

action, all these things enable the United Nations at this 50-year point finally to fulfill the promise of its founders.

But if we want the U.N. to do so, we must face the fact that for all its successes and all its possibilities, it does not work as well as it should. The United Nations must be reformed. In this age of relentless change, successful governments and corporations are constantly reducing their bureaucracies, setting clearer priorities, focusing on targeted results.

In the United States we have eliminated hundreds of programs, thousands of regulations. We're reducing our government to its smallest size since President Kennedy served here, while increasing our efforts in areas most critical to our future. The U.N. must take similar steps.

Over the years it has grown too bloated, too often encouraging duplication, and spending resources on meetings rather than results. As its board of directors, all of us—we, the member states—must create a U.N. that is more flexible, that operates more rapidly, that wastes less and produces more, and most importantly, that inspires confidence among our governments and our people.

In the last few years we have seen some good reforms—a new oversight office to hold down costs, a new system to review personnel, a start toward modernization and privatization. But we must do more.

The United Nations supports the proposal of the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Essyi, who spoke so eloquently here earlier this morning, to prepare a blueprint for renewing the U.N. and to approve it before the 50th General Assembly finishes its work next fall.

We must consider major structural changes. The United Nations simply does not need a separate agency with its own acronym, stationery and bureaucracy for every problem. The new U.N. must peel off what doesn't work and get behind what will.

We must also realize, in particular, the limits to peacekeeping and not ask the Blue Helmets to undertake missions they cannot be expected to handle. Peacekeeping can only succeed when the parties to a conflict understand they cannot profit from war. We have too often asked our peacekeepers to work miracles while denying them the military and political support required, and the modern command-and-control systems they need to do their job as safely and effectively as possible. Today's U.N. must be ready to handle tomorrow's challenges. Those of us who most respect the U.N. must lead the charge of reform.

Not all the critics of today's United Nations are isolationists. Many are supporters who gladly would pay for the U.N.'s essential work if they were convinced their money was being well-spent. But I pledge to all of you, as we work together to improve the United Nations, I will continue to work to see that the United States takes the lead in paying its fair share of our common load. (Applause.)

Meanwhile, we must all remember that the United Nations is a reflection of the world it represents. Therefore, it will remain far from perfect. It will not be able to solve all problems. But even those it cannot solve, it may well be able to limit in terms of the scope and reach of the problem, and it may well be able to limit the loss of human life until the time for solution comes.

So just as withdrawing from the world is impossible, turning our backs on the U.N. is no solution. It would be shortsighted and self-destructive. It would strengthen the forces of global disintegration. It would threaten the security, the interest and the values of the American people. So I say especially to the opponents of the United Nations

here in the United States, turning our back on the U.N. and going it alone will lead to far more economic, political and military burdens on our people in the future and would ignore the lessons of our own history. (Applause.)

Instead, on this 50th anniversary of the charter signing, let us renew our vow to live together as good neighbors. And let us agree on a new United Nations agenda to increase confidence and ensure support for the United Nations, and to advance peace and prosperity for the next 50 years.

First and foremost, the U.N. must strengthen its efforts to isolate states and people who traffic in terror, and support those who continue to take risks for peace in the face of violence. The bombing in Oklahoma City, the deadly gas attack in Tokyo, the struggles to establish peace in the Middle East and in Northern Ireland—all of these things remind us that we must stand against terror and support those who move away from it. Recent discoveries of laboratories working to produce biological weapons for terrorists demonstrate the dangerous link between terrorism and the weapons of mass destruction.

In 1937, President Roosevelt called for a quarantine against aggressions, to keep the infection of fascism from seeping into the bloodstream of humanity. Today, we should quarantine the terrorists, the terrorist groups, and the nations that support terrorism. (Applause.)

Where nations and groups honestly seek to reform, to change, to move away from the killing of innocents, we should support them. But when they are unrepentant in the delivery of death, we should stand tall against them (Applause.) My friends, there is no easy way around the hard question: If nations and groups are not willing to move away from the delivery of death, we should put aside short-term profits for the people in our countries to stop, stop their conduct. (Applause.)

Second, the U.N. must continue our efforts to stem the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. There are some things nations can do on their own. The U.S. and Russia today are destroying our nuclear arsenals rapidly. (Applause.) But the U.N. must also play a role. We were honored to help secure an indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty under U.N. auspices. (Applause.)

We rely on U.N. agencies to monitor nations bent on acquiring nuclear capabilities. We must work together on the Chemical Weapons Convention. We must strengthen our common efforts to fight biological weapons. We must do everything we can to limit the spread of fissile materials. We must work on conventional weapons like the land mines that are the curse of children the world over. (Applause.) And we must complete a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. (Applause.)

Third, we must support through the United Nations the fight against manmade and natural forces of disintegration, from crime syndicates and drug cartels, to new diseases and disappearing forests. These enemies are elusive; they cross borders at will. Nations can and must oppose them alone. But we know, and the Cairo Conference reaffirmed, that the most effective opposition requires strong international cooperation and mutual support.

