

principles and those who have defended them against hollow attacks from the other side. One after another, Republicans have come to the floor with disingenuous claims.

For example, they have talked about health care premiums, overlooking the fact that those costs will go down for the vast majority of Americans—in fact, 93 percent. They have talked about the deficit, ignoring the fact that health care reform will do more to lower the deficit than any other measure has in years—remember, over 20 years, almost  $\$3/4$  trillion. They have tried to scare seniors, saying you are going to die soon, as an example, closing their eyes to the fact that we strengthen Medicare and cut waste, fraud, and abuse from the program. They have tried to scare women, closing their ears to the fact that we will make it easier than ever for women to get the preventive screenings they need, and that is a gross understatement. They claim to speak for the American people but neglect to mention that, for the last year, a majority of the Americans have consistently said it is more important than ever to nurse our health care system back to health.

What is the most consistent Republican attack on this bill? They carefully count the number of pages in this legislation but completely discount the number of people it helps. Can anyone think of a more superficial way to measure the worth of a bill than how many pages it is printed on? As far as I can tell, the only threat that poses is more paper cuts, perhaps.

Those who want to keep the broken system the way it is throw everything they can at the wall, but nothing has stuck. Incredibly, my distinguished counterpart, the Republican leader, last week, called the health care crisis manufactured, in spite of the fact that 750,000 people filed for bankruptcy last year—70 percent of them because of health care costs. In one sense, my Republican counterpart is right—it was manufactured. This health care crisis has been manufactured by the greedy insurance companies that raise families' rates on a whim and deny health care to the sick.

Remember, the health care industry is exempt from the antitrust laws. They can conspire to fix prices with no civil or criminal penalties. No other business is like that, except baseball. This crisis was manufactured by leaders who enabled them, who empowered them, and who sat idly by while the problem grew worse and worse, until it finally collapsed into a crisis.

My Republican friends have been so busy coming up with distortions that they have forgotten to come up with solutions. They seem more concerned with scaring the American people than helping them. This barrage of baseless accusations underscores how desperate some are to distract the American people from the real debate and from the fact they have no vision for fixing our health care system, which is broken.

Yes, correcting the record has taken a long time. That is OK. We will continue to do so as long as necessary. Democrats are more than willing to defend this good bill. After all, it is not hard to do. As Mark Twain, a great Ne-vadan, said: "If you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything."

I wish to note that I especially appreciate the assistant leader, my friend of decades, Senator DURBIN, for his brilliant statements on the floor during the last several weeks on this health care issue. I so admire his spunk, his intelligence, and his ability to deliver a message.

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

#### SERVICE MEMBERS HOME OWNERSHIP TAX ACT OF 2009

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 3590, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3590) to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the first-time home buyers credit in the case of members of the Armed Forces and certain other Federal employees, and for other purposes.

Pending:

Reid amendment No. 2786, in the nature of a substitute.

Mikulski amendment No. 2791 (to amendment No. 2786), to clarify provisions relating to first-dollar coverage for preventive services for women.

McCain motion to commit the bill to the Committee on Finance, with instructions.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the time until 11:30 will be equally divided with alternating blocks of time, with Republicans controlling the first 30 minutes and the majority controlling the second 30 minutes.

The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, to continue our debate on the McCain amendment to ensure Medicare benefits for our seniors are not cut, as would happen under this legislation, I wanted to talk a little bit about the commitments we have made to our seniors and what exactly would happen under the legislation that is before us.

As we all know, seniors have paid into the Medicare Program, and that is

with the expectation that they will get the benefits that have been promised to them. The question is, Why would we, at this point, reduce the benefits that have been promised to them, especially if the purpose is not to enhance the financial viability of Medicare, which everyone knows is going broke but, rather, to use that money to establish a new entitlement program?

Let me break down the list of cuts seniors would face under this legislation: \$137.5 billion would be cut from hospitals that treat seniors, \$120 billion from the Medicare Advantage plan. By the way, that Medicare Advantage plan serves almost 40 percent of the Arizona seniors on Medicare. It cuts \$14.6 billion from nursing homes, \$42.1 billion from home health care, and \$7.7 billion from hospice care. These are deep cuts, and you cannot avoid jeopardizing the health care seniors now have under Medicare by making these deep cuts. That is why the Chief Actuary at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services—we use the initials CMS—believes these cuts would cause some providers to end their participation in Medicare, which, of course, would further threaten seniors' access to care. There would not be as many providers to whom they could go for their services.

Our friends on the other side of the aisle say part of this is an intention to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse. Of course, we have known for many years that there is waste, fraud, and abuse in Medicare, but actually doing something about the problem and recognizing it are two different things. If it were easy to wring hundreds of billions of dollars of savings from Medicare by just pointing to waste, fraud, and abuse, we would have done it a long time ago. Certainly the President would, during his first year in office, want to do that, given the fact we are spending a lot of money and he is trying to find sources of revenue for the various spending programs he has proposed. If it were that easy to do, it would have been done before now.

Moreover, Medicare faces a \$38 trillion, 75-year unfunded liability. That is almost incomprehensible. Most of us believe that whatever savings we could achieve in Medicare, to the extent you could eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse, for example, you should do that to help make Medicare solvent.

Next I want to talk about what seniors are telling us. They believe, according to public opinion surveys—and I have talked to enough of them to know this is true—that these Medicare cuts are going to jeopardize their health care. They are troubled in particular by this \$120 billion proposed cut to Medicare Advantage. It has been called the crown jewel of Medicare. It is the private insurance addition to Medicare in which many are able to participate in programs they would never have been able to afford otherwise. It gives them this choice to supplement Medicare to provide all kinds