The Acting President pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will proceed to the en bloc consideration of the following concurrent resolutions, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Motions to proceed to Calendar No. 357, S. Con. Res. 39; Calendar No. 356, S. Con. Res. 37; Calendar No. 354, S. Con. Res. 42; Calendar No. 355, S. Con. Res. 44.

The Acting President pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will be 6 hours of debate equally divided between the two leaders or their designees, with the majority controlling the first 30 minutes and the Republicans controlling the second 30 minutes.

The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. Conrad. Madam President, this is a consequential discussion today. It is a question of the future economic policies of the United States. That is what we are talking about here today. I just heard the Republican leader say there is no budget. I don’t know how to say this, but sometimes I wonder if colleagues pay attention to what they are voting on here. Last year in August we did not pass a budget resolution; instead, we passed a budget law.

Anybody who has had 10th grade civics knows a law is stronger than any resolution. The Budget Control Act gave a special committee the authority to reform the tax system and the entitlement system of the country, and it said: If you come to an agreement, special committee, your action will be for the next 2 years, for this year and the next. More than that, it set 10 years of spending caps, saving $900 billion. The Budget Control Act gave a special committee the authority to reform the tax system and the entitlement system of the country, and it said: If you come to an agreement, special committee, your action will be for the next 2 years, for this year and the next. More than that, it set 10 years of spending caps, saving $900 billion. The Budget Control Act gave a special committee the authority to reform the tax system and the entitlement system of the country, and it said: If you come to an agreement, special committee, your action will be for the next 2 years, for this year and the next. More than that, it set 10 years of spending caps, saving $900 billion.

The best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors.

Let’s go back to what happened with the private sector jobs picture. At the end of the Bush administration we were losing 800,000 jobs a month. Now we are gaining 130,000 in the last month. In the months before that, immediately preceding, we were gaining about 200,000 jobs a month. We have had a gain, now that the economy has started to turn around under this President, of 4 million jobs created in the private sector.

Barack Obama was not the President; George W. Bush was the President. The Republican economic policies had been in place in 2001, in 2002, in 2003, and those policies were still in place when we came close to collapse. We do not forget.

What our friends attack the President and say he did not lead—really? He averted the fiscal crisis and the financial crisis. He is absolutely right. We are going to oppose that. Our policies have begun to turn things in the right direction. Here are the positive signs for the U.S. economy:

- 26 consecutive months of private sector job growth;
- 11 consecutive quarters of real GDP growth;
- Unemployment rate down; manufacturing has expanded for 33 consecutive months;
- Consumer confidence is showing signs of improvement—in fact, the last confidence survey, confidence is up at 4-year high;
- U.S. auto manufacturers that were on the brink of bankruptcy under the Bush administration policies, the Republican policies, are now returning to profitability; and State revenues are showing signs of improvement.

One way we can reality-test is how is our economy doing compared to our major competitors. How are we doing compared to the Europeans? How are we doing compared to Japan? How are we doing compared to the United Kingdom? On every one of those tests the United States comes out on top. Our economy is performing better than the European zone—all the European countries combined. We are doing better than Japan. We are doing better than the United Kingdom. This chart shows the story. Our economic growth is the best, compared to our major competitors.

If there is any doubt that Republican policies had us on the brink of financial collapse, we can study what was done by Alan Blinder, the former Deputy Chairman of the Federal Reserve, and Mark Zandi, who advised the McCain campaign on economic policy. The two of them did an analysis of the Federal actions taken to deal with the fiscal crisis and the financial crisis. Here is what they conclude:

We find that its effects on real GDP, jobs and inflation are huge, and probably averted what could have been called Great Depression 2.0.

When our friends attack the President and say he did not lead—really? He averted a depression. He prevented a financial collapse, because that is exactly where we were headed when the Republicans were in control.

Zandi and Blinder went on to write:

When all is said and done, the financial and fiscal policies will have cost taxpayers a substantial sum, but not nearly as much as many have feared and claimed, but as if policymakers had not acted at all. If the comprehensive policy responses saved the economic growth of about 3 percent—a dramatic improvement.

But our Republican friends are not satisfied. They want to take us back to those failed policies that had the economy shrinking at a rate of 9 percent, had us losing 800,000 jobs a month, and we are not going to support that. We are going to oppose that. One thing the Republican leader got right is we are going to be voting against going back to those failed policies that put this economy in the ditch, that put us on the brink of a financial collapse. He is absolutely right. We are going to oppose that.
Is that confusing? It says "in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2012."

The identical language is repeated for 2013:
The allocations, aggregates, and levels set in subsection (b)(2) shall apply in the Senate in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2013.

That is about as clear as it can be. I might add that the Control Act, as I indicated earlier, is stronger than any resolution because a resolution is purely a congressional document. It never goes to the President for his signature. So the Budget Control Act that set the budget for 2012 and 2013 has the force of law, unlike a budget resolution that is not signed by the President.

The Budget Control Act also sets spending limits not just for 2 years but for 10 years. It caps spending for 10 years. It provided the full enforcement mechanisms, including a deeming resolution that allowed budget points of order to be enforced for the appropriations bills that come in this year. The Budget Control Act did something else. It created a supercommittee, a reconciliation-like procedure to address entitlement reform and tax reform backed up by a $1.2 trillion so-called sequester. "Sequester" is just a fancy word for more spending cuts.

The Budget Control Act that is the law said if the special committee didn’t reform the tax system, didn’t reform the entitlement system, that there would be an additional $1.2 trillion of spending cuts imposed on top of the $900 billion. We all know the special committee didn’t reach an agreement, so that additional $1.2 trillion of spending cuts is in place. That is a total of $2 trillion in spending cuts. It is the biggest spending cut package in the history of the United States.

For our friends on the other side to say there are no spending limits in place is just not true. We do have a problem. We have a big problem. This chart talks about the spending and revenue of the United States over the last 60 years and tells us why we have a problem. The red line shows the spending in the United States over that period. The green line shows the revenue. We can see on the chart there is a big gap between the spending and the revenue, and that is why we have deficits.

Our friends on the other side like to refer to one part of the equation. They just like to talk about spending. But the reality is deficits are created by the gap between the revenue and the spending. We can see on this chart we are off the chart or near the edge of spending. We have come off the 60-year high a little bit, and we are at or near a 60-year low on revenue. We have to work both sides of the equation. Again, we are at or near a 60-year high on the spending, and we are at or near a 60-year low on revenue.

So what is to be done about it? The public says we ought to have a balanced plan: 62 percent say the best way to reduce the Federal budget deficit is a combination of additional revenue and spending cuts. Eight percent say we ought to just increase taxes. Seventeen percent say just cut programs.

On the other side of the aisle, as we know from the Bowles-Simpson Commission. There were 18 of us; 11 of the 18 supported the conclusions that called for that kind of approach—additional revenue but also additional spending cuts. That is what these American people want us to do, but that is not what our friends on the other side are proposing. They propose additional tax cuts, to dig the hole deeper before we start filling it in. They say: In addition to that, we will have Draconian spending cuts because if we are going to have more tax cuts that primarily go to the wealthiest among us, and we are trying to reduce the deficit, that means we have to have even more spending cuts.

Let me just say that the budgets our Republican friends are going to be offering today have something in common. Every one of them ends Medicare as we know it. Every Republican budget today offers today cuts Social Security by 39 percent. That is their answer. If we are going to have more tax cuts for the wealthiest among us—and many of them are not paying their fair share of taxes—and if we are going to give them additional tax cuts, trillions of dollars in some cases in these budgets they are presenting today, then how are we going to make it up? Their answer is end Medicare as we know it, and that is in every one of their budgets.

