

issue. The fact is that the voters in the State of Oregon said we feel this way on assisted suicide. As a result of the people of Oregon passing a law in the State of Oregon, we now have this action.

It seems to me those who keep talking about States rights should leave a State alone. People of the State of Oregon voted a certain way. If you disagree with what the people of the State of Oregon did in voting in favor of assisted suicide, then let's at least have the ability on the Senate floor to debate the issue which we have been prevented from doing.

My friend from Missouri, for whom I have the greatest respect, talked about health care.

They always throw in the 1993 Clinton health care plan. Let's bring this down to reality so people really understand what this is all about.

When the health care debate started, 80 percent of the people of America favored reforming the health care system. But then comes Halloween and the masquerade by the health insurance industry. They spent over \$100 million trying to abuse and frighten the American people. They succeeded beyond anyone's wildest dreams. They were probably even surprised on how they succeeded in frightening the people of America with their Harry and Louise ads and with their clever manipulations.

As a result of that, we got no health care reform because after they did their television and radio advertising, 80 percent of the people in America didn't want health care reform. They were frightened. They were confused.

That doesn't take away from the fact that we now have 45 million people with no health insurance. It doesn't take away from the fact that we have many people who have insurance that gives them minimum and inadequate rights. That is why we tried to pass the Patients' Bill of Rights—to give patients certain rights.

THE NOVEMBER ELECTION

Mr. REID. Mr. President, my friend from Missouri not so subtly indicated that he thinks there is going to be a new world out there after the November 7 election. I think he is going to be very disappointed. He is going to be disappointed because the American people understand the record of George W. Bush better each day.

For example, the prescription of George W. Bush for health care, I think, is bad medicine for America. Why? Because the State of Texas and George Bush have the worst record in the nation on health insurance coverage. That says a lot. But he has won that award; just like Houston is the most polluted city in America. He won that award. He also wins the award for the worse health coverage in America. Texas has fallen to last among all States in overall health insurance coverage. Texas ranks second to last in

health insurance coverage for children, and the percentage of children without coverage has gone up under the Governor.

While nationwide Medicaid enrollment has increased, Medicaid enrollment in Texas has declined.

George W. Bush retains roadblocks to eligible populations in health programs. Even a judge found Texas guilty of not providing 1.5 million children with adequate health care. This was August of this year. The judge said the State failed not only the 1.5 million children but 13,000 abused and neglected children. Rather than taking corrective action, the State decided to appeal the court's ruling over the objection of State legislators.

Texas legislators blame Bush for Texas' poor health insurance coverage.

In a letter to the Vice President from Texas State representatives, the Governor prioritized oil breaks over children's health insurance in 1999. In 1999, after Bush deemed a \$45 million oil industry tax break an emergency and made it the first signed bill of the session, Democratic legislators questioned his priorities in putting the legislation before expanding the CHIP program, or children health insurance programs. "It's about priorities," Democratic representative Dale Tillery said. "I know a whole lot of uninsured children, but I don't know a whole lot of poor oilmen."

I could go into more detail about Governor Bush's record on health care but this gives us a general idea.

The American public is beginning to find out more about George W. Bush. Yesterday, the Rand Corporation, a nonprofit organization that helps improve policy and decisionmaking through research and analysis, an independent, fair, nonpartisan corporation, said that claims Governor Bush has been making about education in Texas and how well they are doing is without foundation, not factual. In fact, the only way that Governor Bush is able to take any credit for it is that tests are skewed in Texas. The Rand Corporation said if you use Texas math in any State, the education scores all over America would be magnified.

The fact is, the State of Texas is doing worse than most States. What Governor Bush is claiming about education is simply without foundation.

In addition to the independent Rand Corporation, another independent nonpartisan body, the American Academy of Actuaries, reported today that Governor Bush's proposed tax cut will basically bankrupt the country. The American Academy of Actuaries report finds that George W. Bush's \$3 trillion tax cut, combined with his plan to divert money from the Social Security trust fund into individual stock market accounts, would make it all but impossible to eliminate the publicly held national debt. In fact, one of the people from the American Academy of Actuaries who worked on this report said: I don't see any way they pay off the pub-

lic debt. Given Bush's large package of tax cuts, the budget will go negative quickly. There won't be a surplus anymore.

This is not a partisan report. It has been produced by one of the most widely respected organizations in America. The American Academy of Actuaries is part of a growing chorus of voices which have discredited Governor Bush's plan to privatize this Nation's most successful Federal program in our history, Social Security. In August, the Century Foundation also concluded that Governor Bush was making a promise to seniors and to young people that he couldn't keep with his Social Security privatization scheme. You can't do it for both.

