *February 27, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. CLELAND. Mr. President, one of the first times I ever came to the Dirksen Senate Office Building, a location where I now have my Senate office, was on December 12, 1969, some 20 months after my injury in Vietnam, when I was summoned to appear before the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans’ Affairs about how the Veterans’ Administration was handling returning Vietnam War veterans. That meeting was chaired by a tall, lean Senator from California named ALAN CRANSTON, and it was the start of a three-decade friendship. Thus, in 1974 after experiencing what hopefully will prove to be my only electoral defeat, in the Democratic primary for Lieutenant Governor of Georgia, one of the first people I turned to was Senator CRANSTON, who generously accepted my offer to come out to California to campaign for his successful re-election. Then, after the general election, he came to my aid by serving as guest of honor at a fundraising dinner to pay off my campaign debt. And to top it off, Senator CRANSTON helped me get a job as a special investigator for the Senate Veterans’ Affairs Committee, which is where I was serving when President Carter selected me to head the VA, in no small part because of the strong recommendation of ALAN CRANSTON.

I hope this short discourse makes it clear the debt of gratitude that I personally owed to Senator CRANSTON, but more importantly, it is indicative of the kind of man ALAN was: dynamic, thoughtful, compassionate. He touched many lives, including veterans who benefited from his tireless commitment, especially on behalf of Vietnam era veterans, future generations of Americans who today and for all time to come will benefit from his farsighted commitment to the protection

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of our land, air and water and for citizens of the world who benefit from his long-time commitment to world peace, a cause he continued to pursue till the end of his life through the Global Security Institute.

Another part of the CRANSTON legacy is perhaps somewhat less known to the general public: his efforts on behalf of the disabled. When ALAN CRANSTON came to the Senate in 1969, those with disabilities had virtually no legal protections against various forms of discrimination and indeed faced many barriers, physical and otherwise, to just getting in to the halls of government. To ALAN CRANSTON, that was unacceptable. He led the efforts to enact the landmark Federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973 which outlawed discrimination against the disabled in all federally funded programs.

Among its many provisions, the 1973 law: Required federally funded buildings to be made accessible; promoted the hiring and advancement of qualified persons with disabilities by the Federal Government; and established the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, which has responsibility for setting standards for accessibility and for assisting and enforcing compliance with accessibility laws. I was honored to be named to that board by President Carter in 1979.

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s ALAN worked to revamp federally assisted State vocational rehabilitation programs by his sponsorship of laws that gave priority to the most seriously disabled and, most importantly, required a focus and follow through on employment. In 1980, he sponsored successful legislation to make these same improvements in vocational rehabilitation programs for veterans. And in 1990, Senator CRANSTON was a leading co-sponsor of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which in many ways was a culmination of two decades of leadership by Senator CRANSTON on behalf of fairness and opportunity for persons with disabilities.

It was a great honor to have known and worked with ALAN CRANSTON. Our country is a better place because of his achievements, which we celebrate today.

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WEDNESDAY, *February 28, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, on the morning of the last day of the 20th century, as he was preparing his breakfast, ALAN CRANSTON died at his home in Los Altos. After 86 years, his great huge heart just stopped.

There can never be a good time to lose someone like ALAN CRANSTON. Such leaders are too rare. Still, there is something fitting about ALAN CRANSTON leaving us just as the century came to a close. It was almost as if, having spent his life working to protect us against the darker possibilities of the 20th century, he held on until the last day in order to see us safely to the new century.

I first came to know Senator CRANSTON from a distance. He was 4 years into his second Senate term, and had just been elected Democratic Whip when I was first elected to the House. That was back in 1978.

Studying Senator CRANSTON from the other Chamber, I realized early on that he possessed a rare balance. He was a standard bearer for great public causes—and he was as good a behind-the-scenes organizer and vote counter as I have ever seen. He was a pragmatic idealist.

I also noticed something else about ALAN CRANSTON back then. I noticed that he listened respectfully to all kinds of people and very often, just by listening, was able to bring people together. In this practice, and in many others, I have tried since then to follow his example.

Another thing I admired about ALAN CRANSTON was his tremendous running ability. From the time he was in high school, he was a champion sprinter. In college, he was a member of the Nation's fastest 1-mile sprint relay team in America, and he remained a competitive runner most of his life. At one point, I understand, he held the world record for the 100-yard dash among 55-year-olds. As a 53-year-old runner who is not likely to break any speed records soon, I find that amazing. I also find it a little ironic—because in politics, ALAN CRANSTON was no sprinter. He was a marathon runner.

When ALAN CRANSTON signed on to a cause, it was for life. As a reporter in Europe in 1936, he was among the first to recognize the evil of fascism for what it was. He chronicled the rise of Hitler and Mussolini. When he discovered that Hitler had authorized the export of a sanitized copy of "Mein Kampf" to America, he acquired a copy of the German text

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and had it translated accurately, with all its hideous lies restored. He sold copies for 10 cents—thus giving America some of its true glimpses into the real Hitler.

A copyright infringement lawsuit brought by Hitler himself eventually forced ALAN CRANSTON to stop selling copies of “Mein Kampf” in America. But nothing could ever stop him from speaking out against oppressors of freedom and human dignity.

In 1946, ALAN CRANSTON met Albert Einstein, who persuaded him that nuclear weapons must be banned or they will destroy the human race. From that day until he died, ALAN CRANSTON was a tireless champion in the effort to monitor nuclear arms and reduce their use.

During his years here in the Senate, he also championed an array of other noble causes—from the environment, to civil rights, to the men and women who serve in our Nation’s military.

Literally and figuratively, ALAN CRANSTON was a towering figure in this Senate for nearly a quarter of a century. He was an example to many of us and to me personally. I am proud to say he was also a friend.

With some sadness, and with gratitude for his lifetime of service to our Nation, I join my colleagues in honoring the memory of ALAN CRANSTON and conveying our deep regrets to his family—especially his sister Eleanor, his son Kim, and his granddaughter—as well as his many friends across this country and around the world. ALAN CRANSTON was loved in this Senate, and he will be deeply missed.

TUESDAY, *April 24, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following tributes by current and former Members of the Senate and House of Representatives at the memorial service for the late Senator ALAN CRANSTON be printed in the *Record*.

MEMORIAL TRIBUTE TO SEN. ALAN CRANSTON BY SENATOR MAX CLELAND

On February 6, over 200 admirers gathered in Hart SOB 902 to pay tribute to our dear friend ALAN CRANSTON, who left us on the last day of the year 2000. Joining with me as sponsors of this event were the Senators from

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West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER), California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN and Mrs. BOXER), and Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY), and the former Senator from Wyoming (Mr. SIMPSON). Ten Members and former Members spoke, and a short film about Senator CRANSTON's recent activities was shown. At the end of the program, ALAN's son, Kim, spoke. It was a memorable afternoon for all in attendance.

The program cover pictured ALAN and his beautiful, now 7-year-old granddaughter, Evan. On the second page appeared the following words of the Chinese poet and philosopher Lao-Tzu, which ALAN carried with him every day:

A leader is best  
When people barely know  
That he exists,  
Less good when  
They obey and acclaim him,  
Worse when  
They fear and despise him.  
Fail to honor people  
And they fail to honor you.  
But of a good leader,  
When his work is done,  
His aim fulfilled,  
They will all say,  
"We did this ourselves."

The program participants and sponsors were shown on the third page.

The back page of the program set forth Senator CRANSTON's committee assignments and the acknowledgments for the tribute.

As I said at the tribute, I would not be in this body were it not for ALAN CRANSTON. My colleague, the Senator from Washington (Ms. Cantwell), expressed that same sentiment in her remarks. ALAN CRANSTON will always be an inspiration for us. He will live in our memories and the memories of all those who served with him and were touched by the causes he championed and in the hearts and minds of those he so ably represented in his beloved State of California.

[The memorial tribute may be found on page 75. "A Legislative Legacy" distributed at the tribute, may be found on page 112.]

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## Proceedings in the House of Representatives

TUESDAY, *February 6, 2001*

### REMEMBERING ALAN CRANSTON

Ms. HARMAN. Mr. Speaker, my first job offer on the Hill came from the late California Senator, ALAN CRANSTON, who will be remembered at a memorial service this afternoon by generations of colleagues and staffers.

Though I never worked on ALAN's staff, I relied on him for counsel and support for three decades. ALAN was a mentor to me when I served in senior staff positions for Senator John Tunney. I always had the sense that ALAN was looking out for John and me, and for California's interests.

We remained friends through the years and saw each other last at Stanford University only a few months ago.

ALAN's counsel and continued focus on issues he cared passionately about, especially world peace, set the marker. He was always working. No doubt he was working until the moment he left us.

I was fortunate to know and learn from him. We were fortunate to have him as a congressional leader for 24 years.

### HONORING SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mrs. NAPOLITANO. Mr. Speaker, today I remember an icon in California public service and a true role model for elected officials. Senator ALAN CRANSTON embodied many attributes that symbolize his dedication and commitment to serving the constituents he represented.

Senator CRANSTON spent 32 years in public office, including 24 as a U.S. Senator, and rose to become a powerful force in the Democratic Party. After founding the California Democratic Council and winning two terms as State Controller, ALAN CRANSTON was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1968, where he served until his retirement in 1993. Always a defender of the less fortunate, Senator CRANSTON fought for

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citizens of all races, ethnicities and income brackets, firmly believing that part of the American dream was equality and opportunity for everyone.

In recognition of his astute leadership and perseverance, Senator CRANSTON was elected Majority Whip by his colleagues from 1977 to 1981 and 1987 to 1991 and served as Minority Whip from 1981 to 1987.

One of Senator CRANSTON's most admirable causes was his passionate advocacy of arms control. He was a profound believer in the United Nations and joined with former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to set up the Gorbachev Foundation USA, dedicated to eliminating nuclear weapons.

On a personal note, Senator CRANSTON was a frequent visitor to my 34th Congressional District where he would attend receptions at the Whittier home of our mutual constituents Kauzo and Mary Miyashita in support of the California Democratic Party. That is where my husband Frank and I first met the Senator in the mid-1980s.

ALAN CRANSTON will be remembered as a superb mechanic of the political process and for being one of California's and the Nation's most devout public servants. His leadership should inspire us all, and I am proud to celebrate his life and his causes.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I invite my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to former Senator ALAN CRANSTON of California who passed away over the holiday break. In a career spanning most of the 20th century, both as a private citizen and a Member of Congress, he developed a reputation as a tireless advocate of worthy causes from the environment to veterans health, and most notably arms control. His passing gives us pause to reflect on the legacy of one who fought hard his entire life for peace and Democratic freedoms.

Mr. Speaker, ALAN CRANSTON began his crusade for peace early in his life as a journalist. Born in Palo Alto, California, in 1914, CRANSTON graduated from Stanford University in 1936, and he worked for the International News Service where he edited the first unaltered version of "Mein Kampf," laying bare Hitler's racist beliefs, and inviting a lawsuit from the Fuehrer over copyright infringement. In 1939, CRANSTON continued his fight against racism as an advocate for the Common Council for American Unity, an organization opposing discrimination against the foreign-born.

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CRANSTON's service to his country began during World War II, when he enlisted in the U.S. Army and became a private. Because of his verbal skills, he was assigned to lecture to soldiers on war aims. After the war, CRANSTON continued to advocate peace through his career in journalism.

Mr. Speaker, in 1969, he became a U.S. Senator from California. In the U.S. Senate, ALAN CRANSTON's tireless advocacy for protecting the California desert and advocating the philosophy of arms control and arms reduction earned him the reputation of a "workhorse," and it is one he rightly deserves. And even after leaving the Senate at the age of 78, ALAN CRANSTON continued until the time of his death to press for arms reduction by chairing two San Francisco-based think tanks—the Gorbachev Foundation USA and the Global Security Institute.

Mr. Speaker, Senator ALAN CRANSTON worked long and hard for peace, and at his passing I join his many friends and admirers in paying tribute to his distinguished service, and it is my hope that we may carry on his work with equal strength and conviction.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. BACA. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my sympathies to the family of the late Senator ALAN CRANSTON. Senator CRANSTON passed away on New Year's Eve, 2000.

Born in California, Senator CRANSTON honored our Golden State for many years with his service to community and country, serving for 8 years as State Controller of California, and in the U.S. Senate for 24 years.

Senator CRANSTON will be remembered for his fight for human rights in the world. He will be remembered for his mastery of the issues, his hard work, plain-spoken manner, and humility.

He fought against fascism and nazism, alerting people to the threat of Hitler, by exposing the virulent nature of Hitler's writings. This act of courage helped to show the world the importance of fighting this menace to freedom and democracy. Many years later he fought with the same level of conviction against apartheid in South Africa, helping to end that unjust system through economic sanctions by the United States.

He fought to protect Federal employees against job discrimination, worked for opportunities for women in the workforce, and strove to end discrimination against pregnant employees.

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He championed legislation to expand the Family Planning Program, and he helped lead the fight for the proposed Equal Rights Amendment.

Senator CRANSTON was always eloquent, honorable, tenacious in his causes, respected even by those who did not share his position on the issues. He was a gentleman in the best sense of the word, a scholar, a thinker, a doer, and a leader. He will be missed.

#### IN RECOGNITION OF SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. SCHIFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in celebration of the life of the late Senator ALAN CRANSTON. Growing up in California, I developed a strong admiration for the life and work of this great leader. As a young man living in Northern California and attending Stanford University, I came to view Senator CRANSTON as a model for our time and an inspiration to young people everywhere. He served a legendary four terms in the U.S. Senate and made history by being the only U.S. Senator ever to have been elected his Party's Whip seven times. His vibrant intellect, persuasive skill, and evenhanded approach were recognized by leaders here and abroad, and Senator CRANSTON came to be seen as a guiding hand in shaping many of the important legislative measures that came up for consideration during his 24 years on Capitol Hill. His devotion to the causes he cared about and his expertise on both domestic policy and international relations made him one of the most talented and well-respected public servants of this century.

The people of California will be forever grateful for the many accomplishments of Senator ALAN CRANSTON. He was a tireless advocate for his constituents, while always being mindful of the needs of the entire Nation. His efforts to provide affordable housing, protect our environment, secure a woman's right to choose, and advocate for the disabled paved the way for groundbreaking legislation that transformed domestic policy in the United States. But what Senator CRANSTON is best known for is his lifelong commitment to world peace and his conscientious objection to nuclear weapons. He played a pivotal role in developing arms reduction and nuclear arms control treaties and traveled the world, building relationships with foreign leaders and promoting peace. Senator CRANSTON will always be remembered for his many contributions to the global community, and I am proud to rise today in celebration of his life of service to the State of California, this Nation, and our world.

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TRIBUTE TO LATE SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, today I am proud to pay tribute to one of California's finest and most respected Senators, the late ALAN CRANSTON.

ALAN CRANSTON was born in Palo Alto, California, on June 19, 1914. He studied at the University of Mexico and then continued at Stanford University. While he began his professional career as a news correspondent, the international events of that time led him to join the U.S. Army. At the conclusion of the Second World War, he left the Army to become president of the United World Federalists. This, along with his founding of the California Democratic Council, propelled him into the political spotlight. Other positions he held include Chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs during his tenure at the Senate, chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation, president of the United States: Kyrgyz Business Council, and senior international advisor for Schooner Capitol Corporation.

Those who know him and worked with him remember his modesty and true commitment toward making the world a safer one. Senator CRANSTON was honored with numerous awards for outstanding achievements in the field of world security, and for his efforts toward global peace. During his 24-year Senate career, Senator CRANSTON had a hand in developing and promoting some of the most influential legislative measures considered by Congress. His efforts to end the Vietnam War and to improve relations with the Soviet Union go unmatched. In addition, he helped shape the Senate opinion of the SALT II and START Treaties.

After leaving public office, ALAN CRANSTON continued his fight to abolish nuclear weapons. He founded and acted as president of the Global Security Institute, enabling citizens to express their concerns about security issues. His expertise was frequently sought in treaty negotiation and nuclear arms control, and he published many works on these issues.

Mr. Speaker, ALAN CRANSTON did not seek attention for himself nor demanded honor, but he deserved it. He honored all living beings by serving to promote peace and prevent destruction. Please join me in remembering the respectable and truly remarkable man, Senator ALAN CRANSTON. I end with a quote that Senator CRANSTON carried in his wallet for years:

A leader is best when people barely know he exists, less good when they obey and acclaim him, worse when they fear and despise him. Fail to honor people and they fail to honor you.

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But of a good leader, when his work is done, his aim fulfilled, they will all say, “We did this ourselves.”

#### CELEBRATING THE LIFE OF SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. HONDA. Mr. Speaker, today I honor the life of a great American, Senator ALAN CRANSTON. While Senator CRANSTON left the Congress 8 years ago, after four terms in the Senate, his legacy remains as strong as ever because of the depth of his convictions and the significance of his accomplishments.

Senator CRANSTON was one of only two California Senators to be elected to the Senate four times and he served 14 years as the Democratic Whip. His accomplishments bear great weight. During his service in the U.S. Senate, ALAN CRANSTON had a hand in many major pieces of legislation. He was deeply involved with arms reduction and nuclear arms control and led the debate on the SALT II and START Treaties, worked on ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty, helped to expand trade for California technological and agricultural products, and reduced military spending.

Senator CRANSTON also fought tirelessly to build affordable, adequate housing for our families and to protect our national environment for present and future generations. The Cranston-Gonzales National Affordable Housing Act of 1990 was a major housing bill he helped pass. He also authored legislation that created 3 major national parks and expanded 2 others, 7 park wilderness areas and 51 forest areas, and he was the original author of the California Desert Protection Act.

Senator CRANSTON’s record of accomplishment in public service spanned 10 Presidents and 6 decades, and his thoughtful approach to making policy impacted the everyday lives of many Americans. He helped formulate legislation to get more highway money available for mass transit, which reduced our dependence on oil and helped to reduce air pollution and traffic congestion. A champion of civil liberty and individual rights, Senator CRANSTON authored the freedom of choice bill to enact *Roe v. Wade* into law and created and fought for a “Bill of Rights” for the disabled.

Senator CRANSTON’s dedication to public service has inspired generations of Californians and Americans to get involved in public service. His integrity and dedication influenced my commitment to fight for social justice and my decision to run for public office. Senator CRANSTON’s life ended on the night of December 31, 2000—at the conclusion of the 20th century. While tragic, this is truly fitting, as it is due

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in no small part to the work of ALAN CRANSTON that the 20th century will always be known as the American Century.

#### A TRIBUTE TO ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, today I pay tribute to ALAN CRANSTON, a man who walked among us as world leader, candidate for President, Senator, public servant, businessman, writer, reporter, public speaker, athlete, and artist—a true Renaissance man. He had a passion for civil rights, freedom of the press, nuclear disarmament and environmental causes. He worked selflessly to try to make the planet a better place for us all.

