

we will at least have defined what we believe the mission to have been and, hopefully, shape the administration's thought process on this so it does not get expanded.

We are worried about mission creep, that once we get there, once an incident starts to take place, once bullets start flying, once there is an action and reaction, once someone is attacked and we respond, that we do not start engaging in mission creep and start to indulge ourselves with the added burdens that will come about under that kind of pressure.

The Chinese leader Mao said, "Power comes out of the end of a gun barrel." Power in this country does not come at the end of a gun barrel; it comes at the end of Pennsylvania Avenue and Capitol Hill. Power, as I suggested before, belongs to whomever claims it and exercises it.

Congress has chosen not to claim the power of deciding when to deploy American forces when our Nation is not under attack and when our vital national interests are not immediately at stake. So, we are where we are because we were not willing to risk the consequences of action. We have deferred, we have debated, we have waited, we have talked, and we have let the President take us to where we are today.

So our duty, as I see it, is now to define the role that our men and women must now play.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

PROHIBITION ON FUNDS FOR BOSNIA DEPLOYMENT

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Foreign Relations Committee be discharged from further consideration of H.R. 2606, involving the use of funds for troops in Bosnia, and that the Senate now turn to its immediate consideration, with no amendments in order to the bill or motions to commit or recommit.

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

The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2606) to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation, or as part of any implementation force, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the bill be advanced to third reading and that final passage occur at 12:30 p.m., on Wednesday, December 13, with paragraph 4 of rule XII being waived.

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

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that at 9 a.m., Wednesday, H.R. 2606 be immediately

laid aside, that the Senate proceed to a Senate concurrent resolution to be submitted by Senators HUTCHISON, INHOFE, and others.

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

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business.

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

TRIBUTE TO THE REVEREND DR. RICHARD C. HALVERSON

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I was deeply saddened by the passing of Dr. Richard C. Halverson, our friend and our Chaplain who served the Senate with distinction for 14 years. Dr. Halverson was a shining example for us all—he embodied all that we seek to be in the eyes of our families, our friends, the Americans we serve, and of course, God.

George Bernard Shaw once wrote: "There is only one religion, though there are a hundred versions of it." Mr. President, I would say this is a fitting description of the community Dr. Halverson so gracefully ministered. There are as many different opinions in this Senate as there are Senators. Yet Dr. Halverson, in his kind and gentle manner, was always able to provide the individual counsel and insight that helped us reach decisions on issues both monumental and mundane. Amid the busy hustle and bustle of events here in the Senate, it is not difficult to lose grounding, and it becomes ever more important to remember our place in the universe. Dr. Halverson, through his daily prayers, helped us to keep our perspective.

Of course, Dr. Halverson served all the Senate employees, and those who knew him loved him just as much as he loved them. He was always available to help and guide people in need, people in pain, or people who just needed to talk.

But Dr. Halverson's work extended far beyond the United States Senate and the Capitol dome. He was minister to the Fourth Presbyterian Church in Bethesda, leader of the prayer breakfast movement and World Vision, and deeply involved in several other evangelical organizations. Dr. Halverson reached out to many, and he will be sorely missed.

I want to extend to his family my condolences, and during this difficult time wish for them the hope and strength that Dr. Halverson inspired in all who knew him.

TRIBUTE TO REVEREND DR. RICHARD HALVERSON

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, tomorrow there will be a memorial service for the late Reverend Dr. Richard

Halverson. I want to take this opportunity to express my sorrow and sadness over the passing of this man who served not only as Chaplain of the Senate for 14 years, but also as model of the Christian life.

Dr. Halverson came to the Senate after serving churches in Missouri, California, and Maryland. His leadership of World Vision, the Campus Crusade for Christ, Christian College Consortium, and the prayer breakfast movement, established him as a world-renowned figure.

But I always think of him as the Senate family Chaplain. He did not merely try to give guidance and wisdom to Senators. He served all in the Senate, including the family members of staffers at all levels of the Senate.

In moments of great stress, I know many Senators turned to Dr. Halverson for guidance and counsel. And every day, when Dr. Halverson opened proceedings with the prayer, he gave us strength and perspective in understanding the responsibilities we hold as Senators.

