

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.

Democrats opposed all of these Republican schemes. As the debate in Congress took place and the American people came to understand what was at stake, Republicans retreated from their most extreme proposals. But the retreat was always grudging. The desire to roll back basic protections was always there. If Republicans retain control of the Congress, we are likely to see a new Republican effort to enact these cruel and unfair proposals.

The Dole-Gingrich Republican plan for Medicare and Medicaid made a mockery of the family values they claim to support. Under their plan, millions of elderly Americans would have been forced to go without the health care they need. Millions more would have to choose between food on the table, adequate heat in the winter, paying the rent, or paying for medical care. Senior citizens have earned their Medicare benefits. They have paid for them. They deserve them. And we don't intend to let Republicans take them away.

President Clinton and Democrats in Congress stopped the Republican assault for the time being. Now it is up to the American people to stop it for good, by the ballots cast in November. Republicans must never again have the opportunity to turn Medicare into a slush fund for tax breaks for the wealthy.

Younger Americans, too, deserve affordable health insurance for themselves and their families. President Clinton has fought hard to give all Americans the guarantee that health care will be there when they need it.

The Kassebaum-Kennedy health insurance reform bill passed by this Congress will end some of the worst abuses in the current system. It guarantees that, as long as you faithfully pay your premiums, your insurance cannot be taken away—even if you become seriously ill, or lose your job, or change your job. Under that bill, insurance companies can no longer impose pre-existing condition exclusions on your coverage, as long as you do not let your insurance lapse. The bill opens the door of opportunity for Americans locked in their current job and afraid to pursue new opportunities for fear they would lose their coverage or face exclusions for preexisting conditions.

In the end, this legislation was bipartisan. It passed the Senate 98 to 0. But without President Clinton's leadership it would never have become law. The bill languished on the Senate Calendar for months, with no hope of passage, because Bob Dole refused to let the Senate act. It passed the Labor and Human Resources Committee 17 to 0 on August 2, but in spite of repeated requests Senator Dole refused to bring it up. He hid for months behind a series of rolling, anonymous holds placed by Republican Senators at the insistence of the insurance industry.

Ultimately, Bob Dole, who controlled the Senate Calendar, stalled, stonewalled, and sabotaged every effort

to bring the bill forward and succeeded in delaying it for 9 months. And, if he had his way, he would have killed it.

The gridlock finally began to break when President Clinton highlighted the bill in his State of the Union Address last January. When the press focused on the anonymous holds that were holding the legislation captive and Senator Dole's refusal to bring it to the floor, public pressure began to mount. But he still refused to act. Only when the "Nightline" program confronted Senator Dole directly in New Hampshire and demanded to know why he was holding up the legislation did he finally agree to bring the bill to the floor.

How ironic that Senator Dole has the gall to claim credit for the insurance reform bill. It passed the Labor Committee in August. It was on the Senate Calendar by the beginning of October. Time and time again, Senator Dole was asked to bring the bill up by Senator KASSEBAUM and myself. We asked for floor time in November, but he refused. Senator KASSEBAUM and I, we asked for floor time in December, but he refused. We asked for floor time in January, but he refused. And he claims credit for this legislation.

What was Bob Dole's excuse? Well, there were holds on the bill—anonymous holds. But those holds were not anonymous to the majority leader. He knew who was blocking the bill. And he knew that he could bring the bill to the floor any time he wanted. But he did nothing—because his friends in the insurance industry did not want the bill to pass. And he claims credit for this legislation.

It was President's Clinton's call to pass this legislation in the State of the Union on January 23 that focused the attention of the press and the public on the Senate's failure to act. Editorials called for action, but still Senator Dole refused. There were holds on the bill, he said—even though everyone knows that a majority leader can override any hold from any Senator. But Bob Dole still refused to act.

The press kept up its drumbeat. What is this rolling hold? Where is Senator Dole? The press even identified some of the Senators placing holds—but where was Bob Dole? Did he urge any of these Senators to lift these holds?

And then came the breakthrough. "Nightline" confronted Senator Dole on January 31 in New Hampshire. He refused to explain why he would not bring the bill to the floor. Miraculously, the next day, Senator Dole moved to lift the holds. But he still tried to delay the bill as long as possible, so the health insurance industry could mobilize to kill or gut the bill.

