

of health professionals who operate the transplant system. While it will never be an easy task to allocate such a critical scarce resource—organs—we cannot let this become nothing more than a turf war between large and small transplant centers.

Large centers play an important role by being at the heart of the innovations which have brought us the technical advances making current liver transplant possible. Smaller centers also make many contributions including making such technology more accessible to Americans. This allows the patient to be closer to family and loved ones during this stressful time.

We must find a way to increase the organs and reduce the perceived inequities in the current system. We need the facts to address the problem.

For this reason, I support the provision, which I understand will be contained in the omnibus appropriations bill, that will place a one-year moratorium on the implementation of the HHS rules. This moratorium will allow us to learn the facts necessary to improve the availability of transplantation.

Mr. President, what we have at stake is not just the amelioration of a flawed organ transplant procurement and allocation system, but the future of allocating scarce health care resources of all types. It behooves us to proceed carefully on this matter of utmost concern.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT MARY McALEESE OF IRELAND AT THE KENNEDY LIBRARY

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, last Thursday, Mary McAleese, the President of Ireland, visited Boston and delivered an important address at President Kennedy's Library. In her address, she paid tribute to President Kennedy and to the long-standing ties between Ireland and the United States, and she spoke eloquently of the peace process in Northern Ireland and Ireland, and the people's hopes for lasting peace and a permanent end to the violence.

I believe that President McAleese's remarks will be of interest to all of us who care about these issues, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT OF IRELAND, MARY McALEESE AT A DINNER HOSTED BY THE KENNEDY LIBRARY FOUNDATION AT THE JOHN F. KENNEDY PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, OCTOBER 15, 1998
Senator and Mrs. KENNEDY, Mayor Menino and Distinguished Guests.

On behalf of Martin and myself, as well as our delegation, I want to thank you for your wonderful welcome and hospitality this evening. I would also like to acknowledge the presence here this evening of representatives of the Irish Times, who will be our co-hosts at the Institute of Politics at Harvard tomorrow.

It is truly a special moment for me to visit this remarkable Library and Museum, to

join the members of your family who are here, and to share this occasion with so many friends of Ireland who are present.

Since its foundation the Library has represented the ideals of President Kennedy through a range of research and activities which is truly admirable. I wish to pay tribute to that achievement to you, Senator, to the Library's President Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, to all of your family, as well as the dedicated Board and Staff who have worked so effectively to achieve this and of course to honour also the memory of Senator Robert Kennedy, particularly this year.

Just two years ago, as a private citizen, I came to visit here. As for thousands of other Irish visitors to Boston, we feel this is instinctively where we want to come. I was profoundly moved. The Library and Museum must surely be the most outstanding living testimony of its kind. For my generation, growing up in the 1960's, we were of course irrevocably shaped and motivated by that extraordinary time. It means a great deal to me, at a personal level, that my first official event in Boston as President of Ireland should be at the Kennedy Library—I can think of nowhere more appropriate.

When we visit here, we are of course sharply reminded of what we lost, but I would prefer to reflect on what we found, on the legacy which we have and the ideals which we must protect. The Kennedy Library is as much about our future as our past.

President Kennedy's Irish roots have never been forgotten. His election in 1960 was, for Irish people everywhere, a source of inspiration and joy. None of us will forget the impact of his visit to Ireland at a time of dramatic change and challenge in our own country. As he said in his address to our Parliament in 1963, "our two nations, divided by distance, have been united by history." Those four days which President Kennedy spent in Ireland were unforgettable for all involved. His impact was total, for young and old alike. The words of Ralph Waldo Emerson, another son of New England, perhaps reflect the mood of that time.

He spoke and words more soft than rain
Brought the age of gold again:
His action won such reverence sweet
As hid all measure of the feet.

I am pleased to think that in just a few months time, next May, the Dunbrody ship from the President's own County Wexford will sail into this harbour, offering a powerful symbol of the Irish emigrant story and reminding us in particular of the arrival of the Kennedy family in the United States. The emigrant story is part of us all—for many of you here in this room who bear Irish names and constantly acknowledge and celebrate your Irish heritage.

One of the great achievements of this Library is the fact that it has established such an important place in the lives of the children of Massachusetts and beyond. Our future is in their hands, as it is also in Northern Ireland.

When Mrs. Hillary Clinton visited Northern Ireland last month, she addressed the Vital Voices Conference. She observed then that in Belfast today, a playground is being built with the advice of children on both sides of the community. They will be, literally, architects of their own environment. Since the Good Friday agreement reached last April, and the subsequent elections held in Northern Ireland this summer, all the people living in Northern Ireland have the chance to design and shape their own future. I know that all of you here shared the great joy of that time.

