

overall bill. Only two Senators voted against the measure on final passage—Senator SIMON and ARLEN SPECTER. If we do not follow the rules and don't proceed in a principled way, we are doing serious damage to the institutions and procedures which are set up not for one special case but to govern our conduct generally.

I think it is especially important because this breach of our rules comes within 3 days of our passage of the omnibus appropriations bill where again we breached the rules. The Constitution calls for a separation of powers. It calls for the Congress to legislate on appropriations, and submit appropriations bills to the President for his consideration. If he signs it, it is law. If he vetoes it, the Congress can override the veto by a two-thirds vote. But that wasn't done on the omnibus appropriations bill.

The President's Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta, sat in on the deliberations and negotiations with the Congress, which is a serious constitutional breach. The President had delegated to the Chief of Staff authority to act for the President. What Chief of Staff Panetta said became the President's conclusion, but the President does not have the authority to delegate his responsibility under the United States Constitution.

In the end, that was an important bill. It had provisions for funding for education, which I supported; provisions for funding for Health and Human Services, which I supported; provisions for funding workplace safety, which I supported—all of which come under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee which I chair, the Subcommittee on Labor, Health, and Human Services.

I think, Mr. President, as we rush to leave Washington that we are setting some very bad precedents and creating some very bad rules. I was one of, I think, 14 Senators to vote against the omnibus appropriations bill because I thought we were doing violence to the U.S. Constitution. We did that because we couldn't move through the legislative process in due course. Extraneous amounts were added, something I spoke to at length last Saturday and on Monday. So I shall not repeat it here. There are other colleagues waiting to speak. But these rules are established.

I believe that the most precious gift America has is the U.S. Constitution. That sets the framework for our Government. Then we establish rules for our courts—our civil courts and our criminal courts. And we establish rules for the Congress. They are established in order to give due process. They are established in order to have a measure introduced, analyzed, and subjected to hearings where people can come in on both sides, testify. Then we can make an informed judgment. But when that is not done and when we violate those rules, we put our entire system at jeopardy. And that is wrong.

That is why I was one of the few Senators voting against the omnibus ap-

propriations bill, and one of only two Senators voting against this Federal Aviation Administration bill, recognizing the importance to my home State of Pennsylvania and to the entire country.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the Chair.

SCHEDULE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, the Senate now has a few other items that must be considered prior to the adjournment sine die. Most important of these, of course, is the Presidio parks issue, and the adoption of the adjournment resolution. I understand that there is no Senator that now has requested a vote on either of those, either the Presidio parks bill or the adjournment resolution.

With that in mind, there will be no further votes for the remainder of the 104th Congress. We hear some celebration on that.

I want to thank Senators who have been involved in that parks legislation, and the Senator from Alaska, particularly. He is very anxious to get that completed. He has worked hard at it. It has not been easy for him. He has made major concessions. But we were able to reach an agreement this morning that he can accept and the administration can accept, and that all Senators are comfortable with.

I thank the distinguished assistant majority leader, DON NICKLES, for his effort and time in this.

Mrs. BOXER. We are not finished quite yet on that.

Mr. LOTT. We are not quite finished. We are working at this very moment. And I think that is appropriate. The Senator from New Jersey and the Senator from California are here still working on this. We should get it done, and complete all of our action.

THE 105TH CONGRESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, Senators should be aware that the 105th Congress will convene at noon on Tuesday, January 7.

There had earlier been an indication that we would not need to do that on the 3d. But we have made a change and have agreed that it will be January 7 immediately following the swearing in of the newly elected Members of the 105th Congress.

A live quorum will occur. All Senators are requested to be present for this live quorum on January 7.

Also, Senators should be aware that Congress will count the electoral votes in the House Chamber at 1 p.m. on Thursday, January 9.

THANKS TO COLLEAGUES

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I thank all of my colleagues for their cooperation throughout this Congress. It has been quite a learning experience for me as

the majority leader. But I have learned a great deal, and I had a lot of cooperation from a lot of Senators.

I thank the Democratic leadership, Senator DASCHLE and Senator FORD for their cooperation, and our leadership over here.

There has been a lot of patience all around. I thank them for that.

LEADERSHIP ELECTIONS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, also, one final note: Leadership elections for the 105th Congress will take place on Tuesday, December 3, and organizational and orientation meetings will occur throughout the day on Wednesday, December 4.

So we will have the organizational meetings December 3 and 4, and we will reconvene on the 7th of January for the necessary swearing in and for the counting of the electoral college votes then on the 9th.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE LEADERSHIP

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, let me congratulate the leadership as well on the conclusion of the 104th Congress. And, once again, to all of our retiring Members, I wish them all the very best in the coming years.

HARTFORD PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, this coming Sunday, the eyes of 75 to 80 million Americans will be squarely focused on the city of Hartford and the State of Connecticut as they host the first Presidential debate of the 1996 campaign between President Clinton and Senator Dole.

For Hartford and the people of my home State of Connecticut the unique opportunity to host this debate is both a great honor and a significant economic and cultural shot in the arm. I salute all those in the Hartford community who have played integral roles in bringing the Presidential candidates to our capital city.

In particular, I want to commend the Bank of Boston, Phoenix Home Life Mutual Insurance, Trinity College, and Southern New England Telephone played critical roles as the four founding sponsors of the debate.

In addition, Daniel Papermaster, who has labored tirelessly to bring a Presidential debate to Hartford, deserves

special praise. Without his persistent efforts, this debate would never have become a reality.

For Hartford, the Presidential debate provides a remarkable opportunity to give the city a much needed boost of civic and community pride.

Certainly, no one would disagree that our city has seen rough times of late. And, the debate's impact on our community will be sizable.