I was honored to know Senator CRANSTON personally and fortunate to benefit from his advice when I was first elected to Congress.

We celebrate today his noteworthy efforts on the international level for world peace, especially helping to end the Vietnam War and to improve our relations with the Soviet Union. He was a leader in Senate consideration of the SALT I and SALT II Treaties, Middle East peace, and reduced military spending. In 1996, he entered private-sector work on nuclear disarmament, as chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation USA and later founding the Global Security Institute, both San Francisco-based think tanks.

Senator CRANSTON authored bills to create 3 major national parks and to expand 2 others, 7 park wilderness areas and 51 forest areas. He was the original author of the California Desert Protection Act, finally enacted in 1993.

He was the second-longest serving U.S. Senator from California—and was Democratic Whip seven times and Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee.

His work in the Senate included not only the international peace and environmental efforts already mentioned, but he was in the forefront in the fight for affordable housing, mass transit to combat air pollution and traffic congestion, reducing our dependence on foreign oil, choice and women's rights, veterans rights and medical care, education, civil rights and civil liberties, immigration reform, and the prevention of drug abuse and crime.

He was a Stanford University graduate, an early San Francisco homebuilder, a foreign correspondent for the International News Service (now part of the United Press International), and an author of "The Killing of the Peace," which the *New York Times* rated one of the 10 best books of 1945. This book was written about the Senate's decision in 1919 to

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keep the United States out of the League of Nations, in an effort to help the United Nations avoid a similar fate.

He was also athletically gifted. He was a world-class quarter-miler in the mid-1930s and resumed his sprinting at the age of 55. In 1984, as one of eight Democrats running for President, he could be found sprinting barefoot through the hotel hallways.

He credited his participation in track with teaching him the need to focus. He said he could have been in the Olympic Games in 1936 and was good enough but didn't quite make it because he did not concentrate enough. That taught him a lesson that stayed with him throughout his life: success requires discipline and focus.

His artistic bent was evident by three of his oils that hung in his Senate office.

When praising someone of such wide and varied interests and talents, the tributes often end up listing accomplishment after accomplishment. And, as impressive as that may be, such tributes often miss the soul of the man. The life of ALAN CRANSTON presents us with these goals: to put the good of country and of the people of our Nation first; to work tirelessly for the causes we believe are important; to understand that, working together, we really can change the world! We will miss him deeply, but we pledge to remember his dedication and to carry on his work.

#### IN MEMORY OF SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, earlier today several of my colleagues gathered in the Senate to pay tribute and celebrate the life of former Senator ALAN CRANSTON. Like my colleagues, I marvel at the passion and commitment Senator CRANSTON brought to the issues he cared about during his 86 years.

Senator CRANSTON's wide-ranging life experiences gave him an incredible insight on some of the most important events in the 20th century. We are fortunate that he shared his experiences and perspective with us as a journalist and an author, most notably with his 1945 book, "The Killing of the Peace," which was an account of the Senate's failure to join the League of Nations. The Senator's distinguished career also included time as president of the United World Federalists, Controller of California, and as a leading figure in reforming the California Democratic Party. His contributions will always be remembered in these fields by those who worked with him and benefited from his work.

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However, I am most thankful for his commitment and leadership on issues of peace and nuclear disarmament. As many of my colleagues know, Senator CRANSTON and I share a common perspective and commitment to these issues. His leadership on disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons is truly admirable. After leaving the Senate in 1993, Senator CRANSTON continued his push for nuclear arms reductions. He launched a much-needed effort at the 1995 State of the World Forum to abolish nuclear weapons worldwide through educating U.S. citizens and world leaders. Senator CRANSTON took his message and crusade far and wide, including to former Soviet Union President Mikhail Gorbachev. Locally, my congressional district—home to many caring and dedicated peace and environmental groups—was fortunate enough 2 years ago to have Senator CRANSTON join us for an event highlighting the need to abolish nuclear weapons. Once again, he reminded us all that while nuclear weapons will not be eliminated overnight, the United States must be a leader and take the first steps toward elimination of these weapons. As the founder of the Global Security Institute, he was able to forge ahead with this dream of abolishing nuclear weapons.

With his passing, the peace and nuclear disarmament community certainly lost a true friend and leading voice. On behalf of the thousands of citizen groups that will continue to campaign for the elimination of nuclear weapons, I thank him for his groundbreaking work in this arena. And, everyone should know, we will continue in this shared quest to make the world safe from the dangers of nuclear weapons.

#### TRIBUTE TO LATE SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I wish today to join my colleagues in paying my respects to one of California's longtime, dedicated public servants, the late Senator ALAN CRANSTON, who passed away last New Year's Eve.

ALAN CRANSTON's career of public service spanned almost half of the 20th century. He was first elected State Controller of California in 1958, and was sent to the Senate by California voters in 1968. He served there through 1993. Throughout his career, CRANSTON dedicated himself to a range of important causes—seeking to strengthen Federal environmental laws, to expand assistance to the disadvantaged in society and to bolster civil rights. His commitment to arms control led him to work closely with President Reagan for the Intermediate Range Nuclear Force Treaty,

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even though the two agreed on little else. Senator CRANSTON was also respected for his advocacy of the interests of his State—for farmers, filmmakers, aerospace companies, financial institutions and independent oil producers.

Throughout his career and throughout his life, ALAN CRANSTON distinguished himself with his hard work, his tenacity and his self-discipline. He was an Olympic-class runner who kept himself in shape through the end of his life. He took the time to make himself an expert in whatever issue he was working on. Whether it was arms control, housing, or the views and concerns of his Senate colleagues, ALAN CRANSTON took the time to master the subject. It was this discipline that made him an extremely effective party builder, coalition builder, advocate and legislator. That dedication and that commitment deserve our respect.

THURSDAY, *February 8, 2001*

TRIBUTE TO ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, ALAN CRANSTON, who died at the age of 86 on December 31, 2000, represented California in the U.S. Senate from 1969 until 1993. In addition to a distinguished political career, ALAN was an accomplished writer and journalist, businessman, international advisor, and leader in the movement to eliminate nuclear weapons.

ALAN was effective in everything he pursued because he had the intelligence to understand conceptual complexities and the pragmatism to achieve what he wanted. He and Pat Brown rejuvenated the California Democratic Party and led it to power in 1958. My own experience with ALAN goes back to 1960 when I was a student at UCLA and he was a model for young Democrats to follow. We were both active in the California Democratic Council, a grassroots party organization, and I was grateful for the personal support he gave me a number of years later when I decided to run for public office.

I learned from ALAN that the enactment of good legislation could not be accomplished without attracting good people to our party. He was a visionary in knowing how to help build a party to lead California, but he also worked hard on the everyday nuts and bolts decisions that would make it happen. He brought the same skills to the U.S. Senate in 1968.

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He was a visionary in shaping the debate on great issues—the Vietnam War, nuclear proliferation, the rights of the disabled, medical care for veterans—and he served as the Majority Whip for 14 years. He was a consummate vote counter and leadership strategist, and he had a hand in crafting and moving some of the most important legislation enacted while he served.

Lance Murrow once said, “Leaders make things possible. Great leaders make them inevitable.” By every estimation, ALAN CRANSTON was a great leader.

TUESDAY, *March 6, 2001*

IN MEMORY OF SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in memory of a truly remarkable man, one who genuinely exemplified what it means to be a public servant, Senator ALAN CRANSTON.

CRANSTON served four terms in the U.S. Senate, and as the Democratic Whip during seven consecutive congressional sessions. But more than that he served the American people. He fought to protect the environment, to promote peace and human rights and to control nuclear arms, fighting tirelessly to prevent future usage of such weapons. CRANSTON did not compromise his personal views nor the best interests of his constituents during his service.

A masterful legislator, Senator CRANSTON often served as an integral figure in the passage of legislation. This deft political touch allowed him to build coalitions, using the power of an idea to transcend ideological barriers.

An advocate of peace, Senator CRANSTON was an influential figure in the termination of the Vietnam War and in leading U.S. arms control and peace movements. Despite his opposition of war, he led support for the soldiers who fought in the conflict, voting solidly for veterans benefits legislation from 1969 to 1992.

As former aide Daniel Perry wrote in *Roll Call* January 4, 2001, CRANSTON embodied the maxim, “a leader can accomplish great things if he doesn’t mind who gets the credit.”

My fellow colleagues, Senator ALAN CRANSTON is a man who deserves the respect and admiration of every citizen. Let us recognize him for his years of dedication to public service.



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MEMORIAL SERVICES  
FOR  
ALAN CRANSTON



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Alan MacGregor Cranston  
June 19, 1914–December 31, 2000  
A Memorial Celebration

Grace Cathedral, San Francisco  
January 16, 2001  
*Reception to follow in the Pavilion room of the  
Fairmont Hotel*

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It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted.  
Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained.

But if, to please the people, we offer that which we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair.

The event is in the hand of God.

—George Washington  
At the Constitutional Convention

*Soon after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Alan was invited by Grenville Clark to a meeting of statesmen, to examine the state of man in the atomic age, and to consider steps requisite to survival and enduring peace.*

*Alan quoted Washington, urging participants to take bolder strides than some were prepared for. His courage caught Clark's fancy, who soon became Alan's friend and mentor, and who guided Alan on his path as a crusader for peace—a path that led him into public service, the U.S. Senate, and beyond.*

A leader is best  
When people barely know  
That he exists,  
  
Less good when  
They obey and acclaim him,  
  
Worse when  
They fear and despise him.  
  
Fail to honor people  
And they fail to honor you.  
  
But of a good leader,  
When his work is done,  
His aim fulfilled,  
They will all say,  
“We did this ourselves.”

—Lao-Tzu

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<b>Prelude</b>	Christopher Putnam, Organ
<b>Welcome and Opening Prayer</b>	The Very Reverend Alan Jones
<b>Musical Celebration</b>	Glide Memorial Ensemble
<b>Remembrances</b>	Colette Penne Cranston Kim Cranston Senator Joseph Biden Governor Gray Davis Ambassador James Hormel Sally Lilienthal Justice Cruz Reynoso William Turnage Senator Harris Wofford Jonathan Granoff
<b>Selection from “A German Requiem” by Johannes Brahms</b>	Grace Cathedral Choir
<b>Blessing</b>	The Very Reverend Alan Jones
<b>Recessional</b>	Iain Sherwood, Bagpipe

**Alan Jones.** Good afternoon. I am Alan Jones, the Dean of the Cathedral, and it is my privilege to welcome you to Grace Cathedral for this celebration of the life of ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON.

It is fitting that such a large-hearted man be honored and remembered in a soaring and splendid space.

There was a comment in the *London Times* about the public reaction to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. First, it showed that our instinct for devotion is still deep within us. Second, that huge emotions require huge spaces, like cathedrals. And third, that the things we do in them are always up for change.

And so I invite you first to allow the instinct for devotion, the call of something and someone larger than ourselves to well up in you this afternoon, and I think the Senator would have applauded anything that called us out of our cynicism and challenged us not to accept futility as normal.

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I invite you also to acknowledge that huge emotions require huge spaces. We need great spaces and ways of celebration in order to locate ourselves in a larger vision of the human enterprise.

And finally I invite you to be open to that fact, the fact that things we do in places like this are always up for change. Life is never business as usual, and nothing would have pleased ALAN more than for us to leave this place resolved to make a difference.

So, we welcome you to Grace Cathedral for this celebration of the life of a man who held a large and generous vision of what it is to be human.

Our best way to honor him is to share and maintain that vision of a just and humane society on a planet fit for all living beings.

So as you remain seated, I invite you to pray.

Dear God, we thank you for the life and the work of ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON. His generous spirit opened doors and touched many lives for good. His faith in the human enterprise inspired us to accept the great joy and responsibility of being human. His political skills ensured an enduring legacy.

He was friend to those who had no voice, and a lover of the great spaces of the wilderness. His long life touched and was touched by the great events of our time. He was a man for all seasons.

In public life he fought for what he believed with passion and hard work. His caring, open-heartedness and his respect for people touched the lives of many. His generous spirit wanted everybody to do well, and this generosity was infectious.

And so we thank you for his capacity for friendship, his probing intelligence, and his refusal to be enticed into meanness and pettiness.

Finally, we thank you for his life and example, and we commend him into your gracious care. May we honor him by re-dedicating ourselves to peace on Earth, and good will to all people, and to building a more just and inclusive America. Amen.

**Colette Penne Cranston.** Hello! I am ALAN's daughter-in-law, Colette. I am the first speaker because I need to be. Our daughter has commented that I seem to have an endless supply of tears. Since I was honored to have such a close, personal relationship with ALAN, I wanted to give you some

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insights into his gentle, unwavering spirit. He was much more than my father-in-law, he was my friend, my advisor and now, and I know he will love this, he has become my Jiminy Cricket, that little voice in my conscience that says, ‘think before you leap!’

Kim, Evan, our 7-year-old daughter, and I live right next to ALAN on the same property. ALAN’s big sister, who we call R.E., lived up the hill from us until recently. This arrangement was such a gift for everyone! ALAN and Evan had great sunset walks together, evenings of art work and stories around the fire at his place, and dinner dates out just the two of them. They would dress up and go to a restaurant, often one with a piano player, and make an evening of it. Evan called him “Gran.” One night when the two of them were returning from a walk, Kim called me out to the balcony and said, “Listen!” We could hear their voices but couldn’t see them yet. ALAN was saying, “Well, you know, Evan, I don’t know why that’s true, but it is true dogs love to ride in cars and cats don’t.” Just then they rounded the corner to come up the driveway and they were holding hands.

A couple of years ago, the four of us spent 3 weeks in the United Kingdom. Our first week in London, ALAN was occupied with meetings and a quick turnaround to Geneva, but the final 2 weeks we toured the countryside with no particular itinerary except to visit some relatives in Scotland and the grave of Rob Roy MacGregor, an ancestor who ALAN’s middle name is from. We also visited the graves of ALAN and R.E.’s great-grandparents six generations back, whose tombstones were leaning together and touching. Each evening before dinner, ALAN would tell Evan a story, some lasting 45 minutes. In the parlor of one bed and breakfast where we stayed for 3 nights, other guests would join in to listen and ask if they could come the next night to hear the stories, they were that good.

One of the most important, and I believe, reassuring lessons that we can take from ALAN’s life is that we do not have to be limited in our later years. When we tell people that ALAN never retired, he never stopped working, they do not really hear that. The truth is that he was the most disciplined, diligent, and determined person I have ever met. He was also still making friends with and inspiring young people. Two such friends, a man in his thirties and a woman in her forties, touched us with their expressions of personal grief following ALAN’s death. The young men in their

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twenties who work with ALAN's Global Security Institute, Patrick Neal, Zack Allen, and Tyler Stevenson, are bright and motivated and will do great things in their own lives with memories of ALAN staying with them. Don't we all wish for a life of impact and meaning and a quick, painless end surrounded by those we love? He did most everything right!

I can, of course, remember a difficult time in ALAN's career. At the time I was in an elected position also, so I was very interested in how he was handling it. As I watched what was happening to him, I asked him, "Alan, how can you bear this?" He answered, "Colette, there are politics in the locker room, the boardroom and the U.S. Senate. Since you have to put up with them wherever you are, I want to be in the Senate, where the politics are intense, but I can get the most done."

Over Thanksgiving, ALAN and his sister took a week's vacation together. He was working to finish his book on sovereignty rather than just relaxing by the pool and she said, "you work too hard." He replied, "I want to stagger across the finish line knowing I've done all I possibly can!" He did not stagger, he was still sprinting!

I want to close with a message from our 7-year-old daughter, Evan. Her Brownie troop leader read a story about loss that she said helped her. It was about a badger who was the oldest and wisest member of a community of animals. He knew that because of his age, he might die soon. Dying meant only that he would leave his body behind, and as his body didn't work as well as when he was young, he wasn't too concerned about that. His only worry was how his family and friends would feel. He died before the start of a winter and the animals were very sad. But as they thought about him they realized he had given them each something to treasure: a parting gift of a skill or piece of knowledge. Evan said, "Didn't Gran help lots of people and do lots of things to make the world better?" I said, "Yes, he left behind countless parting gifts for all of us to never forget!"

**Kim Cranston.** Thank you all for being here today to celebrate ALAN's life—yes, I too called him ALAN.

In the program for this ceremony is the observation of the Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu that ALAN carried in his pocket most of his life as a guide to the style of leadership he practiced. It begins by observing that leaders are best when people barely know that they exist, and concludes by observing

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that of the best leader, when his work is done, and his aim fulfilled, the people will all say, “we did this ourselves.”

In the world of modern politics in which name recognition is so important, this approach to leadership presented an interesting paradox for ALAN, which is also present today as we celebrate the accomplishments of his life.

I understand, however, that there is a little known addendum to Lao-Tzu’s observation that states that “after such a leader has passed on, people will join together to mourn their loss, celebrate their accomplishments, and recommit to the causes they shared.” I welcome you here today in that spirit.

ALAN touched many people’s lives in many different ways. We all have stories we can tell about times we spent and things we did with ALAN to make the world a better place. This afternoon we have time for just a few of ALAN’s friends and collaborators to share some of their stories with us. I want to invite each of you to join us after this ceremony at the reception at the Fairmont Hotel where, in addition to having the opportunity to catch up, laugh, and cry, there will be video cameras so each of you can take a moment if you’d like to tell your story.

My own story is simple. I was incredibly blessed to have had ALAN as a wonderful father, my dearest and oldest friend, a treasured teacher and mentor, and an invaluable collaborator and leader in addressing the great challenges of our time.

It is almost unbearable for me to think we will never again in this life share another meal, or football game, or joke or prank, or afternoon discussing strategy.

I learned many, many things from ALAN. Five stand out today.

First, I learned about the subtle, profound power of the style of leadership he practiced. In the past few days it’s been very enriching for me to reflect on Lao-Tzu’s observation of leadership and everything that ALAN helped us accomplish in his lifetime.

Second, I learned that the greatest meaning in life is found in making the world a better place. As one of ALAN’s heroes, Martin Luther King, Jr., observed “Life’s most persistent and urgent question is: ‘What are you doing for others?’”

Third, I learned something ALAN understood early on: We live in one of the most extraordinary moments in human history. In our lifetimes, for the first time since humans have inhabited the Earth, we have developed the capacity to de-

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stroy human and perhaps all known life in the universe forever, either through a sudden nuclear holocaust or the more gradual destruction of the environment. Simultaneously, we are developing the capacity to create sustainable and economically just societies.

What those of us alive now do together may well determine which of these two paths we take, and could help decide the fate of the human race. There exists a small window of opportunity for us to act. A window of opportunity that may well not exist for the generations of our children or their children. If humanity is to continue, if we are to prosper rather than perish, we must transform our society and develop effective approaches to resolve those challenges that we share and can only address at the global level. This is the task before our generation and it was to that end that ALAN devoted most of his working life.

