

PUBLIC CONCERN ABOUT OUR HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, over 2 years after the defeat of health reform in Congress, many opponents of change still claim that Americans are satisfied with their health care and view Federal oversight as the first step in a Government takeover of the system. They assert that minor tinkering may be needed to shore up some of the system's weak spots, but access to and quality of care in our country are the best in the world.

If the public thinks the system isn't broken, so the thinking goes, there is no reason for lawmakers to try to fix it.

But are Americans so happy with the current state of health affairs?

Evidence from a recent survey suggests that there is still much that troubles the public about our current system, and they expect their elected representatives to help them address the problems they are experiencing.

People are confused about how the system works; they are anxious about the cost of medical care; and they don't always feel they can obtain information to help them make sound health choices, get care when they need it, and be assured of quality.

And contrary to the widely publicized view that most people think Government should not be involved in health care, a bipartisan majority of Americans feel that the Federal Government can play an active role—working with the private sector—to make health care more affordable and improve its quality.

These are the findings of a poll of American households commissioned by the National Coalition on Health Care. The bipartisan coalition, cochaired by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, is the Nation's largest and most broadly representative alliance of large and small business, labor unions, consumer groups, religious groups, and primary care providers.

The National Coalition on Health Care's recent survey reveals a disturbing lack of confidence among the majority of Americans with the state and direction of health care. Eight out of ten agree that "there is something seriously wrong with our health care system." Less than half say they have "confidence in the health care system to take care of [them]."

Not surprisingly, the poll reveals that lower-income Americans are particularly troubled by their experiences with cost, coverage, and treatment. Perhaps more startling is the pervasive concern of middle-income Americans who also see major flaws in the system related to quality, access, and cost.

While a majority feel that their medical plan works for them, 4 in 10 report reductions in coverage. Medicare recipients are among those most satisfied and confident in their care.

Perhaps most disturbing for the Congress is the coalition's focus group's finding that Americans believe improvements in the health care system have been held hostage to partisan pol-

itics. While Americans do not want Government involved directly in their health care, they do believe that Government has a role in protecting their interests.

Americans have voiced their concerns and have asked for Government's help—not in delivering health care, but in giving them greater security about their ability to afford and retain health insurance. We should heed their call.

Last year we passed the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill, which helped workers who lose or switch jobs keep their health insurance. This year, Democrats believe it makes sense to build on that success by giving working families financial assistance to help them insure their children.

These children do not come from the poorest families, for the poor have Medicaid. The vast majority of the 10.5 million uninsured children in America are sons and daughters of working parents who do not have access to affordable coverage through their workplace. Though many of these parents work 40 hours a week, 50 weeks a year, they are still not able to buy health insurance for their children.

Yet we know that a little financial assistance goes a long way toward covering kids and saving health care dollars and precious lives down the line. Numerous studies confirm that uninsured children don't get the cost-effective preventive care they need and end up costing the system more in the long run, through more expensive emergency room visits, hospital admissions, and preventable chronic illnesses.

The Government Accounting Office reports that uninsured children are less likely than those with coverage to get needed health and preventive care, and that the lack of such care can adversely affect children's health status throughout their lives. These children are less likely to have routine doctor visits or have a regular source of medical care, less likely to get care for injuries, see a physician if chronically ill, or get dental care, and they are less likely to be appropriately immunized to prevent childhood illnesses.

Each of us already helps pay for these children through implicit cost shifting for uncompensated care. But we pay too much, and we get far too little. How much better it would be to help families obtain insurance for their children from the start; to provide continuous, cost-effective health care from birth through age 18 so that children can grow up healthy and maximize their potential.

The Children's Health Coverage Act, S. 13, provides tax credits to help working families purchase private coverage for their uninsured children. There are many additional ideas being floated, from both sides of the aisle, to help families obtain coverage for their children. These ideas should be debated, considered, refined, and crafted into bipartisan legislation that can pass the Congress this year.

The American public wants us to act responsibly on their behalf to assure access to quality health care at a fair

cost. Now is the time to act on that charge. There is ample common ground on the issue of extending health coverage to children. Let's prove there is ample will.

