

is a very loving person with a great smile, but functions roughly at the level of a 12 month old. He currently lives in a group residence and goes to a day habilitation program during the week. Both of these programs are funded in part by Medicaid. If Medicaid funds are cut, I worry that the day-hab program will not be able to continue or, at the least, will operate at a much reduced level. This would seriously degrade the quality of Adam's life. I worry what will happen at his already understaffed residence.

As it is, the staff at Adam's residence and day-habilitation programs are paid very little wages to do very tough jobs. Because of this, there is already a constant problem of finding enough people to staff these. . . . jobs if they are paid less or have to do even more work because of lower staffing levels[.]

The prospect of what is coming scares me. What will my son's life be like?

Thank you for writing, Michael. I appreciate it. I will be out there fighting for Adam. I hope we can get a lot of people in the Senate to do that as well. Thank you.

We also heard from Daniel Mumbauer, who is president of the High Point Treatment Center in Massachusetts. Daniel has experienced firsthand how Medicaid funds can change the lives of thousands of people in Massachusetts alone. This is what Daniel wrote:

On behalf of High Point Treatment Center, I am writing to urge and request your support in protecting the Affordable Care Act and preserving Medicaid expansion in the 115th Congress.

High Point served over 30,000 individuals last year. We provide substance use disorder and mental health services to adolescents and adults.

Recent health insurance data show that Americans with mental health and substance use disorders are the single largest beneficiaries of the Affordable Care Act's Medicaid expansion. Nearly one in three who receives health insurance coverage through Medicaid expansion either has a mental illness, a substance abuse disorder, or both. By repealing the Medicaid expansion, this population of vulnerable Americans would be left without access to lifesaving treatment, driving up costs in emergency department visits and hospital stays.

I am also writing to urge your support for the protection of the Medicaid program from proposals to restructure Medicaid as a block grant or capped program. These proposals would reduce federal investment in Medicaid and leave millions of Americans without access to needed mental health and addictions treatment in our communities. Please work with your colleagues to protect our nation's most vulnerable patient population and preserve their access to treatment.

Thank you, Daniel. Thank you very much for writing, and thank you for the work you do.

Congressman MULVANEY wants to eviscerate health programs that would help Michael's son and the thousands who are treated at the High Point Treatment Center. That is exactly the opposite of what we should be doing.

I have also heard from many constituents worried about losing their Social Security benefits under the new administration, like Kensington from Hatfield, who is terrified that his mother, who depends on Social Security, will lose her benefits. Here is what he wrote:

Last night scared me for the first time. My mother is 69 and depends on Social Security for her income and has severe COPD and relies on medicare and medicaid for prescriptions and medical supplies to help her breath[e]. She was crying and is afraid of losing everything and that she will die. I know it's extreme thinking, but without her medicine and income it is unfortunately the truth. I didn't know what to say to comfort her and that scared me! What can I say to ease her mind and let her know that she will be OK. Will she be OK?

Thank you, Kensington, for your note. Your mother is right to be worried, and that is why I am fighting this nomination.

I have so many more stories—many, many stories—that I could read, but I am running out of time here.

I want to say that MICK MULVANEY is dangerous to the American people, and he is dangerous to the Federal Government. He will slash programs right and left without worrying about the living, breathing people whom he is hurting in the process. That is why I will be voting against his nomination as Director of the Office of Management and Budget and why I urge my colleagues to do the same.

Let's make sure that MICK MULVANEY never ends up as the head of the Office of Management and Budget, never is in a position to put together a budget to cut Medicare and cut Medicaid. Let's make sure that we keep our government, our Medicare, our Medicaid, and our Affordable Care Act working for the American people. That is what I will keep fighting for.

Mr. President, I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TOOMEY). The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. President, every day we continue to set new records for how long it takes for the new President to get his Cabinet in power—in office—and the responsibility to carry out the things that the President said that he wanted to do when he was elected.

