

time on candidates and officeholders that I think one thing is ignored, which is that we have a good choice between two outstanding candidates for President in Bill Clinton and BOB DOLE. For philosophical reasons, because of who might be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and that type of thing, I am supporting Bill Clinton. But I am not going to buy a one-way ticket to Canada if BOB DOLE gets elected. I think the American people have a choice between two very fine, substantial candidates. That is the way our system should work.

In all the negatives that people will hear between now and November 5, the American people should not lose sight of that.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum and ask that the time be equally divided.

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

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET

The Senate continued with the consideration of the concurrent resolution. Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I yield whatever time is needed off of our time to the Senator from Maryland.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I appreciate the courtesy of the chairman of the committee and of the ranking member of the committee. I just want to say at the outset what an outstanding job I think the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, Senator EXON, has done with respect to the budget that we are now considering. I was privileged to be very supportive of his position in the committee, and continue to be so. I want to thank him for the leadership that he provided on our side of the aisle.

Mr. President, I want to take just a moment or two to sound what may be an alarm bell in the night and take what is perceived as not the most popular position. But I want to talk a little bit about the 150 account—that is the international affairs account in this budget—and to simply sound a warning that I think we have been reducing that 150 account in successive years in such a way that we are now impeding upon our ability to perform as a great power in the world.

The budget that is before us and that has been brought out of committee would cut the international affairs portion of the budget by more than \$1 billion from the President's request. The President requested \$19.2 billion, and the bill reported from the committee cuts it to \$18.1 billion.

The actual international affairs spending in this particular account in the budget, which covers all of our responsibilities abroad other than the military, was \$20.8 billion in fiscal year 1994, and \$20.1 billion in fiscal year 1995. It is estimated at \$18.5 billion for fiscal year 1996. So we are making a very significant cut from historical levels.

In other words, international affairs spending has been brought down from \$20.8 billion in fiscal year 1994 to \$18.1 billion in fiscal year 1997, which is a cut of almost \$3 billion just in that short period of time. That represents a cut of about 15 percent in the budget that we have to carry out our responsibilities internationally.

In fact, our international affairs budget has been reduced by 50 percent in real terms over the last decade. In other words, if you adjust for inflation and take a 10-year period, we, in effect, are cutting by 50 percent our ability to carry out programs in the international arena. We are in the process now of asking the international affairs budget to do more and are providing less with which it can be done.

During the 1980's, we did not have democratic, market-oriented regimes in Eastern Europe. At that time we were building nuclear weapons instead of trying to help the Russians destroy and dismantle them. We had one Embassy to cover a country, the Soviet Union, where we now have 15 separate countries. At that time neither Jordan nor the Palestinians recognized Israel's right to exist, so we had no stake in their economic vitality. We had economic sanctions against South Africa; now we are trying to help South Africa rebuild. All of these are new responsibilities and opportunities over the last few years.

So, in fact, our responsibilities increased rather than diminished, and particularly if the arena of competition or concern shifts from the military into the political and economic arena.

Only about 1 percent of the Federal budget is spent on foreign aid, and less than half of that goes to humanitarian and development programs. In fact, the United States ranks dead last among 21 industrialized members of the OECD in the percentage of GNP that we spend on development assistance. All of these other countries have made the judgment that they have an important interest in helping the rest of the world to develop; so much so that they are prepared to commit a larger percentage of their GNP than we are to development assistance.

I know these are not popular facts to bring before the country, but I think it is important for those of us who carry the responsibility which comes with being Members of the U.S. Senate to stop and consider it because we have to square the rhetoric about being the world's leader with the reality of how that is accomplished.

In fact, there is, apparently, a great deal of misconception across the coun-

try. A nationwide poll done last January by the University of Maryland found that a majority of Americans, when asked what percentage of the budget they think is spent on foreign assistance said 15 percent or higher. The majority said 15 percent or higher. When they were asked how much they thought should be spent, they said on average about 5 percent. In fact, we spend about 1 percent. There is a tremendous disparity in perception. The majority think we spend more than 15 percent of our budget for this purpose when we in fact spend about 1 percent.

