

intends to stand on principle: There has to be a principle there to stand on.

What does he want now? What will convince him to let the Government operate again? We have offered him a clean continuing resolution, if only he will work with us to balance the budget in 7 years. He said he wanted to balance it in 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10—pick one, any one. That, my colleagues, is the sticking point. The administration will not agree to that.

The President would sooner keep the Government shut down than to work with us—while stockpiling mountains of debt upon our children and grandchildren—at least until after November 1996. Then there will be lots of scurried action, you bet, patching together a limping Nation, but not until after November 1996. The President is hung up over a couple of requirements. One is that he does not want to agree in advance to a deadline for a balanced budget. That, very simply, is because he simply has no plans to balance the budget. Thus, he refuses to be held to any standard which would require that this be done.

The other serious problem he has is that if he refuses to adopt the standards which he himself previously had endorsed—even demanded and required—and that is a certification by the Congressional Budget Office. He well knows that if real numbers are used, if the books are not cooked, then none of his own proposals will be judged to balance the budget and will never see the light of day. And he is out, then, on the statement he made at the State of the Union Address a couple of years ago when he said, "Let us use CBO numbers, ladies and gentlemen, no more phony numbers. Let us use Congressional Budget Office." And everybody cheered. What numbers do we use now? OMB. I know that sounds like inside baseball. I call it deception.

That is the problem. The President is saying: Let me cook the books, let me avoid any deadline for balancing the budget, and I will set Government running again. That does not sound like much of a principled stand to me.

Let us try to look at this from the President's point of view for a moment. Consider what would happen if he did agree to try to balance the budget in 7 years, using real numbers, without gimmicks and chicanery in the books, and without assumptions and all the stuff we have seen both administrations use for decades; then he would have to agree with the Congress as to making really tough decisions. Then he would have to take a long, hard look at what is really happening in Medicare, and that it is going broke. His own trustees are telling him that—people he appointed, people of the stature of Robert Rubin, Robert Reich and Donna Shalala. He would have to give up the pretending.

He would have to give up the posturing and the pretending that he is the great defender of unlimited spending on the poor, the elderly, the veteran,

the downtrodden, everybody. He can choose to pose now as their greatest protector because he is held to no standard at all of budgetary responsibility—none. But if the standard is required of him, then suddenly he cannot continue to say what he has been saying, that he can shield these vulnerable folks from evil depredations and balance the books all at the same time.

So that is where we are. This whole Government shut down as a result of a gap between the administration's rhetoric. They claimed to want to balance the budget 18 times in one speech yesterday, and they simultaneously claim that no favorite political constituency in this land, not a single sacred cow, needs to be touched. On the other hand, the reality is that some severe, very tough choices have to be made in order to balance the budget. The American citizens know it, and everybody in this Chamber knows it.

As soon as the administration is held to an honest standard of accountability, this gap will be exposed. And, politically, the administration simply cannot bear to face that. So they are going to keep the Government shut down.

This is a curious version and vision of leadership. The administration will not be able to play this game forever. It will be great for a short period of time. It is going to be a lot of fun. They received a temporary boost from playing the Medicare political card. But I do not think in any long-term way the public will believe that refusal to commit to balancing the budget is any worthy or worthwhile lesson or reason to shut down the Government of the United States for 5 bucks a month on a program that is voluntary, which in any other society would be called an income transfer, because 70 percent of it is paid by Joe Six-Pack, and 30 percent of it is paid by the beneficiary, regardless of their net worth or income. No wonder the people think we are nuts.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

#### A BALANCED BUDGET

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes. There is so much to be said on this subject and not very much time. I want to begin by following up on what my good friend from Nebraska, Senator EXON, said a moment ago. I do hope that we do not have any further abuse of the rules by trying to silence the minority and put in a quorum call and object to it being called off, because there are Senators on this side who want to speak. That is the kind of things they do in Third World nations, Mr. President.

We are a body of Senators who are supposed to be deliberating. We cannot deliberate if we do not get the floor to speak, and we cannot speak when this place is in recess. We all know what is going on here. There is an obvious ef-

fort to silence people. I am not going to be silenced. I am like Patrick Henry—I'm willing to sit here all night to say what I am going to say.

The other thing the Senator from Nebraska brought up is that no Democrat—not one—has been invited to participate in a conference on the so-called budget reconciliation bill. We are not even permitted in the room. The first time, probably, in history, that the minority has been completely shut out of conference. I have only been here 21 years, but it is the first time I have ever seen anything like it in my life. Normally, when the House and Senate pass different versions of a bill, they select conferees—and there are more Republicans when they are in control and more Democrats when we are in control. The conferees resolve the differences between the two bills and they send the conference report to both Houses.

This body is going to be asked to vote on Friday on the budget reconciliation bill, on which not one Democrat has even been offered the opportunity to amend, or even offer an amendment. So when the President says, no, I am not going to accept the Republican so-called 7-year budget balancing act, it is not because he does not favor a balanced budget.

I heard the Senator from Tennessee earlier tonight say that is what all of this is about. I say to all Senators, if that is all this were about, we would be recessed and home by now.

The President wants a balanced budget. The House and the Senate want a balanced budget. The American people want a balanced budget. But the President is not going to sign a bill with garbage on it which has no place on it. And he is not going to sign a bill which commits him to a reconciliation bill that is absolutely devastating to the values of this country.

What are we doing? Here is that sacred document called the Constitution. It is the reason we are still a free nation. What does it say about the Presidency? Just so you will not think I am making this up, I will read it.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal.

The mother tongue is English. I just read, in English, the Constitution which says if the President approves, he will sign it. If he does not approve it, he will send it back.

I will not take the time to read the rest of it, but then it says the bill shall go back to the House where it originated and that House shall vote to override the President's veto by a 67 percent vote. And if they do it, it will be sent to the other House.

What are we doing here? The President vetoed the continuing resolution. There is no effort to override it. They

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