I am proud to have known Dr. Halverson and can truly say that I will miss him. I know that his family can be comforted in knowing that today he is with God.

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before discussing today's bad news about the Federal debt, how about "another go", as the British put it, with our pop quiz. Remember—one question, one answer.

The question: How many millions of dollars in a trillion? While you are thinking about it, bear in mind that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the enormous Federal debt that is now about \$12 billion shy of \$5 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, December 11, the total Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,988,568,481,765.63. Another depressing figure means that on a per capita basis, every man, woman and child in America owes \$18,936.69.

Mr. President, back to our quiz (how many million in a trillion?): There are a million million in a trillion, which means that the Federal Government will shortly owe five million million dollars.

Now who's in favor of balancing the Federal budget?

ERNIE BOYER—A GIANT IN EDUCATION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the death of Ernie Boyer last week has deprived the Nation of one of its greatest leaders in education. Throughout his long and distinguished career, Ernie was unsurpassed as a champion of education, and I am saddened by the loss of a good friend and great colleague.

In the history of modern American education, Ernie Boyer was a constant leader, working to expand and improve

educational opportunities for all Americans. His breadth and depth of knowledge and experience in all areas of education was unsurpassed.

As Commissioner of Education under President Carter, he helped to focus the attention of the entire Nation on these critical issues. He wrote numerous books in support of improvements in elementary, secondary, and higher education. He was a key member of many national commissions, and was a constant source of wisdom and counsel to all of us in Congress concerned about these issues.

Ernie once said he wished he could live to be 200, because he had so many projects to complete. He accomplished more for the Nation's students, parents, and teachers in his 67 years than anyone else could have done in 200 years. They may not know his name, but millions of people—young and old—have better lives today because of Ernie Boyer. Education has lost its best friend.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article about Ernie Boyer from the New York Times and excerpts from the Current Biography Yearbook 1988 be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Dec. 9, 1995]

Ernest L. Boyer, who helped to shape American education as Chancellor of the State University of New York, as United States Commissioner of Education and as President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, died yesterday at his home in Princeton, N.J. He was 67.

Dr. Boyer had been treated for lymphoma for nearly three years, his assistant, Bob Hochstein, said.

Dr. Boyer also was the author of a number of reports for the Carnegie Foundation, a nonprofit policy study center in Princeton that has often set the nation's education agenda.

In 1987, when he detected that one of the major ills of higher education was that research was elbowing aside teaching, he wrote, "College: The Undergraduate Experience in America" (Harper & Row), in which he argued that "at every research university, teaching should be valued as highly as research." The book stimulated the present college movement that holds that much research is pointless and even harmful insofar as it distracts teachers from students.

In 1990, Dr. Boyer developed this theme in another book, "Scholarship Reconsidered" (Carnegie Foundation), in which he maintained that teaching, service and the integration of knowledge across disciplines should be recognized as the equal of research.

Another of his reports, "High School: A Report on Secondary Education" (Harper & Row, 1983), had an impact even before it was published. When officials at the United States Department of Education learned that Dr. Boyer, a former Federal Commissioner of Education, was working on a report describing the inadequacies of secondary public education and proposing a series of changes, they decided to start their own study, which came to be called "A Nation at Risk."

Published a few months ahead of Dr. Boyer's report, "A Nation at Risk" was frequently described as a national wake-up call,

spelling out the failure of the public high schools to provide students with basic knowledge and skills.

Dr. Boyer's report helped focus the ensuing discussion on specific plans like raising requirements for high school graduation, improving teacher certification and lengthening the school day.

Because the Carnegie study had been underwritten by a sizeable grant from the Atlantic Richfield Foundation, Dr. Boyer was able to back up his ideas with financial rewards and incentives. In 1983, he dispersed \$600,000 to 200 schools that were seen to be striving for "excellence" and two years later, he awarded grants of \$25,000 to \$50,000 to 25 high schools that were perceived to have improved their curriculums, teacher training and community ties.

Dr. Boyer believed the nation's most urgent education problem was high schools. Pointing to the high dropout rate among minorities, he expressed fear that "the current move to add more course requirements will lead to more failure among inner-city students unless we also have smaller classes, better counseling and more creative teaching."

