

have an AK-47 to the President's head, saying, "You will accept a \$20 billion cut in school lunches; you will accept a \$40 billion cut in education; you will accept a \$270 billion cut in Medicare; you will accept a \$182 billion cut in Medicaid; you will accept a \$32 billion cut in the earned-income tax credit; you will accept a \$245 billion tax cut for the wealthy."

People on this floor stand up and solemnly talk about a tax credit for our children. Let me tell you about the tax credit for our children. The people who work in this country who have children do not get it. If that is the House Speaker's idea of a revolution, deliver me from it. I hope the Speaker keeps using that term revolution. It scares people. It scares me.

When I hear people talking about a revolution, I might also say there are a lot of people who have never received the full benefits from the first revolution. And an awful lot of them do not want the benefits of his revolution, including me.

This is not about who wants a balanced budget. This is who believes in elemental values of fairness. What the reconciliation bill says is: Eight percent of the people cheat. Let us kill the whole program. Put another 1 million people in poverty by adopting the welfare reform bill. Educate 1 million fewer children in college by cutting student loans and student grants. So far as that child tax credit is concerned, Mr. President, listen to this. They act as though the parent of every child in America is going to get a \$500 tax credit. Mr. President, there are 5 million households in this country, with 11 million children, that will receive part or all of the \$500 tax credit.

Listen to this. There are 8 million households with 15 million children who will not get one dime, not even a nickel. Who are they? Who are these 15 million children? I will tell you precisely who they are. They are the people who ought to get a tax cut because they are from the families who do not make enough money to even pay income tax. A husband and wife that make \$20,000 a year and pay no tax won't benefit from the so-called family tax credit. If you pay no tax, you get no refund. What kind of value is that?

I have never seen so much political chicanery in my life. It is scary. Some of the things that have gone around here have been absolutely shameless.

I know exactly where we are headed. We are headed to the point where the people in this country are beginning to get nervous about the Speaker's revolution. They are uneasy.

I tell you, the election a week ago yesterday was not that big a deal. We Democrats got some satisfaction out of it. To me, that election just simply said we are not sure this is what we voted for in 1994. We want a balanced budget but we did not know you were going to assault the elderly and the poor children by cutting school lunches, by cutting education funds, by

cutting funds for the elderly, by a \$182 billion cut in Medicaid which affects the health care of the poorest children in America. Mr. President, the Republican budget would impose a \$2.6 billion Medicare cut on my little State of Arkansas. I promise you we will be lucky to even have a program worthy of the name Medicaid. We cannot do it if you cut \$2.6 billion, and for what? For this miserable, for this awful \$245 billion tax cut which the wealthy do not want and which the poor will not receive.

So I can see it coming now. The polls are going to continue to show the President doing very well and the people getting terribly upset about what we have done here. So what will happen? We will bring up desecration of the flag. That will take their mind off of it. Everybody loves the flag. And everybody is for prayer in school, so we will bring up prayer in school. That will get their mind off of it.

Is it not interesting? I have fought a line-item veto ever since I have been in the Senate, and this year I lost. We passed a line-item veto, and what happens? There happens to be a Democrat in the White House and we cannot get anything done.

What about term limits? Everybody was for term limits as long as the Democrats were in charge. Now all of a sudden term limits are not such a hot idea. I wonder if that has anything to do with the Republicans gaining majorities in the House and Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair would like to remind the Senator from Arkansas he has consumed 10 minutes.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I yield myself—we have 18 minutes remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. You have 17 minutes 45 seconds.

THE FACTS

Mr. SANTORUM. I yield myself 9 minutes.

Mr. President, sitting here I was planning on what I was going to say, and talk about how we were going to balance the budget over the next 7 years. It is very difficult to sit here and listen to some of the inaccuracies that were being put forward on the floor. It is amazing to me. We should have a debate that talks about what the facts really are.

