

the legislation before us today will assist the State in exploring this exciting new opportunity. Madam President, the ISTEA legislation will also help the State of Maine with other important priorities, such as replacing aging bridges, developing our cargo ports, and improving critical economic corridors throughout the entire State.

These suggest a few of the very important transportation projects that the State of Maine can and should consider moving forward with just as soon as this Congress completes action on the long-term surface transportation reauthorization.

Madam President, the ISTEA legislation will help Maine and its people maintain and develop a transportation system that will meet the challenges of the future. Again, I commend the distinguished managers of this bill for all of their hard work, and I am very pleased to support their efforts in passing this much needed and vitally important legislation.

I thank you, Madam President, and I yield the floor.

Mr. D'AMATO. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. D'AMATO. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

TRIBUTE TO MELVIN R. LAIRD

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, the Melvin R. Laird Center, a medical research facility, was recently dedicated in Marshfield, Wisconsin. The event brought together political notables from both parties, past and present. Former-President Gerald Ford delivered, what I believe, is one of his finest speeches of his long career of service to the public.

Although Mel Laird may be best remembered for his service as Secretary of Defense during a turbulent period of the Vietnam war, when it was my privilege to serve in the Navy Secretariat, he devoted a full lifetime of public service in the course of improving quality of life in medical fields. This chapter of public service must be made permanent, so I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD President Ford's Remarks about this medical facility—an institution to which Mel Laird gave a full measure of devotion.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT FORD'S REMARKS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1997, THE LAIRD CENTER DEDICATION

Thank you, Bob, for that most generous introduction. What an honor to participate in this special tribute to a very special, extraordinary friend. I'm loath to refer to Mel as an elder statesman—if only because of something Harry Truman once said. Candid

as ever, Mr. Truman defined a statesman as a politician who has been dead for twenty years.

Perhaps in this case it would be more accurate to say that Mel has been out of active, visible politics for twenty years. But that hasn't prevented Henry Kissinger, Bob Michel, John Rhodes, Governor Nelson, Larry Eagleburger, or David Broder from assembling here to honor Mel for his outstanding service in the U.S. Navy and the Wisconsin legislature—on Capitol Hill and at the Pentagon. In the words of Readers Digest, I regard Mel Laird as one of the most unforgettable characters I have ever met!

I've just come from a private tour of the new Laird Center, which enabled me to see firsthand the pioneering application of molecular genetics to the field of preventive medicine. Needless to say, Mel, you should be very, very proud of this state of the art facility that bears your name. The Center is a magnificent tribute in brick and mortar. But it is much more than that. It is also a dynamic institution whose greatest benefits will accrue to generations yet unborn.

I can't help but reflect, Mel, on how proud John Fogerty, your partner in providing health care funds in the annual Labor, Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations Bill, would be—both of you and of the Center here in Marshfield.

As you all know, age has its privileges, among them the chance to wax nostalgic from time to time. I can hardly believe that over forty years have passed since our first meeting, Mel. It was January 3, 1953, the day you were sworn in as a freshman in the House of Representatives.

I can't honestly say that I was surprised at your swearing in by Speaker Sam Rayburn in the House Chamber. Several months earlier, members of the Wisconsin delegation had tipped me off to an outstanding State Senator from the Marshfield area whom they were convinced would be elected to the House in November 1952.

Come Election Day their prophecy was emphatically confirmed by voters. For Mel it was the first of nine such triumphs at the polls. Over the next sixteen years he more than lived up to his advance billings. From the outset, Marshfield's favorite son was a highly effective member of the House Committee on Appropriations. As the senior Republican on the HEW Subcommittee, he won the respect and confidence of members on both sides of the political aisle.

Long before today's talk of a health crisis in America, Mel Laird was legislating in hopes of averting a crisis. Having served with John and Mel on the House Committee on Appropriations, I think it's no exaggeration to call the period from 1953 through 1969 the Fogerty/Laird Years. Certainly their influence on the NIH was pivotal as they oversaw a vast expansion of American health research programs and facilities. At least five Secretaries of HEW know of Mel's constructive impact on rural health care delivery systems. They know, because he brought them to Marshfield to see for themselves the Clinic's tremendous programs for a major area in Wisconsin.