I am very frank to say to my colleagues that if the United States is going to continue to be a great power, we have to commit the resources to carry out our responsibilities as a great power. This is particularly true in the post-cold-war era, when a range of complex problems faces us. That means coming up with adequate funding for the conduct of our foreign affairs. In my view, we have already cut well below the minimum level that is necessary to sustain American leadership in the world.

I really want to sound that warning. I am persuaded that over time, if this trend continues, it will become obvious to everyone what we have done to ourselves. But I think we need to apply some analysis and attention now in order to ascertain that situation, and I am frank to say I think we have crossed the danger point and are now in the zone where our leadership ability is being eroded and undermined.

The various cuts have very detrimental effects on our ability to conduct an effective foreign policy. It would be one thing if people were saying we want a little America, something with which I do not agree. But if they say we are going to have a little America and we are going to shrink back from the responsibilities and, therefore, we are going to shrink resources, that at least would be a consistent position.

But to articulate a rhetorical position in terms of America being the world leader and playing the first and foremost role in exercising international responsibilities, and then have a huge gap between that statement and the resources with which to carry out those responsibilities, is illogical and inconsistent.

The United States now is the largest debtor at the United Nations. As the Washington Post put it in a recent editorial, we are the "global deadbeat." We are so far behind in paying our assessments to some of the international financial institutions that our arrearages exceed our scheduled annual payments. We are, indeed, exasperating and disappointing our friends and allies who desire and support American leadership. They desire and support American leadership. But we continually dictate ever longer lists of demands and provide ever shorter resources with which to carry them out.

Aid to the poorest countries has been reduced by nearly 30 percent from last

year, jeopardizing the progress we have made in reversing environmental degradation, slowing population growth, preventing the spread of deadly disease, building economic self-sufficiency, promoting democracy, resolving conflicts peacefully, stemming the flow of illegal drugs and countering the threat of nuclear proliferation. All of these are very important objectives.

Consulates have been closed and embassy staffs reduced all over the world, making it impossible to provide the services that Americans abroad expect and deserve. We have closed 30 posts abroad since 1993, and 13 more are slated for closure this year.

Some of this scrubdown of posts needed to be done. But once again, I think we have gone beyond the point of diminishing returns and we now are really eroding our capacity to carry out an effective foreign policy.

While some question the importance of ambassadors and embassies in an era of CNN, supersonic travel, and instant global communication, I think this skepticism is misplaced. We need to have our ambassadors and their embassy teams on the ground, around the globe promoting human rights, conflict resolution, antiterrorism and counter-narcotics cooperation, U.S. economic interests and U.S. exports, for example. Many of the embassies have significantly improved their performance by working with the American business community in a very significant and substantial way.

We need consular officers to assist U.S. visitors and business people, to issue visas, replace lost passports and cut through redtape when Americans run into difficulties abroad. We need them to spread good will, to exemplify American values and to deal with sensitive situations before they become full-blown emergencies. This experienced corps of professionals is the face of our Nation around the world.

Yet our diplomatic service is forced to rely on computer software, office equipment, buildings and services that are outmoded, unreliable, inefficient, and sometimes even unsafe. Diplomacy in the 1990's is being carried out on the technology of the 1960's and 1970's, and no relief is in sight.

These cuts are particularly troubling when juxtaposed to very large, unrequested increases in defense spending. The budget adds almost as much for defense, over and above the amount the Pentagon asked for, than is spent on the entire foreign aid budget for a year. In other words, we are cutting substantially the 150 account, our diplomacy account, our political and economic interest account, at the same time that we are increasing the military account over and above what the Pentagon sought.

It seems to me a matter of common sense that by investing a little bit in preventive diplomacy you may be able to address situations while they are amenable to economic and political solutions rather than wait until they be-

come full-blown crises and require the presence of our military. By sacrificing investment in preventive political and economic measures, we will only be postponing and probably escalating the ultimate costs.

