

stench of urine is overwhelming. The dank bathroom with rusting, corroded pipes is in the basement, and the windows remain shut for security reasons.

"It kind of holds the odors in," said the school's new principal, Gloria Henderson, who has been trying unsuccessfully to have a hole cut in the wall and an exhaust fan installed.

The bathroom problem in D.C. schools is not all old age.

Parents and educators said that in many schools, clean, fully stocked and functioning bathrooms are simply not a priority in a school system saddled with other problems and budget woes. Hundreds of D.C. students still do not even have textbooks.

This fall, parents at Watkins Elementary School, on Capitol Hill, were stunned to discover there were no working sinks in the girls' or boys' bathrooms on the first, second and third floors, in some cases since last January, according to parent Samuel Brylawski.

"Here you have a school full of kids who don't wash their hands after they go to the bathroom," Brylawski said. "It took parents nine months to be informed. Fundamental sanitary practices were not a high priority."

Some repairs were made after Brylawski wrote a letter to the superintendent and the public health commission, he said.

Mary Levy, counsel to Parents United, a parents advocacy group, said the low priority for maintaining bathrooms reflects officials' lack of concern of children. "Every door should be taken off the stalls of the buildings with elected officials until they fix the doors for children," she said.

Bathroom water is the issue at Langdon Elementary School, in Northeast Washington. PTA president Vivian Whitaker said only cold water comes out of the bathroom sinks, and it's dirty brown.

"I wouldn't recommend the children wash their hands," Whitaker said.

School officials said it's hard to maintain heavily used bathrooms, especially when students dirty them or break equipment. Parents said students are less likely to violate clean, working restrooms.

At schools where bathroom repairs have been made, such as Wilson High School and J.F. Cook Elementary, it has made all the difference, they said.

Three years ago, D.C. public schools hired a consulting firm to study its buildings. The firm found serious problems in bathroom piping and toilets, including old sewage pipes rusted beyond repair, poor lighting and missing or defective toilet stalls and urinals.

In seven schools, the plumbing was called "hazardous." The plumbing system at Francis Junior High, with "extensive leaking and clogged pipes" was called "unacceptable." At Browne Junior High, the report called for "immediate replacement" of all the plumbing. As of July, 75 D.C. schools needed repairs, including new or fixed sinks, according to a school document. An additional 13 schools needed toilet partitions so students could use them with privacy.

At one on that list, Duke Ellington School of the Arts in Georgetown, student Zavi Ball, 16, described the bathrooms last week as "disgusting, horrible."

"There's never any paper towels or soap," she said. "There's no warm water to wash your hands. There's hardly ever toilet paper. There's dirty feminine products on the floor and roaches. Whenever guests come, they clean the bathrooms up. But when it's just us, they don't care. When I come to school at 8 in the morning, the bathroom is already dirty."

Facilities and Management Director William McAfee did not return phone calls. But school spokeswoman Beverly Lofton said building repair funds were very tight.

With a more than half-billion-dollar budget, the District spends \$7.673 a year for each of its students, one of the highest per-pupil operating costs in the country. But most of the capital funds for building upkeep and repairs have been used for repairing fire hazards, Lofton said.

"We don't want our kids going to schools that don't have functioning bathrooms," Lofton said. "We want them to have the best of everything, including partitions and sinks that work. But there is a lack of capital money to repair everything that breaks when it happens."

"We do recognize we have problems with bathrooms in the school systems" she said. "Bathrooms are a priority for the coming year."

Principal Rosalie Huff of Anthony Bowen Elementary School, in Southwest, tired of waiting. When the school system hadn't replaced her broken toilets and missing partitions in 12 bathrooms by the beginning of this school year, she bought five new toilets and partitions herself.

"I had a situation that was really awful," Huff said. "It didn't allow any type of basic human dignity for the girls. You were just sitting out if you had to use the toilets."

