

day and try to put a positive spin on them, but there is no positive spin.

The bottom line is that this Medicare bill will cut Medicare to basically provide tax cuts for wealthy Americans and that is what this conference report is apparently doing. The bottom line is that it is going to destroy the Medicare program as we know it and make it impossible for seniors to stay in a traditional Medicare program, forcing them into HMOs where they will not have a choice of doctors.

With regard to Medicaid, the same thing is true. Medicaid will no longer be an entitlement. People who are poor, who fall below a certain income, whether they are disabled or pregnant women, whether they are children, in many cases they are not going to be entitled to health care coverage in the way that they have it now, because this bill, no matter how it is hammered out, is not going to provide them the same level of health care, and in some cases a lot of them may not get any health care at all.

I am really outraged again that here we are at the eleventh hour before being told by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY] that on Friday we will most likely vote on the budget bill that includes these terrible changes in Medicare and Medicaid, and to this day, even those who have been appointed to the conference, who are supposed to work out the details of this bill, have not been told the details of the bill. It is an outrage.

DEMOCRATS EMPLOYING SCARE TACTICS TO FRIGHTEN ELDERLY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MILLER] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to talk about Medicare tactics that are taking place by our friends on the other side of the aisle and the administration. They are scaring senior citizens. As the Wall Street Journal editorial talks about, "Scare the Elderly Tactics" are going on right now, and I think it is wrong.

It is sad that they are trying to scare the senior citizens of this country and to make them afraid they will lose Medicare. When the President talks about we want to destroy Medicare, that is scare tactics, and that is wrong to do to the seniors and the elderly of this country.

Let me first of all talk about briefly what our proposal is on Medicare. First of all, we all know Medicare is going bankrupt and we have to do something to save Medicare. We all agree to that. My friends on this side of the aisle, the Democrats agree, the Republicans agree. We all want to keep Medicare. It is an important program. It is an essential program. We have to keep it alive and we have to save it for future generations. So we all agree to that.

The way we save it, Mr. Speaker, is to slow the rate of growth. We will

spend more money every year on Medicare per person. Our spending, and remember these numbers, our spending goes from \$4,800 per person under Medicare to \$6,700, 7 years from today, per person under Medicare. We will increase spending every year for the Medicare Program. Not quite as fast as some people on the other side of the aisle would like us to spend, but we can do it. It is happening in the private sector.

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All we want to do is slow the rate of growth. The way we do this is by offering more choices. Why should we not allow choices to be offered? All Federal employees right now have a choice of plans. We get to choose. Why should not seniors be given the right to choose a plan? That is all we are talking about, slowing the rate of growth, saving the plan, and giving seniors the right to choose. And all the Members on the other side of the aisle want to do is say, that we are scaring seniors, we are going to destroy Medicare, we are going to kill Medicare. That is wrong.

Let us talk about the facts of what the President is doing. He said, oh, we do not want an increase in Medicare part B premiums. Oh, my golly, we do not want to do that. We cannot have an increase in Medicare part B premiums. The Medicare part B premiums today are \$46.10. When President Bill Clinton was first elected it was \$31.80. They have gone up \$14.30 a month since his election. Do you know what happens? Next year is an election year. So he wants to have them go down.

Medicare part B premiums have gone up for 29 out of the last 30 years. But next year is an election year. So we are going to let them go down. And immediately after the election, his budget shows they go up 10.2 percent. In fact, for 6 years following next year's election, under the President's budget, they go up 89 percent.

Why is he saying, "We do not want to increase the premiums on part B, we want to let them go down," and then after the election, jump them? That is the type of scare tactics, the type of thing that should not be taking place in this debate.

Seven years from today, the President's projections on Medicare part B premiums are \$83 a month. Our projections are \$87 a month, \$4 a month difference. Let us get serious about this debate and get on with the real issues.

In Florida, my home State, Members of the other party are experts on scaring seniors. Finally the Washington press corps is becoming a little aware of this. The Florida press corps is very aware of what Governor Chiles did in the last election. He specifically scared seniors to get elected last November. There is no dispute about the facts.