One of them has gone so far as to say: Let’s cut Social Security benefits 39 percent because they are voting on that later today, and we will see who stands behind that proposal.

Every Republican budget cuts taxes for millionaires by at least $150,000 a year. Are you listening? Every Republican budget being offered today cuts taxes for millionaires by at least $150,000 a year on average.

Every Republican budget being offered today protects offshore tax havens.

What are offshore tax havens? This is a picture of a building down in the Cayman Islands. It is an Uglend House. It is a little five-story building down in the Cayman Islands. That building claims to be the home of 18,857 companies, and they all say they are doing business out of that little building down in the Cayman Islands—18,857 companies.

They are not doing business out of those buildings. They are doing monkey business out of that building, and the monkey business they are doing is avoiding the taxes they owe in the United States.

Every Republican budget protects those offshore tax havens. The first House Republican budget plan we will be voting on today is totally unbalanced. There is no revenue. In fact, it
is a lot more tax cuts, $1 trillion of additional tax cuts for the wealthiest in our country. They do cut some things other than taxes; they cut health care by almost $3 trillion. They shift Medi- care to a voucher system which will end up saving $200 billion. They block-grant for Medicaid, going straight after the most vulnerable in our society: children, the disabled, and those who have the least. They cut the safety net for seniors, children, the disabled, which will increase the number of uninsured and may have large cuts to education, energy, and infrastructure. Cutting education doesn’t make a whole lot of sense to me. Talk about eating your seed corn, that is it.

After our House Republican colleagues put out their budget, the Catholic bishops said this in the Washington Post: Bishops say Ryan budget fails moral test.

The House Republican budget authored by Mr. RYAN fails the moral test. It certainly does.

Let’s go to the next slide. This plan cuts discretionary spending $1 trillion beyond what the Budget Control Act did. If you look at priorities, it kind of leaps off the page. Health care cut by almost $3 trillion. It goes from $12.7 trillion to $9.9 trillion.

Then we go to the question of education, where the United States is already lagging. In fact, the United States that is 25th out of 34 OECD countries in math. We are 25th in math. In science we are 17th out of 34. So we are 25th out of 34 in math, and we are 17th out of 34 in science. The budget from the House Republicans says to cut education by 25 percent; cut it by $77 billion to $58 billion. That is a 25-percent cut in education under the House Republican plan.

We have all seen gasoline prices rising. We are thankful they have been easing back in recent days. But, none theless, on May 14 gasoline averaged $3.75 a gallon. What is the Republican answer to rising gasoline prices? Well, let’s cut those energy programs that contribute one dime of revenue to defraying the cost of more than $150,000 a year. It does not make a whole lot of sense to me. Talk about eating your seed corn, that is it.

I want to end where I began. The last time our colleagues on the other side were in charge, when they controlled everything here from 2001 to 2006 and the White House until 2008, their Republican policies led the United States to the brink of financial collapse. The proposals they are making here today are to take us right back to those failed policies. Let’s not let them do that. That would be a mistake for our country and it would be a mistake for the world.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, the fundamental question we as a Nation have to ask is: What are we going to do for the present? What are we going to do for the future? What is our plan for the future? The problem we have in this Senate is that the Democratic majority steadfastly and adamantly refuses to lay out their vision for the future while investing a consistent amount of time and effort in attacking anybody who does. They even voted down their own President’s budget, as bad as it is—the most irresponsible budget ever submitted here, in my opinion.

This is an odd situation we are in, and I will say that our country has never been in more danger financially. Erskine Bowles and Alan Simpson—Senator CONRAD served on their committee—came before the Budget Com- mittee of which I am a member, and told us in a signed statement—that this Nation has never faced a more predictable financial crisis. In other words, the course we are on today is unsustainable. They told us that. They told us it could happen. It was over a year ago that they gave that testimony.

We are in the danger zone financially. I know a lot of people would like to say it is not so, but it is so. Look at this chart. This chart shows the total debt of the eurozone, including the U.K., and the United States. Our debt exceeds that of the eurozone. We have a larger debt than they do. My good friend Senator CONRAD, who is such a fine person, noted that President Bush presided over a period in which our debt increased, and it did increase. The largest debt President Bush ever had was $480 billion in 1 year, which was too large. President Obama has now had a budget that was less than a $1.200 billion deficit, and next year it will be over $1,000 billion again, according to expert testimony. We are on an unsustainable path. So I would note that our $15.5 trillion debt for the United States is greater than the eurozone and the eurozone has a larger population than we do.

Let’s look at this chart, which drives that number home again, in case anybody is worried about it. I am. It shows we have a larger debt than the countries we have been reading about that are in financial trouble, and it hits them sometimes surprisingly, and we never know quite how it is going to hit. But look at this: The debt in Spain, which we know is in a rocky finan- cial position, is $18,000 per person; Portugal, $19,000; France, $33,000; Greece, $38,000—Greece’s debt per person is $38,000, whereas the United States is $44,000. Yes, we have a little larger economy, but this is the danger zone.

A few people were saying we could have a financial problem in 2007 as a result of the bubble in housing. They
warned us that might happen. A lot of people said: Oh, no, not this time; it is different; we have it under control. Yet we had a financial crisis that we haven’t recovered from yet. So I would say we do need to take action.

We need a budget. If we have a budget, why did President Obama comply with the United States Code and submit a budget this year? If we have a budget, why did the House pass a budget? If we have a budget, what does it say about our priorities? Our budget in the Senate is designed to ensure that a budget will be passed. The Congressional Budget Act does not allow a filibuster. Only 51 votes are needed to pass a budget, so why is it being mentioned? Because they want to hide under the table and not stand up and be counted and not address the greatest trouble this Nation has, which is our debt.

I see some of my colleagues here today, and I ask unanimous consent to participate in a colloquy with my colleagues for up to 20 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, I see Senator BLUNT here, who was part of the leadership in the House before he came to the Senate. I know he has a deep understanding of these issues and the place we are in as a Nation today.

I also see Senator THUNE from South Dakota, who is an active member of the Budget Committee and part of the leadership here in the Senate.

I am pleased to yield to Senator BLUNT and ask him how he feels this morning as we move forward today to bring up a series of budgets with no plan from the majority party in the Senate.

Mr. BLUNT. Madam President, I am embarrassed that we are not serious about this issue. Senator THUNE and I served in the House together while the Senator from Alabama was leading in these budget fights in the Senate, and we had a budget every year. We didn’t always vote on a budget, and we never produced a budget. The House has never produced a budget that the Senate and the House could agree on, but the House always had a budget and the Senate always had a budget.

We always complied with the 1974 Budget Act that says we have to have a budget. It says we have to have a Budget Committee and part of the leadership in the Senate would have to lay out a vision for the future and the vision they wanted to sell and could agree on was one the American people wouldn’t like. It wouldn’t be smart. They would reject it. We would add the numbers up and see how much they actually want to increase taxes, how much they are going to increase the debt, how much spending is going to increase. That is not leadership. It is an utter failure of leadership.

In contrast, the Republican House produced a budget that changes the debt course of America. It puts us on a sound path. One can agree with it or disagree with it. We will have other budgets offered today from the Republican side that will have substantial support, that will change the debt course we are on, balance the budget in a certain number of years, and put us on a sound financial path. I expect every one of those budgets to be opposed by every Member on the other side of the aisle. Again, it appears they will unanimously vote down President Obama’s budget and not offer one of their own, directly contrary to the law.

