

to cut payments to health care providers. Republicans have instead proposed restructuring the Medicare program to save it and improve it. The Republican plan would expand choice, for our seniors and our disabled, and would increase market efficiencies and reduce waste. The President's plan, on the other hand, would only postpone bankruptcy of the Medicare program until 2005.

Mr. President, while I admire the President's goals, I believe that the President's latest budget submission is yet one more case of failing to adequately address the crisis at hand and choosing instead to respond to critics by producing a budget designed for domestic political consumption rather than the welfare of the American people.

I hope the President will work with the Republicans. We, on our side of the aisle, have made some tough choices, and there are more to come. But I know the American people are with us, and they will put the interests of the country ahead of special interests. They voted for the fundamental change that Republicans have proposed and we must honor our commitment to the Americans who sent us to Washington last November.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor. Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I wish to commend our distinguished colleague. We are indeed fortunate, not only here in the Senate but the United States, to have one who made this important career change having dedicated his life to saving lives in his career. Now, he brings to the institution of the Senate enormous knowledge, not only personal but that gained from working with his colleagues in the medical profession for these many years, such that we can have the benefit of his wisdom and experience as we address the critical issues relating to health care. I express my appreciation to the Senator for these remarks this morning. They are very timely.

TRIBUTE TO GEORGE STAFFORD

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, one of the most remarkable public servants in Kansas history was Frank Carlson, who served in this Chamber for 18 years.

During his career, Senator Carlson also served for 4 years as a member of the Kansas House of Representatives, 12 years in the U.S. House of Representatives, and 4 years as Governor.

Senator Carlson did many great things in his career, including helping to draft Dwight Eisenhower for President in 1952.

But I am here this morning to talk about another great thing that Frank Carlson did. And that is the fact that he brought George Stafford to Washington, DC.

George passed away last week, and I wanted to take a minute to remember

this outstanding Kansan and outstanding American.

George was executive secretary to Frank Carlson during his term as Governor, and followed him to Washington as his Senate administrative assistant.

He served in that role for 17 years with great intelligence and integrity, always reaching out to provide advice and support to young Kansans who were new in town.

In 1967, then-President Johnson appointed George to serve on the Interstate Commerce Commission. He remained on the commission until 1980, serving as its chairman for 7 years.

George's years in Topeka and Washington are not the only examples of the service he gave to his country. He also defended freedom in World War II, rising to the rank of Captain, and receiving both the bronze star and the purple heart.

Like many in Kansas and in Washington, I was proud to call George Stafford my friend.

I know that Senator KASSEBAUM joins with me in extending our sympathies to Lena Stafford, George's wife of 48 years; his children; Bill, Susan, and Quincy; and his five grandchildren.

RETIREMENT OF GEN. GORDON SULLIVAN

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I rise today to commend a truly remarkable individual, Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan, on his retirement after 36 years of service to our Army and to our Nation.

I had the distinct honor of working closely with General Sullivan over the years when he served as the deputy of the Command and Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, KS and during his command of the Big Red One at Fort Riley, KS.

Indeed, it was my pleasure to introduce General Sullivan before the Senate Armed Services Committee during his confirmation as chief of staff of the Army just 4 years ago.

In my view, Gordon Sullivan was exactly the right man at the right time to lead our Army during one of the most difficult periods of restructuring and downsizing. He kept the right perspective, and put it best in his own words, "smaller is not better, better is better."

Throughout his 4 years as Army Chief of Staff, General Sullivan kept his focus and vision. His priorities were our soldiers whom he prepared to fight and win our Nation's wars. And their families who support our soldiers and willingly sacrifice for their purpose.

I frequently conferred with General Sullivan throughout this term as Army Chief. His views and counsel were always on the mark. Gordon Sullivan brought tremendous wisdom to the job and a style of leadership which reflected his greatness.

Our Army will sorely miss General Sullivan, but it is stronger and better for his service. The legacy he leaves, a ready Army, a future force that will be

unmatched, and the deep love and devotion of his soldiers is fitting of this great man.

I ask my colleagues to join me in commending Gen. Gordon R. Sullivan for his sacrifice, his leadership, and his commitment to our soldiers and to our Nation.

God's speed and blessings to him and to his wife Gay, and their family.

TRIBUTE TO CLAIRE STERLING

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, on Saturday last, in Arezzo, Italy, Claire Sterling died, age 76. So passed, as her great friend Meg Greenfield put it, "one of the great journalists of all time."

She was born in Queens, took her degree from Brooklyn College, and went from there to the Columbia graduate school of journalism. In time she joined the staff of the Reporter where she was a colleague of Ms. Greenfield for some 17 years, albeit from her post in Rome.

