

centered solutions, delivers more personal responsibility, more opportunities for individuals to take control of their own health and their own care, which is what I tried to do as the medical director of the Wyoming Health Fairs: give people information they could use to keep healthy and drive down the cost of their care.

Half of all the money we spend on health care in this country is on just 5 percent of the people. There are patient-based solutions: allowing people to buy insurance across State lines, giving individuals who buy their own health insurance personally the same tax relief the large companies get when they pay for health insurance, deal with lawsuit abuse, allow small businesses to join together to lower the cost of insurance, and provide individual incentives for people who do take personal responsibility for their own health.

Those are the things that will actually help get down the cost of care. Those are the things that will help Americans stay healthy. But they are not in this health care law that has been passed by the House, passed by the Senate, and signed by the President. That is why I come to the floor this week, as I have week after week since the law has been signed, to offer my second opinion; and that opinion is, it is time to repeal and replace this health care law with a law that will work for the American people.

I yield the floor.

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

HEALTH CARE

Mr. JOHANNIS. Mr. President, I rise today to say at the outset how much I appreciate the very thoughtful advice that has been given by Dr. BARRASSO during this debate. He comes to the floor, he is carefully prepared, he has done his homework, he has done the analysis, but most importantly as a doctor, he understands what the health care system is about. We would all benefit if we listened to his advice.

The problems with this health care legislation just continue and continue. Each week this 2,000-plus page health care bill just produces more bad news, and it produces more unwelcome revelations. Not surprising.

Not that long ago, the President, at every opportunity he had, would allay public concerns by saying to people and promising them: If you like your health insurance, you get to keep it. Those proponents wrote a provision into the new health care law in an attempt to fulfill this promise by grandfathering existing plans.

Recently, the Department of Health and Human Services issued a new regulation on these "grandfathered" health plans. Lo and behold, what did the new regulations show? It showed that 51 percent of American workers will be in plans without "grandfathered" status by 2013, in just 3 short years.

In fact, under the worst case analysis, as many as four of five small business employees and 69 percent of all American workers will lose their current coverage. Almost 70 percent of those who were comforted by the President's promises are going to be sorely disappointed very quickly. You do not have to believe me. All you have to do is look at the Obama administration's own estimates. Yet instead of solving this problem and fulfilling the promise, the administration has a different approach: ramping up the public relations strategy.

According to the Washington Post, the White House has hired "a senior official whose sole portfolio will be to sell the health care overhaul to the public in the months leading up to the November elections."

The administration is spending millions of taxpayer dollars to sell the law to the American public. But let's look at reality versus what we are hearing. The Congressional Budget Office recently estimated that less than 12 percent of small businesses—less than 12 percent of small businesses—will benefit from the much touted small business tax credit. Yet the small business tax credit is one of the main talking points used to convince Americans that this law is actually good for them. In fact, the Internal Revenue Service recently sent out 4.4 million postcards to let small businesses know they might be eligible for small business tax credits.

The IRS spent \$1 million in taxpayer dollars on those postcards alone. It does not stop there, though. The Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services recently mailed a brochure to senior citizens to "inform them" about the new law. Well, who paid the bill for that? Taxpayers are footing the \$18 million bill for marketing of a piece of legislation to themselves that they did not want in the first place. This classy brochure outlines provisions such as closing the doughnut hole and preventive health care services. However, there are some important details that are not in the brochure. CMS neglects to mention some very key information. For example, less than 10 percent of Medicare beneficiaries will actually receive the \$250 rebate for entering the doughnut hole coverage gap. Yet the new health care law will cause all prescription drug Part D premiums to rise, according to the Congressional Budget Office.

When our seniors heard the word "reform," they never would have imagined it meant they all pay more while getting less than 10 percent benefit.

Let me repeat that. Prescription drug premiums go up for all participants, and only 1 in 10 will see the \$250 check. Over \$½ billion in Medicare savings will be redirected toward creating a new entitlement program. The brochure also claims the new law preserves Medicare.

Yet according to the Obama administration's own Medicare Actuary, Medi-

care Advantage enrollment will be cut in half. More than one in seven hospitals could become unprofitable as a result of the law "possibly jeopardizing access to care for Medicare beneficiaries."

