



John McCain's Radical Health Care Agenda

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Introduction

Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) wants to enact a radical health care plan that would dismantle today's health insurance system. Millions of families would lose the coverage they get from their jobs, forcing them to shop for health coverage in a deregulated insurance market stripped of consumer protections. Tens of millions of Americans with health problems—such as cancer or diabetes—would find it particularly difficult or impossible to find adequate coverage, increasing their medical costs dramatically. Tens of millions of families would eventually pay higher taxes on health premiums, making health care less affordable.

Throughout his career, Sen. McCain has consistently opposed overarching supervision of financial institutions, and now he wants to deregulate the health insurance industry in the same way conservatives dismantled prudent supervision of Wall Street. As he put it, “opening up the health insurance market to more vigorous nationwide competition, as we have done over the last decade in banking, would provide more choices of innovative products less burdened by the worst excesses of state-based regulation.”¹

In Pennsylvania, Sen. McCain's plan would:

- Threaten the coverage of 7 million people in Pennsylvania who receive health benefits through work.² The Economic Policy Institute projects as many as 1.2 million could lose their coverage. McCain's plan eliminates the employer health care tax benefits that enable many businesses, especially small businesses, to provide group insurance to their employees.
- Put at special risk coverage for the 2.5 million non-elderly people in Pennsylvania struggling with diseases like cancer and diabetes who are now covered through their jobs.³ Under McCain's plan, insurance companies would be free to “cherry pick” only those individuals for coverage who do not have costly health conditions and avoid state regulations that keep health care accessible and affordable.
- Raise taxes on the health insurance benefits paid by millions of Pennsylvania families. A typical Pennsylvania family could pay almost \$1,200 more in taxes by 2013 if McCain imposes both income and payroll taxes on their health coverage.⁴

Our health care system faces deep problems. There are 46 million people without insurance, costs are rising and increasingly unaffordable and quality of care is inconsistent. But Sen. McCain's prescription would worsen the disease, creating a deregulated insurance market, leaving millions of Americans with serious illnesses without insurance coverage and millions more paying higher taxes for their insurance coverage. Pennsylvania families are among those who would bear the brunt of this misconceived health reform plan.

THE HEALTH CARE CRISIS IN PENNSYLVANIA

Number of uninsured in Pennsylvania	1.2 million
Number of "underinsured" in Pennsylvania	1.4 million
Increase in a Pennsylvania family's health premiums since 2000	175 percent

Source: U.S. Census, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Medical Expenditure Panel Survey.

The McCain plan disrupts millions of Pennsylvanians' health benefits

Most people in the United States get health insurance coverage from their employer. Sen. McCain would turn that system upside down. Today, 158 million people—the majority of non-elderly Americans—receive insurance from their own or a family member's job. In Pennsylvania, over 7 million people, around 64 percent of all Pennsylvanians, receive employer coverage.⁵ This figure includes over 1.7 million children.⁶

Sen. McCain's health care plan is based upon a fundamentally different vision for American health care, one in which Americans shop for their health coverage on their own. He would tax the health benefits that workers get from their jobs, which are now exempt from income and payroll taxes, and create a new refundable health insurance tax credit worth \$5,000 for families and \$2,500 for individuals.

The elimination of tax incentives for employer-based plans will lead employers to drop health benefits for millions of workers. Millions of families would be forced to change insurers and possibly doctors as many employers cancel their health benefits. Those who continue their plans will see higher costs as young and healthy workers opt out of employer plans. Millions of Americans are likely to lose their health benefits.

Estimates of the number of people who would lose health benefits under McCain's plan vary widely. A new study from the Economic Policy Institute, however, projects that between 490,000 and 1.2 million Pennsylvanians would lose their insurance obtained through work.⁷

MCCAIN'S HEALTH CARE PLAN AND PENNSYLVANIA

Number of Pennsylvanians at risk of losing their employer-based health benefits	7.9 million
Number with preexisting medical conditions most at risk in the individual market	2.5 million
Tax increase for a typical Pennsylvania family earning \$60,000 in 2013	\$1,200

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation, Center for American Progress Action Fund.

The McCain plan weakens the safety net for people with illnesses

The loss of employer health benefits is particularly threatening to Americans who are already struggling with health problems or at risk of developing them. When forced to buy insurance on their own—rather than through an employer—individuals with expensive illnesses such as cancer or diabetes can find complete coverage expensive or even impossible to get at any price.

