

For Sandia National Laboratory, this would eliminate education outreach funding which in 1995 was \$6 million from the Office of Defense Programs, \$2.3 million from the Office of Science Education, and almost \$2 million from other internal funds to reach a total of over \$10 million.

This will mean the loss of K through 12 student enrichment programs, K through 12 teacher professional development programs, college and university programs, and programs for educational technology.

For Los Alamos National Laboratory, it would eliminate educational outreach funding again for the 1995 fiscal year, which amounted to \$6.3 million from the Office of Defense Programs, \$1.3 million from the Office of Science Education, \$600,000 from other parts of the Office of Energy Research, for a total of about \$8 million.

This would mean the loss of nationally recognized model science and math programs relied upon by the States that they serve for high-quality professional development for our teachers.

Together, these cuts in the two programs will hurt science education in the country, and it will especially hurt science education in my home State of New Mexico. They will weaken the infrastructure support for science education and work force preparation. These are the kinds of priorities that we need to protect. We need to reassert our commitment to reaching the education goals that were established by President Bush and the Governors in 1989. We should not undermine those goals by making these kinds of short-sighted cuts.

Mr. President, as we work to reach deficit reduction and to reach a balanced budget, we need to make our priorities clear. One of our priorities needs to be retaining funding for science and math education. I hope that when the Senate passes its appropriations bill, it will see to it that the funds for these programs are retained, and that we can prevail in conference with the House.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to proceed for 5 minutes as if in morning business.

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

THE BUDGET

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I want to take a moment or two to respond to something that was said earlier in morning business when the Senator from North Dakota gave his usual eloquent discourse on populism, and the fact that he used phrases that Republicans have a philosophy where the rich are paid too little and the poor are paid too much. That was in reference to a budget that will eliminate the deficit by the year 2002.

It is always difficult to stand on the floor and defend an effort to really do something about the deficit because those individuals who want to continue the social programs, who want to continue business as usual, will stand up and make it look as if those of us who are trying to be fiscally responsible, those of us who recognize that it is not any of us in this Chamber but future generations that are going to have to pay for all of this fun we are having right now, that somehow we are not acting responsibly. I think the elections of November 8, 1994, were very clear warning signals that we are going to change, we are not going to have business as usual in America.

But the thing that disturbed me more than anything else that was said by the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN], was the reference to a national defense system, national missile defense system, star wars. This is the first warning sign that I have heard in this cycle that we are going to have in fact opposition, people wanting to make it look like those of us who want to have a national missile defense system, somehow we are looking up in the stars in a Buck Rogers kind of syndrome, that it is something that is very expensive and something we cannot have.

I would like to suggest, Mr. President, that we have an opportunity to prepare now to defend ourselves against a future national missile attack. It was not long ago that Jim Woolsey, who was the chief security adviser to the President of the United States, President Clinton, made the observation that our intelligence informs us that there are between 20 and 25 countries that either have or are developing weapons of mass destruction—either nuclear, chemical, or biological—and are developing the missile, the means of delivering those warheads.

This is a very frightening thing, when we stop and realize that we in America do not have a missile defense system. Most people think we do have it somehow, but we do not.

Many of us can remember what happened back in 1972 when the ABM Treaty was agreed to, that back in 1972 it was a treaty predicated on the assumption that there were two superpowers in the world, the Soviet Union and the United States. I suggest, Mr. President, that there are many of us who believe that the threat out there to the United States security could be greater now than it was back then because at least then we could identify who the enemy was. And now, as Jim Woolsey said, there is a proliferation, a number of countries that have this technology, and many countries that have already demonstrated they are not friends of United States are getting a missile system to deliver warheads.

So I believe that we must be very cautious and not use the normal populace, partisan patter that you hear around this Chamber so much when people start talking about star wars. It

is not star wars. We have an ability—and we demonstrated that we are going to use the current Aegis system that we have a \$50 billion investment in—to have a high-tier missile defense system that we will be desperately needing in the very near system.

So I hope my colleagues will refrain from taking political advantage of the situation we are in by not saying exactly what it is, and that is that there is a threat out there and the United States of America does not have a national missile defense system.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today is the 50th anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter. Amid high hopes at the end of the Second World War in Europe, the United Nations Charter was signed in San Francisco. Fifty years later, the record of the United Nations is mixed, and the expectations of its founders have not been met.

The United Nations has had some important accomplishments—on international air travel, eradicating smallpox, and sharing information about global concerns ranging from weather to health. But the United Nations at 50 is an organization at a crossroads—if the United Nations is to survive another 50 years, there must be fundamental change. If the United Nations is to be more than a debating society with 185 members, there must be fundamental change. And if the United Nations is ever to fulfill the hopes of its founders, there must be fundamental change.

