

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina ask unanimous consent that the Senate take up the nomination?

Mr. HELMS. Yes.

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

NOMINATION OF BILL RICHARDSON, OF NEW MEXICO, TO BE THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The legislative clerk read the nomination of BILL RICHARDSON, of New Mexico, to be the representative of the United States of America to the United Nations with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Representative of the United States of America in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. HELMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, today the Senate fulfills its constitutional duty on the nomination of Congressman BILL RICHARDSON to serve as our country's Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations met for almost 3 hours on Wednesday, January 29, to consider the Richardson nomination. During that hearing, the committee also heard from a bipartisan group of six Members of Congress who introduced Congressman RICHARDSON.

That group included the distinguished chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Senator DOMENICI, the junior Senator from New Mexico, Senator BINGAMAN, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senator HATCH, the chairman and ranking member of the House International Relations Committee, Congressmen GILMAN and HAMILTON, and Congressman ROBERT MENENDEZ of New Jersey.

During the hearing, Congressman RICHARDSON was questioned extensively by many members of the committee on a broad range of issues related to the United Nations, and other foreign policy matters.

At the conclusion of the hearing, it was agreed to keep the record open until close of business on January 31, so that Senators could submit written questions to the nominee. Five Senators submitted 135 such questions, all of which were answered in writing by Congressman RICHARDSON. The administration also complied with a document request concerning State Department involvement with negotiations to free certain hostages in Southern Sudan.

Earlier today, after members had spent several days examining the written replies, the committee met in a business meeting to consider this nomination. By a vote of 17 to 0, the Committee on Foreign Relations reported favorably the Richardson nomination.

Mr. President, Congressman RICHARDSON has been nominated to one of

the Nation's top foreign policy posts. He has been nominated at a critical time in the history of the United Nations. I believe that he could very well make history as the U.S. Permanent Representative who rolled up his sleeves and worked with Congress to bring true and lasting reform to that dysfunctional institution.

We have heard a lot of rhetoric from the administration and the international community about the need to pay arrearages to the United Nations. U.S. contributions to the United Nations have been withheld by Congress for a valid reason: to cause the U.N. bureaucracy to wake up and smell the coffee. As I told Congressman RICHARDSON, I believe Congress may be willing to pay those arrears, but only—and I repeat emphatically, only—if payments are tied to concrete reform.

Last month, the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had a long and productive meeting with the new U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Annan. I believe Mr. Annan genuinely wants to reform the United Nations, and I genuinely want to help him. But like Ronald Reagan used to say: "trust but verify."

That is why I told Mr. Annan that I intend to introduce legislation shortly that sets benchmarks for U.N. reform, and that rewards reform with payment of the U.S. arrearage. As each benchmark is met, money will be dispensed, thus ensuring U.S. contributions will be linked to concrete accomplishments.

I have asked the Secretary General for his ideas and input, as I work with Senator GRAMS, who will chair the international operations subcommittee during this Congress, and as I work with other Senate colleagues to prepare this legislation.

Mr. President, Congressman RICHARDSON has pledged to work with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and with the Congress as a whole, in implementing concrete reforms at the United Nations. We welcome his input.

I believe that on balance, he is well qualified for the post of U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. I look forward to working with him in moving our agenda forward.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GREGG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. GREGG. Who controls the time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina controls the time on his side.

Mr. HELMS. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee for yielding me time on this nomination. I rise in support of this nomination of Congressman RICHARDSON to be America's Ambassador to the United Nations. I had the pleasure of serving with BILL RICHARDSON while he was in the House. We arrived at nearly the same time.

He was a joy to serve with, and I have a lot of respect for what he has done

since that time, especially in the area of international affairs where he has in a number of instances been able to extricate Americans from very difficult situations.

However, on this issue of the nomination, I think we also need to address the question of the status of the United Nations and especially the relationship of this Government to the United Nations, and a few caveats need to be pointed out.

Specifically, my concern, and I think the concern of a number of Members of Congress, is with the payment of arrearages to the United Nations. The administration, we hear by rumor, is going to send to this Congress a supplemental, which supplemental will include in it a \$900 million plus request for payment of arrearages to the United Nations.

There are two major issues raised by this. First, the question of whether \$900 million is the correct number. There is some serious concern by those of us who have looked at this issue that that number may be too high and that the proper number should be less because we as a government have not received proper credit for costs of peacekeeping which we have incurred and should have been credited for.

Second, independent of what the right number is relative to arrearages, there is the question of what the money will be spent for in the future. The United Nations has some very serious problems in its management.

The new Secretary General, Kofi Annan, has made a commitment to try to address those problems, and we respect that commitment. But we need to go beyond verbiage. We need to go beyond language, and we need to have specifics, and we need to have enforceable and identifiable and ascertainable standards we can look to.

Specifically, we need to have from the United Nations a system to review where the money is spent. There is not now available to those who wish to review, those member countries that wish to review, an effective accounting procedure for where the money goes once it arrives at the United Nations, and we need to have that.

Second, we need to have an effective process for determining the personnel policies of the United Nations. There is not now a structure for adequately reviewing how personnel decisions are made at the United Nations. There is a legitimate concern that there are a significant number of political appointees at the United Nations, patronage, for lack of a better word, and that these appointees do vote in many instances. That is the representation. It may or may not be correct. But because there is no system to be able to review the personnel policies of the United Nations, because they do not have a systematic personnel policy system, it is impossible to evaluate the accuracy of these representations.