TRIBUTE TO PAMELA CHURCHILL HARRIMAN

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have sought recognition to pay tribute to a very distinguished citizen of the world, Pamela Churchill Harriman, whose untimely death occurred yesterday in Paris, France, while she was performing her very distinguished duties as United States Ambassador to France.

Ambassador Harriman had an illustrious career. She has graced Europe, she has graced the United States, and has capped an extraordinary life with very distinguished service for the past 4 years as our Ambassador to France, dealing, in fact, with some of the most difficult problems of the world, as we have tensions between the United States and France and the problems of NATO and a great many other issues.

During the past several years, I have had the privilege to come to know Ambassador Harriman personally. I traveled to Paris in connection with my duties as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and found her knowledge, experience, and wisdom in that field to be very extensive and, candidly, it was somewhat of a surprise to find such depth and knowledge and understanding on the complicated matters which involve intelligence.

She truly had an extraordinary life. Married to Randolph Churchill, the son of Prime Minister Winston Churchill, she was privy to some of the really fascinating and great events of the era.

During the course of conversations with her, I was struck to hear her tell of being at Checkers, the home of the Prime Minister, one Sunday evening when the dinner was interrupted by a telephone call from President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. And she told the story about Prime Minister Winston Churchill telling the story of President Roosevelt telling to Churchill the United States was now in it with Great Britain, because the attack on Pearl Harbor had just occurred.

And then her reminiscences about the events during the war. The Churchills had a basement at No. 10 Downing Street for when the air raids came on. They had tiered bunkers. They were not set up in very elaborate fashion. She slept in the lower bunk, pregnant at the time, and Sir Winston Churchill would come in, she recounted, at 2 a.m. and snore loudly, awakening everybody in the compound.

When I heard of the news 2 days ago, I called Charge d'Affaires Donald Bandler to find out what her condition was. She finished an arduous day, was on her way for a swim in the Ritz Hotel and, before going into the water, had suffered a seizure.

I had a chance to talk briefly with her son, Winston Churchill, who said at that point it was apparent that his mother would not survive.

While talking with her about the events of being an ambassador, I was struck with the difficulties that Ambassadors of the United States are having around the world and took some of the information and made a statement on the Senate floor praising the work she was doing, illustrative of ambassadors generally, commenting about the need to support the State Department and the activities which ambassadors were performing.

While there, I had an opportunity to stay in the Benjamin Franklin Room, a room of special significance to this Senator, Franklin being a Philadelphian really, not a Bostonian, and had an opportunity to get some of the memorabilia from the Ben Franklin Institute to send to Ambassador Harriman to furnish the Franklin Room in the style she wanted it to be.

We have lost a really great world citizen with the passing of Ambassador Harriman. There is much more that could be said about her, in terms of her illustrious life. Many Senators knew her; most of Washington knew her. She was a great citizen of Great Britain, she was, in a sense, a citizen of France but, most of all, a great citizen of America.

I yield the floor.

Mr. HOLLINGS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I had the opportunity at the NATO conference in November, as the ranking member and former chairman of State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations, to spend an entire morning with Ambassador Harriman going over her particular needs, her budget. I was really impressed with the overall view she had of the needs of the Department of State, particularly her grasp of bringing the Department up to date in the area of communications, upgrading its computers, and other technological issues.

I could tell that she understood, after we had some time together, that the lack of real financial support for the Department of State has been at the executive branch, not here in the Congress. I have fought for many, many years to try to get the needed increases for the endeavors of the State Department. And now with the fall of the wall, defense is not our first line of defense. The State Department is.

We are trying to sell capitalism. We are trying to sell democracy and individual rights the world around. And that is the province of our Department of State, which has been cut back. We have been closing consulates and closing embassies.

