the appropriations bills for the last few months or delay tactics right now.

Mr. President, we are trying. Our leadership is trying. We want a bill for illegal immigration that all of us have agreed to. Now is not the time for the White House to step in and change the level of negotiation. We were finished with negotiation. We agreed that the Gallegly amendment would be done separately. Now, all of a sudden, title V is supposed to be taken out of the bill and that takes a very important part out of the bill. I have a State that has 1,250 miles of border with Mexico. We are under siege, not only with illegal aliens but with drugs coming across the border and we need relief.

Mr. President, I know my time is up. I am asking that the President of the United States work in good faith with Congress. We are trying to do the responsible thing. We do not have much more time. We have made offers but have been unable to gain their acceptance. Mr. President, now is the time for responsibility on a bipartisan basis. It is a two-way street.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. WARNER and Mr. GRAHAM pertaining to the introduction of S. 2143 are located in today's RECORD under ''Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.'')

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, immediately upon the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia, I might have 30 minutes to speak on another subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from West Virginia is recognized for such time as he may consume.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the Chair

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR SAM NUNN

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, we are rapidly approaching that season when we shall witness the departure of many of our colleagues who have elected not to serve beyond this Congress.

Mr. President, I was the 1,579th Senator of 1,826 men and women who have served in the U.S. Senate from the beginning. I have seen many fine Senators come and go. As I think back over the years, something good might well have been said about most, if not all, of these Senators. We are prone, of course, to deliver heartfelt eulogies, speeches declaring our regrets that our colleagues choose to leave the service of this body.

About all of these Senators whom I have seen depart the Senate, some good could be said, unlike Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, the Roman emperor who served from 180 to 192 A.D., one of the few Roman emperors about whom nothing good could be said.

I don't think that any of the Senators that I can recall at the moment who voluntarily retired with honor from this body were Senators about whom nothing good could be said. But shortly, we will witness the departure of one of the truly outstanding United States Senators of our time, and when I say ''of our time,'' I mean my time as a Member of Congress for 44 years, a Member of this body for 38 years. The departure of SAM NUNN will be an irreparable loss. Someone might be able to take his place over a period of years.

I remember the death of Senator Russell, Richard Russell of Georgia, on January 21, 1971, 25 years ago. In the course of those 25 years, one-quarter of a century, I have to say that I have not seen the likeness of Richard Russell, except in Senator SAMUEL AUGUSTUS NUNN.

So it may be another 25 years, it may be 50 years before we see the likeness of Senator NUNN.

I pay tribute to this distinguished colleague who is retiring from the Senate after 24 years—illustrious years. There are many things that one can say about SAM NUNN, as he has been consistently productive, growing in stature year by year to become, without doubt, the leading Senate voice on national defense security and alliance issues—the leading voice. His accomplishments, of which there are many, are notable and derive from an approach to his work which is unfailingly thorough and well-focused. He is blessed with an exceptional intellect, and in Senator NUNN's case that sharp intellect combines with a much rarer talent for harnessing creative visions to practical techniques. SAM NUNN has been especially successful as a legislator in this body because of his ability to reduce complicated issues to an understandable scope, while avoiding oversimplification. Then he works patiently and persistently to build bipartisan support.

Indeed, his many ideas and initiatives are often shared and supported by his colleagues across the aisle. In a day when bipartisanship is as rare as platinum and gold and rubies, and certainly as valuable, SAM NUNN epitomizes that for which so many of us strive, and often fail to achieve—bipartisan consensus which the people so desire and which fuels large majorities behind legislative endeavors. The ingredients of vision coupled with practicality, and balance between liberal and conservative views, mark his spectacularly successful career as a Senator and are textbook examples for the younger Members of this body and the newer Members of this body in the years to come to heed and to emulate.

SAM NUNN hails from Georgia, where commitment to the Nation's defense runs deeply, and from whence some of our greatest legislators on national defense have emerged. He has upheld the great Georgia tradition so ably begun by his granduncle Representative Carl Vinson, with whom I served in the House of Representatives before coming to the Senate, and his predecessor, Senator Richard B. Russell.

While Senator NUNN has only served as the chairman or ranking member of the Armed Services Committee for 12 years, his record of achievement and the reverence in which he is held in this body are comparable to that—and I know—comparable to that of the great Russell. This is a feat of enormous distinction. The State of Georgia has to be extremely proud to have given such talented sons to our Republic, men who have so well borne the mantle of responsibility to protect the defense of our Nation and promote its fighting forces.

