

But what did Republicans do? As a Member of the House in 1993, I introduced a budget called Families First, which, by the way, now makes up much of what is in the Republican budget this year, including the \$500 per child tax credit. And many of the others—Congressman JOHN KASICH of Ohio, now the Budget chairman in the House, also introduced a budget plan in 1993. Congressman JERRY SOLOMON of New York, Republican, also introduced a budget of his own in 1993.

So we had three definite Republican budgets on the table proposed and were voted on. We got 178 votes on my alternative Families First budget. So what we are saying is Republicans did not vote in 1993 for the President's plan, but we did vote for a budget plan that we had proposed.

So what I would advocate here today, and my colleague from Pennsylvania has talked about, let us put the Democratic or the President's plan on the table so we can have a healthy debate and at least a comparison of the two plans. And then, hopefully, let us get a vote on it so the American people know where the numbers really lie and where they are.

I know we are talking a lot about, and we are going to hear a lot in the debate, about the Social Security trust fund. This is a complicated issue. But the American people should know that the way the budget is set up, that all the funds from the Social Security trust fund has been used by past Democratic Congresses for the same purpose.

The President's proposed budget that he maintains balances uses every dime, the same as the Republicans' do at this time for the unified budget. But what remains in the Social Security trust fund are IOU's. As my colleague from Pennsylvania pointed out, we are going to have to repay those IOU's in the very near future. That is going to mean new tax revenues in order to do it. That is the only way the Government can pay it back.

So we do have a problem. We do have a luxury right now for the next few years of maintaining a surplus. But it will be easier to address this problem that we are going to be confronted with in Social Security if we stay on course and balance the budget by the year 2002.

So I just hope that over the next couple days, and probably yet today, we are going to get a chance to look more at what the President's plan is, what he advocates, and get a healthy dialog and debate going on these budget issues so the American people do get a very clear picture of what the President has proposed and what Republicans propose, because this is going to be the most important issue, for not only this Congress, but for the Congresses to follow, for our children and grandchildren, because what we cannot do, morally or financially, is to leave them our debts. We have to address this problem with every ounce of energy that we have.

So I hope we get a healthy debate on these issues. I thank you, Mr. President.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### EXTENSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the period for the transaction of morning business be extended until noon, under the terms of the previous agreement.

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

#### THE BUDGET

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I want to get back to some of the points that the Senator from North Dakota was making with respect to the President's budget. I think it is significant that the Senator from North Dakota said that the President's budget does not come into balance in 10 years, as he is claiming it does all over the country. We should use the congressional budget numbers. In fact, the Democratic leader, Senator DASCHLE, shortly after the President introduced his budget, said that the President should use Congressional Budget Office numbers. They have been the most reliable. The President addressed a joint session of Congress on February 17, 1993. This was shortly after he was sworn in, inaugurated as President of the United States. He said:

The Congressional Budget Office was normally more conservative in what was going to happen and closer to right than previous Presidents have been. I did this—

In other words, he agreed to use Congressional Budget Office numbers.

so that we can argue about priorities with the same set of numbers. I did this so no one could say I was estimating my way out of difficulty. In the last 12 years, because there were differences over the revenue estimates, you and I know that both parties were given greater elbow room for irresponsibility. This is a tightening of the rein on the Democrats as well as the Republicans. Let us argue about the same set of numbers so that the American public will think we are shooting straight with them.

The President wanted to shoot straight back in 1993. In 1995, he wants to shoot any way he can to hit the target of getting reelected. He believes he needs to get reelected by campaigning that he has a balanced budget when he knows darn well he does not have one. He has done exactly what he said he would not do, which is "estimating my way out of this difficulty."

He has reestimated what the growth of this country will be over the next 7

to 10 years and reestimated what the interest rates will be. You have to understand that if you reestimate just a tenth or two-tenths of 1 percent more growth, what does that mean? If you say that instead of having 2.5 percent growth, actually, we are going to have 2.6 or 2.7 percent, you might say that is close. Yes, it may be close, but it means hundreds of billions of dollars in differences to the Federal budget deficit, because that additional growth means more people are going to be working and paying taxes, and less people are going to be receiving Government benefits. Therefore, the deficit would be lower.

