

adversaries and peace-building in devastated countries.

These activities are going on now. They are being conducted on the ground in locations all over the world. They are carried out by dedicated, hard-working national and international staff members.

The financial crisis is being felt on the frontlines of all these efforts. If emergency measures to restore the financial health are not taken quickly, human suffering will dramatically increase. People will die. The structural ability of the United Nations to continue this work will be damaged. It will not soon or easily be reconstructed, if ever.

Unless substantial assessment payments are received by the end of November 1995, the Secretary-General will have no choice but to request that an emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly be convened immediately to consider the financial crisis—and future of the organization.

The financial crisis of the United Nations is now destroying its very foundations. We can no longer pretend otherwise. That is why we appeal today to you—the world's parliamentarians for assistance. You must be our voice. You must be our advocate. You must be the protectors of our common future.

Mr. President, this is an emergency—the Secretary-General and all of us in the secretariat believe that positive change can be achieved, and he is convinced that this change can be the vehicle for fulfilling the aims and aspirations of the charter. He is convinced that working together in partnership we can save succeeding generations from the scourge of war; we can enhance the dignity and worth of the human person; and we can promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.●

POLLS GET IN THE WAY OF WASHINGTON'S WORK

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the Post and Courier, a Charleston South Carolina newspaper, recently had an op-ed piece by our colleague from South Carolina that is typical in its FRITZ HOLLINGS' bluntness, but also typical in its FRITZ HOLLINGS' wisdom.

Two points in his op-ed piece need to be stressed over and over again. One is that you cannot lead by taking polls.

You lead by studying the issues and having some conviction and doing something. Leadership that simply follows the polls is leadership in name only.

At all levels of government, we need much more leadership of conviction. If we believe we are going to satisfy the public and turn away their cynicism by some of the gimmicks that we use, we are only fooling ourselves. I agree with the limitations on lobbying and I favor a much improved system of financing political campaigns, but if these things happen but we continue to govern by polls rather than by looking at the national needs, we will get nowhere.

The second part of this statement is a recognition that we need to get additional revenue for the federal government.

He says accurately, "We have fiscal cancer and nobody wants to talk about it." He goes on and says bluntly, "To put a tourniquet on this deficit-debt hemorrhage, we need spending cuts,

spending freezes, a closing of tax loopholes, denying new programs and tax increases."

Our highways are deteriorating compared to those in Western Europe when not too many years ago it was the other way around.

We have a much higher percentage of our children living in poverty than any of the Western Europeans countries.

We are the only western industrialized country that doesn't protect all of our citizens with health care insurance.

These things take revenue, and people in this body and in the Administration ought to be talking much more candidly to the American public.

I commend our colleague, Senator HOLLINGS, for being blunt and telling us the truth in this article which I ask to be printed in full in the RECORD. The article follows:

[From the Post and Courier, Nov. 15, 1995]
POLLS GET IN THE WAY OF WASHINGTON'S WORK

(By Senator Ernest F. Hollings)

The silent scandal that permeates Washington is the pollster charade. As in Newsweek's Conventional Wisdom Watch, today's Washington is based on who's up and who's down in the polls. Everyone—the president, Congress and the media—participates. The result? Nothing gets done and no one really expects anything to get done. Meanwhile, the nation's real needs are ignored. There is no genuine plan to guide us. And plans to put us on a pay-as-you-go basis are simply pollster-driven budget schemes fashioned to get politicians past the next election.

John F. Kennedy started it all 35 years ago in West Virginia. Lou Harris' polls identified hot-button issues of concern and Jack Kennedy played them like a Stradivarius. Political polling immediately became the order of the day. Now even the media wittingly are the engines behind the oppressive reliance on polls. No longer do reporters bow to the who, what, where, when, how and why of fact and accuracy. Instead, they kowtow to pollsters to elicit pithy partisan responses that stem from polls.

The pollster begins each day with "divide and conquer." Voters immediately are divided into age, sex, race, education, working or retired, married or single, veteran or military, city, suburb or rural. No one is considered an American. They have to be Asian-American, African-American, Irish-American.

Division is the pollster mentality, but dissembling is the pollster's art. No pollster has served a day in office. But they'll tell you in a minute that you can't break the Sacred Code of the Pollster. If you want to get—and stay—in office:

Never take a firm position. If you do, you'll divide voters.

Favoring a proposition will put you at odds with those who oppose.