I know the majority leader this morning said: Well, filibuster is our problem. But we can’t filibuster a budget. The Bipartisan Budget Act is designed to ensure that a budget will be passed. The Congressional Budget Act does not allow a filibuster. Only 51 votes are needed to pass a budget, so why is it being mentioned? Because they want to hide under the table and not stand up and be counted and not address the greatest trouble this Nation has, which is our debt.

Frankly, we can’t do our work without a budget. We can’t get spending under control without a budget. We can’t appropriate the way we should without a budget because the budget sets forth how much money we are willing to spend on defense and how much money we are willing to spend on military construction and how much money we are willing to spend on energy. If we don’t have that, we don’t have a starting place.

I have all the respect in the world for my friend from North Dakota, Senator CONRAD, but to be the chairman of the Budget Committee and to have to come to the floor and talk about what is going to happen in November, how some Congressmen submit four different Democratic Congressmen who had a plan. It is easy to find out about what was wrong with the people who had a plan. It is easy to find out what their plan is. It is difficult to find out with his chart the figures representing our debt relative to the countries we sort of laugh at, how irresponsible they are—numbers that I think we ought to look at pretty carefully. When our debt per person is greater than the Greek debt per person—I haven’t seen the front page of a paper in a while that didn’t have something about chaos in Greece on it because they have let their government get bigger than their economy can support. They have let their debt get bigger than the gross domestic product of their country by almost two times, but now we have exceeded our debt by—our debt exceeds our potential to produce goods and services in a year for the first time ever. In fact, in the 3 years we haven’t had a budget, the debt of the country has increased almost $5 trillion, as we have spent over $3 trillion in those 3 years without a budget. Everybody here knows it is unacceptable. And every American family, frankly, who thinks about it knows it is unacceptable.

The Senator’s fight, along with what I am sure has to be Chairman CONRAD’s frustration to not have a budget, could not be a more important topic for us to be talking about today or for the American people to be asking the question: Why not do your job? I know nobody in this Chamber knows as much about the budget, in my opinion, as the Senator does. Your frustration of where this does not allow us to go to do the right things is as great as anybody’s, maybe greater than anybody’s. But I think all of us know we should be doing the right thing here, which is to obey the law, create a budget, and have a budget that gets us to the place we know we want to get to, to work within our economy, once again, right-sized to our government or, more importantly, our government is right-sized to our economy.

Mr. SESSIONS. Briefly, before I go to Senator THUNE and get him engaged in this discussion, based on the Senator’s experience in the budgetary process, I’m sure he is aware that about 60 percent of Federal spending is mandatory entitlement spending. Does the Senator think we can develop a long-term plan for the future that fails to address that large portion that is growing faster than the other part of the budget?
Mr. BLUNT. No, we cannot. Last year, for the first time ever, all of the money that came in was less than the money that went out automatically to these programs, where, if you meet the definition for the program, you get the money. It is at 60 percent now. Surely it was not less than that many years ago that it was at 50 percent. It was not that many years before that it was at 40 percent.

So we have to deal with these issues because they lead us to an inevitable place. Do we want to be Europe today a few years from now? Surely not. Do we want to be Europe today because they lead us to an inevitable death? That is what is at stake here. That is why we believe we ought to have a budget. That is why we are going to have an exercise today where at least we get a chance to vote on some budgets as advanced by some of our colleagues in the House of Representatives as well as here in the Senate and the President should be putting a budget that will put us on a pathway not only to get spending and debt under control but to allow the economy to grow and expand and get Americans back to work. That is what is at stake here.

To come down here and say Republicans will filibuster again is completely out of what's right. That is what we know to be the facts around here and the law; that is, that it takes 51 votes to pass a budget and a reconciliation bill that could possibly follow.

I appreciate the leadership of my colleagues from Alabama as the ranking member on the Budget Committee. We gave it our opening statements. We gave it out and said: Bring amendments. We went, we brought amendments, and we gave opening statements. We gave it out and said: No plan is. But what we all ought to be doing is coming up with a plan that gets us to where we all know we need to be.

Mr. SESSIONS. I thank the Senator.

I ask Senator THUNE for his leadership and active participation in this debate. I ask the Senator, what is on his mind this morning, as we are heading into votes on four different budgets?

Mr. THUNE. I say to my colleague from Alabama, who is the ranking member on the Budget Committee, I got out of Committee markup this session of Congress and have been on it now for 2 years. We have not written a budget either year. So it sort of begs the question about whether the committee has any relevance around here anymore.

But to the point about spending and debt—we get down here and we talk about it. I think it has been interesting. The former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, ADM Mike Mullen—who up until several months ago held that position—would come in front of Congress, in front of congressional committees, and say the greatest threat to America's national security is our national debt. There are a lot of external threats the United States faces, the world continues to be a dangerous place, with al-Qaida and the Iranian nuclear capability and China and North Korea. You can go right down the list. But for the top ranking military official in this country to come before Congress and say the greatest threat to America's national security is our national debt speaks volumes about what our priority ought to be. To think that we here in the Senate now for over 1,100 days have not written a budget and said we are not going to do it. That is what a budget process would do. It does not take 60 votes under the law; it takes 51.

To come down here and say Republicans will filibuster again is completely out of what's right. That is what we know to be the facts around here and the law; that is, that it takes 51 votes to pass a budget and a reconciliation bill that could possibly follow.

I appreciate the leadership of my colleagues from Alabama as the ranking member on the Budget Committee. I look forward today, at least, for the chance for us to talk about a budget and what we ought to be doing for the future of this country since we do not have a budget on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. SESSIONS. I could not agree with the Senator more. I would note,
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the reason we are here today is because a budget was not produced. The Parlia-
mentarian of the Senate ruled that a budget has not been produced and, there-fore, under the rules of the Budg-et Act, budgets that have been filed can be brought to the floor. That is how we were able to force the vote today.

Senator THUNE, briefly—and I will also ask Senator BLUNT, who is in our lead-ership—Isn’t it a fact that what happened under the Budget Control Act is that we had spent so much money, we had reached the spending limit of America—the debt-celing—and we had to have a last-minute effort to reach an agreement; the Republicans insisted that we had to reduce spending; and we got a reduction in spending from $7 trillion over the next 10 years to $45 trillion? You would have thought that was going to bankrupt America—that we would spend $45 trillion instead of $47 trillion.

That is not a budget. It was a limit on spending, and it was done because Republicans said: We are not going to raise the debt limit until you at least cut some spending. That is all that could be accomplished. We avoided a crisis, but it was a pretty tense time.

Senator BLUNT.

Mr. BLUNT. I would like to stay on this. Saying the Budget Control Act is a budget—as Senator THUNE mentioned—when that was the budget, why did the President submit it? Nobody be-lieves that is a budget. The Parliamen-tarian said it was not a budget. But what it is—it would be as if your family sitting down to decide what money you are going to have to spend this year said: OK, we have X number of dollars. Let’s go out and spend it. That is no budget, particularly when you had to borrow 40 percent of the X number of dollars you said you had. We are borrowing 40 percent of the money we are giving to our budgets. The only number we have that we have agreed to is the maximum amount we will spend, know-ing we do not have anywhere near that number, and we have not allocated that in any way.

That is no budget. Everybody knows that. Everyone also knows you cannot get there unless you have a way to get there. Your family says: OK, we have done the budgeting for the year. We de-cided if we borrow almost as much money as we spend, and we spent that somewhere, that is our budget. We have not decided where we are going to spend it, we have not decided how we are going to spend it, and we have not even decided a reasonable way we are going to get it, but we said: Here is the number we are going to spend. Now, family, let’s all go out and start spend-ing and we will meet here later this year and see how it worked out. It makes no sense at all, and everybody knows that.

