

not their style. Diplomats train for the grand world of treaties and receiving lines, not the grubby world of balance sheets and bottom lines.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali reflects that basic philosophy. He has demonstrated antipathy at best, hostility at worst, toward reform proposals. One need only ask our former Attorney General, Richard Thornburgh, who served as the United Nations Undersecretary General for Administration and Management in 1992. Mr. Thornburgh took his mission seriously. He sought to institute major management reforms at the United Nations. He encountered no support from the Secretary General. When Mr. Thornburgh submitted a scathing report on U.N. mismanagement, the Secretary General refused to publish it and sought to have all known copies of it shredded.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali certainly has tried to take credit for a number of reform initiatives. For the first time, the U.N. has a so-called inspector general—the Office of Internal Oversight Services [OIOS]—which was established in 1994. He also may claim to have reduced unnecessary staff and produced the first no-growth budget in U.N. history. These are victories of mind, not of substance.

Let's give credit where credit is due. The mere existence of the OIOS office and the attempts to achieve budget and management reforms were due largely to a combination of the following: increased media scrutiny of U.N. waste and abuse, strong congressional pressure, and tough reform advocates within the U.S. mission and certain other member nations.

A close examination of the so-called reforms instituted at the United Nations show that the Secretary General is engaging more in a public relations embrace of reform, while keeping real reform at arm's length.

First, I urge my colleagues to look closely at the OIOS office—the so-called U.N. inspector general. It has no authority to rid waste, fraud, and abuse, which inspectors-general in Federal departments and agencies have. The fact is the OIOS office is weak in terms of authority, and lacks the resources and the support needed from the Secretariat to do its job effectively. It cannot investigate all areas of U.N. operations. Member states do not have full access to IG reports and investigations. The IG can make recommendations for reform, but it's up to the U.N. Secretary General to act on the recommendations.

Second, the Secretary General has stated that he has reduced the number of Under Secretaries General and Assistant Secretaries General. However, he has increased the numbers of and the budget for equivalent-level special envoys. Chances are he's playing musical chairs with his senior staff. He's changing the titles on the chairs, when he should be removing the chairs and the people sitting in them.

Third, the Secretary-General's claim to have cut U.N. staff by 10 percent, or

nearly 1,000 positions, also is smoke and mirrors. About 750 of these slots currently are vacant and will go unfilled on a month-to-month basis. The Secretary General refuses to permanently eliminate these positions. The roughly 200 other positions to be cut are clerical positions that the U.N. already planned to eliminate when it passed its budget last year. What the Secretary General did not point out is that his budget adds 125 professional positions, which typically cost 40 percent more than the clerical positions to be eliminated.

Fourth, the United Nations much heralded 2-year, no-growth budget is not living up to its billing. The goal was to cap budget spending at \$2.608 billion over 2 years. Any new expenses not anticipated or budgeted would require corresponding offsets in order to stay under the \$2.608 cap. The Secretary General already is months behind in submitting a proposal of budget reductions needed to stay under the cap. Most important, the United Nations is not even halfway through its budget cycle and already the Secretary General has indicated that the United Nations may not be able to stay under the budget cap. In fact, the U.S. Representative for Reform and Management appeared before the United Nations Fifth Committee last month and stated the U.S. delegation's concern with the Secretary General's latest budget report: it "implies an inability to stay within the \$2.608 billion budget level * * *"

Finally, I must take issue with statements made by the Secretary General that the United Nations current financial problems are due to the failure of the United States to make good on its U.N. payments. Unfortunately, the Secretary General is confusing the disease's symptoms with its causes. Yes, the United Nations is in a financial crisis. However, it's a crisis of the United Nations own making.

For more than a decade, beginning with the great work of the Senator from Kansas, NANCY KASSEBAUM, the U.S. Congress has made U.N. reform a high priority. U.N. leadership has fought this effort. That leaves Congress little choice but to use our leverage as the single largest U.N. contributor to achieve U.N. reform goals. It's a tough approach. It's not the one I would prefer using, but it is the only means currently available to us, and it has had some success.