Much was written this last weekend about the past and future of the United Nations. In my view, the best single piece was by Senator NANCY KASSEBAUM and Congressman LEE HAMILTON—one a Republican and the other a Democrat, I might add. On each of the key issues facing the United Nations, they made important points.

On peacekeeping, they conclude the United Nations has overreached. Much criticism of the United Nations in the last 5 years has centered on the failures of U.N. peacekeeping. The tragic record of Somalia and Bosnia make one fact very clear—the United Nations is not capable of mounting serious military operations. Nor should it be. Monitoring an agreement between two or more parties is one thing the United Nations can do. Imposing an agreement is something it cannot. The United Nations should be limited to peacekeeping, not peace enforcing.

Senator KASSEBAUM and Congressman HAMILTON also suggested the United Nations focus on key agencies and functions—such as the International Atomic Energy Agency—and quit wasting time and money on the dozens of agencies which no longer serve a useful purpose—if they ever did. In my view

the United States should push to abolish wasteful organizations—and withdraw if we are unsuccessful. Examples of unnecessary or duplicative bureaucracies include the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, and many more.

The Kassebaum-Hamilton article suggests an end to U.N.-hosted conferences which cost millions and accomplish very little.

Finally, and most importantly, Senator KASSEBAUM and Congressman HAMILTON focus on the importance of accountability at the United Nations. Last year, Congress tried to move the United Nations toward an inspector general. Progress has not been sufficient. An individual was appointed, but with limited powers, and under the authority of the U.N. Secretary General. I expect Congress to revisit the issue this year. Much more needs to be done: Promotions based on merit, real investigations of U.N. waste, shutting down bloated bureaucracies. Reforming the United Nations is a tall order—but the alternative is to give up on an organization that could still live up to the ideas of some of its founders.

Mr. President, the United Nations can be an important tool to advance American interests—as long as America leads the way. The answer to the problems of the United Nations is not getting the United States out of the United Nations, it is getting common sense into the United Nations.

There are two very different U.S. approaches toward the United Nations—one pursued by the Bush administration and one pursued by the Clinton administration. In 1990–91, the United Nations gave valuable support for American and allied efforts to liberate Kuwait. But 2 years later in Somalia, the United Nations changed the mission and began a vendetta against one Somali faction. Many brave Americans died in the ensuing disaster. Nation building was complete failure, and the United Nations finally left Somalia little better than when the humanitarian mission began.

The lesson is clear—if the United States is not in the drivers' seat at the United Nations, the United Nations will take us for a ride. If the United Nations is to realize its potential—and if American support for the United Nations is to continue—real reforms must begin now. No more window dressing but real reform to build a foundation for future U.S. support for the United Nations. I expect the Congress will continue to lead the way to reform as it has before. And I expect to work with Senator KASSEBAUM, Congressman HAMILTON, and other interested colleagues in this 50th anniversary year. I ask unanimous consent that their article be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, June 25, 1995]
FIX THE U.N.

(By Nancy Landon Kassebaum and Lee Hamilton)

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the United Nations Charter this month, it is time to ask what we want the United Nations to be and what we realistically can expect it to do. These hard questions are neither academic nor abstract. Our answers will determine whether the United Nations can be an effective international forum or is merely a debating society destined for irrelevance.

To mark this golden anniversary, we believe the United States must lead a bold and broad effort to reinvent the United Nations and give it new life. While it may be an indispensable institution, the United Nations today is a terrible mess. We need a decisive change of course that produces a smaller, more focused, more efficient United Nations with clearly defined missions.

For America, the U.N. is not a charity but an important tool for advancing our vital national interests abroad. Our foreign policy requires an effective United Nations, just as we need a powerful military, vigorous diplomacy, solid alliances, prudent foreign aid and healthy international financial institutions. Taking away these tools one by one, or sharply restricting their use, will inevitably diminish our ability to build coalitions and construct the sort of strong policy that Americans expect.

If the United States abdicates leadership at the United Nations, we will weaken our ability to pursue our vital national interests around the world. To allow the U.N. to continue drifting would be to squander, in large part, the opportunity that now exists for creating a more stable, peaceful and prosperous world in the 21st century.

Clearly, the U.N. has fallen short of its potential. During the Cold War, superpower rivalry paralyzed the Security Council and marginalized the General Assembly. With its central organs in deadlock, the U.N. shifted resources to secondary activities staffed by a bloated bureaucracy more intent on advancing its own goals than the cause of world peace. Today, lines of authority are confused, blurred and duplicated. Basic missions and activities have ballooned into plodding exercises that produce mountains of paper and little, if any, real results.

Despite this harsh assessment, we consider ourselves friends of the United Nations. The U.N. detractors are far less generous or forgiving, and they are prepared to draw the purse strings to a close. If we fail to meet this urgent need for bold reform, we will witness the slow death of the one institution that can direct both the international community's attention and its resources toward the common problems before us and can provide the moral and legal authority to build coalitions that serve our common interests.