Interestingly, we do not hear much about this. It is surprising to me that every day there is not a story about why for the first time ever for 3 years straight now the Senate has decided it does not have to do the work the law requires it to do, as we dig this hole deeper and deeper and deeper. The longer we wait, the more difficult the solution is going to be. Every single day that passes it has to be solved, or this problem that it would have been the day before. Now we have gone 3 years without a budget and apparently we are going to go through the rest of this process without a budget. By the time we get to the end of this year, we will be at the fourth year without a budget. It is not as though this would be a good idea, the law says we have to have one. And we should have one.

Mr. SESSIONS. Senator BLUNT has been in the leadership in the House. He is in the leadership of the Senate. Be frank with us. What is it that would cause the majority party not to want to lead, not to want to lay out a plan for the future, and attack anybody who doesn’t know it is hard. We all know this is a tough thing. But doesn’t the Senator think a party that aspires to lead the Senate should, instead of hiding under the table, stand up and say what they believe we should do over the next 20 years financially?

Mr. BLUNT. I think the law even re-quires it. I think the leader on the other side, the majority leader, has been pretty clear about it. It is bad pol-itics to have a budget, bad politics to tell the American people officially what we will do for our Members to have to go on record say-ing what they are for.

The President submitted a budget. There are 54 Members of the Presi-dent’s party here in the Senate. Fifty-one of them could pass this budget. It would be the Senate-passed budget. Then you would go to the House and say: OK, let’s look at the House budget and the Senate budget and see if we can agree on a budget. But they have been pretty transparent. You have to give them some credit for not trying to be different than they really are. They said: It would be politically foolish for us to pass a budget because then people would see what every one of the 51 of our Members is for, and they would have to say what they are for.

My guess is that nobody in the maj-ority will say they are for anything today—not for the President’s budget, not for any budget we will submit. So you go home and say: I am not for any of that. You can’t accuse me of being for a bad plan because I am for no plan. That is what we are.

Mr. SESSIONS. You need revenue—they use that word but will not explicitly say whom they want to tax except a very few rich. The Buffet-tax would produce about $4 billion a year when we have a $1.200 billion deficit.

I would note that Senator MANCHIN, a former Governor of West Virginia, said in today’s Politico that he would have been impeached if he failed to produce a budget as West Virginia’s Governor.

He said: Sure I have a problem with failing to offer a budget. As a former Governor, my responsibility was to put a balanced budget forward.

Well, I see my colleague is here. I think our time is up. There might be a couple of minutes for Senator THUNE.

Mr. THUNE. If the Senator will yield for a minute, I assume in Alabama and Missouri and I know in South Dakota our States pass budgets. It can be done. You then balance yourself. It would be nice if we had a requirement in the Constitution that would demand that the way many of our States do. Cer-tainly, there doesn’t seem to be the po-itical will here to do it absent that. But it can be done, and hard decisions have to be made. South Dakota went through it last year, made some hard choices, our Governor, our legislature.

Those are the types of hard decisions that are going to have to made here, but it takes a certain amount of polit-ics to do that. We have to make hard decisions. As the Senator from Alabama and the Senator from Mis-souri have both pointed out, there doesn’t seem to be the willingness here to make those hard decisions.

As has already been pointed out, the leader on the other side has said: What point is there in doing a budget? And the President of the United States and his folks, when they were asked whether the Senate ought to do a budget, said: Well, we don’t have an opinion about that, which I think is really ironic coming from the leader of the free world about whether this country ought to have a budget to work with.

But that being said, as our time winds down here, to argue, as our col-leagues have, that we don’t need one misses the point. The Parliamentarian has ruled that the Budget Control Act was, in fact, not a budget. We need to do a budget here in the Senate. More importantly, the American people ex-pect it and the taxpayers deserve it. That is why we ought to be having a debate on what we are going to vote for today, not what we are going to vote against.

It will be interesting to see if any of our colleagues on the other side vote for any of the budget proposals we put forward today, including the President of the United States; his budget will be voted on along with several other Re-publican budgets. I have a feeling we will be for some things. I have a feel-ing, as you said earlier, that they are not going to be for anything.

Mr. SESSIONS. Madam President, is the time up on this side?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem-pore. The time has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem-pore. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the use of calculators be permitted on the Senate floor during consideration of the mo-tions to proceed to budget resolutions.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem-pore. Without objection, it is so or-dered.
Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, I wish to go back to the point my colleagues have made. It is fascinating to me. You did not hear them talk for one moment about the substance of their proposals—not a moment. Did you notice that? I wonder why that would be? I think I know. It is because their proposals would take us right back to the failed policies that brought this country to the brink of economic collapse. That is what happened the last time they were in charge. They controlled both Chambers until 2006, the White House until 2008. So none of those policies they put in place when they controlled both Chambers could be changed. And where were we at the end of 2008? Where were we? We were losing 800,000 jobs a month and the economy was shrinking at a rate of 9 percent. And the proposals they have, the substantive proposals they are making here today, take us right back to those same failed policies.

It is no wonder you did not hear them saying one word about the budget proposals on which we are going to be voting because they are the same failed policies that put this country in the ditch. Instead, what you hear them say is that on our side have no budget. Fascinating.

Well, let me just put up again what we passed last year in law called the Budget Control Act.

Let me again read from that law. It says:

The allocations, aggregates, and levels—

Spending levels—
in subsection . . . shall apply in the Senate in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2012.

In the next clause, it makes the exact same statement for 2013, that the Budget Control Act that was passed last year will serve in the same manner as a budget resolution.

Earlier this year, pursuant to that law, we passed budget appropriations, which I am required to do under the law, what they could spend, and here it is. I have this chart being blown up.

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, $13,397 million; Armed Services, $146,598 million; Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, $22,167 million; Commerce, Science, and Transportation, $15,016 million; Energy and Natural Resources, $5,276 million. It sounds kind of like a budget does it not? Doesn’t that sound kind of like a budget? Well, guess what, it is a budget. It is in the Budget Control Act that we passed last year instead of a budget resolution.

Again, anybody who has taken high school civics knows a budget law is stronger than any budget resolution. Why would that be the case? Because a budget resolution is purely a congressional document. It never goes to the President for his signature. A budget law, by definition, has to be signed by the President. So last year, instead of a budget resolution, we passed a budget law called the Budget Control Act.

Pursuant to that law, I gave the appropriators—earlier this year, before the deadline—their allocations, and I was just reading from them. Finance, $1,337 billion; Foreign Relations, $28,640 million; Homeland Security, $102,276 million; the Judiciary Committee, $18,545 million; Rules and Administration, $41 million. Does this sound like a budget? Why doesn’t it? Because that is exactly what it provided. It provided the spending limit this year and for next year. That is in the Budget Control Act we passed in the Senate last year on a strong bipartisan vote—passed the House of Representatives, and signed into law by the President of the United States.

So when we hear over and over that there is no budget, no spending limits for this year. They are included in the Budget Control Act, which is a law. It was passed. It was signed by the President. That Budget Control Act limited spending for the next 10 years—put spending caps in place. Budget resolutions rarely have spending caps for more than 1 year. The Budget Control Act had 10 years of caps, saving $900 billion. That is the law.

I see the Senator from Michigan is on the floor—a very valued member of the Budget Committee. Welcome to this debate. We have been hearing a lot from the other side—interestingly enough. I want to say to the Senator, almost nothing about the substance of their proposals. I assume that is because they want to go back to the same failed policies that put this country in the ditch we are still digging out of. All they want to talk about is not having a budget resolution—not one word that instead of a budget resolution, we passed a budget law, as the Senator well knows, the Budget Control Act.

