

will, if passed, bring meaningful relief to Betty. Forced to choose, Betty elected to forego the cholesterol-lowering medication because of its \$200 cost. Under the prescription drug program established by the Graham-Miller-Cleland bill, Betty would pay just \$40 for the \$200 drug—one-fifth the cost. There would be no deductible to meet first, and there would be no gap in coverage. Over the course of a year, Betty would pay \$4,200 just for the two heart drugs I mentioned without coverage. Under the Graham-Miller-Cleland bill, her annual out-pocket-expenses on medications, even after factoring in the \$25 monthly premium, would be just \$1,260—a 70 percent reduction in yearly costs. Under the House bill, however, Betty's annual out-of-pocket expenses for just those two drugs would be \$3,500—her savings, just 17 percent.

For Betty, and for the millions like her, I urge my colleagues in this body and in the House to pass the Graham-Miller-Cleland Medicare prescription drug benefit without delay. Anything less is unacceptable.

Thank you, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nevada is recognized.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, Senator CLELAND asked for 7½ minutes and time for the Senator from Missouri, and that is fine. To be fair, we should also give the minority 7½ minutes. I ask unanimous consent that they be given 7½ minutes and that the vote occur at or around 11 o'clock, whenever that time runs out.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri is recognized.

Mrs. CARNAHAN. Mr. President, next week marks the 37th anniversary of the day the Medicare program was signed into law. President Johnson traveled to Independence, MO to sign the bill in the presence of Harry S. Truman, who began the fight for the Medicare program in 1945. I am sure that our effort today to add a prescription drug benefit to Medicare is the type of common sense measure that President Truman would understand. Without this benefit, the Medicare program does not provide seniors with the security and protection its Founders intended.

If you have expensive and debilitating surgery, Medicare will pick up virtually the whole cost. But Medicare will not pay a single penny for prescription drugs that would cure your condition and make the surgery unnecessary. That does not make sense.

So today the Senate has an historic opportunity. People such as Annie Gardner from Columbia, MO will be watching us closely. She is an impressive 63-year-old, retired, mother of five adult children. But she suffers from diabetes and high blood pressure. She

lost her health insurance and then could not afford her prescriptions. First she rationed her prescriptions by taking half the prescribed amount, even though she knew, as a former nurse, that this was a dangerous practice. Later she had to quit purchasing the drugs entirely because of other expenses, like fixing her car and paying increased taxes on her house.

In 21st century America, no one should have to make this type of choice. Today we have the chance to make Medicare the kind of program that we all want it to be. But we have before us two very different plans.

In my view, the benefit plan proposed by my colleagues BOB GRAHAM and ZELL MILLER is the superior choice. Their bill would create a benefit program that seniors could afford and could count on regardless of where they live.

Assistance begins with the very first prescription and is the same all year long. Senior will pay a monthly premium and then \$10 for generic drugs and \$40 for brand name drugs. There are no gaps or limits on the coverage. And once you hit the catastrophic cap of \$4,000, you do not pay another dime for prescription drugs.

The alternative plan before the Senate is riddled with complexities and gaps. Before getting any benefits, seniors pay a \$250 deductible. After that, seniors must pay 50 percent of the cost of their prescriptions. And then, once seniors have paid \$3,451 on drugs—which is a great deal of money for virtually all seniors in Missouri—the coverage simply stops. But seniors still have to continue paying their monthly premium. The coverage does not start up again until seniors have laid out \$5,300.

Under this plan, seniors will be paying a different amount almost every month. Some months they will get coverage—others they will not. I do not believe this is what seniors want from a prescription drug benefit.

The same flaws occur in the alternative plan for the treatment of low income seniors. But our plan would give low income seniors assistance with co-payments and premiums, and 220,000 senior citizens in Missouri would qualify for this assistance. But under the alternative plan, low income seniors will have to pass rigorous assets test.

Mr. President, the reason we are passing a drug benefit is so seniors do not have to sell the family possessions to pay for their prescriptions. I cannot understand why the alternative plan would require low-income seniors to sell off assets to qualify for additional help.

My other concern is that seniors be guaranteed access to a benefit no matter where they live. Under the Graham-Miller plan, all seniors, regardless of whether they live in a rural or urban area, would have guaranteed access to a reliable, affordable benefit administered by the Medicare program.