The fourth lesson is that in view of all this it is important to keep a sense of humor. Colette told me she'd recently spoken with ALAN about something someone had done that affected them both, which she found very disturbing. Colette asked ALAN why it didn't seem to bother him as much and he replied: "I find that in situations like this I can choose to be either terrified or amused."

And the fifth lesson is to be compassionate to our fellow living beings.

Of course, I learned a great deal more from ALAN, but these are the lessons foremost in my mind today.

While to many people ALAN seemed a whirlwind of activity, he was also a voracious reader and a prolific writer.

In 1945, he published "The Killing of the Peace," which detailed how a small group of people defeated Woodrow Wilson's campaign to create the League of Nations to address the global challenges we face, and which the *New York Times* called one of the 10 most important books of the year.

And just a few days before he passed on, ALAN completed a book—"The Sovereignty Revolution" that begins with the following passage:

It is worshiped like a god, and as little understood.

It is the cause of untold strife and bloodshed. Genocide is perpetrated in its sacred name.

It is at once a source of power and of power's abuse, of order and of anarchy. It can be noble and it can be shameful.

It is sovereignty.

I commend this book to you all and I'm happy to announce today it will soon be available through, among other places,

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the Web site for the Global Security Institute ([www.gs institute.org](http://www.gs institute.org)), the non-profit organization ALAN recently founded to advance his work to abolish nuclear weapons and advance global security.

While we all miss ALAN, we can take solace in knowing that he fulfilled the purpose of making a difference with his life and leaving the world a better place.

In closing, I want to thank you again for being here to mourn the loss we all share, celebrate what we've accomplished, and recommit to the causes that brought us together. As ALAN would say at the end of nearly all of his speeches, I thank you for all you are doing and urge you onward.

Thank you.

**Gray Davis.** First I want to express the deep condolences of my wife Sharon and I to Eleanor Cameron, ALAN's sister, to Kim, Colette, and to the extended CRANSTON family.

My friends, we come here today not just to mourn ALAN CRANSTON, but to honor him. We're greatly saddened by his passing, but we're grateful for his extraordinary life and the rich legacy he left behind.

ALAN was a native Californian who grew up to be an extraordinary public servant. He had a sharp intellect, a humility of spirit, and a quality of compassion that is rare in life and rarer still in public life. He was an extraordinary person. Yes, he was a pragmatist who understood that progress was a long struggle for common ground. But he was also an idealist who believed that violence anywhere was a threat to freedom everywhere.

He reminded us that there is a moral force in this world more powerful than the mightiest of nations or the force of arms. And one by one, he tackled the great issues of our time: World peace; arms control; veterans health; environment. One by one, he made a difference.

For those of you fortunate enough to spend some time in the Golden Gate National Recreational Area or the Santa Monica Mountains or the desert lands that he protected, you know what a difference he made. Future generations will acknowledge their debt of gratitude to ALAN CRANSTON, and it is most appropriate that we thank him today.

ALAN was also a very good politician. He ran every race with the same focus and intensity that he learned running the 100-yard dash back at Stanford. He was almost always the underdog. Critics dismissed his chances, saying he

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lacked the charisma to win. But ALAN proved time and again that in this State character, not charisma, is what people want most.

He became only the second Californian to be elected four times to the U.S. Senate—Hiram Johnson being the first. He became the patron saint of every candidate for office inflicted with a charisma deficit, myself included. He is my personal hero.

ALAN may have lacked charisma, but he was enormously resourceful. Eleanor tells in her book the story of ALAN's first race for Controller in 1958. ALAN knew someone who had a television show in Los Angeles. But the host of the show reminded ALAN he was contractually obligated to talk about contact lenses. He couldn't mention he was a candidate for office and under no circumstances could he say he was a Democrat. But as I said before, ALAN was very resourceful. So he went on the show just a few days before his election and he said, "My name is ALAN CRANSTON. I'm running up and down the State making contacts and jumping in front of lenses. I am ALAN CRANSTON." The viewing audience didn't have a clue what he was talking about. But he mentioned the name ALAN CRANSTON eight times. And even though he'd never been elected to public office before, he was elected Controller of the State of California. So ALAN knew what he was talking about.

Finally my friends, ALAN CRANSTON was part of the World War II generation, a generation that Tom Brokaw has aptly described as our "Greatest Generation." A generation from which much was asked and a great deal was given. A generation that went to Europe and stood down Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime, rescued the survivors of the Holocaust, and literally saved democracy as we know it today.

It was a generation that came home with no expectation of recognition and went about rebuilding a new America. A generation that built roads, hospitals and businesses, and paved the way for the digital economy, although most did not live to enjoy it. A generation that did their duty, and then came home.

God has called ALAN CRANSTON home. I know God has blessed his soul. I know God will give ALAN enduring peace for which he struggled his entire life to try and obtain for all the peoples of the world. I ask you to say a prayer tonight for ALAN, his family and his loved ones.

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It was my honor to lower the flag today in recognition of his remarkable career, and it's my honor now to present it to Kim and Colette. Thank you.

**Joseph Biden.** My name is Joe Biden. I served with ALAN for 20 of his 24 years in the Senate, but I consider myself more a student of ALAN's. Kim, Colette, Evan, I never fully understood your father's tenacity, by the way, until I heard the repeated emphasis on the middle name MACGREGOR. Now I understand it better. Eleanor, my sister Valerie says it's very difficult raising a brother; you obviously did well at your chore.

I'm very grateful, and indeed privileged, for having the honor of being here today to represent the U.S. Senate and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It's a task that's well beyond my capabilities, because the life we commemorate was so extraordinary. To you, his family, to us, his colleagues and friends, and to the people of this State and Nation, we're not likely to see anyone like ALAN anytime soon.

I can't help but think of American architect Daniel Burnham's credo when I think of ALAN. He said—

"Make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's blood. Make big plans, aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing intensity."

Intensity, big plans, no little plans, that was the ALAN CRANSTON that I knew. Most of us would consider it a successful career if we did nothing other than be sued by Adolf Hitler. But here's a fellow, a young man who came back from Europe as a correspondent, who felt obliged to translate accurately "Mein Kampf," who felt obliged to begin a crusade to expose Adolf Hitler. This is a fellow who didn't just decide to help a little bit. I remember the lecture I got on redwood forests. I had not seen one and did not know they had to be preserved. This is a fellow who had no lesser aim than to eliminate nuclear weapons in his time, to guarantee racial equality, to provide durable, affordable housing. I know of no man that I've served with in the Senate, and I've been there 28 years, who had as many intense interests and contributed so much to so many different endeavors.

What accounted for that intensity that dominated ALAN's character? It used to baffle me until one day I figured it out—it was ALAN's integrity, his honesty, his inability to rationalize to himself that he didn't have any responsibility for this or that problem that he observed in this country.

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ALAN had an inner compass that would have plagued most of us. He could spot injustice a mile away. He smelled hypocrisy almost before he walked in the room. He knew what had to be done, and he unfailingly did it, or at least attempted to do it, usually before anyone else, and almost always at some risk to himself. I think integrity, political integrity, personal integrity, is doing what you know to be right even when you know it's likely not to benefit you. ALAN was one of the few people I served with who never, never wondered whether he should act based on whether what he was about to do was popular.

ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON was born in 1914. He was almost 30 years my senior, yet he was one of the youngest people I have ever known and have ever served with.

It was not just that his policy priorities would fit under the heading of progressive, although they would, but with Senator CRANSTON, the Senator from California, it was more than that. There was what Robert Kennedy described as—

“The qualities of youth: not a time of life but a state of mind, a temper of the will, a quality of imagination, a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease.”

We've all heard that quote a thousand times, but I can think of none other that describes the ALAN CRANSTON that I worked with, although some of you knew him much more intimately.

ALAN's commitment to arms control, his passion for environmental protection, his leadership in public housing and transportation, women's rights, civil rights, civil liberties, his concern for justice in immigration laws; those efforts, those views had nothing to do with fashion, and everything to do with conviction.

The Senator was not one for looking at a situation and deciding what he believed, he knew exactly what he believed. His public positions were not just what he said and what he did, they were who ALAN CRANSTON was.

The Senator was armed with conviction, but he always knew that wasn't enough. He was an athlete, after all, and understood that it's not enough to have talent; that if you want it to matter, you have to do something with it, and work like hell at it.

ALAN CRANSTON did work, and he worked at leadership. He understood power, not as a reflection of status, but a tool for a purpose, and he used it as well as any man or woman I've ever known.

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In his 24 years in the Senate and the years since, ALAN CRANSTON pushed our consciousness and our conscience on every issue of consequence, particularly nuclear weapons. He was not just a powerful Senator from California, not just an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, not just a Democratic Whip; he was truly a world leader on nuclear policy. In China, in North Korea, in the Middle East, they had to factor in ALAN CRANSTON when they made their decisions.

He was an internationalist in the great American tradition, with an idealist's love of peace and a passion for freedom, and he had a realist's understanding of the global balance of power and simple human nature.

He had learned from history, he taught from history, but kept his eye and his aim always on the future: the future of the Philippines, the future of our relationship with Russia, and what that would mean to the world, the future of our natural resources, and the generation of Americans that we'll never know.

ALAN CRANSTON ran the 100-yard dash in under 10 seconds when he was at Stanford, and I might add under 12½ seconds when he was almost 60 years old. He was consistent, and he was fast, in a hurry, I would suggest, not to reach the finish line, but to get to the next race, the next test, the next opportunity, the next possibility, always possibilities. The certainty of a redwood, the spirit of a wild river, "a predominance of courage over timidity, of the appetite for adventure over the love of ease."

The playwright Sam Shepherd wrote, "character is an essential tendency. It can be covered up, it can be messed with, it can be screwed around with, but it can't ultimately be changed. It is the structure of our blood that runs through our veins." Evan, you've got good blood, kid. It runs through your veins.

**Ted Turner (via video).** I could not begin to say enough about my dear friend Senator CRANSTON. I'm so sorry he's passed away. He has been an inspiration to me for a number of years, no more so than in the area of weapons of mass destruction. And even though he did not live to get to see the end and the abolition of nuclear weapons from this world, there are a lot of us that are going to continue his work, and I am one of them. We're going to miss you very much, Senator. Thank you very much.

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**Sally Lilienthal.** Jonathan Schell wrote recently that ALAN CRANSTON has quietly done more than any other American to marshal public will to abolish nuclear weapons. He brought the issue of nuclear arms reductions and abolition to the attention of business leaders, policymakers and cultural figures—and most difficult of all, to retired generals and admirals. And never by e-mail—he didn’t have it.

Our last endeavor together was a national campaign to mobilize places of worship, which is gathering steam today in Christian churches, Jewish synagogues and Muslim mosques, and which was originally housed and organized at the Washington Cathedral in the Nation’s Capital—the other cathedral.

Early last summer, 2 years of work came to fruition at an ecumenical service where religious figures together with former generals and admirals called for the reduction and abolition of nuclear weapons. That started the ongoing campaign, the nub of which was the statement ALAN wrote and rewrote to get it finally signed by 18 retired admirals and generals joining in with 21 religious figures around the country. ALAN was a marvelous writer and consensus builder. It wasn’t easy to sign up the top military figures to reduce and finally abolish nuclear weapons, for abolition is not part of Pentagon thinking. And besides, less than 4 years before he had traveled widely to recruit 63 different internationally based generals and admirals to sign another affirmation on the same subject. Let me read you two short sentences from the statement signed by military and church which is at the nub, one might say, of our ecumenical campaign.

“We say that a peace based on terror, a peace based upon threats of inflicting annihilation and genocide upon whole populations, is a peace that is corrupting—a peace that is unworthy of civilization.”

And he went on to write: “We say that it defies all logic to believe that nuclear weapons could exist forever and never be used. This nuclear predicament is untenable in the face of a faith in the divine and unacceptable in terms of sound military doctrine.”

ALAN was always positive. I never saw him downhearted during this laborious struggle to rid the world of nuclear weapons. He was tireless in working toward our goal and he never ever thought of failure. So he leaves us with an active legacy—the most important legacy of all—that of hope, good solid hope.

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**William Turnage.** My name is Bill Turnage. I came to know—and to love—ALAN CRANSTON during my 7 years in Washington as president of the Wilderness Society. Kim has asked me to talk about ALAN’s great work as an environmentalist.

California—our Golden State—has been twice-blessed by the mountain gods.

We have been granted a land among Earth’s most sublime yet diverse.

And we’ve been granted a few splendid champions to protect that heritage.

In early days, farsighted San Franciscans like Thomas Starr King and Frederick Billings came forward to protect the Yosemite.

The idea of a national park was born at the time—perhaps the best new idea our American democracy has ever had.

And these early champions enlisted a great Californian photographer—Carleton Watkins—to make pictures that would help persuade the Congress.

And their dream of a Yosemite Park was first given shape and form by America’s greatest landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmsted.

And when the Yosemite Sierra was threatened by hooved locusts—and loggers—and miners—John Muir came forward and founded the Sierra Club—and he protected the heart of the High Sierra, the range of light.

And great Muir bequeathed the protection of the Yosemite to his inheritor, San Francisco’s native son, Ansel Adams.

They were two of the greatest environmental philosophers in our Nation’s history.

And to turn their dreams into reality, California was blessed with two of our Nation’s greatest environmental legislators, Phil Burton and ALAN CRANSTON.

And ALAN and Ansel formed a very special friendship—a friendship dedicated to saving wild California. Ansel wrote in his autobiography, “I have known many great people in California’s history, spanning my 60 active years. But I have never been in contact with a public official of such integrity, imagination, concern and effectiveness as ALAN CRANSTON . . . I have found him to be a great leader, one who transcends party politics for causes of essential human importance.”

The honor roll of California’s wild places ALAN helped save is too long to recite here; it encompassed our State from the Oregon border redwoods to the Mojave Desert in the south.

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Perhaps ALAN's most lasting contribution to our country's future was his characteristically quiet, determined and effective leadership of the long, arduous, but ultimately successful campaign to save the best of wild Alaska.

One hundred million acres—the size of the State of California—preserved for all time. We simply could not have done it without ALAN's undaunted leadership.

And it could be said that ALAN's most lasting contribution to our Golden State was his characteristically patient yet visionary leadership of the long, arduous, but ultimately successful campaign to save the best of the great Californian desert.

In 1994, when the Desert Protection Act was finally coming to fruition in a Democratic Presidency—and ALAN had retired from the Senate—I proposed, with ALAN's consent, naming the vast wilderness areas of Death Valley National Park—95 percent of the largest park in the lower 48—the ALAN CRANSTON Wilderness.”

Regrettably, the proposal was declined. Today—at this time of remembrance and in this hallowed place—I would like to again propose that we join together to ask the Congress to name this wilderness—now known simply as “The Death Valley Wilderness”—for our great friend and Senator. The honor, like the wilderness he made possible, will last for all time.

**James Hormel.** My admiration for ALAN CRANSTON began over a half century ago, although he was not aware of it at the time. The United Nations was 4 years old. The Iron Curtain had fallen. Isolationists were urging the United States to avoid international commitments. And President Truman was moving—against that tide—to facilitate the economic revival of western Europe.

In that climate, at the age of 16, I became a member of a student chapter of the United World Federalists, which was hailed by some as a major movement toward peaceful co-existence and was excoriated by others—a very vocal opposition—as a gathering of Communist sympathizers. ALAN had just become president of the organization. It was typical of the many challenges which he so willingly took on during the course of his long and productive life.

ALAN already had taken on Adolf Hitler by publishing an unexpurgated version of “Mein Kampf.” He already had served during the Second World War both in the Office of War Information and in the Army. He would augment that

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service during a long political career, including the resuscitation of the Democratic Party in California and the outstanding 24 years during which he was a U.S. Senator.

It was during his Senate years that we met and developed a friendship which meant so much to me. I admired ALAN's courageous stands on conservation and social justice, and his unswerving dedication to the peaceful resolution of conflicts around the world. I discovered coincidentally that his grandfather had built the house next door to mine, a fact which underscored his California roots and his deep concerns for the well-being of his California constituents. Independently I met and became a friend of his son Kim, which gave me a window into another dimension of ALAN—ALAN as father.

One of ALAN's last acts as a Senator was to write the letters which started the long and arduous process of my Ambassadorial appointment. ALAN was instrumental not only in beginning the process, but also in guiding me through many of the minefields which lay in my path.

My memory of ALAN is as a gentle giant. His goodness radiated to all around him. He was a great leader—the very embodiment of the highest level of leadership as described by Lao-Tzu, whose words he carried with him as his life's philosophy, as he sought quietly and selflessly to make this planet a better place for all of us.

May we have the wisdom and courage to follow his example.

**Harris Wofford.** You may not know that in her last years, while still painting, Georgia O'Keeffe wrote some still not published short stories that she showed me. The one that rises in my memory was about a man she met in her first days in New Mexico. He invited her to see his ranch, 300 miles away, and one day she drove down (hiding her suitcase in case she decided not to spend the night). She stayed overnight and from time to time they would visit, doing very prosaic things, sometimes just watching the horses he trained, or walking over the land, or looking at the hills.

Five decades later she drove down to his ranch, maybe for the last time, she thought. They sat a long time looking at the hills and she found herself saying to herself with great satisfaction: "Fifty years of friendship with Richard."

That's all the story said. Well, for me it's 55 years of friendship with ALAN. There was little—too little—time just sitting and watching the hills. He was always on the go, running sprints or long distance.

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When we met just after World War II we were setting out on no little prosaic mission—it was a crusade to make one world a reality in a United Nations with the power to keep the peace and prevent nuclear war. When we last met at his home in Los Altos a year ago, his smile was still infectious and he was still hard at work, in his irrepressible way, on the same mission, persuading generals and admirals and people of power to join in a new declaration for the abolition of all nuclear weapons.

When I reread Eleanor’s wonderful, perceptive, loving biography of her brother, I realized how much our lives intersected over the years and how much his life intersected with the great issues of our time.

In 1948, ALAN gave my wife Clare her first job directing United World Federalists of Northern California. He caused one of the greatest tensions in our half century of marriage when he ran for President on the great central issue of nuclear peace and asked me to be one of the three co-chairs of his campaign with Marjorie Benton and Willie Brown. Clare did not want me to do that. She loved ALAN but did not think he could win, and thought it was the one time in our life when I should stick to working as a lawyer and make some money.

Like many who would rally to his quiet calls over the years, I could not say “no.” In his 60 years of public service ALAN brought many people of different persuasions to say “yes” and to work together for good things. One of those times he played a key part in my appointment to the U.S. Senate—which I like to think was a good thing.

