

fighting violence on television and in the movies.

Paul is invariably decent and kind and a real gentleman. His manner of debate and his personal relationships have lifted the tone of the Senate and helped to preserve its decorum, often in the face of great odds. When PAUL SIMON comes to the floor to speak on a subject, people listen because of the simple, direct, and honest way he makes his case.

He is slow to anger and quick to understand, and he is as considerate as they come. The people of Illinois and this Nation have been well-served by PAUL's presence in this body. May he never run out of bow ties.

SENATOR KASSEBAUM

Mr. President, it is with real regret that I say goodbye to our dear colleague from Kansas, NANCY KASSEBAUM. Another member of the class of 1978, Nancy has made her mark in both foreign affairs and on the Labor and Education Committee. Nancy doesn't fit into anybody's mold or label. She is one of a kind.

She was a leader in the fight for economic sanctions against South Africa and was prescient in her opposition to \$700 million in credit guarantees for Iraq before the Persian Gulf war. She has wrestled with innovative ways to make Federal programs more efficient and effective, and whether or not you agree or disagree with her on an issue, you respect her motives and her commitment.

She has been able to bridge differences of party and ideology to develop bipartisan approaches to solving problems. Her major accomplishment this year with the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum health-care bill epitomizes her ability to do what it takes to help people better lives.

NANCY's gentle, kind demeanor has been so important to her achievements and to the daily life of the Senate family. Kansas has been lucky to have her as their Representative in the Senate and the millions of workers now with portable health care were lucky she cared so deeply about their lives.

SENATOR HEFLIN

Mr. President, another member of the class of 1978 is Howell Heflin. Looking ever the part of the "country judge", Howell has played an important role in the life of the Senate. His careful attention to the facts, his thoughtful analysis, his methodical to an issue, have been the very elements needed in this body we all should like to remain the world's most deliberative body. He has taken on some of the more thankless tasks in the Senate, including the arcane issues involving bankruptcy and administrative practice. We will all miss his expertise and diligence.

Senator HEFLIN leaves behind a distinguished career as a public servant—serving 6 years as Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court and 18 years as a U.S. Senator. He has proudly and diligently represented the people of

Alabama—calling the shots as he sees them and doing what he thinks is about for his constituents. We need the judicial, detailed approach of HOWELL HEFLIN in the Senate. My wife, Barbara, and I have enjoyed our friendship with HOWELL and his wife, Mike. We wish him well in his retirement. It is well-deserved, for a very, very, special Member of this body.

SENATOR BRADLEY

Mr. President, about 15 years ago, I was riding in BILL BRADLEY's car coming back from a speaking engagement in Baltimore. Surprisingly, the car was a small, compact car. I say surprisingly, because the car was BRADLEY's and he is not a small person. But cramped in this small car, we were chatting about various issues we were working on and Bill mentioned the tax system. I was struck by the size of the problem he was willing to tackle, the thoughtfulness of his comments, and the ambition of his plan. That was the first I had heard of what later was to become the 1986 tax reform legislation. That's part of the legacy that Senator BRADLEY leaves behind—tackling issues head-on regardless of size and asking the big questions.

BILL BRADLEY has addressed some of the most pressing issues of our time—racial disparity, urban decay, how to achieve a civil society. If this were Plato's Republic, BILL BRADLEY would be one of the philosopher kings.

Another member of the class of 1978, we will miss his clear and original thinking, his willingness to take on the big issues, his commitment to building bridges among the diverse ethnic and interest groups in this country. I hope Bill stays in the political dialogue so we can benefit from his thoughts and ideas.

He and his wife, ERNESTINE, will both be missed by my wife and me.

SENATOR NUNN

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, as SAM NUNN leaves this institution, he is going to be leaving a very, very large hole. He is a person of special integrity, intelligence, and independence.

When I came to the Senate in 1979, I was assigned to the same three committees on which SAM NUNN served, and I have been with him on those three committees ever since: Armed Services, Governmental Affairs, and Small Business.

In SAM NUNN's 24 years of public service as a Senator, he has compiled an extraordinary legislative record. He has had a major influence on national security issues, he has cast over 10,000 votes, and he has established a rock-solid standard for bipartisanship that is the envy of his colleagues.

As chairman of the Armed Services Committee, SAM was a passionate advocate for a bipartisan approach to foreign policy, and as a Senator from Michigan, I can see the spirit of one of Michigan's great Senators, Arthur Vandenberg, reflected in SAM NUNN's approach.

Mr. President, I want to describe a few of the key defense and foreign policy issues on which SAM NUNN was the leader, and for which he will undoubtedly be remembered. He was the godfather of the Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986, more often known as "Goldwater-Nichols". This seminal piece of legislation helped the Pentagon to organize our military forces in a very effective manner that emphasizes the central role of the theater commanders—the commanders who actually command our forces in war—as well as the critical need for our military services to work together jointly as a single team to accomplish their missions.