How much time will the Senator need?

Ms. STABENOW. I will use 7 minutes or so.

Mr. CONRAD. I will allocate the Senator 10 minutes.

Ms. STABENOW. I thank the Senator.

Madam President, first let me thank the chairman of the Budget Committee, who I have to say is going to be sorely missed. In fact, I am not sure we are going to let him go. I think we are going to lock the doors to his office and not let him leave. He has been such an incredible valued Member of the Senate and a leader for our country on these issues.

It is absolutely true that what we are really debating is whether we go back to policies that put us in the huge deficit ditch in which we find ourselves or whether we continue to go forward as a country. We need to keep going forward and going forward even more quickly certainly. But in my State, we are seeing us begin to move forward, with manufacturing coming back and innovation opportunities, and we need to continue to push for that.

But let me stress as well what the chairman has said. We passed the Budget Control Act by 74 votes in the Senate—74 votes, a bipartisan vote—on August 2, 2011. It put in place the spending caps the chairman talked about. It laid out something that, frankly, in my time since being here starting in 2001, has been done differently. It is even more stronger than any budget resolution.

Why would that be the case? Because a budget law, by definition, has to be signed by the President for his signature. A budget resolution is purely a congressional document. It never goes to the House and the Senate, it was actually signed by the President. It is law. It has the force of law, and it is in a situation where it is going to have even more impact than it would normally.

So, yes, we did not do the normal process. What we did was one better than the normal process, which is the Budget Control Act. It did pass. It did put in place the spending caps and set up, as you know, a deficit reduction commission and a requirement on cuts that will take place in January.

It is also true that what we do not have is a long-term plan. As the chairwoman talked about over and over again, we have to come together on a long-term deficit reduction plan. So we agree on that. There are many people who have talked about that, worked on various proposals. The President has long negotiation table this body have. And certainly the chairman of the committee has continued to lead those efforts. And we need to get that done. But in terms of what we have on a budget resolution that puts in place limits or caps, that has been done.

Now, when we look at what is in front of us and the votes we are going to be having today, it is very simple in terms of values. The question is, Are you on the side of the middle class or on the side of millionaires in this country?

You know, folks in my State, the middle class, feel as though the system has been pretty much rigged against them. All they want is a fair shot. We have families in Michigan working to make ends meet, and they are struggling to send their kids to college. Over and over again, they look at what is going on here and scratch their heads. And why in the world would we continue to focus on things that help a privileged few, those who have had the most benefits in the last decade? Why do we continue to see policies like these budgets that, in fact, focus on more tax cuts for millionaires and billionnaires and ask middle-class families to sacrifice more and more? They shake their heads and say: What is going on here? You guys just do not get it, what is happening to the majority of families.

And what we are seeing once again is that rather than focusing on jobs and bringing the economy back on track, bringing jobs back to the United States, strengthening our ability to make things and grow things in this country, which has to happen if we are going to have a middle class and have an economy, what we see our colleagues on the other side of the aisle do is wishing to double student loan rates.
and eliminate Medicare as we know it in order to give another round of tax cuts to millionaires and billionaires. That makes absolutely no sense.

Instead of spending our time passing jobs bills that we need to pass, by the way, including the farm bill, which affects every single person in this country when we talk about rural communities and agriculture and food processing and all of our efforts on food policy across the country, instead of doing that, they want to increase their time focusing on something that the giving of more tax breaks to millionaires and ask middle-class families one more time—just one more time—to sacrifice.

Folks in my State are saying we have had enough of this. What we ought to be doing is our to-do list—stopping outsourcing and rewarding companies that bring jobs home; helping responsible homeowners refinance and take advantage of today’s lower interest rates; cutting taxes for small businesses that are creating jobs; helping them; continuing critical investments in clean energy manufacturing for the future; passing a farm bill for 16 million Americans whose jobs rely on agriculture and our rural economy; and we still helping veterans coming home from the war find good-paying jobs, thanking them for their service.

We have a lot to do. Instead, we are in the same old failed debate that got us into the mess we are in today. In a situation where there was a crisis on Wall Street, that got us to the point where we lost millions and millions of jobs in the past. Are we going to go backward or forward? That is the question.

Right now, what are the differences when we look at the four different Republican plans? They are very similar. Here are three basic things that are the same. They all end Medicare as an insurance plan, increase costs by thousands of dollars for seniors in our country, which puts them back in a plan that is before 1964, where seniors would have to try to find private insurance. Of course, as we get older, we all spend more health care costs, so costs will be higher. It is tougher for older people to find affordable insurance. That is why we created Medicare in 1965. They want to go back prior to that time.

Second, they allow student loan rates to double. That is cost of those loans to seniors in our country, which puts them back in a plan that is before 1964, where seniors would have to try to find private insurance. Of course, as we get older, we all spend more health care costs, so costs will be higher. It is tougher for older people to find affordable insurance. That is why we created Medicare in 1965. They want to go back prior to that time.

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That is the way you get money, not by just taxing somebody. I think the American people fundamentally understand that a tax on the rich is a tax on the private sector, and when you overtax the private sector, you get the rich to leave it. It is the private sector that creates the wealth that pays the taxes that allows us to distribute money here and go back to our districts and act as though we are some hero for returning people their money that they never had from the government and want to be some socially credited person because we brought back some bacon to our district. The American people understand this. They are not happy about this.

The Budget Control Act is not close to what we need to do to put our country on a sound path. It is not close. I have to say that the President’s budget undoes half of that. When I said the Budget Control Act took spending down from $47 trillion to $45 trillion, President Obama’s budget that was submitted a few weeks ago would add $1.6 trillion back, so that would make it go from $45 trillion to $46 trillion in spending over 10 years.

This is the way they propose to operate in the deficit reduction. That is what their plan is. Why won’t they lay it out? Because they know the American people will look at it and say: Good grief, that is not what we want for this country. You guys have to get your house in order. We expect you to cut some spending. We know there is waste, fraud, and abuse in the capital. You better get busy.

All we hear from my Democratic colleagues is: Send more money. What is particularly troubling is the suggestion that it is OK, we don’t have to make any changes. But we do. We do have to make changes.

Let me show you this chart. The changes will be difficult, but not so bad as to have the country be damaged in any significant way. This is where our spending level is today, $3.6 trillion. This is the next decade under the Budget Control Act, where we cut spending. In that late-night confrontation before the government was to shut down because we reached the spending limit, and could not borrow anymore money, an agreement was reached to take $2 trillion out of spending over 10 years. That is what this chart is—after that cut how the budget came down, $3.6 trillion. It is the next decade under the Budget Control Act, where we cut spending. In that late-night confrontation before the government was to shut down because we reached the spending limit, and could not borrow anymore money, an agreement was reached to take $2 trillion out of spending over 10 years. That is what this chart is—after that cut how the budget came down, $3.6 trillion. This is the next decade under the Budget Control Act, where we cut spending. In that late-night confrontation before the government was to shut down because we reached the spending limit, and could not borrow anymore money, an agreement was reached to take $2 trillion out of spending over 10 years. That is what this chart is—after that cut how the budget came down, $3.6 trillion.

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I am particularly worried that we don’t have a sense in this body that we have to make changes. We are going to have to look at the entitlement programs. I have heard Senator Conrad say this repeatedly. He served on the debt commission, and they said we have to do that.