The people who would struggle the most to find coverage under Sen. McCain's plan have preexisting illnesses or other medical conditions. There are about 79 million Americans with preexisting conditions, nearly 3.2 million in Pennsylvania, including:

- An estimated 2.5 million Pennsylvanians with employer coverage (out of 56 million people nationwide)⁸
- An estimated 400,000 Pennsylvanians who are uninsured (out of 16 million people nationwide)⁹

Households forced to buy insurance on their own struggle to find affordable coverage, particularly if they have a member with a preexisting illness.

Pennsylvania insurers, like insurers in most or all states, can charge higher premiums to those who are sick and are older or deny them coverage altogether. They can cancel coverage after it is sold without review or appeal. They can spend less than 75 percent of premiums on medical care, keeping the rest for administrative costs and profits. And when covering individuals, rather than groups of employees, they typically offer plans with higher co-payments, higher deductibles, and more exclusions for treatments such as maternity care, prescription drugs, mental health, and preexisting conditions.¹⁰

McCain's plan would undermine the patient safeguards that do exist under Pennsylvania law by letting insurers to sell across state lines and avoid state consumer-protection laws and solvency requirements. Insurers could avoid Pennsylvania's laws requiring them to:

- Cover breast cancer and cervical cancer screenings
- Consider only five years of medical history, preventing insurers from reviewing a lifetime of medical data in search of preexisting conditions that they could cite to deny coverage or make it more expensive
- Use an external review agency to make sure an impartial party adjudicates disputes between insurance companies and patients to keep insurers from price gouging or unfairly denying coverage¹¹

The McCain plan could also potentially erode solvency requirements that ensure that insurance companies will be able to meet all of their promises to pay medical bills. Like the reserve requirements at a regulated bank or financial institution, solvency laws prevent insur-

ance companies from making more promises than they can keep or taking investment risks that put their own viability at risk. Currently, these laws vary widely between the states.¹² Under McCain's deregulated health insurance market—much like today's deregulated financial markets—insurance companies could choose to comply with only the weakest of the widely varying state solvency requirements, unnecessarily increasing risk.

Sen. McCain's plan proposes to cover people denied insurance through “high-risk pools.” Pennsylvania currently has no “high risk” pool.¹³ Nationwide, high-risk pools cover fewer than 200,000 people. Often, enrollees face high premiums and are denied benefits for treatments related to their preexisting conditions—the very thing Sen. McCain thinks the plan will help.

Covering all high-risk Americans through these pools is likely to be prohibitively expensive. According to the Tax Policy Center, using high-risk pools “to prevent large losses in insurance coverage among the sick and needy could be extremely expensive—on the order of \$1 trillion over ten years given projected health care costs.”¹⁴

The McCain plan raises taxes on health insurance

Reforming the tax treatment of health insurance could be an important part of a broader health care reform effort. Sen. McCain's plan, however, would raise taxes on the health insurance of millions of Pennsylvania families.

Sen. McCain's plan imposes taxes on workers' tax benefits, which are largely tax-free today. He would use the new tax revenue, which the campaign estimates at \$3.6 trillion over 10 years, to create a new health insurance tax credit worth \$2,500 for individuals and \$5,000 for families. For many families, however, the new tax credit will be smaller than the additional taxes due on their health benefits. As a result, these families will be paying higher taxes on their health insurance.

Moreover, Sen. McCain's new tax credit grows only at the rate of inflation—expected to be about 2 percent a year—while current tax subsidies keep up with rising health insurance premiums, which run about 7 percent a year. As a result, the value of the tax credit quickly falls behind rising health care costs. Every year, more and more families would see higher taxes under Sen. McCain's plan.

It is unclear whether McCain would impose both income and payroll taxes—or only income taxes—on health benefits.¹⁵ Some analysts believe that workers will be required to pay both income and payroll taxes on their health benefits.¹⁶ As a result, a Pennsylvania couple making \$60,000 would pay almost \$1,200 more in taxes by 2013.¹⁷

Other analysts have concluded that, under McCain's plan, health benefits will be subject to income taxes but remain exempt from payroll taxes.¹⁸ If so, then the plan will add \$1.3 trillion to the debt over ten years, while still eventually raising taxes on most households.¹⁹ Pennsylvania taxpayers' share of the additional national debt will be \$51 billion over ten years.²⁰

The McCain plan fails to cover the uninsured

There are 46 million Americans who lack health insurance, including 1.2 million Pennsylvanians, almost 10 percent of the state's population.²¹ The plight of the uninsured in our country in the face of indifference from the Bush administration is sadly evident in the data—there are around 7 million more uninsured Americans than there were eight years ago. The uninsured rate in Pennsylvania has increased since 2000 when 963,000 Pennsylvanians, or 8 percent of the state's population, were uninsured.²² Those left uninsured often do not have access to the care they need. According to the Urban Institute, 22,000 people die prematurely every year because they are uninsured.²³ Pennsylvania's share of these unnecessary deaths is around 570—or about three people every two days.