Third, we need to have the process for evaluating the full services delivered by the United Nations, the programmatic initiatives taken by the United Nations and whether or not they are being efficiently and effectively handled. This is a very genuine concern because there is a very significant amount of anecdotal evidence, at least, that many of the activities and dollars that have been spent to support those activities may not have produced the results sought, or in many instances the dollars may have just been misplaced in at least a few cases that have been found by the present inspector general, even misappropriated.

So until we get in place these three major accounting processes, which are typical of any major structure of government or of the private sector, an accounting structure for knowing where the money goes, an accounting structure for knowing what the personnel policies are, and an accounting structure that allows you to follow programmatic activity as to its efficiency and effectiveness, until we get something in place that shows us we are going to have those types of systems in place that allow us to review and know whether or not our dollars are being spent effectively, it is very hard for us as the fiduciaries of our citizens' dollars, as the managers of our taxpayers' hard-earned income that is sent here as taxes, to say to the United Nations you shall have this money in a *carte blanche* type of approach.

So there will be a significant debate in the Senate, and I suspect in the Congress generally, as to how we structure any payment on arrearages, and it is going to be my position, which I intend to aggressively pursue—and it really is a position where I follow the lead of the chairman of the committee—that we have effective accounting procedures in place and that they be ascertainable and that they be structured in a way that we are sure we are getting our dollar's worth of effective administration, personnel management and services.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The 5 minutes yielded the Senator have expired.

Mr. GREGG. I thank the Presiding Officer for his courtesy and the chairman for his courtesy.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I rise in support of our colleague, Congressman RICHARDSON, to become our Ambassador to the United Nations.

Mr. President, I will very shortly yield back the remainder of the time. I understand I have 15 minutes under my control.

Mr. President, I take this opportunity to thank the chairman, Senator HELMS, for his willingness to bring this important nomination to the floor so expeditiously.

I join Chairman HELMS in endorsing the nomination of Representative BILL

RICHARDSON to be the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, with rank of Ambassador.

I commend President Clinton for having nominated him, and I strongly urge my colleagues here today to vote to confirm this distinguished Member of Congress who already has a long list of diplomatic accomplishments to his name.

Congressman RICHARDSON has ably represented the Third District of New Mexico for 14 years, but it is his experience in successfully negotiating the release of Americans and others in some of the world's least hospitable locales that has brought his formidable diplomatic skills to light. This diplomatic experience will serve him well at the United Nations as he seeks to advance American interests in contacts with 185 other nations.

Likewise, Congressman RICHARDSON's personal background and political experience have prepared him well to represent the United States in the world body.

BILL RICHARDSON was born in California and grew up in Mexico City. He attended high school in Boston and remained there to attend Tufts University, where he earned a bachelor's degree and a Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy.

BILL RICHARDSON then came to Washington, working in the Legislative Affairs Office at the State Department and as a staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where, like his predecessor, Secretary of State Albright, he gained an appreciation for the role of the Senate in helping craft American foreign policy.

In 1978, BILL RICHARDSON moved to Santa Fe, and in 1982 he won election to this first term as a Member of Congress. His vast district has been described by one writer as a "mini-U.N.," with a diverse population that is 35 percent Hispanic and 25 percent Native American, including members of 28 different tribes.

As a Congressman, he served on the Intelligence Committee and was a fervent advocate of the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the official biography of BILL RICHARDSON.

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

REPORT FOR THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE

Subject: Ambassadorial Nomination: Certificate of Demonstrated Competence—Foreign Service Act, Section 304(a)(4).

Post: U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

Candidate: Bill Richardson.

Bill Richardson has served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, representing the state of New Mexico since 1983. He serves on the Commerce, Resources and Intelligence Committees. Mr. Richardson is active on the North Atlantic Assembly, the Helsinki Commission on Human Rights, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, and the House Democratic Steering Committee. In

addition, Congressman Richardson serves as Chief Deputy Minority Whip.

Congressman Richardson has been active in hostage negotiations in a number of countries which include the Sudan, North Korea, Cuba, and Iraq. His diplomatic skills have been instrumental in the release of a number of American hostages.

Prior to his election to the U.S. House of Representatives, Mr. Richardson served as a Staff Member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a Congressional Liaison Officer as the Department of State, and a Staff Member of the Wednesday Group of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Mr. Richardson received a B.A. from Tufts University and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts. He is the recipient of honorary degrees from the University of the Americas in Mexico, the College of Santa Fe, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Mr. Richardson has published a number of articles dealing with U.S.-Mexico relations.

Born November 15, 1947, Mr. Richardson speaks Spanish and French. He has won numerous awards including the Aztec Eagle Award from Mexico Government in 1994. In 1995, he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Mr. Richardson's dedication to public service and his strong diplomatic and leadership skills make him an excellent candidate as U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, BILL RICHARDSON has engaged in successful diplomacy with some of the world's most recalcitrant regimes and rebels. His humanitarian concern for individuals and his commitment to advance this country's interests have led him to countries like North Korea, Cuba, Iraq, Serbia, Nigeria, Burma, Haiti, and Sudan. My colleagues will recall that he negotiated the release of an American helicopter pilot in North Korea, three Red Cross workers in Sudan, and two Americans imprisoned in Iraq.