Does the President propose any entitlement changes in his budget? No. Are the Democratic Members of the Senate proposing entitlement changes? No. Who is Congress? Congress is a poisson distribution. Is President Obama prepared to defend them as being the kind of changes that will preserve, protect, and sustain Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security.

We cannot allow entitlement spending to continue to increase at rates four and five times the inflation rate. That is an unsustainable spending course. When 60 percent of our budget is increasing at three or four times the inflation rate, we are in big trouble, and we need to act today. That is just a fact. Upper income people are going to have to contribute more to Medicare. They just are. We don’t have the money. We can’t just make it up and act like that is not reality. It is foolish.

So I think the budgets we will see from this side will be attacked viciously as wanting to kill these programs. They are not designed to kill these programs. They are designed to make sure, you guys, we can be healthy and prosperous and sustain the benefits we have promised. But a big chunk of Medicare is paid for out of the General Treasury of the United States, and people with big incomes ought to contribute to some of that, and they can do that. We can do that as a nation.

So, Madam President, I think it is rather odd that we have come to the floor and called up—without debate, without opportunity to amend—a series of budgets. Why? Because no budget has been produced in the Budget Committee, and under the rules of the Senate members can bring up a budget. We don’t get to have amendments, but we can bring up one. Under the Budget Act, the Budget Committee should have hearings, have a markup, offer amendments, and bring the budget to the floor with a guaranteed 50 hours of debate, unlimited amendments, and place. And then final passage in time. That is the way it works. It guarantees priority to a budget because the people who wrote the Budget Act in 1974 knew how important a budget was. They gave it priority. It can’t be filibustered. It can pass with 50 votes, with the Vice President’s vote. Why can we ever pass the budget—because we need a budget, and we should be seeking to do that.

To me, it is pretty frustrating to see our current situation. So I guess I will conclude by asking: Does the majority party not feel an obligation to tell the American people where they would like to lead the country; and do they not, in a time of financial crisis, want to lay out a plan they can rally behind and ask the American people to rally behind to save our country?

It is an absolute fact this country has never, ever, ever been in a financial condition as serious as this is. We have never ever faced the long-term systemic debt threat we face today. We have never been on a path so unsustainable. Never. Nothing close to it. This is a threat to the future of America, and the party that aspires to lead the country should have a plan. The President should be engaged. He should be insisting we pass a budget that has some meaning and would change the debt course of the country. Yet what do we have? Nothing but attacks on Members of Congress who lay out plans that would actually do that. They do not want to bring up a budget. Why? They say it is foolish. It would be foolish for us. Yes, it would be foolish to reveal ourselves. The American people might add up how many taxes we want to increase. They might add everything up and say: Your plan doesn’t change the debt course. They may add things up and say: You spend too much. So we don’t want to do that. That would be foolish.

I have never seen a situation where, in a time of crisis, this Nation has had a failure of leadership as great as we are seeing today. Now maybe I don’t get this. Maybe something is wrong with me. But I think everyone who cares about the Republic should be prepared to stand and vote on proposals to put us on the right path.

We are not on the right path today. We have a threat out there that could put us in a financial crisis overnight. It could happen very quickly. When that occurs, it will be too late to fix it.

We saw the warnings that led to the 2007 financial crisis. That was a deeply damaging event—that crisis. We have gotten out of that one. Could we have another one? Wouldn’t that be terrible? These numbers don’t assume we have a recession. They have no real recession projected in the numbers we will see. We need to avoid a debt crisis, another financial crisis, as Erskine Bowles and Alan Simpson, on the debt commission, told us to avoid. We need to do that, and we are going to have some leadership on both sides of the aisle, I believe.

So, Madam President, I will reserve the remainder of my time, and I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. Conrad. Madam President, Senator MENENDEZ is here to be recognized for 10 minutes, and we can do that at this point.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. MENENDEZ. Madam President, last year the Budget Control Act became the law of the land, and it limited discretionary spending limits for security and nonsecurity spending for not just 1 year but for 2 years. It puts us on a
path to reducing the deficit by more than $2 trillion over the next 10 years.

We now hear claims from our friends on the other side of the aisle that we don’t have a budget. I guess if one says it often enough people may believe it.

But it seems that our Republican colleagues have selective amnesia about the Budget Control Act.

We have a budget. It is called the Budget Control Act, and it has the force of law, which is more than we can say for any of the proposals before us today. So today’s debate makes me wonder if we are on a dance floor instead of the Senate floor because we have already taken one step forward and now it is two steps back.

These Republican proposals call for extreme cuts on the backs of seniors, students, and the most vulnerable in our society without asking any contributions from millionaires and corporations. That is not fair, it is not balanced, and it doesn’t reflect the priorities of New Jersey’s middle-class families.

I strongly believe we must get our Nation’s fiscal house in order, and I have always supported a fair and balanced approach to reducing our deficits. But if we cut, in good conscience, support proposals in which working families, seniors, and students must endure billions in cuts while oil companies—making $1 trillion in profits over the next decade and billionaires are not asked to pay their fair share.

Supporters of the House Republican budget, introduced by Congressman RYAN, justify their radical changes to Medicare and other programs by saying: We simply can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford that, we see an average tax cut of over $1⁄4 million to which we can’t afford it, we see an averaging of the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it, we see an averaging of the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it. But in the very same Republican budget in which we can’t afford it.

For seniors, the Republican plan ends Medicare as we know it, leaving retirees to worry about whether the system they paid into their entire working lives will really be there for them when they need it. Their plan will force seniors out of the Medicare they know and instead provide an inadequate voucher they claim will cover the premiums for private insurance. That claim is false. One thing growing seniors can’t afford with an increase in out-of-pocket expenses of over $6,000 a year.

It also means immediately higher costs for the more than 126,000 seniors in New Jersey who have saved a combination of Social Security and retirement savings into specialty drugs, because every one of these Republican budgets will reopen the gap in prescription drug coverage we call the doughnut hole. The Republican budget also means 1 million seniors in New Jersey who have already accessed no-cost preventive health services, such as cancer screenings, would now be forced to pay for those screenings out of pocket. It also means 270,000 seniors and disabled individuals in my home State who rely on Medicaid for services such as long-term care will be kicked out of the system.

The most shocking about all of this is the radical Ryan budget seems to be the least extreme of the Republican budgets. For example, Senator PAUL’s proposal calls for Medicare to end abruptly on January 1, 2014, while simultaneously decreasing Social Security benefits and raising the eligibility age to 70. Senator TOOMEY’s plan would force seniors off Medicare and only provide a modest voucher to purchase private coverage. It would slash Medicaid by nearly $1 trillion—$39 billion more than even the Ryan budget calls for—and shift a massive and untenable burden on the States while leaving millions of families with no coverage.

How is that fair and balanced? It is not, and we should reject these proposals.

Here is another fact about the Ryan House budget. Instead of making college more affordable, more accessible, and more achievable, the Ryan budget will do the exact opposite. It will create additional obstacles for students that could—according to a study by the Education Trust—ultimately take Pell grants away from 1 million students. For those who aren’t kicked out of the system entirely, it will freeze the maximum Pell Grant award, despite tuition soaring for all but inflation. To add insult to injury, the Ryan budget would allow the interest rate on subsidized Stafford loans to double—a debate that is all too familiar to this body.

It seems our Republican colleagues claim to support lower rates, but then they filibustered them, and now they are proposing a budget that would allow the interest rates to double. So for more than 60 percent of students who receive Pell shows while making taking out loans, the Ryan budget is a double whammy. Not only will they lose some or all of their Pell grants, they will be forced to pay double the interest on their loans, which will only increase with a reduction in Pell grants.