In her youth, as a student involved with student politics at Brooklyn College, and later as a union organizer, she came in contact with the Stalinist left which gave her a perspective, almost a second sense concerning ideological politics that ever thereafter informed her accounts of world politics at the highest, and yes, lowest, even criminal and clandestine levels. What liberals did not wish to know—many liberals, that is—and conservatives could not grasp, she instantly understood, and sublimely construed. There is a Hebrew saying, *ha mevin yavin*: those who understand, understand. Claire Sterling understood and not just at metaphysical heights. Who else would have persuaded the rebels opposing French rule in Algeria to let her know which trains she could take back to the coast which were not scheduled to be blown up.

Meg Greenfield allows as how "it is hard to think of her as dead, for she was so alive." And so we will remember her, even as we offer our condolences to her beloved husband Tom, and her son Luke, daughter Abigail, and her sister Ethel.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the articles from the New York Times and the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, June 18, 1995]
CLAIRE STERLING, 76, DIES; WRITER ON CRIME AND TERROR
(By Eric Pace)

Claire Sterling, an American author and correspondent based in Italy, who was known for her writings on terrorism, assassination and crime, died yesterday in a hospital in Arezzo, Italy. She was 76 and lived outside of Cortona, near Arezzo.

She had cancer of the colon, her husband said.

Mrs. Sterling was based in Italy for more than 30 years and traveled widely. Her most

recent book, "Thieves' World: The Threat of the New Global Network of Organized Crime" (1994, Simon & Schuster), was praised by Stephen Handelman, of the Harriman Institute of Advanced Soviet Studies at Columbia University, as making "a significant contribution to post-cold-war debate" by affirming "that the growing interdependence among nation-states and financial institutions has made it easier for crime syndicates to cooperate across national boundaries."

In an earlier book, "Octopus: the Long Reach of the International Sicilian Mafia" (1990), she examined the Sicilian Mafia and charged gangster-chieftains based in Palermo with creating a multinational empire with the United States as its longtime main target.

In her 1984 book "The Time of the Assassins," Mrs. Sterling examined the attempt by a Turk, Mehmet Ali Agca, to kill Pope John Paul II in 1981. She contended that Mr. Agca had "come to Rome as a professional hit man, hired by a Bulgarian spy ring." She presented what she called "massive proof that the Soviet Union and its surrogates have provided the weapons, training and sanctuary for a worldwide terror network aimed at the destabilization of Western democratic society."

Mrs. Sterling's contention about a Bulgarian role in the attack was disputed, but writing in 1991, she maintained that Italian courts in 1988 had "expressed their moral certainty that Bulgaria's secret service was behind the papal shooting."

She also attracted wide attention with her 1981 book "The Terror Network," which traced connections among terrorist groups around the globe. William Abrahams, who edited the book for Holt, Rinehart & Winston, said that while she was writing it, the Italian Government posted a guard at her house to protect her.

A decade later, the New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis reported that William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence in the Reagan Administration, had held up a copy of "The Terror Network" before a group of official intelligence experts and had "said contemptuously that he had learned more from it than from all of them."

Mrs. Sterling's first book was "The Masaryk Case" (1969), about Jan Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister who was reported to have leaped to his death in 1948 from a window of his Prague apartment. She concluded that he had been killed by Soviet or Czechoslovak Stalinists to keep him from defecting to the West.

In her decades abroad, she also wrote articles for The New York Times, Atlantic Monthly, The Reporter magazine, Life, Reader's Digest, Harper's, The New Republic, The Washington Post, International Herald Tribune and The Financial Times.

Mrs. Sterling was born Claire Neikind in Queens, received a bachelor's degree in economics from Brooklyn College, and worked for a time as a union organizer among electrical workers.

In 1945 she received a master's degree from the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, which awarded her a Pulitzer Traveling Scholarship.

She went on to work in Rome for what she described in a 1981 interview as "a fly-by-night American news agency." She learned Italian, and when the agency went out of business, she returned to the United States and joined the staff of The Reporter magazine, which began publication in early 1949.

Mrs. Sterling recalled that when she applied for the Reporter job, Max Ascoli, the magazine's Italian-born publisher and editor, said, "If anybody's going to write about Italy around here, it's me."

In 1951, she married Tom Sterling, a writer. She remembered that "Max Ascoli's wed-

ding present to me was a six-month assignment in Rome."

Mrs. Sterling's six-month assignment lasted 17 years, ending only when The Reporter ceased publication in 1968. By then, the Sterlings were accustomed to life in Italy, where Mr. Sterling had written some of his more than a dozen books. So Mrs. Sterling, keeping Italy as her base, began writing her Masaryk book.

She is survived by her husband; a son, Luke, of Cortona; a daughter, Abigail Vazquez of San Francisco; two grandchildren, and a sister, Ethel Braun of Manhattan.

