

that. I counted the reforms we have passed, and I would challenge anybody to find a 10-year period in history when there have been more reforms passed by Congress than we have passed.

Congressional accountability—the fact that we now have to live under the same laws that we impose upon other people in the rest of the country. I spent 30 years in the private sector. I understand what it is like to have to live under an overregulated society, and, yet, Members of Congress historically have been exempt from most of those impositions. Now they are going to have to live under the same laws that we pass for other people. I think that is a major accomplishment of this Republican Congress.

The line-item veto: As long as I can remember, we have talked about that—about reforming the line-item veto. A lot of my friends say, well, I would like to have the line-item veto, as long as we know we have a conservative in the White House, or the other side of the fence would say they would like to have a line-item veto as long as we have a liberal there. But I suggest to you, Mr. President, that they miss the point when they say that, because all a line-item veto does is force the President and Congress to be accountable. Republicans and Democrats in the White House, for decades, have been able to say, well, I didn't want that law, but I had to either sign that because veterans benefits are in there, or something else was in there, and consequently they go ahead and sign something that they say they are opposed to. This forces them, or him, or her, Democrat or Republican, to be accountable, so that if there is 1 thing out of 25 things in a bill that he doesn't like, he can veto it and send it back, and that makes us accountable.

So the whole idea there is accountability. We have passed that. I feel very good about it and think that is a major improvement. Back before I was in the U.S. Senate, I represented an all-urban area, primarily one county in the State of Oklahoma. So I did not have much of the agricultural areas and interests in my district. But I found, as I traveled around the State after becoming a Member of the U.S. Senate, where I had largely an agricultural State, the people who are in the farm communities in Oklahoma—and I suspect it is that way throughout the Nation—really have felt that we have had a failed agricultural policy in this country, that we have imposed upon our farmers things that they must do. Yet, they are not free to plant what they think the market will bear and what will best take care of their needs.

Well, the Freedom to Farm Act was passed, and I find, as I go around—as I did, as a matter of fact, only Monday of this week. I had, I think, seven town meetings throughout agricultural areas in Oklahoma. They all think it is very good.

Do you know what else they think, Mr. President? They want to do some-

thing about property rights. Well, that is one area where we have not been successful. I would like to say that we are able to pass all of the reforms that we wanted to pass. Unfortunately, several of them were vetoed by this President. The reform that will go down, I think, in history as the most significant reform that the public is aware of would be welfare reform. I have to remind you that President Clinton vetoed this bill twice. We passed a welfare reform bill that was based on what he campaigned on for President in 1992. He vetoed it, and then he vetoed it a second time. But just as we are getting into the final stages of the Presidential election year, he has signed it. At the same time, he has whispered to his friends on the left that if he is reelected, he will change some of the reforms that we have in the welfare bill.

There are three things I have often said that make us globally non-competitive, Mr. President. One is that we are overtaxed. The other is we are overregulated. Third is our tort laws in this country. I was proud to be a part of the success in changing our tort laws as it pertains to just one manufacturing item: airplanes and airplane parts. I have about a 39-year history and background in aviation. So I know a little bit about that. Prior to 1970, we made almost the entire world supply of airplanes in the United States—a major export item. And then, over the 10-year period of the 1970's, and up through to the present time, we quit making single-engine airplanes in America. We quit making them only for one reason, which is that you can't be globally competitive and offset the cost of all these lawsuits. So we have lawsuit after lawsuit against manufacturers of airplane parts and of airplanes where maybe it has worked perfectly well for 50 years, but all of a sudden there is an accident and they will go back and get a multimillion-dollar judgment against the manufacturer, and, consequently, our manufacturers either went broke or quit making small airplanes.

I remember the case of Piper Aircraft. They said to the bankruptcy court, "We can move our plant and all of our equipment to Canada and make the same airplanes and supply the same market and do so at a profit because of the fact that they don't have the tort laws we have in this country." So we passed a bill. Even though the President made a commitment to veto any kind of meaningful tort reform, he signed it because we had so much pressure out there. People realized this is a major manufacturing area that could benefit all of America.