Today receiving some form of higher education is almost a prerequisite for a 21st-century career. In fact, young adults with only a high school diploma are almost three times less likely to be employed and paid just over half as much as those with a bachelor’s degree.

But even as the demand for college graduates in the workforce increases, so have the costs of tuition, making higher education all the more critical, as well as for the Nation to be the global leader competitively. Yet it is more out of reach for millions of students if we follow these plans. How is that fair? How is that balanced? It is not, and it means the programs and priorities that are behind these proposals.

Middle-class families can’t afford it. Seniors can’t afford it. Students can’t afford it. That is why we can’t afford to let it happen.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore, The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, just to respond to my good friend and ranking member of the committee—and I have a lot of respect for the ranking member. The truth is on the larger issue we are not all that far apart. The larger issue is, as a nation, we are on an unsustainable course. This is as clear as it can be, and we have to deal with it. We have a difference with respect to what we have right now. I believe we do have a budget in place for this year and next year. The place where I would agree with the president is we don’t have the longer term plan.

The problem is, Are we really going to get all sides to get off their fixed positions right before a national election? That is a matter of judgment. I don’t believe that that is going to happen.

I was part of the Simpson-Bowles Commission. In fact, Senator Gregg and I were the ones who got the Commission appointed, and he and I were 2 of the 11—five Democrats, five Republicans, one Independent—who voted in favor of the long-term plan that Bowles-Simpson put before the American people that would have reduced
the debt from what it would otherwise be by more than $4 trillion. Depending on what baseline you use, even more than that. That is the minimum we need to do.

I actually tried to convince the Commission. That was the proposal to the Commission, a $5.6 trillion package of deficit reduction and debt reduction. Why did I pick that? We could balance the budget in 10 years if we did.

But I do want to go back to this question about whether we have a budget right now, for this year. I say, with respect, I believe it is very clear we do. The Budget Control Act—not a budget resolution but a law—said very clearly the allocations, aggregates, and levels of spending shall apply in the Senate in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2013. That identical language follows for 2013.

So pursuant to the Budget Control Act, in April I provided to the appropriators and the authorizers these budget allocations for appropriations: For security discretionary budget authority for 2013, $546 billion; for non-security discretionary budget authority, $501 billion. That is a total on-budget, of $1,040,000,000,054; mandatory spending, $815 billion, $671 billion, for a total of $1,862,671,000,000.

Then to the authorizing committees, I went through some of these numbers previously. Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, $13,397 million; on entitlements for that same committee, $124,580 million; on Armed Services, $146,698 million; on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, $22,167 million.

Again, I could go through every committee, but there it is. The appropriations spending limits have been provided to the appropriators. The authorizing committees have been given their designations. So for this year and next, it is our hope to have spending limits put in place. What don’t we have is the longer term plan. That is where I would agree with the gentleman. The question is, Is there any prospect of the two sides coming together, getting off this and begin paying down the debt. Now, I have to do something with the fact that we aren’t doing our job. We aren’t passing a budget, much less a balanced budget amendment. If people vote for our budget, we would balance in 5 years and begin paying down the debt over 10 years.

Right now, Congress has an approval rating of 11 percent. Maybe that has something to do with the fact that we aren’t doing our job. We aren’t passing a budget, much less a balanced budget amendment. If people vote for our budget, we would balance in 5 years and begin paying down the debt. I think the stock market would be ecstatic to hear that.

How do you do this? In order to balance the budget, we have to tackle entitlement reform. Currently, Social Security is $6.2 trillion short of money. They taxes people pay into Social Security are less than what we pay out. Social Security is essentially insolvent.

You ask: Well, how come my check keeps coming? Your check will always keep coming. As the bankruptcy grows deeper and deeper, your checks will come—they won’t buy anything. You are already seeing this at the pump. Gasoline prices have doubled. Is it because gas is more precious? No. It is because the value of the dollar is shrinking. The value of the dollar is shrinking because we print all this new money to pay for this massive debt. It is unsustainable, and one way or another it is going to come to a head.

Will it come to a head through the destruction of our currency paying for this debt? I don’t know, but we certainly need a budget. Ours will be a budget that balances in 5 years. People say: Why don’t you compromise with the other side? I’ll even do anything about it because there are no appropriations bills. If we don’t have a budget, we don’t have appropriations bills, and we can’t alter up or down the appropriations bills because we don’t have a budget to go by.

In fact, every bit of spending we do here is in defiance of our own rules because we are supposed to compare the spending bills to the budget, and we have no budget.

Many of us have been promoting something new—this would be a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution—because we don’t seem to be doing a very good job balancing the budget. When you have less money than you pay out, you do something about it because there are no appropriations bills. If we don’t have a budget, we don’t have appropriations bills, and we can’t alter up or down the appropriations bills because we don’t have a budget to go by.

We could balance the budget in 10 years. The Commission to do $5.6 trillion. That was my proposal to the Commission, a $5.6 trillion package of deficit reduction and debt reduction. Why did I pick that? We could balance the budget in 10 years if we did.

But I do want to go back to this question about whether we have a budget right now, for this year. I say, with respect, I believe it is very clear we do. The Budget Control Act—not a budget resolution but a law—said very clearly the allocations, aggregates, and levels of spending shall apply in the Senate in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2012. That identical language follows for 2013.

So pursuant to the Budget Control Act, in April I provided to the appropriators and the authorizers these budget allocations for appropriations: For security discretionary budget authority for 2013, $546 billion; for non-security discretionary budget authority, $501 billion. That is a total on-budget, of $1,040,000,000,054; mandatory spending, $815 billion, $671 billion, for a total of $1,862,671,000,000.

The problem is we have no budget. If our balances in 5 years and the other side will promote one that balances in 10, compromise would be 7½%. But if the other side doesn’t have a budget or if the other side has a budget—the President put forward a budget, and we will vote on that too. His never balances. So we have infinity for their side, and we have 5 years on our side. How do we get halfway from infinity to 5 years? If we are going to compromise, they have to come to the table. We have to engage in a debate. Entitlements are 65 percent of the budget. They call it mandatory spending, and nobody wants to do anything about it. Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid is 65 percent of the budget. If we don’t tackle entitlement reform, we can’t fix it. We have a proposal on the table.

Social Security reform, to fix Social Security one way or another it is going to be a gradual let the age of eligibility rise to 70 over about 20 years, and we means-test the benefits—not on the current people but on the next wave. My generation will have to wait longer. Why? Is it because we want to change things? No. It is because we are living longer. We all have a longer life expectancy, and then we had smaller families. This isn’t anybody’s fault. It is not the Democrats’ fault and it is not the Republicans’ fault. We each of us large families born after World War II. They are all retiring, and each subsequent generation had less children. It is a demographic fact. Combine that with the fact that we are living longer, and we have to make changes.

But we had a proposal on the table. We will fix Social Security. How do we compromise if the other side will not come up with a proposal?

Social Security is $6 trillion in the hole. Medicare is $30 trillion in the hole. We have a solution. We will give every senior citizen in the country the same health care plan I have. The same health care plan that every Senator and Congressman has, we are willing to give it to them. Do you know whom this idea was? Senator John Kerry from Massachusetts, a Democrat. We have taken his idea and put it forward, but we can’t get anybody on that side to talk to us. They have given up. It is an election year. They are not going to do anything this year. They didn’t do anything last year.