He also felt that education improvements were bypassing too many impoverished children, with consequences for the future of the country. He advocated programs in nutrition, prenatal care for teen-age mothers, and more day care with summer classes and preschool education.

Among his other books, whose titles reflected his concerns, were "Campus Life" (1990), "Ready to Learn" (1991) and "The Basic School" (1995), all published by the Carnegie Foundation.

Dr. Boyer had been working on a book, "Scholarship Assessed," in which he was attempting to establish a means of measuring successful teaching and service so that they could be better rewarded.

In a statement released yesterday, President Clinton said: "The nation has lost of its most dedicated and influential education reformers. Ernest Boyer was a distinguished scholar and educator whose work will help students well into the next century."

A compelling orator who never tired of his role as an evangelist of education, Dr. Boyer was a sought-after lecturer on such issues as the need for adult education away from a campus, overbearing academic management ("Bureaucratic mandates from above can, in the end, produce more confusion than programs"), and the decline of teaching civics and government in schools ("Civics illiteracy is spreading, and unless we educate ourselves as citizens, we run the risk of drifting unwittingly into a new Dark Age").

He was also a busy consultant, in recent years having advised governments like the People's Republic of China on educational policy.

Ernest LeRoy Boyer was born in Dayton, Ohio, on Sept. 13, 1928, one of the three sons of Clarence and Ethel Boyer. His father managed a wholesale book store and ran a mail-order greeting-card and office-supply business from the basement of the family home. Dr. Boyer once said that the most influential figure in his early life was his paternal grandfather, William Boyer, who was head of the Dayton Mission of the Brethren in Christ Church and who directed him toward "a people-centered life."

Dr. Boyer attended Greenville College, a small liberal arts school in Illinois, and went on to study at Ohio State University. He received his master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Southern California. He was a post-doctoral fellow in medical audiology at the University of Iowa Hospital.

He then taught and served in administrative posts at Loyola University in Los Ange-

les, Upland College and the University of California at Santa Barbara. At Upland College, he introduced a widely emulated program in which the mid-year term, the month of January, became a period in which students did not attend classes but pursued individual projects. It was at Upland that he decided to devote his career to educational administration.

In 1965, he moved east to join the vast SUNY system as its first executive dean. Five years later, he became Chancellor of the institution and its 64 campuses, 350,000 students and 15,000 faculty members.

His 7-year term was a period of innovation. He founded the Empire State College at Saratoga Springs and four other locations as noncampus SUNY schools at which adults could study for degrees without attending classes. He also set up an experimental three-year Bachelor of Arts program; established a new rank, Distinguished Teaching Professor, to reward faculty members of educational distinction as well as research, and established one of the first student-exchange programs with the Soviet Union.

Dr. Boyer served on commissions to advise President Richard M. Nixon and President Gerald R. Ford. In 1977, he left SUNY after President Jimmy Carter appointed him to lead the United States Commission on Education, thus becoming the agency's last Commissioner before Congress elevated the position to cabinet rank.

Toward the end of the Carter Administration, disappointed that Congress had failed to elevate the Commission on Education to a cabinet-level department, Dr. Boyer accepted an invitation to succeed Alan Pifer as president of the Carnegie Foundation. He expanded the scope of his position to go beyond the study of higher education and to study education at every level, bringing the resources of the foundation to bear on the earliest years of a child's education.

Even when confined to a hospital bed last month, Dr. Boyer continued to keep up on developments in education, reacting to an announcement by the University of Rochester that it was downsizing both its student body and faculty in order to improve quality and attract better students.

"I think we're headed into a totally new era," he said. "After World War II, we built a nation of institutions of higher learning based on expansion. Research was everything, and undergraduates were marginalized. Now, time is running out on that."

Later in November, responding to the appointment of William M. Bulger, the longtime president of the Massachusetts State Senate, as President of the University of Massachusetts, Dr. Boyer deplored the trend of naming prominent politicians to lead colleges and universities.

"It is disturbing to see university leaders chosen on the basis of their political strengths," Dr. Boyer said. "A university president with strong academic credentials is a symbolic figure who can speak out on the great issues in a way that a political leader cannot."