Last November, his campaign and the Democratic Party spent \$360,000 phoning seniors during the last 2 weeks before the election saying there were some fictitious senior citizen organiza-

tion and telling them that Jeb Bush and his running mate wanted to abolish Social Security and Medicare. Just scare tactics entirely.

Why is he doing that? The national press corps, they got all fired up on Willie Horton a number of years ago. Now they will not even get fired up over what Lawton Chiles is doing in Florida, in an orchestrated plan to scare the senior citizens of this country. Speaker after speaker gets up saying we are going to kill Medicare; we are going to destroy Medicare.

It is a good program. We have to keep Medicare. We have to save Medicare. I know they want to save Medicare, too. But stop talking this rhetoric. We have to agree on what we want.

The head of the Democratic Party of Kentucky quoted as saying, I think white-haired people are scared and that ultimately helps us.

Come on. Here is a part of the Democratic strategy that someone happened to get a copy of. Some Democratic strategy. The quote in there is, The natural inclination for people is to think that the GOP wants to cut Medicare, not to make it more efficient but to hurt the elderly. We need to exploit this.

Mike McCurry, the White House press secretary said, "Eventually they would like to see the program just die and go away. You know, that is probably what they would like to see happen to seniors, too, if you think about it."

He apologized for it, but it is scare tactics. They should stop. Let us get down to serious things, the business of saving Medicare.

REPUBLICAN RECORD ON MEDICARE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I do not often come down into this well in a harshly partisan manner because I do not think most of the issues facing the country are either Democrat or Republican, but tonight I really felt compelled to come down here as a Democrat in memory of a marvelous gentleman that many of us served with named Claude Pepper from the great State of Florida. I hope our dear man, Representative Pepper, is listening to us tonight because he was the man who knew the history of the Social Security and Medicare Programs better than any other Member that I ever had the privilege to serve with.

I know what he would say if he were standing here tonight. He would look to the Republican side of the aisle and say: "I served here when Social Security was first debated and passed. Let the record show there was not one Republican vote that stood on this floor in support of the Social Security Program."

I was elected many years after Claude Pepper was elected, in 1982. In March of 1983, we had to restore the health of the Social Security Program. What happened in that election year of 1982 was, the American public saw that, with the election of large numbers of Republicans in 1980, the Social Security Program was again threatened. Claude Pepper stood on this floor, and there was not a dry eye in the House when he finished. We passed a bill in March 1983 to restore, restore the health of the Social Security Program.

So I find it somewhat ironic when I hear the crocodile tears from the other side of the aisle all of a sudden being real interested in trying to save Social Security and save Medicare, when the Republican Party has fundamentally never supported the two most popular programs that have been enacted in this century.

Now, in fact, if it had been up to the Republican Party, we truly know those programs would not have happened. If we look back to the Medicare program, consider this: From 1952 to 1965, 13 years, the Republican Party used every delaying tactic possible not to allow a Medicare bill to get on this floor. It was bottled up in committee for over a decade and a half. When the bill finally emerged, 97 percent of Republicans voted against Medicare in 1960. In 1962, 86 percent voted against Medicare. Then in 1964, thank God for Lyndon Johnson, 85 percent of them voted against Medicare.

So tonight we have got the entire Government of the United States shut down. Seniors in my district are not being served. Seventy a day are being turned away, over 400 phone calls, 400 visitors, people we have not been able to serve in Toledo, Ohio today because of inaction by the Republican Party. Now we hear these very same people telling us, oh, they really want to save Medicare. They really want to save Social Security. Please, do not deny history.

From the very beginning, what has the Republican Party stood for? It has stood for voluntary plans, voluntary plans with no guaranteed financing and no guaranteed benefits.

So tonight we have watched people—I know their offices are being called because seniors all over this country know what is happening—stand down on this floor and act as though they have had this change of heart. I do not think there is any change of heart at all. It is the same old struggle that we had from the time of Franklin Roosevelt. That is the struggle on whether you truly believe in the integrity of these programs, that these are a contract of trust between generations, or what are they trying to do?