Of course, there were times during those years when the Republican elephant itself required a little emergency care. It will come as no surprise to his friends and neighbors that Mel was always intensely interested in electing a Republican majority in the House of Representatives. To tell the truth, I was just as interested in electing a Republican Speaker. So, in the late 1950s, when a group of so-called "Young Turks" joined forces to overthrow Joe Martin in favor of Congressman Charlie Halleck of Indiana, Mel and I were all for the change.

In the wake of the Goldwater debacle of 1964, history repeated itself. Only this time

around, these by now "Middle Aged Turks" were looking for a candidate to challenge Halleck. Mel urged me to run, and thanks in no small part to his efforts, I won that election by the landslide margin of 73/67. Mel became GOP Conference Chairman. For the next four years we worked in tandem on legislative programs that helped revitalize the Republican party and elect Dick Nixon President in 1968.

I well remember a day in December 1968 when we found ourselves in Palm Springs, California, attending a Republican Governors' Conference. Walter Annenberg hosted a luncheon honoring the President-elect, at which Henry Kissinger was present as the new head of the NSC. Between the main course and dessert Nixon announced that Walter would become his Ambassador to Great Britain and Mel Laird was to be Secretary of Defense.

Mel's friends were overjoyed by his selection. Knowing of his impressive military record in the Navy in WWII and his subsequent service as one of Capitol Hill's genuine defense experts; admiring his uncommon common sense and his sound political judgment, I believed that Mel would be of enormous help to President Nixon as he struggled to find a responsible solution to the tragedy of Vietnam. No less important, I felt certain that Mel and Henry could jointly resolve that terribly difficult issue. Nixon was fortunate to have them on his team.

They can tell you, far better than I, just how the Paris Accord was achieved, followed by the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. Let me say this: few public servants have been so tested by events, or have so confirmed the confidence of their admirers, as Mel Laird in those days of tumult and challenge. After four arduous years at the Pentagon he tried to retire. But by then he was Washington's Indispensable Man. President Nixon immediately drafted him as a Presidential Counselor for Domestic Affairs.

In an era when the White House was tainted by scandal, Mel Laird stood out as a model of personal and political integrity. The resignation of Vice President Agnew in October 1973 touched off speculation over who Nixon might choose to replace him under the 25th Amendment. Two days after Agnew's departure Betty and I were having a quiet dinner at our home in Alexandria, Virginia, when the phone rang. It was Mel calling from the White House. He told me that the Democrat controlled House and Senate were unlikely to confirm Rockefeller, Reagan or Connally. In fact, both Speaker Albert and Senator Mike Mansfield were recommending my name as an alternative.

Mel asked whether I had any interest in the job. Frankly, his question came like a bolt out of the blue. My ambition was to be Speaker of the House, not Vice President. I told Mel that I would consult with Betty and call him back. That evening Betty and I agreed that 3½ years as Vice President would be a nice way to end my quarter century in Washington. I passed our decision onto Mel, and the rest, as they say, is history.

Of course, history doesn't stop for anyone. So let me suggest another way we could all honor our friend. This Center will perpetuate Mel's work in the health field. Wouldn't it be great if our politics today could also reflect his blend of principle and pragmatism? You might not guess it from watching The McLaughlin Group, but at heart most Americans are pragmatists. We want to make things work. We value authenticity at least as much as ideology—especially in this age when so much of what passes for American public life seems unreal if not irrelevant.

Mel will recall vividly the days when I used to play straight man to Senator Everett

Dirksen in what became known as the Ev and Jerry show. Neither one of us was bashful about criticizing the shortcomings of the Great Society. Yet our differences with the Johnson White House, however sharp they might seem at the time, were programmatic, not personal. We might question the other side's ideas, but rarely its motives and never its patriotism.

Indeed, Everett Dirksen had a great line. "I live by my principles," he liked to say, "and one of my principles is flexibility." Perhaps to some who are disillusioned by politicians whose only principle seems to be flexibility, Dirksen's folk wisdom may appear a cynical contradiction in terms. I didn't see it that way. As far as I'm concerned, there are no enemies in politics—just adversaries who disagree with you on this vote, and might be might you on the next one.

Moreover, I've always thought that you had to listen before you could lead. It's pretty hard to listen to each other if you're busy screaming at each other. It's even harder to hear the voice of those who sent you to Washington in the first place.

If partisan political parties are out of favor with most Americans, perhaps it's because they appear to have forgotten that ours is a representative democracy. To many voters—and even more non-voters—parties today are suspected of being decidedly unrepresentative. At worst, they appear as little more than conduits for huge amounts of special interest money.