The reason: People without health insurance often go without care they need. And tens of millions more Americans remain at risk of losing insurance. One in three non-elderly Americans—approximately 3.5 million Pennsylvanians—go without insurance at some point over a two-year period.²⁴ There are 25 million more Americans who are “underinsured” because their coverage does not provide the security they need, including 1.4 million Pennsylvanians.²⁵

Sen. McCain's plan fails to prioritize the problems of the uninsured. He is very clear that he does not seek to cover all Americans, saying “the problem is not that most Americans lack adequate health insurance.”²⁶ While some Americans would gain coverage under his plan, others would lose it. Even according to the McCain campaign itself, his plan will leave tens of millions of Americans without insurance, and it may even increase the number of the uninsured.

McCain “Care” will not make insurance affordable for people who need coverage most. It ignores the higher premiums faced by some households. For these families, Sen. McCain's plan is like a five-foot rope in ten-foot hole: useless.

Sen. McCain also opposes efforts to cover more children through the State Children's Health Insurance Program, or SCHIP, which is known as Pennsylvania CHIP in Pennsylvania.²⁷ He supported both of President Bush's vetoes of additional funding for SCHIP.

SCHIP covers 6.1 million children nationwide, including around 189,000 in Pennsylvania, who live in families with low incomes but who do not qualify for Medicaid.²⁸ Yet there are 3.8 million children nationwide, including 133,000 in Pennsylvania, who will be denied coverage due to the strident opposition of President Bush and Sen. McCain to the SCHIP program.²⁹

The McCain plan fails to contain health care costs

Rising health care costs are a serious threat to all Americans individually and to all of us collectively because of the long-run challenges to the federal budget they pose. Americans spent \$2.1 trillion on health care in 2006, and health care expenditures are expected to reach \$4.2 trillion (almost 20 percent of our economy) by 2017.³⁰

In Pennsylvania, premiums in employer-based plans have increased dramatically. They are up \$5,000 to almost \$12,000 per family since 2000.³¹ Pennsylvania spent \$73 billion on health care in 2004, the last year for which complete data are available.³²

Sen. McCain's plan fails to make a meaningful difference in rising health care costs because universal coverage is "a precondition for effective measures to limit overall health care spending," according to Brookings Institution economist Henry Aaron.³³ Large numbers of uninsured Americans drive up the cost for everyone else: an estimated \$922 from an average family policy goes to pay for the cost of care for the uninsured. A fragmented system of care also undermines investments in preventive and chronic care that would prevent later, larger costs for illnesses like diabetes and heart disease.

The McCain plan also fails to take badly needed steps to improve the quality of care. Medical errors cause more deaths each year in the United States than motor vehicle accidents, breast cancer, or AIDS. According to a study by the Institute of Medicine, between 44,000 and 98,000 people die every year in American hospitals from preventable medical errors.³⁴ That's five to eleven Pennsylvanians every day and approximately 1,800 to 4,000 every year. These tragic errors are costly: The IOM found that total costs of these errors "are estimated to be between \$17 billion and \$29 billion, of which health care costs represent over one-half."³⁵

Moreover, at least 1.5 million Americans, including approximately 62,000 Pennsylvanians, are injured every year by preventable problems with medication.³⁶ Sen. McCain has paid lip service to introducing electronic medical records, which would dramatically reduce the incidence of these types of errors, but will not invest money to deploy and help hospitals adopt a standardized system to reduce errors and lower costs.³⁷

Conclusion

Deep problems in America's health care system are hurting families in Pennsylvania and across the country. There are 46 million people without insurance, some of whom will die sooner as a result. Rising and unaffordable costs burden families and businesses.

Sen. McCain's health care plan would make Pennsylvania's problems worse.

It embraces a radical vision for our health care system: a deregulated market along the lines of the disastrous deregulation of Wall Street. Under McCain's plan, families are left on their own rather than receiving insurance through their employers. There are 2.5 million Pennsylvanians with insurance through their employers who could lose health coverage altogether under Sen. McCain's plan. The rest could be forced into a private market stripped of consumer protections where they would face shoddier plans with weaker coverage and higher out-of-pocket costs. And many families would pay more in federal taxes for these "benefits" of McCain "Care"—making health care even less affordable.

Endnotes

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