Two days after Senator John Heinz died in an air crash, Governor Casey asked me if I knew a particular major donor to the Democratic Party and I said no. “Then why did he write me this extraordinary letter asking me to appoint you to the Senate?” Casey asked. I had no idea. That was the beginning of a flood of different, well-done letters in the same vein, from a range of significant people around the country. A few days later ALAN telephoned to tell me that as soon as he heard the news of John Heinz’ death he had gone to work on the phone, producing those letters—which I’m sure influenced Casey in my selection.

But the intersection of our lives began way back. From Eleanor’s book I realized that ALAN’s first journalistic break was covering Mussolini in 1938, and that the speech he heard in the Piazza de Venezia when Mussolini took Stalin out of the League of Nations was the same one I heard in

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that same square as a 12-year-old boy. ALAN's greatest adventure in journalism was getting into Ethiopia for some months after the Italian invasion. One of my greatest adventures was going to Ethiopia with my family, in the Peace Corps.

Before we met, each of us had written a book in 1945 calling for a world union to keep the peace. ALAN's was the powerful story of how isolationism in the Senate had killed the peace after World War I. It was a sign of his determination to go to the Senate to see that this did not happen again.

Despite all the help that ALAN gave me in my election campaigns—and Joe Biden and John Kerry who are here—my tenure in the Senate was very short. His was very long—and great.

By my count only Ted Kennedy, in this century, rivals ALAN in legislative accomplishments. ALAN's mark was on a thousand bills and countless votes, large and small, where his coalition building skill was the key to success.

Like Lincoln, ALAN CRANSTON truly believed that the better angels of our nature can be brought forth in this land. He did not discount the demons and distractions in the way, but he demonstrated that politics is not only the art of the possible—it is the only way to make reason rule.

It was our good luck—the good luck of so many of us here and around the country—to have had these many years of friendship with ALAN CRANSTON.

**Jane Goodall (via video).** I'm tremendously honored to have been asked to take part in the memorial to someone I admired so much as ALAN CRANSTON. My body is far away in Africa but I want you to know that my thoughts are with you now.

I never got a chance to know ALAN really well in life because our paths didn't cross that often. But what I saw I loved, and like everyone, I admired ALAN so much for his integrity and his sincerity and his determination to try and rid the world of the most evil weapons of mass destruction that we ever created, and ALAN did so much to alert people to the hidden dangers of these weapons stockpiled around the world.

We shall miss his leadership most terribly, but his spirit is still around, still with us, guiding us, encouraging us, and above all, joining us together so that we can move confidently toward the goal that he was setting, and make this world a safer place for his grandchildren and ours and the

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children yet unborn. Thank you, ALAN, for being who you were. Thank you.

**Cruz Reynoso.** I once read that “the most powerful weapon on earth is the human soul on fire.”

ALAN’s soul was always on fire for the welfare of those in need, for the strength of our democracy, for human dignity, and for a world at peace.

It must have been 1959 or 1960 when my wife and I, with others from the El Centro Democratic Club from Imperial Valley (the center of the world), traveled to Fresno for the annual convention of the CDC, Council of Democratic Clubs. A featured speaker was ALAN CRANSTON. To this day, I remember being inspired—he spoke of the role of government in helping the disadvantaged, of the need for economic democracy, of the right we all have in equal protection and fairness, and government’s responsibility in protecting those rights, and of our responsibility to be active participants. That a person with his soul on fire for those ideals I held dear could actually be elected to statewide office was, to me, a marvel and inspiration that I never forgot.

A decade later I found myself as director of California Rural Legal Assistance. CRLA was the leading legal services for the poor. Many entrenched interests, including the State government, found themselves on the losing side of many lawsuits CRLA brought on behalf of its clients—farmworkers, MediCal recipients, working poor. Those interests fought back. ALAN worked closely with CRLA to protect our professional independence and assure our continued existence. As I saw it, there was little political gain for ALAN—it was his devotion to fairness and to the concept of human dignity that brought us together. Eventually, it was President Nixon who overrode the State veto of CRLA, thereby saving legal services.

And years later ALAN’s son, Kim, I and countless others joined ALAN in our mutual efforts to register thousands of new voters, an effort to include all in our Democratic society.

Not all efforts were on a grand scale. My latest, and still ongoing task, has been to represent a prisoner who is in Soledad for a life term. ALAN was convinced that the prisoner was fully rehabilitated. He called to see if I could help. My associate, Tom Gray, and I worked with ALAN. We will continue.

Not all was work. I remember those wonderful conversations as we dined in the Senate restaurant. Once, ALAN in-

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vited me to a marvelous San Francisco eatery. At the end of the evening ALAN invited me to join his Washington, D.C., office in a position of considerable responsibility. Unfortunately, I could not accept the offer, but the food had been great.

ALAN's interest went beyond prison walls or the 50 United States. His efforts have sought peace for this globe. John Amos Gomenius, the Czech religious and educational leader, wrote about 350 years ago:

"We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. To hate a man because he was born in another country, he speaks a different language, or because he takes a different view on this subject or that, is a great folly ... Let us have one end in view, the welfare of humanity."

ALAN's soul was always on fire—for the welfare of an individual human being—or the welfare of all humanity.

**Jonathan Granoff.** My name is Jonathan Granoff. I've had the privilege of working with Senator CRANSTON on the abolition of nuclear weapons with Lawyer's Alliance for World Security, with the State of the World Forum, with the Middle Powers Initiative, and, most recently, with the Global Security Institute.

Recently, some journalists from Japan were here in the beginning of December interviewing Senator CRANSTON, and I was there, and they asked me what I did as the CEO of the Global Security Institute. So I said, and I meant this, when a tree is ripe with fruit, an intelligent person will sit beneath the tree and gather the sweet fruit. ALAN is still giving us fruit. And ALAN's example of being a true human being is the sweetest fruit that we could be given, because ALAN taught by seamlessly integrating the highest human values with his daily life.

He exemplified decency and elegance in action. He lived without prejudice. People say they live without prejudice; ALAN didn't say it, he just lived it. He didn't harbor any doubts or suspicions about others, he never engaged in back-biting or any pettiness, and he was tranquil in the midst of an extraordinary dynamism, like a smooth, powerful river.

He was full of grace. ALAN CRANSTON remains for us a statesman in a state of grace. His grace was exemplified in the ease he had in the midst of conflict, because that ease rested on a real faith in the intrinsic goodness of humanity. Because he had found that goodness in himself, and for those of us who had the privilege of working with him, we know that's how he got us to do things, because we knew that he

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never asked anybody to do anything he wouldn't do; he's the guy who would be up at 2 in the morning, and then up again at 6:30.

Adversaries were only so as to the issue at hand, but never as to the person, because ALAN honored everyone. His inner clarity and strength was coupled with this unique ability, and even desire, to hear everyone's point of view, not as a political ruse, but because ALAN honored everyone.

ALAN understood fully two icons his parents did not have that we inherited from the 20th century. The first is the awesome, horrific mushroom cloud arising from science and the quest for unbridled power, unreined by morality, law and reason, and the other icon is the picture of the planet from outer space, borderless, majestic, alive and sacred.

ALAN honored all life by holding the second icon before him, and that is why he focused most intensely on the nuclear issue, because that and that alone can end all life on the planet, and it becomes the moral standard of our civilization. I had the privilege of traveling with ALAN and going all over the world working on this issue, and one of the amazing things is I would forget how old he was, because his body got old, but he didn't. He had found that secret of the joyous heart, he had found that place of tranquility in action.

George Crile is a CNN and "60 Minutes" producer, beloved, very beloved of ALAN, and he has put together some footage to give us all a sense of what it's like to be on the road with ALAN CRANSTON.

[video insert]

Death is such a mystery, and the only comfort is the love that we bring to our lives, and the faithfulness with which we carry forth the mission that great men have given us. ALAN, we will follow in your loving memory. We will stay the course. We will be vigilant until nuclear weapons are abolished.

We are guided by the philosophy that you held with you by Lao-Tzu:

A leader is best  
When people barely know  
That he exists,  
Less good when  
They obey and acclaim him,  
Worse when  
They fear and despise him.  
Fail to honor people  
And they fail to honor you.  
But of a good leader,  
When his work is done,

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His aim fulfilled,  
They will all say,  
“We did this ourselves.”

Senator CRANSTON sought no honor for himself. He honored life itself through his service. Together and with your help, we will follow in his large footsteps, and on the day when the work is done, the aim fulfilled, we will know that we did not do it alone. Thank you, ALAN. May God give you infinite peace, infinite bliss, infinite love, Amen.

**Alan Jones.** We’ve come to the end of a deeply felt tribute to a great soul. And any celebration of a great soul confronts us with choices. And so I offer this final blessing.

There are only two feelings, love and fear. There are only two languages, love and fear. There are only two activities, love and fear. There are only two motives, two procedures, two frameworks, two results. Love and fear. Let us choose love.

The eye of the great God be upon you, the eye of the God of glory be upon you, the eye of the son of Mary be on you, the eye of the spirit be on you to aid you and shepherd you, and the kindly eye of the three be on you to aid you and shepherd you and give you peace, now and always, Amen.



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Memorial Tribute to  
Alan Cranston

U.S. Senator

1969–1993

February 6, 2001

2:00 pm

Hart Senate Office Building

Room 902

Washington, D.C.

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A leader is best  
When people barely know  
That he exists,

Less good when  
They obey and acclaim him,

Worse when  
They fear and despise him.

Fail to honor people  
And they fail to honor you.

But of a good leader,  
When his work is done,  
His aim fulfilled,  
They will all say,  
“We did this ourselves.”

—Lao-Tzu  
(c. 604–c. 531 B.C.)

*For a half-century,  
Alan Cranston carried this poem,  
reflecting his personal philosophy of leadership.*

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## **Program**

**Musical Prelude**                      *United States Army Strings*

**Introductions and Closing**        *Judge Jonathan Steinberg*

**Speakers**

*Senator Max Cleland*  
*Senator Alan Simpson*  
*Senator Edward Kennedy*  
*Senator Dianne Feinstein*  
*Senator Barbara Boxer*  
*Representative G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery*  
*Representative John B. Anderson*  
*Representative George Miller*  
*Senator John Kerry*  
*Senator Maria Cantwell*  
*Kim Cranston*

**Family in attendance**

*Kim Cranston*  
*Colette Penne Cranston*  
*Evan Cranston*  
*Eleanor (R.E.) Cranston Cameron*

## **Event Sponsors**

Senators Cleland, Simpson, Rockefeller, Kennedy,  
Feinstein, and Boxer

## **Event Planning and Arrangements**

Bill Brew, Fran Butler, Kelly Cordes, Chad Griffin,  
Bill Johnstone, Susanne Martinez, Dan Perry,  
Ed Scott, Jon Steinberg, Lorraine Tong,  
Elinor Tucker

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Senator CRANSTON's 24 years of service in the U.S. Senate exceeded that of any California Democratic Senator and was the second longest tenure of any California Senator. He was elected Democratic Whip seven times, and his service of 14 years in that position is unequalled. His Committee service was:

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1969–1993	<b>Committee on Banking and Currency (Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs)</b>
1971–1973	Chairman, Subcommittee on Production and
1975–1979	Stabilization
1973–1975	Chairman, Subcommittee on Small Busi- nesses
1979–1985	Chairman or Ranking Minority Member, Sub- committee on Financial Institutions
1985–1987	Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on Securities
1987–1993	Chairman, Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs

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1969–1981	<b>Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (Human Resources)</b>
1969–1971	Chairman, Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs
1971–1973	Chairman, Subcommittee on Railroad Retire- ment
1971–1981	Chairman, Subcommittee on Child and Human Development

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1981–1993	<b>Committee on Foreign Relations</b>
1981–1985	Ranking Minority Member, Subcommittee on Arms Control, Oceans, International Oper- ations, and Environment
1985–1993	Chairman or Ranking Minority Member, Sub- committee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs

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1971–1992	<b>Committee on Veterans' Affairs</b>
1977–1992	Chairman or Ranking Minority Member

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In addition, Senator CRANSTON served on the Committee on the Budget (1975–1979), the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs (1975–1977), and the Select Committee on Intelligence (1987–1993).

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**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** On behalf of the sponsors, Senators Cleland, Simpson, Rockefeller, Kennedy, Feinstein, and Boxer, welcome to this Memorial Tribute to Senator ALAN CRANSTON. At the outset, I want to express our appreciation to the United States Army Strings for their prelude musical offerings today. Also, thanks to C-Span for covering this event. This turnout today is itself a wonderful testimonial to the work of this man of the Senate, ALAN CRANSTON, and we are absolutely delighted that his family has journeyed here from California to share in this tribute—his son Kim and daughter-in-law Colette, and their child and ALAN’s granddaughter, Evan, who graces the program cover with ALAN, and we are so happy that ALAN’s wonderful, 91-year-old sister, R.E., who wrote a biography about ALAN, is with us as well.

During his 24 years as a Senator, ALAN CRANSTON did much to better the lives of the people of his State and the people of this country and all countries. You will hear much about those efforts and achievements today. In my role, I am a proxy for the scores of staff who worked for ALAN CRANSTON over his Senate career. I began in March 1969, almost at the beginning, and stayed 21½ years. I’ve always thought that one could tell a great deal about the kind of person someone was by how those who worked most closely with him felt about him. I think it speaks volumes about ALAN CRANSTON—and ALAN is the way he asked his staff always to refer to him—that so many worked with him for so long. In fact, five worked for him for his full 24 years; two others worked more than 20 years; five others for 15 years or more, and three or four for 10 or more years. I doubt that any Senator has surpassed that record for staff loyalty and staff satisfaction.

ALAN was wonderful to work for and with. He was not a saint, of course, but he was a gentleman through and through. He gave respect to get respect. To me he was a mentor, a teacher, an inspiration, and a friend. I loved him. I will always remember him. And when I do, I will think back to our last meeting—at dinner on November 13. He was strong and vibrant and full of passionate commitment to the cause of the elimination of nuclear weapons. I remember our hugging goodbye. It was a great hug, but I wish I had held on a little longer.

A few announcements before we get to our speakers: First of all, I want to remind each of you to please sign one of the guest books in the lobby before you leave. I hope you’ve each

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gotten a program. If not, you can pick one up on the way out. And also on the way out, there is a paper on Senator CRANSTON's legislative legacy in the Senate.

Before I introduce our first speaker, I want to note the presence here—now or expected—in addition to those who will speak, of many distinguished Members of the Senate and House: Senator Rockefeller, who is one of our sponsors; Senator Lugar, Senator Leahy, Senator Dodd, Senator Bingaman, Senator Sarbanes, Senator Dorgan, former Senator DeConcini, and Representatives Waxman, Filner, Roybal, Capps, Woolsey, and Harmon. Also with us is former Senator Harris Wofford, who spoke so eloquently at the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco on January 16, and Mark Schneider, former director of the Peace Corps, which Harris Wofford was instrumental in starting, in which Senator Dodd served as a volunteer in Central America, and in which ALAN CRANSTON believed so deeply. We are also honored to have the presence of three Cabinet Members, all from California—Secretary of Transportation Norman Mineta, Secretary of Agriculture Ann Veneman, and Secretary of Veterans Affairs Tony Principi.

Our first speaker has timed it impeccably. Our first speaker is, fittingly, the lead sponsor of today's tribute. Simply put, ALAN CRANSTON loved Max Cleland—as do I. They first met in 1969, and I'm sure Senator Cleland will talk about that. ALAN was truly overjoyed at Max's election to the Senate in 1996. I want to express my gratitude to Max personally and to his staff, Bill Johnstone, Farrar Johnston, and David VanLandingham, for all of their help with the arrangements for this event.

And now our first speaker, Senator Max Cleland of Georgia.

**Senator Max Cleland.** Thank you all very much and thank you, Jon Steinberg, for being uncharacteristically brief.

I see so many of my colleagues here. Really my first real exposure to the U.S. Senate came about because ALAN CRANSTON cared. He was an unusual individual. I visited the Dirksen Building here for the first time in December 1969. I was still basically a patient in the VA hospital system when I was asked to appear before something called the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans' Affairs about how the VA was handling returning Vietnam War veterans. That meeting was chaired by a tall, lean freshman California Senator

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named ALAN CRANSTON. I really didn't know him then, but it became the start of a three-decade friendship.

In 1974, I ran unsuccessfully for Lieutenant Governor in Georgia, and, other than my own priority for my own race, my second priority in the whole world in terms of politics was to make sure ALAN CRANSTON got re-elected in 1974. Actually, ALAN was very kind to me, and brought me out to California, and I got a chance to campaign for him and kind of clear out some of the cobwebs that I had in my own mind about politics and about life. We campaigned together and I found him just as inspiring and invigorating in that campaign as when I had met him in 1969.

It's amazing how life works. Little did I know that, as someone from Georgia, someone from California would be critical in my continued service in public life. I did lose my race for Lieutenant Governor in 1974 and, therefore, was unemployed. Christmas Eve, 1974, I called my friend Jonathan Steinberg, and said, "I just wanted to wish you the happiest of holidays" and said, "By the way, if you're looking for anybody who wants to work, I'm available." He said, "Are you serious?" And I said, "I am deadly serious." Well, it was ALAN CRANSTON that made it possible for me to get a \$12,500-a-year job on the staff of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee in the spring of 1975. That was more money than I'd ever made in my whole entire life.

I was there a couple of years and, in the summer of 1976, when a young man from Georgia named Jimmy Carter seemed like he was destined to win the Democratic primary, ALAN CRANSTON talked to me and said, "I think you ought to be the new head of the Veterans' Administration." That scared me to death. I said, "Well, if you really think I can do it, let's go for it." He talked to Senator Nunn and talked to Senator Talmadge. By the August convention of the American Legion, a convention in Seattle, Senator CRANSTON pulled Jimmy Carter aside and said, "I have two requests." I don't know what the other one was, but he said, "The second one is to make Max Cleland head of the VA." And Jimmy Carter replied, "I love Max Cleland."

So President Carter wound up in January 1977 as President of the United States, and ALAN CRANSTON wound up as Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and I only had two friends in Washington; one was President, and the other was Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee. So I was nominated in March 1977, as the youngest head of the Veterans' Administration, and, thanks to ALAN CRANSTON, I was

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confirmed in record time, and took over that agency, with really the support of Jon Steinberg and ALAN. They were my constant guides, and sometimes spurs, and encouraged me all the way.

One of the things I'm proudest of that we were able to do is put together something called the Vet Center Program. ALAN CRANSTON, since 1971, had been introducing in the Senate something called psychological readjustment counseling for Vietnam veterans and their families. It would usually pass the Senate, die in the House, and had no Presidential support; but I was able to talk to President Carter, we were able to put the administration behind this legislation. It passed, and we were able to sign it into law, and I put together one of the very first Vet Centers in 1980 in Van Nuys, California. Now there are some 200 scattered around the country. Some 3½ million veterans and their families have received counseling through this program, and ALAN CRANSTON was basically responsible.

