

part of our system. I do not suggest that we change that. I do suggest that we change the way we finance campaigns.

What we have to keep in mind is, who is contacting Members? And the people who have real needs, working men and women who are struggling, are they getting their voices through? Too often, they are not.

FOREIGN AID AND FAMILY VALUES

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, after I announced I would not seek reelection to the Senate, President Clinton called me and suggested that periodically I should make comments about issues, on the assumption that someone who will not again be a candidate for public office could speak without having the onus of public gain associated with the remarks. This is the second in a series of observations in response to the President's suggestion.

We have heard a great deal about family values during the recent political season. There are few Americans who do not recognize the virtues of family values and treasure them. However, in no other nation do political leaders talk as much about family values as in our country, and in no other Western industrialized nation is there anywhere close to the 23 percent of children living in poverty that we have.

Political leaders talk more about family values than act upon them. Assuming that we are serious in our concerns about family values, we should ask ourselves what that implies in policy.

There are some obvious answers. We will be concerned about one another in a family. Violence will not be part of that family life. Each person will try to live responsibly and help others in the family when there are needs, great or small.

A slight bit of reflection will cause people to recognize, if we follow the finest ethical standards and if we show love and concern for everyone in our household, but ignore the problems of our neighbors, we will not be protecting our family. We will have failed in our attempt to project family values.

If the neighborhood in which we live deteriorates, our family is in jeopardy because of problems of crime, or simply because of a loss of economic value to our home. If an unpleasant atmosphere where we live replaces a pleasant atmosphere, fear will be the unseen companion, as our family members walk the streets of such a neighborhood.

Anyone who professes family values but ignores the neighborhood is betraying the very values he or she professes.

What is true of homes immediately adjacent to that family is also true of homes 6 blocks away. While the threats of crime and economic deterioration are less pressing than to a home next door, the threats are, nevertheless,

real. We recognize that family values are not a set of virtues to be practiced in isolation.

On further reflection, we recognize that what is true of immediate neighbors and those who live 1 mile away is true for those at greater distances. Ultimately, people in the Chicago suburbs who wish to practice family values must understand that they have a stake in what happens on the west side of Chicago. People in New York sense that they have a responsibility to themselves to help victims of a flood in California.

"One Nation, under God, indivisible," is more than a phrase. To the extent that we create that as a reality, we protect our families. To the extent that we permit the artificial barriers of race or geography or sex or religion or ethnic background to diminish our concern for one another, we diminish the quality of life for our families—all of them.

Concern for others cannot stop at the borders of our Nation if we are to protect our families; 650,000 American homes have experienced grief because of a loss of a family member in military contests with other nations. We have slowly learned that we cannot protect our families when we ignore the threats to nations beyond our borders.

If I were speaking a decade ago, I would have said that the great external threat to the families of our Nation is nuclear annihilation; the United States and the Soviet Union have thousands of nuclear warheads pointed at each other. If that spark had been ignited in some way, civilization, as we know it, would have died.

Today, the great threat to our security is instability in trouble spots around the world. As the only superpower left in the world, we will either provide leadership or there will be deterioration within nations and between nations.

Few thoughtful people in this country or any other would deny that the United States should lead. But there are sizable numbers of observers of the international scene who believe this Nation is too often squandering its opportunity for significant leadership.

Ultimately, the United States, along with the rest of the world, will suffer because of that. I say that with the knowledge that both political parties in this Nation must do better.

President Clinton faced the huge task of moving from Governor of Arkansas to suddenly becoming the most influential person in the world in foreign policy. It is not an easy transition.

In March of 1994, he did a better job than in March 1993. This year, he is doing a better job than last year. A year from now, he will do a better job than he is doing today. That is encouraging. He is a giant on the international scene by reason of his position.

But he is hampered in his effectiveness by limited background and also by

the reality that his two key players in international affairs, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, are capable and knowledgeable but both are, by nature, cautious.

The net result from the executive branch is leadership that is generally solid but sometimes not as bold as it might be.

The greater deficiency is with the legislative branch. We too often micromanage. I have been guilty of this myself. A much worse offense is that we pander to public opinion and reduce this Nation's ability to lead more effectively.