Our military has often been commended for their extraordinary performance in the Persian Gulf war, and rightly so. But we should also recognize that it was the Goldwater-Nichols legislation that SAM NUNN helped put in place which assured our military was properly organized and prepared for that war. SAM NUNN has worked tirelessly to assure that the idea of joint cooperation that makes our military so effective is now ingrained as a core value throughout the military. For this, our Nation owes him a debt of gratitude.

SAM NUNN took a deep interest in United States-Soviet relations and NATO-Warsaw Pact relations during the last decade of the cold war, and helped to ensure that this dangerous ideological confrontation ended peacefully. He recognized the unique opportunity to turn this moment of history into a positive benefit for United States and international security.

After the end of the cold war, SAM NUNN saw clearly that our security was enhanced by the political developments in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. He helped assure that we seized the opportunity to help the emerging democracies in Europe, and to foster democratization and stability. Perhaps the most concrete evidence of his efforts is the Nunn-Lugar program for cooperative threat reduction. This landmark legislation took advantage of the opening in United States-Russian relations and has advanced our security in a major way.

Sam Nunn helped put into practice what now seems common sense: It is easier, cheaper, and more effective to cooperate with the former Soviet Union to reduce threats to each other than it is to seek security by mutual threat. The Nunn-Lugar program has permitted the elimination of hundreds of former Soviet nuclear weapons that used to be pointed at us, and has been instrumental in helping make three former Soviet Republics nuclear-free. That is a real, tangible reduction to the threat from former Soviet nuclear weapons. The Nunn-Lugar program is still in progress and still improving our security.

SAM NUNN has also been an unequalled leader on preserving the security benefits of the United States-Soviet Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty, which has permitted the United States and former Soviet Union to reduce our nuclear forces significantly since the mid-1980's, including the START I and START II Treaties. When fully implemented, these two treaties will reduce former Soviet nuclear weapons by two-thirds from the level at the beginning of the 1990's. Thousands of nuclear weapons are being dismantled and will never threaten the United States again.

So it is crucial that we not undermine the ABM Treaty, because that was, and still is, the foundation upon which these critical nuclear weapon reductions are taking place. SAM has had to defend and preserve the ABM Treaty against many opponents, whether they sought to reinterpret its provisions, to undermine it or to kill it outright. Fortunately for our Nation, he has done an extraordinary job.

SAM NUNN has focused on the future threats to our Nation, as well as the cold war threats he helped to reduce so effectively, and has come up with very pragmatic and constructive steps to address those threats. Starting last year, he led the Governmental Affairs Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations on a rigorous examination of the threat of chemical, biological and nuclear terrorism, and our national preparedness to meet that threat.

He chaired a series of more than five hearings that demonstrated the seriousness of the threat of terrorists using weapons of mass destruction, and the fact that we are simply not prepared to handle such a crisis. Imagine if the World Trade Center bombing had been a chemical weapon attack.

Taking the chilling evidence from these hearings, Senator NUNN initiated new legislation designed to reduce the risk of such terrorism and to improve our defenses against such potential attacks. He joined forces with Senator LUGAR again, his partner from the original Nunn-Lugar program, and Senator DOMENICI to sponsor legislation that was supported without a single opposing vote in the Senate. That is the kind of bipartisan support that SAM NUNN commands. This legislation is a badly needed step toward reducing the threat of terrorists using weapons of mass destruction against our Nation.

And finally, Mr. President, we should remember that when the situation in Haiti was reaching a crisis point, and the military leaders were reluctant to step down, it was SAM NUNN who personally went to Haiti, with Jimmy Carter and Colin Powell, to convince the Haitian military leaders to turn over power peacefully to Aristide. And although he succeeded in his mission, it was at some personal risk because while he was still negotiating with the Haitian military, our military planes were already on their way to Haiti to launch a military operation to force

the military to step aside and return Aristide to power.

There was no guarantee that Senator NUNN would not be caught in the middle of a fight and, along with former President Carter and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, be exposed to the risk of violence and chaos. So in the interest of pursuing stability and a peaceful transition of Government in Haiti, SAM NUNN was willing to put himself at considerable personal risk. In the end, he helped avert the need for a forceable U.S. military operation, which undoubtedly saved lives of U.S. military personnel.

Although not every Member agreed with him—or each other—on every issue, he was the undisputed master at bringing us together in agreement on bipartisan Defense bills.

As my colleagues on the committee will recount, this was rarely an easy feat. We were wrestling with some of the most controversial, consequential, and complicated legislation of the last decade. And yet, through it all, year after year, SAM NUNN crafted bipartisan Defense authorization bills that promoted our Nation's security and our Armed Forces.