One way or another, change will come. Congress is prepared to compel changes in the U.S. role at the United Nations by continuing the piecemeal approach to U.N. reform that we have employed for many years. We believe, however, that the time has come for a comprehensive reorganization. Legislation now before Congress would call upon the President to develop a plan for the "strategic reorganization" of the United Nations. We hope the president will join with us to seize this opportunity. Reforming the United Nations is too important and too complex a job for Congress to undertake alone with only the blunt instruments at its disposal.

We propose several areas on which to concentrate reform:

FOCUS ON CORE AGENCIES

Today the United Nations has more than 70 agencies under its umbrella. They range

from the high-profile International Atomic Energy (IAEA) to the obscure U.N. Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). At a time when we are eliminating low-priority programs from our own foreign policy institutions, we need to take similar bold steps at the United Nations.

We must focus resources and energy on a handful of core agencies that are most important and best reflect the range of purposes of the U.N. system. These core agencies would be an integral part of that system and would report directly to the secretary general. Three agencies that already serve core purposes of the U.N. system should be strengthened: the IAEA to combat the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the World Health Organization to deal with all important trans-national health issues and the High Commission for Refugees, which ought to be empowered to deal with all refugee and humanitarian relief issues.

The United States should finance only core agencies rather than the long list of U.N. organizations that now find their way into appropriations bills. Other agencies should be abolished, merged or financed at the discretion of one of the core agencies. This prescription is dramatic, but we believe that only triage can save the institution as a whole.

PEACEKEEPING

Expectations for U.N. peacekeeping have grown far beyond what is rational, and there has been a corresponding rise in ambiguity about peacekeeping's nature and capabilities. Peacekeeping is diplomacy with light arms. It is not designed to fight wars. We believe that recent failures show that "peace-enforcement" should be struck from the U.N.'s vocabulary and that future peacekeeping should be limited to classic operations in which "Blue Helmets" stand between suspicious parties only after diplomacy has secured a peace to be kept.

Peacekeeping is successful when it respects these limitations, as it did in Namibia, Cambodia, Mozambique and El Salvador. Situations that require more robust military action are better handled directly by the member states, as we learned in the effective response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

CONFERENCES

We fear that the United Nations is in peril of becoming little more than a road show traveling from conference to conference. If an issue is serious, a conference will not solve it; if it is not serious, a conference is a waste of time.

The number and cost of U.N. conferences have exploded—the recent "social summit" in Copenhagen may have cost \$60 million—and they often focus on subjects usually reserved for domestic politics. Conferences are seen by many as a cheap way to placate narrow but vocal constituencies. But the truth is they carry a steep price. The domestic backlash against conference-produced agreements has been strong, not because Americans oppose their noble purposes but because people doubt that international agreements are the best means for securing them. The price is paid in diminished public and congressional support for the U.N. system as a whole and in the diversion of scarce funds from more pressing needs.

We propose ending U.N.-sponsored conferences. To the extent countries deem a specific international conference essential, it should be organized and financed on an ad hoc basis, outside the U.N. system, with user fees paid by countries that choose to participate.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Today, the United Nations is accountable to no one. Despite thousands of pages of

budget documents produced each year, we don't know how many employees it has, how funds are spent or which programs work. After a decade of "no real budget growth," the budget has almost doubled. Sexual harassment, mismanagement, and cronyism are all too common at the U.N. Those engaged in such practices are not punished, but those who report them are.

Congress tried to address these problems by mandating the establishment of an inspector general at the United Nations. To date, this office has been a disappointment. We are prepared to take strong measures, including withholding funds, until this office is strengthened and functions properly. The U.N. must be accountable to the nations that pay its bills.

We also believe the time has come to inject more accountability into the Secretariat by reforming the process by which the secretary general is selected. Unlike a head of state, the secretary general is a chief administrative officer—not a chief executive. Skills and administrative ability, not nationality or political connections, should be the decisive qualifications for the secretary general. It is important that the selection process become more open and transparent.

We offer these proposals to kick off a debate that must occur soon. The United Nations as it exists today is not sustainable. The Cold War excuses for inaction are gone. If the United Nations does not begin to fulfill its true potential, it will be left to suffocate in endless debates over meaningless issues or will become a side show in the realm of international politics. The danger of irrelevance is imminent.

The preamble to the charter sets forth bold objectives. To "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights . . . to establish conditions under which justice . . . can be maintained, and . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in large freedom." These purposes remain as important today as they were half a century ago. The task for our generation is to ensure that the machinery of the United Nations works. Today it does not.

