

was in the interest of North Korea. And yet the question is what would we do about it, because we have no means of stopping that kind of attack.

It used to be that the threat of mutual assured destruction with the former Soviet Union was enough to deter attack by either nation because the thought of either nation sending everything it had against the other nation was simply too horrible to contemplate and neither nation was foolish enough to do that. But today the threat of mutual assured destruction does not work against these tinhorn dictators in countries like Iraq or Iran or Syria or North Korea and similar places, Libya—I will not extend the list—because of the characterized kind of leadership of those countries. But the fact is they have not been friends of the United States; they have been antagonistic in the past. They have either now or are developing these systems and therefore are likely troublemakers in the near future. To be defenseless against them is to deny our responsibility.

Fortunately, we have it in our capability to begin developing the kind of defenses that would render these threats essentially meaningless and prevent us from being subjected to the blackmail that those threats certainly will entail in the future and hopefully deter attacks that, of course, would cause casualties either to our allies or our forces deployed abroad and eventually to the continental United States.

Both the House and Senate Defense authorization bills begin to get us back on track to the development and deployment of effective theater ballistic missile systems and do the work that will eventually enable us to deploy an effective national defense system, that is, a system that would prevent attacks on the United States.

And so it is important for us, as we begin to debate this subject next week, to focus on what the Armed Services Committee will be recommending and why we should not adopt some of the amendments that we know are going to be proposed that would weaken what the Armed Services Committee has recommended with respect to the development and deployment of these theater ballistic missile systems.

In the past, Mr. President, there have been attempts to reduce the funding. Well, this year's funding level, I will note, is less than the Clinton administration's recommendation for this year in the 5-year plan that was submitted last year. So I hope we will not see attempts to decrease the funding for ballistic missile defenses.

There is also a question about dumbing down our systems. The Patriot missile was not as effective as it might have been in the Persian Gulf because it had earlier been dumbed down. We did not make it as effective as we could have. There is a belief today that because the Russians would not like to see a robust defense, a defense that might even prepare the way

for an effective defense against missiles they might send our way someday, therefore we are going to arbitrarily limit ourselves so that the systems will not be as effective as they might be.

One of the arguments will be, if we make them as effective as they could be, they might violate the ABM Treaty.

This bill which will come to the floor next week has definitions built into it that clearly permit us to test in a certain mode, and if we test beyond that mode, it would be deemed testing against a strategic system, which presumably would be in violation of the ABM Treaty, and so we will not do that. But if we try to add additional requirements such as speed limits on American missiles, making them not as effective as they might otherwise be, we will be dumbing down our system, making it less capable than it should be, than it needs to be.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to reject any amendments along that line.

Finally, what we have done, since eventually there could be questions about whether a national system should have one or more sites to protect the continental United States, we have established a committee which will advise the Senate and the administration on what areas of the ABM Treaty we may wish to modify in order to deploy an effective system to defend the United States. The treaty only allows for one system today. We may need to deploy in more than one place. Surely, if that is in the United States national interest, we would seek to modify the treaty and ask the Russians to agree to that with us.

We are not violating the treaty; we are simply preparing for the day when we may ask for changes to be made. The treaty is almost 25 years old and clearly was developed at a time when the Cold War was at its height and when the United States and Russia, or the Soviet Union, I should say, were depending on the doctrine of mutual assured destruction. That does not exist today. As so many of our colleagues are fond of reminding us, the Cold War is over. Of course, it is over.

We have to begin to think about the kind of defense we will need in the next century rather than focusing on a treaty that may have served us well in the past, though that is subject to some debate, but certainly does not provide all the things that we need or the only things that we need to protect us in the future.

So I hope that our colleagues will be agreeable to going forward with the study committee that is established in the Armed Services Committee mark that will come to the floor. I hope that they will believe that is a good idea and will go forward with that study.