It's estimated that the event may pump as much as 4 to 5 million dollars into the local economy.

What's more, 2,500 journalists from around the world will be descending on Hartford and will, in many cases, have their first opportunity to see the sights, meet the people, and experience the hospitality of our Connecticut and Hartford.

Most of all though, the coming Presidential debate is sparking a renewed sense of community spirit that will live on long after our visitors have said goodbye Sunday night or Monday morning when they leave the State.

But, as proud a moment as this is for the people of Connecticut it is also a critically important one for our Nation's future and our political process.

In our political process, there are few events as singular and unique as Presidential, and Vice-Presidential, debates.

Since these are the only two elected offices on which all 265 million Americans cast their ballot, Presidential and Vice-Presidential debates provide the American people a platform and context for choosing not just a political leader, but a governing philosophy for America's future.

Now, as every Member of this body knows, our Nation has a long and proud history of political debate.

More than 200 years ago, our founding fathers gathered in Philadelphia to debate, discuss and finally establish what they believed to be a "more perfect union." Some 80 years later our Nation's greatest leaders gathered for some of the most storied and significant oration in American history.

From the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858 to the famous Breckinridge/Baker Senate debate of 1861, which one commentator called "perhaps the most dramatic scene that ever took place in the Senate Chamber" American leaders intensely pondered the issue of slavery and the future of a divided nation.

In 1960, this proud legacy entered the TV age with the Nixon/KENNEDY debates which set the stage for one of the most closely contested elections in our Nation's history and for the past 20 years, Presidential debates have become an autumnal tradition—an opportunity for voters to not only listen to the views of the Presidential candidates, but to come together as a nation and as a people, participating in America's vibrant political discourse.

Debates are so enshrined in our political process that for a significant portion of the American electorate they are the most important source of information for making their decisions on election day.

The events of this Sunday will be no different. If anything, they may be even more significant.

President Clinton and Senator Dole meet in Hartford against the backdrop of great technological and social change in our Nation. What's more, both men come to this debate with very different proposals and divergent beliefs for the future.

On Sunday night, when the American people gather around their televisions, they will witness not simply a competition of candidates, but a contest of ideas.

That contest of ideas will be waged by two men who may be among the most skilled debaters in American politics.

I have heard a great deal of talk in the past few weeks about our former colleague's supposed lack of rhetorical skill. Even the candidate himself has intimated that he lacks the oratorical ability to be on the same stage with President Clinton and that by just showing up in Hartford he would in fact be the victor.

Mr. President, I served in this Chamber for 16 years with Bob Dole. I have great admiration for him as a person and as a public official, and I have even higher admiration for his debating skills. Republicans are certainly not talking about someone I am familiar with when they suggest that Bob Dole lacks the ability to debate an opponent. In my time here as a Member of this body, I have never ceased to be impressed by Bob Dole's debating skills. He is a smart and experienced debater, who understands public policy issues as well, as any Member that I have encountered in public life. What is more, he has been a candidate for national office four times, once for the Vice Presidency and three times for President. He weathered a difficult and trying debate season in the Republican primaries. All told, he has held 13 debates with other candidates for national office.

I should also point out he was the chairman of the Republican National Committee back in 1972. Having held a similar position in my own party these past 2 years, I know how difficult that job can be, because of the numerous times that you must debate your opponents. In fact, one might wonder if it is Bob Dole and not Bill Clinton who has the advantage coming into Sunday's debate given the tremendous experience that our former colleague, who served in Congress for 35 years and for many years as minority and majority leader, has in rhetorical skills.

If anything, the American people should be extremely grateful to witness a debate between two candidates with such evenly matched debating skills and a similar understanding of the issues.

Not for a second do I doubt Senator Dole's ability to debate on a level playing field with President Clinton. If anything, I think his troubles will come more from trying to defend his eco-

nomics policies and his votes against the Brady bill, family leave, and in support of cutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, and the environment. But that is another story. Certainly all of us look forward to the world tuning into Hartford, CT, on Sunday night to witness the first Presidential debate of the season, and we wish both of our candidates well in that process.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. KERRY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ASHCROFT). The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KERRY. I thank the Chair.

RETIREMENT OF SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, as we approach the end of this Congress, I wanted to take a moment to say a few words about one colleague in particular, and I will add to these comments later and say a few words about a number of our other retiring colleagues. I will lead off my tribute to those who retire saying a few words about one of the U.S. Senate's finest members, and that is the senior Senator from Rhode Island, Mr. PELL.

I have had the honor of serving with Senator PELL on the Foreign Relations Committee more than 12 years that I have been here, and I have been impressed by his extraordinary breadth of knowledge about international affairs, but more than that by the special demeanor of this colleague of ours. He is a man who is deeply committed to the development of a bipartisan foreign policy, one which promotes not only America's needs and interests but also Democratic values and humanitarian traditions. He has been both chairman and ranking minority member, and Senator PELL has always been courteous, solicitous of views of other members, determined to work toward a policy that we all could support even when the differences were extremely deep. He never abandoned his gentlemanly manner and often he succeeded in following the dictum that he used to give his staff throughout the years, which was, "The best way is to let the other fellow have your way."

Senator PELL's accomplishments in the areas of foreign policy are many and far-reaching. I will highlight just a couple of them. He was present at the creation of the United Nations, having served on the International Secretariat at the San Francisco conference which drew up the U.N. Charter. His commitment to the United Nations was really symbolized by the fact that he always carried the U.N. Charter in his pocket, though he really did not need to because he could tell anybody what it said.

Senator PELL's belief in the United Nations reflects his long-held belief, part of which came from his exposure in the Foreign Service, both through his father as well as his own service in the Foreign Service, that problems