I think it would be easy for me to balance the budget in 1 year. All I have to do is say the economy is not going to grow at 2.5 percent, but at 5 percent, interest rates will be at 2 percent, and I will have balanced the budget. I would not have to cut a thing or raise taxes, and just by estimating things differently for the future, I could balance the budget. The economy is a lot bigger than the Federal budget. When this multitrillion-dollar economy grows by even a little bit more, it has a tremendous ripple effect on this little part of the economy, which is the Federal Government.

So what we are seeing here is the President trying to involve himself in debate, to become relevant to this debate, and he is using numbers that just do not add up. Now we are coming down to crunch time when we are going to bring up the budget reconciliation bill. We have a letter from the CBO that says it balances the budget. I want to make this clear, because people are saying that we have had Gramm-Rudman and all these things that were going to balance the budget. We have never passed a piece of legislation that, within its confines, has changes in law that will result in a balanced budget, if we do nothing else.

We have passed budget rules that say, well, we have to do certain things every year and cut programs in the future and reduce spending in the future. And if we do not, we will have this mechanism in place to make you do it. That is what we have passed in the past. We have had procedures by which we are forced to make decisions to balance the budget. That is not what we are doing here. We have those in place just in case the economy does not grow as fast or just in case interest rates are higher, but what we have in place, given the conservative assumptions of the Congressional Budget Office, is a plan that will, in fact, result in a balanced budget, if we do nothing else. We do not have to make any more changes in law or raise any taxes or cut any programs. We will have done it all in one bill.

It is fundamentally different than anything we have done here since 1968, which I think was the last time we balanced the budget. We will have balanced this budget and put in place a law that does it—not a procedure that

does it, but changes in programs in Washington that balance the budget.

That is what the public has asked us to do. No more gimmicks, no more processes to do it. We have done it. We have made the tough decisions, and we have stepped up to the plate and taken a good swing at it.

Is it perfect? Absolutely not. Anyone who suggests that anything that comes out of the House and Senate is perfect does not understand the House and Senate. It is a compromise. It is putting things together to get the number of votes that are necessary to move the ball forward.

Are there things I would like different? Absolutely. But we made the tough decisions. We brought a group of people, hopefully, I believe, the majority of people, together to pass a budget and send it to the President.

What we want out of the President is simply honesty. If the President wants to claim he will be involved in this debate, then he better come up with a budget that is real and quit running around saying that the Republicans are mean and Draconian and all these things. "I want to balance the budget." He cannot have it both—mean, Draconian, nasty cuts from the Republicans and say, "I want to balance the budget, too," and not do it.

If you want to balance the budget, balance the budget, put forth a plan that does it. He has not done that.

I have in my desk, and some may remember these numbers, I had a chart here that had a question about where the President was in balancing the budget. The previous campaign, several on the other side of the aisle were asking the question, where is George? Why is he not involved in solving the problems of this country?

So I asked the same question. I put up, day after day after day, and the President refused to come to the table and balance the budget. Those numbers are still adding up. He still has not done so. Well, he has a chance. He has a chance. We are willing to sit down with the President and work through what it will take to pass a balanced budget. We understand we cannot pass a balanced budget on our own. The President has to sign the budget. He has to sign the reconciliation package.

We want him to do that. We are not going through this as a political exercise to get one-upmanship on the President. I can tell you, I am not anxious to vote for changes in a lot of laws, many of which I support and do not necessarily want to see reductions in, just to see the President veto it and nothing happen. It is not a particularly satisfying thing to have happen. If you are going to make the tough votes, at least you want to see it happen. You want to see the changes that you put forward go into law.

No one over here wants to do this as a political exercise. We want to do it because we want to see this country be saved for future generations. We want to see that person who is sitting out

there now listening, who is at home and does not have a job and cannot find a job, have a better chance to get a job because the economy will be better. Everyone—the President, Democrats, Republicans—knows if we balance the budget, the economy will be better. Interest rates will be lower. Growth will be higher. More jobs will be created. We all know that.

The people listening who think, how am I going to get this employment opportunity? What will happen to turn this economy around? This is probably the most important thing we can do to turn that economy around.

This is not an esoteric debate about balancing the budget, but about affecting people's lives. This is the young child who may be sick from high school and sitting at home at night and maybe just surfing around on the channels and happens to stop here—probably not long—stop here and listen for a few minutes. That is for that person who wonders whether they will have a job when they get out of high school or college, whether they will have the opportunity to be able to raise a family and buy a home at a reasonable interest rate.