The day of the Agreement, however Senator George Mitchell, who did so much to bring the Agreement about, noted that this

would not yet put an end to violence and unfortunately this proved to be true. However, despite the awful event in Omagh and other recent tragedies, the Agreement does represent the best opportunity yet for a new beginning, for new structures, for real democracy and equality and for lasting peace. The referendums of this summer have put beyond all doubt that the Agreement is the democratic mandate of the people to their political leaders. A great deal of progress has been made already in forging new partnerships at political, economic and social levels. Difficult work and challenges lie ahead in all of these areas, but, with your help, we are now firmly established on the road to a peaceful future.

Tomorrow morning, I look forward to paying tribute to an important and tragic part of that heritage when I visit the Famine Memorial in Boston with Mayor Menino and Tom Flatley. That Memorial, on your Freedom Trail, is a sombre and important reminder of the devastation of that time and of Boston's central place in that story.

But we know too that the story of the Irish in Massachusetts in this century is one of overcoming adversity, endeavour, courage and success. Few of us would have dared to dream of how far that success could eventually reach, in 1998, in terms of political achievement and economic prosperity. The United States, President Clinton, and outstanding leaders such as Senator Kennedy, have played a central role in both.

To Jean, I want to offer our gratitude, affection, and highest respect. Jean, to borrow the Senator's phrase, came back in the springtime. She not only made thousands of friends in Ireland, she became a pivotal figure in our quest for peace. We will miss her very much. She leaves, however, with the satisfaction of knowing that her legacy will remain and that her good work will continue at the American Embassy in Dublin.

The tour which we have just enjoyed serves as a powerful reminder both of President Kennedy's life and work but also of the challenges which face us all and particularly those dedicated to public service. This institution reminds us of the challenges of public service and of the obligation which we all share to improve the lives of all, while cherishing the ideals of equality, justice and mutual tolerance. The values inherent in good public service are eloquently represented in this Library. We all need to reinforce those principles constantly in our lives and above all through political leadership.

I want to particularly acknowledge the exceptional support from Massachusetts and the city of Boston for their sustained efforts over the years to promote economic development in Northern Ireland. Many of you will be familiar with the tireless work of John Hume, the SDLP leader, with Boston-Derry Ventures to bring much needed jobs to the Derry area. Northern Ireland today continues to rely on your economic assistance. In that regard, I too would like to pay tribute to the generosity and leadership shown by figures such as John Cullinane, present here tonight—and the "Friends of Belfast" who are supporting the economic regeneration there, which is so necessary to underpin the Agreement and the peace process. Indeed, I know that here in the Kennedy Library on Tuesday there was a major event to promote economic investment in Northern Ireland.

I would also like to acknowledge the tremendous support that John Cullinane is giving to the creation of a National Military

Museum at the National Museum of Ireland—which will recognise the enormous contribution of Irish nationals serving in many armies and in many countries over the past 250 years—including those who served with distinction in the Armed Forces of the United States—and of course the two hundred thousand from all parts of Ireland, who were proud to serve in the British Army during the First World War—so many of whom paid the ultimate price.

The hopes and ideals which we all share for Northern Ireland are represented and cherished under this roof each and every day. As I conclude, I can do no better than to quote from the Library's own words, that in leaving here, we come away with new insights—we are all inspired by President Kennedy's vision that one person can make a difference and that every person should try.

MILITARY READINESS AND THE DEFENSE BUDGET

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, over the past several weeks, the Senate Armed Services Committee held a series of hearings to review the status of our armed forces. I scheduled these hearings because I have been concerned for some time that the Administration's defense budget was inadequate to maintain readiness and because members and staff were bringing back anecdotal information indicating the readiness of our armed forces was declining.

On September 29, the committee heard from General Shelton, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other members of the Joint Chiefs, General Reimer, Admiral Johnson, General Ryan, and General Krulak. The hearing has been described by the media as adversarial, however, I would describe it as open, candid and productive. It was not surprising that the Chiefs acknowledged the U.S. military is falling into a readiness crisis and faces the danger of becoming a "hollow" force if appropriate measures are not taken. They specifically indicated the need for additional resources now and in the out years. Most illustrative of the testimony is the following quote by General Shelton:

I must admit up front that our forces are showing increasing signs of serious wear. Anecdotal and now measurable evidence indicates that our current readiness is fraying and that the long-term health of the Total Force is in jeopardy.