We all know that the Medicare system is not perfect, but it is reliable,

and always been there for our seniors, and always will be there in the future.

The alternative plan we are voting on today, however, creates a risky structure that does not guarantee that all seniors will be able to access the benefit.

Seniors in rural areas would have the greatest risk of being left empty-handed. How do I know this? Because the Republican plan gives government subsidies to drug HMOs to administer the benefit. This is the same system that Medicare+Choice runs on.

Seniors in rural Missouri know that Medicare+Choice programs have shut down all over the state. We do not want the same thing to happen to the prescription drug benefit. Our seniors deserve a dependable benefit, under Medicare, available to all.

Today is the day when we can put this program in place. We have a choice between an affordable, secure, and reliable benefit that will work for seniors—and a confusing plan that will not provide security and stability.

Mr. President, the Irish poet, Seamus Heaney, wrote that:

Once in a lifetime, the longed for tidal wave of justice can rise up . . . and hope and history rhyme.

Today we have a chance to perfect the Medicare Program, and I pray we have the courage to seize the moment.

I yield the floor.

#### PROTECTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND HEALTH IN AFGHANISTAN

Mr. REID. Mr. President, under the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, women were forbidden to work or attend school. They weren't allowed to leave their homes unless they were accompanied by a male relative. For example, women who laughed out loud or wore shoes that made clicking noises could be beaten. There were many other examples of how women were so poorly treated.

After the fall of the Taliban, we heard encouraging news from Afghanistan. Women could go back to work and to school. They were no longer forced to wear burqas; that was a matter of choice.

A recent report from the United Nations found that now nearly 3 million Afghan children are attending school, and 30 percent of these kids are girls.

In fact, women took part in last month's Loya Jirga, a national conference to choose an interim government, and four women were appointed to positions in the interim Afghan Government.

Earlier today, I had the pleasure of meeting these courageous women. I met them in the Senate. Habibha Surrabi is Minister of Women and Refugee Affairs in Afghanistan. She was a professor of pharmacy at Kabul University, but was forced to flee when the Taliban took over in 1996. In Pakistan, she worked for refugee organizations where she focused on the rights of women, education, human rights, health care, and sanitation.

After September 11, President Bush promised not only to fight al-Qaida in Afghanistan but here in Washington to work to restore peace and democracy in that war-torn country. The President promised promoting women's rights in Afghanistan would be an important part of that mission.

Although the Taliban has been routed and al-Qaida is on the run, Afghanistan is far from peaceful today. Some say the country is on the verge of a civil war as rival warlords battle for control of the countryside.

Vice President Haji Abdul Qadir was assassinated 2 weeks ago. The international group, Human Rights Watch, reported local warlords are forcing young men to serve in their militias against their will. The United Nations has halted its return of refugees to parts of Afghanistan because of the increased violence.

On top of threats to their safety, families suffer from sabotage and from shortages of food, water, and health care because warlords are disrupting humanitarian aid deliveries. These humanitarian aid deliveries are essential. If they cannot be made, then the country cannot proceed.

Unfortunately, the gains Afghan women appeared to be making after the fall of the Taliban in many instances are simply an illusion. Afghan women continue to feel unsafe and most are afraid to remove their burqas. Many of the women who participated in the Loya Jirga a matter of weeks ago have been threatened and intimidated. Violence against women remains pervasive. They have no recourse or protection.

Aid workers, foreigners, and Afghan women and children have been targeted for robberies, assaults, and rapes. I was told by the Minister of Women and Refugee Affairs with whom I met earlier today about some brutal things that have taken place in that country, such as a 14-year-old girl raped. I have it in my mind and it is hard to get it out. Women's rights in Afghanistan will not be secure if there is no law or order.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent I be extended an additional 3 minutes and that same time be extended to the Republicans.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the rights of women in Afghanistan will not be secure if there is no law and order in Afghanistan. Afghanistan's new government does not have the resources, no matter what their will, to combat warlord infighting, banditry, and lawlessness while trying to reestablish institutions of a civil society that were destroyed by the Taliban.