That is what this is all about. This is about real people and real lives. This is not just about balancing budgets and numbers and charts. It is about real people, and giving them the opportunity that this country was founded on.

We have the chance to do that. That is what this is about. We need the President. We need the President. This should not be about politics. This should be about working together for the common good of this country. We want to do that. We have put forward planned specifics.

Want to talk specifics? I remember listening early in the year when the budget resolution was out there and they said, "You guys are throwing these numbers out. You do not have specifics."

Folks, the Senator from New Mexico will come down next week with a whole bunch of specifics, tell you exactly how we get from A to Z, how we balance. The specifics are there. Here is how it happens.

Want to make some changes? We can make some changes. We are not going to make a change on this. We are not going to make a change on balancing this budget in 7 years. That is something we will not change. We are committed to the American public to do that.

I implore the President to stop waving this budget around. I know it may look good in the polls today. People may believe he has a balanced budget, and I know his polls are saying that people now believe he has a balanced budget. All he does is go around talking about it, and unfortunately, the American public sometimes believes the President even when he is not telling the truth. I think it undermines the credibility of the office.

Tell the truth. Tell the truth. Want to balance the budget in 7 years? The opportunity is here. You do not have to run around the country and campaign that you will balance the budget. Stay in Washington and you can sit down with the people who are working on this problem and you can balance the budget. You do not have to go around and raise money all over the country for your next campaign and talk about how you should not raise taxes and all these things.

You can come here and solve the problem. This is the time for work. This is a time when this body, in a bipartisan fashion—I think the Senator from Nebraska talked earlier, Senator KERREY. I do not question his sincerity at all about trying to balance this budget. I think he is one of the real statesmen when it comes to dealing with the problems of entitlement reform and changing the way the Government does business.

We differ on priorities, but I think he is one who is sincere about the final objective. I think he knows the importance of that final objective. I think he is someone who we can negotiate with and sit down with.

But we need the President. We do not need politics. We do not need waving around budgets that do not balance. It is not the time for politics. You have a whole year, Mr. President, where you can campaign for reelection. The time now is to get serious about doing the business of the country. You were elected President. It is time to serve the Presidency. It is time to serve your Presidency, not politics. Roll up your sleeves. Come on down here, send your people down and we can get going. Quit playing games with the American public and trying to manipulate the polls. You may win this November, but if you keep playing that game, you will not win next November.

The country will not win, which is a heck of a lot more important than either of those things. We should get down to business. We are open. We are here. We are open for business. We are ready to go. All we need is someone who is willing to step to the plate and make it happen.

Later today if we end up getting an agreement to have a bill before the Senate today, I will put forward the President's budget and we will have a debate. I want to make it very clear, as I think we are hearing from both sides, that this budget is not real. This budget does not do anything to balance the budget for the next 7, 10, 20, or 30 years.

Get that out of the way. Get the politics and the charades and the broken promises out of the way. Deal with the facts. The fact is, Mr. President, if you want to balance the budget, get up here and do it. Quit running around the country campaigning on what you do not have, not telling the truth to the public about your budget, and get up here where the action is, where history is being made, and make a difference.

Serve your Presidency, not your reelection.

I yield the floor.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may speak up to 10 minutes as in morning business, ending before the 12 clock deadline.

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

### THE BUDGET

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, we have heard much debate this morning, I think healthy debate, about the budget that is working its way through the House and through the Senate. I sit on the Budget Committee. This afternoon we were told by the Republicans that we will have our meeting where we will then act on the budget bill. As a matter of fact, we are going to meet in about an hour and a half.

I worked very late last night and I never got a copy of the budget. I started work very early this morning and I do not have a copy of the budget. And the American people need to understand that this budget is not just about numbers. It is about changing laws.

For example, in that budget, national standards for nursing homes are repealed. Changes in the laws are made so it will cost students more for college loans. Tax laws are being changed so the working poor will have to pay more taxes. Indeed, 51 percent of the people of America will pay more taxes because of this budget. And they all are on the middle-income to the poor level of our society. Champagne bottles are being chilled in penthouses all across the country—except in those where someone has a conscience. Because if somebody can explain to me why people who earn millions of dollars a year deserve a tax break, I am ready to listen, when we are trying to balance the budget.

The attack on elderly in our country is extraordinary. When I was growing up I learned some basic values. My parents said you have to work hard, you have to play by the rules, you have to respect your elders and honor your children.