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader wants the Appleseed Foundation, a public interest law center he helped create, to work to improve the District's school bathrooms. He got fired up about dirty, dysfunctional restrooms after listening to complaints from students at Alice Deal Junior High. "They said their bathrooms were filthy," Nader said. "There was no soap, no privacy and no toilet paper. And they said they held it. But the faculty restrooms were immaculate. It's so disgraceful."

A visit to Deal last week revealed boys' and girls' bathrooms missing doors on the stalls and partitions between toilets, sinks that don't work properly and boys' restrooms filled with an overwhelming stench. A school worker said the odor came from toilets that leak and sewage that sits in rusty, corroded pipes.

At Horace Mann, PTA president Jane Joyce said she was so fed up with the bathrooms that she raised the issue at the first parents meeting in September. About 30 parents volunteered to come in on a Saturday and scrub the floors, bring in toilet paper and make repairs.

That helped for a while. A few weeks ago, parent Joan Murray ventured into one of the school bathrooms to see if it really was as bad as her two children described.

"I wouldn't use it," Murray said. "It was more than horrendous. It was disgusting. There were paper towels everywhere, no flushed toilets and no soap. The water didn't come out of the spigots. And it smelled. I couldn't believe it was in the United States." •

AMBASSADOR JOSEPH VERNER
REED'S ADDRESS TO
INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

• Mr. PELL. Mr. President, in October, Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed represented U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali at the 94th Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Bucharest, Romania.

At the Conference, Ambassador Reed delivered an exceptional speech concerning the current financial crisis at the United Nations. As a longtime friend and supporter of the United Nations, I can think of no issue more im-

portant to the U.N.'s future. Moreover, the United Nation's fiscal health has critical implications for our own country's foreign and domestic agenda.

In his address, Ambassador Reed—formerly one of the United States' most accomplished diplomats and now a high-ranking U.N. official—made a compelling argument about the necessity for resolving this crisis. I commend the speech to my colleagues and ask that excerpts be printed in the RECORD.

The excerpts of the speech follows:

Mr. President, the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations has arrived at one of the turning points in modern history.

The United Nations is the only machinery we have for collective cooperation among all Nations. It is the only global tool for promoting peace and security. It is the only worldwide institution for furthering development. It is the only universal mechanism for protecting human rights. It is the only shared framework for strengthening international law.

But today I feel compelled to share my distress with you on a subject which is unavoidable, the survival of the United Nations. For almost four years, we have tried to convince the governments of member states of the United Nations to pay their assessments on time. For four years we have warned of the financial consequences of the failure to pay assessments. We have argued, we have pleaded.

The organization has cut expenses. We have streamlined operations. We are working hard to reduce waste, duplication and overlap. Peace-keeping is expensive. The operation in the former Yugoslavia costs five million dollars per day.

In Every major statement and document of the Secretary-General, he has drawn attention to the financial crisis and proposed steps to remedy it. In meeting after meeting with foreign ministers and heads of state over these years, he has pleaded with them to address this deteriorating situation.

As of October 1995, 70 countries had not paid their regular budget assessment. Today, the United Nations is owed a total of \$3.4 billion by its member states.

I appeal to you as parliamentarians to help me resolve this crisis. I ask you to try to convince your governments to pay their arrears, and to pay future contributions on time, and in full.

I make this appeal to you because the United Nations is your organization. I make this appeal here because without peace, and without the global efforts of peace, and without the global efforts of the United Nations, all your efforts for development will be to no avail.

The United Nations is not one of the luxuries of international life. The work of the United Nations is of vital, critical importance:

Saving children from starvation and disease.

Providing food, clothing and shelter for refugees.

Delivering humanitarian relief to devastated areas.

Working to stop the cycle of natural disasters in lands repeatedly afflicted by them.

Countering the new international threats of crimes, drugs, disease.

Defending human rights in individual cases as well as through international commitments.

Advising, training, monitoring and institution-building in countries seeking to democratize.

Maintaining ceasefires, preventing conflicts from erupting, peacemaking between

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