Let me just say that, in 1973, he helped to pass legislation that helped the disabled in this country, that required that federally funded buildings be made accessible, that promoted the hiring and advancement of people with disabilities by the Federal Government. He established something called the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, which has the responsibility for setting standards for accessibility and for assisting and forcing compliance with accessibility laws. I was named to that board by President Carter in 1979.

Throughout the remainder of the 1970s, ALAN worked to revamp federally assisted State vocational rehabilitation programs, sponsoring laws that gave priority to the most seriously disabled. In 1980, he sponsored legislation to make some improvements in that program at the VA, and in 1990 he was a leading co-sponsor of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which has been a pioneer piece of legislation, as we all know.

I just want you to know that I wouldn't be in the U.S. Senate, I wouldn't have ever been head of the Veterans' Administration, without the mild-mannered distinguished gentleman from the great State of California. I mourn his passing, and we will miss him. God bless you.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you very much, Max. Speaking of the ADA, I see Senator Harkin here. We welcome you.

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ALAN referred to our next speaker as his best friend on the Republican side. They served together as their respective party leaders on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and as Assistant Floor Leaders, or Whips, as they were also called. Another tall, lanky Alan, former Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming.

**Senator Alan K. Simpson.** Jonathan and former colleagues and friends and family, Kim, Colette, Evan, and Eleanor, and Cabinet Members, including one Norm Mineta, who I met at the age of 12 in the war relocation center at Hart Mountain. He was behind wire, I wasn't, and I should have been and he shouldn't have. But, anyway, it's a long, wonderful friendship, with a guy I love, and I'm so damn proud of you, pal, even when you did that when you were in Boy Scouts, I'll never forget.

Well, it's a great honor and privilege to honor my old friend. To be asked is very, very moving to me, and I want to share just a few memories and thoughts about a very special friend. I came to the Senate in 1979. AL was Chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, and that's when I first met Max. I said, "Max, you have a wonderful job there, Administrator of Veterans Affairs; veterans never pick on each other—ha, ha, ha." Well, anyway, it was an interesting time, Max, wasn't it? Well, enough of that. Butch is here and he would correct anything that I said. But it fell to my pleasant luck to soon become the Ranking Member in 1980, the Reagan administration. Well, I knew who AL was, I knew of his journalistic prowess, of his warning to his countrymen about Adolf Hitler, and the two versions of "Mein Kampf," one for domestic consumption and one for the naive and the unwary, and ALAN was sending out the alert. I knew of his athletic achievements and his stamina, and I very soon learned of his powerful loyalty to America's veterans.

He was so cordial to me, and his staff, so very helpful to this new, pea-green freshman. And what a staff it was: Jon Steinberg, Ed Scott, Bill Brew, Babette Polzer. Well, I sought their counsel, and plumbed their expertise. AL would occasionally check up on me; he'd say, "How are you? Can we be of more help?" I said, "I need a lot more help." But then I built my own staff. And, oh, to all of you who will be deprived of staff one day. Staff deprivation is a serious issue; it is the most shocking of the transitions, and my wife, a beautiful woman of 46 years, she said, "Alan, your staff is gone, you have no staff, they are not here, and I am not one

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of your staff.” But there was Biblical precedent for this, you look it up in the Good Book, it says, “Jacob died leaning on his staff.” Now, so along came Ken Bergquist and one Tony Principi, in those early years. Tony seems to have moved along nicely in life, a wonderful human being with rare gifts, who has been bestowed again on the veterans and the people of this country. He will be serving very wisely and very well as Secretary of Veterans Affairs, and I’m damn proud of you, too, pal.

Tom Harvey then came on. But Tony and Jon Steinberg became a very dynamic duo, they worked with Tom Harvey in those early years. And, as I say then, in 1980, I became in the majority, and the first call I received after the election was from AL CRANSTON. Of course, who else? In that cheery voice, he said, “Congratulations, Mr. Chairman.” Well, I thought, the power, I felt the surge ... and I thought how like him to do that. Well, we cranked out some good legislation together. With Sonny here, another dear friend on the other side of the aisle, and John Paul Hammerschmidt, then Bob Stump, those were men of my faith, my political faith. And Sonny used to sit next to me and say: “Don’t do it pal. I know what you’re going to do. Just shut up, won’t you?” I know we’re not going to let that get away now, Sonny.

Anyway, the changing of the guard went well. The only hitch was that all of the veterans organizations had selected national commanders and officers from California. Well, you know how that goes. And now their guy was gone, and the cowboy from Wyoming was in the saddle. Well that was very much fun to watch, I loved it. It was painful for Jonathan, but I loved it. When I took over, we were able to get Steinberg’s statutory language down to 1 paragraph in 1 page. We never let him go 2 pages with 1 paragraph. And he had a tendency to do that.

Then, in 1984, I was honored to become the Assistant Majority Leader, and who was the Assistant Minority Leader? AL CRANSTON. We worked closely together. We enjoyed each other, we trusted each other. We gave good support and counsel to Bob Dole and George Mitchell, and we thought it was a silly idea, but that we oughta make things work. And even when AL was running for President, imagine me, being the Ranking Member of a committee with Kennedy and Hart and CRANSTON, all three of them running for President. I went to them and I said, “You cannot use these chores of mine for your great cycle, and I won’t ever use the committee to embarrass you” That’s the kind of friendship I had with

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Ted, with AL, with Gary, it was very special, and it can be that way again. I urge it upon you all. Anyway, he ran for President, he gave it his all, as he did in every phase of his life, but the brass ring eluded his grip, and he came back to his Senate home, his pride intact. The only time I really, really flustered him, I was flush with power. Now a member of the majority, the fever of the majority burned in my bosom like a hot gospel. I ambled over to his offices, his spacious offices, great view, two fireplaces, couches, cozy chairs, comfort, oh, and I said, "AL, yes I think this will do very nicely for my new Whip office." And the blood drained from his face. And I said: "No, no, just kidding, AL. You represent millions, I represent thousands. But when the wind shifts around here, and you Dems have the horses, don't let 'em come around my office with a tape measure and some greedy looking guy with a clipboard." And he said, "It's a deal." And we had a handshake. Then the time came, and no one ever darkened my door, no unworthies with tape measures ever came to see me.

So, we legislated together, we argued, we collaborated, we joshed and laughed with each other, we took pleasure in confusing people. Same first name, same hairstyle; "hairing impaired" is what we called it in political correctness. Same gaunt, emaciated frame. Same gait, same grin. And, people would come up to me and say, "I just think the world of you and you ran for President, and your views on the environment and nuclear freeze thrill me to death." And I'd say, "No, no; I'm Al Simpson," and they'd say, "Not you!" And AL said he got that in reverse about, you know, twice a month, too, so we would compare that, and our constituents were often not in alignment, you might imagine. But the best one, though, and then I'm going to stop: Cheney, Gulf War, Secretary of Defense, he called and he said, "We're going over to a game in Baltimore; bring Ann," and we went over to the game, and 53,000 Oriole fans, "Hey Cheney, we love ya! Great stuff!" You know, I said, "Boy, this is getting bad in here." We left in the seventh inning and went back down through the bowels, where all the guys, the beer drinkers and the cigar smokers, were, and they went, "Hey, Cheney, baby, you're all right—we love ya!" And I turned to him and I said, "You know, they never treated you like this in Casper." And a guy from the audience said, "Hey, I know the big guy, too; that's AL CRANSTON!" So, I can assure you he loved that story, when I told him that.

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Well, he handled life well. Stuck to his guns, worked through pain, met life full in the face, as if in a track meet, headed for the tape, and he loved that thrill. Many would have buckled; not AL. The pain of loss of the Presidency, the pain of loss of family members, the pain of loss of Norma to Parkinson's disease that withered her, that withered their union. The pain of cancer, the pain of accusation and assault by the media, the pain from his peers at that time; we talked about that, oh yes we did, of that sense of being singled out, very painful.

And he left the Senate and went on to vital other things, and meaningful things in his life, undaunted, head high, smile on his face, fire in the belly, finishing the course laid out. We knew on one unknown day he would be taken from us. And we shall miss him. But not mourn him. For he was a man of vigor and joy and vision. And my life is much richer for having shared a significant piece of it with ALAN CRANSTON. A race well run, my old friend. God rest his soul.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Senator Simpson, we greatly appreciate your having rearranged your schedule to come down here from New York and we know you have to leave to go back there.

We're going to show a very short film now, it's only 2 or 3 minutes, but we thought we ought to have ALAN with us.

**Narrator.** Moscow, Winter, 1998.

**Voice.** ALAN, you don't wear a coat in the Russian winter?

**Alan Cranston.** I don't believe in them.

**Voice.** He doesn't believe in them. It's like John Kennedy, it's ...

**Narrator.** That was ALAN in retirement. For most people, a time to slow down. But at 84, as he approached the Russian Duma, ALAN CRANSTON was a man on a lifelong mission.

**Alan Cranston.** I got into all this way back shortly after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I met Albert Einstein. He told me, as he told others, that the whole human race could be wiped out by nuclear weapons. I've been working on it ever since.

**Narrator.** And 40 years later, after trillions had been spent on weapons of mass destruction, ALAN emerged with a collection of allies that astonished even him.

**Alan Cranston.** One very dramatic moment, when Lee Butler, who had command of all of our nuclear weapons, gave his first public address at the State of the World

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Forum, in San Francisco, revealing the concerns he had developed about the whole deterrence policy and the ongoing dangers from reliance on nuclear weapons. And, as he spoke, presiding right next to him was Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the country that we would have destroyed. At the very end of this remarkable speech, Gorbachev and Butler stood up and embraced each other. That was a very dramatic moment.

Two weeks ago, General Butler and I made public a statement by 48 past and present Heads of State and some 75 other national leaders from 48 nations, advocating specific steps toward abolition. Despite these and other favorable developments, there is significant doubt, skepticism, cynicism, and outright opposition to much of this. So, plainly, there is much to do, and we have a lot of hard thinking to do about what is in order. But let me say in closing that I do not believe that we need to wait, and I do not believe that we can afford to wait, until the end of the next century, to fulfill the obligation of our generation to all generations that preceded us and all generations that hopefully will follow us, to deal with the threat to all life that exists and is implicit in nuclear weapons. Thank you.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** That film was pulled together from a larger documentary by George Crile, a former CBS producer, who has developed documentaries on nuclear arms for “60 Minutes” and CNN. We are indebted to him and the Global Security Institute, of which ALAN CRANSTON was president, for making that film available to us.

And now we will go a little bit out of order, and hear from one of this event’s sponsors, the senior Senator from California, whose work with ALAN CRANSTON goes back many, many years and who, among many other achievements, carried on successfully with some very important environmental initiatives that Senator CRANSTON began.

Senator Dianne Feinstein of California.

**Senator Dianne Feinstein.** Thank you very much. It’s really a great honor and a privilege to be here. I just want to recognize two members of the California House delegation that came in. First is Lois Capps, from the Santa Barbara area, and Jane Harmon, from the southern Los Angeles area. And I’m not sure whether Paul Wellstone and Jeff Bingaman were introduced earlier, but I want everybody to know that they’re here, too.

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Alan Simpson is a hard act to follow, there's no question about that. I look at life this way: That we're here but for an instant in an eternity. No one really knows when that instant is over, and the only thing that really matters is what we do with that instant. Because, when it's over, there's nothing we can take with us other than the legacy we leave behind. ALAN CRANSTON first came into my life in 1962, and that's when I first met his sister, R.E., and it was in his campaign for State Controller; believe it or not, it was the first campaign for which I ever volunteered, and so I've always kind of taken a special interest in a lot of his achievements. From that point on, I found this former long-distance runner really to be a tireless workhorse for all Californians, and, as a matter of fact, for all Americans. This was a man who really loved the intricacies of the legislative process. He was the consummate vote counter. He possessed the uncanny ability to assess competing camps, to quickly find where votes would fall and determine whether the best course of action was to fight or compromise. Unfortunately, neither my friend Barbara Boxer nor I really had an opportunity to work with him in his nearly quarter of a century here in the Senate, but I think these traits are legendary, I think they're known by all.

ALAN CRANSTON yielded a whole array of wonderful accomplishments, but I want to just concentrate today on a few things in the environment. And, in the true spirit of the legendary Californian conservationist John Muir, ALAN CRANSTON became a very passionate architect of measures to preserve our God-given natural treasures. ALAN CRANSTON was the original author of something called the Desert Protection Act. Shortly after I won in 1993 and knew I was coming to Washington, the phone rang, and ALAN said, "Would you be willing to take over the effort to pass a Desert Protection Act?" And I said, "Of course." And we came back and we revised the language, rewrote the bill somewhat, changed some of the concepts, and moved it ahead. But, the basic originator of this, let there be no doubt, was ALAN CRANSTON. The bill was filibustered, but we were lucky in the Senate, we got it through, and it became a reality in 1994. The legislation created the largest park and wilderness designation in our Nation. Over 6 million acres, two new National Parks, Death Valley and Joshua Tree, and one National Preserve, the East Mojave. And so because of that, we have actually protected, well I said 6, but it's actually closer to 7 million acres of pris-

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tine California desert wilderness for all time. Thank you, ALAN CRANSTON.

He was also the lead sponsor of legislation which established the Golden Gate and the Santa Monica National Recreation Area, the Channel Islands National Park, a 48,000 acre addition to the Redwoods National Park, and the inclusion of Mineral King into the Sequoia National Park. He also sponsored 12 different wilderness bills that became law between 1969 and 1982. He helped close Death Valley National Monument to open-pit mining. He helped craft the Endangered Species Act, the Marine Mammal Protection Act, and with just two bills, on which he teamed with the late and wondrous Phillip Burton of San Francisco, the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978, and the Alaska Lands Act of 1980, as much acreage was placed under Federal protection as all the park lands created earlier in the 20th century combined.

So, I can truthfully say, without his service, America would have been a different, and certainly a poorer place, in terms of our environment and the quality of life for many of our citizens. ALAN CRANSTON leaves a legacy of preservation that will be remembered and enjoyed and certainly by his beautiful 7-year-old granddaughter Evan, who is here today. And I think, for my granddaughter, for Barbara's grandson, and for all of us, who really look at this land and want to do what we can to protect it.

This was a very special Californian. And life wasn't always easy for ALAN, either. But I think his ability to keep his eye on the goal, to establish what he established, whether it was from the translation of "Mein Kampf," to his work against nuclear devastation, to his environmental record, ALAN CRANSTON truly lived that instant in eternity, and he has truly left us a good legacy. Thank you very much.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** I'm sure there are others that I failed to mention. I thank Senator Feinstein. I know that Senator Reid is also here, and again I apologize if I missed anyone.

No Senator has worked on more causes closer to ALAN CRANSTON's heart and soul than has Senator Edward M. Kennedy. I am particularly grateful to him, because it was through his chief counsel, Jim Flug, who is also here today, that I was introduced to and came to work for ALAN in 1969. Senator CRANSTON and Senator Kennedy served together for 12 years on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which

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Senator Kennedy chaired from 1987 to 1995 and again for 17 days this year.

Our next speaker, Senator Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts.

**Senator Edward M. Kennedy.** Thank you, Jonathan. To Kim, and Colette, and Evan, and R.E.—let me begin by saying that I loved ALAN CRANSTON too. I will never forget the 24 years of friendship and leadership and achievement with which he graced the Senate and the Nation. And so it's a special privilege and honor for me to be part of this tribute today. ALAN is profoundly missed by his family and friends, his colleagues in the Congress, and by all those around the world who pursue the great goals of hope and progress and peace.

I must say—I grew up thinking Cranston was a city in Rhode Island. But ALAN taught each of us that Cranston stands for something else as well—the very best in public service.

ALAN loved to lead behind the scenes—for 14 of those 24 Senate years with us, he was our Democratic Whip, and he wrote the book about the job. In those great years, we used to tease ALAN about the position, because so few people outside Congress knew what it involved. Since ALAN was from California, a lot of people thought the Minority Whip was the name of a leather bar in Malibu.

But seriously, ALAN was a giant of his day on many issues, and his concern for social justice made him a leader on them all. We served together for many years on the Labor Committee and especially the Health Subcommittee, and his insights were indispensable. I always felt that if we'd had another ALAN CRANSTON or two in those years, we'd have actually passed our Health Security Act, and made health care the basic right for all that it ought to be, instead of just an expensive privilege for the few.

Perhaps the greatest legacy that ALAN left us was his able and tireless work for democracy and world peace. Every village in the world is closer to that goal today because of ALAN. No one in the Senate fought harder or more effectively for our nuclear weapons freeze in the 1980s, or for nuclear arms control. His hope for a nuclear-free future still represents the highest aspiration of millions—even billions—throughout the world.

I also recall ALAN's pioneering efforts to press for Senate action to end the war in Vietnam, and his equally able leadership for civil rights at home and human rights around the

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world. We know how deeply he felt about injustice to anyone anywhere. And his leadership in the battle against apartheid in South Africa was indispensable.

Throughout his brilliant career, the causes of civil rights and human rights were central to ALAN's being and his mission—and America and the world are better off today because ALAN CRANSTON passed this way.

A key part of all his achievements was his unique ability to translate his ideals into practical legislation. Few if any Senators have been as skilled as ALAN in the art of constructive legislative compromise that fairly leads to progress for the Nation.

He was a vigorous supporter of the Peace Corps, a strong overseer of its performance, and a brilliant advocate for all the Peace Corps volunteers. He was a champion for health coverage for returning volunteers, and one of the first to understand that good health coverage had to include mental health services as well.

In many ways, his first love was the Peace Corps, and I know that President Kennedy would have been very proud of him. Even before he came to the Senate, he had his first contact with the Corps, as a consultant to Sargent Shriver. As ALAN often said, he became involved because he was so inspired by my brother's vision of a world where Americans of all ages could work side by side with peoples throughout the world to put an end to poverty.

Because of ALAN, the Peace Corps today is thriving as never before—free of the partisan tensions that divide us on other issues—spreading international understanding of ALAN's and America's best ideals—educating new generations of young Americans about our common heritage as travelers on Spaceship Earth—teaching us about the beauty, the richness, and the diversity of other peoples, other languages, other cultures and about the enduring importance of the greatest pursuit of all—the pursuit of peace.

Near the end of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," there is a passage that tells of the death of Valiant:

"Then, he said, I am going to my Father's. And though with great difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not regret me of all the trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought his battle who now will be my rewarder.

"When the day that he must go hence was come, many accompanied him to the riverside, into which as he went, he said, 'Death, where is thy sting?'

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and as he went down deeper, he said, ‘Grave, where is thy victory?’ So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.”

We loved you, ALAN. We miss you. And we always will.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you, Senator.

Our next speaker was elected to the Senate seat that ALAN occupied when he retired in 1993. She and Senator CRANSTON collaborated on many matters while she served in the House of Representatives, and she authored with Senator Feinstein a lovely resolution of tribute to Senator CRANSTON that was adopted by the Senate on January 22. On behalf of ALAN’s family and his extended family and all his friends, we express our gratitude for this most gracious action.

