

We have seen the President talking about the opposition while JOHN KERRY is trying to get a universal comprehensive program. It ought to be a matter of right in this country. The President says no. And we have denial on the floor of the Senate on the day after the President has spoken of doing something about getting a handle on costs, and this administration wants 4 more years? Talk about irresponsibility. They mislead us in going into Iraq. They mislead us in the use of intelligence. They mislead the people of Iraq, and they have done the same thing on health care. How long are we going to take it? What do the American people need?

Here it is with the number of the uninsured—large and rising by 1 million a year in the increase of the uninsured. Look at this. That is the census figure. Look at this. Seventy-three million of our fellow citizens are without health insurance coverage at some point in this year—for at least 1 to 4 months. This is why the Americans who have health insurance know that they are a pink-slip away from losing it.

We have seen an explosion of part-time workers. Do you think they get health insurance coverage? Absolutely not; a fraction of them maybe, but a great majority don't. We see the whole movement away from the employer-based system to part-time work. That is what is happening out here across this country.

Under the Medicare bill, 3 million American retirees are going to be dropped and low-income seniors will pay under newer financial provisions. Premiums are going to be affected and 15 million seniors are going to be disadvantaged under current Medicare. That is the situation. This is the Medicare bill that was passed.

Look at what has happened. Here we have excess payment to HMOs of \$46 billion and a \$139 billion windfall profit to the drug companies. If you want to know where expenditures are, if you want to know what is costing more for the average taxpayers, we have given \$139 billion over the next 8 years as windfall profits to the prescription drug industry, and we have given the HMOs \$46 billion.

My fellow citizens, if you want to go out and invest in something, go out today and invest in HMOs and prescription drugs because we have guaranteed it.

Talk about small business—I wish small business had that kind of guarantees and Government payouts. Talk about competition, it doesn't exist in that Medicare bill. That is what the problem is. The drug industry is doing well and the HMOs are doing well but the average workers are not doing well.

Let us level with the American people about what the real debate is about in this Congress. Let us not distort and misrepresent the position of the opposition. I know the Republicans were against Social Security, I know they were against Medicare, and I know

they were against a comprehensive prescription drug program that would have made a difference. We had a good one which actually got 76 votes. It was bipartisan. It was not this program.

But then the hand of the White House ruled and we have massive giveaways to the drug industry and to HMOs. That is why we see the increase—a failure of leadership on health care in the last 4 years, and the denial on the floor of the Senate to our Democratic leaders and to this party to do something about it.

We want to do something about it. We have a bipartisan bill to do something about it. Why, Mr. President, when you make those speeches out there in Michigan, why don't you call up the Republican leadership and do something about it?

I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

HEALTH CARE

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I came to the floor to speak on another subject, but after listening to the Senator from Massachusetts I want to try to respond to some of the comments he made.

There is no question that we have a health care crisis in this country. There is a great deal of disagreement as to why. There is no question that the issue is tremendously complicated and does not lend itself to a solution with a single silver bullet. I am interested at the suggestion that the silver bullet to solve the rising health care costs is to allow drug reimportation. We have had that suggestion made here this morning. I would like to talk about that for a moment.

The evidence is that drug importation or reimportation, whichever phrase you choose, does not, in fact, produce major savings, except on an anecdotal basis; that is, one senior here or there might receive a significant benefit but overall the benefit of importation is very limited.

A recent London School of Economics study shows that parallel trade in drugs in Europe where they have importation back and forth across the borders has resulted in a savings of less than 2 percent by consumers. A World Bank study found that parallel trade in Sweden cost consumers as much as it saved them after accounting for reshipping and repackaging costs as well as profits for the traders.

So to stand here and say, whatever the decibel level, that we can somehow solve the problem if we just adopt the reimportation legislation that is being proposed is to go in the face of previous experience. I would be willing to adopt this just to prove the point if there were not a downside connected with it that our friends on the Democratic side do not talk about.

I have a sister-in-law who is a very aggressive shopper. She is a senior. She is very familiar with the Internet. She

makes sure she gets the best deal in every circumstance. She takes prescription drugs and gets on the Internet and discovers that she can find a price cheaper on the Internet, if she buys overseas, than the price she can get at her local druggist.