Two weeks ago, Congressman RICHARDSON came before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and outlined how the United Nations should be used to advance American interests, while streamlining its bureaucracy and reforming its structure. I ask unanimous consent that his statement before the committee be printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM RICHARDSON BEFORE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Members of the Committee, it is a pleasure to meet with you this morning. I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to President Clinton for nominating me to this important and challenging position. I am deeply honored by his trust and deeply conscious of the fact that, if confirmed, I will be representing the United States, and the interests and values of its people to the world. This is a heavy responsibility that I do not undertake lightly. But I assure you that, if I am confirmed, America will have no more forceful advocate of its views and no more forceful defender of its sovereign interests.

I would also like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, as well as Senator Biden, for moving forward so expeditiously with my nomination. I was very encouraged by the calls for bi-partisan cooperation on U.S. foreign policy at Secretary Albright's confirmation

hearing, and I look forward, if confirmed, to working with you in the same spirit.

I also extend my appreciation to Senators Domenici and Bingaman, and Representatives Gilman, Hamilton and Menendez, for their kind introductions. It has been my privilege to work with these distinguished individuals. In my tenure in the Congress, I have also come to know a number of the members of this Committee. I have seen how deeply committed you are to advancing the interests of the America people. I thank all of the members of the Committee for the courtesies you have extended to me during the last few weeks.

I would like as well to express my great admiration and respect for the work of my predecessor, whose resolve, frankness, and just plain good sense made her four years at the U.N. such a resounding success. If confirmed, I hope to profit from her example and to work closely with her as a member of the President's foreign policy team.

Finally, I wonder if I might take a brief moment to introduce my wife Barbara.

Mr. Chairman, I am proud of my long-standing commitment to public service. For seven terms in the House of Representatives, I have sought to demonstrate that commitment by serving my constituents and my country to the best of my abilities. Those fourteen years of service, I believe, provide me with a perspective and a sensitivity to issues that will strengthen my working relationship with you, this Committee, and the Congress.

We share a love for our nation and a determination to preserve and strengthen America's global leadership, to promote our goals of world peace and security. We want a better world for our generation, our children's generation and all those who follow.

The good news is that we live at a time of remarkable promise. Our nation is at peace. Our economy is strong. And our most fundamental beliefs are ascendant, as more countries and peoples than ever before enjoy the advantages of open societies and open markets. But we also face a host of threats—from rogue states and the spread of weapons of mass destruction to terrorism, drug trafficking and environmental degradation—that can all too easily undermine our hard-won gains and our hopes for the next century.

I believe the U.N. is at a crossroads—and so is America's leadership in the institution. Both the U.N. and the U.S. face fundamental choices: for the United Nations, to adapt fully to new demands and changing times, or to suffer the erosion of support from nations and peoples. For the United States, the choice is to sustain our leadership in a reformed, effective U.N. or lose our voice in an institution that has helped us advance American interests for half a century. The U.N. must do its part. But we too must make the right choice. Let me explain why:

As a global power with global interests, the United States must lead in seizing the opportunities and meeting the challenges of this new era. And to lead, we must have all the tools of leadership at our disposal. Sometimes, when our vital interests are at stake, we have to be willing and able to act alone. That's why we are determined to maintain a strong military, and an assertive, well-funded diplomacy.

But the U.S. can't do everything; nor should we try. As President Clinton has put it, "we cannot sustain our leadership or our goals for a better world alone." That is why the U.N. is essential: not as an independent actor on the world stage, but as an instrument that helps us mobilize the support of other nations for goals the American people support. Without it, we would face, more and more often, the stark choice between acting alone and doing nothing.

I know there are some who question whether our participation in the U.N. serves

American interests. The question is a fair one—but the answer is clear: America's most fundamental interests are best served by our active, hard-headed leadership in the U.N.; they will be set back if we drop out—either in the literal sense or by failing to shoulder our fair share of responsibilities.

The values that inform the U.N. Charter are also American values; the Charter's sentiments and, in many ways, its very words echo the ideals so familiar to generations of Americans: "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women." This should be no surprise given the role that Americans played in conceiving and drafting the U.N. Charter.

But U.S. participation in the U.N. is not merely a question of values. U.S. participation has made a positive difference in meeting an extraordinary range of challenges around the world. It enables us to build international support for our foreign policy goals at a lower price; during the Gulf War, this multiplier effect meant that the international community shared the costs and responsibility of defeating Iraq. We see peace in Cambodia, El Salvador, Angola, Namibia and Mozambique thanks in no small part to the powerful combination of effective U.S. leadership and sustained U.N. engagement.

Mr. Chairman, I have seen for myself how the United Nations can help us further America's interests: today, IAEA inspectors help to verify that North Korea is living up to its commitment not to produce nuclear weapons; in remote parts of Sudan to which Americans have little or no access, I have seen how U.N. affiliated organizations help protect and feed the innocent victims of a terrible humanitarian disaster. In Burma, I have seen how the nations of the world at the U.N. General Assembly and led by the United States, have brought hope to embattled democrats by justly condemning a repressive regime.

As the President said last week, "our well-being at home depends on our engagement around the world." U.N. agencies contribute to the safety and security of Americans; they even protect U.S. jobs: the ICAO's aviation safety and security standards disproportionately benefit Americans (who make up 40 percent of all international air travelers); labor standards set by the ILO help ensure that U.S. exports remain competitive overseas; trademark and copyright protections overseen by the World Intellectual Property Organization protect billions of dollars in U.S. exports of movies, software, music, books, and industrial inventions; the FAO and the WHO set international food product safety and quality standards that benefit our agricultural exporters as well as our consumers.