The record will show that the distinguished Ambassador had really been to the President on these issues, and for the first time President Clinton has made a substantial request for an in-

crease for the Department of State. There will be many kudos, well deserved, for Ambassador Harriman, but I think she was the one who finally got the message to the executive branch as to what was needed at the State Department.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a Brookings Institute Council on Foreign Relations study recently published on the needs of the State Department and the diplomacy of the U.S. Government be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FINANCING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: PROTECTING AMERICAN INTERESTS AND PROMOTING AMERICAN VALUES

(Statement of the Task Force on Resources for International Affairs of the Brookings Institution and the Council on Foreign Relations)

I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Relative to the average of the 1980s, spending on international affairs has fallen nearly 20 percent in real terms, and it would decline by as much as another 30 percent under the plans proposed by the President and the Congress for balancing the federal budget by 2002.

Noting this trend in foreign affairs spending, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution, while taking no positions on the question as organizations, convened an independent Task Force of distinguished private citizens with a strong commitment to foreign affairs to examine its consequences and to make such recommendations as it might see fit.

The Task Force concludes that the cuts already made in the international affairs discretionary account have adversely affected, to a significant degree, the ability of the United States to protect and promote its economic, diplomatic and strategic agendas abroad. Unless this trend is reversed, American vital interests will be jeopardized.

The Task Force calls on the President and the Secretary of State to exert the strong and sustained leadership that will be necessary to secure the understanding of the American people and the bipartisan support of the Congress to provide the funds necessary to finance American global leadership. This effort must be accompanied by a thorough review of the foreign affairs agencies with an eye toward a structure and to processes that will be more efficient and effective in terms of today's requirements.

The Task Force recommends that the President call for an increase in international affairs spending from its 1997 level of \$19 billion to \$21 billion in 1998, with annual adjustments through the year 2002 to offset projected inflation.¹ In addition, this report calls for the creation of a bipartisan commission to consider possible reforms in the State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies and identifies nearly one billion dollars in achievable reforms and economies. The amount of the net increase the Task Force proposes represents only about one-tenth of one percent of the entire FY 1997 federal budget and less than four-tenths of one percent for the total discretionary

budget. Although these amounts are small in absolute terms, the potential consequences of not having them are quite large.

II. THE CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY

With the Cold War over, it is natural that the United States should focus more on domestic concerns. Reducing the federal budget deficit must be a high priority. Ensuring that government programs are efficient and effective is an obligation owed to American taxpayers. However, domestic renewal must not blind us to the world's continuing dangers and the requirements of America's essential leadership role.

The end of the Cold War has transformed the nature of the challenges we face. Ethnic strife, regional instability, crime, narcotics, terrorism, famine, environmental degradation, fanaticism and rogue regimes with mass destruction capabilities have taken the place of the global communist threat on our agenda. The United States cannot effectively protect its interests in these areas and provide leadership for those who would work with us unless we are prepared to spend the amount necessary to protect our interests and promote our values.

Moreover, by strengthening friendly forces and by calming and defusing potentially explosive situations, our diplomats can reduce the demands upon our military forces, avoiding unnecessary troop deployments and saving much more money in the defense account than would be spent from the much smaller foreign affairs account. With such objectives in mind, our diplomatic arm for example, has reinforced in recent years our basic Asia-Pacific alliances with Japan, Korea, Australia, Thailand and the Philippines. In both Asia and Europe, new concepts of regional security and economic cooperation have been advocated, including dialogues among former adversaries. Timely spending for conflict resolution can help to obviate the need for costly disaster relief, refugee resettlement and possible military deployments.

The U.S. economy is increasingly interdependent with the rest of the world—a world that is increasingly competitive. Most recent increases in our nation's manufacturing employment have come from increased export volume which has produced jobs with higher than average wages and helped to drive the continuous growth of our economy. Our ability to sustain that growth depends, in part, on our willingness and ability to employ the traditional instruments of foreign policy to promote exports, protect our products and ensure open trade. These are complex undertakings that include tasks ranging from sustainable development and basic institution building (e.g. establishing commercial codes where none have existed) to multilateral trade negotiations such as in the World Trade Organization. We know how to do these things; we must establish the priorities and be prepared to spend the money to deploy the assets, people and institutions required to achieve them.