Let me conclude by saying that I believe what the Armed Services Committee will be recommending to us will make a lot of sense; that it will begin to put us on the path to developing and

ultimately deploying an effective theater ballistic missile defense, a system that will protect us if we have troops deployed in Korea or in Saudi Arabia or anywhere else in the world, a system that will protect our allies to the extent they wish to be protected. That is something the United States wants to cooperate in and ultimately a system that can be added to and modified to protect even the continental United States.

Surveys show that Americans today overwhelmingly believe that if a missile were launched against the United States, that we would be able to somehow intercept it either by some airplane-fired missile or some other missile we could fire or something in space. We know, of course, that is not true. We have absolutely no defense against a missile fired against us, whether by accident or in anger, whether by a terrorist nation that only has one or two missiles, or whether as in an attack by a country like the former Soviet Union.

It is time to start thinking how to deal with that threat today. It takes a long time to develop the systems to meet that kind of threat. That is why this bill begins to put us on the track that will enable us to defend ourselves, as well as our interests abroad, and it is a bill which will be deserving of our support.

I will be talking more about the bill and its specifics as we come to the floor to debate it, but I wanted to at least outline those concerns to my colleagues today.

Mr. President, those conclude my remarks about the defense bill before us next week.

#### EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the period for morning business be extended until 2 p.m., under the same terms and conditions as before.

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

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR JOHN GLENN

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I do want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to our friend and colleague, the Senator from Ohio, Senator GLENN. Yesterday he addressed the Senate about his service in the Marines during the Korean conflict and again today. I thought his statements and comments were as much a real tribute, not only to the men and the women that served in that conflict, particularly those who lost their lives, but also to his own very considerable service to this country in so many ways with which all of us in this Chamber are familiar. I

think we are very moved and touched by his presentation.

#### NEW STUDY OF IMPACT OF MEDICARE CUTS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, a new study released today by the administration shows the impact of the proposed Republican Medicare cuts on seniors and health care providers in each State. The numbers are devastating. How could any Senator look at these numbers and support these proposals in good conscience?

This study is especially timely on the eve of the National Governors Association Conference in Vermont this weekend. All Governors must be asked what these proposed cuts will mean for seniors in their State and for the health care system as a whole. Here are just a few examples:

In my State of Massachusetts, over the next 7 years, seniors will be asked to pay an additional \$4,300 for the medical care they need. A senior couple will pay \$8,600.

In Florida, a couple will have to pay \$8,800.

In California, the figure is \$8,200.

In Nevada, the additional burden will be \$6,000.

The figures vary, but the message is clear: An unfair, unaffordable burden on senior citizens in every State to pay for the tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans.

And those who need health care the most will pay even more. Senior citizens needing home health services will have to pay an average of \$1,700 a year for this service alone, on top of the additional costs for all their other health needs. Seniors needing nursing home care will have to pay \$1,400 more.

The impact on the health care system as a whole is even greater. In Massachusetts, the Medicare cuts will mean \$9.5 billion less for health care over the next 7 years. Mr. President, that is an extraordinary figure, \$9.5 billion less to the seniors in my State over the next 7 years. In Florida, the figure is \$28.1 billion. In California, it is \$36.4 billion. In New York, the figure is \$18.1 billion. The deep Medicaid cuts in the budget will take even more from the health system and those in need.

These cuts will be passed on to elderly people, to those who are on Medicare—which is 97 percent of all of our seniors—with higher copayments, higher deductibles and higher premiums.

Mr. President, I will include in the RECORD the detailed State-by-State breakdown of these proposed Republican Medicare cuts. Senior citizens in every State will suffer, hospitals and nursing homes will close, and the health care system will be of lower quality.

These numbers speak for themselves, but the impact goes far beyond mere numbers. Who speaks for the elderly widow, struggling to survive on a fixed income, who must now try to find \$1,000 more a year to pay for the health care she needs?

Who speaks for the family who will now be forced to choose between medical care for their parents and a college education for their children?

Who speaks for the retired couple who finds that the savings of a lifetime must now be sacrificed to pay for the medical care that Medicare used to cover?