A public opinion poll suggests foreign aid is unpopular; we cut foreign aid, even when it hurts our long-term interests. If there is a surge of public opinion suggesting that we avoid sharing risk for peace with other nations, we follow the surge of public opinion rather than national and international need.

When we discover that speeches calling for reductions in what we pay to the United Nations bring applause, we pander to the applause and become the world's No. 1 deadbeat.

What should the United States be doing? Let me suggest three points: No. 1, as a people, we must broaden our understanding of other nations and other cultures.

The provincialism of Congress mirrors our people.

A family cannot be said to truly have family values if they do not understand one another.

That is true within our Nation, where we have far too little understanding between urban and suburban and rural populations and far too little understanding across the barriers of race, religion, sex, and ethnic background.

But it is true beyond the borders of our Nation. The family of humanity needs to understand the hopes and fears, the dreams and problems of those who live in other nations. As we learn, we will be willing to share more than our experiences. But basic knowledge is vital, whether within a single family, a community, a nation, or in the community of nations.

Our knowledge is lacking. That is why the Peace Corps is more important than what our volunteers do for other nations; we gain a sensitivity to other cultures, a major asset to the nation. Colleges and universities can do much more to broaden the understanding of students. Can someone really be considered educated if, upon graduation as an engineer or physician or teacher or journalist or accountant or architect, he or she does not have the most minimal understanding of the rest of the world? We understandably lament the failure of too many graduates having even a cursory understanding of the religious heritage of the United States, but can people who do not have some appreciation of the beliefs of Moslems and Buddhists be expected to deal effectively with other nations?

A fine, small, liberal arts college that I attended for 2 years, Dana College in Nebraska, is seriously considering a program to offer its students assistance which would permit any student, regardless of family income, to study or travel abroad. The theory is that the students would not only enlarge their personal horizons, but when they return to this small campus, they could stimulate others. Dana College has only 600 students, but they come from 27 States and 14 nations. I hope the college can raise the money to do this, and lead other colleges and universities around the nation to do the same.

Our language provincialism reflects our cultural provincialism. In almost every nation in the world—if not all of them—all elementary students study a foreign language. In the United States, only a tiny fraction do. We are the only nation in which you can go through grade school, high school, college, and get a Ph.D., and never have a year of a foreign language. We are also the only nation in which, if we study French or German or some other language for 2 years, we will say, "I have studied German." Or, "I have studied French."

It is uninformed provincialism that leads Members of Congress to call for laws prohibiting military leaders of any other nation from commanding our troops in a U.N. operation. Ever since George Washington had French leadership for some of our rebels, we have worked with other nationals. Would there be anything un-American about having a NATO commander who is Canadian or Italian or from some other NATO nation? Will we agree to take part in a U.N. operation only if we're promised a leadership role proportionately much greater than the resources we have committed? Responsible patriotic fervor can sometimes be converted into irresponsible nonsense cloaked in "patriotism."

The media of our Nation should do more to inform us, but faced with budget problems, major newspapers, wire services and networks have reduced their overseas personnel.

When critics rightfully note that the U.S. budget and policy do not reflect the tremendous changes that have occurred in the rest of the world, particularly our military budget, part of the reason is that even the people who do not get their news primarily from television bites receive too little information about other nations, unless there is a crisis. The lack of public understanding of the dramatic changes in the world makes it more difficult for leaders in the administration and Congress to alter foreign policy.

That democracy is spreading in Africa and much of the rest of the world is known by only a tiny fraction of the American people who can tell us lurid details of the O.J. Simpson trial.

Editors who rightfully criticize Members of Congress for pandering to public whims defend their obsession and excessive attention to the Simpson trial

by telling us, "We're giving the public what it wants." That is an irresponsible answer for politicians and an irresponsible answer for the media.

