

working to alleviate poverty, to slow the spread of HIV/A.I.D.S., and to feed and educate the world's children. Where conflict leads to destabilization of families and societies, the United Nations is there to shelter and feed refugees and displaced persons. Progress made on upholding international norms on human rights also stems from the work of U.N. agencies. Finally, the United Nations is responsible for many of the gains made in reducing the use of ozone-depleting substances, evaluating environmental impacts, and conserving biological diversity. These are but a few of the challenges facing the world today. Many of these problems have effects that do not respect national or geographic borders, and the United Nations offers a coherent and coordinated approach for meeting such challenges.

Mr. President, whether Americans feel the responsibility of exercising global leadership, are responding to humanitarian concerns, or seeking to expand opportunities for international trade and commerce, the United Nations offers us a critical world forum. To cripple the United Nations by an erosion or withdrawal of American participation would be a terrible mistake. The United Nations provides the institutional means for leveraging American diplomatic, economic, and military resources in ways that enhance our vital National interests. Opinion surveys consistently indicate that a solid majority of the American people recognize the positive role that the United Nations can play. I hope such recognition of the United Nations value and importance will be demonstrated when the Senate considers U.S. participation in and support for the United Nations. Let us heed the words of warning offered by President Truman in 1945: "The immediate, the greatest threat to us is the threat of disillusionment, the danger of insidious skepticism—a loss of faith in the effectiveness of international cooperation."•

ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN HARDWARE

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, my hearty congratulations to the Michigan Retail Hardware Association on its 100th anniversary. This fine organization has been serving the hardware, home center, and lumber industry since July 9, 1895, when it was founded in Detroit. In reaching this milepost, they have weathered the years, surviving wars and depression, growing to be a robust and vigorous organization.

The backbone of this association is in the ranks of the hundreds of small business men and women who stand behind those hardware store counters each day, ready to serve their customers with a smile and a helping hand. Those weekend chores we all face, to fix up or cleanup our homesteads, becomes a pleasant endeavor after that cheerful visit to the neighborhood hardware store.

Over the years business leaders in this enterprise have come together and prospered, exercising that grand democratic tradition of flexing their common interests and gathering strength in numbers. By coming together, the members of the Michigan Retail Hardware Association make our communities and our economy solid, the skills of managers and workers are fortified, and camaraderie and good fellowship grows.

The trip to the hardware store has become a valued ritual for American families as they labor to make improvements on hearth and home. As we build and fix and sand and paint, we look to our hardware centers to give us the tools and gadgets we need to make our lives more comfortable and bright. For me, the nostalgia of the hardware store is that no small town in America really seems complete without a hardware store plunked down in the middle of Main Street.

My best wishes for this business group on the centennial anniversary of their founding. My best hopes for many more additional years of productivity ahead.●

HOUSE CUTS CRIME-FIGHTING DOLLARS

• Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise to offer my strong opposition to actions taken by the House Commerce/State/Justice Appropriations Subcommittee earlier this week. In passing the 1996 appropriation's bill the subcommittee Republicans have set off on a course which would cripple Federal, State, and local efforts to combat crime. If the subcommittee Republicans' plan is adopted: New FBI agents will not be hired; 20,000 State and local police will not be hired; thousands of wife-beaters will not be arrested, tried or convicted; new DEA agents will not be hired; 80,000 offenders released on probation will not be tested for drugs or subject to certain punishment; and digital telephony technology vital to law enforcement will not be developed.

First, let me address the cuts to Federal law enforcement. The President requested an increase of \$122 million for FBI agents and other FBI activities—but the subcommittee Republicans cut \$45 million from that request.

I would also point out that the subcommittee Republicans provides no dollars of the \$300 million authorized for FBI in the Dole/Hatch counter-terrorism bill. This legislation has not passed into law, so some might say that is the reason that none of these dollars are made available. But, the subcommittee Republicans did find a way to add their block grant which passed the House, but not the Senate.

So, I do not think there is any explanation for cutting the FBI other than a fundamental lack of commitment to Federal law enforcement by the subcommittee Republicans. I have heard time and again over the past several

months from my Republican colleagues in the Senate that the President was not committed to Federal law enforcement. I have heard time and again from my Republican colleagues that they would increase funding for Federal law enforcement.

Well, something just does not add up—House subcommittee Republicans will not give the President the increase he requested for the FBI, despite all the rhetoric I have heard over the past several months.