This study, which was written by the respected economist Henry J. Aaron and former Federal Reserve Board member Alan Blinder, found that diverting just 2 percentage points of the Social Security payroll tax into private accounts would result in a reduction of benefits by as much as 54 percent and higher payroll taxes to keep the Social Security trust fund solvent.

In addition, Larry Summers, the Secretary of the Treasury, who is also a trustee of the Social Security system, and therefore has a fiduciary relationship to make sure the system remains solvent, said if just 2 percent of the payroll tax is diverted from the Social Security revenue stream, the Social Security trust fund will lack the resources to pay benefits by the time someone who is now 40 retires.

By today's report, the most damning indictment of the Bush plan to date is this report from the actuary group, the first independent report finding that the Federal budget surplus, a result of hard choices we have made in this country, would be eliminated by Governor Bush's shaky retirement scheme. To add insult to injury, not only would we return to the bad old days of deficits as far as the eye could see, we would devastate the most popular social program in the Nation's history, a program which has virtually eliminated the poverty rate among the elderly, provides critical benefits to disabled Americans, and supports widows, many of whom have little or no retirement security.

Let's review what is at stake in this privatization scheme. We have turned a record deficit of \$400 billion, counting the Social Security surplus we used to use to hide the deficit, in 1992, to a record surplus this year of \$260 billion. We have paid down more than \$450 billion in debt. We sparked the longest expansion in economic history, 22 million new jobs, the fastest and longest real wage growth in three decades, the lowest unemployment in three decades, the highest home ownership in two decades, and the largest 5-year drop in childhood poverty since the 1960s.

I was on a debate a week ago last Sunday and two Republican colleagues who I had the pleasure of discussing the issues with started saying it is because the Gingrich Congress that we

were able to get this House in order. I said: You must have been talking to Frank Luntz who is the pollster who always tells you guys what to say. I didn't know, but as I was speaking, he was in the room. He had been there discussing with these two Members of Congress what they should say.

We should state the facts. The 1993 Clinton Budget Deficit Reduction Act passed this body without a single Republican vote, passed the House of Representatives without a single Republican vote; the tie was broken by Vice President GORE, setting this Nation on a road to economic recovery. That is what happened. There were all kinds of prophecies of doom. I read them in the RECORD earlier today. That didn't come to be. This legislation has put this country where it should be.

There is a real chance we could throw all this away with Governor Bush's \$3 trillion tax cut and his dangerous Social Security privatization plan. For a month, the Vice President has been saying that Bush's plan would hurt Social Security and bring us record deficits. Governor Bush called that fuzzy math. Now the Nation's best mathematicians have found that the public's economic plans and Social Security plans could do just that—bankrupt this Nation and Social Security.

This report validates everything that the minority has been saying over here. It tells us that George W. Bush's plan would make Social Security financially unstable during the lifetime of today's seniors. It shows Governor Bush outspending AL GORE, and AL GORE as the candidate of fiscal responsibility. By comparison, Vice President Gore and congressional Democrats want to preserve Social Security's fundamental guarantee to America's seniors. We can do that by dedicating all of the Social Security surplus to that program.

Of course we have to take care of debt reduction. Our plan reduces publicly held debt and would strengthen Social Security by using long-term interest savings to keep the system solvent.

We talked about tax cuts. But the most important tax cut the American people would ever receive is to reduce the long-held debt this country has. If we reduce that debt, it will save this country \$250 to \$300 billion a year according to where the interest rate is paid. That is where every American, no matter if they are rich or poor, will get a tax savings because everything they buy will be cheaper.

The Vice President also proposes to end the motherhood penalty by giving parents a credit toward Social Security for up to 5 years spent raising their children. The widow benefit would be increased. He is proposing retirement savings plus, which is not a privatization scheme but would allow Americans to create individual retirement accounts that would supplement their Social Security and help them reap historic long-term gains in the stock market.

Yesterday, I came to this floor, approximately 24 hours ago. I talked about this campaign being a campaign, we would hope, of ideas, of policy views, of a vision for what the country should be. Not the ability to operate a 7-Eleven store but to operate the greatest country in the history of the world, the only superpower left in the world.

Having said that, I am going to again give some direct quotes and these are all brand new. I did not talk about them last night. I am, tonight, going to again read verbatim quotes that have been made by a person, Governor Bush, who wants to be President of the United States. Here is what he said.

Interview with the New York Times, March 15, 2000:

People make suggestions on what to say all the time. I'll give you an example; I don't read what's handed to me. People say, "Here, here's your speech, or here's an idea for a speech." They're changed. Trust me.

Interview with the Associated Press, March 8, 2000:

It's evolutionary, going from governor to president, and this is a significant step, to be able to vote for yourself on the ballot, and I'll be able to do so next fall, I hope.

Next direct quote:

It is not Reaganesque to support a tax plan that is Clinton in nature.