Senator Barbara Boxer of California.

**Senator Barbara Boxer.** Thank you. To ALAN’s family, beautiful family, and to my dear colleagues who are here, it certainly has been my honor for the past 8 years to serve in the seat that was held by ALAN CRANSTON for 24 years.

ALAN was a deeply caring human being, and he cared even for those whose distant cries were not always heard in Washington.

From civil rights to arms control, from cleaning up the environment to improving the lives of our Nation’s veterans—ALAN’s work knew no geographic boundaries. But, sometimes ALAN’s legacy on women’s rights gets overlooked and that is what I’m going to speak about today.

From his earliest days in the Senate, ALAN made improving the lives of women a priority. In 1969, he supported the Equal Rights Amendment. Remember the ERA. It failed. But, in 1972 he became a proud co-sponsor again of the ERA, and it passed. But he didn’t stop there—he wrote letters and he got on the phone to California legislators considering the measure, urging their support, and his work paid off and California ratified it that same year. Unfortunately, not all the States followed suit. But ALAN did not stop his advocacy. He continued over the next decade to push for the amendment’s ratification and when time ran out, he co-sponsored another ERA in 1983 and another one in 1985, even before he knew he was going to have a granddaughter. ALAN would not give up.

He worked to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. He was the principal author of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act Amendments of 1972, which extended protections against gender discrimination to Federal employees

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in the workplace. And he was the very first Member of Congress to introduce legislation aimed at eliminating wage discrimination in the Federal workplace.

ALAN understood the challenges faced by working mothers. He worked to provide child care for this Nation's working families, introducing some of the first ever legislation to provide care both before and after school. He knew that many kids were without adult supervision, and I was so proud when under the Clinton administration, we saw afterschool funding increase from \$1 million in 1997 to \$845 million in 2001. ALAN, you laid the groundwork for that.

He also worked tirelessly to protect a women's right to choose, authoring the Freedom of Choice Act to codify *Roe v. Wade*. I proudly carry that bill now. He pushed for increased access to family planning services for low-income women and teenagers, and fought to provide medical care to low-income pregnant women, who otherwise would have been left without it and would not have had healthy babies.

And he didn't stop there. He sought to level the financial playingfield for women, pushing for laws prohibiting discrimination against women trying to obtain credit. And we forget today when we open our mailboxes and we keep getting all these applications for credit cards, that there was a time when a woman could not get any credit. We thank you, ALAN, although we have to restrain ourselves now and then. We appreciate the work you did.

ALAN was responsible for the first appointment of a woman to the Federal court bench in California. I've personally, and I know Dianne, we've recommended many women; five of those that I recommended to President Clinton were nominated and confirmed. ALAN laid that groundwork too.

An advocate for equal education for young women, he fought hard for Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and you know what that is, equal opportunity for our children, for our girls in athletics.

And the list goes on, but I will stop there with it, because it could go on and on. But I stand before you today, as a Senator who is carrying on the progressive work of ALAN CRANSTON. His belief that women are equal has borne fruit.

If you look around today in the Senate, there are 13 women Senators from both parties. That's just in this building. Next door—and we have a couple here—there are 61 women in the House. We are doing better now, but as my friend Barbara Mikulski often says, it takes the “Sir Gala-

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hads,” to get us there, and ALAN was definitely a Sir Galahad.

I’m just going to tell you one quick personal story, and then I’ll end. ALAN decided to retire, I ran for the seat and won the seat, and about a year later, he made an appointment to come to see me. Now, I know this, the family must know this, but unlike the Whip’s office, which someone else must have decorated, ALAN’s personal office here in the Hart building was not the most beautiful place, because this was not important to ALAN. It was dark; it was dark leather and dark walls and the blinds were drawn, and that was it. ALAN just saw it as a place to work—files all over the floor. So when I got into the office, I said: “Let’s brighten it up. Let’s bring California.” And I ordered all of these green plants, and we opened up all the shades and we painted the walls peach and we got peach and green fabrics, and I mean, it was different. So I thought, you know, ALAN was coming to see me about arms control, but I was excited that he was going to see what had happened to his office. And he came in and he sat down, and he sat there and his first thing is, “You’ve got to be more aggressive on arms control.” Now that’s the first time anyone ever told me to be more aggressive on anything. But he started to lecture me and, you know, time went on, it was an hour, he still hadn’t said a thing about the room. So, finally, I got up my courage, and I said, “So ALAN, what do you think of the office?” And he looked around, and he looked around, and he said, “You moved my desk.” That was it.

ALAN said about his role as Senator, and I quote him, when he retired: “It has been a privilege I have cherished and for which I can never adequately thank the people of California.” Let me take this moment on behalf of the people of California to say to ALAN CRANSTON thank you and your work lives on.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you very much, Senator Boxer, and thank you for being with us so long. I couldn’t help but note when you talked about women and forging the way for women, that the United States Army Strings that played at the beginning of our ceremony today was composed of four women from the U.S. Army. And no men.

I want also to acknowledge the presence here of Senator Daniel Akaka, of the Democratic Leader, Senator Tom

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Daschle, and of Senator Hollings of South Carolina. We appreciate their presence with us very much.

Known to all veterans advocates as “Mr. Chairman,” our next speaker was the counterpart in the House to Senator CRANSTON and Senator Simpson as the Chairman of the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs in the other body, as it is affectionately called. He and ALAN had to resolve many sticky and tricky issues over the 14 years that he led the House committee, and they were always able to do so with congeniality and mutual respect.

He has been a great friend to me personally, as has been his committee staff. I now introduce former Representative Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi, “Mr. Chairman.”

**Representative G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery.** Thanks very much, Jon.

To the family of Senator CRANSTON, my colleagues on this panel, Cabinet Members, other distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

I’d like to thank you, Judge Steinberg and others for letting me participate in the remarks of this memorial tribute to Senator ALAN CRANSTON.

ALAN and I became friends because he was Chairman of the Senate Veterans’ Affairs Committee and I was Chairman of the House Veterans’ Affairs Committee, and we both enjoyed working for veterans and their families. ALAN was a veteran of World War II and had really a good feel for veterans issues.

You know, at first, I was a little uncomfortable working with the great Senator from California. I am kinda the handshaking, pat-on-the-back Congressman whereas ALAN was in great physical shape, and he would look down on me and say “I am sure we can work together,” and we did.

He had a couple of veterans functions out in California and asked me to come out.

Going from one veterans meeting to another in different towns in California, we stopped at this restaurant, and he said they made the best vegetable soup in California. People recognized him when he walked in, but ALAN wanted the soup and didn’t work the crowd, so to speak.

I said to Steinberg, “explain to me,” and he did. In California you had millions of people and you just don’t work the crowds. So, I found out about that.

ALAN did many good things for veterans, and I will mention a few.

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He was the architect of the Veterans Readjustment Counseling Act that Max Cleland mentioned. There are 206 centers to help Vietnam veterans to readjust, and ALAN did pass this legislation in 1979.

He had a strong interest in veterans health care and he passed legislation that gave thousands of veterans more access to health care. He pushed for more outpatient clinics, and more veterans use outpatient clinic facilities now, and the VA, I'm happy to say, has been able to cut back on the number of hospital beds in our 172 hospitals, because of ALAN CRANSTON and our outpatient clinics.

He was part of our team that established the U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims and worked very hard for the upgrade of the VA to a Cabinet department.

Some Member of Congress, and what a mistake he made, introduced legislation to tax veterans disability compensation. Senator CRANSTON went berserk, he killed this tax legislation before it even saw the light of day, and he was right.

ALAN was very helpful in establishing educational benefits for veterans who completed their military obligation, and he saw to it that the educational benefits go to the actives as well as the National Guard and Reserve.

As big as California is and the many government programs that the State has, I believe he really enjoyed working for veterans and their families more than other issues in government.

He was a friend of the veteran, and veterans organizations knew they could count on ALAN, and he came through for them.

We all miss him and know even in Heaven ALAN has an exercise program going.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to note Senator Jeffords who has just joined us. We appreciate your being here.

Next, we will hear from a former colleague of ALAN's who knew him long before he became a U.S. Senator or held any public office. He very graciously called last Thursday to offer to say a few words in tribute to ALAN. I now introduce former Representative and Independent Presidential candidate, John B. Anderson of Illinois.

**Representative John B. Anderson.** Thank you very much, Judge Steinberg, and my distinguished former colleagues in both the House and the Senate, distinguished

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Members of the Cabinet, and ALAN's family. I count it an honor indeed to be included in the group that is privileged this afternoon to say just a few words about the career of this very remarkable man. You have already heard a great deal about his commitment to the cause of civil rights, women's rights, conservation, the environment, veterans affairs. I will not attempt to repeat the comments or the praise that could continue to be heaped upon him for the efforts that he exerted in all of those fields. But, as a Member of the "other body" for 12 of the 24 years that ALAN CRANSTON served in the Senate, I was well aware of the distinguished record that he had compiled in that body. And I would simply again state what has already been remarked that earlier than most he saw the folly of our entanglement in Southeast Asia, and I remember his very clear and clairvoyant voice calling for an end to the struggle there. He called for more than that, for an end to the arms race.

And it's really to that vision that he had in this particular realm of international affairs that I wanted to direct my very brief remarks this afternoon. Because, as a very young man he was gifted with a passion for achieving peace in our time that was shaped as someone said about a former President, I forget who it was, he had a vision that enabled him to peer around a corner of history, to see what lay beyond. In short, he was, indeed, a globalist long before globalization had become a term used in common parlance.

And it was just 2 years after the founding of the United World Federalists in Asheville, North Carolina, that young ALAN CRANSTON at the age of 35 became the president of that organization and served until 1951. One of his mentors was the late, distinguished Grenville Clark, who, along with Lewis B. Sohn, wrote that very magisterial work on world peace through world law. And that indeed was the vision that ALAN CRANSTON had. He had a vision of a democratic world federation that would emerge from what was then, when he was president of the United World Federalists, still a very nascent United Nations. He maintained that interest and served on the Board of Advisors of the World Federalists Association until his recent death.

Upon his retirement from the Senate in 1994, and this is the point, I think, that I wanted the opportunity to emphasize here this afternoon, he did not regard his career as ended. I read the account of the marvelous memorial service conducted in San Francisco just 3 weeks ago, in Grace Cathedral, where his son was quoted as saying that he had said

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that “when the end comes, I want to be able somehow to still struggle across the finish line with my head up.” And he added to that that when the end came, he was still sprinting; he was not merely struggling, he was sprinting in pursuit of the goals that he sought. And he became a leading and a very strong voice in civil society in the area that, at the end of his life, I am convinced, lay closest to his heart. It was the interest in disarmament, an end to the threat of nuclear war and the achievement of world peace through world law. And he believed that that could be achieved only through the application and the use of the same federalist principles that had inspired the Framers of our Constitution to write a Constitution that would bring about peace and domestic tranquillity among the then 13 independent sovereignties who had found that under the Articles of Confederation their bonds of unity had become frayed. And it was ALAN’s belief, building on that historical fact, that only with a restructured and an empowered United Nations, one capable of maintaining peace with justice, that we would recognize the goal that he sought, of world peace through world law.

It’s been mentioned, I think, already, that he served as president of the Global Security Institute, a non-profit organization dedicated to disarmament and world peace. He saw security not simply as an issue confined within the narrow boundaries of nationalism but as an issue that required the forging of new bonds of global cooperation.

And one of the last and most vivid memories that I personally have of ALAN CRANSTON was less than 3 years ago, when the Hague Appeal for Peace drew thousands of peace activists from around the world to the Hague to celebrate, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first Hague Peace Conference. ALAN was there as one of the leading spokespersons from the United States. And again, one of the memorable experiences of that international meeting was to attend one of its sessions and to hear him describe how he was even then busy working on a book, a book on sovereignty, a book that would seek to explain that, in this new millennium, the old Westphalian theory of State sovereignty was simply not sufficient unto the needs of our present age, and we had to re-conceptualize that term in a way that would allow the formation of Democratic global institutions that would carry out the goals of disarmament and build a world in which peace could be achieved through reliance on the rule of law.

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Those are the memories that I will certainly carry with me, as inspiration for the remainder of my life, and I thank you, ALAN CRANSTON, for the things that you did, both in the Senate, and then in those very important years when you carried forth your ideas and lived for your ideals as a strong member of American civil society.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** I think that gave us all an important glimpse of the formation of ALAN CRANSTON's philosophy and thinking, and I know that there are a number of people from those early days in the United World Federalists who are here today, including Neil Potter and Ted Waller, who worked with ALAN so many years ago at the founding of that organization.

Our next speaker has served for 26 years in the House of Representatives. He worked very closely with ALAN on many initiatives of significance to their California constituents and particularly to the children of their State and the children of the entire country. We are very grateful that he has taken time to be with us throughout this entire ceremony this afternoon.

Representative George Miller of California.

**Representative George Miller.** Well thank you, and to all of you, to family and friends, and colleagues. I am very, very pleased to be able to participate in this memorial to an extraordinary life, to clearly one of the leading California statesmen of the 20th century.

My familiarity with ALAN CRANSTON goes back long before my politics, when as a young boy, I sat in the living room of our home and listened to ALAN CRANSTON and my father and many other California politicians plot campaigns and create and organize the California Democratic Council, which changed the politics of California, changed the Democratic Party in California, launched their careers, and later the careers of so many other progressive politicians in the State of California. It was a profound organization, in terms of its influence in California. In the post-war, in the conservative years, it was an organization that, led by ALAN, would speak out on nuclear arms control, on civil rights, on the rights of labor—these issues that became the cornerstone for so many of us who later sought to run for political life in the State of California.

I think it's rather fitting that we remember ALAN at this time. Because we can remember when a conservative admin-

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istration came to this town 20 years ago and sought to launch an attack on programs for the poor, on women and the ill, on foster care and adoption, on child health, on handicapped education, and so many other programs that were targeted for elimination. ALAN and his colleagues not only led that fight, but participated in it, stood their ground, and fought against those efforts, and today, when we see a new administration arriving in town, we're no longer talking about the elimination of these programs, we're talking about making them work better. We recognize the beneficiaries of these programs, and the benefits to our society. We now see that, in fact, because of the fight that was made a long time ago, we now have a legacy of understanding the role and the importance that government plays in so many American lives, and the necessity of it. We've heard it with respect to veterans, we've heard it with respect to the environment, to women, and to so many others in American society.

Many of us would think that if you look at the last quarter of the 20th century in American politics, you would think of extreme ideological behavior, you'd think of political chaos, and you would suggest that not a lot got done. But, as already had been mentioned here, if you look at the legacy and the workload and the work product of ALAN CRANSTON, you would recognize that, in fact, it was a golden age of legislation for people like ALAN CRANSTON. He was able to put his signature and his work into so many efforts that became the law of the land. I recall two of those, working with him as a colleague in the House. One was in the 1970s; in the late 1970s, after 5 years of working together, of holding hearings, site visits, talking with families and children, we put together legislation to deal with the problems of foster care, to children who were trapped in a system from which they could not escape, families who could not get their children back from that system, and the impact that it had on these children. That law was later signed by President Carter, and it was ALAN's tenacity that allowed us to get it through.

The other one, of course, that's been mentioned here is the California desert. ALAN started pioneering that effort so many years ago, so many years before we actually considered it on the floor of the House or the Senate. Where he walked over those areas, he hiked over them, he spent time with the constituents who were interested in them, with the organizations that were trying to preserve them. Kim has spent much time in that area. And, after ALAN left the Senate, I managed the bill on the floor of the House. The opponents were

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numerous; we used to have to have security and armed guards to go into the hearings on the California desert bill. They held the controversial ones in Beverly Hills, so that people would have trouble getting there, it was a grand ploy. And it worked.

But, in any case, the opposition in the House was incredible. We spent many, many days debating this legislation, on again, off again, part of the day, into the night. They filed numerous amendments, all of which had unlimited debate time. They had a coterie of people who would speak on every amendment for the maximum time allowed, so that they could delay this bill and not see it enacted. I called ALAN and I said, "ALAN, we've got to accept some amendments to speed this along. The Members of the House are starting to call me Moses, they've said they've been in the desert for so long on this legislation." I said, "Some of these amendments, what can we accept to narrow this down," and he said, "None." And I said, "ALAN, this is the House, it will never stop," and he said, "None." He said, "We can't accept them." I talked to him about a couple of amendments to move the boundaries, he said, "No, I've been there; I've been there and if you go to the bottom of that canyon, you're going to find a little spring down there—most people don't know it exists. You can't put that outside the park, that's going to have to be in."

Well, it's turned out he was right. Dianne managed the bill on the Senate floor, and Bill Clinton signed it into law, and now it's one of our leading attractions in the Nation and certainly in the State of California. Those who opposed it are now seeking authorizations and appropriations for visitor centers and various support systems for the park. The Chambers of Commerce now think that this is a cash register, and they'd like to have it expanded, they'd like to have the boundaries expanded, they'd like to have the protections upgraded, so that more visitors would come and bless their economy. It was ALAN CRANSTON's foresight that brought that about.

You know, the political mentor to so many of us, Phil Burton, used to say to us that when you came to the House or you came to the Senate, that it was a privilege and it was an honor, and you had to pay the rent, you had to pay the rent all the time to stay there. And I think that ALAN fully understood that, while this clearly was the world's most exclusive club, he still had to pay the rent, and he did over and over and over again, on behalf of so many Americans, on behalf of our environment, on behalf of world peace, on behalf

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of human rights. He paid the rent constantly to earn his right to stay here and to work and to work and to work on behalf of all of us. And I think we should thank him, for all of the fights that he made, and all of the ground that he stood, on behalf of America, and all of its people. Thank you very much, ALAN.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you, Representative Miller.

Next, we will hear from a Senator who served on two committees with Alan—Banking and Foreign Relations—where they shared many common interests. Senator Kerry was a highly decorated veteran of Vietnam and a co-founder of the Vietnam Veterans of America, an organization which was to play an important role in the enactment of much legislation that he and Senator CRANSTON championed, particularly the Veterans’ Judicial Review Act that created the court on which I am honored to serve, along with another former Member of Congress who is also with us today, Chief Judge Ken Kramer.

Senator Kerry succeeded to the Democratic leadership of the Banking Committee’s Housing Subcommittee, which Senator CRANSTON had chaired from 1987 to 1993. Also, I know that Senator Kerry shares the passion that Senator CRANSTON lived and breathed for ending the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts.

**Senator John Kerry.** Thank you, Jonathan. Kim, Colette, Evan, and R.E., it’s a very special privilege to join with all of you today in remembering the remarkable life and achievements of our friend, ALAN CRANSTON.