In the great history of confirming people, from the Garfield administration in the 1880s until Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, the entire Cabinet in that whole period of time was confirmed on the first day. Now we are in the longest period in the history of the country since George Washington was President to try to get a Cabinet in place, not to mention all of the other jobs that go along with confirming the Cabinet. It is a good thing and no wonder that a few years ago the Senate looked at the numbers of people we had taken responsibility to confirm and said: Now, which of those do we really have to confirm and which of those would we only confirm if someone in the Senate believes we have to have a hearing on that level of person and that agency at that time?

We tried to streamline a process that we all know needs to be streamlined, but with only a couple of exceptions, every nominee so far has been the most dangerous nominee of all time for whatever job it is. There must be fill-in-the-blank speeches back there some-

where that go from one to the next: This would be the worst person who could ever possibly hold this job.

In the case of Congressman MULVANEY, it appears to be because he wants to try to do things that allow our entitlement programs to survive; he wants to do things that allow the deficit at some point to be eliminated. And no matter what point that is, that point would be too early for some of our friends on the other side.

Interestingly, as we talk about the Affordable Care Act, which has turned out to be very unaffordable for almost any family on the individual market and many families who had insurance that worked for them before—the Affordable Care Act cut Medicare in the plan by \$500 billion over 10 years. We hear speaker after speaker on the other side say: We would never do anything to cut Medicare. I argued vigorously against those cuts when they occurred.

As we move forward, I think we ought to be very thoughtful that we restore the cuts in areas where clearly it is not working the way people thought the Affordable Care Act would work. The person in charge of the numbers, the person in charge of the balance sheet, the person who calculates the costs should be someone with the capacity to do that. The President has decided, and the Senate, when finally allowed to vote, will determine that person is Mr. MULVANEY.

NOMINATION OF SCOTT PRUITT

Mr. President, the other thing we hope to do this week is to get to the EPA Administrator. I have a hard time imagining that anybody had more future damage lined up for the economy than the past Administrator of the EPA. Rules like the clean power rule—all these rules almost always have a good name. Clean power, who wouldn't be for that? I am certainly for clean power, but the clean power rule, in virtually every State in the country, would have increased utility rates from the middle of the State of Pennsylvania to the western edge of at least Wyoming, if not beyond that.

Fifty percent of the power produced by coal-powered utility plants, most of which are cleaner than any utility plants that use coal have ever been or are anywhere in the world today, many of which are almost new, many of which aren't paid for—and, of course, who pays for that utility plant, whether you use it or not? It is the family who pays the utility bill. There is no mythical somebody else who will pay this bill. So if you shut down a plant sooner than you should, somebody has to pay for that.

You could write those same rules if your goal were to eliminate coal. That is a different debate. It is a debate we could have at another time. If your goal were to eliminate coal, you could write those same rules. If the rule simply said: When the utility plants you are using right now, which meet all the current standards, which are, in many cases, the cleanest coal-fired plants

that have ever been built or are being used anywhere in the world today—when that plant is paid for, here is what you have to do next. Then, when you get your utility bill, you are not paying for the plant you are not using and also paying for the plant you are using. This would be as if there were a new standard—this is the EPA view of this—on automobile mileage, and that standard came out and said: Here is what automobiles have to look like, in terms of standards, on miles per gallon, and, by the way, you have to have that car or that truck right now. If you have a truck or car that you are already driving that doesn't meet that standard, you can't drive it any longer. Of course, you still have to pay for it, but you can't drive it any longer. We have been doing mileage standards in this country that have made a significant difference for a long time, but we have never said: You have to stop driving the car you are driving, and you have to buy a new car. And, of course, you have to pay for the car you are driving or the bank is unlikely to give you the loan for a new car. But that is what the EPA said in the clean power rule.

There is a commonsense way to do things, and the next nominee we will be dealing with, Attorney General Pruitt, is a commonsense guy. He has had great responsibility as attorney general, but he has been willing to challenge these rules that didn't make sense.