ADMINISTRATION VETO THREAT ON REGULATORY REFORM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, as I stated on the floor last Thursday, I and other Senators, particularly Senators JOHNSTON and HEFLIN, have been working to craft a bipartisan regulatory reform bill that we can take up tomorrow. Senator JOHNSTON and I placed a discussion draft in the RECORD that incorporated many of the ideas included in various bills. We then worked through last weekend, and are still working, on final text that takes into account comments and suggestions by Democrat and Republican Senators to improve the bill. I understand that at 6 o'clock today a group of us will meet with Senator DASCHLE, the Democratic leader, to see if we can make further improvements.

So I must say I was surprised and dismayed, in the middle of these negotiations, to receive a letter last Friday night from the OMB Administrator for Regulatory Affairs threatening a veto of any bill that closely followed the discussion draft. Let me point out this was just a discussion draft.

The timing of this veto threat is not helpful, nor I suspect was it intended to be. For one thing, the letter relied on generalizations so bland as to be meaningless. But it also continued a pattern of distortions of the regulatory reform bill which call for a response.

Among the list of complaints in this letter was a description of the bill as containing a "supermandate," that is, a requirement to consider costs that would override other statutory goals such as promoting health and safety and protecting the environment. One can debate the merits of a supermandate, but it is irrelevant to this bill. The text of the bill makes clear that it is intended to "supplement, and not supersede" other laws. This type of staff work does not serve the President well.

But it is not the first time that President Clinton's rhetorical embrace of regulatory reform has been undermined by his own handpicked officials publicly attacking any meaningful attempt to enact such reforms. One example stands out because it is an example both of the distortions at play in this debate and, ironically, of the value of the reforms we propose.

At various times, the present Administrator of EPA has stated that cost-benefit analysis requirements would have prevented a rule getting lead out of gasoline and consigning a generation to lead poisoning. This is false.

In fact, EPA refused to do a cost-benefit analysis initially in 1982 when a rule on lead phaseout was being considered. However, after a cost-benefit analysis was performed that showed the social benefits outweighed the costs of a quick phaseout of lead, EPA issued a new rule in 1984 providing for a quick phaseout of lead. That rule also introduced a new concept—market-based mechanisms—that allowed trading in lead permits that sped up the phaseout of lead and reduced the economic costs of the regulation.

So, not only has the Administrator gotten her facts wrong, she chose the wrong example. Getting lead out of gasoline occurred precisely because a cost-benefit analysis supported doing so. And that analysis helped produce a regulation to achieve that goal through market-based mechanisms that reduced the economic impact.

Both cost-benefit analysis and market-based mechanisms are at the heart of the reforms we propose. We should have a debate on these important issues, but that debate will not be furthered if President Clinton continues to duck the issue and allow his officials to muddy the debate with arguments that have nothing to do with the bill the Senate will actually consider.

I want to point out again, we are working, I think, in good faith, Members of both sides of the aisle, Democrats and Republicans, to see if we can put together a good regulatory reform bill; and hopefully one that will be signed by the President.

A PRESIDIO TRUST

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today I am pleased to cosponsor S. 594, legislation which provides for the administration of the Presidio in California. I have discussed this legislation with my colleagues, Senator CAMPBELL and Senator FEINSTEIN, and feel that this legislation allows for the national recognition of the Presidio while also taking into account concerns about the growing demand for Federal funding for National Park Services. Through this innovative approach to managing one of our Nation's finest landmarks, we can ensure the preservation of the Presidio while also providing significant opportunities to the local community.

The unique history of the Presidio's operation as a military post dates back to 1776. Its designation as a national historic landmark in 1962 recognized the importance of the post in many military operations. After the Army closed the post, the National Park Service took over the Presidio. When comparing our limited resources against the increasing number of national parks and historic sites which have become the responsibility of the Federal Government, it becomes apparent that we must find new ways to manage and preserve such important resources.

This legislation proposes a Presidio trust, ensuring the continued preservation of the post with assistance from the local community. This trust, established within the Department of the Interior, would manage the renovation and leasing of specific Presidio properties. The revenues generated from these leases would then offset the cost of maintaining the Presidio as a national park, reducing the need for Federal funding. In my view, this legislation represents the best approach to ensure the efficient management and preservation of the Presidio at the least cost to the taxpayer. The importance of public sector participation in this effort to maintain the Presidio sets this initiative apart from others, and I am pleased to support it.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT WARREN BURGER

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a great Minnesotan—former Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court Warren Burger, who passed away yesterday.

Warren Burger was a native of St. Paul, MN.

He got his first taste of law taking night classes at the University of Minnesota while working during the day selling insurance. Warren Burger later received his law degree from the old St. Paul College of Law.

In his early career, he never gave much thought to pursuing a career on the bench, one time telling friends, "I never had a passion to be a judge."

But he accepted the challenge when, as an assistant attorney general in the