It is often difficult to stand up against the majority of one's own party, but SAM NUNN did this when he felt it was necessary to advance the cause of American security. He stood in the same shoes that Richard Russell filled so well. And were Richard Russell here today, he would say to SAM NUNN, "Well done, American patriot. You have faithfully served your country. America is stronger and the world is safer because you came along."

I also want to thank Senator NUNN for his very kind words the other day about our service together on the Armed Services Committee and the Governmental Affairs Committee. In his remarks he referred to the times in conference on the DOD bill when he would deputize me to resolve a House-Senate dispute. He was complimenting me on usually getting a reasonable outcome for the Senate position. What he was too modest to reveal, was that it wasn't my talent that got results. I would go into those meetings at NUNN's request and when the going got rough, I would force the agreement by threatening to bring in SAM.

I also had the good fortune to work with Senator NUNN on the Governmental Affairs Committee. As chairman and ranking Democrat on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, SAM NUNN has left his stamp on major investigations. Under NUNN's leadership PSI, as we call it, disclosed massive management problems and wasteful spending in health insurance companies; the serious and unresolved threats to our Nation as a result of insecure computer systems in DOD, other Federal agencies and private companies; the threats of black market trading of nuclear materials; vulnerabilities of our student loan programs, and a host of law enforcement

challenges and problems. He has been a dogged investigator.

SAM and his wife, Colleen, will now begin a new chapter in their lives and hopefully will get some well-deserved time to themselves and with their family. All of us have come to rely on him on so many national security issues. We will surely miss the opportunity, when we come to the floor to vote on an amendment related to foreign policy or national security to look for SAM to find out what his position is on the issue. His strong legacy will require us in the future to consider the factors he would have weighed, were he still with us, before we vote on issues that are important to the security of our Nation.

SENATOR PELL

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, Senator PELL leaves us this year after 36 years of service in the U.S. Senate. Only Senator STROM THURMOND and Senator ROBERT BYRD have served longer. Senator PELL has served with distinction on both the Foreign Relations Committee and the Labor Committee. Thousands of young people are in his debt as they move through college because of the availability of Pell grants.

In this current culture of negativism and attack ads, Senator PELL stands out as a man of civility and gentleness. He has a wonderful inability to say anything unkind or negative about a fellow human being. He is determined to be positive about his own views and never to attack another Member. He has helped to maintain the Senate as a family institution with bipartisanship, particularly in foreign policy, as an overriding goal.

I have also been able to personally observe his belief in and support for multinational organizations as a way to move to a more peaceful world and as a way to avoid America's becoming the world's policeman.

I have had the privilege of traveling with Senator PELL to the farthest reaches of the world—including Tibet. And I know him to be a thoughtful, spiritual, caring man. His kindness and gentle ways will be deeply missed by this body as he and Nuala take a well-deserved rest.

SENATOR JOHNSTON

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, the Senate will lose an intelligent, capable, shrewd—and I use that term with respect and admiration—Member with the retirement of BENNETT JOHNSTON. I have been with BENNETT and opposed to BENNETT and I can tell you it's much more comfortable to be with BENNETT.

Twenty-four years of service in the Senate have made BENNETT one of the most experienced legislators in this body. He is a man of can-do spirit and one who approaches every problem with a how-to-fix-it attitude. I had the opportunity to work with BENNETT this Congress on regulatory reform. He sat on the floor day after day while that legislation was pending taking on every problem, delving into every issue, trying to craft solutions to get

the legislation moving. He was dedicated to his task and willing to put in whatever time and effort it required. His ability to work long and hard was exceptional.

We didn't succeed on that legislation, but it wasn't for want of effort. The stars weren't aligned right to reach a final product. But in working with BENNETT JOHNSTON on that legislation and several Congress' ago on similar legislation which was called the Johnston amendment, I was and continue to be impressed with BENNETT's willingness to listen to ideas and concerns and work as hard as anyone to address the problem. He's been a notable addition to the U.S. Senate.

SENATOR BROWN

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, HANK BROWN would be a welcome member in any organization or effort. He is thoughtful, kind, and honest. He is earnest in his concern for a Government that works, and he takes on the issues in which he believes.

To bridge the differences between the parties and develop bipartisan approaches to difficult problems, the Senate needs more Members like HANK BROWN. He leaves the Senate after only one term. A strong supporter of term limits, HANK has lived by his creed. He has done so in many other ways and leaves with the respect of every Member of this body.

SENATOR SHEILA FRAHM

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, we have had a very short time to come to know Senator SHEILA FRAHM. Just this past June, she was appointed by Governor Bill Graves of Kansas to serve the remainder of Senator Dole's term. Joining the Senate in midterm is a very difficult thing to do. Committees are in the midst of their work, the Senate is considering bills every day which have already had hearings and been reported by the various committees, and the requirements of representing a State, its interests, and most importantly, its citizens in the U.S. Senate is a big job which cannot await on-the-job training. Senator FRAHM quickly impressed all of her colleagues with her seriousness of purpose, her energy, and her grace in meeting this difficult task.