I want to see the United States make good on our current U.N. debts. That can't happen without a clear, substantive reform agenda in place at the United Nations. It's worth the wait. Frankly, it's far better to hold a portion of our taxpayer dollars here in Washington until reforms are achieved, rather than send them down a black hole of waste, fraud and abuse. Yes, we in Congress have an obligation to support the U.N., but our first obligation is to the American taxpayer. Our taxpayers deserve to know that their

money is being managed prudently and effectively by the U.N. leadership. That is not being done.

Mr. President, a fresh approach, a fresh perspective on U.N. leadership with an emphasis on responsible management practices is needed. Real reform at the United Nations will not occur without an overall fundamental change in the management philosophy at the United Nations. This fact was noted in the U.N. IG's first report, which noted that "while the need for * * *. structural reform is widely acknowledged, the energy to bring it about is in short supply."

What that means is the United Nations needs tough, well-trained administrators at all levels of management. That's particularly true in peacekeeping missions, where waste and abuse traditionally is high. I'm not suggesting more U.N. bureaucracy. The United Nations either should train those currently within the United Nations who have the skills and the desire to be tough administrators, or replace the less effective ones with people with the experience to do the job.

In short, what is required is a complete management overhaul at the United Nations. Like any organization, the tone and direction in management starts at the top. I hope the Clinton administration recognizes this. The United States needs to make clear that we seek a real, fundamental change in U.N. leadership. New leadership just may be the sparkplug the United Nations needs to restore its credibility in the eyes of Congress and the American people.

Again, I support the United Nations. If managed effectively, the United Nations can be a sound, cost-effective investment in the advancement of global economic development, human rights, and world peace. I hope the intense criticism of management practices in recent years will jar the United Nations members to realize that sound management is vital to the United Nations long-term credibility. Management reform cannot by itself ensure that the United Nations will be both credible and successful, but without it, it does not stand a chance. New leadership is needed.

TRIBUTE TO COL. WILLIAM B. LOPER, U.S. ARMY, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, today, June 14, is the 221st birthday of the U.S. Army, a military force that has distinguished itself repeatedly throughout the history of this great Nation. Victories in battles from our War for Independence to the Persian Gulf war were successful only because of the stellar soldiers that serve selflessly and bravely in the Army of the United States. I rise today to pay tribute to a man who is a fine soldier and a friend to many of us in this Chamber, Lt. Col. William B. Loper, as he prepares to bring his active duty career to an end.

Colonel Loper began his career more than 24 years ago when he pinned on the gold bars of a second lieutenant and the crossed muskets of the infantry. A product of Washington, DC's Georgetown University and the Reserve Officer Training Corps, Bill Loper was well educated, prepared, and trained for his ensuing career as an Army officer. His tours of duty included stints as an adjutant and Chief of Records for the 25th Infantry Division; as a personnel adviser in Pennsylvania; as the Secretary of the General Staff for the 19th Support Command, located in Korea; and ultimately, back to the District of Columbia where he was an assignments officer at the Army Personnel Center, and executive officer in the Army Legislative Liaison Office, where most of us have come to know him.

During his tenure in the Legislative Liaison Office, Colonel Loper has worked hard to represent the interests of the Army to Members of Congress, as well as tirelessly working to assist Senators, Representatives, and their staffs, in dealing with defense matters as well as constituent concerns and issues. I do not think any of my colleagues would disagree with my assessment of Colonel Roper, he is an individual who has always been prompt, responsive, and sensitive to the needs and requests of Members of Congress, and he has presented a positive and impressive image of the Army during the course of his duties here.

Mr. President, service and dedication to duty have been two hallmarks of Colonel Loper's career. He has served our Nation and the Army well during his years of service, and we are grateful for all his efforts and sacrifices in the defense of the United States. I am sure that everyone who has worked with Colonel Loper would want to join me in wishing him health, happiness, and success in the years to come.

TRIBUTE TO THE U.S. ARMY ON THE OCCASION OF ITS 221ST BIRTHDAY

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the U.S. Army was born 221 years ago today on a village square in Cambridge, MA when a group of colonials mustered together to form an army under the authority of the Continental Congress. As this force went on to confront the Redcoats at Lexington, and to ultimately defeat the British in 1783, it is no exaggeration to say that the birth of the Continental Army resulted in the birth of our Nation. More than 2 centuries later, both the United States and its Army are recognized throughout the world as being unequalled, and I rise today to salute the Army on its birthday.