On the clean power rule, by the way, Missouri is the fourth biggest user of coal-produced energy. Projections were that the average Missouri utility bill under that rule, if it had been allowed to go into effect—still in the courts because the courts say that EPA really doesn't have the authority to do that; at least the lower courts have all said that. If that had been allowed to go into effect, the average Missouri utility bill would have doubled in 10 or 12 years. It is not hard for a family to figure out. Get your utility bill out, look at it, multiply it by two, and see what happens to the things you were doing before you had to pay, in effect, a second utility bill.

It is time that these agencies had some common sense, whether they are agencies that are being evaluated by the Office of Management and Budget or agencies that are being tasked by the Congress and the President to do certain things. It is time they thought about families. It is time they thought about jobs.

If the economy of the country is better next year, the country will be stronger 25 years from now. I think we spend a lot of time thinking about what America should look like 25 years from now instead of what we can do so that families have better jobs next month and next year. It is time we got some common sense into trying to reach the goals we want to reach, rather than coming up with goals and then reaching them in a way that clearly will not work.

The waters of the United States—that is not a bad title. Water is important. Waters of the United States is important. The EPA talked about the waters of the United States and decided to take a definition that the Federal Government has used for well over 150 years. By the way, the EPA was given control of navigable waters in the Clean Water Act and decided that navigable waters aren't just what for 150 years the Federal Government said they were—from 1846 until just a couple of years ago, more than 150 years—which was something you could move a product on, which meant interstate commerce, which meant the Constitution gave that responsibility to the Federal government, but they said: That is actually any water that could run into any water that eventually could run into navigable waters. That is what the Clean Water Act said when it said the EPA could regulate navigable waters.

This is a Farm Bureau map that has been available for a long time but that the EPA never did challenge during this debate. Only the red part of our State would be covered by the EPA for anything involving water—things like a building permit or things like whether you can mow the right of way on the highway or things like whether farmers could use fertilizer in their field, even if it were 100 miles away from any navigable water. All of those things under the rule could have been under the authority of the EPA. Let me mention again, only the part of the map that is red would have been covered by the EPA, the part is that 99.7 percent of the map.

We have a lot of caves in our State and a few sinkholes. I think those white dots, the three-tenths of one percent, are some combination of caves and sinkholes where the water appears to run right back into the middle of the earth, instead of into any water. What a ridiculous rule. It is the kind of rule that the Office of Management and Budget should challenge whenever they are asked to look at the cost-benefit analysis. It is the kind of rule that a reasonable Administrator at the EPA would never let be issued. In fact, I would say it is the kind of rule that this Congress eventually, hopefully, will take this responsibility back and say: We have to vote on these rules. We have to take responsibility for things that cost families their extra income and cost people their jobs.

As we get along with the business of confirming MICK MULVANEY to the Office of Management and Budget—and then after that and before we leave this week—Attorney General Scott Pruitt to be the Administrator of the EPA, hopefully both of them will use common sense as their guideline. Both of them will look at, What does this really mean to hard-working families? What does this mean to struggling families? What does this mean to single-mom families? What does this mean to young families who are trying to figure

out how they can save for the future of their kids' college or even summer camp? A lot of things go away if you double the utility bill. A lot of things go away if it takes a year to get a building permit. A lot of things go away if we don't have common sense in our government.

I think this nominee, MICK MULVANEY, and the next nominee, Scott Pruitt, both bring that common sense to the jobs they have been asked to do and have agreed to do, if confirmed by the Senate.

I see my friend from Massachusetts is here.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GARDNER). The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. President, I thank my friend from Missouri, and the Senate, for giving me this opportunity to speak. I rise to speak in opposition to the nomination of Representative MICK MULVANEY to be Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Congressman MULVANEY represents the latest of President Trump's broken promises to the American people. In this case, it is President Trump's campaign promise to protect Social Security, and Congressman MULVANEY is the man who will lead the charge. The Office of Management and Budget, OMB, as it is called, is like that group of scientists in the movie "Apollo 13" who have to figure out how to bring the spacecraft home with only a few items found in a couple of boxes. In the movie, they describe it as fitting a square peg in a round hole. In government, we call it the Federal budget.