Increasingly, we use U.N. bodies to gain international support for addressing such dangerous transnational scourges as terrorism, crime, and narcotics trafficking. We work with and through the U.N. to achieve our objectives on human rights, the environment, and child labor—all issues of great importance to the American people. The U.N. has helped bring the world together in caring for refugees, feeding starving children, eradicating smallpox and battling AIDS. If we can maintain our leadership within the organization, this will continue to be so.

During the last several years, Secretary Albright worked tirelessly on U.N. reform, and she produced results: a new Secretary General was appointed, committed to accelerate the pace and widen the scope of reform; the U.N. was persuaded to adopt no-growth budgets—both currently and for the foreseeable future—and to reduce the number of people working in the U.N. Secretariat by several hundred. Furthermore, we have persuaded the regional economic commissions

to begin initial re-prioritizing, and we have taken at least the first steps toward streamlining the specialized agencies.

Make no mistake, the U.N. has serious problems to surmount. There should, for example, be better coordination of its activities, consolidation of related programs and bodies, and elimination of redundancies and low-priority activities. The specialized agencies must learn to live within their means. And the whole U.N. system must take a page from the business community's handbook and learn to do more with less. The High-Level Working Group on U.N. reform proposed by President Clinton at the 49th General Assembly to address key economic, social and administrative issues has made little progress, and changes so far at the specialized agencies have been ad hoc and tentative.

Secretary General Kofi Annan has publicly committed himself to achieving the kind of reform that will make the U.N. more effective. His appointment presents us with an opportunity to push for reform and solve our arrears problems. He appears receptive to changing the way the U.N. operates; in his public remarks since being appointed he has stressed the need to make the U.N. "leaner, more efficient and more effective." I know his words have been applauded up here on the Hill and I was very encouraged by the series of meetings he held last week here in Washington—in particular by his meeting with you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. His job will be a difficult one, but with will and effort, it can be done. If confirmed, I will press relentlessly to make sure that reforms are undertaken, both in the U.N. and the specialized agencies, and that our priorities are key factors in U.N. decision-making. At the same time, I'll ask your support for America's leadership in the U.N.—and for fulfilling the commitments that will enable us to lead.

Mr. Chairman, as a member of Congress, I know perfectly well that while our constituents want to see America involved in the world, they are not interested in seeing tax dollars wasted on programs that are inconsistent with American interests or values. A central part of my job will be to make this reality absolutely clear to the U.N. and its 184 other members.

In four years, I hope this Administration will be able to say that by working with you and other key committees in Congress we: Helped the U.N. and its specialized agencies make the transition to smaller and more efficient organizations; put our U.N. assessments on a sustainable financial footing that preserves U.S. influence within the U.N. system; paid America's debt to the U.N.; and rebuilt bipartisan support in the United States for continued American leadership within and through the U.N.

To accomplish these far-reaching changes, we envision a reform package consisting of five elements: Maintaining at least zero growth in the U.N. budget, streamlining the U.N. Secretariat in terms of personnel and organizational structure, streamlining the U.N.'s "big three" affiliated agencies: the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the World Health Organization, negotiating lower U.S. scales of assessment for the U.N. regular budget, the budgets of affiliated agencies, and the U.N. peacekeeping budget, and negotiating the kind of Security Council reform that preserves its efficiency and protects the prerogatives of the current Permanent Members, while adding Germany and Japan.

To see these reforms implemented, however, I will need the help of the Congress.

The administration is prepared—even eager—to work with you to help achieve our U.N. goals. But our efforts are increasingly hampered by international resentment over our arrears. As the U.N. cleans its house, we must do our part. Our U.N. debt continues to hurt our efforts to press for reform and damages our influence in the U.N. and its affiliated agencies. The United States needs to get out of debt and stay out of debt. As the President said just last week “We cannot expect to lead through the United Nations unless we pay what we owe.”

For that reason, at the same time as I make America's case at the U.N. I will be making the case to the Congress and the American people that a reformed, effective U.N. serves our interests in concrete ways and that our arrears have harmed our ability to press for reform. As Secretary Christopher used to say, “we can't reform and retreat at the same time.”

Clearly, the Administration and the Congress must work together on a bipartisan basis to advance U.S. interests through a reformed United Nations. In addition to my commitment to pressing for U.N. reform, I also pledge to you to make every effort to reinforce the unfailing commitment of the American people to democracy and human rights around the world.

I believe that one of my highest responsibilities will be to confer, cooperate, and consult with the Congress across the board on the widest range of U.N.-related issues, both in Washington and in New York. If confirmed, I will welcome your advice, Mr. Chairman, and that of every member of this Committee and of the Congress. I extend to you individually and collectively a standing invitation to come to New York and see for yourselves what we are doing there. My door will always be open.

On one thing we can all agree: the U.N. can and must do better and since we are part of the U.N. we must together be part of the solution. If, with your consent, I am confirmed, I can pledge to you that you will find no one more committed to getting the job done.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, Congressman RICHARDSON reminded us that while U.N. reform is important, we must never lose sight of the fundamental value of the United Nations for our national interests. We rely on the United Nations to provide humanitarian assistance to millions who otherwise would have no source of food or shelter. We rely on the United Nations to eradicate disease and improve health. We rely on the United Nations to prevent nuclear proliferation. We rely on the U.N. to facilitate and maintain peace. The United Nations allows us to combine our resources with those of others to bring about outcomes that are in our national interest.

We must pursue reform, but we should not use reform as a stalking horse to undermine the United Nations' ability to carry out tasks that serve our fundamental interests.

We must maintain our leadership in the United Nations. Doing so entails meeting our commitments to the United Nations; specifically, it means paying our back dues. We cannot expect others to fulfill their international obligations if we do not fulfill our own.

