

SENATOR CARL LEVIN

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, serving in the Senate has given me the opportunity to work on many important issues with many talented Members on both sides of the aisle. When I leave the Senate, I will miss the professional and personal associations I have had working with my colleagues in the Senate and the House, none more than my association with my friend Senator CARL LEVIN of Michigan.

CARL LEVIN and I have served together on the same two committees for the past 18 years, the Armed Services Committee and the Governmental Affairs Committee. During those years I have gained a tremendous appreciation for his energy, his intelligence, his tenacity, his skill in the legislative process, and his total commitment to public service.

I trust and hope the voters of Michigan will return him to the Senate next year where, depending on the makeup of the Congress, whether Republicans or Democrats control, he will be either the chairman or ranking member of the Armed Services Committee, and he will certainly be a leader on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and perhaps chairman of that subcommittee or ranking minority member on that subcommittee, a position that I have held now since the late 1970's.

Mr. President, one of the hallmarks that I associate with CARL LEVIN's service in the Senate is his passionate belief that Government should work and that it can work, and that Congress has a responsibility to the American people to make sure that it does work. On both the Armed Services Committee and Governmental Affairs Committee, I have watched with admiration as CARL LEVIN's tireless efforts developed into a substantial record of legislative accomplishments across a wide range of important issues.

When CARL LEVIN came to the Senate in 1979, he asked to serve on the Governmental Affairs Committee. I remember how glad the committee was to have someone with his background, eager to serve on this important committee. In that year, the chairman of the committee, Senator Abe Ribicoff, created a new subcommittee, the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management.

Oversight of Government Management. That is a subject that might strike some people as dry, and I assume that many days it was dry to Senator LEVIN, but it has been one of the passions of his Senate career. Senator LEVIN was appointed chairman of this new subcommittee in 1979, and my good friend and outstanding Senator from Maine, Senator BILL COHEN, was the ranking minority member. These two remarkable Senators have formed a partnership as chairman and ranking minority member of this subcommittee that has lasted through changes in the control of the Senate from Democrat to Republican to Democrat and Republican, and lasts to this day. In fact, Mr. President I would say that the rela-

tionship between Senator LEVIN and Senator COHEN on the Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management serves as a textbook example of successful bipartisan cooperation in the pursuit of effective Government that other committees and subcommittees, indeed, other Senators and Congressmen, should look at very closely. When these two dedicated and outstanding leaders get together on an issue, good Government is almost always the result.

Over the years, CARL LEVIN has carried out oversight investigations and hearings on a broad range of Federal programs in the Subcommittee on Oversight, including Social Security disability, Internal Revenue Service operation, the Customs Service, and inventory management in the Department of Defense. The objective of these investigations was to improve the operation of important Federal programs. The results in each case demonstrate that thoughtful, careful, and constructive congressional oversight of Federal programs can often lead to improvements in performance more readily than legislation.

CARL LEVIN has also built an impressive legislative record on the Governmental Affairs Committee. He has been the driving force behind lobbying reform, the independent counsel legislation, whistle-blower protection, ethics reform, the Competition in Contracting Act, and the reform of the defense acquisition process. All of these initiatives have focused on a goal of making Government more open, more productive, and more effective.

Since the death of our colleague and great U.S. Senator, Senator Scoop Jackson, in 1983, I have served as the chairman and ranking minority member of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Governmental Affairs Committee. While Senator Jackson was still in the Senate serving, I was the vice chairman of that committee and while he was running for President of the United States, I was the acting chairman of that committee, so he and I worked together on that committee, for many years. Over the years this has been one of the premier investigative subcommittees of the Congress, and I cannot think of anyone more qualified, by temperament and by experience, to provide leadership on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations than CARL LEVIN.

Senator JOHN GLENN is also on that committee and provides superb leadership as either the ranking Democrat or the chairman of the Governmental Affairs Committee, depending, again, on which party controls the Senate. Senator BILL ROTH and I have been partners on this subcommittee for many years, he serving sometimes as the ranking Republican when the Democrats are in control, sometimes as chairman, and he and I have reversed roles now, I believe, three times. So we have some outstanding members serving on that subcommittee with Senator LEVIN.