The history of our Nation and our Army are intertwined, and the battle streamers of that service stand not only as testament to the courage, fortitude, and abilities of those who served in the Army, but chronicle the

evolution of the United States. The Army was present when the shot heard around the world was fired, and in Yorktown when the British surrendered, not only admitting defeat to the Americans, but validating that we were a free and separate nation. It was Lewis and Clark, two Army officers, who explored the unknown west before that region became territories and states. It was the Army that entered Mexico City, and our victory in the war with Mexico helped to expand our southwestern borders. At Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, and dozens of other blood stained battlefields, it was the soldiers of one American army fighting the soldiers of another American army for the very future of this Nation. In Havana and the Philippines, the American Army fought Spanish imperialism, and at Verdun, Doughboys battled German imperialism. Army Air Corpsmen lost their lives on that Day of Infamy that began World War II, and dogfaced GI's battled the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Imperial Japanese in North Africa, Sicily, Normandy, Arnhem, and throughout the Pacific. In the early days of the cold war, American soldiers dug in on the southern tip of Korea, creating the Pusan perimeter and holding the line against the advancing North Koreans, and it was American soldiers who stormed the walls at Inchon to turn the tide of the Korean conflict in favor of the United Nations. In the Ia Drang Valley, and in countless firefights in nameless locations throughout the jungles, mountains, and rice paddies of Vietnam, American soldiers valiantly fought to help the fledgling nation of South Vietnam become a democracy; and in Grenada, Panama, and Kuwait, the American Army deposed tyrants and brought terror-filled regimes of dictators to an end.

In its 221 years of history, the U.S. Army has distinguished itself time and time again, and though many things have changed about the Army, the quality and dedication of its soldiers has remained unwavering. The men and women who wear the Army green are individuals who willingly bear many sacrifices so that their countrymen may remain safe, secure, and free. Too few of us ever take the time to think of the soldiers patrolling the demilitarized zone of the Korean Peninsula where there is always the chance that hostilities may break out; or of the soldiers stationed on the Sinai, where they help to ensure the peace between Egypt and Israel remains strong; or of the young paratrooper at Fort Bragg who is ready to deploy to anyplace in the world at a moment's notice. To these soldiers the phrase "Duty, Honor, Country" is more than a collection of mere words, it is the creed by which they live their lives, and we are indeed fortunate for their dedication and selflessness.

For more than 30 years, it was American soldiers who faced down the Soviets across the Iron Curtain, and when

democracy and individual rights ultimately triumphed over communism and collective subjugation, it was thanks in large part to the vigilance of the thousands of soldiers who served on the front lines of the cold war. With the fall of the Communist bloc, the threats to the United States have changed, and the Army is redefining its mission. The Army must now be prepared to respond to regional crises, carry out humanitarian missions, and peacekeeping roles, as well as to be prepared to deal with terrorists and rogue nations. Rest assured, however, that with whatever task that the Army of the United States of America is charged, it will complete its assignment successfully, and it will remain the best trained and best equipped force in the world.

Mr. President, if the soldiers of the Continental Army could see their late 20th century brothers and sisters in arms, they would be amazed at the differences between the Minuteman and the soldier of Force XXI. Rifled muskets have given way to selective fire, magazine-fed weapons systems that allow soldiers to see in the dark and fire a multitude of munitions. The horse cavalry has been replaced by the Bradley fighting vehicle, a weapons platform that has the firepower of the divisions of old; and Army helicopters that comprise one of the largest air forces in the world, now transport and support with supplies and firepower the infantry. Combined, all these elements guarantee the success and superiority of the American Army and that wherever it goes, our soldiers will persevere over any foe. I am pleased to have this opportunity to celebrate the history of the U.S. Army, to thank those soldiers who have served in the past and who serve today, and to assure my colleagues that our Army will always stand ready to defend our citizens and our Nation from all who threaten us, just as they have for the past 220 years.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Thursday, June 13, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,139,481,774,943.05.

On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$19,389.23 as his or her share of that debt.

SOUTH DAKOTANS LEAD EFFORT TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF LOW CATTLE PRICES

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, the Advisory Committee on Agricultural Concentration has submitted its final report to Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman. The committee has been investigating the relationship between concentration in the livestock processing and packing industry and the record low prices in the cattle market. It did a tremendous job identifying the problems facing our Nation's livestock