Opposing will separate you and those who favor.

To influence the most voters possible, firmly say that you're "concerned" about any issue so you appear understanding and appease both sides.

Aha! Now any way you slice it, you've identified with the voter. With this kind of soubite mentality permeating the airwaves, it's easy to understand why there is no leadership in Washington.

Lee Atwater taught that negative politics is the positive path to political victory. As a result, one of the first "musts" for a can-

didate today is to order negative research on opponents—and himself. Why? To have a prepared answer for any past mistakes or inconsistencies and to be able to unload on an opponent at the end of the campaign when voters finally are interested and there's no time to respond.

Pollsters also teach both incumbents and challengers to preach change. That's why all candidates sound the same. Republicans and Democrats are all for cutting spending and against taxes; for prisons and against crime; for jobs and against welfare; for education and the environment. And, of course, everyone is for the family. With this emphasis on change and negative politics, the logic of the pollster paradigm is that government is the enemy and problem, not the solution. As such, everyone serving in government must be ousted. Thus, there's the cry for term limits.

The media's job is to expose this nonsense. But instead of living up to this responsibility, the media have joined the scam. They feast on polls and partisanship. Rather than reporting the news of the day, they make the news with their own polls. Questions by reporters don't delve into an issue but focus on the poll or partisan aspects of the issue. What they want is conflict.

These days, the pollster charade in the media continues with the ludicrous notion that spending cuts alone can eliminate the deficit. Or worse—that cutting taxes can eliminate the deficit. Nothing could be further from the truth. Since Ronald Reagan's "voodoo" that tax cuts could bring in more revenue and eliminate the deficit, the national debt quintupled from less than \$1 trillion to almost \$5 trillion. And instead of eliminating waste in government, we created the biggest waste of all—\$348 billion a year in interest costs. Since we can't avoid paying interest costs, we borrow a billion dollars daily, which automatically increases spending a billion, increases the debt a billion and increases interest costs. Every day the cycle starts again.

Both President Clinton's and Speaker Gingrich's budget plans to get rid of this waste are mere ruses to get past next year's election. But Washington politicians figure—who cares? Who will be around seven years from now? And the media lets them get by with it. Our 1995 budget was \$1.52 trillion. The 1996 Clinton budget is \$1.63 trillion. The 1996 Gingrich congressional budget is \$1.60 trillion. Both budgets increase spending. Neither keeps up with the \$1 billion daily increase in the national debt. Over the seven years, spending exceeds revenues by more than \$1 trillion. The media know this yet continue to report "a balanced budget by the year 2002."

Now comes the bogus proposal to balance the budget by reducing cost-of-living increases for Social Security and by raiding Medicare. By law, Social Security funds are in trust and are not to be used to offset the deficit. Similarly, the Medicare trust fund for hospital costs is in the black, but may go into the red by 2002. In other words, both Social Security and Medicare are paid for and in surplus. What is not paid for this minute is defense, education, farm subsidies, environmental protection, veterans' benefits, law enforcement—general government. We readily increase billions for defense and other programs but are unwilling to pay for it. Thus continues the borrowing, spending and downward spiral that increases the deficit. We have fiscal cancer and nobody wants to talk about it.

To put a tourniquet on this deficit-debt hemorrhage, we need spending cuts, spending freezes, a closing of tax loopholes, denying new programs and tax increases. But proposals to do this go unreported. As such, the

public believes spending cuts alone will do the job. And the media validate bogus plans to cut taxes as serious moves to balance the budget. That we really are broke is ignored.

Rather than being pollster pawns, the media should serve as an institutional memory to give up perspective. With the Cold War over, it's time to rebuild our economy. More than ever, a strong government is needed—for education, job training, research, housing, transportation, technical development and inner-city needs.

But the media treat government as the enemy.

In a silent conspiracy with pollsters and Washington politicians, the media masquerade opinion polls as fact and validate the politics that any tax increase is poison. All the time, the rebuilding of America goes wanting and neither the Clinton nor the Dole/Gingrich forces can talk sense. The train wreck is a media production. •

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BROWN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. HUTCHISON). The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

OUR TROOPS WILL SPEND CHRISTMAS IN BOSNIA

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, as I came over here tonight for the vote, I could feel the light snow and the chill of the wind. It made me think of the weather that the young men and women who we are sending to Bosnia will experience during their Christmas—the 19- and 20-year-old young men and women who love their country, and they will give their very lives if called upon to serve. They will spend this Christmas thousands of miles away from home, in the outskirts of Tuzla, Bosnia—and they will do it gladly.