The crucial role of OMB and the development of the Federal budget means that the Director often has the final word on the priorities of our Federal agencies. The Director must be someone who will approach the enormity of the Federal Government in a thoughtful and deliberative manner. They must be able to consider how the budget will impact the everyday lives of all Americans.

Representative MULVANEY's support for reckless, across-the-board cuts demonstrates that he is not up to this challenge.

Donald Trump campaigned on the promise that he would make no cuts to the Social Security safety net. That means no cuts to Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. Congressman MULVANEY's nomination shows that, despite what candidate Trump may have said, President Trump intends to do just the opposite. This is not what millions of people voted for. MICK MULVANEY's nomination has Americans across the country fearful for their futures, and they have every right to be scared.

Congressman MULVANEY represents an immediate threat to Social Security. He represents a threat to the 1.2 million seniors in Massachusetts who currently rely on Social Security. He represents a threat to the millions more who expect the program to be

there when they retire in coming years.

MICK MULVANEY has attempted to declare Social Security unconstitutional and has referred to the program as a Ponzi scheme. Well, Social Security is not a Ponzi scheme. Social Security is not a handout. Social Security is a promise we make to America's seniors after decades of hard work. It is the commitment we made to those who built this Nation, fought in wars, and provided for their families. Seniors pay into the system throughout their working lives, and they expect it to be there for them when they retire. We need to keep that promise.

Social Security is not just a line in the budget. It is a lifeline for millions of Americans.

In Massachusetts, the program keeps 295,000 people above the poverty line. Across the country, more than 15 million elderly Americans are able to live out their lives and not be driven into poverty because they have a Social Security check. That is what it does for 15 million Americans. Seniors will have nowhere to turn if President Trump and Representative MULVANEY have their way and Social Security ceases to exist. Congressman MULVANEY has repeatedly suggested raising the Social Security retirement age to 70 years old. Let me repeat that. MICK MULVANEY wants grandma and grandpa to wait until they are 70 years old—that is 4 years older than the current retirement age—before they can call upon the benefits they deserve.

Not only does MICK MULVANEY want to make it so Americans have to work longer, he wants them to receive less when they finally do retire. At his Budget Committee hearing, MICK MULVANEY said that he himself was willing to be subject to these new rules, since they might require him to work a couple of extra months before retirement and require his children to work until they are 70.

Nothing could be more out of touch with working-class, blue-collar workers across our country. I have no doubt that MICK MULVANEY would be able to work a few extra years in his current role as a Congressman or Director of OMB or a great job that he would get after those responsibilities, but what about millions of construction workers, carpenters, waitresses, gardeners, busdrivers, and others with physically demanding jobs? My father, a milkman—how many years can you work being a milkman? You have to go until you are 70 to receive a Social Security benefit in this country in the future? That is the challenge we have. We ask milkmen, we ask 69-year-old construction workers to lay cement in blistering summer heat because Social Security is no longer there when it is promised. Do we expect a 68-year-old window washer to climb the scaffolding every day when they cannot afford to retire without their Social Security benefits? We should not balance the budget on their backs. That is just plain wrong.

Raising the Social Security retirement age is just one of many of President Trump's broken promises. He also wants to cut Medicare and the health care of millions of Americans. Congressman MULVANEY looks ready to do the President's bidding as well.

Congressman MULVANEY has said we need to end Medicare as we know it and supported House Speaker PAUL RYAN's destructive ideas to turn Medicare into a voucher program. Congressman MULVANEY went even further saying that those efforts did not go far enough. Those kinds of cuts to Medicare would be nothing short of a disaster for the 55 million Americans enrolled in the program, including the more than 1 million individuals in Massachusetts who rely on Medicare for their health care needs.

Seniors deserve an OMB Director who will protect their health care, not put it on the chopping block. We know Congressman MULVANEY is deeply committed to these misguided ideas because we have seen how far he is willing to go to support them. He was one of the few key cheerleaders of the Republican government shutdown in 2013. He was willing to put millions of American families, businesses, and services at risk in order to defund the Affordable Care Act.