Senator LEVIN has also been an extraordinarily active and energetic

member of the Armed Services Committee during the years we served together. I remember when he first came on the Committee in 1979, and chairman Stennis asked him to chair the committee's hearings on the legislation implementing the Panama Canal Treaty. This was one of those detailed, complicated, and important jobs that everyone knew had to be done and hoped someone else would do. In what we came to realize was typical fashion, CARL LEVIN rolled up his sleeves and did an excellent job in carrying out the committee's responsibilities on this important issue.

During our service together on the Armed Services Committee Senator LEVIN has served as the ranking minority member on the readiness Subcommittee and the chairman and ranking minority member on the Conventional Forces—now called the Airland Forces—Subcommittee. In that capacity he has made major contributions to maintaining the readiness of our forces and ensuring that they have the weapons and equipment they need to carry out their missions today and in the future.

In reality, though, Mr. President, Senator LEVIN's impact on our national security has extended far beyond the subcommittees which he led. In fact, it is hard to think of a major issue that the Armed Services Committee has dealt with over the past two decades in which CARL LEVIN has not made an important contribution. He has been involved in our discussions on the size and makeup of our military force structure; on the modernization of our conventional capability; and on the modernization of our strategic nuclear forces. He has been a key player over the years in our oversight of ongoing military operations, including Somalia; the Persian Gulf conflict and its aftermath; and Bosnia. As I indicated earlier, he has been one of the drivers behind the enactment of the recent landmark legislation on defense acquisition reform, which of course has been a top priority of Secretary of Defense Bill Perry.

As one of the most active members of the Senate's Arms Control Observer Group since its inception in 1985, Senator LEVIN has been heavily involved in keeping the Committee and the Senate informed on the progress of arms control negotiations. He has also made important contributions to the Senate's consideration of the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty; the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe; and the START I and Start II Treaties. I know he shares my regret that the Senate has not been able to act on the Conventional Weapons Convention during this session, and my hope that the Senate will act on this important Treaty early next year.

Mr. President, Senator LEVIN and I have not agreed on every single issue

in the Armed Services Committee over the years. Sometimes our positions differed, sometimes our philosophies differed. In those cases where we disagreed, my respect for his knowledge and his intelligence always caused me to double-check my own thinking. When we agreed—particularly on complicated issues like the reinterpretation of the ABM Treaty—I was always grateful to have him standing shoulder-to-shoulder with me.

All of us know CARL LEVIN's tenacity and talent for negotiating. Now that I am leaving the Senate in just a few days, I don't mind revealing that while I was chairman of the Armed Services Committee, I used CARL LEVIN as one of my secret weapons when we went into conference with the House on the annual Defense authorization bill. Whenever the Conference got bogged down over a particularly difficult issue, I knew that I could assign CARL LEVIN to go off and work with the House and have a pretty high level of confidence that the outcome would be closer to the Senate than to the House position. CARL is a superb negotiator. I have to confess that the House conferees got wise to my strategy, because after a while I only had to threaten to turn an issue over to CARL LEVIN to break a conference deadlock.

They simply, many times, would rather concede than go off and know they were going to be subject to CARL's very tenacious negotiating capabilities.

Serving in the U.S. Senate has been the greatest privilege of my career, the highlight of my professional life. I will miss the Senate, and I will miss my colleagues. I will leave, however, with a great deal of confidence that the energy and creativity in the Armed Services Committee—and its unwavering commitment to our Nation's security and to the men and women in uniform—will continue under the extraordinarily capable leadership on the Democratic side of my good friend, Senator CARL LEVIN, of Michigan.

DAVID ALLAN HAMBURG

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute today to a remarkable man, a renaissance man for our times, Dr. David Allan Hamburg. I would also add that Dr. Hamburg has a wonderful wife, a remarkable and accomplished woman, Betty Hamburg. In her own right, she has been truly an outstanding leader in every field of endeavor she has entered, as she has stood side by side with David Hamburg all these years and helped him accomplish what he has accomplished in his own right. They have two wonderful children, very successful children, Peggy and Eric.

Mr. President, I have come to know and admire David Hamburg through my long association with the Carnegie Corporation of New York, of which he has been president since 1983. In that position, he has combined his unparal-

leled knowledge of and experience in science, psychiatry, and international affairs to produce a record of remarkable accomplishment.