The cuts to Federal law enforcement do not even stop there. The House subcommittee Republicans cut \$17 million from the \$54 million boost requested for DEA agents by the administration. That is more than a 30-percent cut. The House subcommittee Republicans provide no dollars of the \$60 million authorized for DEA in the Dole/Hatch counterterrorism bill.

Let me review another area where the actions of these subcommittee Republicans are completely opposite the rhetoric I have heard from the other side here in the Senate.

The Violence Against Women Act—having first introduced the Violence Against Women Act 5 years ago, I had welcomed the bipartisan support finally accorded the act last year. I would note the strong support provided by Senators HATCH and DOLE.

But, when we have gotten past the rhetoric and it came time to actually write the check in the Appropriations Subcommittee, the women of America were mugged. The President requested \$175 million for the Justice Department's violence against women programs, and the House subcommittee Republicans have provided less than half—\$75 million.

While the specific programs have not been yet identified, that \$100 million will mean the key initiatives will not get the funding that everyone on both sides of the aisle agreed they should: \$130 million was requested for grants to State and local police, prosecutors and victims groups; \$28 million was requested to make sure that every man who beats his wife or girlfriend is arrested; \$7 million was requested for enforcement efforts against family violence and child abuse in rural areas; and \$6 million was requested to provide special advocates for abused children who come before a court.

I keep hearing about how the Violence Against Women Act is a bipartisan effort. In all the new so-called crime bills I have seen proposed by Members of the other side, not once have I seen any effort to repeal or cut back on any element of the Violence Against Women Act. But, the actions of the House subcommittee Republicans tell a completely different story.

To discuss yet another troubling aspect of the House subcommittee Republican bill—this bill eliminates the \$1.9 billion sought for the second year of the 100,000 police program. That \$1.9

billion would put at least 20,000 more State and local police officers on the streets—and probably many more, for the \$1.1 billion spent so far this year has put well over 16,000 more police on the streets.

What happens to the \$1.9 billion? In the House Republican bill, these dollars are shifted to a LEAA-style block grant for “a variety of programs including more police officers, crime prevention programs, drug courts and equipment and technology,” quoting the summary provided by the House Republicans on the subcommittee.

In other words, not \$1 must be spent to add State and local police officers. I keep hearing about support for State and local police from the other side of the aisle. But, just when it really matters, just when we are writing checks and not just making speeches, America’s State and local police officers are being ripped-off. Instead of a guarantee that police officers and police departments get each and every one of these \$1.9 billion, the House subcommittee Republicans propose empty deal—money in the same type of grants that failed in the 1970’s and under standards so lax that America’s police could wait through all next year without a single dollar.

Mr. President, I hope that the actions of the House Republicans on the subcommittee are reversed in the full Appropriations Committee. And if not there, then I hope these actions will be reversed on the floor of the House.

But, if the House Republicans stand with the subcommittee and against Federal law enforcement, against FBI agents, against DEA agents, against the women of America, and against State and local police officers, I urge all my colleagues in the Senate to stand by the positions they have taken all year and stand up to the House Republicans.●

SENATOR PELL AND THE U.N. CHARTER

• Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, last weekend I was honored to have participated in the ceremonies in San Francisco commemorating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the U.N. Charter. The event was an important reaffirmation of the commitment of member nations to abide by the rule of law.

The ceremonies were enriched by the participation of those who had participated in the conference 50 years ago. We in the Senate are honored to have the beloved former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, CLAIBORNE PELL, counted among those who were “Present at the Creation” of the Charter.

Senator PELL served throughout World War II in the Coast Guard. He continued to serve his country, as he has all his life, when he was called to be a member of the International Secretariat of the San Francisco Conference, as it worked to draft the Charter. Senator PELL served as the Assistant

Secretary of Committee III, the Enforcement Arrangements Committee, and worked specifically on what became articles 43, 44, and 45 of the Charter.

In an article in the New York Times by Barbara Crossette, Senator PELL recalls the trip to San Francisco:

It started out just right, he recalled in a recent conversation in his Senate office. Instead of flying us to San Francisco, they chartered a train across the United States.

You could see the eyes of all those people who had been in wartorn Europe boggle as we passed the wheat fields, the factories, he said. You could feel the richness, the clean air of the United States. It was a wonderful image. We shared a spirit, a belief, that we would never make the same mistakes; everything would now be done differently.

Senator PELL’s commitment to the Charter was properly noted by the President, when during his address in San Francisco on Monday, he stated “Some of those who worked at the historic conference are still here today, including our own Senator CLAIBORNE PELL, who to this very day, every day, carries a copy of the U.N. Charter in his pocket.”

