

Likewise, take poverty. There are thirty-six million people in poverty in America: Ten million are black; twenty-six million are white. But many young whites oppose government helping the poor because it means government helping blacks, not realizing that, given their education levels and job prospects, their opposition is often self-destructive.

In a world where people don't see the underlying forces—the economic transformation, the TV culture, the marginal numbers affected by affirmative action, the racial structure of poverty—too many people take aim at blacks or immigrants as the cause of their economic distress. But the seven thousand downsized workers at AT&T who've lost their jobs in the last six months in New Jersey did not lose their jobs because of immigrants or because of blacks, but because the company, acting rationally in a time of rapid change, could maximize profits by letting them go. When people feel desperate, they reach for the extremes that in good times they would steer away from. And when they live in the extremes, violence can be an action of first resort.

What can we do about the context of church burnings beyond having more economic growth more fairly shared and an education system that teaches tolerance as well as trigonometry?

Let's start with what politicians can do. Too often, white politicians have played the "race card" to get votes but, to be honest, too often, black politicians have played the "racist" card for the same reason. What has suffered is honest dialogue and common action. We need more candor and more voice from elected leaders who will choose to challenge their constituents morally as well as challenge their contributors financially. But without engagement you can't have candor, and without candor you can't have progress. When was the last time you talked about race with someone of a different race? Although I'm leaving the Senate, I'm not leaving public life and I intend to continue to speak out on the need for racial healing. I'll look constantly for ways to move the dialogue about race to a deeper level, as yet unattained. For example, at the Democratic political convention, I'll seek to demonstrate what is possible, and I'll call on good people in both parties to step forward in this time of confusion and rising tensions. Politicians have the obligation to play to our higher aspirations as LBJ did back in 1964.

Talk show hosts also have some responsibility. While some of you can be divisive, and maybe even racist, most of you are not. My appeal is only to remember the paradox of free speech: it can be the nutrient that allows the tree of democracy to grow strong, but if misused, it can burn the roots and deform the tree in ways no one ever expected. Civility is the key and avoidance of the easy appeal to stereotypes should be what you strive for. Remember there was once a time in America when an audience laughed simply at the appearance of a white actor in black face. Now we recognize that we are a better people than that. The potential of confusion is too great for those with the microphones not to promote a deeper dialogue on race. The misunderstandings are too deep for you not to search the heart as well as find the pulse of your audience. I know it's asking a lot, but then so do the ideals of our founders.

As a way of thinking about our responsibilities to each other let me close by asking you first to imagine that you are a black parent of a nine year-old girl, and then imagine that you are a white parent of a nine year-old son. A church bombing has occurred in your church or in your town. What does one say?

What answer does a church member give to his 9 year old African American daughter when she asks, "Daddy, why did this happen?" What can one say to a daughter who has written her school paper on Colin Powell, taken pride in American having a Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday, grown up eating Jell-O because of Bill Cosby and watched Michael Jordan become a worldwide marketing phenomenon. In a world where so much progress had been made, how could one explain the phenomenon of burning churches?

And what about the white parent? What does he say to his 9 year-old son? How can he explain the phenomenon of the skinheads, bold Ku Klux Klanners or the new Nazi SS clubs in high schools? How can he explain why blacks and whites can't get along in life like they appear to get along on the Chicago Bulls. What does he say about the burnings?

I imagine the black parent saying something like this to his daughter: "There is evil in the world, and there are some people who, because of the color of your skin, do not view you as an equal member of society. These people have a problem, and the problem is called racism. There were black and white people who, decades ago, died so that black people could enjoy equal opportunities with white people in America. America is a much better place with respect to the way that black people and white people interact than it was black when brave Americans suffered to bring about equality.

"Racism is an evil and a sickness. You have the physical and intellectual capacities to achieve whatever you want to achieve, to be the best you can be. Look at Colin Powell, Toni Morrison, Cornel West. The people who burned this church are afraid of you; they are afraid to learn about you and interact with you. You must not be afraid of them. You must pray for them and ask God to forgive them. You must use your talents to achieve greatness in life, and you must work in your lifetime to help bridge the racial divide.

"Finally, try to understand what a great African-American writer James Baldwin once said in 1957 to his young nephew who was afraid of racial violence during the civil rights demonstrations of the early '60s—He said, 'it was intended that you should perish in the ghetto, perish by never being allowed to go behind the white man's definitions, by never being allowed to spell your proper name. You have and many of us have defeated this intention; and, by a terrible law, a terrible paradox, those innocents who believed that your imprisonment made them safe are losing their grasp on reality. But these men are your brothers—your lost, younger brothers. And if the word "integration" means anything, this is what it means: that we, with love, shall force our brothers to see themselves as they are, to cease fleeing from reality and begin to change it. For this is your home, my friend, do not be driven from it; great men have done great things here, and will again, and we can make America what America must become.'"