But fundraising abuses are by no means the only cancer eating away at our democracy. Today we look with horror upon the smoke filled rooms of legend. Over the years, I've sat in more than my share of smoked filled rooms. So has Mel. I think it is fair to say, we've even inhaled from time to time.

I ask you: who is more accountable to the voters—those in the smoke filled room whose jobs depended on keeping their word—and who gave us Lincoln, both Roosevelts, Truman and Eisenhower—or the professional hired guns of today whose services are for sale, whose convictions are located in focus groups, and whose loyalty may not outlast election day?

Based on personal experience, our parties will never regain public confidence until they look beyond the consultants and the tracking polls. As President, facing a stiff challenge from the right wing of my own party in 1976, I was urged to abandon our efforts to promote black majority rule in what was then Rhodesia. Did Henry Kissinger really have to choose at the height of the Republican primary season to fly to Africa and denounce the vestiges of colonial rule?

The pre-primary Texas polls gave one answer, and individual conscience a very different one. Kissinger went, I lost a few primaries, and Rhodesia was set on the course of self-rule as the independent nation of Zimbabwe.

There are dangers that arise when any leader starts to calculate his chances at the expense of his conscience. In the high stakes game of history, only those who are willing to lose for principle deserve to win at the polls. Only those whose principles do not blind them to the search for common ground, can hope to rally a political system that was intentionally designed by the Founders to frustrate utopian reformers.

This much I know for sure: at the end of the day, no leader worth his salt will take comfort in the polls he conducted or the tactical victories he may have racked up. Anyone can take a poll. Only a leader can move a nation.

All his life, Mel Laird has given that kind of leadership—to Wisconsin, to America, to the world. As a result, no historian tracing

the evolution of this country during the second half of the twentieth century will be able to overlook the life and legacy of the man from Marshfield. He remains today what he has always been—a model public servant, a can-do conservative who went into politics because he liked people even more than he distrusted bureaucrats. A man who reflects honor upon Washington and the people who sent him there. A patriot before he is a partisan.

Thank you, old friend, for all you have done for the Fords—for all you have been to Wisconsin—for all you have given to America. We are all better for having known you.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Ms. SNOWE:

S. 1731. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel FALLS POINT; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 1732. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel VESTERHAVEN; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. REID:

S. Res. 193. A resolution designating December 13, 1998, as "National Children's Memorial Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COVERDELLE:

S. Con. Res. 81. A concurrent resolution honoring the Berlin Airlift; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. GORTON:

S. 1732. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation to issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel *Vesterhavet*; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

JONES ACT WAIVER FOR THE VESTERHAVET

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce a bill to grant a waiver to the Jones Act to a vessel named the *Vesterhavet* owned by Brett Snow. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this bill be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S. 1732

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That notwithstanding sections 12106 and 12108 of title 46, United

States Code, section 8 of the Passenger Vessel Act (46 U.S.C. App. 289), and section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1920 (46 U.S.C. App. 883), the Secretary of Transportation may issue a certificate of documentation with appropriate endorsement for employment in the coastwise trade for the vessel VESTERHAVET, (United States Official Number 979206).

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 414

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the name of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 414, a bill to amend the Shipping Act of 1984 to encourage competition in international shipping and growth of United States imports and exports, and for other purposes.

S. 656

At the request of Mr. WARNER, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 656, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to exclude from the definition of employee firefighters and rescue squad workers who perform volunteer services and to prevent employers from requiring employees who are firefighters or rescue squad workers to perform volunteer services, and to allow an employer not to pay overtime compensation to a firefighter or rescue squad worker who performs volunteer services for the employer, and for other purposes.

S. 766

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 766, a bill to require equitable coverage of prescription contraceptive drugs and devices, and contraceptive services under health plans.

S. 778

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the names of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. GRAMS] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] were added as cosponsors of S. 778, a bill to authorize a new trade and investment policy for sub-Saharan Africa.

S. 1069

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], and the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN] were added as cosponsors of S. 1069, a bill entitled the "National Discovery Trails Act of 1997."

S. 1325

At the request of Mr. FRIST, the name of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1325, a bill to authorize appropriations for the Technology Administration of the Department of Commerce for fiscal years 1998 and 1999, and for other purposes.

S. 1422

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the name of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SESSIONS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1422, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to promote