

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