Of course, effective diplomacy is enhanced by a strong military and the readiness to apply it, but our military strength ought not to become our prime recourse for influencing situations in the international arena. In fact, I think the task of the next century will be to hone our diplomatic, economic, and political skills so that we can protect our interests without having to put our troops in harm's way.

It is increasingly clear that in the 21st century American interests in the world will be heavily economic and political. We need to ensure open markets and fair trade to promote American prosperity. We need to avert conflicts that will cause human suffering, refugee flows, environmental destruction, and economic dislocation. We must combat international terrorism and prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

None of these goals can be achieved on a unilateral basis. None of them can be undertaken by military action alone. And none of them can be achieved without sufficient resources. The 150 account is important to meeting our responsibilities as a world leader. By not allocating adequate resources, we may indeed encounter disastrous consequences. Further cuts are not just ill-conceived; they are downright dangerous to our national security and to achieving American objectives around the world.

I urge my colleagues, although I know it runs against a perception of popular sentiment, to examine carefully what we are doing to our ability as a nation to carry out our responsibilities as a world leader. It cannot be done if we do not commit the resources with which to do it. And we now have reached the point where I think we have so drastically reduced our commitment in this area that we are markedly affecting our ability to act as a world leader.

Mr. President, I yield the floor, and I thank the distinguished ranking member for yielding me time.

Mr. EXON addressed the Chair.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. Did the Senator want to speak at this point?

Mr. EXON. No. I was just going to try and get embodied in an agreement what we had arranged for. The Senator from Delaware would like 3 or 4 minutes on another subject. I would like time likewise. Then we had general agreement that we would go to Senator GRASSLEY with his amendment. We have all agreed to that, and I would just like to suggest it.

Mr. DOMENICI. The Senator from Delaware wanted to 2 minutes.

Mr. EXON. OK. I will follow the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. DOMENICI. I will yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Delaware.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 2 minutes.

#### THE RESIGNATION OF BOB DOLE

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, the news by our esteemed majority leader that he will be resigning both his leadership post and his Senate seat is, indeed, bittersweet. I am sure I speak for all of my colleagues when I say that the Senate will miss BOB DOLE—his intelligence, his courage, his love for his country, and his unparalleled leadership skills. In Europe, 50 years ago, as a young lieutenant, BOB DOLE was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice for his country in war. And today for the sake of his country and the Congress, BOB DOLE is willing to leave the job he loves because he loves his country and Congress so much. This is a bold move by a man whose life has been the ultimate story of courage. America needs his courage, his moral compass, his leadership in the White House, and this move will enable him to focus much more on the road to the White House.

Because of BOB DOLE's leadership, the 104th Congress will be remembered as the Congress which finally said enough is enough. No more excuses. No more Washington gimmicks. Balance the budget. With BOB DOLE's leadership we have forever altered the debate. The question is no longer whether to balance the budget, but how; not whether to cut taxes, but how; not whether to reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy, but how; not whether to reform welfare, but how; and not whether to return power to the States, but instead how.

Under BOB DOLE's leadership, the Congress for the first time in four decades passed legislation to balance the Federal budget. BOB DOLE's legacy of leadership in the Senate will only be surpassed by what he will do for America from the White House. I am proud to be a Member of the Dole team, and I will be even prouder to assist a Dole administration next year in carrying out BOB DOLE's agenda for America: lower, fairer, simpler taxes, less Government and a balanced budget.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska is recognized.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, my few remarks about my friend BOB DOLE and his announcement today will be devoid of any political motivations whatsoever.

BOB DOLE has been a friend of mine ever since I came into the Senate. We have differed frequently on many issues, but we have been together on many issues. The announcement today that we heard about this morning came as a considerable shock to this Senator because whatever the future holds, the Senate in my view has lost a tremendously dedicated individual, a talented leader on the Republican side of the aisle, a man I never hesitated a moment in going to on any subject. He