Interim President Karzai has requested international troops to help maintain order across the country. We have countries that are willing to come in and help. They have been told by our

country that they should not come. Afghan women say they feel safer when international peacekeeping troops are present. That is obvious.

United Nations Secretary Kofi Annan has called for more peacekeepers, and there has been a call by both parties for more peacekeepers in Afghanistan. Yet the Bush administration has not yet committed to increasing the number of troops engaged—in fact, they have pushed against it—in peacekeeping, and they also refuse to allow the International Security Assistance Force, ISAF, to operate outside Kabul. We need these troops. We need this presence outside Kabul. Afghan is more than Kabul. It is a country that has great traditions and has a tradition of peace, except for the past 20 years. It can be reestablished.

When President Bush began military operations in Afghanistan, he promised Afghanistan would have a stable, democratically elected government that can govern in peace. We should not be skeptical of his promises. He should follow through on the promises he made. President Bush owes that to the American people, but especially to the people of Afghanistan. We cannot let the people of Afghanistan down again, and we cannot allow either our allies or enemies to believe America does not stand by its promises.

Today I call on the President of the United States to expand the International Security Assistance Force immediately to stop the violence, allow humanitarian aid to reach impoverished areas, and protect Afghan women and children. They need our help, Mr. President.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I have a Republican member who wishes to speak. I wonder if I can get a Democratic member to speak. If not, I will go ahead. Is there anyone waiting to speak on the Democratic side? If they are, I do not want to lose the time.

Mr. REID. How much time do the Republicans have now?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republicans have 10 minutes.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I will proceed, Mr. President.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

#### PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I wish to speak once again, before the vote this afternoon at 2:45 p.m., on the Graham prescription drug bill and point out that that bill sunsets in the year 2010. Also, it omits coverage of most drugs. First of all, the fact the bill sunsets on December 31, 2010, ought to be an overriding factor of how people vote on this amendment.

Pages 78 and 79 of the bill say "drug coverage must stop after December 31, 2010." That is section 1860(k), for people who want to look it up and verify what I am saying.

The Graham-Miller-Kennedy bill would not provide, if enacted, a permanent Medicare prescription drug benefit.

In the tripartisan bill, we are talking about a plan that is permanent. There is no sunset because we know that senior citizens on December 31, 2010, are not going to sunset themselves. They are going to need prescription drugs on January 1, 2001, just as much as they did on December 31, 2010.

We have a bipartisan program that is permanent and continues drug coverage in the future. Why? Because prescription drugs ought to be a part of Medicare as much in the year 2002 as hospitalization was a very important part of Medicare in 1965.

Medicare beneficiaries should understand that there is no guarantee that a prescription drug plan being offered by Senators GRAHAM, MILLER, and KENNEDY, will continue to cover their drug expenses after 2010.

Some refer to this as a sunset, but I wish to make clear, as this chart points out very well, that this is just one very obvious big black hole in this program that will sunset in the year 2010. Sunsetting a Medicare Program seems to be a very strange thing to do. Medicare is an entitlement program. Dependability has been one of its central features. So why should a new drug benefit be any different than any other program that we have—hospitalization, doctor care, or other provisions in Medicare that we have had since 1965.

There is no need to speculate as to why the sponsors sunset their program in 2010. It is a device to make the costs of the bill appear lower than it otherwise would be. In other words, it is a mere gimmick.

I point out another very crucial flaw with the Graham amendment and restrictive formularies that might keep beneficiaries from getting help with their medications that they and their doctor prefer. If we look at the tripartisan plan, any drug that is available, generic or patent that is available, what the doctor and what the patient decide is best for them is going to be available. There is a lower copay for generic drugs. We want to promote generic drugs over patented drugs if that is possible, but for sure we should not in any way limit the availability of drugs as is being done under the Democrat plan.

We have a poster that shows that 100-percent brand name drugs, albeit approved by the FDA, are going to be available under the program we have in the tripartisan bill, but only 10 percent of the brand name drugs are covered by the Graham-Daschle-Kennedy plan, a Government-run process certain to be time consuming and bureaucratic. If a beneficiary wants to appeal the fact that the drug they want and their doctor wants for them is not available under the Kennedy plan, it is possible to go through a Government appeal process to get the preferred drug covered.