I served with Senator FRAHM on the Armed Services Committee where she was attentive to the complex issues of national security. She established herself immediately as a hard worker who recognizes the importance of our Nation's defense and the well-being of our Armed Forces.

Although we have just begun to know SHEILA FRAHM, I know my colleagues join me in saying that we will miss her friendly smile and her commonsense approach to the issues before us.

SENATOR HATFIELD

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, finally, it is with a mixed heart that I say goodbye to Senator MARK HATFIELD—mixed, because I am sad for the loss to the Senate and the people of this Nation but glad for MARK as he ap-

proaches a time of much-deserved rest and rejuvenation.

As one of the most powerful Members of the Senate, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Senator HATFIELD has set a standard of humility and decency that few have matched. He has been able to wield great power without vanity. Indeed, he has shown us that power can be exercised with grace and genuine compassion.

A World War II veteran, one who fought at Iwo Jima and entered Hiroshima shortly after the bomb, Senator HATFIELD has dedicated his life to peace. His legacy is that of a legislative hero—bringing an end to nuclear weapons testing, protecting the valuable wilderness areas of his home State of Oregon, fighting for refugees across the globe, and opposing needless but expensive weapons like the MX missile.

I've had two opportunities to work with Senator HATFIELD in the last few years. We have both had the privilege to serve on the FDR Memorial Commission, and we have worked together on legislation to allow for greater flexibility in the implementation of Federal categorical grant programs. In both cases, Mr. President, I have been able to observe Senator HATFIELD's skill in and commitment to achieving bipartisan solutions to problems. His role on the FDR Commission has been so valuable that we were able to amend the statute creating the Commission in order to allow him to continue to serve in the year after he leaves the Senate and so he can be present at the dedication next year as cochairman of the Commission. But for him and DAN INOUE, our other cochairman, the FDR Memorial would still be in the planning stage.

Mr. President, Senator HATFIELD has been a fighter for the underrepresented, for the compassionate use of the power of the Federal Government, and for greater efficiency and effectiveness. I congratulate him on his most distinguished record of public service. We will deeply miss his good judgment, his expertise, his decades of experience, his wisdom, and his commitment to making Government work for all the people, but most of all, his gentle manner.

I thank the Chair and my colleagues, and yield the floor.

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

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

THE FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT DEPENDENTS ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1996

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I want to comment briefly about the signing into law this morning of the Federal Law Enforcement Dependents Assistance Act of 1996.

This is legislation to provide education and job training benefits to widows or spouses of Federal law enforcement officers killed or rendered totally and permanently disabled—and their children—in the line of duty.

I introduced the legislation in the Senate following my chairing of the Ruby Ridge hearings which resulted in the tragic death of Marshal Degan.

I am proud to wear today the U.S. Marshal's badge of Bill Degan which was handed out at the signing ceremonies this morning.

Ruby Ridge was a great tragedy.

It involved the loss of three lives, all very valuable, and it cost the life of Bill Degan. I have had the opportunity to sit and visit with Mrs. Degan, his widow, and their two young sons, Bill, Jr., and Brian. Our meetings focused attention on the issue so that legislation could be passed.

On the House side, companion legislation was introduced by my distinguished colleagues, Congressman JON FOX, from suburban Philadelphia, and Congressman GERRY STUDDS, from Massachusetts. It applies to many law enforcement officers who have been tragically killed, one of whom is FBI agent Chuck Reid, who was gunned down on March 22, 1996, just a few months ago, in arresting a drug suspect in Philadelphia. It tells Federal law enforcement officers and their families that the Government stands behind them, and if they are killed or totally and permanently disabled in the line of duty, we will protect their spouses and their children. As we consider this matter further, it may be that similar benefits ought to be structured for law enforcement officers generally, for they represent the thin blue line which stands between the citizenry and violence in our streets, something in which I have had extensive experience as district attorney of Philadelphia.

I ask unanimous consent that two letters be printed in the RECORD from the Federal Investigators Association and Federal Law Enforcement Officers Association commending the Congress for this legislation.

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

FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS' ASSOCIATION,

Carle Place, NY, September 30, 1996.

Hon. ARLEN SPECTER,

U.S. Senate, Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR SPECTER: As president of the Federal Investigators' Association (FIA), a professional and fraternal organization representing federal law enforcement agents throughout the United States, I wish to thank you, on behalf of our membership, for sponsoring Senate resolution 2101. Our Washington Director, Don Baldwin, happily reported to me last week that the bill has passed both houses of congress and is now awaiting the President's signature. We understand that there is no opposition and that the bill will be signed into law.

The Act will provide "educational assistance to the dependents of federal law enforcement officers killed or disabled in the performance of their duties." We applaud