On Sunday, the Washington Post carried an article by William Branigin on the drafting of the Charter. I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 25, 1995]
U.N.: 50 YEARS FENDING OFF WWIII—CHARTER FORGED IN HEAT OF BATTLE PROVES DURABLE, AS DO ITS CRITICS

(By William Branigin)

UNITED NATIONS.—It was the eve of her first speech before the 1945 organizing conference of the United Nations, and Minerva Bernardino was eager to seize the opportunity to push for women’s rights. Then, while serving drinks to fellow delegates in her San Francisco hotel suite, she fell and broke her ankle.

For the determined diplomat from the Dominican Republic, however, nothing was more important than delivering her speech. So after being rushed to the hospital in an ambulance, she refused a cast, had doctors tape up her ankle instead and enlisted colleagues the next day to help her hobble to the podium.

Bernardino, 88, is one of four surviving signatories of the U.N. Charter, which was hammered out during the two-month conference by representatives from 50 nations and signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945. With a handful of other women delegates, she claims credit for the charter’s reference to “equal rights of men and women.”

Just as she witnessed the birth of the United Nations that day in the presence of President Harry S. Truman, Bernardino plans to be in the audience Monday when President Clinton caps the 50th birthday ceremonies with a speech at San Francisco’s War Memorial Opera House, scene of the historic conference. Truman, whose first decision after taking office in April 1945 was to go ahead with the conference, had flown to San Francisco to carry the charter back to Washington for ratification by the Senate.

Gathering for the anniversary are envoys from more than 100 countries, senior U.N. officials led by Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Britain’s Princess Margaret and several Nobel peace prize laureates, including Polish President Lech Walesa and South Africa’s Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In creating the United nations 50 years ago, the more than 1,700 delegates and their assistants were driven by the horror of a war that had cost an estimated 45 million lives. Among the founders were prominent diplomats: Vyacheslav Molotov and Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union, Edward R. Stettinius of the United States and Anthony Eden of Britain. The sole surviving U.S. signatory is Harold Stassen, the former Republican governor of Minnesota and presidential aspirant, now 88.

The leading conference organizer was its secretary general, Alger Hiss, then a rising star in the State Department. He later spent four years in prison for perjury in a controversial spy case that launched the political ascent of Richard M. Nixon. Now 90, in poor health and nearly blind, Hiss has been invited to the commemoration but is unable to attend.

“We had a sense of creation and exhilaration,” said Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), who was then a young Coast Guard officer attached to the conference’s secretariat. World War II was drawing to a close, and the assembled delegates were determined to put into practice their lofty ideals of a peaceful new world order.

As the United Nations celebrates its golden anniversary, however, the world body seems to be under criticism as never before. The credibility it gained after the end of the Cold War and its role in the Persian Gulf conflict seem to have been largely squandered by debacles in Somalia, Angola and Bosnia, by its tardy response to carnage in Rwanda and by its inability so far to undertake serious internal reforms.

From relatively lean beginnings with 1,500 staffers, the United Nations has burgeoned into a far-flung bureaucracy with more than 50,000 employees, plus thousands of consultants. In many areas, critics say, it has become a talk shop and paper mill plagued by waste, mismanagement, patronage and inertia.

Although most Americans strongly support the United Nations, a “hard core of opposition” to the body appears to be growing, according to a new poll by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. It showed that 67 percent of Americans hold a favorable attitude toward the United Nations, compared to 53 percent for Congress and 43 percent accorded the court system.

However, the poll showed, 28 percent expressed a “mostly” or “very” unfavorable opinion of the United Nations, the highest of four such polls since 1990.

In fact, after the demise of the “red menace” with the end of the Cold War, the organization seems to have become something of a lightning rod for extreme right-wing groups, which see it as part of a plot to form a global government.

For the United Nations, the 50th birthday bash is an opportunity to trumpet a list of achievements. To celebrate the occasion, the organization is spending \$15 million, which it says comes entirely from voluntary contributions.

Over the years, U.N. officials point out, the world body and its agencies have performed dangerous peacekeeping missions, promoted decolonization, assisted refugees and disaster victims, helped eradicate smallpox, brought aid and services to impoverished countries and won five Nobel peace prizes.

At the same time, the anniversary is focusing attention on the organization’s shortcomings and on efforts to chart a new course for its future. Among the proposals in a recent study funded by the Ford Foundation, for example, are expanding the Security Council, curtailing veto powers, establishing a permanent U.N. armed force and creating an international taxation system to help finance the organization.