She came to me and asked: Bob, is this a good idea? Now, I am not one of your constituents. I don't want a political answer. I am your sister-in-law who is trying to save money, and I want the truth. Is this a good idea for me to get my prescription drugs in Canada where the prices are so much lower?

I said to her: Based on what I know, if you get on a bus or a plane and drive to Canada and walk into a Canadian drugstore and buy the goods over the counter, chances are you will get reliable drugs at a lower price, and that will be the thing for you to do. On the other hand, if you get on the Internet and order these drugs to be shipped to you across national boundaries, there is no guarantee whatever that the drugs you will get will be the drugs you think you are getting.

Indeed, if we are going to talk anecdotal evidence, as we have been in the Senate, there are plenty of examples of people who have gotten on the Internet, gone to a Web site that appears to be in Canada, purchased drugs in Canada at a lower cost, and said to themselves: Aren't I a hero for being able to lower my drug costs so much.

Then when the drugs arrived, they found that while they may have been transshipped from Canada, they were produced in Bangladesh or Nigeria or wherever else in the world. There is absolutely no guarantee the drugs they are buying at such attractive lower prices are, in fact, the drugs that are outlined on the label of the bottle or box they receive.

Indeed, one of the interesting things that has started to happen is not only are we seeing degradation of the quality and accuracy of drugs being shipped across borders as a result of Internet sales, the Canadians themselves are beginning to lose control of the quality in their pharmacies. There are so many different sources of drugs now available that even within the network of drug distribution points within Canada, they cannot be sure of the purity and state of their drugs.

I am interested that there are those in the Senate who have said the drug companies are making enormous profits, and all we need to do is cut out those profits, lower the price of drugs, and everything will be fine, and at the same time they are insisting we have to have more research. What has lowered the cost of health care on a per person basis? It is the introduction of new wonder drugs. Where did the new wonder drugs come from? They do not come out of the air. They do not come as a result of Federal legislation. We cannot pass a bill in the Senate that says there will be a new drug that will solve this, that, or the other problem. Drugs come as a result of research.

We talk about the profits of the drug companies. I am not here to carry any water for the drug companies, but I have been a businessman long enough to know that profits that show up on a balance sheet or a profit-and-loss statement do not automatically go immediately into the pockets of the Donald Trumps and the Warren Buffetts of the world. Profits get retained in companies. There is an accounting term for it called retained earnings.

What do companies do with those retained earnings? They invest them in research. It takes roughly \$1 billion to determine whether a new idea for a drug will produce a drug that works. A company has to have enough financial strength that it can put \$1 billion into research to produce one drug.

That is expensive enough. You can spend millions of dollars on a drug that does not work before you know it is not going to work. So the amount of profits they will make on the drugs that do work not only have to recover the cost that it took for the drug that does work, but it has to recover the millions again and again for the drugs that do not work.

To suggest there is a silver bullet to the rising health care costs, and that the silver bullet can be found in beating up the drug companies and buying drugs from Canada, is to demonstrate vast ignorance of the way the free market really works.

Let me make, again, the standard statement that I make over and over in the campaign. I am not questioning the patriotism of my friends across the aisle. I am questioning their wisdom and their judgment and their decisions, but I am not questioning their patriotism. We hear that over and over again.

Finally, we hear the drug benefit that was passed in this body denigrated again and again on the Democratic side of the aisle, the do-nothing program, the program that did not do anything for senior citizens, and the cry that has gone out to the point that I find many of my constituents believe this program is so complicated that nobody can figure it out, and nobody can get any benefit from it.

Senator HATCH and I put together a series of town meetings across our State. We gathered seniors. We said: Here is how it works. We walked them through how to get on the Internet and order drugs. Then we said: If this is too complicated for you, you are not Internet friendly. Get your grandchild to get on the Internet, and they can make it work. If you do not have a grandchild who can make it work, call 1-800-Medicare, and the person who answers the phone will get on the Internet for you and make it work.

We took seniors out of the audience, asked what drugs they are currently taking, then, on the Internet, we checked it. They came back and said: We are going to save 45 to 50 percent of our drug costs, and this was easy. This was simple.