Managing today's international, political, economic and security problems and seizing the opportunities before us requires American leadership. Exercising that leadership is difficult. It demands sustained official and public diplomacy, an array of economic and military sticks and carrots, and preventive measures where they can be effective. And it will require money.

Senator Richard Lugar in a recent admonition to the country's policy makers summarized the view of the Task Force: "Too many leaders in both political parties have bowed to political expedience and embraced the fiction that international spending does not benefit Americans and therefore can be cut with impunity. As important as balancing the budget is, it will not happen if American

¹The corresponding amount of budget authority would be roughly \$22 billion in 1998, due to the fact that increases in actual spending always lag increases in the authorization to spend. The amounts are similar to, but for technical reasons somewhat greater than, spending and budget authority for the "150 (foreign affairs) account."

disengagement from the world results in nuclear terrorism, an international trade war, an international energy crisis, a major regional conflict requiring U.S. intervention, or some other preventable disaster that undermines our security and prosperity."

Americans want the United States to remain a world leader. Polling by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations reveals that two-thirds of the public wants the United States to remain actively engaged in world affairs. This number is actually higher than during many parts of the 1970s and early 1980s, when we were in the winter of the Cold War. Other poll data strongly support the belief that the public is willing to pay for continued global engagement.

III. PROJECTED EXPENDITURES

What resources is our government currently devoting to meeting these global challenges and opportunities?

In FY 1997, the United States will spend about \$19 billion for its diplomatic and foreign assistance. That amount is slightly more than one percent of the overall federal budget. It is less in real or inflation-adjusted terms than international discretionary spending in any year since 1979, and nearly 20 percent below the average since then.

International affairs is the only major category of federal spending that has undergone a real reduction since 1980. Along with funding for the Pentagon, international spending is one of only two major components of the federal budget to have been reduced since 1990.

As problematic as spending cuts have been to date, those now planned are much worse. The President's last fiscal plan, of early 1996, anticipated that real funding for international affairs would decline from \$19 billion to \$16.5 billion by 2002. If he agrees—as he may do—to use Congressional Budget Office assumptions, the President would need to cut significantly more. Under the Congressional budget-balancing resolution of April, 1996, international spending would drop to \$13 billion, or 30 percent below its current level and 45 percent below its 1980–1995 average in constant 1997 dollars. That would be less than at any time since 1955.

In contrast with the defense and intelligence budgets, the international affairs account is not at all protected in the deficit-elimination process. In the three year budget agreement concluded between President Bush and the Democratic-led Congress in 1990 (the "Andrews Air Force Base Agreement") the international affairs function as well as the national defense function of the budget were fenced off and protected from diversion to alternative spending. By contrast, at the conclusion of the January, 1996 budget negotiations, there was political agreement to put a floor under the national defense budget, but international affairs was grouped with all other non-defense discretionary expenditures and targeted by OMB for straight-line reductions. Subsequent pleas from the State Department for the protection of foreign affairs within a more expansive "national security" category were to no avail.

IV. CONSEQUENCES

The State Department and its 260-plus overseas posts constitute the basic and indispensable infrastructure upon which all US civilian—and many military—elements rely to protect and promote American interests around the world. The Task Force found unmistakable evidence that the readiness of this infrastructure has been seriously eroded. Some 30 posts have been closed in the past three years for lack of operating funds. Many of the remaining posts are shabby, unsafe and ill-equipped. All are handicapped by obsolete information technology. Staffing is highly uneven. The Department's cadre of

language and area specialists has been depleted and resources for public diplomacy are fast disappearing. Yet the demands upon our missions continue to grow. Reports circulate that budget cuts may force the Department to close more posts abroad and that the Department is being advised to sell off its assets in order to meet operating expenses. Taken together, these developments contribute to an image of decline and withdrawal which disheartens our friends and allies and undermines our effectiveness abroad, as do the actual cuts out of our diplomatic muscle.

More subtle is the extent to which the Executive's options have been severely limited for lack of readily available, flexible resources with which to avert or respond to foreign crises. Future chief executives, regardless of party, will find this every bit as vexing as has the present incumbent.