"If you appoint political figures to these offices," he continued, "you have more political voices being heard, but they're being heard already. You need the other voices. Without the voices with strong academic credentials behind them, you can even imagine a time in the future when a politicized university administration and a politicized board of trustees would be hugely impatient with academic freedom."

Dr. Boyer held more than 130 honorary degrees, including the Charles Frankel Prize in the Humanities, a Presidential citation.

He is survived by his wife Kathryn, and four children, Ernest Jr., of Brookline,

Mass., Beverly Coyle of Princeton, N.J., Craig of Belize and Paul, of Chestertown, MD.

[From Current Biography Yearbook 1988]

BOYER, ERNEST L.

Sept. 13, 1928—Educator. Address: b. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 5 Ivy Lane, Princeton, N.J. 08540; h. 222 Cherry Valley Rd., Princeton, N.J. 08540.

One of the most influential and respected members of the American educational establishment is Ernest Boyer, who since 1970 has served successively as chancellor of the vast State University of New York (SUNY), as United States commissioner of education, and as president of the prestigious Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Along the way, he has managed to accumulate more than sixty awards, trusteeships, and honorary degrees. Since 1983 he has been Senior Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University. As the head of the Carnegie Foundation, he automatically assures that any topic he may choose to address will achieve a prominent place on the national educational agenda.

Boyer's concerns range beyond the confines of the classroom to such urgent issues as the need for child care in the workplace and for adult education away from the campus. Under his leadership, the Carnegie Foundation has issued two major critical studies, both written by him, on American high schools and colleges. Boyer is now training his sights on the earliest years of a child's education, including prekindergarten, as the target of the next important project of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. * * *

While a graduate student Boyer worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Southern California and as an instructor at Upland College, where he became chairman of the speech department. After a year spent at Loyola University (Los Angeles), where he was director of forensics, he became professor of speech pathology and audiology and academic dean at Upland in 1956. His postgraduate research in medical audiology confirmed the effectiveness of a new surgical technique for treating otosclerosis, a disease of the middle ear.

In 1960, reaching what he later recalled as one of the "crucial crossroads" in his life, Boyer switched from teaching and research to administration when he accepted a position with the Western College Association. The California Board of Education had ordered all public schoolteachers to obtain a degree in an academic discipline—a decision that proved to be unpalatable to teachers' colleges—and Boyer was appointed director of the commission that was charged with carrying out the directive. Two years later, he became director of the Center for Coordinated Education at the University of California at Santa Barbara, administering projects to improve the quality of education from kindergarten to college.

In 1965 Boyer moved east to Albany, New York, joining the State University of New York as its first executive dean for university-wide activities—a title created especially for him. In that position he developed an impressive range of intercampus programs, including one providing for scholars-in-residence and another that established the SUNY chancellor's student cabinet. He became vice-chancellor of SUNY in 1968, a post in which he presided over large staff meetings, moderated discussions, and summarized them for Chancellor Samuel Gould, to whom he also made recommendations. Boyer's colleagues praised him for his organizational ability, and one university official described him as "an unassuming man with a firm

streak. He's nobody's patsy. But he is a good listener."

On July 30, 1970, Boyer was appointed to succeed the retiring Samuel Gould as the administrative head of a complex system of sixty-four campuses, hundreds of thousands of students, and about 15,000 faculty members. In his inaugural address which he delivered on April 6, 1971, Boyer proposed that as many as 10 percent of the freshman class of 1972 be allowed to take an experimental three-year program leading to a degree. That initiative was adopted at several SUNY institutions within the year. He also called for the creation of the new rank of university teacher. His proposal was acted upon in 1973 with the introduction of the new rank of distinguished teaching professor in order to reward educational distinction as well as research.