In Oklahoma alone, we can identify 4,000 jobs as a result of that one tort reform. Well, it would only stand to reason that if we can put America back into making airplanes by having tort reform, insofar as the manufacture of airplanes and parts is concerned, why not spread that across the entire manufacturing base? So we did. We passed

a bill that would make America competitive again, and the President vetoed it.

So I think we have a lot of things that we wanted to do. There was the \$500-per-child tax credit, which the President vetoed. There was regulation reform, and some of the marriage penalties that we were going to correct, and the President vetoed it.

In spite of that, we have been a very productive House and Senate, and I am very proud of the major reforms that have passed. I only regret that we were unable to get them all passed because of the vetoes of the President, and perhaps that will change in the near future.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INHOFE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

SENATOR PAUL SIMON

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to our departing colleague, PAUL SIMON.

All of us have an image of what a U.S. Senator ought to be. It will not surprise anyone that not all who serve here measure up. PAUL SIMON is someone who clearly measures up. He is thoughtful, hard-working, and committed. He has a clear philosophy and the integrity to stand up for it. PAUL's manner is open. His approach is thoughtful and considerate. He is one who cares more about solving problems than making himself look good.

I think of him as a part of a long line of Senators from Illinois that are epitomized by Paul Douglas. Perhaps I should say that in my mind Paul Douglas is epitomized by PAUL SIMON because both of them brought great integrity and intellect to this body.

It is not unusual for PAUL SIMON and I to be on opposite sides of an issue. But, I have never found him to be unwilling to listen or unwilling to be objective. He is the kind of person who comes here to serve, who displays integrity in office, and places the integrity of his person above selfish interests.

It has been a great privilege for me to work with PAUL SIMON. He is someone I admire now and I will admire him for the rest of my life because he embodies, the best that is in us. He has brought this body a nobleness which is in short supply. As one who hopes the Republican Party will win the seat in Illinois, I will still be sad to see PAUL SIMON go. He has enriched this body. He has enriched all of

us who have had the pleasure to serve with him.

I yield the floor.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague from Colorado for those excellent words about a colleague—a very serious tribute, a very sincere one, and we are grateful to him as a friend of PAUL's for his observations about his service. I thank him for his very generous comments. I am sure Senator SIMON will, but I would certainly agree with all of his conclusions. I thank him for making those views clear on the Senate floor today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Massachusetts is recognized for up to 30 minutes.

THE CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT, AND HEALTH CARE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, this past weekend, Bob Dole used his Saturday radio address to attack the President's record on health care. He repeated his attack yesterday. He even claimed credit for passage of the Kassebaum-Kennedy health insurance reform bill.

Few issues are more important to the American people than access to affordable, quality health care. They want it for their children, for their parents, and for themselves. But Bob Dole was wrong on his facts, and he was wrong in his conclusions.

On health care, the choice in November is clear. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress stand on the side of American families. Bob Dole and the Republican leadership in Congress have consistently put families last and special interests first when it comes to health care and health reform.

The Republican leadership in this Dole-Gingrich Congress tried to slash Medicare. They tried to trash Medicaid. Bob Dole personally tried to kill the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill. The Republican leadership blocked mental health parity and new protection for mothers and infants, until Democratic members of Congress forced them to act. Republicans continue to resist enactment of a simple rule telling HMO's and insurance companies that they can't prohibit doctors from telling patients about medical treatments they need.

Throughout this Congress, Republicans have been obstructionists on health care reform. There is no reason to believe they will deal constructively with the problems facing our health care system if they retain control of the Congress or win the White House.

President Clinton and Democrats in Congress are committed to genuine progress on health reform. The American people know we're on their side. Every American who works hard and plays by the rules should have access to affordable health insurance coverage. Senior citizens deserve the

Medicare they have earned. They should also be able to keep their own doctor, and be protected against profiteering by private insurance companies.

Senior citizens deserve quality nursing home care, without bankrupting their families. President Clinton has led the effort to fill the gaps in Medicare by providing coverage for prescription drugs, and for long-term care in a nursing home or a senior citizen's own home.