In the recent past our government has been forced to choose, sometimes arbitrarily, which situations it will engage in and which it will ignore. Here are some recent examples: To stabilize Haiti, the decision had to be made to reduce economic support for Turkey despite its critical relationship to our Middle East interests; the decision to provide aid to shore up the West Bank and Gaza was made at the expense of funds originally intended to help demobilize the armed forces of the parties to a Central American peace agreement which the United States had spent years negotiating; providing our share of the financing package assembled for Cambodia's first free election required deferring, for more than a year, support for smaller initiatives in a dozen or so other countries; responding to the refugee crisis in Rwanda meant taking funds for democratic institution-building from the rest of Africa at a moment when positive trends were emerging elsewhere on the continent; and when the United States needed \$2 million to monitor a cease-fire between the Kurdish factions in northern Iraq, ready money was not immediately available, the situation deteriorated, and Saddam Hussein was afforded a pretext to send forces into northern Iraq—a move which culminated in US military action costing multiples of the originally needed sum.

US investment in economic development, either through our bilateral programs or international financial institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank, has declined to \$8.5 billion from the \$12 billion average of the earlier 1990's. It is projected to fall every year under both the President's and the Congressional out-year plans. The consequences of not investing in development are impossible to quantify, but the evidence of the benefits that development has brought to over one-half of the world's population is impressive. In the purely human dimension, US bilateral leadership has been critical to recent worldwide advances in agricultural and medical research and basic human needs including primary education, family planning, child nutrition and immunization programs.

Our own political and economic self-interest also benefit from the activities of the IFIs. But as we fall behind in meeting our commitments, we risk losing our ability to shape their agendas in support of our objectives. In the past, this influence has enabled us to mobilize multilateral funding to supplement our own increasingly limited bilateral funds for reconstruction in Bosnia, Haiti, the West Bank/Gaza, to stabilize the Mexican peso, and to reinforce the transitions to democracy in Central Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union. At home, US exporters expect to feel the effects if our support for the IFIs continues to decline. Nearly one half of US exports go to Asia, Latin America and Africa, where close

to 80 percent of the world's population lives. IFI lending drives critical segments of development which, in turn, determine the future market potential of these countries.

United States' arrearages to the United Nations present a more complicated and troublesome case. An independent Council on Foreign Relations-sponsored Task Force chaired by George Soros recently concluded that where the United States had taken clear and firm positions, the United Nations "has served US interests well." The report noted further that its judgments of the UN's utility "have been shared by both the Bush and Clinton administrations." But the UN will not continue to work for us, particularly after we succeeded in imposing our will on the issue of a new Secretary General, if we are not prepared to meet our financial obligations. Nor will our efforts toward reform of the UN system gain momentum if it appears that the United States is unlikely to settle its arrearages, which now amount to \$300 million for the regular budget and \$700 million for peacekeeping operations.

The damaging implications of the planned, progressive reduction in the international affairs budget are immediately evident upon examination of the limited options for their implementation. The most obvious strategy would be to take most of the cut out of one or the other of its largest components—development assistance and the Israel/Egypt programs. Either would be virtually eliminated if it were targeted. The alternative would be to cut each component proportionately. Under this scenario, the State Department could not avoid closing nearly 100 additional posts and funding for "new global issues"—including crime, corruption, narcotics and the environment—would be at risk.

The magnitude of the cuts proposed through the year 2002 would make it impossible to avoid significant cuts in support for the Middle East peace process and development aid, regardless of the strength and persuasiveness of their advocates within the US political process. Those programs are where the money is, and if total cuts of a cumulative magnitude of nearly 50 percent are made, they simply cannot be spared.

Advocates of sharp reductions in international spending frequently do not spell out how their recommendations should be implemented. They may be prepared to see one activity or another savaged, but would probably find at least one of the above-mentioned consequences of drastic cuts unacceptable.