As we’ve heard today, and as we all know, ALAN was a sprinter, a record-holding sprinter, who, in his sixties, was only 2 seconds slower than he was in his twenties when he set the records. And I think it’s safe to say that those who knew him well would agree that he really sprinted through life; he sprinted through the U.S. Senate, always with a yellow pad in his hand and a felt-tip pen, covered with ink, with more things on that pad to do in one day than most of us would venture to accomplish in a week or a month, and he got them done. And always with this incredible, mischievous twinkle in his eye. He had fun advocating and challenging the system.

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One of the most enduring images of ALAN would be at the Iowa caucuses in 1984 at the Holiday Inn in Keokuk, Iowa, where he was seen sprinting barefooted down 40-meter hallways, then he'd walk back, and he'd repeat the exercise for about 40 minutes. And I think we can understand why it was no coincidence that ALAN's favorite hotel was the Chicago O'Hare Hilton, where they had 250-meter hallways.

Three weeks ago in California, we had a tender goodbye to our friend, this sprinter, at a memorial service—calling to mind the many ways in which he enriched our lives and this country.

There in the Grace Cathedral, we heard Colette Cranston say that in death ALAN CRANSTON “has become my Jiminy Cricket—that little voice in [her] conscience that says, ‘Colette, think before you leap.’” It would not be an exaggeration to say that that warning was a characteristic of ALAN—think before you leap, and, most of all, he wanted us to think, he wanted us to look, and, by God, he wanted us to leap. He implored us to put a public face on policy. He wanted us to think not in terms of statistics and numbers and programs, but in terms of people; and the people he spoke of most often, as all of my colleagues who served with him will remember, were senior citizens, children, those without decent housing, immigrants, those in need of a helping hand regardless of race or religion. He was a moral voice, a voice of conscience, someone who understood that even as he remained vigilant in defending the needs and wishes of his home State of California, he was also a global citizen and he knew and felt the responsibilities of this institution toward the rest of the world.

Through four terms as a U.S. Senator, he also remained a man of enormous humility—on his answering machine he was simply “ALAN”—as he was to so many who worked with him and knew him. And this personal sense of place and of restraint made it easy to underestimate the contributions that he made to the Senate, and to our country. Certainly he never paused long enough to personally remind us of the impact of his service, of the history that he was a part of and the lives that he touched.

I first met ALAN in 1971 when I had returned from Vietnam and many of our veterans were part of an effort to end what we thought was a failed policy in that country. In ALAN CRANSTON we found one of the few Senators willing not just to join in public opposition to the war in Vietnam, but to become a voice of healing for veterans of the war—a statesman

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whose leadership enabled others, over time, to separate their feelings about the war from their feelings for the veterans of the war. At a time when too many wanted literally to disown this country's own veterans, ALAN CRANSTON offered them a warm embrace. He was eager to do something all too rare in Washington: To listen—and he listened to veterans who had much to say, much of it ignored for too long. He honored their pride and their pain with his sensitivity and his understanding.

That's when I first came to see the great energy and the commitment that he brought to issues affecting veterans, especially those of the Vietnam era. He was deeply involved in veterans health care issues, among the first to fight for the recognition of post-Vietnam stress syndrome, a leader in insisting, together with Sonny Montgomery, on the extension of coverage under the VA, under the GI bill. And when the agent orange issue came to the fore, ALAN insisted on getting answers from a government that was unresponsive. He made sure that veterans and their families got the care that they needed. Under his leadership, together with his partner in the House, they increased GI bill benefits for Vietnam veterans—and I tell you that that was a time when veterans too often had to fight for what was their simple due, whether it was a memorial here in Washington, or simply to have the government recognize that it was a war, and not simply a conflict. ALAN's leadership made all the difference. It's a sad truth in our history that a weary Nation indeed seemed eager to turn its back on the entire war by also turning its back on so many veterans. It should forever be a source of pride to the CRANSTON family that ALAN was chief among those who insisted that America honor that service and keep faith with sons who left pieces of themselves and years of their lives on the battlefield in Vietnam.

This was a man who fought with extraordinary passion for everything. And he fought at the most difficult of times. Not just for veterans, but as we've heard from others today, he fought against all that war represents—remembering that war, and the killing that follows it, is the ultimate failure of diplomacy.

ALAN CRANSTON was above all else a man of peace. And he was a man of peace not as a matter of public policy, but as a matter of personal passion. Remember: This was a man who, in 1934, found himself in the same room as Adolf Hitler. Five years later, he wrote a critical English translation of Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" in an effort to reveal the Ger-

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man leader's true plans. And he wore Hitler's ensuing lawsuit as a badge of honor, proud that he had stood up to try and warn the English-speaking world about the evils of nazism.

Throughout the rest of his service he used public office to force Americans to listen to other prescient warnings—about nuclear war, about the arms race, about hopes for peace that he refused to give up even as others chose to beat the drums of war.

Senator CRANSTON came to his famous commitment, as we learned from the film, after meeting with Albert Einstein in 1946. And he left that meeting convinced that he had found his mission and he would indeed spend the balance of his life arguing that conviction before the world.

As a member of the Senate leadership and a senior voice on the Democratic side of the Foreign Relations Committee, he worked tirelessly to reduce the nuclear threat. Obviously, there were many of those efforts, but one of the most unpublicized was his effort through the 1970s and 1980s, when he convened a unique group known as the "SALT Study Group." A Senators-only gathering monthly in his office, off the record, face to face to define the confines of the debate. He knew the impact that quiet diplomacy could have on the issues, but on this issue above all that he cared about the most.

He loved the Peace Corps, and he fought for it. He fought to attach human rights conditions on aid to El Salvador. He was a leading national advocate for the mutual verifiable freeze. He was always an idealist whose increase in political power, gratefully, was always met by progress for the issues that he cared about so deeply. It was not just the work of a career, but the work of a lifetime—and after he left the Senate, we all know the remarkable commitment that he continued with Mikhail Gorbachev and ultimately in his founding of the Global Security Institute.

He did that because he sensed that the end of the Cold War, with all of the opportunity that it afforded, which he understood, still left us a world that was more dangerous, and he was haunted by the threat of nuclear terrorism. We missed his voice in the debate on the Test Ban Treaty, and we miss him even more today.

When he left the Senate, ALAN reflected on his service and he said of his own legacy, simply: "Most of all, I have dedicated myself to the cause of peace."

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That dedication was real, it was lasting, and the legacy of peace for a good and peaceful man who gave living embodiment to Culbertson's simple, stubborn faith that "God and the politicians willing, the United States can declare peace upon the world, and win it." That belief was ALAN CRANSTON—and it's a belief still worth fighting for.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Our concluding speaker from this body is also one of its newest Members. She traveled to California 3 weeks ago, as did Senator Kerry, as he told us, to attend the ceremony attended by over a thousand persons at the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. For reasons that I know she will share with us, she will be—along with Max Cleland—a living legacy of ALAN CRANSTON in the U.S. Senate.

Senator Maria Cantwell of Washington.

**Senator Maria Cantwell.** Thank you. To Kim and Colette and Evan and R.E., thank you for allowing me to share this occasion to remember ALAN and to have been there a few weeks ago and to see so many of the friends and faces that ALAN touched.

People today have talked about ALAN's legislative career—the many pieces of legislation that will live with us for a long time. But I'd like to share with you today maybe a different ALAN CRANSTON that I knew as I worked on his Presidential campaign in 1983 and 1984. Some people might think running for President is a glorious task, but it is a very difficult one that I think ALAN knew would help aid the cause and message that he wanted to fight for. In fact, I'm not from Washington State originally; it was ALAN CRANSTON that dropped me off there in 1983. In fact, the first time I ever visited, I was a part of his Presidential campaign staff, in which he left me at SEA-TAC Airport in Seattle and went on about his business to campaign. But people who knew ALAN knew that he jumped into that race to deliver a message for the right reason. I was fortunate enough to have read R.E.'s book about ALAN, and knew all the things that ALAN had fought through in his life, some of the things that have been mentioned today. About being sued by Adolf Hitler for translating in next to no time a version of "Mein Kampf." Being a pre-World War II journalist and being smart enough to understand what was going to be advocated and running back to the United States and having that published. And all of the other wonderful things that ALAN did

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in helping women, and on the environment; one thing I haven't heard mentioned today is his work with Native Americans, which is something that I recognize.

But what was amazing about ALAN from a personal perspective, and you definitely get to know someone from a personal perspective when you travel with him on a Presidential campaign, is that ALAN was very self disciplined. John Kerry talked about his running, and that was something that was very important to ALAN on a daily basis. And, yes, I can attest to the fact that he did sprint in the hotel corridors when you didn't schedule time for him to run outside. But, when ALAN, challenged with the fact that maybe some of the other hotel guests found it shocking to find somebody so tall and long running down the halls at 7:30 in the morning, the Senator replied, "Well, maybe I should start at 6:30 instead."

But ALAN never complained about that task. And for me, in Washington State, there were lots of World Federalists, a lot of people part of the nuclear freeze movement, a lot of people very appreciative of his efforts on the environment. But ALAN was also a very self-deprecating person when it came to making a moment light. And I'll never forget the time in Vancouver, Washington, where hundreds of people had showed up at 8:30 on a Sunday morning, I think it was the Fourth of July, to hear his message about the nuclear freeze. And when he mistakenly called the host of the event, whose name was "June," "Jane," and he heard a gasp from the audience, he quickly looked down at his program and saw that he had mistakenly called her the wrong name, and all of a sudden started pounding on his chest, saying, "Me Tarzan! You Jane!" Which put everybody at ease, and ALAN went on to give his very important remarks to a community that I don't think has seen since the likes of ALAN CRANSTON.

And yet, when you run a Presidential campaign, you also are a spokesperson for your issues. But I never saw ALAN take advantage of that situation, where he was trying to make more than the situation called for. In fact, he was very reserved in his comments. I remember being with him on August 31, in 1983, when the Korean Airline Flight 007 was shot down. We happened to be in Anchorage, Alaska, at that time, and many of you probably know the various controversies that arose out of that; 269 people were killed. And I remember waking up that morning to a press event where probably 200 different people were there, including the national press, all wanting ALAN to make a statement right

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away, because he was a Presidential candidate, because his remarks would be all over the news. And yet ALAN had the self-discipline not just to say something immediately that morning, but to say, in a calming way, “Let’s find out the facts, first.” And when I think about that as a human being, particularly in my new post and job, in which the world moves so fast and in which people go about promoting their idea and concepts, the very human side of ALAN CRANSTON remains with me, and I hope it does with each of you.

I talked to him in October of this year, in which I was out campaigning in Bellingham, Washington, one of the last places I had to campaign with him, and I said to him, “Senator, you dropped me off here almost 17 years ago, and you never picked me up.” And ALAN reminded me that it was time to work together. So I guess I say to Kim, and Colette, and R.E., and to those of you who are going to carry on the CRANSTON legacy, that he left in each one of us a piece of that flame that he carried for so long. You saw it on the film. It started when Albert Einstein said to him, “Nuclear arms could wipe out a whole race of people.” I think ALAN started saying that from that moment on, and reminded people about it until his last days. And so I hope that each and every one of you, as I will, carries part of that torch and flame that ALAN had of self-discipline, knowing that he was not the message, but the messenger, in helping this fight. Thank you.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** And now we’ll hear from ALAN CRANSTON’s son Kim, who I know is committed to seeing that ALAN’s lifelong commitment to securing world peace is carried on as his most important bequest to his granddaughter Evan and all the children of our planet.

Kim.

**Kim Cranston.** Thank you, all. Those of you who were familiar with the legal pads that ALAN carried around and the black pens will be happy to know that Evan is over here busy making a “to do” list. I’m not sure what it all includes.

Jonathan, thank you very much for helping to organize this, and everybody else who was involved in this, the Senate sponsors, and each of the other speakers; I deeply appreciate your kind and touching words about ALAN and his work here. It’s good to see all of you, so many old friends. It’s sad under the circumstances that we come together, but it’s won-

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derful to see you all again. I know how much ALAN cherished your friendship and collaboration over the years.

I was really truly blessed, I feel, to have, through the genetic lottery, ended up as ALAN's son, and had the opportunity to get to know him as my father, as my dearest and oldest friend, and as a wonderful collaborator, mentor, teacher, and leader. And I know his loss as a leader is a loss we all share.

I've been reflecting over the last month on many of the things that I've learned from ALAN and our work together, living with him, and a few things stand out that I wanted to share today. One thing that stood out for me was the remarkable style of leadership he had. Inside the program is the poem that he carried, the Lao-Tzu quote, for most of his life, that really informed the style of leadership that he practiced. It concludes with:

But of a good leader, When his work is done, His aim fulfilled, They will all say, "We did this ourselves."

And so today, we're here, recognizing what we accomplished together with Alan. It's an opportunity not only to mourn his loss, but to celebrate what we accomplished together, and I think, beyond that, to recommit, and commit to the ongoing causes that we engaged in with him.

Another lesson that has stood out in the last month for me was something that I really remember when I first began hearing it from him. I was told the central purpose of life was to make the world a better place, or, as one of ALAN's heros, Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "life's most persistent and urgent question is 'what are you doing to serve others?'" And it was certainly in that spirit that ALAN conducted his life and committed most of his public life.

And, finally, one other thing that stands out very strongly for me, both in terms of the work that he did here in Washington, and to the work that he continued to do after he left Washington, was his recognition of the extraordinary moment in history in which we all live. In that regard, I just note that a friend commented after ALAN had left the Senate, that they had seen him, and they said, "Kim, you know, he doesn't seem to be slowing down, he seems to be speeding up." And I think that was true, because he said to me that he'd felt since he left the Senate that he could really focus in on the things that he was most concerned about, to devote 100 percent of his energy to those causes that were of greatest concern to him. And I think the cornerstone of that was an understanding that we have entered a new age during

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our lifetime, when we're facing global challenges that can be addressed only at the global level, and that we need to come up with effective new approaches for dealing with those challenges. After he left the Senate, the cause did continue, most recently in the form of the Global Security Institute, which is continuing, and it has a great board, and a wonderful director, Jonathan Granoff, our CEO, who is here today. And I would really urge those of you who are here today who shared in those causes with ALAN to look forward to opportunities to collaborate with us, because the work goes on, and ALAN was just the messenger.

In closing, I'd just like to say something I know ALAN closed most of his speeches with, which was, "I thank you for all you are doing, and urge you onward." Thank you.

**Judge Jonathan Steinberg.** Thank you, Kim. I know your father would be proud of your personal actions to pick up the torch and deeply moved by your words.

I want to close with some expressions of thanks to many people. Again, I want to note how grateful all of us are to the sponsoring Senators and to all who spoke so eloquently and movingly about the man who will live forever in my heart as "ALAN," as the most important influence on the lives of so many of us in this room today.

The presence here throughout this entire ceremony of three Cabinet officials in this new administration should remind us all of ALAN's abiding belief that it was possible to form an alliance with every Senator on one issue or another, and of his commitment to do just that. Common ground and common sense was much more important to him than party affiliation or political philosophy. We thank the three Secretaries who joined us today and helped remind us of how important those sentiments are for the welfare of our country.

There are an enormous number of people who volunteered their time and did just incredible work to make this tribute as successful and meaningful as we hope that it has been. If I leave anyone out, I apologize—as I do, and as I did before, if I left out any current or former officeholder, who I should have recognized earlier. So, I offer special thanks, on behalf of the family and myself, alphabetically, to Zack Allen, Bill Brew, Fran Butler, Monique Ceruti, Kelly Cordes, Chad Griffin, Bill Johnstone, Susanne Martinez, Katie O'Neill, Dan Perry, Valerie Rheinstein, Alexandra Sardegna, Ed Scott, Martha Stanley, Loraine Tong, Joel Wood, and one

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most special person, Elinor Tucker, without whose highly efficient logistical support we would never have made it to this point. I thank Senator Rockefeller for allowing her to put in so much time and effort and to do so in such an effective way. Finally, an even more personal thanks to my wife, Shellie, for helping to keep me on a relatively even keel over the past month as this event was pulled together.

And, finally, thanks to all of you who joined us in tribute today to Senator ALAN MACGREGOR CRANSTON, a great American who lived his life by the philosophy of the Chinese poet Lao-Tzu, whose words on leadership, printed in today's program, ALAN carried with him every day.

That concludes this tribute. Please remember to sign the guest book, and thanks again for coming. And we'll go out to the theme song from ALAN's Presidential campaign, "Chariots of Fire."

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## **A Legislative Legacy**

### **Alan Cranston in the U.S. Senate**

#### **1969–1993**

#### Overview

As an 8-year-old boy, ALAN CRANSTON lost his first election to be bench monitor in his Los Altos grammar school. As an adult, he became the State's most electable Democrat and one of the most durable and successful California politicians of the 20th century. During decades of political and social turbulence, when no other California Democrat was elected more than once to the U.S. Senate, ALAN CRANSTON won four Senate terms in the Capitol, serving a total of 24 years. It is a California record unmatched except for the legendary Hiram Johnson, a Republican who held his Senate seat from 1917 to 1945.

In addition, CRANSTON was elected to seven consecutive terms as the Senate Democratic Whip, the number two party position in the Senate. That, too, is an all-time Senate record for longevity in a leadership post. ALAN CRANSTON is credited with rebuilding the Democratic Party in California through grassroots activism and organization. In the mid-1950s, he organized the then-powerful California Democratic Council, a vast network of party volunteers that in 1958 helped sweep Republicans from most statewide offices. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown was elected Governor, Democrats seized the California Legislature, and CRANSTON began two terms as State Controller of California.

Senator CRANSTON sought the Democratic Party nomination for President in 1984. His campaign, though ultimately unsuccessful, raised to new heights public support for international arms control and a superpower freeze on nuclear weapons.

In terms of political style, Senator CRANSTON drew upon an earlier Earl Warren tradition of bipartisanship, and was well served by a diversified base of political support. Representing the California mega-State in the Senate, CRANSTON skillfully balanced a wide array of insistent and sometimes conflicting State interests. He steered a delicate course between the State's giant agribusiness interests and those of consumers, family farmers and farm workers; he weighed the claims of homebuilders and growing communities with the need to preserve open space and wildlife habitats; and he nurtured and led the California epicenter of the national

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arms control and peace movements, while effectively representing the home of the Nation's defense and aerospace industry.

The record of congressional measures from 1969 to 1993 adds up to a catalogue of literally tens of thousands of legislative actions on which there is a CRANSTON imprint. These include the large events of the past quarter century—Vietnam, the Cold War, civil rights, the rise of environmentalism, the conflict in the Middle East, Watergate, the energy crisis, and equal rights for women.

The CRANSTON mark is on thousands of bills and amendments he personally authored affecting virtually every aspect of national life. Without this legislative record, America would be a different and poorer place in the quality of life and environment for a majority of our people. Rivers would be more polluted, the air less clean, food less safe. Fewer opportunities would be open to all citizens, fewer advances made in medicine and science; there would be less safe conditions in workplaces.