Now, if you ask SAM NUNN what he regards as the most important of his many, many achievements in affecting and directing U.S. policy in the national defense arena, I doubt—and I have never asked him this question—but I doubt that he would mention the more widely publicized of his achievements, such as his role in developing the Stealth fighter; or the many initiatives he authored to reduce the dangers of war in the Russian-American relationship; or the meaningful measures enacted to reduce and make safer the world's inventories of nuclear weapons and fissile materials; or even his role in broadening and deepening American leadership in NATO, in Bosnia, in the Persian Gulf, or in Haiti. It is in the less heralded, less glamorous but critically important area of the morale and welfare of our men and women in uniform that is at the top of the list that SAM NUNN might himself cite as his most noteworthy achievement in the defense area.

Senator NUNN was the key player in meeting the needs of the All Volunteer Force so that we could attract and retain the kind of men and women who could effectively manage and lead our forces across the globe in all environments. He constructed a benefits package for the men and women who fought so well in the Kuwait Desert in Operation Desert Storm. He crafted the post-cold war transition measures that address the needs of our military personnel as they make their way from the front lines of the cold war back into American civilian society.

He has worked tirelessly to instill a sense of pride and loyalty in our uniformed men and women that is of such great value to the Nation. As Edmund Burke said on March 22, 1775,

> It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you your army and navy, and infuses in both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

Now I have been privileged to serve with SAM NUNN as a member of the Armed Services Committee and with SAM NUNN as its leader. Senators are not renowned for their managerial skills, but the Armed Services Committee under SAM NUNN's leadership has been superbly managed.

In my 44 years in Congress, I have yet to see a chairman of any committee who excelled SAM NUNN. In my humble judgment, he is the best committee chairman that I have ever seen in these 44 years in Congress, including myself. I worked hard at being a good chairman. But Senator NUNN, to me, represents the ideal, the model, the paragon of excellence as a chairman.

Unusual among authorization committees in the Senate, he produced, from 1987 through 1994, eight straight authorization acts, each of which continued major initiatives to build a better managed, sounder Department of Defense. He was the key figure behind the so-called Goldwater-Nichols Reorganization Act, which decentralized power in the armed services, giving more on-the-ground authority to our unified commanders in the geographic areas where they had to prepare forces to fight in various contingencies. He developed the legislation which produced the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Commission, which cut through the political snarls involved in closing bases, and has been a most effective tool in downsizing the DOD establishment in a fair and orderly way.

Over the years our uniformed leaders have consistently looked to SAM NUNN as their champion, as a strong but sensitive force, who empathized with their special needs and could be counted on to take the kind of action appropriate to best enhance the morale of the men under their command. He did not fail them.

Perhaps some of the most creative ideas that SAM NUNN willed into reality came in the knotty area of reducing the quantum of danger in the Russian-American relationship. He championed, together with JOHN WARNER, programs to increase communication between the American and Russian leadership, and thus reduce the possibilities of tragic, accidental nuclear war. Together with RICHARD LUGAR, he crafted a successful program to dismantle nuclear weapons possessed by the states of the former Soviet Union. He led the Senate Arms Control Observer Group for many years, as my appointee to that group when I was Majority Leader, traveling frequently to Geneva, leading delegations of Senators to ensure that progress on the INF and START Treaties had the knowledge and support of the United States Senate. He traveled extensively to Russia, and in turn Russian legislative leaders traveled to the United States, to exchange views and develop cooperative solutions to problems, thereby increasing the level of confidence and understanding between these two superpowers. Lately he has developed additional initiatives, again with a leading Republican counterpart, Senator DOMENICI, to tackle the problem of terrorist actions against the United States. All in all, SAM NUNN, when he leaves this Chamber and walks out of this door for the last time as a Member of this body, can take immense pride in his long, intense and patient efforts in the superpower relations arena. Those hard-won initiatives have had a substantial impact on the measure of safety in our world. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that the world today is a safer place in part because of the monumental efforts of one man, the senior Senator from the State of Georgia—SAM NUNN.

These achievements and the quality of his dedication and work on defense, alliance and international issues, ranging from NATO to arms control and reduction, anti-terrorism, and joint U.S.-Russian threat reduction and communications measures have propelled his glorious reputation far beyond the Senate. He is known internationally and he is viewed universally as an expert in the defense field. He is well known in official circles around the globe and is widely sought for his wise counsel.

Is it not remarkable that in my time there would have been two chairmen of the Senate Armed Services Committee, two ''tall men, who lived above the fog in public duty and in private thinking''—Senator Richard Russell and Senator SAMUEL NUNN—both experts in the field of national defense. Both of whom sought for their wise counsel,—sought out on this floor,—sought out before the bar of the Senate, in the well, sought out in foreign capitals for their wise counsel.