The Senator from Arkansas said 15 million children are not going to benefit as a result of the child tax credit. What he did not tell you is those 15 million children have parents who pay no income tax. In fact, the majority of those—first, for all of those 15 million children, their parents receive an earned-income tax credit, most of which is not to pay them for the income tax they pay. They paid no income taxes. But it is to pay them for

their Social Security taxes that they pay. And in the majority of cases it is to give them money beyond even their Social Security taxes. So, to suggest we should then give them an additional \$500, it is how much welfare you want to provide?

What we have done is, people who earned the earned-income tax credit and who pay no taxes, they are going to be at least as well off, if not better off than what they would be under current law. Those who do pay taxes will get a \$500 tax credit, or a portion thereof, depending how much they pay in taxes. If they only pay \$300 in taxes they will get a \$300 tax credit.

Again, I guess it is statistics. There are lies, damned lies, and statistics. There is a statistic that, if you listen, on the face you would say, "Boy, this is not fair. We are not helping out the poor folks here in this country who need help."

Wrong. We have the earned-income tax credit that does just that. This is for families who pay taxes. That is what the tax credit is for, for families who pay taxes. I just wanted to set the record straight on that.

I would like to step back and take a look at where we are right now. Where are we? The Government is shut down. What does that mean? That means all nonessential personnel are not showing up for work and have not been showing up for work. I found it somewhat remarkable that 99 percent of the Department of Housing and Urban Development are nonessential. That makes you think about what they do over at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, that 99 percent of them are not essential. Mr. President, 89 percent of the Department of Education are not essential and 67 percent of the Department of Commerce are not essential.

One has to stop here and think. If all this is so important, how can the Department of Housing and Urban Development, almost everybody there—the only reason it is not 100 percent at HUD is because political appointments are deemed essential. Other than that, I guess everybody at HUD could go home.

This is where we are. Government is shut down. Why? I can tell you in a word why. It is because the President of the United States has refused to come to the table and negotiate on how to balance the budget. That is what this all about, all this clamor, Medicare this and that. The Senator from Wyoming was completely eloquent on the demagoguery that is going on with the Medicare part B premiums. But the bottom line is the reason Republicans and Democrats have not sat down at a conference to get a balanced budget resolution to the floor is just that the President of the United States has simply refused to participate in those discussions.

No one on the other side of the aisle has offered any kind of hope that they are willing to participate themselves in

this discussion to get to a balanced budget. Oh, you hear that I am for a balanced budget. Everybody is for a balanced budget. But wishing does not make it so. You have to make decisions. You have to come to a conclusion on how we are going to do it.

All we are trying to get from the President right now in a CR, which is the spending bill that we are going to be considering probably later tonight, is a commitment from the President that he will agree in the next few days to sit down and negotiate a balanced budget over the next 7 years using real numbers—not phony, rosy scenario numbers, not gimmicks, not smoke and mirrors, but the real thing, the thing he said he was going to use. That is what we said we wanted. That is not much.

That is exactly what the Senator from Arkansas said he is for. He is for a balanced budget. Let us get a balanced budget. Let us do what we promised the American public. Let us do what President—then candidate—Clinton promised the American public, that he had a plan to balance the budget in 5 years. Three years have gone by—no balanced budget. And how about 10 years? That is what it has been since the President said he could do it in five. That is all we are asking. That is where we are. I know there is a lot of confusion out there.

The Senator from Arkansas is correct. The people are being scared to death out there. If I listened to the Senator from Arkansas very long, I would be scared too. You would think everything is going to collapse around here. Well, the fact of the matter is that most of America has gone on pretty well the last couple of days. Life is OK. And we have a serious problem. Those of us who are here trying to solve that problem believe it is important to stand our ground and to do what is right—which is a balanced budget. That is not to say that we should not compromise. We should. We should sit down and discuss a balanced budget over the next 7 years. We will sit down with the President. We will assess his priorities. He will assess ours. But we need to do that. We need to sit down and start negotiating on how we are going to get there.

My goodness, we owe it. I have three young children, a 4-year-old, a little boy who is going to turn 3 this weekend, and a 5-month-old little boy. I cannot go home every night and look at them. I just cannot go home and look at them and say, "Well, we are going to continue to spend more money. You are going to have to work more hours with probably less take-home pay than people are making today and have less opportunity, less chance for advancement, because I just could not make tough decisions because I was afraid that someone was going to vote against me or the polls said, you know, people do not like what we are doing. I am sorry. If anybody in this country who has listened to this

can look at their children or grandchildren and say that extra \$5 a month means your future, that is just that important to me, I do not think anyone can do it.