The President's request for a \$921 million supplemental appropriation. to

be disbursed 2 years from now, is a good place to begin a bipartisan effort to pay off our debt and encourage meaningful U.N. reform.

Mr. President, I look forward to working with Congressman RICHARDSON over the next 4 years to ensure that the United States continues to play a leading role at the United Nations so that the United Nations continues to work in America's interests.

Let me just suggest that I think since I have been here—and it has been 24 years—we have not had anyone who by temperament, experience, background, and education is any more qualified to be our Ambassador to the United Nations than Ambassador RICHARDSON. We, all of us who have served here, at least for 2 years or more, have come to know him personally or have become acquainted with his incredible record of special missions, where he has not gone off on his own but gone off under the aegis and umbrella, at least, and being told by informing administrations what he has been doing, and the remarkable negotiations that he has undertaken with such remarkable results.

The reason I mention that is not that that qualifies a man or woman to be the Ambassador to the United Nations in and of itself, but it indicates that this is a man who understands how to assess his opposition's interests and how to try to meet that interest without yielding on any principle that is important to this country. I think Madeleine Albright did that job well, as others have, and I think that BILL will do it equally as well.

I also think that he goes there equipped with a firsthand knowledge of the concerns expressed by the chairman of the committee, the Senator from North Carolina, and our distinguished colleague from New Hampshire, who just spoke. This is not something he has to divine or guess about. This is not just in terms of our arrears. Our involvement with the United Nations—and the future relationship the United States will have with the United Nations—is something that he is personally aware of, in terms of the intensity, the extent to which the concern exists, and the detail of the concern as emanated from the U.S. Congress, both in the House and the Senate.

So, he is a man who will arrive on the scene fully aware of both sides of this equation. He is not just a very gifted academic or diplomat who will serve us there. He is not someone who has just learned academically of the concern of the Congress and the simple, basic, legitimate political concerns that we have. I don't mean partisan political, I mean political in the sense that we have to answer to our constituencies as to what we are going to do about paying arrears, if we pay arrears, and how we pay them. And I think that is a particularly useful background for a man to have at this moment, going to that job.

He is, as I said, academically qualified. He is qualified by temperament. He is qualified by experience. And he is qualified, uniquely qualified in what is probably the single most significant issue that has faced our relations with the United Nations, probably since the United Nations has come into existence. That is: What is the relationship and role of the President's authority to make commitments relative to the use of American dollars and forces in other parts of the world, and how does that interrelate with the Congress and the Senate, in particular, and how and under what circumstances should we be making up our arrears and looking out for our longer term interests at the United Nations?

So for those reasons and many others which I have not mentioned here today, I think BILL RICHARDSON is the right man for the job at this moment, although I suspect he would be qualified for the job at any moment. But I think he is particularly qualified to take over this job at this time.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, as the new chairman of the Subcommittee on International Operations, I am pleased to offer my support for the nomination of BILL RICHARDSON to serve as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Many of us have followed Congressman RICHARDSON's globe-trotting missions to assist captured Americans in hostile circumstances. I want to express my personal appreciation for the successful effort he made two years ago to obtain the release of Bill Barloon in Iraq, since Mr. Barloon's brother lives in my home State of Minnesota.

We were very grateful. I have no doubt that the lessons BILL RICHARDSON has learned from these missions, which one newspaper dubbed “daredevil diplomacy,” will serve him well at the United Nations. Often, it seems the United States must use just the right mix of aggressive persuasion and diplomatic negotiations to convince the other 184 member states at the United Nations to go along with even minor reforms.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, I have long had an interest in the reform and revitalization of the United Nations. But late last year, I was given the opportunity to become personally involved in some of the controversial issues surrounding this body when President Clinton appointed me to be a congressional delegate to the U.N. General Assembly.

From October to December, I made three trips to the United Nations to participate in its activities. These included not only meeting with a wide range of U.N. officials and representatives from other nations, but also speaking before the U.N. budget committee—known as the Fifth Committee—and also the General Assembly itself.

This experience reinforced my two key beliefs about the United Nations. First, that a properly structured United Nations can be a useful international forum and a vital tool for

American foreign policy. And second, that it is also an unbelievably complex and bureaucratic organization which is crying out for an overhaul.

Last month, I was encouraged by the visit to Washington of the new U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and by his assertions to Congress that additional reforms are in the offing. I know many of us look forward to reviewing the reform package he has promised to develop by September of this year.

During both his public testimony and in a private meeting with me, BILL RICHARDSON pledged unprecedented consultations with Congress on U.N. issues. I deeply appreciated that promise and know that Mr. RICHARDSON, as a member of Congress himself, understands the importance of genuine interaction between the executive and legislative branches on foreign policy.

In that vein, there are some matters at the United Nations that I believe require immediate attention and I hope to begin working promptly with soon-to-be Ambassador RICHARDSON to address them.

To begin with, I am alarmed by the lack of resources currently being made available to the U.N. Inspector General, known as the Office of Internal Oversight Services, or the OIOS. This office is one that would not exist without American advocacy and, I might add, without the pressure of legislation mandating that some United States contributions to the United Nations be withheld until it was created.

The OIOS is charged with rooting out waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement at the United Nations. According to the Undersecretary-General who runs the office, it does not always receive the cooperation it needs from all U.N. staff and member states.

This is unfortunate because the purpose of the OIOS is to save money and make more effective use of U.N. resources. All member states should remember that money wasted is money that will not help meet the goals of programs that they themselves mandated the U.N. undertake.