Fourth, we must reaffirm our commitment to strengthen U.N. peacekeeping as an important tool for deterring, containing and ending violent conflict. The U.N. can never be an absolute guarantor of peace, but it can reduce human suffering and advance the odds of peace.

Fifth—you may clap for that—(applause.) Fifth, we must continue what is too often

the least noticed of the U.N.'s missions; its unmatched efforts on the front lines of the battle for child survival and against disease and human suffering.

And finally, let us vote to make the United Nations an increasing strong voice for the protection of fundamental human dignity and human rights. After all, they were at the core of the founding of this great organization. (Applause.)

Today we honor the men and women who gave shape to the United Nations. We celebrate 50 years of achievement. We commit ourselves to real reforms. We reject the siren song of the new isolationists. We set a clear agenda worthy of the vision of our founders. The measure of our generation will be whether we give up because we cannot achieve a perfect world or strive on to build a better world.

Fifty years ago today, President Truman reminded the delegates that history had not ended with Hitler's defeat. He said, it is easier to remove tyrants and destroy concentration camps than it is to kill the ideas which give them birth. Victory on the battlefield was essential, but it is not good enough for a lasting, good peace. (Applause.)

Today we know that history has not ended with the Cold War. We know, and we have learned from painful evidence, that as long as there are people on the face of the Earth, imperfection and evil will be a part of human nature; there will be killing, cruelty, self-destructive abuse of our natural environment, denial of the problems that face us all. But we also know that here today, in this historic chamber, the challenge of building a good and lasting peace is in our hands and success is within our reach.

Let us not forget that each child saved, each refugee housed, each disease prevented, each barrier to justice brought down, each sword turned into a ploughshare, brings us closer to the vision of our founders—closer to peace, closer to freedom, closer to dignity. (Applause.)

So my fellow citizens of the world, let us not lose heart. Let us gain renewed strength and energy and vigor from the progress which has been made and the opportunities which are plainly before us. Let us say no to isolation, yes to reform; yes to a brave, ambitious new agenda; most of all, yes to the dream of the United Nations.

Thank you. ●

TRIBUTE TO GEN. GORDON R. SULLIVAN, USA, ON HIS RETIREMENT

● Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, as the U.S. Army undergoes a change in its top military leadership, I would like to recognize the outstanding service of the Army's 32d Chief of Staff, Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan. Throughout his tenure as the Army Chief of Staff, General Sullivan has worked closely with the Congress and we have found his professional military advice invaluable. He is retiring from the Army after more than 35 years of service to our Nation.

General Sullivan has had the unenviable task of leading the Army through its largest downsizing in 50 years, while simultaneously preparing the Army for the new challenges of the next century. As a testament to the success of his efforts, General Sullivan is leaving an Army that is trained, disciplined, and proud. His focus on taking care of soldiers and their families, on education, and on promoting both

realistic field exercises and increasing the use of simulation has made the Army ready for what the 21st century may bring. General Sullivan has put forth a vision of the Army for the 21st century that will be both the guidepost for years to come. He can take great pride in both the Army's past accomplishments and future preparedness. General Sullivan has essentially led the Army into the 21st century.

Throughout his career, General Sullivan has distinguished himself in numerous command and staff positions with U.S. forces stationed both overseas and in the Continental United States. In Asia, he served a tour of duty in Korea and two tours of duty in Vietnam. In Europe, his assignments included 3d Armored Division's Chief of Staff and the VII Corps operations officer. From July 1985 to March 1987 General Sullivan served on the NATO staff as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Support of Central Army Group in Germany.

General Sullivan's stateside assignments included serving as the assistant commandant of the Armor School at Fort Knox, KY, and deputy commandant of the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, KS. In addition, he served as the commanding general of the 1st Infantry Division, "The Big Red One," at Fort Riley, KS. Since June 1991, General Sullivan has served in his present assignment as the U.S. Army Chief of Staff.

Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in thanking General Sullivan for his honorable service to the people and Army of the United States. We wish him and his family Godspeed and all the best in the future.●

TRIBUTE TO THE NEW JERSEY DEVILS

● Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I rise today with great pleasure to congratulate New Jersey's very own Devils. As you may know, the New Jersey Devils have defeated the Detroit Red Wings to become the Stanley Cup Champions of the National Hockey League. This past Saturday night at the Meadowlands Arena in East Rutherford, NJ, the Devils concluded their courageous quest for the Stanley Cup with a 5 to 2 victory to sweep the four-game series.

The New Jersey Devils may not have superstar players like Detroit. However, it is clear that through their classic gritty team play and a foundation of discipline, unity, and hard work, they overcame all adversity to achieve their ultimate goal. After last year's heart-breaking exit from the playoffs at the hands of the New York Rangers, this year's team forged through the playoffs with a vengeance to complete their mission.