He asked that the consent agreement delay the bill for an additional 6 months, to the July 4 recess. When Democrats refused to go along with yet another delay, Senator Dole proposed to delay for 5 months—until Memorial Day. And he wants to claim credit for this bill.

Finally, with increasing pressure from the public, Senator Dole finally agreed to schedule the bill—but he still delayed its consideration to April 15, at the earliest.

Anyone would think that there was tremendously important legislation tying up the floor for these many months. But what was Senator Dole finding time for? Mostly nothing. Of course, there was work going on off the Senate floor on the budget, but for most of February, Senator Dole kept the Senate out of session, so he could campaign. When he came back to Washington, his main priority was extending Senator D'AMATO's investigation of Whitewater. He also found time to schedule votes on legislation that would have gutted food safety, environmental safety and a host of other consumer protection for the benefit of big business. But health insurance protection for the American people was not on Senator Dole's priority list. And he wants to claim credit for this legislation.

Even when the bill passed the Senate, Bob Dole and the House leadership still delayed it for months by their insistence on stacking the deck of the conference to include a provision on medical savings accounts that was a giveaway to the Golden Rule Insurance Co. and a threat to everyone with a comprehensive insurance policy.

As late as the day before the bill was finally passed, congressional Republicans and their special interest allies in the insurance industry were trying to weaken key provisions allowing people to buy individual insurance coverage if they lost coverage through an employer.

For many months this moderate, non-partisan bill was adamantly opposed by insurance companies that profit from the worst abuses of the current system. And Bob Dole was actively supporting their opposition and delay.

The story of insurance against mental illness is similar. The Domenici-Wellstone amendment to give the mentally ill and their families fair treatment was a bipartisan effort. It received overwhelming votes in the Senate both times it was considered. But the insurance industry opposed it. And so the Republican House leadership insisted on dropping it from the Kassebaum-Kennedy bill, and fought up to the last moment to keep it out of the VA-HUD appropriations bill. And Bob Dole never lifted a finger to help. He was MIA at every critical stage of the debate.

Quality health care for the American people also depends on a strong Food and Drug Administration, to guarantee that food is healthy, that prescription drugs will cure and not kill, and that medical devices will sustain and improve life, rather than end it.

But Republicans in Congress have a different priority. They want to turn critical functions of the FDA over to the tender mercies of private companies hired and paid for by the very

manufacturers whose products they are supposed to regulate.

President Clinton and Democrats in Congress refuse to allow Republicans to expose Americans again to drug disasters like thalidomide and DES and device failures like the Dalkon shield and the Shiley heart valve.

And unlike Senator Dole, President Clinton and Democrats know that tobacco is addictive, and that children deserve protection from the unconscionable targeted assaults of tobacco advertising.

Another key health issue for families is the quality of the insurance they purchase with their premium dollars. The growth of managed care and HMO's in recent years has been soaring. Today, more than half of all Americans with private insurance are enrolled in such plans. Seventy percent of covered employees in businesses with more than 10 employees are enrolled in managed care. Between 1990 and 1995 alone, the proportion of Blue Cross and Blue Shield enrollees participating in managed care plans rose from just one in five to almost half. Even conventional fee-for-service plans have increasingly adopted features of managed care, such as ongoing medical review and case management.

At its best, managed care can improve quality while reducing costs. But at its worst, managed care puts the bottom line ahead of the patient's health—and pressures physicians to do the same. The most widespread abuses include failure to inform patients of particular treatments; excessive barriers to specialists for evaluation and treatment; unwillingness to order appropriate diagnostic tests; evicting mothers and infants prematurely from hospitals; and refusal to pay for potentially lifesaving treatment. In too many cases, these failures have had tragic consequences.

President Clinton and Democrats—Senator BRADLEY, Senator WYDEN, others—have fought to end these abuses, and we will do more in a Democratic Congress. We fought for the Mothers and Infants Protection Act, which guarantees that a mother will not be forced to leave the hospital too soon after her baby is born. We are urging legislation to bar HMO gag rules, to prevent insurance companies from prohibiting physicians from giving all the facts to their patients. The Mothers and Infants Protection Act is on the verge of becoming law—because Republican opposition was proving too costly with the public.