And what should a white parent tell his 9-year-old son about these church burnings? I imagine he would say something like this: "The burning of the African American church outside our town is a product of racism and hatred. Racism occurs when people of one race feel themselves to be superior to those of another race for no other reason than the color of the skin. I know that sounds like a stupid thing to do, but this country has had a sad history of doing it. African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans, among others, have suffered because of it. It is important for you to know that racism is everyone's problem, both white and black. It's the kind of prob-

lem that no one else can solve for you. Like any other illness, you have to get over it yourself with your own resources as a good human being fighting it off. Racism is something that a person learns; it is not something that people are born with. That's why I punished you the first time you came home from school disparaging someone because of their race. Where racism exists, both black people and white people are harmed. Where it exists, white people cannot develop their full potential as individuals. To harbor racism in your heart is to deny yourself the experience of learning from someone a little different from you. And it makes you unable to share the joy of our common humanity.

"A the church burnings reveal, just as they revealed in the story I once told you about the four young girls in Birmingham in 1963, racism is ugly and evil, and God does not like evil. Sometimes, racism comes from black people who call us devils and deny our individuality as much as some white people deny theirs. Whether it comes from white or black it is wrong, and violence is never acceptable. Remember what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, 'Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.'

"I am going to volunteer to go and help rebuild the church that was burned. I want you to come with me. I want you to bring Charlie, one of your black friends from school. I want you to work side by side with Charlie, with me, and with other blacks and whites who want to build a country that is compassionate and that treats all of its people with dignity and respect. I want you to treat everyone with respect, and I want you to work in your lifetime to bridge the racial divide.

"A Russian writer named Leo Tolstoy once said, "many people want to change the world; only a few people want to change themselves," but with race you can't change the world unless you change yourself."

And, I might add, that's as true for politicians as for talk show hosts. And when enough Americans change themselves, we will have true racial healing and then the result will be a spiritually transformed America.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed in morning business for 15 minutes. I see other Senators are on the floor here, and if that is inconvenient to them, I will ask for a shorter period of time. Let me just place the unanimous-consent request, and they can feel free to state a problem, if they have it. I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted to proceed in morning business for 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 15 minutes.

#### TRIBUTE TO RETIRING SENATORS

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, it is time to say farewell to a number of our colleagues and friends. These are not easy good byes. I have served with many of our departing colleagues since I first came to the Senate in 1978. We were freshmen together, had to learn the ropes as new kids on the block together. That process of learning and

growing together builds friendships and bonds that are deep and enduring.

The Senators who are retiring, Mr. President, are each individuals who have given a significant portion of their lives to public service. Cynicism has grown about Congress as an institution. Many, perhaps most, believe that Members of Congress act out of selfish motives. These departing Senators are a testament to the error of that belief.

I do not believe one of these Members, Mr. President, would prefer a reception on the Hill to an evening at home or an opportunity to read to their grandchild or shoot hoops with their teenagers or take a walk in a park with a friend. Most Members would rather have a homemade pot roast than fancy hors d'oeuvres at a reception. Why do they do what they do? Why do they work the long hours, take the redeye flights, miss the family celebrations? Because it is part of being available to our constituents, it is part of being a representative of the people of our States, and it is part of being a public servant. It is part of being a U.S. Senator.

Every one of these departing Members has worked long hours, has missed special family occasions, has flown when they have been so tired that they have had to rely on their schedule to tell them where they are and where they are supposed to go. Every one of them has had to push themselves at times to go to that one additional meeting, to take that one additional phone call, to read one more report in order to get a bill passed or an amendment adopted. They have worked to make America stronger, our people free, keep Government working at a better rate and a more efficient rate and at less cost. They have had different paths to that end, but their goals, like all of our goals, are fundamentally the same.

It is with a sense of real kinship and of great loss that I say farewell, as we all do, then to Senators PRYOR, EXON, SIMPSON, SIMON, KASSEBAUM, HEFLIN, PELL, BRADLEY, JOHNSTON, BROWN, FRAHM, and last but not least, Senator HATFIELD.

About a week ago I gave separate remarks about my ranking member and my chairman both, Senator BILL COHEN of Maine.

SENATOR PRYOR

DAVID PRYOR and I both came to the Senate in 1978 and served for most of the time on the Governmental Affairs Committee. During that service on the committee, DAVE PRYOR aggressively and perceptively challenged the Department of Defense on some of its questionable weapons systems and procurement practices. He dogged the Federal agencies to stop the excessive use of consultants at taxpayer expense and he diligently oversaw the workings of the Postal Service and the Federal work force.