Commenting on foreign aid, Michael Kinsley wrote recently in the *New Yorker*:

Americans are scandalously ignorant * * *. All over the country—at dinner tables in focus groups, on call-in radio shows and * * * occasionally on the floor of Congress—citizens are expressing outrage about how much we spend on foreign aid, without having the faintest idea of what the amount is. This is not * * * a question of being misinformed. No one—not even Rush Limbaugh—is out there spreading the falsehood that we spend 15 percent of the Federal budget on foreign aid. People are forming and expressing passionate views about foreign aid on the basis of no information at all.

If we expect the legislative and executive branches of our Government to build a responsible course of leadership on a base of public ignorance, we ask for far more than we are likely to receive.

My second point: We should be providing more foreign aid, not less.

In probably two out of three of my town meetings people ask: "Why don't we cut back on foreign aid, and spend the money on our own needs?"

They, of course, have no idea that through our aid programs more than 3 million lives are saved each year through immunization programs; that as we help the other countries survive economically, they frequently become our customers, then lift our standard of living; that much of what we call foreign aid is spent for food and equipment in the United States.

We cannot reverse illiteracy or set up a program to educate people on family planning with a military budget; this takes foreign aid.

When the political parties of democracies in Asia held a conference recently, they closed their meeting by singing, "We Shall Overcome," an expression more of hope than confidence, because democracies in many parts of the world are frail. A little help from the United States as the world's leading democracy means much to them, both for the concrete help and in symbolic terms.

When I ask people at town meetings—and I am sure my colleagues from New Hampshire and Michigan have this same experience—what percentage of our budget goes for foreign aid, usually the guess is somewhere between 15 percent and 25 percent. They are startled with I tell them it is less than 1 percent.

A University of Maryland poll found the same answer. But, then, the University of Maryland asked how much would be "appropriate" and the answer: 5 percent. When asked how much would be "too little," they answered 3 percent—more than three times what we actually spend.

If military aid is subtracted from our foreign assistance, less than one-half of 1 percent of our budget goes for foreign aid, to economic assistance.

Because of the huge and growing U.S. debt, this year our gross interest spending will be 22 times the amount we pay for foreign aid. Even more startling, because so many U.S. bonds are now held by the economically fortunate beyond our borders, we will spend more than twice as much on interest to them as we do on foreign aid that is designed in large measure for helping poor people.

We appropriate less of our national income for foreign aid than any Western European country or Japan.

At one point under the Marshall plan, we spent 2.9 percent of our national income helping the poor beyond our borders. And how properly proud we are of it. Today we spend less than one-sixth of 1 percent of our national income on foreign economic assistance. Yet most Americans believe we are the most generous of the wealthy nations. In the Marshall plan years our national income—in inflation-adjusted terms—was approximately 40 percent of our present income. As our income has risen, our response to poor people has diminished.

But something else is significant about the Marshall plan, which rescued Western Europe from communism. When General Marshall announced it at a Harvard commencement, and President Truman followed with more details, the first Gallup Poll showed only 14 percent of the American people supported it.

We had a Democratic President who did not consult with pollsters before he called on the American people, and he had to deal with a Republican Congress. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, a Republican leader from Michigan, did not first ask what the Marshall plan might do to his party's political fortunes or how he might use it against the President. A Democratic President and a Republican Congress did the unpopular, what was right, and served this Nation and the world well. The lessons to be drawn are obvious.

President Ronald Reagan suggested that we should devote 1 percent of the Nation's income to helping the poor beyond our borders, appreciably less than we did under the Marshall plan.

We have not come close to the Reagan standard.

Only Denmark and Norway meet this not-so-high standard. Among other nations that assist more than we do are Sweden, Netherlands, France, Finland, Canada, Belgium, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Great Britain, Austria, Portugal, Italy, Spain, Japan, New Zealand, and Ireland.

Canada does three times better than we do.

While we lag behind other nations on economic assistance, we spend almost as much on defense as the rest of the world combined. Looking at our budget, you would hardly guess that the Berlin Wall fell. If we were to reduce our defense expenditures by one-half—which I do not advocate—we would still have, by far, the largest expenditure on

arms of any nation in the world. Unfortunately, we are compounding that problem by pushing many nations to buy arms from our weapons producers, arms that too often destabilize an area rather than stabilize it.