February 23, 2000, USA Today:

I don't have to accept their tenants. I was trying to convince those college students to accept my tenants. And I reject any labeling me because I happened to go to the university.

New York Daily News, February 19, this year:

I understand small business growth. I was one.

Florence, SC, February 17, 2000:

The Senator has got to understand if he's going to have—he can't have it both ways. He can't take the high horse and then claim the low road.

To Cokie Roberts, February 20, 2000:

Really proud of it. A great campaign. And I'm really pleased with the organization and the thousands of South Carolinians that worked on my behalf. I'm very gracious and humbled.

He said:

I am very gracious and humbled.

Newsweek, February 28, 2000:

I don't want to win? If that were the case why the heck am I on the bus 16 hours a day, shaking thousands of hands, giving hundreds of speeches, getting pillared in the press and cartoons and still staying on message to win?

Same interview:

I thought how proud I am to be standing up beside my dad. Never did it occur to me that he would become the gist for cartoonists.

Hilton Head, SC:

If you are sick and tired of the politics of cynicism and polls and principles, come and join this campaign.

That was on February 16, 2000. Again, that same day, those in Beaufort, SC:

How do you know if you don't measure if you have a system that simply suckles kids through?

Here, in Beaufort he was explaining the need for educational accountability.

In a South Carolina debate, February 15:

We ought to make the pie higher.

"Meet The Press," February 13:

I do not agree with this notion that somehow if I go to try to attract votes and to lead people toward a better tomorrow somehow I get subscribed to some—some doctrine gets subscribed to me.

"Meet The Press," February 13, 2000:

I've changed my style somewhat, as you know. I'm less—I pontificate less, although it may be hard to tell it from this show. And I'm more interacting with people.

Nashua, NH, February 1, New York Times:

I think we need not only to eliminate the tollbooth to the middle class, I think we should knock down the tollbooth.

San Antonio Express-News, January 30:

The most important job is not to be governor, or first lady in my case.

January 29, 2000:

Will the highways on the Internet become more few?

Concord, NH:

Los Angeles Times, January 28:

This is Preservation Month. I appreciate preservation. It's what you do when you run for president. You gotta preserve.

Chamber of Commerce in Nashua, NH, January 27:

I know how hard it is for you to put food on your family.

Quoted by Molly Ivins, this is from the San Francisco Chronical, January 21:

What I am against is quotas. I am against hard quotas, quotas they basically delineate based upon whatever. However they delineate, quotas, I think vulcanize society. So I don't know how that fits into what everybody else is saying their relatives positions, but that's my position.

Iowa Western Community College, January 21:

This is a quote: "When I was coming up it was a dangerous world, and you knew exactly who they were. . . . It was us vs. them, and it was clear who they were. Today, we are not so sure who they are, but we know they're there."

This is from the Des Moines Register, January 15:

The administration I'll bring is a group of men and women who are focused on what's best for America, honest men and women, decent men and women, women who will see service to our country as a great privilege and who will not stain the house.

Financial Times, January 14:

This is a dangerous world. It's a world of madmen and uncertainty and potential mental losses.

Same interview:

We must all hear the universal call to like your neighbor just like you like to be liked yourself.

Florence, SC, January 11:

Rarely is the question asked: Is your children learning?

Same interview:

Gov. Bush will not stand for the subsidization of failure.

"Larry King Live," December 16 of last year:

There needs to be debates, like we're going through. There needs to be town-hall meetings. There needs to be travel. This is a huge country.

New Hampshire, Republican debate:

I read the newspaper.

In answer to a question about his reading habits.

"Meet The Press," November 21, of last year:

I think it's important for those of us in a position of responsibility to be firm in sharing our experiences, to understand that the babies out of wedlock is a very difficult chore for mom and baby alike. . . . I believe we ought to say there is a different alternative than the culture that is proposed by people such as Miss Wolf in society. . . . And, you know, hopefully condoms will work, but it hasn't worked.

From "A Charge to Keep," by George W. Bush, published last year in November:

The students at Yale came from all different backgrounds and all parts of the country. Within months, I knew many of them.

New York Times:

The important question is, How many hands have I shaken?

The Washington Post, July 27:

I don't remember debates. I don't think we spent a lot of time debating it. Maybe we did, but I don't remember.

This is on a discussion of the Vietnam war when he was at Yale.

Knight Ridder News Service:

The only thing I know about Slovakia is what I learned first-hand from your foreign minister, who came to Texas.

The fact is, the meeting was not with the Minister of Slovakia but with the Prime Minister of Slovenia, two different countries.

June 16, New York Times:

If the East Timorians decide to revolt, I'm sure I'll have a statement.

Economist, June 12:

Keep good relations with the Grecians.