None of this is meant to imply that there is no room for selective reductions in foreign aid or no need for a tighter focus on administering its distribution. Insufficient funding is by no means the only problem with our foreign affairs programs. However, any changes should be made with a scalpel rather than an ax. The Task Force has identified several specific areas where savings could be made in order to enhance effectiveness and to offset partially the increases it proposes.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

To reverse the destructive funding trend of the last few years, the President must take the initiative to ask for adequate funding for international affairs and to work together with the Congress to ensure that our foreign affairs structure is organized to meet today's requirements with maximum efficiency and effectiveness. He must take responsibility for doing what only he can do—explain to the American people why we need to devote resources to promoting our interests abroad. At the same time, he must make clear to the foreign affairs bureaucracy that "business as usual" is unacceptable. All the poll data show that the American people support constructive engagement and recognize the dangers and opportunities abroad. They know

leadership does not come cheaply and they will support the President once he makes clear what is needed and that he is prepared to push for reform.

Next, the Executive and the Congress must reestablish the bipartisan and bicameral cooperation necessary to ensure that adequate funds are provided. Otherwise, American interests will be increasingly at risk in a rapidly changing and turbulent world. To the extent that agreement can be reached between the President and Congress on restructuring the foreign affairs agencies, it would be highly desirable to agree on basic terms in time for any necessary legislative action to be completed during the coming session of Congress.

Specifically, in FY 1998, federal discretionary spending on international affairs should rise to \$21 billion from its 1997 level of \$19 billion, with annual adjustments through the year 2002 to offset inflation. The recommended figure is still well below the average of the 1980–1995 time period but considerably more than current projections.

The Task Force was acutely aware of the continuing budget pressures and searched for ways to cut existing costs. We present these reforms before outlining the increases that are recommended:

Saving in the development assistance account can be realized by dropping the Title I PL 480 food program and through the amalgamation of the Agency for International Development's extensive administrative support operations as discussed below.

Continuing administrative reforms in UN organizations and the international financial organizations should produce savings for the US of \$100 million per year by the year 2002.

Amalgamation and re-engineering of the administrative support services of the foreign affairs agencies need not await the larger structural review recommended and therefore should be initiated immediately. This reform would be a logical follow-on to the newly agreed upon collaborative arrangements for financing overseas administrative support. The foreign affairs agencies should be directed to move without further delay to eliminate overlap and duplication of policy and program functions among themselves, as directed by the Vice President in 1995. These actions should produce savings of \$100 million to \$200 million by the end of the decade.

A mission-by-mission review of all agencies' overseas staffing should be considered as a means of sharpening focus and realigning resources with policy priorities. Such a review could achieve additional savings in accounts other than 150.

We are persuaded that some restructuring of the foreign affairs agencies is needed and that this would produce additional savings—although less than some advocates have suggested. Restructuring the foreign affairs agencies is a task assigned by the Constitution and by practical necessity to both political branches of the government and requires the cooperation of leaders on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. We urge the President and Congressional leaders to come together on a mechanism—a bipartisan commission appointed jointly by Congressional leaders and the President is one time-honored method—to develop a solution which all can support and which will improve the formation and implementation of policy.

Disagreement over organization must not be permitted to be the cause or the excuse for failure to reach agreement on the funding increases that will be necessary—whatever structural reforms are agreed upon. The following summaries our recommendations for increases relative to FY 1997 spending levels (all numbers are annual unless otherwise indicated, should be maintained at this level in real terms for the next five years, and are expressed in constant 1997 dollars):

\$600 million should be available in accounts which the President can draw upon to take prompt, concrete actions to fix problems of urgent and particular concern to the United States. Uses would include economic and security support, military education and training, foreign military financing, conflict prevention and resolution, democratic institution-building, non-proliferation, counter-narcotics * * *.

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VI. CONCLUSION

The President has spoken very clearly about the imperatives of global leadership and its price. In Detroit last October he declared: "The burden of American leadership and the importance of it—indeed, the essential character of American leadership—is one of the great lessons of the 20th century. It will be an even more powerful reality in the 21st century."