Before I came over here, I had a meeting with those in the oncologist area who were saying: This is a problem. What are they going to have to do to solve it? They will have to pull in satellite facilities, and rural health care suffers. Rural beneficiaries feel the pain of this legislation.

The New York Times recently published an article entitled "White House and Allies Set Up to Build Up Health Law." The article stated:

President Obama and his allies, concerned about the deep skepticism over his landmark health care overhaul, are orchestrating an elaborate campaign to sell the public on the new law, including a new tax exempt group that will spend millions on advertising to beat back attacks on the measure and Democrats who voted for it.

The article also highlights that many outside groups are now running campaigns to try to sell the bill to the public, in some cases with very direct help from the administration.

With all this going on, with all of this in mind, it is appropriate to ask a few questions—for example, should not the administration be concerned more about implementing the law, especially considering they have missed several deadlines? Is this taxpayer-funded marketing effort crossing boundaries between policy and good politics? Why do we have to spend taxpayer dollars to win over the public if the merits of this law are so solid?

People in Nebraska are not fooled by glossy brochures and media blitzes, especially when the facts are so clear. Facts are stubborn things. The administration's own regulation predicts many employees will not be able to keep their insurance plan. Their own Actuary confirms that Americans will still see health care costs rise because this new law does not bend the health care cost curve down. And the marketing campaign is not going to convince seniors that when they are losing services, they somehow benefit from this new law, especially since it makes it more difficult for them to access home health care services which have a bull's-eye for cuts, hospice services which have a bull's-eye for cuts, and home nursing services which have a bull's-eye for cuts.

We will continue to try to talk about what this health care bill really means to Americans.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. UDALL of Colorado). The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business on the Democratic time for about 10 minutes.

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

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. President, I come to the floor to plead with our Republican colleagues to pass the extension of unemployment benefits. I still am amazed, as are so many Ohioans and so many Coloradans and people from all over the country, that all of a sudden my colleagues care so much about the budget deficit, when if we go back 10 years, we had a budget surplus. Then three things happened. One was the war in Iraq. The Presiding Officer opposed it, as did I. But more than that, we went to war and didn't pay for it. We put the cost of the war on our children and grandchildren. There was not an outcry from anybody on the other side of the aisle saying we should pay for that war, that we should not go to war and charge it to the children and grandchildren.

Around the same time, President Bush came to the Congress and asked for major tax cuts for the richest Americans. Again, the Presiding Officer and I opposed these tax cuts and said, at a minimum, if we are going to give tax cuts to the richest Americans, we need to find a way to pay for them. There was no interest on that side of the aisle when they were in the majority in paying for the tax cuts.

Then soon after that, President Bush came to this body and the House, where the Presiding Officer and I served in those days, and asked for a huge subsidy for the drug companies and the insurance companies in the name of Medicare privatization. We both opposed that, but not only did we oppose it because we thought it wasn't done right—it was not the way to provide a drug benefit to seniors—but it was not paid for either. There was nary an outcry on that side of the aisle.

So when it was a \$1 trillion war, tax cuts for the richest Americans, and subsidies for the drug and insurance companies, there was no interest in paying for it; just charge that to the grandchildren. But now that it is workers who lose jobs, people who lose their insurance, people who then lose their homes, there seems to be an outcry: We can't do this.

Forget the statistics; forget that there are 900,000 Americans losing their unemployment; forget the numbers. Listen to what people say. I am going to read four letters from around my State. I know the Presiding Officer gets them from Boulder and Colorado Springs and Denver. I know my colleagues get them from Tallahassee and Omaha and New York, letters from people who played by the rules, worked hard, lost their jobs through no fault of their own, who keep fighting to find jobs, keep sending out resumes. You

have to do that if you are going to receive unemployment. And then their unemployment insurance ran out.