CNN Inside Politics, April 9:

Kosovians can move back in.

I was just inebriating what Midland was all about then.

This is from an interview, as quoted in "First Son" by a man named Bill Minutaglio.

Arlington Heights, IL, October 24, a day or so ago, to make sure we are current:

It's important for us to explain to our Nation that life is important. It is not only life of babies, but it is life of children living, you know, the dark dungeons of the Internet.

The debate to become President of the United States is a very serious debate. It involves things we talked about tonight. Tax policy, established by an independent group—the tax policy of want-to-be-President George W. Bush would bankrupt the country. His Social Security policy would bankrupt Social Security. His education program in Texas has been a failure. His efforts to talk about bipartisanship is without any foundation.

He, in the debates, talked about bipartisanship. The fact is, on major issues in play in this election, bipartisan projects have been blocked by the

highly partisan Republican majority. Overcoming that kind of determined partisan opposition means working with people such as Dr. Charlie Norwood on the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Although George W. Bush claimed credit for the Texas Patients' Bill of Rights, the truth is he initially vetoed it and later let it become law without signature. Or working with JOHN MCCAIN on the bipartisan campaign finance reform bill or GORDON SMITH and 12 other Republicans on the bipartisan hate crimes bill or JOHN WARNER and RICHARD LUGAR on the bipartisan legislation to close the gun show loophole. Not only does Governor Bush fail to appreciate what kinds efforts these involve, he actually opposes every one of these bipartisan measures.

Instead of showing bipartisan leadership, Governor Bush stands squarely with the entrenched Republican majority on every one of these issues, and that is not bipartisanship.

I read quotes tonight and last night. The American public must decide for themselves if this man is the person who should be President of the United States.

Mr. President, until my friend, Senator BROWNBACK, arrives, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business.

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

GORE-CHERNOMYRDIN DEAL

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I wish to take some time this evening to discuss an issue on which I held a hearing, along with Senator GORDON SMITH, yesterday. It concerns something that is very troubling: The arming of Iran, which occurred recently, and concerns an agreement that was made by Vice President AL GORE with then-Prime Minister of Russia Viktor Chernomyrdin on allowing Russia to convey armaments to Iran and avoid U.S. sanctions law.

I do not want to discuss so much that part of the issue, although it is an important part of it, but I want to get to the issue of an agreement made between the Vice President and then-Prime Minister of Russia Viktor Chernomyrdin to allow the conveyance of this equipment, military hardware—we are talking submarines, tanks, attack helicopters, a lot of equipment.

It was stated by the Vice President in this agreement—and we found this out when it was leaked to the press 14 days ago, in the New York Times—that we will not sanction Russia for allowing this to take place.

I asked the administration in the hearing I held yesterday and I asked by letter today signed by a number of my colleagues: Let us see the agreement the Vice President entered into with Viktor Chernomyrdin. To date, the administration has refused to convey that document to us. We held a closed session yesterday. We said: Convey it to us in closed session. They refused.

This afternoon, a group of Senators and myself sent a letter to the Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, restating our position that the administration should share with the Congress the documents relating to the Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement which allowed Russia to sell conventional weaponry to Iran and not be sanctioned under U.S. law.

If we have not received the documents by noon on Monday, the Foreign Relations Committee will be forced to issue—and pursue issuing—a subpoena to receive those documents from the administration.

This letter was signed by Senator GORDON SMITH; myself, who chaired the hearing yesterday; along with Chairman MCCAIN of the Commerce Committee; Senator LUGAR; Chairman SHELBY of the Intelligence Committee; Chairman WARNER of the Armed Services Committee; Chairman THOMPSON of the Governmental Affairs Committee; and Senators NICKLES and LOTT of leadership.

In it we express our disappointment with the administration's continued stonewalling and refusal to provide documents related to the Gore-Chernomyrdin agreement. They refused to even allow us to see documents which have been published in the press, which is how we learned about them. These were published in the New York Times. That is how we learned about this taking place.

Essentially, now, the administration is asking us to trust them. But the fact that almost everything we have learned about this secret deal has come from the New York Times and the Washington Times—and not the administration—makes such trust difficult.

Congress has the right and the responsibility to review all the relevant documents and to judge for itself whether the transfers the Vice President signed off on were covered by U.S. nonproliferation laws.

Unfortunately, until the New York Times broke the story 14 days ago, Congress had not seen this written, signed agreement between the Vice President and the Russian Prime Minister. In open session hearing yesterday, I asked them to deny this, that this had been conveyed to the Congress. What we heard was that the administration had "telegraphed" the contents of the agreement, that they had "briefed" but they were unable to say that they had transmitted this document to the Congress, as they were required to do.

In essence, they said to us: Look, we were telling you that the Vice President was meeting with Mr.