That shutdown cost the United States more than \$24 billion. At that time, Congressman MULVANEY said it was good policy. He said it was all worth it in order to prove a point. That simply is irresponsible. That kind of recklessness has no place in the Office of Management and Budget. Congressman MULVANEY also does not believe in raising the debt limit.

Back in 2011, he put the economy at risk when Republicans held our debt limit hostage. He put the full faith and credit of the United States in danger by his willingness to allow the Treasury to default. That would have wreaked havoc on the financial markets and could have destabilized our entire economy, but Congressman MULVANEY dismissed these concerns and called the potential breach of the debt limit a fabricated crisis. Nothing could be more fiscally irresponsible and further from the truth.

Congressman MULVANEY is not the type of leadership Americans expect in their government, and he is not the type of leadership needed to direct the Office of Management and Budget. Strong leadership is especially crucial at the Office of Management and Budget, where responsible oversight of the regulatory process is a requirement of the Director's job. The individual in charge must be willing to make fair determinations based on facts and evidence.

Congressman MULVANEY's record gives me no confidence that he will meet this standard. Congressman MULVANEY also dismisses accepted science and rejects established facts. He has stated global warming is based on questionable science and has out-

right dismissed the threat that climate change imposes on the planet. OMB oversees agencies' use of the social cost of carbon, the Federal metric that assigns a dollar value for future damages to each ton of carbon dioxide emitted into the atmosphere. We need an OMB Director who accepts the consequences of climate change because it will be the most vulnerable in our society who will pay the highest price if we ignore climate science and the danger it poses, not only to our own country but to the rest of the planet.

Our country faces serious challenges that require the careful and non-partisan allocation of resources. We need a Director of the Office of Management and Budget who will hear the concerns of all Americans, not promote dangerous fiscal ideologies. Congressman MULVANEY has indicated that he will approach our budget with an ax, and it will be our seniors who will be first on the chopping block. I do not believe he is qualified to lead the Office of Management and Budget.

I do so remembering 1981 and 1982. Ronald Reagan arrived, and Ronald Reagan had a very simple plan for America. He was going to do three things fundamentally; No. 1, massive tax cuts for the wealthiest and biggest corporations in America; No. 2, simultaneously increasing defense spending massively; No. 3, to simultaneously pledge that he was going to balance the budget while unleashing massive economic growth in our country.

What he did then was to put together a team that had a remarkable ability to harness voluminous amounts of information to defend that knowingly erroneous premise. You cannot say you are heading toward balancing the budget if you are simultaneously saying: I am going to give massive tax breaks to those who need them the least and massive defense increases, which are going to further lead to Federal expenditures, because then you have to turn and you have to cut programs. You have to cut Medicare. You have to cut Social Security. You have to cut the EPA. You have to cut Head Start. You have to cut food stamps. You have to cut programs for the poorest. You have to cut all of those investments in science in the future. You have to cut and cut and cut.

That really was not the goal because ultimately Ronald Reagan just retreated from the cuts because the pressure came from across America, but he had accomplished his principal goal, which was the massive defense increases and the tax cuts for the wealthy because that was the real agenda all along.

So there is a great book, "The Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed," by David Stockman. He was the head of OMB for Ronald Reagan back in the early 1980s. He wrote a book in 1986 about his experiences with this failed economic philosophy. It is a blistering, scalding indictment of what they tried to do in 1981

and 1982. He wrote this as a warning to the future, about why we should not try to repeat what Reagan tried to do in 1981 and 1982.

What he talks about in the book is this. The same kind of made-up numbers to put a Panglossian—rose-colored glasses—the most optimistic projection on what would happen to our economy if we had these massive tax cuts and increases in defense spending, while pretending that we were going to do all of these other things, which actually never did occur.

So he said, because the numbers did not add up, they had to engage in a lot of fiscal chicanery. What he did was he constructed two little separate categories. No. 1, he called it the magic asterisk. The magic asterisk was this attempt to avoid ever specifically having to itemize all of the budget cuts that would cause a revolution in America because they knew they could not put that list out.