New Jersey's key players came through in the playoffs to inspire their team with clutch performances. Although it was forward Claude Lemieux who took the Conn Smythe Trophy as the Most Valuable Player throughout

the Stanley Cup playoffs, there were a host of other heroes without whom the Devils would never have made it as far as they did. Captain and defenseman Scott Stevens, who shut down the opposition's superstars, goaltender Martin Brodeur, the second-year phenom who has emerged as one of the best goaltenders in the NHL, and native New Jerseyan Jim Dowd from Brick, who scored a clutch goal to win game two, are just a few examples.

The Devils played ultimate team hockey in winning the Stanley Cup. Their now infamous neutral-zone trap defensive system put the Red Wings in a stranglehold tighter than any octopi their fans could throw onto the ice.

In closing, Mr. President, I would like to once again offer congratulations to our Devils. Success in the professional sports arena, like many other endeavors, requires a great deal of dedication, hard work, and courage. And that is our New Jersey Devils. I am very proud to have them represent our State.●

THE DEATH OF FORMER CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, yesterday's newspapers reported that former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger died on Sunday here in Washington. He was 87 years old.

Twenty-six years ago, President Nixon nominated Warren Burger to be Chief Justice with the hope of reversing the activism of the Warren Court. Yet history was not entirely cooperative: Chief Justice Burger presided over a 17-year period in which many of the era's most profound controversies had to be decided by the High Court. A number of those issues, including school busing to achieve desegregation: Swann versus Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 1971; the separation of church and state as applicable to government aid to parochial schools, Lemon versus Kurtzman, 1971; and Executive privilege, United States versus Nixon, 1974, were decided in opinions written by Chief Justice Burger himself.

The Chief was somehow able to take all of this and more in stride. He relished his additional statutory duties as chancellor of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, and as chairman of the board of trustees of the National Gallery of Art. Although my service as a regent of the Smithsonian Institution began just after Chief Justice Burger's tenure as chancellor ended in 1986, I did have the exhilarating honor, in September of 1985, to be presented the Joseph Henry Award by then-Chancellor Burger on one memorable evening at the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden.

Following his retirement from the Court in 1986, Chief Justice Burger devoted himself on a full-time basis to his work as Chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, to which President

Reagan had appointed him the previous year. Characteristically, the Chief threw himself into that effort with the great energy and enthusiasm he applied to all of his pursuits. I recall corresponding with him about the Commission's progress and his many ideas for increasing public appreciation for the Constitution in its bicentennial year. Among its good works, the Commission produced the excellent pocket-sized Constitutions that are available in Senate offices. I have taken to carrying a copy with me, and I know the distinguished Senator from West Virginia has as well.

In his Foreword to the pocket Constitution, Chief Justice Burger wrote that our constitutional system:

[D]oes not always provide tidy results; it depends on a clash of views in debate and on bargain and compromise. For 200 years this Constitution's ordered liberty has unleashed the energies and talents of people to create a good life.

Warren Burger created just such a good life through his own indomitable energies and talents. He came from humble roots in St. Paul, MN, attended college and law school at night, and ultimately rose to become Chief Justice of the United States.

Chief Justice Burger was a distinguished jurist and a patriot in the finest sense of the word. He was also a wonderful husband and father and, although it is not much in fashion to say so today, he was a gentleman. He was my friend for more than a quarter century, and he will be greatly missed.

Mr. President, I ask that the obituary by Linda Greenhouse from the New York Times of June 26th be printed in the RECORD.

The obituary follows:

[From the New York Times, June 26, 1995]

WARREN E. BURGER IS DEAD AT 87; WAS CHIEF JUSTICE FOR 17 YEARS

(By Linda Greenhouse)

Washington, June 25—Warren E. Burger, who retired in 1986 after 17 years as the 15th Chief Justice of the United States, died here today at age 87. The cause was congestive heart failure, a spokeswoman for the Supreme Court said.

An energetic court administrator, Chief Justice Burger was in some respects a transitional figure despite his long tenure. He presided over a Court that, while it grew steadily more conservative with subsequent appointments, nonetheless remained strongly influenced by the legacy of his liberal predecessor, Chief Justice Earl Warren. The constitutional right to abortion and the validity of busing as a remedy for school segregation were both established during Chief Justice Burger's tenure, and with his support.

The country knew Chief Justice Burger as a symbol before it knew much about him as a man or a judge.

He was President Richard M. Nixon's first Supreme Court nominee, and Mr. Nixon had campaigned on a pledge to find "strict constructionists" and "practitioners of judicial restraint" who would turn back the activist tide that the Court had built under Chief Justice Warren, its leader since 1953.

The nomination on May 21, 1969, immediately made Mr. Burger, a white-haired, 61-year-old Federal appeals court judge, lightning rod for those who welcomed as well as