

consumers don't really have a lobby. No one pays people to come up here and speak for them—except one group. You see, the people who sent us here believed and thought that it was our obligation to stand up for them. I think most of them would be surprised to know that sometimes when they don't have a lobbyist, that voice goes unheard.

Madam President, this agreement is wrong. It is wrong because it is anti-competitive. It is wrong because it is a response to the special interests. It is wrong because it is a misallocation of taxpayers' money. And it is wrong because it sets the bad example for what a competitive economy is all about. At a point in our world's history when the rest of the world is waking up to the advantages of free enterprise and competition, it is a shame to see the United States consider and enact this kind of anticompetitive agreement.

Madam President, I yield the floor and retain the balance of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. PELL. Madam President, how much time do I have?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 8 minutes 47 seconds.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I rise to express my strong support for the third International Natural Rubber Agreement, which was reported favorably by the Foreign Relations Committee 3 months ago. After holding a hearing on this important measure, our committee agreed that it would clearly serve the interests of the United States and ordered it reported favorably on a voice vote.

I believe that the Natural Rubber Agreement is a clear example of the way in which both producing and consuming nations of a major natural resource can work together to ensure adequate supply and stable prices. Its primary purposes are to encourage investment in rubber production in order to assure adequacy of supply, and to set up a mechanism to prevent excessive volatility in prices. These functions are particularly important because the United States is the largest importer of natural rubber, while just three countries—Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia—control 75 percent of the world's production. Without a mechanism like the INRA, U.S. tire and rubber manufacturers as well as consumers would be more vulnerable to cartel-like behavior that raises prices and creates uncertainty of supply.

U.S. participation in INRA has been supported by four successive administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, and has received the advice and consent of the Senate on two previous occasions. The original agreement was adopted in 1980 by a vote of 90 to 1, and the first extension in 1988 was approved unanimously, by a vote of 97 to 0. The United Steelworkers of America has called ratification of this treaty "a matter of critical importance to our union, its members and families—and

the consumers who purchase the products we produce." If the United States fails to ratify this treaty by the end of this year, it could mean the end of an agreement which has served to the benefit of the United States and the world for the last 16 years.

Mr. President, during the course of my service in the Senate I have risen many times in support of treaties that have come under attack. There are currently a number of extremely important treaties pending before the Senate that I deeply regret have not been taken up during this session. The Chemical Weapons Convention is only the most recent example, but several other agreements such as the U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, should also be taken up at the earliest opportunity. I welcome the chance to consider the International Natural Rubber Agreement today, and I urge that it be followed expeditiously by the other treaties I have mentioned.

In closing, let me say that a failure to approve this treaty now would be a great mistake. The objections that have been raised are not borne out by our experience with this agreement, and I urge my colleagues to join me in giving their advice and consent to its ratification.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, my distinguished friend from Rhode Island has summarized the case well, and, as is always the case, he is a very accurate describer of events and facts. In this case, I find myself coming to an opposite conclusion. But I continue to admire his commitment to a sound presentation.

Madam President, I want to indicate that I think he is right that both Democratic and Republican administrations in the past have supported the agreement. I indicate that he is right. I think both the large corporations and the unions—at least it is my information—support the agreement. But, Madam President, I want to invite the Members' attention to what happens if this agreement is not ratified, the specter that the distinguished Senator has raised. What happens? If the agreement is not ratified, \$78 million goes back in the Treasury that would be used to prop up prices of natural rubber. In other words, the taxpayers of this country get a \$78 million break.

Second, if this agreement is not ratified, we will have lower prices for rubber than we would if the agreement is ratified.

Third, if the agreement is not ratified, we will have greater competition in the marketplace.

Finally, I think if the agreement is not ratified, we will have set an example that this country is serious about competition and its antitrust laws, and we will have renewed a commitment to

our consumers. My sense is that returning money to the Treasury, lower prices for consumers, increased competition in the marketplace are good things, and that saying no to the special interests is appropriate as well. So at least in this Senator's judgment, we have a responsibility to vote against the treaty.

I retain the balance of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. PELL. How much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There are 5 minutes 30 seconds.

Mr. PELL. I am happy to yield that back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BROWN. I yield back all time as well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification.

Mr. PELL. Madam President, I ask for consideration of the resolution before the Senate by a division vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A division is requested. Senators in favor of the resolution of ratification will rise and stand until counted. (After a pause.) Those opposed will rise and stand until counted.

On a division, two-thirds of the Senators present and voting having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification is agreed to.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, is the Senate in executive or legislative session?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is in executive session.

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified of the approval of the treaty.

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

#### LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate return to legislative session.

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

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order.

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

#### SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, at the end of this session of Congress, one of the Senate's longest-serving Members will be retiring. Senator CLAIBORNE PELL's sterling 35-year record—actually it is 36 years this year—of dedicated service to the people of Rhode Island and the United States began in 1960, when he was elected to the first of his six terms. He is the third longest-serving Member of today's Senate, after only Senator THURMOND and myself. Yet Senator PELL's service to the United States and to his own strong principles began even earlier.

Senator PELL's life has continued a long and honorable family tradition of service. His father, Herbert Claiborne Pell, was a Congressman and a Democratic State chairman before serving as U.S. Minister to Portugal and Hungary. Other Pell family ancestors include five Members of the Senate or House of Representatives, one of whom, George M. Dallas, also served as Vice President of the United States from 1845 to 1849, during the term of President Polk.