I wonder sometimes if my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who are voting no every time we try to bring this up, if they know anybody who lost a job, if they know anybody who lost insurance, if they know anybody who lost a home. I plead with them, I ask them, the people who have voted no, to try some empathy. Try to imagine you are a father or a mother and you have lost a job, lost your insurance. You have a sick child. You are borrowing money. You are trying every week to find a job, and you are three payments behind on your home. You have to sit down at dinner one night—a pretty inadequate dinner because you are stretching every cent you have—and you have to explain to your son and daughter, 10- and 12-year-olds, that they will have to move out of their room, out of the house.

Where are we going to go?

I don't know yet, but we don't have much space. What you have collected in your room, we will have to give some of that away.

What school will I go to?

We don't know that yet either.

I wish they would think of the human cost of what this means when people can't get unemployment insurance or can't get assistance in continuing health care insurance, so-called COBRA, with the subsidy the government paid for the last year and a half—something that had never been done before—so people can keep their health insurance.

Zoe from Columbiana, a county just south of Youngstown, writes:

I lost my job at the end of August. Until then I was gainfully employed. I worked hard to support my 13 year old twins at home. I am 50 years old. If [unemployment insurance] is not extended, things don't look good for my family. We have lived in a rural area for 12 years and chose this community because it is great for the kids. My house is not fancy or expensive. We don't waste money. We are falling behind payments on our electric bill. Pretty soon our service might be cut. We are just trying to hang on. Please make opponents of the extension realize that most people who are unemployed are not lazy. We lost our jobs, which can happen to anyone. Please help me.

My colleagues don't understand, people voting against this don't understand that unemployment insurance is not welfare; it is insurance. You pay into it when you are working. You get help when you lose your job. That is the whole point. Most people hope they never draw unemployment insurance, of course. But that is what insurance is. Just like car insurance, you hope you don't have to use it. If you have health insurance, you hope you don't have to use it except for regular check-ups.

Monica from Hamilton County—Cincinnati, Norwood, that area, southwest Ohio—writes:

My son was laid off last year. He soon enrolled in college at Cincinnati State to ob-

tain an engineering degree because he was hoping to be more marketable in the future. He works hard. He is doing well. He is excited about a new life. But soon his [unemployment insurance] will expire. With other expenses, he is now afraid he may have to quit school and not be able to support his son. Please continue to work to pass an unemployment extension right away. This support is so vital to so many people right now.

Joseph from Stark County writes:

My July 4th will be nothing to celebrate since I will be out of unemployment benefits. Folks are not finding the jobs or the income to supplant the cash that goes to pay their mortgages and other expenses. Helping a whole lot of people to prevent another failure—like massive foreclosures—will save more in the long run. Please consider a vote to help us.

He is right. The thing about unemployment benefits, it doesn't just help the family who gets the benefits; it helps them pay insurance and helps them stay in their home. Think of the ripple effect when they don't get it. It means if your home is foreclosed on, your next door neighbor's home declines in value. And then two streets away, somebody else is foreclosed on. Somebody else is foreclosed on across the street. The whole neighborhood begins to unravel. These are people's personal stories, people's lives. It absolutely matters.

The other thing unemployment benefits do—JOHN MCCAIN, the Republican Presidential candidate, one of his top economic advisers said unemployment is the best stimulus to the economy because every dollar put in the pocket of Joseph from Stark County or Monica from Cincinnati or Zoe from Columbiana County, every dollar we give them in unemployment compensation gets spent.

It is spent. It is spent in Canton and Cincinnati and Lisbon and East Liverpool. The dollars are spent going into the economy, and they have a multiplier effect that Senator MCCAIN's economic adviser used to talk about, that that multiplier effect means generating economic benefits for everyone in the community—the hardware store, the local school, because you pay your property taxes, all the things that come with that.

The last letter I will read is from Gerald from Wood County, south of Toledo, Bowling Green. Wood County is the site of the terrible tornado in Millbury that happened a couple weeks ago, where we are working with President Obama to get help for people whose homes were destroyed, and there were many. Gerald writes:

I know Republicans are holding an extension to unemployment benefits. Quite frankly it makes me sick.

I'm unemployed and am looking for a job—but the jobs are not out there.

Most people must not realize what will happen when unemployment insurance runs out.

We will suddenly have millions of people without the support they need to live on. Just think of what that will do to the nation's economy.

Again, this is not a welfare program. It is an insurance program. It is not