So they called it a magic asterisk—cuts to be named later, programs to be cut later. We all know the names of those programs—Medicare, Medicaid, education, Environmental Protection Agency, Head Start, all the way down the line—but we will just hide the ball on that.

Secondly, he constructed another idea, he said, which was also fraudulent, which was called “rosy scenario.” What they would do is, they would put together a group of economists who would then, using completely bogus projections for the future, project massive economic growth. That is what Donald Trump talks about now: Oh, we will see growth that you have never seen before in the history of mankind—rosy scenario.

There is no economic data to back it up, but that is just how much Trump is trying to model himself after this attempt in 1981 and 1982 to sell the exact same bill of goods, which collapsed, by the way. They collapsed like a house of cards economically because it did not add up. You cannot have a magic asterisk for all of these cuts that are never going to happen because ultimately the Democrats are going to back down the Republicans.

We are going to back them down on cutting Medicare. We are going to back them down on cutting education. We are going to back them down on cutting the budget for all of these great programs. We are going to have this battle. They already know it, but it is not going to stop them in terms of the first two programs, the tax cuts and the defense increases. They are going to still try to ram them through. That just creates bigger and bigger and bigger deficits.

The only way they can get away with it is if they can project massive economic growth in our country, which is the “rosy scenario.” Then you have a bunch of economists who are kind of supply-siders who kind of look back at the 1980s and ask: Can't we go back to the Reagan era again and repeat that?

You don't want to repeat it. The guy who put the program together said: Please don't do that again. Please don't do that again. He said here: Ronald Reagan chose not to be a leader but a politician, and in doing so, showed why passion and imperfection, not reason and doctrine, rule the world. “His obstinacy,” said David Stockman, “was destined to keep America's economy hostage to the errors of his advisers for a long, long time.”

Mark Twain used to say that “history doesn't repeat itself, but it does tend to rhyme.” So, yes, this isn't exactly like Ronald Reagan in 1981 and 1982, but it rhymes with 1981 and 1982. It rhymes with it. They are trying to argue economics like lawyers, right? Politicians, PR people. Sell the bill of goods. Donald Trump calls it “truthful hyperbole,” like when he is selling a piece of property. Well, the United States is not a piece of property. The American economy is not a piece of property. It is the central organizing principle for all of the hopes and all of the dreams of every person who lives in our country.

You cannot allow for knowingly false premises to be advanced, and that is what Congressman MULVANEY will represent in this entire process if he is confirmed as the new head of the Office of Management and Budget. He represents someone who is going to reach back into time to this era which has already been shown to have completely failed and repeat the exact same experiment again. The American people just can't run the risk because ultimately the economic catastrophe—the impact on ordinary families—would be so great that ultimately we would look back and say that this Senate failed, that we did not discharge our responsibilities to those families.

So from my perspective, I stand out here knowing that once again we are faced with this prospect of repeating David Stockman's book “The Triumph of Politics: Why the Reagan Revolution Failed” and knowing that when Donald Trump said: Oh, don't worry, I am going to take care of you, ordinary Americans; you are going to get the biggest tax breaks—they are not. That is not his plan.

Oh, don't worry. I am going to give you better healthcare. I am going to give you more coverage for your families.

That is not going to happen. That is not his plan.

I am going to give you cleaner air and cleaner water. It is going to be the best. It is going to be the greatest.

That is not going to happen.

It is the triumph of politics. It is the triumph of the special interests, of the oil and gas industry, of the defense establishment that wants bigger and more contracts, of the wealthiest who want big tax breaks. It is the triumph of politics—the politics of the most powerful, of the wealthiest, of the most entrenched. That is what this Trump administration is already about, and

they are going to continue to say: Don't worry. Your healthcare will be better. Your air will be cleaner. Your children will be safer. Social Security will be protected.

But then who gets named to run the Office of Management and Budget? Somebody who wants to raise the retirement age to 70; someone who wants to fundamentally change Medicare as we know it; somebody who has an agenda that looks a lot like 1981 and 1982 in the Reagan years, very much like it.

