

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 co-chairman 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 re-elected, 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. ●

#### ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 1

At the request of Mr. COVERDELL, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1, a bill to provide for safe and affordable schools.

S. 25

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 25, a bill to reform the financing of Federal elections.

S. 28

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 28, a bill to amend title 17, United States Code, with respect to certain exemptions from copyright, and for other purposes.

S. 29

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 29, a bill to repeal the Federal estate and gift taxes and the tax on generation-skipping transfers.

S. 30

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 30, a bill to increase the unified estate and gift tax credit to exempt small businesses and farmers from inheritance taxes.

S. 31

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 31, a bill to phase-out and repeal the Federal estate and gift taxes and the tax on generation-skipping transfers.

S. 104

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the names of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ENZI] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL] were added as cosponsors of S. 104, a bill to amend the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982.

S. 121

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the names of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. FRIST] were added as cosponsors of S. 121, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide for 501(c)(3) bonds a tax treatment similar to governmental bonds, and for other purposes.

S. 127

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAUX] was added as a cosponsor of S. 127, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to make permanent the exclusion for employer-provided educational assistance programs, and for other purposes.

S. 221

At the request of Mr. GREGG, the name of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 221, a bill to amend the Social Security Act to require the Commissioner of Social Security to submit specific legislative recommendations to ensure the solvency of the social security trust funds.

S. 251

At the request of Mr. SHELBY, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] was added as a cosponsor of S. 251, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow farmers to income average over 2 years.

S. 257

At the request of Mr. LUGAR, the names of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MCCONNELL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS] were added as cosponsors of S. 257, a bill to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to improve the act, and for other purposes.

S. 261

At the request of Mr. DOMENICI, the name of the Senator from Texas [Mrs.

HUTCHISON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 261, a bill to provide for a biennial budget process and a biennial appropriations process and to enhance oversight and the performance of the Federal Government.

S. 263

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 263, a bill to prohibit the import, export, sale, purchase, possession, transportation, acquisition, and receipt of bear viscera or products that contain or claim to contain bear viscera, and for other purposes.

S. 278

At the request of Mr. GRAMM, the names of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL] and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] were added as cosponsors of S. 278, a bill to guarantee the right of all active duty military personnel, merchant mariners, and their dependents to vote in Federal, State, and local elections.

S. 294

At the request of Mrs. HUTCHISON, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SANTORUM], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] were added as cosponsors of S. 294, a bill to amend chapter 51 of title 18, United States Code, to establish Federal penalties for the killing or attempted killing of a law enforcement officer of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

S. 305

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. ABRAHAM] and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA] were added as cosponsors of S. 305, a bill to authorize the President to award a gold medal on behalf of the Congress to Francis Albert "Frank" Sinatra in recognition of his outstanding and enduring contributions through his entertainment career and humanitarian activities, and for other purposes.

S. 314

At the request of Mr. THOMAS, the name of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 314, a bill to require that the Federal Government procure from the private sector the goods and services necessary for the operations and management of certain Government agencies, and for other purposes.

S. 317

At the request of Mr. CRAIG, the names of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] and the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS] were added as cosponsors of S. 317, a bill to reauthorize and amend the National Geographic Mapping Act of 1992.

S. 318

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the name of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 318, a bill to amend the Truth in Lending Act to require automatic cancellation and notice of cancellation rights

with respect to private mortgage insurance which is required by a creditor as a condition for entering into a residential mortgage transaction, and for other purposes.

S. 325

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] was added as a cosponsor of S. 325, a bill to repeal the percentage depletion allowance for certain hardrock mines.

S. 326

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] was added as a cosponsor of S. 326, a bill to provide for the reclamation of abandoned hardrock mines, and for other purposes.

S. 327

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] was added as a cosponsor of S. 327, a bill to ensure that Federal taxpayers receive a fair return for the extraction of locatable minerals on public domain lands, and for other purposes.

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## AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

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### BALANCED BUDGET CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

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#### GRAHAM AMENDMENT NO. 7

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. GRAHAM submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the joint resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 1, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to require a balanced budget; as follows:

On page 2, line 17, strike "held by the public".

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#### REID AMENDMENT NO. 8

Mr. REID proposed an amendment to the joint resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 1, supra; as follows:

On page 3, line 19, after the proposed insert "The receipts (including attributable interest) and outlays of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance and the Federal Disability Insurance Trust Funds (as and if modified to preserve the solvency of the Funds) used to provide old age, survivors, and disabilities benefits shall not be counted as receipts or outlays for purposes of this article."

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## NOTICE OF HEARINGS

### COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry will hold a full committee hearing on Tuesday, February 25, 1997, at 9 a.m. in SR-328A. The purpose of the hearing will be to discuss the impact of estate taxes on farmers.