President Clinton speaks for them—and so do Democrats in the Congress. We will never let these cruel cuts become law. We will never let the Medicare trust fund become a slush fund for tax cuts for the wealthy. We will never let senior citizens be plundered for the benefits they have earned by a lifetime of hard work.

We do not have to redebate, hopefully, the reason for the development of the Medicare system. It is based and built upon a very simple and fundamental concept: that the men and women who have built this Nation, have made it the great country that it is, who fought in its wars and brought it out of the Depression, ought to be able to live their senior years in respect and in dignity.

It is recognized that a test of a civilization is how it regards its elders, what respect it pays them. To relieve our seniors from the anxiety and the pressures of seniors' health care needs, in the way that Medicare has done, is something which is of fundamental importance to all Americans. It is this program which will be, I believe, devastated, should these proposed cuts go into effect. Once again, we have to reiterate that the principal reasons for those cuts to go into effect is for the tax cuts that will be available primarily to the wealthy individuals in our country.

The fact is that there is \$270 billion proposed for the Medicare cuts and about \$245 billion for the tax cuts. So if you eliminated the tax cuts, you would be able to move ahead with the Medicare program in a way that would not present these kinds of burdens on our senior citizens.

Once again, Mr. President, I underline the obvious fact that all of us understand; and that is, when our citizens grow older and older, that their incomes generally decline and they are dependent upon Social Security and they are dependent upon Medicare. At a time when their incomes are declining is a time that their health care needs continue to grow. It is that fundamental concept that drove this country to adopt the health care and the Medicare systems: declining incomes, increasing health care requirements.

This chart reflects exactly who of our fellow citizens are really affected: 83 percent of the expenditures go to families with annual incomes of \$25,000 or less; 21 percent of it goes to those with annual incomes of \$15,000 to \$25,000; 62 percent goes to those with annual incomes of \$15,000 a year or under—men and women who are being asked, with the proposed Medicare cuts, to see a significant increase in out-of-pocket

expenditures, copays, deductibles, and premiums. There are \$9.5 billion for the close to 1 million of my fellow citizens in Massachusetts who benefit under the Medicare system.

I hope that when those Governors meet this weekend up in Vermont, someone will ask them how they are going to be able to explain these kinds of sizable cuts, and how they will explain them to the people who live in my State of Massachusetts, in the State of New York, the State of California, the State of Florida, and the State of Texas. We have seen that within Massachusetts the burden will be higher than the national average, as it will be in Rhode Island and Connecticut—the New England States. In these next several weeks as we are debating this issue, debating this proposal, those of us who believe and fought for this particular program are going to do everything that we can to resist.

I am sure that in my State of Massachusetts, there are the elderly widows who are wondering how they are going to be able to afford the additional out-of-pocket costs that will be required under the proposed Medicare cuts.

How are they going to be able to handle it? How are the American families going to handle it—the sons and daughters of those who are receiving Medicare today? These kinds of cuts are not only going to be devastating to the seniors, but to their sons and daughters that care and love their parents and have a great respect for the dignity of those parents. They are going to do everything they can, with scarce resources, to be able to make sure their parents are going to be able to live with some dignity.

These kinds of cuts are not only going to be evident on the seniors, but they are also going to be a heavy burden on the working families in this country, who have lost real income in terms of wages over the last 15 years. This is going to come at the same time when those families are worried about educating their children. We have seen that under the Republican proposals, the cost of student loans is going to increase some 30 percent, and the total number of Pell grants that will be available to well-qualified needy children who can gain admission into the finest colleges and universities across this country but need the Pell grants to be able to continue their education, their program is being deteriorated. Those working families are going to have to make judgments about how much they are going to have to make up the out-of-pocket expenses for their parents, or whether they are going to educate their children.

We know what is going to happen to the families. These couples are going to have to make a judgment about how much they are going to pay out of their life savings, which was going to be used for their retirement.

Mr. President, these are obscene choices left for our seniors, our families, and our children. I daresay this