So is there anything new here? No. Is this just a sales job, a con job? Yes. Because when you pull back the covers and you look at what is about to unfold, it is something that is going to be very destructive of our economy. It is going to further income inequality across our country. It is going to reduce opportunity for every child in our country. Rather than democratizing access to opportunity through healthcare and education, they are going to work systematically to undermine those opportunities, to reduce the chances that they can maximize their God-given abilities.

That is why this nomination is so important, because the OMB controls the Federal budget. That is all the hopes and all the dreams. That is where the money goes. Who gets it? What are the incentives?

Right now, once again, Donald Trump is embracing Ronald Reagan's trickle-down economics: the more money you give to the people who are already rich, the more it will trickle down to ordinary folks.

We don't hear him saying: Oh, don't worry, the overwhelming majority of these tax breaks are going to go to the blue-collar people in our country. You are not going to hear him say that. And when you look at all the proposals they have made, it always goes to the corporations, it always goes to the upper 1 or 2 percentile.

Those promises he made are just the same as David Stockman's and Ronald Reagan's back in 1981 and 1982—identical almost down to the final detail—and are just as guaranteed to fail.

We have Congressman MULVANEY who has been nominated. And give him credit—he is actually honest about what he believes. He is actually very clear in his explanation of what the goals are going to be for our country if he is confirmed and can partner with Donald Trump to implement this agenda. We give him credit for his honesty, but it is only honesty in saying that he is going to defend a set of economic assumptions that are completely and totally fallacious and have already been disproved in the marketplace—the political marketplace.

So all I can say here is that it would be reckless of the Senate to deliver over to the American people once again someone whose intent is to try to take this formula which gathers voluminous amounts of information to defend knowingly erroneous premises.

You cannot have massive tax cuts and massive increases in defense spending and balance the budget without killing all of these programs that almost every American family relies on, beginning with Social Security and Medicare and Medicaid, education programs, all the way down. We can't do it.

So that is why we are fighting out here. We are fighting to make sure we don't repeat the same history we have already lived through.

By the time Reagan reached near the end of his career, guess what he did. He changed and began to acclimate himself to reality. He began to accept, through a group of new advisers, the actual impact his initial policies were having. And that is all we are trying to do right now. We are trying to start out where we are going to be forced to wind up anyway. Why not do that since we have already learned the lesson? Why not have those lessons of the past be implemented? But no. They are committed to a repetition syndrome, a reenactment of what has already occurred, rather than a reconciliation with history, learning from it and then trying to move forward in a way which is wise, protective of every American.

I stand here to oppose Congressman MULVANEY's nomination for the Office of Management and Budget. I do not believe it would be a good thing for our country, for our economy. This is just too dangerous a roll of the dice with our entire Nation. So I say to the Senate, please vote to reject this nomination, and ask the President to nominate someone who does reflect the best economic values that our country has.

With that, I yield to the Senator from Washington State, Mrs. MURRAY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington.

ANDREW PUZDER

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, before I begin to speak about the nomination before us right now, I did want to comment on the breaking news regarding the nomination of Andrew Puzder.

There is some good news today for workers and women and families in America. Back on the campaign trail, President Trump promised to put workers first, but from the start, it has been pretty clear that his nominee for Secretary of Labor, who has now withdrawn, was a clear signal that President Trump had no intention of keeping that promise, and instead he planned to rig his Cabinet with the staunchest allies for Wall Street—big corporations and special interests—that he could find.

So I am not surprised that when workers and families heard about the pride Mr. Puzder takes in objectifying women, that he called his own workers "the best of the worst," and that his vision for our economy is one in which workers are squeezed so those at the top can boost their profits higher and higher, they said no. They spoke up loud and clear that they want a true champion for all workers in the Labor Department.

I just want to thank all the workers who bravely shared their stories in the last few months. It is clear today that your words are powerful, and I am going to keep bringing your voices here to the Senate, and we will keep fighting.