This Republican budget is a slam at every one of those values. We are attacking the working poor. We are raising taxes on people who work so hard to bring home \$30,000 a year or less, and we are hurting those people. Honor work? We are cutting \$270 billion out of Medicare. We need to cut \$89 billion, we are told by the experts, to make it sound and whole. But the Republicans are cutting \$270 billion out of Medicare

and funneling it into the tax cut for the rich—the Republican funnel plan.

Medicaid—repealing nursing home standards so it is easier for nursing homes to make more money, folks. That is what it is about. Why else would you do it? You do not have to be very old to remember the days in the 1980's when the scandals erupted about nursing homes. We found our senior citizens were being drugged, overdosed on drugs so they could be controlled in the nursing homes. They were being scalded in hot baths. They were being sexually abused. They had bedsores. They were lying in their own excrement.

Well, I made a pledge to my magnificent and beautiful mother, whom I love, a few years ago who spent her last days in a nursing home after she had spent down every penny she had, and all of her dignity, that I would not let this budget go by without telling the American people the truth, that the profits of the nursing homes will not be put over the well-being of the elderly in our society, those who have given birth to us, those who have nurtured us, those who worked so hard so we could get an education. My mother never graduated from high school, and she sacrificed so both her children could go to college.

Is this what the American dream is about? Is this what family values is about? Well, maybe it is popular to vote for that budget. Maybe I am out of step. Maybe compassion is out of fashion. Maybe respecting your elders is out of fashion. Maybe believing in your children is out of fashion. But not for this Senator. Six million people voted to bring me here, and I am going to stand up and I am going to fight. If it is popular, it is, and if it is not, it is not. That is OK, too.

The Republicans have put their budget on a fast track—no time. You tell me why we have to be on Friday afternoon waiting for the numbers when we could take this budget home over the weekend, examine it, and know what the heck we are doing on Monday morning. I will tell you why, folks. They want this budget to slip through with the least notice possible. They do not want the American people to understand it. And President Clinton is going to veto it. He is going to veto their budget. He is going to say no to their budget. And he might do it in the name of his mother, a nurse who healed the sick, a woman who died of breast cancer, who believed in the values of this society. He is going to veto this budget. This budget is not in any way including those American values that we learned when we were growing up; to honor our elders, to believe in our children.

Do we have to do this to balance the budget? We do not. That is not even an argument. I voted for two balanced budgets in the Senate—one by Senator BRADLEY and one by Senator CONRAD. As a matter of fact, they cut even deeper into the deficit than that which the

Republicans have produced. But they contained within them some values—family values, American values, compassionate values, commonsense values.

So this is not about balancing the budget. We all want to balance the budget. We all voted for various amendments that would do that. It is about how do you get there and who gets rewarded and who gets hurt. I know this is a cynical time in America. I know it is a cynical time. When a Republican stands up, they do not believe the Republican. When a Democrat stands up, they do not believe the Democrat. Look at the numbers. Read the law. That is why they are rushing these things through. They do not want you to see the numbers. They do not want you to read the law. They do not want you to know the nursing home standards are repealed. They do not want you to know they are going to charge people who are waiting for their child support a fee to collect that child support. Imagine. A woman is desperate for her child support. They finally get it. They are going to make them pay a fee. For what? To give \$5,500 a year back to people who earn over \$350,000 a year. Have they no shame? Have they no values?

We have a funnel Medicare plan. It funnels the money from Medicare right to the hands of the rich. We have a Medicaid plan that I call the Dr. Kavorkian plan. I am not doing it to scare people. I am doing it because it is the reality. I told you what these nursing homes looked like before. And I will tell you, when faced with that choice, what would you do?

We put a lot of pressure on NEWT GINGRICH, and he finally changed the spousal impoverishment law that he tried to do away with. We are looking at whether or not he really saved it. But can you believe they were ready to do that, too? They were ready to say to an elderly man who put his loving wife of 60 years into a nursing home that he could not keep his house, he could not keep his car, and he could not keep his \$1,200 a month; the Government was going to go after it before his wife could get help in that nursing home. Family values? I do not think so.

So I am going to walk into that Budget Committee this afternoon, and I am going to talk about the values that I have as a daughter of an immigrant mother who never went to high school but who is as smart as anyone in this Chamber. I am going to talk about the sadness I feel that America is turning its back on who we are and what made us great as a nation. But I am also going to fight.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota is recognized.