The United States defense budget suggests that the great threat to the world is a Soviet-type attack. The reality is, the great threat is instability. While nations struggle to build democracy, we build more B-2 bombers instead of assisting democracy. Purchasing the B-2 bombers helps the manufacturer, but they are designed for yesterday's defense needs. They were useless in Desert Storm and Haiti. While we blunder ahead with billions on useless bombers, shaky democracies receive our cold shoulder. "We can't afford to help," we tell them. While the swing to democracy around the world has been dramatic, it is not irreversible. Some democracies are likely to fail because of U.S. inattention and paltry financial backing.

Our weak performance in assisting democracies has been compounded by our failure to pass the balanced budget amendment. Instead of lessening U.S. government borrowing and reducing interest rates around the world, we have chosen the high-interest-rate course. That causes higher debt service costs for desperately poor people. The executive director of the International Monetary Fund once told me that facing our U.S. fiscal problems is more important to the developing world than our foreign aid. Yes, we in the United States pay higher interest rates because of our fiscal folly, but so do many nations who can afford the high interest rates less than we can, and they have not caused our national debt. The developing nations now owe \$1.4 trillion. If U.S. imprudence forces interest rates up 1 percent, that potentially costs these poor nations \$14 billion. If we exercise fiscal prudence and international interest drops 1 percent, that potentially saves them \$14 billion, far more than our economic assistance.

In a family in which one person becomes very wealthy, and others in the family are extremely poor, some suffering from malnutrition, they will not continue to be a cohesive family if the wealthy member of the family simply ignores the problems of the poorest. A family member who makes no attempt to understand the problems of the poorest in the family will be regarded by the other family members as arrogant and callous, and when that family member faces problems—which all family members eventually do—the other members of the family are not likely to come to his or her rescue.

It takes no great imagination to see where the United States fits into that picture.

We should play a stronger role in U.N. peacekeeping and peacemaking.

I am impressed by the leadership of Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali. But he has an impossible job if the United States does not play a strong supporting role.

That means paying our dues.

That means contributing more than dollars to U.N. peacekeeping efforts. The latest U.N. report of March 6 of this year shows the following troop contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations:

Country	Strength
1. France	5,093
2. United Kingdom	3,860
3. Jordan	3,698
4. Pakistan	3,102
5. Canada	2,629
6. Bangladesh	2,208
7. Poland	2,181
8. Netherlands	1,823
9. Norway	1,775
10. Ghana	1,730
11. Malaysia	1,677
12. Nepal	1,607
13. Turkey	1,488
14. Russian Federation	1,487
15. Spain	1,452
16. Denmark	1,368
17. Argentina	1,360
18. Sweden	1,316
19. Ukraine	1,208
20. U.S.A.	1,139

Nepal, with a population of less than one-tenth of ours, is contributing 41 percent more troops than the United States. Jordan, with a population of 3.2 million—less than 2 percent of our population—is contributing more than three times as many troops as the United States.

There are 16 U.N. peacekeeping operations underway at this point, and we are contributing troops to 6.

But it is more than the deficiency in the contributions of numbers.

Somalia illustrates the problem. Contrary to the present public image, the Somalia action was one of George Bush's finest moments and something for which the United States should be proud. Our actions saved hundreds of thousands of lives.

I was in Somalia with Senator Howard Metzenbaum early in November 1992. I have never seen anything like it, and I hope never to see anything like it again. We returned to the United States on a Sunday night and, the next morning, called the U.N. Secretary General. Fourteen weeks earlier, the U.N. Security Council had authorized 3,500 troops to go to Somalia to help in the desperate situation there. Weeks later, 500 Pakistani soldiers finally arrived and were forced to hole up at the airport at Mogadishu, the capital city. I told Boutros-Ghali that he should get the additional 3,000 troops there immediately and that Somalia needed an additional 10,000 troops, a figure based only on instinct. He told us he would send the additional 3,000 troops by ship. When I responded vigorously that untold lives would be lost if the troops did not arrive by plane, he noted, "Your government charges me very high rates to move troops by plane." I asked him if we could use the cost of flights to apply to our past-due bills at the United Nations, and he quickly said yes. I called Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger and gave him the background, asking him to call the Secretary General immediately. I also asked the Secretary of State to discuss

the matter with the President, explaining that I would call the President directly, but he was in Connecticut that day for the funeral of his mother. The next day, President Bush asked the Secretary of State to fly to New York to discuss the matter with the Secretary General. Then, President Bush—to his great credit—moved quickly and, that Thursday, announced that the United States would lead U.N. efforts in Somalia. In a few days, troops, food, and medical supplies were in Somalia.

