

complete, there will be an intensification of the fighting in Bosnia. It is unlikely the Bosnian Serbs would stand by waiting until the Bosnian government is armed by others. Under assault, the Bosnian government will look to the U.S. to provide arms, air support and if that fails, more active military support. At that stage, the U.S. will have broken with our NATO allies as a result of unilateral lift. The U.S. will be asked to fill the void—in military support, humanitarian aid and in response to refugee crises. Third, intensified fighting will risk a wider conflict in the Balkans with far-reaching implications for regional peace. Finally, UNPROFOR's withdrawal will set back prospects for a peaceful, negotiated solution for the foreseeable future.

In short, unilateral lift means unilateral responsibility. We are in this with our allies now. We would be in it by ourselves if we unilaterally lifted the embargo. The NATO Alliance has stood strong for almost five decades. We should not damage it in a futile effort to find an easy fix to the Balkan conflict.

I am prepared to veto any resolution or bill that may require the United States to lift unilaterally the arms embargo. It will make a bad situation worse. I ask that you not support the pending legislation, S. 21.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein.

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

TRIBUTE TO JOHN MORAVEK

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, with the recent passing of John Moravek, our nation's legal community lost an outstanding and respected member, and many Americans lost a good friend and trusted adviser.

John worked for Century 21 real estate for 20 years—the past 15 as general counsel at the corporate headquarters in Irvine, California.

John was recognized as one of America's preeminent experts in his field in the field of real estate and franchise law, and he was one of few attorneys who had the honor of appearing before the United States Supreme Court.

I was not privileged to know John as well as his countless friends and colleagues, which included my daughter, Robin. But I do remember John as a man of great integrity, intelligence, compassion and curiosity.

The title of the obituary that ran in his hometown newspaper, the Long Beach Press-Telegram, summed it up best—"John Moravek was a renaissance man." John's interests ranged from classical guitar, to sailing, to painting, to politics. And while John and I didn't share beliefs on every political issue, we shared a sense of determination and a sense of humor.

Without exception, those who knew John well speak of a remarkable man with a passion for life—a man who

loved the ocean, who loved his job, who loved his friends, and who, above all, loved his wife, Lisa.

Mr. President, I join in extending my sympathies to Lisa Moravek, and to all who were proud to call John Moravek their friend.

IS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? CONSIDER THE ARITHMETIC!

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the impression will not go away: The \$4.9 trillion Federal debt stands today as a sort of grotesque parallel to television's energizer bunny that appears and appears and appears in precisely the same way that the Federal debt keeps going up and up and up.

Politicians like to talk a good game—and "talk" is the operative word—about reducing the Federal deficit and bringing the Federal debt under control. But watch how they vote.

As of yesterday, Monday, July 24, at the close of business, the total Federal debt stood at exactly \$4,938,384,897,270.48 or \$18,746.19 per man, woman, child on a per capita basis. *Res ipsa loquitur*.

Some control.

MEDICARE'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Medicare program. In light of recent Republican attacks on the program, it is particularly important that we take the time to recognize the value of the Medicare program to so many of our Nation's senior citizens and their families.

For decades, Democratic leaders have supported and reinforced the generally accepted proposition that health care is a fundamental human need and that, in a just society, there ought to be a way to provide for it. Since it was signed into law by President Johnson in July 1965 the Medicare program has succeeded where many had thought it would fail. The world's largest health care program, Medicare currently provides quality health services for more than 37 million American senior and disabled citizens at an administrative cost of just two percent.

In my State of Maryland alone, more than 604,000 seniors receive vital medical services through the Medicare program. Just yesterday, I visited a number of these individuals at the Parkville Senior Center in Baltimore County. Like a vast majority of seniors across the country, they too are concerned about the future of Medicare and how decisions now being made in Congress will effect the quality and availability of health care services for their generation. Quite frankly, Mr. President, I share their concerns.

For these senior citizens and the more than 37 million elderly Americans nationwide, the Republican budget cuts will be devastating. The Republican Budget Resolution cuts Medicare

by \$270 billion over the next 7 years. I know it is asserted that the actual dollar amounts for Medicare will not drop, but rather will increase gradually over the next 7 years. However, if the proposed dollar increases are not proportional to increases in Medicare enrollments and increases in the costs of medical care, the end result is massive cost-shifting and cuts in services for beneficiaries.

Mr. President, in my view, it is essential that we recognize that Medicare is not a system unto itself. The Medicare program is instead a large component of our Nation's health care system and it is illogical to assume that isolated cuts in Medicare will not adversely effect all Americans.

The Health Care Finance Administration [HCFA] estimates that Medicare payments account for 45 percent of health care spending by our Nation's elderly. Under the Republican budget plan, out-of-pocket costs to seniors are expected to increase by an average of \$900 per person year by the year 2002. Over a 7-year period, the typical beneficiary would pay an estimated \$3,200 in additional out-of-pocket costs. While this might not sound like much to some, these numbers become more significant when you factor in statistics that indicate that 60 percent of program spending was incurred on behalf of those with incomes less than twice the poverty level, and 83 percent of program spending was on behalf of those with annual incomes of less than \$25,000.

Clearly, when we talk about Medicare recipients, we are not talking about our Nation's wealthiest citizens. Many seniors live on fixed incomes. In fact, a large number of Medicare recipients depend on Social Security benefits for much of their income. According to HCFA, about 60 percent of the elderly rely on Social Security benefits for 50 percent or more of their income and 32 percent of the elderly rely on Social Security for 80 percent or more of their income. It is also estimated that as many as 2 million seniors can expect to see the value of their Social Security COLA's decline as increased Medicare costs consume 40 to 50 percent of Social Security COLA's by 2002. Requiring these individuals to pay more for their health care will directly undercut their standard of living. In my view, it is simply unacceptable to create a situation in which more and more seniors will see their resources stretched to the extent that they will have to choose between food and health care.

Mr. President, what I find most troubling is that Congressional Republicans are seeking to enact draconian spending cuts, the burden of which will fall primarily on the shoulders of the most vulnerable of our society, in order to provide a significant tax cut for the very wealthy. The future health security of our Nation's seniors should not be jeopardized in order to create a pool of funds for a tax break which almost