

are important. The Senator from Georgia has rightly noted the considerable contributions of former President Ronald Reagan. The Senator from Nevada, Mr. REID, has offered an amendment of importance for another reason.

Standards change. Nations learn conduct and behavior. No sooner had the Soviet Union fallen than statues of Stalin and Lenin tumbled to the streets. Samozza, Marcos, Batista had probably not even left office when their names and statues were removed from public places.

In America through the years we have had despots of a different order, people who lived in a free society but did not always respect the law. They were part of the U.S. Government but not always in its best traditions. The Senator from Nevada has raised an issue before the Senate that the name of J. Edgar Hoover remains on the FBI building in Washington, DC. Every year, thousands of American schoolchildren wander down Pennsylvania Avenue to visit the FBI headquarters. Because the FBI now is head a model of law enforcement in our country, because the country has been fortunate to have Louis Freeh as its director, who respects the law and is in the highest traditions of our country, neither those schoolchildren nor many of our citizens, probably, remember or understand that there was a time when the Federal Bureau of Investigation's leadership, under J. Edgar Hoover, neither lived within nor always respected the law.

Mr. COVERDELL. Will the Senator yield for just one moment for an administrative note?

Mr. TORRICELLI. I am happy to yield.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. COVERDELL. I ask unanimous consent that at the closure of the Senator's remarks, the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 6 this evening. As you know, this is for the Members' briefing on Iraq.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask for 1 minute following his remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the unanimous consent request as amended by the Senator from Nevada? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Upon J. Edgar Hoover's death, perhaps his closest colleague in the Bureau, William Sullivan, described Mr. Hoover as a "master blackmailer."

We now know from historians Mr. Hoover had compiled files on Presidents of the United States and Members of Congress through illegal surveillance and wiretapping, holding dossiers on leaders of the U.S. Government. It was a practice of blackmail. It changed policies. It threatened America. And it was wrong.

Probably no one of his time, through subterfuge, within the U.S. Government, had a more adverse impact on the civil rights movement. He vigor-

ously dispatched agents of the U.S. Government to harass the leadership of the NAACP. He called leading civil rights organizations "Communist fronts." Indeed, he instructed agents to stand by and watch as racist mobs would beat up voter registration workers and civil rights workers in organized and lawful marches. To the extent that he harassed Martin Luther King, former Vice President Walter Mondale called J. Edgar Hoover "a disgrace to every American."

I don't know how we explain to American schoolchildren who leave their schools to honor Martin Luther King, who learn in our classrooms about the American Constitution, our respect for laws, that when they visit this proud Capital of our country, the most prominent name on the most prominent street in America is J. Edgar Hoover. But I know this, the Senator from Nevada is right, that it is a contradiction that should be removed, an explanation that no longer need be made. It is time to remove the name of J. Edgar Hoover from the FBI building. And if it is not enough that we suspected all along his intimidation of Presidents and his violation of basic rights, his biographers now give us more than enough reason. If you don't respect the Constitution, or civil rights, or civil liberties, Mr. Hoover lived outside the laws that he pretended to uphold.

It is now known that he had secret relationships with underworld boss Frank Costello, whose primary duties in organized crime including fixing games of chance and horse races. Gambling tips were given to Mr. Hoover, so he was able to support a lifestyle and live with income outside of the law. He had close contacts with members of New York's organized crime families as well, who he refused to investigate, or even acknowledge that they were a public policy problem for more than a decade. It is now claimed that outside of these illegal acts, within the bureau itself he used hundreds of thousands of dollars of public money for his own personal use.

The Senator from Nevada has brought before the Senate a painful decision, because it requires an honest reflection on a period of history of our own country.

Mr. Hoover was not in the best traditions of this country. And in a time when many fear that civil liberties in our country are sometime threatened, no longer from without but from within, it is a valuable message not only to our own people but, indeed, to law enforcement that we honor people not only who enforce the law but who live within it.

As Richard Cohen of the Washington Post observed in 1990:

You affect the future, by what you do with the past and how you interpret it. All over the world, when regimes change, so do names. Danzig becomes Gdansk. Images of Lenin come down all over Eastern Europe, and in the Soviet Union, Stalingrad becomes

Volgograd. These are all political statements. They say, "there's a new way of doing things."

Mr. President, exactly, there is a new way of doing things.

The Senator from Georgia offers the name of Ronald Reagan because Ronald Reagan makes us proud. He was the right way of doing things in our country, whether you agree with the naming of the airport or you do not. Mr. Hoover is an indication of the wrong way of doing things in America. I support the amendment offered by the Senator from Nevada. I am proud to offer it with him. I yield the floor.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, there may be some who feel that Ronald Reagan was not the greatest President. I have already laid across this RECORD how I feel about Ronald Reagan. But everyone would say that Ronald Reagan's heart was in the right place. He was a true American patriot who did what he thought was best for this country.

The direct opposite is applicable to J. Edgar Hoover. He didn't do things that were good for this country. His heart was not in the right place. He was a vicious, mean-spirited man, and his name should be taken from the building that houses the Federal Bureau of Investigation the very same moment we rename National Airport for President Ronald Reagan.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess until 6 p.m.

Thereupon, at 5:02 p.m., the Senate recessed until 5:58:32 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. COVERDELL).

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In my capacity as a Senator from the State of Georgia, I ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in recess until the hour of 6:15.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 5:58 p.m., recessed until 6:18 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. BROWNBACK].

RONALD REAGAN WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is considering S. 1575.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, parliamentary inquiry. We are returning to the Ronald Reagan legislation, is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.