[From the Washington Post, June 18, 1995]

CLAIRE STERLING, INVESTIGATIVE WRITER,
DIES

(By Bart Barnes)

Claire Sterling, 75, a U.S. journalist and author of investigative books that explored connections between the Soviet government and terrorist organizations around the world, died of cancer June 17 at a hospital in Arezzo, Italy.

In a journalistic career that spanned almost five decades, Mrs. Sterling covered and wrote about armed revolutionary movements in Third World countries, U.S. gangsters, World War II refugees and political assassinations. She was based in Italy for most of that period, and from there she wrote stories for The Washington Post and other newspapers. But her work also took her to Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Her books included "The Masaryk Case" (1969), in which she argued that the 1948 death of Czech Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk was murder, not suicide; "The Terror Network" (1981), in which she argued that the Soviets were sponsoring and supporting terrorist organizations in several countries; and "The Time of the Assassins" (1984), in which she accused the Soviet Union of complicity in the 1981 attempted assassination of Pope John Paul II.

She began her career in journalism shortly after World War II, working in Italy for the now-defunct Overseas News Service. It was an era when women were rare and often unwelcome in the news business, and Mrs. Sterling became known as an adventuresome and energetic reporter who sometimes used creative methods to get her stories.

In Italy, she boarded a Palestine-bound ship with Jewish war refugees, taping her U.S. passport to her arm, which she had encased in a cast as if it were broken. The ship was intercepted by British authorities, and she was taken to an internment camp. But she was released when she produced the passport proving her U.S. nationality.

During the 1950s, she wrote about independence movements in North Africa, and she often traveled with bands of armed insurgents, including once when she was five months pregnant. When her husband expressed concern about this, she told him not to worry—the rebels had promised not to blow up any trains she was on.

Mrs. Sterling was born in New York. She graduated from Brooklyn College and received a degree in journalism from Columbia University.

After a short stint with the Overseas News Service, she joined the staff of Reporter magazine in 1949. She interviewed New York mob boss Lucky Luciano and wrote an unflattering profile of Clare Booth Luce, the U.S. ambassador to Italy during the Eisenhower administration. She wrote stories from sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

After Reporter folded in 1968, Mrs. Sterling wrote articles for Harper's magazine, did freelance writing and wrote books.

In 1968, she covered the brief period of social and political liberalization in Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek, which became known as the Prague Spring. In the course of reporting that story, she began looking into the 1948 death of Masaryk, the foreign minister, who had been found dead in the courtyard of Prague's Czernin Palace, apparently after falling from a window. The death had been ruled a suicide.

From previously published material, interviews and new documents, Mrs. Sterling concluded that Masaryk, a popular political figure and a leader of the Czech government in exile during the wartime occupation by Germany, had been murdered by Communist agents, probably to prevent his defection to the West. She speculated in her book "The Masaryk Case" that he had been overpowered by security agents, suffocated with pillows and flung from the window.

Her second book, "The Terror Network," was based on an article she had written for Atlantic Monthly in which she explored similarities between the kidnappings and murders in the 1970s of former Italian premier Aldo Moro by the Italian Red Brigades and of West German industrialist Hans-Martin Schleyer by the German Red Army Faction.

In this book, Mrs. Sterling traced what she said were extensive political and military links between terrorist organizations, all of which, she suggested, received material but clandestine support from Moscow. "In effect," she wrote, "the Soviet Union simply laid a loaded gun on the table, leaving the others to get on with it." The book was well received by the newly inaugurated administration of Ronald Reagan, but liberal critics complained that Mrs. Sterling's argument was unsupported by conclusive evidence.

In "The Time of the Assassins," Mrs. Sterling investigated claims by Mehmet Al Agca that he was acting on orders from the Bulgarian secret service in his 1981 attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II. In 1986, an Italian jury acquitted three Bulgarians and three Turks of conspiracy in the plot for lack of proof. Mrs. Sterling continued to insist that the Soviet Union was behind it.

She married novelist Thomas Sterling in 1951. They lived in Rome and Cortona, Italy. In addition to her husband, she is survived by two children, Luke Sterling, a painter who lives in Cortona, and Abigail Vazquez of San Francisco; and two grandchildren.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, on that memorable evening in 1972 when I learned that I had been elected to the Senate, I made a commitment to myself that I would never fail to see a young person, or a group of young people, who wanted to see me.

It has proved enormously beneficial to me because I have been inspired by the estimated 60,000 young people with whom I have visited during the nearly 23 years I have been in the Senate.

Most of them have been concerned about the magnitude of the Federal debt that Congress has run up for the coming generations to pay. The young people and I always discuss the fact that under the U.S. Constitution, no President can spend a dime of Federal money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by both the House and Senate of the United States.