This is a historic time in our country. I had a gentleman who saw me outside on the way in. He has been sitting up in the galleries biting his tongue for the last 3 days listening to all of this. He suggested in a letter that he gave me that we should do what the Founding Fathers did in Philadelphia when they were working on the U.S. Constitution, that we should take a day off, sit and ask God to help us and intervene, and we should pray about it, and we should have a reconciliation. Maybe that is a good idea. Maybe we should get rid of all this rhetoric around here—all of these charges and countercharges—and think about what this country was founded upon. Think about how important this great experiment is to the world, and how all of this politics—that is what it is, folks; this is just all politics being played—how all this just is not necessary.

We are not that far apart. I mean, we really are not. It is amazing, if anybody—I do not know if any of the news publications have done this—would take a look at where the President wants to go, at least his public statement, and where we want to go. The Senator from Wyoming said we are seven-tenths of 1 percent away on Medicare spending. I mean, that is a few billion dollars a year out of a program that is a \$250 billion program. You do not think we can come together on something? Of course we can.

Welfare reform—I have been working on welfare reform for 3 years on this bill. We have a bill in conference that is very similar to the Senate bill, one that the Senate passed 87 to 12, and one that the President said he would sign. That is going to be in the reconciliation bill. It is something he should sign. We are not far apart. There may be a few minor differences in welfare, but not substantial. It has everything the President campaigned on. It is in that bill. Tax cuts—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair reminds the Senator from Pennsylvania—

Mr. SANTORUM. I will take 45 additional seconds.

We are close together on tax cuts. He says he wants a tax cut for middle-income families. I talked before. We say EITC increases for next year and the year after. That is included in our budget, with the exception of families that do not have children. But if you have a child, you are going to get those increases.

We have a middle-income tax. Ninety percent of our tax cut goes to people under \$100,000.

I think my friend from Wyoming may have a good idea. We ought to start thinking about what our calling is here and the great experiment that we have in this country, and can the politics. Let us get down to the substance, be-

cause on the substance we agree. We are not far apart, and we hope we agree that balancing the budget is the best thing for this country.

I yield the remainder of my time.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I understand that I have 7 minutes. I ask unanimous-consent that I be granted 3 additional minutes and 3 additional minutes on that side as well.

Mr. SANTORUM. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. President. That just shows you the kind of cooperative spirit we have when the Senator from California asks for 3 additional minutes and that the unanimous-consent request asks for an additional 3 minutes for the other side. That that would be objected to is extraordinary.

Mr. COATS. Will the Senator yield?

Mrs. BOXER. On your time. I only have 7 minutes.

Mr. COATS. We were informed that an agreement was made with the leaders, the majority and minority leaders, that an hour of time would be allocated, 30 minutes to each side, and that Senator DOLE would then recess.

May I suggest that the Senator from California take her 7 minutes. We will check to see if that can be extended, and perhaps additional time can be added on, an equal amount on each side, while she is speaking.

(Mr. SANTORUM assumed the chair.)

Mrs. BOXER. I thank my friend very much because I do not think 6 minutes in a day like today is going to make or break the U.S. Senate. That is why I asked equally for each side.

Mr. COATS. It may not. But since there was an agreement between the leaders, we have to check with them.

Mrs. BOXER. I absolutely have no problem with that at all. I thank the Senator very much.

RECONCILIATION AND THE BUDGET

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, when you took to the floor, you talked about your obligation to your children. I relate to that very much because I raised two of them, and now I am a grandmother. That is what this debate is all about. You are exactly right. It is about our children, and it is about what life in America is going to be like for them.

I grew up in the years when I was able to get the American dream. I came from a very middle-class family. Actually, my mother never graduated from high school, and I am in the Senate because I got a free education, because I played by the rules of the game, because I had a community that was safe to grow up in and a caring community it was. I grew up in an inner city.