How many lives could have been saved if the United Nations had been able to respond more quickly? Thousands. But no one will ever know the precise number.

Another example: When serious trouble between the Hutus and Tutsis started in Rwanda, Senator JAMES JEFFORDS and I got on the phone to the Canadian Gen. Romeo Dallaire in charge of a small contingent of U.N. troops in the capital city of Kigali. One of the amazing things about our technological age is that you can call from Washington, DC, to a ravaged city in Africa and reach someone by phone. That was on May 12, 1993. He told us that if he received 5,000 to 8,000 troops immediately, he could stop the bloodshed in Rwanda. Senator JEFFORDS and I immediately dispatched a message to the White House, and to other officials, urging quick action. On October 5, 1993—almost 5 months later—the U.N. Security Council authorized action. With unbelievable brutality exploding in Rwanda, nothing happened to stop it for a seemingly endless period of time. To their credit, the French sent 2,000 troops, and later, the United States and other nations sent smaller numbers to protect camps and airports on the periphery of Rwanda, primarily in Zaire.

How many lives could have been saved if the United Nations had been able to respond more quickly? Thousands. But no one will ever know the precise number.

Lesson No. 1 to be learned: The United States and other nations must equip the United Nations to respond quickly to this type of emergency.

I introduced in the last Congress, and will reintroduce in this Congress, a proposal calling for 3,000 volunteers among U.S. service personnel who would be paid slightly more than other U.S. troops, who would be ready on 24-hour notice to go to any place in the world called for by the Security Council and approved by the President of the United States. We should call upon Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan, and other nations to do the same, and smaller nations to have a smaller contingent of troops available on similar, quick notice. Senator JEFFORDS will cosponsor the legislation.

Today, after the Security Council acts, the Secretary General gets on the phone and begs nations for help. It is a time-consuming process when time

means lives. If the United Nations can move more quickly, we can prevent future disasters in places like Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia.

There is a second lesson to be learned.

If the United States is to play a responsible role of leadership in the community of nations, some risks must be taken, and when there are regrettable casualties within our Armed Forces, we must stay our course.

Those who enlist for service in the Chicago Police Department know they will be performing a public service, but they also know they will be taking a risk. If some drug smugglers or gang leaders in a neighborhood kill two policemen, the mayor of Chicago will not announce that that area of the city will no longer have police protection because of the casualties.

Somalia illustrates our problem.

Mistakes were made, primarily by a U.S. military man put in charge of part of a U.N. mission for which he had little background. He looked for military answers to problems rather than the diplomatic answers that Ambassador Robert Oakley had adeptly been fashioning.

But when a U.S. serviceman's body was dragged through the streets by teenage thugs, when that man went to Somalia on a humanitarian mission, the American people were appalled, and there were cries in Congress to pull out all our troops immediately.

At that point, we had a new President inexperienced in international relations facing a volatile Congress. Some calming words of explanation to the American people would have been appropriate, explaining that if local terrorists can cause a few American casualties, and we flee the scene, the example will not go unnoticed by others around the world wherever American troops are stationed.

The reality is that fewer American service personnel were killed in Somalia than cabdrivers were killed in New York City that year. That does not make any of the deaths less tragic. But those who enter the Armed Forces must understand that, like the Chicago Police enlistees, they are taking additional risks. And the American people must understand this.