With that, Mr. President, I wanted to be here today to speak about OMB Director Nominee MULVANEY. I submitted comments on this nomination in the Budget Committee, and I want to bring them to the full Senate today.

I am here today to urge my colleagues to oppose Congressman MULVANEY. Mr. President, we all know that a budget is more than just numbers on a page; a budget represents our values and our priorities, the kind of Nation we are now and the kind of Nation we want to be.

Congressman MULVANEY is not shy about where he stands on this. When I sat down with him a couple of weeks ago, he made it very clear that he would use our budget to radically reshape our country in a way that I believe would be devastating to families, to seniors, to veterans, to the middle class, and to many others.

Congressman MULVANEY has said he wants to make drastic, radical cuts to Federal investments, trillions of dollars across the board. His budget proposals would slash Federal funding for education, leaving students across the country with fewer opportunities to learn and to succeed. They would cut investments in jobs and training, leaving our workers scrambling to keep up with the changing economy. They would eliminate support for children and families who need a hand up to get back on their feet. They would eliminate basic medical research that creates jobs and leads to lifesaving cures. They would continue the work President Trump has done to destroy healthcare in America and create even more chaos and confusion. They would lead to dramatic cuts to Medicare and Medicaid, betraying the commitments we have made to our seniors and so much more. He wants to do that while giving away even more tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations and has proposed raising the Social Security retirement age to 70, causing millions of Americans to drop under the poverty line. In other words, Congressman MULVANEY's nomination is another perfect example of how President Trump is breaking the promises he made on the campaign trail to stand with workers and seniors and the middle class.

Just a few years ago, Congressman MULVANEY was at the fringes of the Republican Party. He is one of the most extreme members of the tea party wing of the party who supported the government shutdown when others were working to end it; who failed to show the proper concern about a potentially catastrophic breach of the debt limit and remains cavalier even now, telling me he would advise the President against accepting a clean debt limit;

who, by the way, isn't even willing to support the budget deal I reached with Speaker RYAN. He is someone whom responsible members of his own Republican Party scorned just a few years ago and whose budget ideas they rejected as damaging, unworkable, and political suicide. But now he is the person whom Republicans are holding up as a budget leader.

As we see this nomination, as we see Republicans use the budget process to slam through a partisan plan to destroy our healthcare system, it is clearer than ever how far the Republican Party has moved, even from the days of our bipartisan budget deal.

Finally, I am extremely troubled by Congressman MULVANEY's failure to pay taxes and comply with the law. I know I am not the only one who has been here long enough to see Cabinet nominees withdraw over less egregious breaches than this. Congressman MULVANEY's motivations, explanations, and defenses have not been credible. It is hard to believe that every single one of my Republican colleagues feels comfortable with someone with such a serious lapse of judgment in charge of the budget of this administration.

I voted against Congressman MULVANEY in the Budget Committee for those reasons and more, and I am here today to oppose his nomination, and I urge my colleagues to do the same. Certainly, we can do better than this.

Thank you, Mr. President, and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, I think Senator MURRAY has said it very well, and I want to pick up on what I think is really at stake with this nomination. In effect, if confirmed, Congressman MULVANEY would be the numbers guy for the Trump team, the architect for the President's fiscal plan for the Nation's future.

I want to start by way of saying that, when you look at the President's promises that he made on the campaign trail to protect Medicare and Social Security from draconian cuts, Congressman MULVANEY's nomination and his record would be one of the biggest bait-and-switch schemes inflicted on America's seniors that I can imagine.

I am going to start by taking a minute to read some of what the President said on the campaign trail. He said:

Every Republican wants to do a big number on Social Security. They want to do it on Medicare . . . and we can't do that. It's not fair to the people.

The President said: "It's my absolute intention to leave Social Security the way it is, not increase the age, but to leave it as-is."

The President said:

You can't get rid of Medicare. Medicare's a program that works . . . people love Medicare and it's unfair to them. I'm going to fix it and make it better, but I'm not going to cut it.