Americans deserve protection against the excesses of insurance companies that put healthy profits above healthy patients. They deserve a strong FDA to protect people from harmful drugs, guarantee a safe food supply, and crack down on shameful tobacco industry practices that entice children to start smoking.

These are basic principles that the vast majority of Americans support—but not Bob Dole, NEWT GINGRICH, and Republicans in Congress. NEWT GINGRICH has said that he wants Medicare to wither on the vine." House Majority Leader DICK ARMEY has called it a program that he would have no part of in a free world." Bob Dole said that he is proud to have voted against Medicare at the beginning. As he told the American Conservative Union, "I was there, fighting the fight, voting against Medicare, one of twelve, because we knew it wouldn't work."

That was said not in 1965, Mr. President, but in his run for the Presidency.

The Dole-Gingrich Republican budget would have slashed Medicare by \$270 billion. Under the Republican budget Bob Dole forced through the Senate, Medicare premiums would have doubled, deductibles would have doubled, and the Medicare age of eligibility would have been raised.

Every senior couple would have paid an additional \$2,400 over the life of the plan in increased premiums alone. Make no mistake, Bob Dole and the Republican Congress are no friends of Medicare.

To make matters worse, Bob Dole and NEWT GINGRICH formed an unholy alliance with the private insurance industry to try to privatize Medicare, to force senior citizens to give up their family doctor, leave conventional Medicare, and join a private insurance plan. The Republicans claimed their plan was intended to give senior citizens a choice. But as all elderly Americans know, giving up the doctor they have chosen to provide billions of dollars in profits for private insurance companies is no choice at all. Again and again, Congress voted on these issues. Again and again, Bob Dole voted with most Republicans in favor of private insurance plans and against senior citizens.

Bob Dole claimed before the 1994 election that Republicans had no plan to cut Medicare. He said that President Clinton and the Democrats were just using scare tactics. Bob Dole is saying the same thing this year—but this time the American people know better, be-

cause they know Medicare was put on the chopping block by this Republican Congress.

Despite various promises made prior to the 1994 election that there would be no cuts in Medicare, the Republicans proposed cuts of \$270 billion to Medicare to pay for a \$245 billion tax cut. Now Bob Dole is talking about an economic plan that will cost \$681 billion over a 7-year period. He has indicated he is not going to cut the defense budget; in fact, he has said he would increase the defense budget with additional funding for B-2 bombers and a number of other areas.

The whole question is how can we have any confidence that the Medicare cut is not going to be of a similar proportion in spite of his statements made prior to the election. "President Clinton and Vice President GORE are resorting to scare tactics falsely accusing Republicans of secret plans to cut Medicare benefits." Bob Dole said this just before the election in 1994. Haley Barbour said the same thing: "As far as I'm concerned, the Democrats' big lie campaign is that the Contract With America would require huge Medicare cuts. It would not."

Soon after the election, the GOP introduced their plan: \$270 billion in cuts in Medicare to pay for \$245 billion in tax cuts.

Republicans in Congress didn't stop with Medicare. They also proposed deep cuts in Medicaid—a devastating one-two punch for senior citizens and the disabled. Under the GOP plan, 9 million Americans—children, senior citizens, and the disabled—would have lost health care coverage under Medicaid. They proposed to slash the program by \$180 billion. They also proposed to eliminate Federal nursing home quality standards—not modify them, not improve them, but eliminate them.

No one should be forced to go back to the time before Federal nursing home quality standards were enacted in 1987. Elderly patients were often allowed to go uncleaned for days, lying in their own excrement. They were tied to wheelchairs and beds under conditions that would not be tolerated in any prison in America.

Deliberate abuse and outright violence were inflicted on helpless senior citizens by callous and sadistic attendants. Painful, untreated, and completely avoidable bedsores were widespread. Patients were scalded to death in hot baths and showers, sedated to the point of unconsciousness, or isolated from all normal life—all because fly-by-night nursing home operators were profiteering from the misery of their patients.

Congress stopped all that by insisting that all nursing homes must meet basic standards. Yet those are the standards that Bob Dole and NEWT GINGRICH tried to eliminate. They would also have removed protections against impoverishing children and spouses of senior citizens who need nursing home care.