

Army and Marine officers say the rapid pace of deployments into Iraq has put the readiness of their troops into a "death spiral"—with 40 percent of gear worn out and soldiers and marines left fatigued and undertrained. Our Nation owes our fighting forces better than this.

The 3rd Infantry Division, scrambling to meet deployment orders, reportedly has sent injured troops back to Iraq—including ones so badly injured that they could not put on their body armor. We owe our fighting forces better than this.

The Army's medical facilities are understaffed and underfunded—not just at Building 18 at Walter Reed—and its medical staff is overwhelmed. We owe our fighting forces better than this.

Some 1,800 Marine Corps reservists will get letters this week notifying them that they are being involuntarily recalled for a year, thanks to a shortage of volunteers to fill some jobs in Iraq.

This follows news that should make everyone in this Chamber take notice: The 82nd Airborne Division—the storied "All-American" Division—is so strained by this war that it can no longer respond on short notice to a crisis.

For decades, the 82nd Airborne has kept a brigade on round-the-clock alert—ready to respond to a crisis anywhere around the globe within 18 to 72 hours. But The New York Times reported on March 20 that the 82nd Airborne can no longer meet this standard—a standard it has long held with pride.

I believe the supplemental that we have before us today is the solution to the Iraq problem. It provides a vehicle for Congress to express its sense on Iraq and to require the President to take concrete, measurable steps forward. It sets clear deadlines and requires vigorous regional diplomacy. It sends a message to an administration marked by arrogance and declares to the Iraqi Government that their time has come.

Zalmay Khalilzad, the outgoing U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, said as much Monday, March 26, in his farewell news conference.

Mr. Khalilzad was direct: The Iraqi leadership must understand, he said, that time is running out.

Finally, most importantly, this legislation begins the process of bringing our troops home.

We have a choice today. We can vote for a clear-headed Iraq policy or do nothing. We can exercise our constitutional oversight duties or we can be a rubberstamp for a failed Iraq policy.

I urge my colleagues to choose the first path. To choose the other is to abdicate our responsibility.

(At the request of Mr. LOTT, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.)

#### VOTE EXPLANATION

• Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I would like to state my position on the Cochran

amendment No. 643 voted on by the U.S. Senate.

I was unable to vote due to a family emergency but would have voted in favor of the Cochran amendment. I was pleased to be an original cosponsor of the amendment.

I do not support congressional micro-management of military operations and I do not support the congressionally mandated phased deployment of our troops in Iraq.

Troop redeployment decisions should be made by military leaders and the combat commanders who are on the ground in Iraq. I do not favor a set redeployment date, reporting to our enemies in language "cut in stone."

Congress must provide our troops with the resources they need when they need it. I fully support our Armed Forces personnel in their current military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

I want our troops to come home as soon as possible. My goal has always been for American Armed Forces to stand down as the Iraqi forces stand up. The United States cannot abandon the efforts of the people who have sacrificed so much. ●

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now go into morning business, with Senators allowed to speak for 10 minutes on each side.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator COBURN be recognized for up to 1 hour.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### HEALTH CARE

Mr. COBURN. Mr. President, I understand that I am to be able to speak as in morning business for up to 1 hour.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. We are in morning business, and the Senator is recognized for up to 1 hour.

Mr. COBURN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, if you go out in our country and you ask, besides the war, what is on people's minds, the No. 1 topic you will hear about is health care. And what are the questions that you hear? Why can't I choose my own doctor? Why can't I pick my own health insurance plan? Why do my premiums increase every year but my benefits don't increase? Why do I have trouble understanding which benefits my health plan offers? Why does my employer get a tax break from my health care but I don't? Who can make the best health care decisions for my family, us in Washington, the insurance bureaucrats, other people, my employer, or how about me? How about me getting to make a decision about my health care?

There is no question America's health care is broken. It is not that we are getting bad care, it is that we pay a tremendous amount for what we get in our care. The estimates are anywhere from \$1 out of every \$3 to \$1 out of every \$4 we spend on health care doesn't go to help anybody get well in this country and doesn't go to help anybody prevent having an illness. That is \$2.2 trillion, and it will be over \$2.3 trillion this year.

When you see what happens—and these are not my numbers, by the way; these are Price Waterhouse numbers, a breakdown on health care dollars—what you see are some pretty interesting statistics. You see that when we go to spend \$1 on health care, 35 percent of it goes to hospitals, 21 percent of it goes to doctors, 15 percent goes to prescription drugs, and 5 percent goes to equipment.

All the rest of that, the medical liability insurance—nobody realizes that is 10 percent. Ten cents out of every dollar we spend goes to medical liability. We are insuring against a problem in health care—10 percent. It costs us 6 percent to process the claims. One-half of all the claims filed against all the insurance companies in this country are denied because the people haven't met their deductible, and yet we keep sending the claims, keep spending the money.

One out of every three people who works in a hospital, one out of every three people who works in a doctor's office doesn't do anything to help anybody get well. Why is that?

It is because of the system we have set up. If you add this 10 percent for liability insurance, 6 percent for processing, 5 percent for marketing, 23 percent for the insurance industry profit—and I doubt seriously it is that low—what you come up with is 24 percent, as a minimum, that doesn't have anything to do with helping anybody get well.

Now, why is that? Why is it we have this system? It is because we have somebody besides the patient choosing what they will get in terms of health care. In Medicaid, it is your State. Oftentimes in Medicaid it is your State paying a very low rate, so now you get to choose from those who will accept the lowest rates. In Medicare, they tell you exactly what the price is. We spend all our time around here trying to change Medicare, because when we push on the balloon one way, something else pops out.

So whether it is the Deficit Reduction Act or some of the other things we have had, what we find is we cannot control this tiger because we have a bureaucratic maze that nobody understands. When we try to use price controls, when we try to limit expenditures, we end up losing control.

So what happens? Who makes your health care decisions? Either CMS, the Center for Medicare Services, in conjunction with your State, either for Medicare or Medicaid, your employer, or an insurance company.