He and I worked in our early years on a taxpayers' bill of rights to finally

give taxpayers, who were being audited, hounded by the IRS, notice of what their rights were as American citizens.

His persistence paid off and that bill of rights is now law, mainly because of DAVID PRYOR.

As chairman of the Aging Committee, he fought price gouging by the pharmaceutical companies and pushed legislation to make drug companies give their most favorable prices to Medicare and Medicaid recipients.

DAVID did all of this with grace and charm. He made this institution a better place because of his presence. He is a man of common sense and the common touch. He was able to stay on an even keel despite the personalities and the pressures. He continually reminded us of our purpose and place and gently helped to keep our egos in check.

Perhaps the most telling characteristic of DAVID PRYOR is his genuine commitment to average men and women with whom he deals and works. He knows the name of everyone, from the Capitol Police who protect the Capitol and its occupants, to the men and women who serve us lunch on Tuesday. His connection to average people is not a political statement. It is personal, genuine human behavior.

He exudes kindness and decency whether he's asking about a personal family member who might have been sick or remembers an incident in someone's life that may have caused pain. He does so not from political calculation or from a computer disk which has stored information, but because that is the way DAVID PRYOR is.

His wife, Barbara, has been a source of inestimable strength. Barbara Pryor, my wife Barbara, DAVID and I have become genuine friends over the years and we look forward being with them many, many times in the years ahead.

DAVID PRYOR has served the people of Arkansas and this great Nation with extraordinary distinction. He will leave a large void professionally and personally. May his spirit continue to soar and he and his family be in good health as he returns to his beloved Arkansas.

SENATOR EXON

Mr. President, I have sat next to Senator JIM EXON on the Armed Services Committee for 18 years. Another member of the class of 1978, JIM has become one of my truly dear friends. We have shared more than adjoining seats. We have been comrades-in-arms even in those instances when we were on different sides of an issue. He is a straight-from-the-shoulder, tell-it-like-it-is kind of guy who uses plain talk but no malice, although he was at times frustrated by endless twists and turns and minutiae of the legislative process.

As a former governor of Nebraska, JIM demonstrated a knack of stating issues simply and directly. His conservative approach to the budget was applied consistently, and he was willing to take difficult stands on spending is-

sues because of the genuineness of his beliefs.

These 18 years have been marked by true personal kindness to me and deep mutual friendship. He is famous for dropping a friendly or humorous note to colleagues to reduce the tension and keep us on track. He has a raucous, wonderful laugh which frequently fill committee rooms with a reminder of our own humanity. And he would often bring us down to earth with an irreverent, but totally appropriate comment.

JIM EXON seems totally content to return to his beloved Pat, his children and grandchildren, and he has a right to be content after three notable terms in the Senate.

SENATOR SIMPSON

Mr. President, AL SIMPSON also came to the Senate with me in 1978 and immediately AL and Ann, his wife, became two of Barbara's and my best friends in the Senate. Simply stated, he has one of the best sense of humor in the Senate. I often think he's such a special Senator because he spent 1 year, before entering college, at Cranbrook School in Michigan. He claims, however, it's all the other years he spent in the cowboy State of Wyoming.

Whatever the reason, AL SIMPSON has applied the principles that he lives by with tremendous integrity and consistency, even when politically unwise or risky. He has taken on some of the strongest interest groups in the Nation and he has done so without fear. He has taken on some of the toughest issues with his work on immigration and entitlement programs.

He has a deep sense of the limitations and fallibility that we necessarily bring to the legislative process. He punctures balloons and skewers egos; but he is the first to apologize when he thinks he has overdone it.

You can listen to AL SIMPSON tell a story for the 20th time, and like wine, it gets better each time. He too has mellowed a bit over the years, but his sharp wit and genuine, love for his colleagues has remained undiminished.

For his beloved state of Wyoming, AL SIMPSON has been a dedicated public servant. He is a big and wide open as Wyoming. He is full of life and full of fun. He is a giant of a man, and a giant of a Senator, and a giant of a friend.

SENATOR SIMON

Mr. President, another gentle and positive force in this body will be leaving us with retirement of Senator PAUL SIMON. Paul and Jean, his wife, reflect the best values of this Nation. Their public service over the decades has made our country a better place.

Education has been one of PAUL's keen interests, and he has thrown himself into the creation of education opportunity for all Americans. He was a lead sponsor of the 1994 education bill which established the important school-to-work program for non-college bound high school students. He was the moving force in the Senate for direct student loans. He has been a leader in

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.