But just the other day, the Republican leadership in the Senate used a parliamentarian technicality to kill legislation to prohibit managed care plans from gagging doctors. Negotiations are continuing, and I hope this legislation can still be passed before the end of the year.

But if it does pass, it will be in large measure because President Clinton and Democrats in Congress have championed it over relentless Republican opposition.

We all know the many other serious health issues facing the country. Down-sizing, layoffs, cutbacks, the growth of the contingent work force, and the escalating cost of health insurance are peeling back the protections that most Americans count on for themselves and their families. According to recent projections, less than half of all Americans will enjoy reliable, on-the-job health insurance by the year 2002.

President Clinton and Democrats in Congress will work to reverse these trends and give all families the health insurance protection they deserve. President Clinton has already proposed assistance to help workers between jobs keep their health insurance. Democrats in Congress are pledged to put affordable health insurance for children within the reach of every family. That is leadership provided by my colleague and friend from Massachusetts, Senator KERRY.

The Republican leadership in Congress and Bob Dole refuse to deal with these issues. They oppose us every step of the way. Their record shows that they care more about protecting powerful special interests than protecting American families.

It is ironic that Bob Dole in recent days has been attacking President Clinton on health care. Whether the issue is Medicare, Medicaid, health care for working families, safe and effective medical products, mental health parity, or protection against the abuses of the private insurance industry, the record is clear. President Clinton and Democrats in Congress want to preserve and protect the benefits that the American people have earned. We want to do more to meet the challenge of providing adequate health care to senior citizens and all working families.

By contrast, Bob Dole and Republicans want to turn the clock back. Whether the issue is slashing Medicare to pay for new tax breaks for the wealthy, enabling insurance firms to reap greater profits at the expense of senior citizens, and other families, Republican priorities are as clear as they are wrong. President Clinton and a Democratic Congress will reverse those backward Republican priorities in the next 4 years.

Bob Dole is right. Health care is a defining issue, but the issue is not, as he claims, whether the Government should run the health care system. That kind of charge is a smokescreen. The real issue is whether Government is on the side of American people, or allied with the greedy guardians of the status quo. On all of the critical issues of health reform, President Clinton and Democrats have consistently fought for better health care for families, and we will continue to do so in the years ahead.

Mr. President, I yield back my time. Mrs. MURRAY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from

Washington. [Mrs. MURRAY] is recognized to speak up to 10 minutes.

Mrs. MURRAY. I thank the Chair.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. JOHN N. LEIN

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, I rise today, along with my senior colleague from the State of Washington, to honor a very special individual from our home State. I want to take a few minutes today to honor Jack Lein, not only for his decades of service to Washington State, but for his tireless dedication and commitment to this Nation's health and education.

Mr. President, Jack Lein was born and raised near former House Speaker Tom Foley in Spokane, WA. He served his country bravely during World War II as a medical corpsman atop the mountains of Idaho. Though Jack would tell us he saw very limited military conflict above America's prized potato fields, he did begin a career of medical service that has now spanned generations.

After receiving his medical degree in 1955 and spending some time in private practice, he joined the faculty and administration of the University of Washington where he has remained for over 32 years. Being myself a proud alumnus of Washington State University, it is, indeed, difficult to salute a man so entrenched in the success of our rival, the University of Washington. But I am proud to say, Dr. Lein's tenure at the university has helped to produce one of this Nation's premier research and health science facilities.

Dr. Lein's career at the University of Washington has encompassed most aspects of modern medicine, medical and health sciences education, university administration and Federal relations. He founded the University of Washington School of Medicine continuing medical education program and was its director for 19 years. He was also assistant dean and then associate dean of the school of medicine. He pioneered regionalized medical education and served as the university's vice president for health sciences, the highest academic administrative position ever achieved by a UW graduate.

Dr. Lein's work will be seen by generations to come through his perseverance and foresight which has produced and will continue to produce thousands of America's health professionals. His leadership has been noted by both his peers and the press. In 1993, Dr. Lein was honored with the Recognition Award by the Society for Teachers of Family Medicine. For the third consecutive year, the University of Washington School of Medicine was ranked the best primary care medical school in the Nation. Among medical teaching disciplines, the UW ranked first in family and rural medicine, third in women's health care and fifth in pediatrics.

Although it may be appropriate to call the university's last three decades the "Lein" years, that description would be far from accurate. As the director of Federal relations, Dr. Lein