Mr. President, on October 6, the committee followed up the hearing with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, with a hearing at which Secretary of Defense Cohen and General Shelton testified. Although the focus of the hearing was to be primarily on world trouble spots, the readiness status of our forces also became a subject of intense debate. Secretary Cohen reiterated the concerns of the service chiefs and indicated that he would seek additional funds in the fiscal year 2000 budget.

Mr. President, the indicators that most concerned the service chiefs and brought them to the realization that readiness was clearly declining included downturns in recruiting and retention, a shortfall in unit training,

and widespread equipment breakdowns and spare parts shortages. These are basic indicators whose impact is felt throughout the ranks, in units throughout all the services and affect operations, training, morale and esprit de corps.

Mr. President, when pressed to explain the reasons for the decline in readiness, Secretary Cohen and the Joint Chiefs of Staff attributed the cause primarily to the high operational tempo and the under funding of the defense budgets. General Reimer encapsulated the problem in this way during the September 29 hearing:

Soldiers are asking, "When is it going to stop? When will the downsizing end? When will our leaders stop asking us to do more with less?" Our soldiers are smart, hard working, and dedicated. They are also very tired.

For many of us, the acknowledged shortfall in defense spending is not a surprise. Last year, during the Senate debate on the budget resolution, I expressed my concerns that funding levels for defense considered in the budget agreement would not provide sufficient funds to adequately sustain over time the personnel, quality of life, readiness and modernization programs critical to our military services. Regretfully, my concerns have become a reality sooner than expected and we must now take measures to resolve these problems and reverse the decline in the readiness of our military services.

Mr. President, as long as the administration continues to pursue a foreign policy that requires the U.S. military to be a global police force, our troops will be challenged by an operational tempo higher than that of the cold war. If the administration persists in this endeavor, we must ensure that our armed forces have the funds to carry out these operations while maintaining a force structure that withstands the impact of the high operational and personnel tempos associated with our current aggressive foreign policy.

More importantly, we have the responsibility to correct those quality of life and modernization shortfalls identified during our hearings. General Shelton recommended the following:

My recommendation is to apply additional funding to two very real, very pressing concerns. First, we need to fix the so-called REDUX retirement system and return the bulk of our force to the program that covers our more senior members—that is, a retirement program that provides 50 percent of average base pay upon completion of twenty years of service. Second, we must begin to close the substantial gap between what we pay our men and women in uniform and what their civilian counterparts with similar skills, training, and education are earning.

General Reimer described the modernization problem as follows:

In order to preserve future readiness, we must begin today to increase our modernization accounts and to develop the equipment, force structures, professional development systems, training, and doctrine we will need to prepare for the future. And we must develop all these capabilities together.

Mr. President, during the October 29 hearing, Secretary Cohen assured us

that he would address these problems in the fiscal year 2000 budget request. In my judgement, it would require a substantial increase in the defense budget to alleviate the problems recently acknowledged by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. During the hearings, the service chiefs testified they needed approximately \$17.5 billion additional annually to correct the near and long term readiness problems. This amount does not include a pay increase nor does it include the funding necessary to change the retirement program.

With respect to the retirement issue, the Armed Services Committee will consider carefully the recommendations of the Secretary of Defense in his fiscal year 2000 budget request and will address this issue in the Defense authorization bill. Senator LEVIN and I wrote the Secretary of Defense on October 8 indicating that we believe he should conduct appropriate analyses to determine the greatest readiness payoff among the measures under consideration to improve recruiting and retention, including pay, retirement, housing, health care, personnel tempo, and morale and recreation programs and facilities. These analyses will be crucial to making the difficult funding decisions we will face next year. I ask unanimous consent that our letter of October 8 be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

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

(See Exhibit 1.)

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Joint Chiefs described alarming indicators of declining readiness. I strongly believe that if there is an actual emergency that should be addressed in this omnibus supplemental bill, it should be military readiness. The Joint Chiefs testified that while the \$1 billion readiness supplemental requested by the Department of Defense would be helpful, it is inadequate to maintain the readiness of our military forces. I believe that, as the highest priority, the Congress should have provided an emergency supplemental for military readiness of at least \$2 billion. Mr. President, while I appreciate and commend the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee and the majority leader for negotiating this agreement under difficult circumstances, I regret that the final agreement provides only half that amount which I believe is required now to shore up our military readiness.

Mr. President, next year, we are going to have to face up to the serious fiscal problems our military services are experiencing in addition to already existing outlay problems. The Secretary of Defense is conferring now with the Office of Management and Budget to determine how additional funds can be provided for defense next year and in the out years. I do not believe the administration will request