Talk about misleading the American people. Those who stand in the Senate

at a high decibel rate attacking this bill are misleading the American people. Senator HATCH and I found with our constituents this program is easy to deal with. It will save up to half of your drug costs right now, and it is the law. You do not have to wait for an election or for an eruption to have this come to pass.

I hope my friends on the other side of the aisle will not be offended when I disagree with them when they say: The President has lied. The President has misled. That is election year rhetoric that we should learn to ignore, and spend our time on the reality, which is this Congress, under this President, has, in fact, done significant things. And if we will just level with the American people as to what we have done, they will find that it is easy to navigate, and it will produce significant financial benefit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Utah. His comments are right on. When I have an hour or two I will be happy to explain my strenuous opposition to this issue of importation of pharmaceuticals from countries that can very much harm our patients in America.

ANTI-JEWISH SENTIMENT IN EUROPE

Mr. SANTORUM. Today, as I come forward—and Senator BROWBACK will be joining me in a few minutes—as we enter into Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish new year, a time of reflection for the Jewish people, I thought it would be appropriate to reflect upon the state of affairs with respect to Jewry around the world and the frightening rise in anti-Semitism we have seen in many parts of the world, and I argue, unfortunately, even in this country.

Senator BROWBACK will talk about a different aspect than I, and there will be some speakers tomorrow morning during morning business who will cover various other aspects of this problem.

An area I have been particularly concerned about is the rise of anti-Semitism in Europe. As we know, the roots of anti-Semitism in various parts of Europe are very deep, and we have seen the horrific consequences of that within the last century. It is important, as a result, to keep a very close, watchful eye on any precursors to what could be another tragic, horrific situation occurring on that continent.

There is a rabbi, Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks, who said—and this quote, to me, is quite telling—“Let it not be said of us that we saw the tiny flame but did not put it out until it became a raging fire.” I think that is one of our duties and responsibilities as the leader of the free world, in our diplomatic bodies around the world and through diplomatic channels country to country, to use our good offices in America to make sure we are watchful, and we do more than just watch idly,

to call attention to situations which are of concern to us as freedom-loving people and as people who put first among our freedoms the freedom of conscience.

The freedom of religion is the fundamental and first of our freedoms because all freedoms flow from that. If you do not have the freedom to believe what you want to believe, then freedom of speech is a meaningless freedom, freedom of assembly is a meaningless freedom. So this is the first of the freedoms, and it is one that we believe, as Americans, very strongly.

We believe, as the President says, that liberty, that basic freedom is the right of all people given by God. Yet we see, in Europe in particular, a growing and rising tension in the world, in that continent.

I submit for the RECORD recent incidents of anti-Semitism in Europe, just in this year, the year 2004. I will go through and pick one incident from each of the countries I will talk about. Unfortunately, on this list—which is about 5 pages long—almost half of the incidents occurred in France. I have had meetings with the French Ambassador on this issue and expressed concerns about religious freedom and expressed concerns, via correspondence and meetings, about anti-Semitism. Yet this is a growing problem in this region of the world. But it is not only in France.

This first example is of a situation in France. This is a situation where we have the World War II memorial to Jewish soldiers in Lyon, where you have swastikas painted on the memorial.

You have instance after instance—and I think there are, as I said, 5½ pages of this document that I will be submitting for the RECORD—talking about anti-Semitic activity, whether it is graffiti or turning over tombstones, destroying graves, whether it is vandalism of synagogues, or whether it is assaults on Jewish children, particularly in school and coming from religious schools. We are seeing it more and more and more.

We need to understand this is not a problem that will go away if we ignore it. This is a problem which we have to speak up on and bring attention to.

In Belgium, four Jewish teenagers, all students from the same school in an Antwerp suburb, were attacked by a group of 15 men. One of the Jewish students was stabbed in the back and seriously injured. Again, an attack, in this case, by “youth of Arab origin.”

In the Czech Republic, some 80 tombstones were overturned in a Jewish cemetery in Hranice in the east of the Czech Republic.

In Austria, a Holocaust memorial was desecrated, with the word “lie” spray painted over a historical plaque. This memorial near Vienna is at the site of a former concentration camp.

In Germany, in Dusseldorf, vandals sprayed swastikas and SS symbols on at least 40 gravestones at a Jewish cemetery.