Despite facile and careless cynicism about the work of government, the achievements of the Nation's legislative branch from the mid-1960s to the early 1990s have made a distinct and meaningful difference in the lives of millions of Americans. ALAN CRANSTON's particular contributions to progressive legislation is notable. The difference a single U.S. Senator can make is demonstrated by a study of all votes cast in the Senate over two decades in which the outcome was decided by less than five votes and often by a single vote. Between 1969 and 1989 there were over 2,500 such votes in which ALAN CRANSTON's influence often was critical to the outcome.

The figures do not include thousands of legislative decisions reached by less narrow margins. Nor do they reflect the additional influence of Senator CRANSTON as a behind-the-scene strategist, nose counter, marshaler of forces and shrewd compromiser who always lived to fight another day. The sum of thousands of "small," quiet, often little-noticed and uncelebrated legislative actions over nearly a quarter-century adds up to steady progress in nearly every area of American life.

As for one man's place in such a record, former Vice President Walter Mondale called Senator Cranston: "The most decent and gifted Member of the United States Senate."

Even with so diverse a legislative record, certain points of emphasis and priority emerge. Although never an ideologue,

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Senator CRANSTON was passionate in pursuit of world peace, for extending opportunities to those left out of the mainstream, and for protecting the natural environment. Asked by a reporter what he “goes to the mat for,” CRANSTON replied: “Peace, arms control, human rights, civil rights, civil liberties. If there’s an issue between some very powerful people and some people without much power, my sympathies start with those who have less power.”

During the 8 years that remained to him after he left the Senate, ALAN CRANSTON worked tirelessly on issues of war and peace, speaking out for human rights, and for preserving the environment of the planet for present and future generations. In 1996, he became chairman of the Global Security Institute, a San Francisco-based research organization which he founded together with former Soviet President and Nobel Peace Prize winner Mikhail S. Gorbachev to promote world peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

#### Early History

Few people in modern history have entered the U.S. Senate as freshmen better prepared than ALAN CRANSTON to combine lifelong concerns over foreign and domestic policy with an understanding of the inner procedural, political and human workings of the institution. It was a preparation which made it possible to gain and hold onto Senate leadership as Democratic Whip for 14 of his 24 years in Congress.

In 1936, as a 22-year-old foreign correspondent, he joined the International News Service (later part of United Press International) immediately after graduating from Stanford University. He was sent on assignments to Germany, Italy, Ethiopia and England in years leading up to the outbreak of World War II. He personally watched and listened as Adolf Hitler whipped his audiences into mass frenzy. He saw Mussolini strut before tens of thousands in Rome. He covered London in the fateful years “while England slept,” and he watched as the world seemed helpless to act against the dark march of fascism.

Three years later, following his return to the United States, CRANSTON learned that an English-language version of Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” was being distributed in the United States. He was alarmed to discover that, for propaganda purposes, parts of the text had been purposefully omitted. These were passages which would have made clear the nature and full extent of Hitler’s threat to the world. To warn Americans against Hitler, he prepared a complete and accurate version

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of the book, with explanatory notes making the Dictator's real intentions clear. It was published in tabloid form and sold a half-million copies before a copyright infringement suit brought by agents of the Third Reich put a stop to its further distribution.

Senator CRANSTON's strong commitment to human rights and peace, and his alertness to the dangers of totalitarian one-man rule, were clearly shaped by witnessing first hand the rise of fascism in Europe and the deadly chain of events leading to the Second World War and its Cold War aftermath. His first work in Washington, serving in 1940 and 1941 as a representative of the Common Council for American Unity, entailed lobbying Congress for fairness in legislation affecting foreign-born Americans. This activity gave him an opportunity to learn at close range the inner workings of the Senate.

With the outbreak of war, CRANSTON served as Chief of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information in the Executive Offices of the President. When offered a draft deferment in 1944, he declined it and enlisted in the Army as a private, where he was first assigned to an infantry unit training in the United States. Because of his experience as a foreign correspondent and journalist, he became editor of *Army Talk*. His rank was sergeant by V-J Day.

While still in the Army, he began researching and writing a book in hopes of influencing international decisionmaking in the post-war world. It was an account of how, in the aftermath of the First World War, a handful of willful men in the U.S. Senate, opposed to President Wilson and the 14-Point Peace Plan, managed to prevent U.S. participation in the League of Nations, thereby ultimately undermining the peace and setting the stage for a second World War.

In 1945, "The Killing of the Peace" by ALAN CRANSTON was published. The *New York Times* rated it one of the 10 best books of the year. The book served to warn against the folly of repeating the same isolationist mistakes that followed World War I. The CRANSTON book also presented a meticulous description of the byzantine inner workings of the U.S. Senate during the debate over ratification of the League of Nations Treaty. At age 31, the future Senator revealed a full appreciation of the critical role played by individual egos, personalities and interpersonal relationships in the legislative process, and showed how awareness to such human factors could be critical in determining the outcome of a vote.

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The immediate post-war years in Washington and publication of "The Killing of the Peace" marked the real beginning of CRANSTON's determination to become a Member of the Senate. He wanted to enter that institution where he could promote world peace and causes of social justice.

From 1949 to 1952 he served as national president of the United World Federalists, dedicated to promoting peace through world law. He was a principle founder of the California Democratic Council, established to influence the direction of the Democratic Party in the State, and was elected as the first CDC president in 1953 and served until 1958.

He was elected California State Controller in 1958, which placed him among the top ranks of the party's statewide elected officials. He was reelected in 1962 and served until 1966.

## Senate Achievements

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Elected to the Senate in 1968, during the height of fighting in Vietnam, Senator CRANSTON quickly allied with so-called "doves" who were a distinct minority in Congress at that time. Together with Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, ALAN CRANSTON co-authored the first measure to pass the Senate cutting off funds to continue the war in Southeast Asia. The Brooke-Cranston Amendment paved the way to the U.S. Congress's ultimately asserting its prerogatives over military spending and provided for the orderly termination of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

Senator CRANSTON played key roles in shaping the SALT and START arms pacts, and in framing debate on virtually every new weapon system, arms control issue and foreign treaty from 1969 to 1993. A recognized leader on the Foreign Relations Committee beginning in 1981, ALAN CRANSTON was a highly respected voice on behalf of arms control, nuclear non-proliferation, peaceful settlement of international conflict, human rights around the world, sensible and compassionate approaches to immigration and refugee issues, foreign trade and long-range solutions to problems of famine, disease and oppression in the Third World.

In addition to U.S.-Soviet relations, those specific areas of foreign policy in which Senator CRANSTON made a significant impact include the passage of the Panama Canal Treaty, efforts to bar military aid to the Nicaraguan contras, aid to Israel and efforts toward peace in the Middle East, helping

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to bring a halt to U.S. involvement in a civil war in Angola, and opposition to apartheid in South Africa.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION

Among the legacy of ALAN CRANSTON's years in the Senate is a wealth of parks, wilderness areas, wildlife refuges, wild rivers, scenic areas and coastline protection measures. With just two bills in which ALAN CRANSTON and Representative Phillip Burton of San Francisco teamed—the Omnibus Parks Act of 1978 and the Alaska Lands Act of 1980—as much acreage was placed under Federal protection as all the park lands created earlier in the 20th century combined.

Senator CRANSTON was the Senate sponsor of legislation creating the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, the Channel Islands National Park, a 48,000 acre addition to the Redwoods National Park, and the inclusion of Mineral King into Sequoia National Park. He sponsored 12 different wilderness bills which became law between 1969 and 1982. He helped close Death Valley National Monument to open-pit mining and was an architect of the Endangered Species Act and the Marine Mammal Protection Act.

He worked diligently throughout his Senate years for the California Desert Protection Act that called for setting aside millions of acres of desert lands as wilderness and park preserves, and creating better government conservation efforts for a vast portion of the California desert ecosystem. His efforts ultimately came to fruition when Senator Dianne Feinstein, during the first Clinton term, was able to enact into law the CRANSTON crusade for desert preservation.

Even this long list does not tell the complete story of Senator CRANSTON's environmental record, which includes clean air and clean water legislation, control of toxic wastes, liability for oil spills, restoration of fish and wildlife resources, and support for new technologies for cleaner fuels. No other period in American history has seen so much accomplished for environmental protection as the last three decades of the 20th century, and Senator CRANSTON was an essential but largely unheralded architect of these policies.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS/CIVIL LIBERTIES

In his first term as a Senator, ALAN CRANSTON wrote the amendment that extended to Federal workers the civil rights protections earlier mandated to private employers. He also played a key strategic role in ending a filibuster which

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threatened the extension of the Voting Rights Act. He authored the first Senate bill to redress grievances of Japanese-Americans interned in relocation camps during the Second World War. CRANSTON co-authored landmark legislation protecting the civil rights of institutionalized persons. He was the first U.S. Senator to employ an openly gay person on his staff, and he fought official discrimination against homosexuals in immigration laws and access to legal services.

Aware from his days as a journalist of the importance of protecting news sources, Senator CRANSTON fought the Nixon administration to preserve an unfettered and free press in America. He successfully blocked legislation in 1975 that would have created an Official Secrets Act threatening First Amendment freedoms.

#### HEALTH CARE

Both on the Senate Human Resources Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research, and as Chairman of the Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee, Senator CRANSTON worked to secure for all individuals access to health services necessary for the prevention and treatment of disease and injury and for the promotion of physical and mental well-being.

He authored the law, and extensions and refinements of it, that provided for the development nationwide of comprehensive emergency medical services (EMS) systems and for the training of emergency medical personnel. He steered the original EMS Systems Act through Congress, then persuaded a reluctant President Nixon to sign it into law. A few years later, the CRANSTON measure was quite possibly responsible for saving another President's life. It was at a special trauma care unit at George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, D.C., established in part by the EMS Systems Act, where President Reagan's life was saved following an assassination attempt in 1981.

Senator CRANSTON also wrote laws that have made a broad range of family planning services available to individuals who cannot otherwise afford or gain ready access to them. He authored legislation that improved services to families with children afflicted with sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) and encouraged expanded research efforts. Legislation to support community efforts to control venereal diseases and tuberculosis were shaped by Senator CRANSTON. He authored several provisions of law substantially increasing funding for AIDS research, education and public health activities.

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He wrote the law that expanded and coordinated Federal research on arthritis, and he helped create the National Institute on Aging. Totally separate from his role as a Federal legislator, he helped establish the private, non-profit Alliance for Aging Research to spur research scientists to find answers for the chronic disabling conditions of aging, including Alzheimer's Disease.

His commitment to healthy aging was also personal. A lifelong physical fitness buff and accomplished runner, he set a world record for his age group in 1969, running the 100-yard dash in 12.6 seconds. He broke his own record 3 years later running in the University of Pennsylvania Relays at age 59.

#### RIGHTS FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

When ALAN CRANSTON came to the Senate, disabled persons had virtually no legal protection against unjust discrimination and there had been little progress toward removing physical barriers that excluded them from public buildings and facilities. He was acutely aware of these injustices, due to crippling disabilities suffered by members of his immediate family. He often characterized people with disabilities as "the one civil rights constituency any of us can be thrust into without a moment's warning." He led efforts to enact legislation in 1973 for the first time outlawing discrimination in federally funded programs and requiring that federally funded buildings be made accessible to disabled individuals, and promoting the employment and advancement of persons with disabilities by the Federal Government and Federal contractors. The sloping sidewalk curbs for wheelchairs on nearly every street in the Nation stem from ALAN CRANSTON's early advocacy for disabled people.

#### CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Senator CRANSTON authored a rich body of legislative reforms that humanized and vastly improved adoption assistance, foster care, child custody and child care. He was a leader in sponsoring child abuse and neglect and domestic violence prevention laws and in investigating the abuse of children in institutions.

He was responsible for extending the original authorization of the Head Start pre-school education program. He authored successful bills extending Medicaid coverage for prenatal health care for low-income pregnant women. He co-wrote the landmark 1975 law designed to provide educational opportunities for handicapped children, and he was

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a strong supporter and developer of children's nutrition and feeding programs throughout his time in the Senate.

Many private organizations honored CRANSTON for his work, including the North American Conference on Adoptable Children, which named him "Child Advocate of the Year" in 1979, the California Adoption Advocacy Network, the Child Welfare League of America, the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, the California Child Development Administrators Association, and the JACKIE organization, which cited "his leadership in obtaining national adoption and foster care reform."

#### VETERANS

Though opposed to the Vietnam War, Mr. CRANSTON was deeply compassionate toward those who fought America's most unpopular war. Able to separate the war from the warriors, he was an early champion for the Vietnam veterans, especially for improving health care in VA hospitals and clinics.

In his first year in the Senate, ALAN CRANSTON was assigned chairmanship of a Labor Committee subcommittee dealing with veterans. He used that post to draw national attention to inadequate and shocking conditions in VA hospitals, which were ill prepared to deal with the returning wounded from the Vietnam War. When a full Committee on Veterans' Affairs was established in the Senate, he chaired its Subcommittee on Health and Hospitals and later chaired the full committee for a total of 9 years.

Among a few highlights of this record: improvements in compensation for service-connected disabled veterans, education and training programs tailored to Vietnam-era veterans, requirements for Federal contractors to give preference in hiring for Vietnam-era and disabled veterans, and a long list of initiatives to improve health care in the VA medical system.

ALAN CRANSTON wrote the law that created a national network of VA counseling facilities known as "Vet Centers" to aid returning Vietnam veterans in coping with readjustment to civilian society, and helping to identify and treat the condition known as post-traumatic stress disorder.

He was among the first to draw attention to the health problems believed associated with exposure to agent orange and he gave the VA specific authority to provide Vietnam veterans with medical care for those conditions. He also helped bring to light health problems of veterans who were

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exposed to nuclear radiation as part of U.S. Government atomic testing in the 1940s and 1950s, and he fought successfully to allow compensation for subsequent medical effects of the exposure.

For more than a decade he fought to allow veterans legal rights to appeal VA decisions on claims for benefits and ultimately succeeded in establishing the United States Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims. On his very last day in the Senate, Mr. CRANSTON was responsible for passage of three veterans bills: Veterans Reemployment Rights, Veterans Health Care Services, and the Veterans Health Care Act.

#### WOMEN

Another constant throughout the CRANSTON Senate career were his efforts aimed at eradicating sex discrimination and providing equal opportunities for women.

He worked hard, both in the U.S. Congress and in the California Legislature, for passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. He authored provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act precluding discrimination in hiring and retaining women employees and those who are pregnant. On the Banking Committee he pioneered laws prohibiting discrimination against women in obtaining credit and benefiting from insurance policies.

He consistently championed women's access to health care and reproductive health services. He was the Senate author of a bill, the Freedom of Choice Act, that proposed to codify into Federal law the *Roe v. Wade* court decision.

#### ADDENDA

Any summary of the CRANSTON record would be incomplete without also noting the following:

Senator CRANSTON helped lead the opposition in the U.S. Senate to G. Harrold Carswell and Clement Haynsworth, both nominated by President Richard Nixon to the Supreme Court. Both nominations were defeated.

When Robert Bork was nominated to the Supreme Court, it was a vote count taken by Democratic Whip ALAN CRANSTON that first showed the nomination could be defeated. Senator CRANSTON skillfully used this information to persuade swing vote Senators to reject the Bork nomination.

During the Carter Presidency, when CRANSTON had the patronage power to recommend Federal judicial appointments, he instead established a bipartisan committee with the California Bar Association to assist in screening can-

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didates based on merit. Under this system four women, four African-Americans, two Latinos and one Asian were appointed to the U.S. District Court in California. In addition, one African-American, one woman and one Latino were appointed as U.S. attorneys.

He long championed Federal support for mass transit, including the Surface Transit Act, which for the first time opened up the Federal Highway Act to allow mass transit to compete for Federal funds on an equal basis with highways.

As Housing Subcommittee Chairman on the Banking Committee, he led efforts to pass the Urban Mass Transit Act of 1987, the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987. He then succeeded in gaining enactment of the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act in October 1990, a landmark law that set a new course for Federal housing assistance, stressing production of affordable housing units, improved FHA insurance, elderly and handicapped housing expansion, special housing for people with AIDS, and reform of public housing. Passage of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992 culminated Senator CRANSTON's 24 years of major legislative achievements steadily aimed at making housing more available and fostering community economic growth.

He helped strengthen the Resources Conservation and Recovery Act, the basic law which allows the Federal Government to regulate hazardous waste material to ensure that it is safely managed.

He headed efforts in the Senate to break the filibuster mounted against labor law reform.

Over more than two decades, he provided diligent oversight and direction for all Federal volunteer programs including the Peace Corps, the ACTION Agency, Foster Grandparents and the Retired Senior Volunteer Program.

#### Post-Senate Career

From 1993 until his death just hours before the first day of 2001, ALAN CRANSTON pursued the opportunity afforded by the end of the Cold War to abolish nuclear weapons. He worked on the issue as chairman of the Gorbachev Foundation, and then as president of the Global Security Institute in San Francisco, which he helped establish. An important accomplishment of the Institute was to put together, with a coalition of groups called Project Abolition, the Responsible Security Appeal, which calls for action leading to the elimi-

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nation of all nuclear weapons. At CRANSTON's urging, this document was signed by such notable people as former President Jimmy Carter, Paul Nitze, and General Charles Horner. Project Abolition, founded by CRANSTON, promises to be the foundation for a wider nuclear abolition campaign in the years ahead.

During the decade of the 1990s, he traveled to the Indian subcontinent, in Central Asia and elsewhere, working with national leaders to accommodate peaceful change in the world, especially the development of pluralistic, free societies in the former Soviet Union. In the very last years of his life, he was more often at home in the sprawling Spanish colonial-style residence in Los Altos Hills, where he was surrounded by three generations of his family. He assembled a magnificent library encompassing a wide range of California, American and international history and politics, in thousands of books, artworks, memorabilia and photographs. To this library would come many friends, political allies old and new, former staff and an occasional journalist intent on an interview.

Former Senator CRANSTON made this assessment of his priorities in one interview, just months before his death:

I am an abolitionist on two fronts. I believe we have to abolish nuclear weapons before they abolish us, and I think we have to eliminate the incredibly important and significant role of money in politics before we're going to have our democracy working as it should work. If we blow ourselves up in a nuclear war, no other issue, no matter how important it may seem to be, is going to matter. And until we get money out of politics, money is going to affect every issue that comes along, often adversely to the interest of the public. So let's abolish both.

Years earlier, while preparing to retire from the U.S. Senate, he expressed gratitude for the opportunities to make a difference on behalf of California and people throughout the world:

It has been a privilege I have cherished and for which I can never adequately thank the people of California. It is my hope that many of the accomplishments achieved over these past 24 years in the areas of world peace, the environment, and in the effort to secure a better quality of life for millions of Americans will survive and serve as the basis of continued progress by others on behalf of future generations.

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