In the resolution that we are stuck on and we cannot move out of this Congress, they are trying to increase Medicare premiums. They are trying to change the program to what Speaker GINGRICH calls a Medicare program that will wither on the vine by making

the program a program that does not keep the integrity of the system, because it gives people so many choices to operate out and go into other plans that in fact you lose the insurance base, the universal insurance base of the current program.

So I can just say that this Government shutdown is absolutely unnecessary. A thousand Federal workers in my district today were furloughed. As a result, three of our local Social Security offices are operating with a skeleton staff. Telephone calls are going unanswered today from in our district. Collectively, these offices could have served hundreds of people.

I do not see why we have to wait around here until Friday. What is wrong with the Republican Party? It's the same thing that has been wrong with the Republican Party since the 1930's. They have never believed in the Social Security and Medicare Program for all of our people.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. SMITH of Michigan addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

BUDGET RECONCILIATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to simply take a moment and answer some of the many calls and concerns that have been expressed by all of our constituents, frankly.

The gentleman from Florida preceded me and offered a whole litany of calls that he may have received and letters that he might have received. And I think the American people need to themselves stop for a moment, for there is certainly a great deal of ire, if you will, and anger about this process. I am not sure if they heard clearly in the colloquy that was between the leader of the Democratic Party and the majority leader, indicating that this Congress would be in possibly Friday, Saturday and Sunday.

Clearly, let me emphasize that many of us voted last Friday to remain in session, I for one to continue this process. But if we would look at the order of things, in actuality, the Republican majority did not follow the stated schedule of the House, and that is to complete the appropriations process in September of this year.

For all of the debate and all of the dismay that is being cast about, this dilemma is caused specifically because we do not have the appropriation bills before the President of the United States of America. So when a constituent writes, please tell the Member do

not follow NEWT GINGRICH, everyone followed him and they could not turn back, and she is an elderly middle-class lady. No name is given. NEWT GINGRICH and ROBERT DOLE, their proposal is cruel and disgraceful to senior citizens, and it is terrible what they are doing to this Government. It is criminal. These are not words that their Congressperson has put in their mouths. It is what they are perceiving and what is happening in this debate that is such a loud and irreverent sound.

It is important then for the facts to be laid upon the table. I voted for appropriation bills: transportation, agriculture, the legislative appropriation bills, the bills that were put before this Congress have been voted for by many of us.

The problem is that they have not on the Republican leadership gone through the Senate and reached the desks of the President of the United States. In actuality, some of those areas that are now shut down, 800,000 employees across this Nation, including the 18th Congressional District, could be operating if those appropriation bills that were passed by this House that many of us voted for had gone through the process, and now were facing, are before the President for his signature. That did not happen.

That is not the fault of the Democratic minority. That is actually the fault of the process of the House of Representatives under the leadership of the Republican Party simply not working. What do we have now?

On this day, November 14, 1995, we have a simple proposition for all those who are still dismayed about this discourse.

The simple proposition is to pass a simple continuing resolution. Would you realize that now in the heat of debate that the Republicans who foisted this upon us last week have now dropped all of these provisions. Were they that important? Should we have slid them under the table to devastate Medicare, to keep Catholic Charities and the Boy Scouts from lobbying the Federal Government? They got Federal funds to undermine the environmental protection system that we put in place, to undermine the criminal justice system? All of that requires healthy and separate debate but not on a continuing resolution. That should be clean and simple to keep the doors of this Government open so that the Social Security offices are open, the veterans offices are open, the IRS offices are open, so that the people can work for the American people. Then to lift the debt ceiling so that we can reasonably discuss the budget and we can decide whether we want to go toward the 21st century by cutting education so drastically, by increasing Medicare premiums from \$43 to \$53.

I would venture to say, if the American people got a chance to participate in that, they have already said it with some of their voices, they would argue