Also quickly put into effect was the establishment of Empire State College, in response to a directive from the SUNY board of trustees to Boyer to investigate new methods of education that would enable mature students to pursue a degree program without having to spend their full time on campus. Such a program, as Boyer noted, would have the advantage of avoiding heavy construction and maintenance costs. Empire State College was established in 1971 with a small faculty core at Saratoga Springs, and with leased faculty at four other locations. Under the general guidance of a faculty member, students were able to work for a degree without attending classes, by means of reading, listening to tapes, watching television, following previously prepared lesson plans, traveling, or doing field work. * * *

Just before the inauguration of Jimmy Carter as president of the United States, Boyer was named federal commissioner of education, responsible for administering education programs involving billions of dollars. The appointment appeared to be ideal for Boyer, even though it meant taking a pay cut from \$67,000 to \$47,500 a year, since Carter had been the first presidential candidate ever endorsed by the National Education Association and was on record as favoring a cabinet-level department of education. The new department was not established until 1980, however, and in the meantime Boyer found himself under a boss—Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Joseph A. Califano Jr.—who did not welcome independence from his subordinates and opposed the creation of a department that would diminish how own agency. * * *

In October 1978 unnamed sources confirmed that Boyer had accepted the position of president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, beginning in 1980. * * *

At the Carnegie Foundation, Boyer took the helm of an organization that, in 1985, held income-producing assets worth more than \$35 million. "My top priority at Carnegie," he told George Neill in an interview for *Phi Delta Kappan* (October 1979), "will be efforts to reshape the American high school and its relationship with higher education. . . . I'm convinced that the high school is the nation's most urgent education problem."

On September 15, 1983, Boyer released the results of a \$1 million, fifteen-month study of the nation's high schools that was conducted by twenty-eight prominent educators, each of whom visited high schools in several cities. The report estimated that although 15 percent of American high school students were getting "the finest education in the world," about twice that number merely mark time or drop out and that the remainder were attending schools "where pockets of excellence can be found but where there is little intellectual challenge." Among the study's recommendations were adoption of a

"core curriculum" for all students, designation of mastery of the English language, including writing, as the central curriculum objective for all students, requiring mastery of a foreign language for all students, a gradual increase in teachers' pay of 25 percent, after making up for inflation, and mandatory community service for students as a requirement for graduation.

The report was issued in book form as *High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America* (Harper & Row, 1983), with Boyer and the Carnegie Foundation listed as its authors. The academic book-reviewing publication *Choice* (January 1984) called it "an important contribution to the coming educational policy debate of the 1980's," and, in *Commonwealth* (April 20, 1984), the reviewer John Ratte wrote, "It is not damning with faint praise to say that Ernest Boyer's book is remarkably clear and well written for a commission study report." Andrew Hacker, writing in the *New York Review of Books* (April 12, 1984), assessed the report as "less a research project than Boyer's own book" and credited him with trying "to define how education can contribute to a more interesting and thoughtful life—and not just a more competitive one."

In his follow-up interviews and speeches, Boyer stressed the urgent need for better teaching in American high schools. He told Susan Reid of *People* magazine (March 17, 1986) that "by 1990, 30 percent of all children in the public schools will be minorities," noted the high dropout rate among minorities, and expressed the fear that "the current move to add more course requirements will lead to more failure among inner-city students, unless we also have smaller classes, better counseling, and more creative teaching. . . . To my mind, teaching is the nub of the whole problem. . . . All other issues are secondary." * * *

In December 1987 Boyer and Owen B. Butler, vice-chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, addressed the University/Urban Schools National Task Force, organized by the City University of New York. The two leaders noted that the movement for educational change was bypassing many impoverished children, with consequences that could threaten the future of the United States. To alleviate the situation, Boyer proposed, among other things, improvements in nutrition, prenatal care for teenage mothers more effective day care, including summer programs, and preschool education.

The success of Ernest Boyer's career owes much to a work week that customarily extends to eighty or ninety hours. Although he is a quick study who is adept at drawing out other people and grasping their ideas, he rarely advances into the firing line, preferring to stay a half step behind some of his peers. "He has an unusual ability to bring people together," a former colleague told a reporter for the *New York Times* [March 16, 1977]. "It's a gift for finding consensus among a diverse group of people where none appeared to exit." * * *

REARRANGING FLOWERS ON THE COFFIN

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, we are now in the final days of the 1st session of the 104th Congress. In a short while we will have worked out some accommodations on the budget. We must do this, for we will now be engaged in the establishment of some measure of peace and lawful conduct in the Balkans. It would be unforgivable if we put our military in harm's way abroad without first getting our affairs in some minimal order here at home.