What remains now is for the President to recognize that without adequate resources it will not be possible to provide the international leadership that our national interests require. There are three aspects to this challenge:

First, the President must include in his 1998 budget request an amount adequate to fund American leadership and he must also reverse the out-year projections which threaten our posture abroad. Second, the President must take the international affairs resource issue to the American people. The President, more than any other individual or institution of our system, bears the responsibility for the success or failure of American foreign policy. Better than anyone else, he can make clear what it means not to have the resources required to protect and promote American values and interests. As Commander-in-Chief, the President can underscore the vital link between diplomacy and deterrence. Secretary of State Warren Christopher described the nature of this connection very clearly when he addressed the Corps of Cadets at West Point last October 25: "We will serve the American people best of all if we can prevent the conflicts and emergencies that call for a military response from ever arising. . . . If we hold that line around the world, we are much less likely to have to send you and the troops you will command into harm's way sometime in the future."

Third, once the President has done these two things he will be in a position to reach out to the leadership of the Congress to establish understanding about international affairs financing. This must be a collaborative, non-partisan undertaking and the President must commit, at the outset, to a review of the structure and coordination of the foreign policy agencies as recommended above. The initial move in this regard must be the President's and it must be accompanied by a clear indication of his willingness to take the resource issue to the American people. He must then be joined by the Congress, which deserves nothing less than a full understanding, a full voice in decisions, and a full measure of responsibility.

The American people do not want to swap a budget deficit for a security deficit. We suspect most Americans would be alarmed if these proposed budget cuts go through only to discover that America faces an influence gap in world affairs as we enter the twenty-first century.

We can afford to do more. We cannot afford to do less.

SIGNATORIES

Signatories include members of the Task Force, regional participants who met in Boston and Seattle, and those who have since endorsed this Statement.

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Ted M. Natt, The Daily News.
 David Nemtsov, The Alliance to Save Energy.
 Richard A. Nenneman, The Christian Science Monitor (Ret.).
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Mr. HOLLINGS. The report is endorsed by former Secretaries of State and those in the know both, in a bipartisan fashion. I thank the Chair.

TRIBUTE TO MARK JERSTAD

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity today to honor my dear friend, Reverend Mark Jerstad, a Lutheran pastor and head of the Good Samaritan Society in Sioux Falls. After having spent much of his adult life comforting the dying and grieving, Mark recently learned that he has terminal colon cancer. This news was a sad blow to all those who know and love him. Yet, as we face the loss of our friend, we are inspired by the strength of character shown by Mark and his family.

Mark's ability to help others confront their fears and prepare for their next journey has always been based on his strong faith in God. Now it is this same faith that has enabled Mark to be at peace with his own death. You see, Mark believes himself to be a lucky man. Unlike many, he has the time to say goodbye, and to reflect on the life he has led. As he says, we are nothing but the sum of our deeds. I believe him, and by this measure Mark is truly remarkable for he has lived a life of kindness and love. We cannot help but to grieve for the fact that Mark will no longer be with us. We must grieve for his children Rachel, Michael and Sarah, who will be losing their father.

And we must grieve for Sandy, who will lose her husband of 31 years. But we can be at peace knowing that Mark is living out his remaining days to the fullest. He is at peace, and with his loved ones.

Mark eloquently described the challenge we all face: "Unfortunately, people just can't seem to live life to the fullest until they come face to face with their own death and incorporate it into his or her own existence." Mark has done just that, continuing his work as the chief executive officer of the Good Samaritan Society of Sioux Falls while sharing his remaining precious days with friends and family from throughout the country. He is an example for us all.

Mark, we wish you and your family well. Let your faith, grace and dignity be a lesson to all.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of an article from the Sioux Falls Argus Leader honoring Mark Jerstad be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Sioux Falls (SD) Argus Leader]
 CEO WHO COUNSELED THE DYING FACES HIS OWN DEATH WITH FAITH

(By Steve Young)

Mark Jerstad sat in an X-ray room at Sioux Valley Hospital in November when cold reality swept over him.

The chief executive officer of the Good Samaritan Society in Sioux Falls had just finished tests for what doctors thought might be an appendix problem.