My immediate concern is that the budget of the OIOS has been cut dramatically this biennium, including a reduction of \$700,000 just in 1997. It also has 12 posts which have not been filled, giving it an especially high vacancy rate for U.N. offices. In fact, my understanding is that the OIOS has only about 10 trained investigators to handle the massive job of U.N. oversight.

Not only is this simply unacceptable, but it causes us to question whether the U.N. Inspector General's office is truly independent.

Now I hope one of Mr. RICHARDSON's first priorities will be to sit down with Secretary-General Annan and figure out how to bring the OIOS up to full strength.

This means not only filling vacant posts for 1997, but making sure there is funding in the 1998-99 budget outline to continue those posts into the next biennium. It also means making sure the

OIOS has sufficient resources to support the activities of its investigators.

We have heard enough excuses on this issue and it's time for it to be resolved. The United States has declared that one of its reform goals is to expand the U.N. Inspector General's authority to all agencies and programs throughout the U.N. system. I strongly support this reform goal, but question how it can be accomplished when the OIOS is having great difficulty meeting its current responsibilities.

Another issue which has caused deep congressional concern is the loss of the U.S. seat on the U.N. Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, known as the ACABQ.

This is the first year since the founding of the United Nations that the United States has not had a position on this crucial budget committee. Without this seat, it will be even more difficult for the United States to get access to important technical budget information at the very time we are trying to enforce fiscal restraint and a no-growth budget at the United Nations.

I would recommend Mr. RICHARDSON take three important steps with regard to the ACABQ: First, he must make sure the U.S. mission to the United Nations and Congress will continue to have access to important budget information whenever necessary.

Second, he should ensure that any matters involving the commitment or reprogramming of U.N. funds are considered in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee, on which the United States still has a seat, rather than only by the ACABQ.

Now third, it is clear the United States must regain its seat during the next elections for the ACABQ in 1998. Given the stunning loss of the last U.S. candidate, Mr. RICHARDSON and the State Department need to fully consult with Congress before nominating our next ACABQ candidate.

Mr. President, before I close, I want to say a few words about the major U.N. issue facing Congress this year, which is the President's request for \$1 billion to pay United States arrears to the United Nations.

Given what I understand so far of the President's plan—and I still have yet to see anything on paper from the administration—I must express my disappointment with his U.N. reform proposal.

First of all, I am dismayed by the reluctance, if not outright refusal, of the administration to link incremental payment of U.S. arrears to specific U.N. reforms mandated by law. Clearly, this general approach has been successful on a series of reforms ranging from the creation of the U.N. Inspector General to the ongoing implementation of a no-growth budget.

Second, I am concerned the administration is focusing narrowly on simply reducing U.N. budgets and assessments to the United States. While I agree that mandating budget reductions can force U.N. bureaucrats to prioritize

funding and programs, this is only part of the picture.

There are a whole series of management reforms that also deserve to have the leverage of U.S. arrears behind them. The point is that we don't just want a less expensive United Nations, but one that is more manageable and efficient.

Third, I have reservations about the President's request for \$921 million as an advance appropriation for fiscal year 1999. These reservations are heightened if such funding will not be legislatively conditioned on mandatory reforms.

My personal view is that this appropriation should not be rushed through Congress just so the President can have it in his pocket for safekeeping. We should consider this funding in the normal authorization and appropriations process so that it can be examined in the context of all budget priorities.

I understand that Secretary Albright will be coming to Congress tomorrow to discuss the President's proposal so I will defer other comments until after that meeting. However, as an opening bid in the negotiations over how to resolve U.S. arrears and guarantee U.N. reform, the administration's plan seems to be falling short.

Therefore, Mr. President, I hope negotiations between Congress and the administration can proceed quickly so that we can begin discussing a serious, comprehensive U.N. reform agenda. To that end, I look forward to working with our next United States Ambassador to the United Nations, BILL RICHARDSON, on a close and productive basis to strengthen the relationship between the United States and the United Nations.

Mr. FAIRCLOTH. Mr. President, I rise in support of the nomination of BILL RICHARDSON to be U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

But, Mr. President, I must express my concern about the United Nations, particularly the imminent discussion about a multibillion-dollar bailout of this body.

My thoughts can best be summed up by an article which I will ask to have printed in the RECORD. This excellent opinion piece, written by Cliff Kincaid, raises serious questions about the United Nations that need to be answered.

In addition to the wasteful spending practices of the United Nations, in my opinion, the organization in recent years has begun to pose a threat to U.S. foreign policy and the command and control of the U.S. Armed Forces. It needlessly delayed the conflict in Bosnia and was partly responsible for the debacle in Somalia.

The role of the United Nations in dictating the foreign policy of this country, and its role in the military affairs must be confronted and stopped.

I hope that Mr. RICHARDSON could address these and other issues during his coming tenure as our Ambassador.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Cliff Kincaid 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, Jan. 19, 1997]

WHO'S SOAKING WHOM?

(By Cliff Kincaid)

Kofi Annan is coming to town. Unlike Santa Claus, who gives gifts, Annan wants them. The new secretary general of the United Nations is scheduled to be in Washington this week to ask members of Congress to provide another \$1 billion or more for the world organization. Members of Congress may wish to ask him some tough questions about U.N. finances.

First: Why has the position of U.N. secretary general enjoyed a 70 percent increase in pay over the past six years while the United Nations has been going broke? U.N. figures show the position was paid \$156,429 in gross salary in 1991, with an entertainment budget of \$22,500. By May 1995, the secretary general's gross salary had risen to \$280,075, with \$25,000 for entertainment. If Annan is sincere about reform, he should set an example by taking a pay cut.