A quick review of his past activities reveals a unique combination of intelligence and energy that has been applied unselfishly and with a remarkably positive effect to scholarship, to intellectual endeavors, and to public service. For example, Dr. Hamburg was professor and chairman of the Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University; then the Reed-Hodgson Professor of Human Biology at Stanford. He served as president of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences.

At Harvard University, he was the director of the Division of Health Policy Research and Education, as well as the John D. MacArthur Professor of Health Policy. He also has served as president and chairman of the board of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

His many memberships on governing boards of nonprofit organizations and his numerous honorary degrees demonstrate clearly that he has been widely recognized all over the country and, indeed, around the world for his experience, his wisdom, and his public-minded spirit.

It has been my great honor and privilege to work closely with David Hamburg on three important projects in recent years. First, under his leadership, Carnegie sponsored, and David himself played an important role in, a project on nonproliferation in the early 1990's that provided much of the analytical basis for the original cooperative threat reduction legislation that became law in December of 1991.

Shortly thereafter, he accompanied Senators LUGAR, WARNER, BINGAMAN, and myself on an extensive study mission to the former Soviet Union, and shared with us his wisdom regarding the troubled conflicts, the ethnic problems, and the potential for further problems in that part of the world, as well as his expertise and concern about the overall issue of nonproliferation.

Second, in consultation with Senator LUGAR and with me, David Hamburg's leadership and Carnegie's sponsorship with Dick Clark, former Senator Dick Clark's leadership, working under Carnegie and under David Hamburg, created a special exchange program involving Members of the United States Congress and the Russian Parliament. Senators BIDEN, EXON, FEINGOLD, GRAHAM of Florida, HUTCHISON, JEFFORDS, JOHNSTON, LAUTENBERG, ROTH, SARBANES, and SIMPSON, plus numerous colleagues from the House, have joined me in this undertaking over the last several years.

Thanks to the leadership of Dick Clark and the vision of David Hamburg, and the sponsorship of Carnegie, this program has proved most rewarding for the American side and I believe also for the Russian side, and has made a significant contribution to mutual

understanding of United States-Russian relations, and also relationships with Eastern Europe, because the Carnegie Corporation, under David's leadership, and again with Dick Clark taking the helm, has sponsored numerous conferences over the last 7 or 8 years with our colleagues in the Parliaments of Eastern Europe, and that, too, has been very successful.

Third, Dr. Hamburg, together with former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and a distinguished group of international leaders, again, sponsored by Carnegie, have formed an international commission to study and make policy recommendations regarding conflict situations that have plagued the post-cold-war world.

This group has banded together with leaders from around the world to try to find ways and recommend methods and reform of certain institutions to help get out in front of and prevent deadly conflict throughout the globe.

I have been honored to serve on the advisory board of this commission. Dr. Hamburg and Cy Vance and his commission colleagues have asked me to head a task force of this commission upon my retirement from the Senate. That will be one of the public policy issues I look forward to staying involved in. It is a very important part of America's foreign policy and national security considerations.

I readily agreed to undertake this leadership under Dr. Hamburg and Cy Vance and am looking forward to continuing my close collaboration with Dr. Hamburg in that new capacity.

Mr. President, I could go on and on about the accomplishments of David Hamburg. I have just outlined the parts of his overall activities that I have personally been involved in. He has been a leader in writing papers and books on children, on education, on research, on environmental matters. He is truly a Renaissance man. I have known people who had great breadth, and I have known people who have had great depth on many issues. I never knew anyone with the breadth and depth that David Hamburg has on so many issues important to our Nation and, indeed, to humanity.

On September 9 of this year, David Hamburg will receive one of the highest honors our country can bestow: the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The citation that accompanies the award provides a fitting summary of this man's remarkable career to date. President Clinton presented that medal on September 9, and it reads as follows:

As a physician, scientist, and educator, David Hamburg has devoted a boundless energy and deep intelligence to understanding human behavior, preventing violent conflict, and improving the health and well-being of our children. From Stanford to the Institute of Medicine and the Carnegie Corporation, he has worked to strengthen American families by teaching us about the challenges and difficulties of raising children in a rapidly transforming world. Known for emphasizing the importance of early childhood and early