In the idealism of youth, they will know that they are serving their country, and they will carry with it an enthusiasm that tells them they would do anything to serve this Nation and to preserve our freedom.

I cannot help but remember the words of a movie that perhaps some have forgotten, a movie that some of the critics laughed at. Sylvester Stallone played the part of a man trying to free POW's in Vietnam. When he came back from the mission that some of the leaders had tried to thwart, he was asked by his commanding colonel what in the world he wanted. The words he spoke in the movie were: "I want what every man who served in Vietnam wanted; I want my country to love me as much as I love my country."

Tonight we have decided to send young men and women into harm's way, and into a cause that is not clearly defined, and into a mission that is full of risk. But they will go, and they will go gladly. They will make us proud.

Madam President, that love of country and that willingness to serve, to go anywhere and do anything for us, deserves more than a casual commitment

from the leaders in this country; it deserves leaders that love those men and women as much as they love us. It deserves a commitment from us that is comparable to theirs. It is a commitment we should not take lightly. We should not send young men and women to their death without being fully resolved that what they might die for is worth the price.

I do not believe that the mission that has been outlined is worth that price, and I do not believe that our leaders have that commitment. But the decision has been made. Those young men and women go with our prayers, and I will think of them this Christmas, away from home and facing what may be the saddest part of anyone's life—the chance of giving their lives for a mission that their country may not care about. That surely is the toughest burden that any young man or any young woman may ever have to face. I only pray, now that the decision is made and the troops are on the way, that we will not forget them, that we will stand beside them, that we will not deny them the weapons they need, that we will not refuse to go after the people who shoot after them, and that we will spare no effort.

My heart was filled with joy when I heard the reaction of the French President when the French pilots, who had been taken prisoner, were not returned. He made it very clear that France would not accept their men not being returned in any way, or under any circumstances. Because he stood firm, those boys were returned. He stood up for his troops and he stood beside them.

I only pray that this Nation will have the courage to do as much for those young men and women whose lives we put on the line.

I yield the floor.

Mr. PRESSLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota is recognized.

SENDING TROOPS TO BOSNIA IS A MISTAKE

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President, I would like to say that I feel very strongly that the basic decision to send troops to Bosnia, under the circumstances, is a mistake. I voted today for the Hutchison resolution, and I did so as a Vietnam veteran, as one who served in the Army in Vietnam. I feel strongly that we have made a mistake by sending troops to Bosnia.

Certainly, all of us want our troops to be well cared for and well equipped, but I oppose the basic decision to send troops there. Indeed, from my State, in the National Guard callup, 1 of 8 people who have been called up so far, probably to go to Bosnia, is a nephew of mine. And he will willingly serve his country, just as I did. But I disagree with the basic decision to send troops there and have so voted today.

Those were not easy votes, and I feel that the last vote was more or less pa-

pering over the whole decision, so I voted against that resolution. I feel very strongly, and my constituents feel, that we are engaging in an adventure from which we will not be able to get out of easy, and if we do get out of it, it will be with a large foreign aid bill.

There has been fighting in that country since the 15th century, and it has continued largely because foreign armies have come every time they have had a civil war, and it has never been resolved. That will probably be the case again.

So, Madam President, I wish to state that, certainly, we all care a great deal for our troops. One of them is going to be my nephew. I make my decision based on experience as a lieutenant in the Army in Vietnam. I just do not think this will work. That is the reason I voted as I did today.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1977

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate considers the conference report to accompany H.R. 1977, the Interior appropriations bill, that it be considered under the following time limitation: There be 6 hours for debate on the conference report, with 3 hours under the control of Senator GORTON or his designee, and 3 hours under the control of Senators BUMPERS and BRADLEY or their designees with 20 minutes of Senator GORTON's time under the control of Senator BYRD; that when the time is used or yielded back, the Senate proceed to vote on adoption of the conference report with the above occurring without intervening action or debate.

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

CORRECTION OF ENROLLMENT OF S. 1060

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 116 that has just been received from the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 116) directing the Secretary of the Senate to make technical corrections in the enrollment of S. 1060.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to proceeding to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

AMENDMENT NO. 3098

(Purpose: To add a technical correction)

Mr. BROWN. Madam President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senators SIMPSON and CRAIG.