It is not an overstatement to say SAM NUNN's reach and impact have been international and characterized by workable, sound proposals and brilliant judgment. The global scope of his work has set him apart from the vast majority of men who have served in this body and is a testimony to his dedication to the addressing of the burning issues of sanity and order in our world today.

While SAM NUNN will undoubtedly be remembered for his Senate service in the area of national defense, as if that were not enough, his energy and creativity have also been evident in many other areas. The range of his thinking and his talents as a legislator and policy maker encompass everything from health care, to student loans, to insurance industry reform. In his farewell address, announcing his retirement, in Georgia on October 9, 1995, he dwelled extensively on the need for America to put our youth first, to work on protecting our children from street violence and drugs. He spoke eloquently of the need to reverse the saturation of our TV airwaves with programs of sex and violence. He focused on the need to reinvigorate our educational system in order to reincorporate great numbers of American citizens back into the working culture of our nation. He has developed successful legislation to lay the groundwork for a nationwide ''civilian service corps'' by offering education benefits in exchange for public service. As the cochairman of the Strengthening of America Commission, a bipartisan group of business, educational, labor and academic leaders, he has proposed an impressive plan to make radical changes in the income tax code to refocus our economy on savings and investment and away from consumption.

Most importantly, and as my fellow Senators well know, SAM NUNN's success is in large part attributable to his hard rock integrity.

A religious man, he does not go around wearing his religion on his sleeve; he does not go around making a big whoop-de-do about his religion, but he is a religious man, a moral man. SAM NUNN is known as a man whose judgment can be trusted. How many times have I heard Senators come to the Senate floor to vote on a measure and ask: ''How is SAM voting on this one?'' He is a leader in this body, in spite of the fact that he has not especially sought to lead. He has not been elected to a leadership position, but he has grown into a leadership position. He is a natural leader. His is the best type of leadership, because it is a leadership that is born of strong character. Horace Greeley said: ''Fame is a vapor; popularity an accident; riches take wings. Those who cheer today, may curse tomorrow. Only one thing endures: character.''

SAM NUNN epitomizes that great trait, character. The Senate will feel the loss of SAM NUNN and feel it deeply. His legacy and achievements certainly will grow with time. I am personally deeply sorry that he has chosen to go. He will leave an empty place in the Senate.

Napoleon rejoiced that the ''bravest of the brave,'' Marshal Ney, had escaped and had returned across the Dnieper River, even though he had lost all of his cannons. Napoleon ordered that there be a salute to celebrate the escape and the return of Ney. And he said, ''I have more than 400 million francs in the cellar of the Tuileries in Paris, and I would have gladly given them all for the ransom of my old companion in arms.''

Had SAM NUNN been an officer in the Grand Army of France, Napoleon would have given everything he possessed for another SAM NUNN.

His great natural talents will continue to bring him to the forefront of the national policy discussion, and he will, I know, continue to achieve great things in a variety of new settings.

I have never really felt about a man in the Senate—other than Senator Richard Russell—as I have felt about SAM NUNN. I was the majority whip in the Senate when SAM NUNN came to the Senate, and I urged that he be placed on the Senate Armed Services Committee. As a member of the Steering Committee, I cast my vote to put SAM NUNN on that committee. That is where he wanted to serve. I watched him grow. I have had some differences, from time to time—minor, of course—with SAM on some issues. That is not the point. SAM has fulfilled my idea of what a Senator ought to be.

There were 74 delegates chosen to attend the Constitutional Convention.

The Convention met behind closed doors from May 25 to September 17, 1787. Fifty-five of those 74 delegates who were chosen participated, and 39 of the 74 signed the Constitution of the United States. I can see in my mind's eye a SAM NUNN in that gallery. I might well imagine that, as they met from day to day, if SAM NUNN had been a participant, they would have come, as they come here when Members of this body gather in the well, and asked, ''What does SAM NUNN think about this?'' I have no difficulty in imagining that. In such an august gathering as was that Convention, which sat in 1787, with George Washington, the Commander in Chief at Valley Forge and the soon-to-be first President of the United States, I can imagine that it would have been the same there. They would have said, ''What does SAM NUNN think? How is he going to vote?''

The First Congress was to have convened on March 4, 1789. And only 8 Senators—less than a quorum—of the 22 were there on March 4, 1789. Five States were represented—New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Georgia. And the Senator from Georgia who attended that day was William Few.

It could very well have been SAM NUNN as a Member of that first Senate, serving with Oliver Ellsworth, Maclay and Morris, and others. And as they met to blaze the pioneer paths of this new legislative body, the U.S. Senate, I have no problem in imagining that, often, those men would have turned to SAM NUNN and said, ''How are you going to vote, SAM?'' ''How is SAM going to vote?''