Senator PELL began his own lifetime of service when he was just 22 years old. In 1940, after graduating cum laude from Princeton University, he went to Europe to try and help concentration camp inmates. For his efforts, he was arrested not once but several times by the Nazis. He has never ceased his efforts to assist the suffering. This has been a guiding principle of his service on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and underlies the truth of his acknowledged creed as a Senator: "Translate ideas into action and help people." CLAIBORNE PELL has long lived that precept. Four months before Pearl Harbor, he enlisted in the Coast Guard. As an enlisted man and then officer, he was posted to duty stations in the North Atlantic and Sicily. He remained in the Coast Guard Reserve after the war, attaining the rank of captain before retiring in 1978.

After the war, Senator PELL turned his intellect and energies from the waging of war to the building of peace, participating in the San Francisco Conference that established the United Nations. He then served 7 years in the State Department, representing the United States as a Foreign Service officer in Czechoslovakia and Italy. Just as I carry a much-thumbed copy of the Constitution in my shirt pocket, Senator PELL carries in his hip pocket a copy of the United Nations Charter. Wherever you see Senator PELL, you can say, "There goes the United Nations Charter."

His passion for peace, born from a tradition of diplomacy and tempered by the brutality of the Nazis and the anguish of world-consuming war, has honed his character and shaped his subsequent legislative legacy.

As elegant in his reasoning as he is in his person, Senator PELL has been a key player in the passage of many pieces of landmark legislation during his years in the Capitol. As befits his background of education and diplomacy, Senator PELL's accomplishments in the fields of education and arms control are most notable, but he also has been instrumental in authoring or ensuring passage of legislation supporting rail travel, curtailing drunk driving, and promoting cultural activities. He is the originator of the High Speed Ground Transportation Act to improve passenger rail service. He is also a founding father of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, having served as the principal Senate

sponsor of the legislation that created these entities in 1965.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator PELL has been influential in securing the passage of major arms control treaties, including the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty that reduced the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States, a treaty to prohibit the deployment of weapons of mass destruction on the sea floor, and a treaty prohibiting the use of environmental modification techniques as weapons of war. I feel certain that he regrets that this, his final session of Congress, will end without the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention, the passage of which he has labored so mightily and so long to secure.

Senator PELL's longstanding commitment to universal human rights lends passion to his efforts to stem the spread of chemical weapons as well as to other efforts. He has been a steadfast advocate for diplomacy and multilateral solutions that avoid armed conflict, as well as a strong voice for justice when crimes have been committed against humanity. He opposed the Vietnam war, opposed the gulf war, and called early for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal in Bosnia, just as his father had called for the Nuremberg tribunals after World War II.

On the home front, Senator PELL's appreciation for the benefits of education resulted in perhaps his best known legacy, the Pell grants for education. In 1972, Senator PELL won passage of legislation establishing basic educational opportunity grants. This grant program, which provides assistance directly to low- and middle-income college students, was renamed the Pell Grant Program in 1980, in recognition of Senator PELL's leadership in making college more accessible to deserving students.

Education is the hope of the future, the basis on which civilized society rests. Senator PELL has been active in furthering that principle in his service as chairman and ranking member on the Education, Arts and Humanities Subcommittee of the Labor and Human Resources Committee. He also authored the National Sea Grant College and Program Act of 1966, and he has been instrumental in supporting vocational and special education programs. These efforts, again, illustrate the credo that he has lived by, translating ideas into actions that help people. +

I will now refer to John Milton and his great work, *Paradise Lost*, which was written after he was totally blind.

In his work, "Of Education," John Milton (1608-74) wrote:

I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war.

By those standards, Senator CLAIBORNE PELL can surely be judged a

well-educated man. He has served justly, skillfully, and magnanimously as a human rights activist, soldier, diplomat, businessman, and legislator. He has done so all of his life, as a private citizen and as an elected official. In doing so, he has educated and informed all of us by his example.

Senator PELL has never let his passions override his reason or his courtesy. He has never let the passions of the moment override his principles. And in a time when public service has been belittled and derided, he has never stopped striving to the best of his considerable ability to make the world a safer, more civilized, more educated place.

I think of CLAIBORNE PELL as Mr. Integrity. There is not a false word that he has ever knowledgeably spoken. His word is as good as his bond. His handshake is as good as his bond. And to Mr. Integrity I say I wish him well as he leaves us to enjoy a much-deserved retirement with his lovely wife Nuala and his family.

#### RETIREMENT OF SENATOR PAUL SIMON

Mr. BYRD. Madam President, as we here in the Senate complete our work in the waning days of the 104th Congress, I would like to take just a few minutes now to note the retirement of Senator PAUL SIMON, one of the finest public servants it has been my privilege to know. Although Senator SIMON is leaving us at the conclusion of only his second term, his accomplishments and his work in the Senate are representative of those who have served far more years.

Anyone who knew PAUL SIMON as a young man must have known that this was someone who was going somewhere, was going to go beyond the norm, someone who was going to succeed despite his modest beginnings.

Consider, for example, that at the tender age of 19, an age when few young men possess the maturity and the passion necessary for such an undertaking, Senator SIMON began his career when he bought the *Troy Tribune* in Troy, IL, thus becoming the youngest editor-publisher in the Nation. There he made a name for himself by leading a crusade against local crime figures and machine politicians. Eventually expanding his business to a chain of 14 weeklies, Senator SIMON's dedication to the principles of free speech and political reform were solidified as a result of his firsthand experience.

Following his service in the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps, which included an assignment along the Iron Curtain during the height of the cold war, the young Senator-to-be returned to the United States and entered legislative politics by winning election to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1954.

Madam President, as a clear signal of the political reformer he intended to be, Representative PAUL SIMON was one