He was waiting alone for the results to come back when he suddenly felt "like a peeled grape shaking in a snowbank at 40 degrees below zero."

The feeling lasted 30 seconds. When it passed, this Lutheran pastor and business executive knew exactly what was wrong.

"All of a sudden, it came to me. . . almost like a voice," he recalls. "You have cancer, and it is terminal."

He was right.

Jerstad, 54, learned that he has an aggressive, advanced stage of colon cancer. There is no cure. There is only the hope that chemotherapy might prolong his life a month, maybe two.

But this isn't a story about one man dying. Rather, this is a tale about one man's incredible faith—and what it means to live in the shadow of your mortality.

Lean and angular, Jerstad greets visitors in his spacious Good Samaritan office with the same firm handshake that has been his trademark.

Though the chemotherapy leaves him periodically weak, he still routinely comes to work to oversee affairs at the nonprofit monolith that provides services to senior citizens in 240 facilities in 26 states.

This has been Jerstad's job for 7½ years. He has been with Good Samaritan since 1985. Before that, he was campus pastor and a religion professor for nine years at Augustana College. And before that he served as a pastor in International Falls, Minn.

In many ways, those years of ministering to church members and college students helped prepare him for what lay ahead.

In International Falls, Jerstad counseled scores of people and their families through death and grief.

"Honestly, I think I was given a gift of working with dying people," he said. "I

could be honest with them—someone who could be open-minded and listen and hear their fears."

So many times, he sat bedside at the moment of death, helping people in their journey from this existence to the next. It couldn't help but affect his own life.

"How can it not?" Jerstad says. "I mean, I believe we are the sum of our life's experiences. I really feel these very intimate sharings of people as they were dying have touched my life deeply and richly."

"They've helped me be at peace with my own dying, for sure."

Similarly, his years of teaching death and dying classes at Augustana helped prepare him as well.

Jerstad would share his experiences in International Falls with his classes. But his focus was more on living than dying.

"When you think about it, we're all terminal. . . We're all dead men walking. We just don't know when that final day will be," he said.

"Unfortunately, people just can't seem to live life to the fullest until they come face to face with their own death and incorporate it into his or her own existence."

That isn't a problem for Jerstad. Indeed, there never has been a moment in the last three months when he bolted upright in bed in the middle of the night, sweating in fear about what awaits him.

CERTAIN SADNESS

Obviously, there is sadness. He looked forward to becoming a grandfather and baptizing his own grandchildren.

He thought maybe he would get to officiate at the marriages of his two daughters and his son—a possibility that now seems remote.

"You know, I kind of wish it was summer rather than winter," he said as he glanced out his office window. "I like to be able to sit out in my backyard in the afternoons and evenings, just watching the sun go down."

Still, Jerstad won't mire himself in what might have been. He is a man of the moment.

When he was diagnosed with cancer, he had to wait a couple of days before undergoing colon surgery. So Jerstad got a discharge form, signed his name to it and checked himself out of Sioux Valley for the day.

He then drove out to Good Samaritan and attended the morning Bible study there. After sharing news about his cancer with co-workers and staff, he "went home to my kids, built a big fire in the fireplace and just kind of hung out. It really was a wonderful time."

There have been many similar moments since.

He talks about liking to begin each day by snuggling in bed with his wife, Sandy, and sharing a thought or two.

"Sometimes, I reach over and just touch her . . . and thank God for our partnership of 31 years."

He goes into the office most mornings and stays until the work day ends, or until he wear out.

GREETING OLD FRIENDS

In recent weeks, he has spent much time greeting old friends who have sought him out during his illness. One of them flew recently from Alaska, another from Hawaii, yet a third came all the way from Johns Hopkins in Baltimore to spend 45 minutes with him.

"There was a tycoon I knew who wept like a child and embraced me," Jerstad said, his smile growing as he recounts the memory. "I was able to comfort him, and we both were able to grow through that experience."

That, he will tell you, is one of the joys about living when you are dying. It certainly makes him thankful that his life did not end suddenly, that he has had weeks and months to prepare.