I think every Member of this body shares with me that feeling about SAM NUNN. He could have been an outstanding U.S. Senator at any time in the history of this Republic—not this democracy. When the Convention completed its work, a lady approached Benjamin Franklin and said, ''Dr. Franklin, what have you given us?'' He didn't answer, ''A democracy, Madam.'' He said, ''A republic, Madam, if you can keep it.''

Now, what is there about SAM NUNN that makes him this kind of man? He is not the typical politician that one conjures up in his mind when thinking about Senators and other politicians. Senator NUNN is not glib. He doesn't jump to hasty conclusions.

He does not rush to be ahead of all of the other Senators so that he will get the first headline. He thinks about the problem, and he logically, methodically, and systematically arrives at a decision. Then he carefully prepares to put that decision into action.

I suppose that had he lived at the time of Socrates, who lived during the chaos of the great Peloponnesian wars, SAM would have been out there in the marketplace debating with Socrates, about whom Cicero said he ''brought down philosophy from Heaven to Earth.'' SAM would have been a hard man for Socrates to put down because he has that talent, that knack of thinking, an organized thinking, and the consideration of a matter logically, carefully, and thoroughly. He is truly a man for all seasons. His wisdom, his judgment, and his statesmanship have reflected well on the profession of public service at a time when fierce ''take-no-prisoners politics'' has embroiled the Nation to alarming degrees.

Napoleon did not elect to go into Spain, and Wellington was concerned that Napoleon himself might lead. Wellington later told Earl Stanhope that Napoleon was superior to all of his marshals and that his presence on the field was like 40,000 men in the balance. SAM NUNN, the 1,668th Senator to appear on this legislative field of battle, is like having a great number in array against or for your position.

I was looking just this morning over the names of those Senators who are leaving, and examining their votes on what is called pejoratively the Legislative Line-Item Veto Act of 1995. Of those Senators who are leaving, seven voted against that colossal monstrosity, for which many of those who voted will come to be sorry. If this President is reelected, he will have it within his power to make them sorry. He is just the man who might do it.

Among the departing Senators, SAM NUNN is one of those who opposed that bill. Senator HEFLIN, Senator JOHNSTON, Senator PELL, Senator PRYOR, Senator COHEN, Senator HATFIELD, and Senator NUNN voted, to their everlasting honor, against that miserable piece of junk.

Just wait until this President exercises that veto and see how they come to heel—h-e-e-l. They will rue the day. But SAM NUNN voted against it.

For the outstanding quality of his character as well as for the brilliance of his service, this Senate and the Nation are eternally in his debt. He will always command, in my heart and in my memory, a place with Senator Richard Russell.

God, give us men. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagog
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking.
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking;
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo. Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps.
God give us men.
Men who serve not for selfish booty,
But real men, courageous, who flinch not at duty.
Men of dependable character; men of sterling worth.
Then wrongs will be redressed and right will rule the earth.
God, give us men.

men like SAMUEL AUGUSTUS NUNN.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MCCONNELL). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, if Senator NUNN would care to make any comments, I would be pleased to defer to him.

Mr. GRAMS. Will the Senator yield for a moment? I ask unanimous consent to follow the Senator's 30 minutes with 15 minutes.

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

Mr. NUNN. I am left speechless after listening to my friend ROBERT BYRD. So I will reserve my time. Thank you.

CONFERENCE REPORT TO ACCOMPANY ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION REFORM AND IMMIGRANT RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 1996

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, we will soon begin a debate on the conference report entitled ''Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996.'' I am concerned that, when we commence that debate, we are not going to be in as advanced a position as we should be, for several reasons—two in particular.

One of those is that, when this legislation was considered in the House of Representatives, a provision was attached which would have given to individual States the prerogative of denying public education, elementary and secondary education, to the children of illegal immigrants. That provision became so inflammatory that it tended to focus total attention on this legislation on that single provision. That provision has now been eliminated. It has been withdrawn. Therefore, we are now focusing for the first time on the totality of this legislation.

A second reason why we are not in as advanced a position as we should be for legislation which is as significant as this, has to do with the process by which this conference committee prepared its report. First, it was an elongated process that took many weeks and months to reach the conclusion that is now before us. But it was also essentially a closed process. Not only were many of the members of the conference committee not given the opportunity to participate, at the conclusion of the conference they were not even allowed to offer amendments to try to modify provisions which were found to be objectionable. So we have a product today which has not had the kind of thoughtful dialog and debate which we associate with a conference report which is presented to the U.S. Senate for final consideration.

For this reason, I joined those who urge that objectionable provisions in