We are in the budget season, discussing whether or not to appropriate money for certain fancy weapons systems. What other nations question is not the technical proficiency of our weapons but our backbone. And the question is being asked, not about those who serve in the Armed Forces, but about the administration, Congress and the American people. Others look at the weakness of both the Bush and Clinton administrations in Bosnia and they wonder. A few terrorists frighten us out of Somalia, and they wonder about our professed resolve elsewhere.

When several Members of Congress issued calls to get us out of Somalia, the administration first called a meeting of all Members of both Houses at

which Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of Defense Les Aspin spoke. The meeting was a disaster. Such a large meeting on a volatile subject should never be called; the noisemakers take over.

Then the White House called a smaller meeting with about 20 of us from Congress with all the key administration people present, including the President. The lengthy meeting, held on October 7, 1993, resulted in a compromise that all U.S. troops would be pulled out by March 31. I was not happy with this, but I agreed to the compromise because it was considerably better than an immediate pull-out.

A few days after the White House meeting, President Mubarak of Egypt visited the United States, and I went to Blair House to pay a courtesy call on him. Just before I got there, an administration official asked me to urge President Mubarak to keep his Egyptian troops in Somalia after March 31. Without quoting President Mubarak directly, it is not violating any confidence to say that the request to have his nation, with its meager resources, stay in Somalia while the wealthy and powerful United States of America wanted to quietly back out, did not impress him.

We must be careful in using our human and military resources, but when we make the decision to use them—preferably in concert with other nations—we should use those resources with firmness and a reliability that other nations, friendly or unfriendly, sense.

Since U.N. efforts at peacekeeping are in our security interest, would it be asking too much for us to suggest that 1 percent of the defense budget be set aside for support of peace keeping? Far from harming our security needs, that would strengthen the ability of the United Nations to respond quickly to emergencies, and that 1 percent would not harm any defense needs that we have.

It is easy for officeholders of either party to appeal to the fears and hatreds of people, to appeal to the worst in us, to ask us to turn inward rather than reach out.

But if we are serious in our talk about family values, we should urge our citizens to reach beyond the artificial barriers that separate people; to be concerned about one another, then, all families will be more secure. Appeals to shortsighted selfishness do not help a family, and a political call for shortsighted selfishness does no favor to the nation. As leaders, we must appeal to the noble in our people, not the worst, and if we apply that to international relations, the United States will benefit, as will the rest of the world.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ABRAHAM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, notwithstanding the previous order, I ask unanimous consent that I be permitted

to speak as if in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

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

Mr. ABRAHAM. Thank you Mr. President.

THE REMARKS OF SENATOR SIMON

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I wish to say that I hope other Members will have the chance to read what the distinguished Senator from Illinois has offered us today. I gather he will be making a series of such speeches in the days ahead. As always, his remarks are insightful and thoughtful. I am glad I had the opportunity to hear him today.

WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN'S DISTURBING REMARK

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise to call attention to a statement made by President Clinton's chief spokesperson Michael McCurry, as reported in the March 22 Washington Times.

In discussing the Republican Presidential field and candidate Pat Buchanan in particular, Mr. McCurry said: "Mr. Buchanan and his mutaween will be out there parading across America, and we can track them down."

Mr. McCurry's reference is to Saudi religious officers, to whom I gather he is equating American conservatives who are both religious and interested in playing a role in politics.

With this statement, Mr. McCurry has managed no mean feat: he has slurred religious Americans, he has slurred individuals of Arab descent, and he has misused his position as White House spokesman.

Mr. President, I believe it is wrong to attack those who are religious and involved in politics as zealots and extremists. These attacks are unfair, divisive and destructive. They challenge the right to engage in important moral arguments in public life, to everyone's detriment.

People of strong faith always have been involved in politics and their faith has influenced their political action—to America's benefit.

Even before our Nation was founded, people of faith brought Americans together through their eloquent advocacy of religious, moral and political principles. During the Revolutionary War ministers used political sermons to expound and elaborate on Thomas Jefferson's famous words in the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal and "endowed by their creator" with rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They told Americans that it was their religious as well as political duty to protect their rights and the rights of their children and grandchildren by fighting for independence.

These brave ministers established an American political and religious tradition that continued to thrive, through the Civil War and on into this century.