

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

adolescence, he has stressed the need for families, schools and communities to work together in our children's interest. In a life of wisdom, courage and purpose, David Hamburg has exemplified the finest tradition of humane, social engagement.

Mr. President, I am pleased and honored to pay tribute to David Allan Hamburg, a truly distinguished American.

#### RATIFICATION OF THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I rise to the floor today to speak in support of the ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention as reported out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Unfortunately, consideration of the Convention by the Senate has been postponed until next year. I will no longer be here when this important matter is undertaken, in terms of voting on this matter, before this body. In the closing days of this Congress, I want to put on the record today my strong support for the ratification of this important agreement.

Mr. President, now that the cold war is over, the single most important threat to our national security is the threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Over the last year a series of hearings have been held in both the Foreign Relations Committee and in the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations that have clearly documented the threat posed to the United States by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

During these hearings, representatives of the intelligence and law enforcement communities, the Defense Department, private industry, State and local governments, academia, and foreign officials described a threat that we can not ignore, but for which we are unprepared.

For one, CIA Director John Deutch candidly observed, "We've been lucky so far."

In July, the Commission on America's National Interests, co-chaired by Andrew Goodpaster, Robert Ellsworth, and Rita Hauser, released a study that concluded that the number one "vital U.S. national interest" today is to prevent, deter, and reduce the threat of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons attacks on the United States. The report also identified containment of biological and chemical weapons proliferation as one of five "cardinal challenges" for the next U.S. President.

Mr. President, I firmly believe, based on a wide variety of testimony and other presentations from credible academics, government officials, and others, that the threat posed by proliferation of chemical and biological weapons and materials is more dangerous even than that posed by the spread of nuclear materials. In the case of nuclear materials, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT, has erected barriers to proliferation that have be-

come effective over time. In part as a result of this strengthened NPT regime, and in part because chemical precursors are widely available for commercial purposes, chemical and biological weapons and materials are much easier to acquire, store, and deploy than nuclear weaponry—as demonstrated by the Aum Shinrikyo disaster in Japan several years ago.

That cult conducted an enormous international effort to acquire, build, and deploy chemical weapons—without detection by any intelligence or law enforcement service—prior to releasing the deadly sarin gas in the Tokyo metro.

Mr. President, the judge at the World Trade Center bombing case believed strongly that the culprits had attempted to use a chemical weapon in that terrorist attack. He found that had those chemicals not been consumed by the fire of the explosion, thousands of World Trade Center workers might have been killed, greatly compounding that tragic episode.

Mr. President, Senator LUGAR and Senator DOMENICI joined me this year in introducing legislation—the Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction Act—that will provide over \$150 million, starting next month, toward combating the threat posed to the United States by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This legislation passed unanimously in the Senate, and was virtually unchanged in conference with the House. It is part of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 97, which has been sent to the President. I won't go into great detail here, but that legislation seeks to combat proliferation on essentially three fronts: enhance our domestic preparedness for dealing with an incident involving nuclear, radiological, chemical, or biological weapons or materials; improve our ability to detect and interdict these materials at our borders and before they can be deployed on our territory; and strengthen safeguards at facilities in the former Soviet Union that continue to store these materials to prevent their leakage onto the international grey markets and into the hands of proliferators, terrorists, and malcontents.

Mr. President, although Senator LUGAR, Senator DOMENICI, and I attempted to create a comprehensive program for addressing what we all believe is the No. 1 national security threat facing our Nation in the decades ahead, we also recognize that the enacted legislation is only a beginning, and that much more work needs to be done. We must combat this threat on all available fronts, and leave no available path untaken.

Mr. President, ratification of the CWC is an important step in the process of controlling the proliferation of chemical weapons and the technologies for their manufacture. The CWC requires all parties to undertake the following: to destroy all existing chemical weapons and bulk agents; to de-

stroy all production facilities for chemical weapons agents; to deny cooperation in technology or supplies to nations not party to the treaty; and to forswear even military preparations for a chemical weapons program.

The Chemical Weapons Convention represents the culmination of some 15 years of negotiations supported by the last four Presidents of the United States. The agreement was concluded and signed by President George Bush near the end of his term. The Joint Chiefs of Staff support ratification. The major chemical manufacturer trade associations support ratification. The CWC has been open for signature and ratification since 1993. As of today, the CWC has enjoyed overwhelming worldwide support. It has been signed by 161 of the 184 member states of the United Nations, and 63 countries have already ratified the treaty. Those who have already ratified include all of our major industrial partners, and most of our NATO allies. The CWC will enter into force 180 days after the 65th country has ratified it. It will begin to enter into force after ratification by two additional countries, whether or not the United States chooses to ratify it.

Now, Mr. President, after years of bipartisan support, after the CWC was successfully negotiated by two Republican Presidents, after lying before the Senate for inspection for 3 years, literally at the eleventh hour, a small group of Senators has set about to defeat the ratification of this treaty. They claim to have identified a number of fatal flaws that have gone undiscovered during the 3 years and numerous hearings before the Senate, fatal flaws that have gone unnoticed by 161 nations, including all our major industrialized allies.

Those opposed to the CWC seem to view it through the same cold war lenses that have been applied to the consideration of numerous bilateral nuclear arms reduction treaties between the United States, and the Soviet Union, and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. They insist that the kind of verification standard that we used to require in a bilateral treaty with the Soviet Union must now be applied to a convention intended to move the world community away from the scourge of chemical weapons. Mr. President, this is not a reasonable standard to apply. We insisted on parity of limitations and drawdowns with the Soviet Union because asymmetries in strategic weaponry would have been dangerous to the strategic balance. But the cold war is over; the CWC is not a bilateral treaty, and is not about the strategic balance.

In bilateral United States-Soviet arms reduction agreements, we were agreeing to reverse or forgo some weapons systems based on Soviet promises that they would undertake parallel actions. In the chemical weapons arena, we have already committed to do away