Second: Why is former U.N. secretary general Kurt Waldheim still getting a \$102,000 annual pension? In 1986 journalists exposed his collaboration in the Nazi extermination campaign in southern Europe during World War II, and he was barred from the United States. Since Waldheim got his U.N. job under false pretenses, why is the United Nations still obligated to pay him out of its \$15 billion pension fund? Moreover, doesn't it look bad for the U.N. to prosecute suspected war criminals in Bosnia and Rwanda while continuing to pay Waldheim?

Third: What is the real U.S. "debt" to the United Nations? The General Assembly came up with the requirement that the United States pay 25 percent of the U.N. operating budget and 31 percent of the peacekeeping budget. Over the course of the past decade, congressional appropriations for the U.N. have fallen short of these "requirements," which are based on national wealth and responsibilities in world affairs. If we don't pay what the U.N. wants, its only option is to deny us a vote in the General Assembly. Members of the assembly haven't done this because they know we're still the biggest contributor to the U.N. regardless of the "debt" talk.

The United States makes many contributions to the world organization for which it receives no credit or reimbursement. A March 1996 General Accounting Office (GAO) report on peace operations found that, during fiscal years 1992-95, U.S. government costs in support of U.N.-backed peacekeeping operations amounted to \$6.6 billion. About \$4.8 billion of this amount was never counted as part of our official U.N. assessment, according to the GAO. The United Nations did reimburse the United States for about \$79 million of these expenses, leaving \$4.7 billion that has effectively been provided as a gift. If this sum is applied to our \$1 billion-plus "debt," as seems logical, then the United Nations owes us money, not the reverse.

U.N. supporters may argue that the United States is obligated to appropriate money directly to the United Nations, not just to direct U.S. agencies to support U.N. operations. But U.S. support, including housing, humanitarian supplies and other goods and services, is paid for by congressional appropriations and directly enables the United Nations to carry on its work. Why shouldn't these contributions count?

Fourth: Why are U.N. officials continuing to push global taxation? The U.S. Congress was shocked when former U.N. secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali endorsed

international taxation schemes to fund the United Nations. Legislation to derail these plans was voted on by the Senate last year. Not surprisingly, global taxes for the United Nations went down by a 70-28 margin.

Nevertheless, officials at the United Nations Development Programme have now edited a 300-page book, titled "The Tobin Tax," on how to implement a global tax on international currency transactions. (James Tobin is the Yale University economist who came up with the idea.) This tax could affect IRAs, pension funds, mutual funds and other investments of ordinary Americans. Will Annan make sure that work on these schemes stops immediately?

If the new U.N. secretary general wants to make a convincing case on Capitol Hill, he should answer these questions to the satisfaction of the U.S. Congress.

Mr. BINGAMAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, our Nation has been very fortunate over the years to have had distinguished, capable representatives serving as our Ambassadors to the United Nations. It is my honor today to speak on behalf of yet another distinguished American, BILL RICHARDSON, who has been nominated by the President to serve in that capacity.

Let me offer a few words of strong endorsement for my colleague. BILL RICHARDSON and I first campaigned together in 1982, when he was running for the House of Representatives and I was running for the Senate.

Starting with that 1982 campaign, and in the 15 years since then, I have continued to be impressed by his resourcefulness, by his energy, by his talent for winning the trust and respect from people of diverse backgrounds with widely varied points of view.

Much has been made of the successful diplomatic efforts that he has engaged in in the last few years, but I would like to say just a few words about his performance on his so-called day job, that is, his job as Congressman for the State of New Mexico.

As you know, Mr. President, New Mexico is a State of many cultures. We have a very large native American population, a very large Hispanic population, a community such as Los Alamos, which has the largest number of Ph.D.'s per capita of any city in the world.

BILL RICHARDSON has managed to gain the trust and support of each of these as well as many other groups and has been a very effective and successful Congressman receiving very large majorities each of the eight elections that he has stood for in our State.

BILL will demonstrate the same resourcefulness, energy, and skill in building trust and rapport in the United Nations that he has demonstrated in New Mexico. We in New Mexico will be losing a very capable and effective Representative in Congress, but the country will be well served by having BILL in this key position of advocacy in the world's key international institution.

Mr. President, I strongly recommend to my colleagues that they vote to con-

firm the nomination of BILL RICHARDSON for the U.N. Ambassador position.

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I do not see any other of my colleagues seeking to speak on this nomination. Therefore, I am prepared to yield back the remainder of my time and am prepared to vote anytime the chairman deems it appropriate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from North Carolina yield back his time?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the yeas and nays have not been obtained for this nomination, have they?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. They have not.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the Cloakroom would do well to advise Senators that there shortly will be a rollcall vote. I will explain to the Chair, while we are delaying just a little bit, Senator DOMENICI, who is a New Mexican, as is Mr. RICHARDSON, is on his way to the floor and he wants to say a few kind words about his fellow New Mexican. So, pending the arrival of Senator DOMENICI, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will time be equally divided?

Mr. HELMS. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Does the Senator from North Carolina yield time to the Senator from New Mexico?

Mr. HELMS. Yes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise just to say a few words in behalf of my good friend, the U.S. Representative from the State of New Mexico, BILL RICHARDSON. I think I would have been remiss if I did not come to the floor today and say to soon-to-be Ambassador RICHARDSON in behalf of New Mexicans, we wish you the very best good fortune. We know that whatever you have tried, you have succeeded at it in your life. And now, through that achievement and because New Mexicans have sent you to the U.S. House in numerous elections and for a number of years, we all think you are ready for a much bigger role and a much bigger mission in behalf of our country.

Most of us who know you, and most New Mexicans who have observed you, are confident you are going to do a splendid job in behalf of our country. The fact that you came from a State that has multiple cultures, that clearly accepts the diversity that no other State in the Union has like ours, bodes

well for your work with people from all over the world.

While I could stand here and speak for a long time in your behalf, it is not necessary today because you are clearly going to be confirmed and your name is going to be sent to the President as the next Ambassador to the United Nations. But I believe I will close with just a couple of words in Spanish. Buena suerte, BILL. That's the simplest way of saying good luck and good fortune in Spanish. I have been privileged to work with you. I hope you will continue to work with those of us in the U.S. Senate and House who are interested in the United Nations succeeding. We think you have a big mission. We hope you can establish some inroads, in terms of the United Nations being a more effective and efficient body, so that the United States can truly continue to support its efforts and your efforts in behalf of our country.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time. I suggest we go to a vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having been yielded back, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of BILL RICHARDSON, of New Mexico, to be U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations? The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 100, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 9 Ex.]

YEAS—100

Abraham	Feingold	Lugar
Akaka	Feinstein	Mack
Allard	Ford	McCain
Ashcroft	Frist	McConnell
Baucus	Glenn	Mikulski
Bennett	Gorton	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Graham	Moynihan
Bingaman	Gramm	Murkowski
Bond	Grassley	Murray
Boxer	Gregg	Nickles
Breaux	Hagel	Reed
Brownback	Harkin	Reid
Bryan	Hatch	Robb
Bumpers	Helms	Roberts
Burns	Hollings	Rockefeller
Byrd	Hutchinson	Roth
Campbell	Hutchison	Santorum
Chafee	Inhofe	Sarbanes
Cleland	Inouye	Sessions
Coats	Jeffords	Shelby
Cochran	Johnson	Smith, Bob
Collins	Kempthorne	Smith, Gordon
Conrad	Kennedy	Snowe
Coverdell	Kerrey	Specter
Craig	Kerry	Stevens
D'Amato	Kohl	Thomas
Daschle	Kyl	Thompson
DeWine	Landrieu	Thurmond
Dodd	Lautenberg	Torricelli
Domenici	Leahy	Warner
Dorgan	Levin	Wellstone
Durbin	Lieberman	Wyden
Enzi	Lott	
Faircloth		

The nomination was confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified of the action of the Senate.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will return to the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak for 5 minutes as in morning business.

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

AMERICAN AIRLINES STRIKE

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I am going to submit a resolution this afternoon and ask it be considered. It has not yet been cleared. I hope it will be cleared so we will be able to vote on this resolution on Thursday if we do not have a settlement of the American Airlines strike.

Mr. President, I am submitting this resolution on behalf of myself, and Senator GRAMM. Perhaps others will want to come forward as well.

But, Mr. President, we have a very serious economic crisis pending Friday about midnight. If we do not have some agreement by the two parties, American Airlines and its pilots union, we could hold up about one-fourth of the traveling public at the beginning of a holiday weekend. We could cause 75,000 other employees of American Airlines all over our country to be laid off without pay. We are causing, if that happens, other employees of rental car companies—people who sell food to airports and to airlines—all of these people who have livelihoods, who have families, to possibly be totally deprived of their ability—

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, the Senate is not in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, we are talking about the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Americans, and we are talking about even international travel and commerce and goods that are going into international commerce.

Mr. President, the effects of this strike are going to be so far reaching that it will have an economic impact on this country that will be quite severe.

The pilots union is meeting with the company as we speak. The deadline before a strike is midnight this Friday. We have the opportunity with the resolution that I am introducing to have a sense of the Senate that the President would use all of his persuasive powers to get these parties to sit down, and

that the President would be able to use his powers to appoint an emergency board which would automatically keep the contract in place for 30 days and then provide for another 30-day cooling-off period. This will give 60 days to these people to be able to work out their differences.

I think that the pilots union and the airline company, American Airlines, are certainly big enough people to be able to work out their differences and not cause the disruption of so many lives in our country and the economies of so many States in our country.

So I am asking that the Senate vote on this on Thursday, if nothing has happened in between. I hope the President will use all of his persuasive powers between now and Thursday to make sure that everything is being done to settle this strike. But if nothing has happened by Thursday, we want the President to use the powers that Congress has given him to call an emergency board together to give a 60-day cooling-off period so that the negotiations can continue.

This is something that Congress and the President have worked out in the past. This is the process, Mr. President. Let us step up to the line, and we hopefully will be able to work with the President to make sure that he has all of the tools necessary to do what is necessary to save this country from a real economic hit that could come within the next 3 or 4 days.

We can do something about it. The President can do something about it. And we are going to ask him to do that in this resolution.

As I said, I am going to submit this later. I am going to ask for unanimous consent to be able to vote on this on Thursday. I hope it is a moot point by that time. It is very important that the President address right away this impending crisis that can affect the lives of so many people and the families of so many people in this country and the economies of so many States in this country. The ripple effect is devastating. We can do something about it.

I hope that the President will use the powers that he has for that very purpose.

Thank you, Mr. President, and I yield the floor.

Mr. MURKOWSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I counted it up the other day. This is my 17th year of having the honor to represent my State of Alaska in this body.