So we haven’t done anything to fix entitlements. We have done nothing to
fix Social Security, nothing to fix Medicare. How do you compromise with a side that has no proposition, that won't put anything forward? But we have a 5-year plan that balances in 5 years, and we fix Social Security. We save Social Security in perpetuity—which, I know, is a long time. We also fix Medicare. We save Medicare. Medicare is facing a $35 to $40 trillion deficit, and if we are willing to save it. But the other side has to come to the table, and nobody is showing up to that debate. No one is proposing any budget on the other side. No one is proposing any entitlement reform.

In our budget we save Social Security, we save Medicare, and we go one step further. We have tax reform that would help the country and would make it fair.

Some on the other side say, well, let's get rid of all those loopholes for special interests. We do it. We do a flat tax: 17 percent for all businesses, 17 percent for personal. You get to deduct your kids and your house, and that is it. No other deductions. No special interest exemptions. No other special credits for any special business enterprise. A flat 17 percent for everybody. We would see a boom in this country like we have never seen if we would do it.

What would compromise be? Maybe the other side wants 25 percent, and I want 30 percent. But realize if their answer is to print up money, or if they think it doesn't matter; we will just print up more money. Or if they say it is going to balance the budget, how do we compromise? The Republicans will have four or five budgets in front of us. If the other side balance in 5 years, some of them balance in 8, some of them balance in 28. But we are at least trying. We are showing up and we are presenting budgets that would balance at some finite period of time. We are going to balance it, it should not even be presented. If it is not going to balance in your lifetime—if you say it is going to balance in somebody else's lifetime when somebody else is going to be here in Congress—you have abdicated your responsibility. We can do better than this. The American people expect us to do better than this. The American people expect us to show up and do our job. We will today vote on these budgets. What do you do in your office? Do you pay your Senator, but you shouldn't be paid this year. Maybe you shouldn't pay your Congressman, maybe you shouldn't pay your Senator this year if we are not going to have proposals from both sides.

This means we should be talking about entitlement reform, talking about tax reform, talking about budgets, and there would be give-and-take.

The only way to get give-and-take in our country is people need to show up for the debate. We need to do our job. Why is there not a committee in Washington, not any committee—why is there not any committee meeting every day on how to fix Social Security? Nobody is talking about it. Why is there not a committee discussing Medicare reform every day? Republic- licans and Democrats, talking, figuring out a way out of this? There is no such committee.

Why is there not a committee on tax reform discussing how we could make our Tax Code simpler and say it is easier for people to figure out and make the rates lower so we could spur the economy? Every time we have lowered tax rates, unemployment is cut in half. When we had an upper rate of 90 percent and Kennedy lowered it to 70 percent, unemployment was cut in half. When Reagan lowered the top rate from 70 percent to 50 percent, unemployment was cut in half. When Reagan lowered it again to 28, unemployment was cut in half.

But we as a country have to decide that we do not want to punish rich people, that we do not want to go out and punish people who are willing to work for these people. We want them to do better. The oil and gas industry employs 9.2 million people and pays $86 million a day in taxes. We want them to do better. Let's not punish them with more taxes and regulations. Let's make their taxes lower and their regulatory burden lower so they can drill for more oil in our country and employ more people in our country. These are the decisions we have to make as we go forward.

We have a budget that can balance in 5 years, some of them balance in 8, some of them balance in 28. But we are at least trying. We are showing up and we are presenting budgets that would balance at some finite period of time. We are going to balance it, it should not even be presented. If it is not going to balance in your lifetime—if you say it is going to balance in somebody else's lifetime when somebody else is going to be here in Congress—you have abdicated your responsibility. We can do better than this. The American people expect us to do better than this. The American people expect us to show up and do our job.

We will today vote on these budgets. What do you do in your office? Do you pay your Senator, but you shouldn't be paid this year. Maybe you shouldn't pay your Congressman, maybe you shouldn't pay your Senator this year if we are not going to have proposals from both sides.

If the other side has decided not to show up this year—if this year is going to be a waste of time and everybody is going to stay in their office, maybe we shouldn't pay them this year. Maybe you shouldn't pay your Congressman, maybe you shouldn't pay your Senator this year if we are not going to have proposals from both sides.

I yield my time.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tem. The Senator from North Dakota. Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, we are waiting for a number of Senators who have sought time. They will be coming to the floor and we will hear from them momentarily. I yield to Senator Paul. Is the Senator from Kentucky?

I believe that has to be the test for any of the proposals that are made here. As I see the proposals coming from our Republican colleague, they are also the test because they are not balanced. There is nothing on the revenue side. In fact, in all of their plans, there are deep additional tax cuts aimed at the wealthiest among us. None of the Republican plans have less than a $150,000 tax cut, on average, for people with earnings of over $1 million a year.

Senator Paul's plan is truly radical. He didn't mention a lot of the elements, but his plan includes massive tax cuts for the wealthy among us. He scraps the entire tax system and goes to a 17-percent flat tax. That is a massive tax cut for those of us who have higher income—massive tax cut. I can tell you it would be a massive tax cut for my family.

I also cuts discretionary spending, education, and energy, by huge amounts, I will go into that in a bit. He cuts health care by almost $4 trillion. He replaces the current progressive system with an 18 percent tax. He also cuts infrastructure. He also cuts tax cuts to the wealthiest among us. He also cuts education, and energy. He does away with the earned-income tax credit and the child tax credit. He eliminates it.

But he is not so generous when it comes to low-income people. He raises taxes on lower income people by ending the earned-income tax credit and the child tax credit. He eliminates it.
Perhaps most stunning, his answer to saving Social Security is to cut the benefits 39 percent. The plan does not include a dime of revenue for Social Security. That is what Senator PAUL has before this body. Really? Is that what we should do? Massive tax cuts for the wealthiest among us used make up for it by cutting Social Security benefits 39 percent. That is the Paul plan. He increases the retirement age three times faster than the Fiscal Commission plan and he shifts to something he calls “progressive indexing” for those earning above $33,000, which cuts their benefits even deeper over time.

I respect his desire to do something about deficits and debt, but the answer is not massive tax cuts. Eliminate the estate tax? Eliminate capital gains taxation? No taxes—wow. Warren Buffett should send him a thank-you letter. And cut Social Security 39 percent?

But I can go into the other details. He cuts energy dramatically. He cuts education. What is his education cut? I think we have it there. We will go into the specifics of the massive cuts so we can have more tax cuts for the wealthiest among us. If we then cut Social Security 39 percent. That is breathtaking. We will see how many colleagues are going to stand up and support that in a vote later today.

Senator DURBIN is here. I thank him very much for his involvement. He has not only served on the Simpson-Bowles commission but also served on the group of six and has spent literally hundreds of hours trying to find a way on a bipartisan basis working together to come up with a plan that is balanced and fair, to get us back on the track and save trillions of dollars on the debt. I applaud him for it. He has shown enormous courage and also extraordinary energy trying to get our country back on track.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore, The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, I thank Senator CONRAD. Let me say the retirement of Senator CONRAD from North Dakota is a great loss to the Senate and to the Nation. We have only six or seven months left to do something significant. It will be easier to do it when KENT CONRAD is working with us. I hope we can achieve it.

I also want to say for those who have come to the floor over and over to say it is time for a budget resolution, it bears repeating that we passed the Budget Control Act, which is a law. A resolution is just that, a resolution passed by the House and Senate, recommending our spending levels. A budget law passed by Congress, signed by the President, has the force of law and it in fact is going to determine our spending levels for the next year. The people who come to the floor and say isn’t it true we had a budget resolution so we knew what we were going to spend next year—we do. We passed it on a bipartisan basis. In fact, the Republican Senate leader voted for it, so it was not as though it wasn’t a bipartisan effort, it was all the way, and the President signed it and it guides our spending.

Let me speak for a moment about those “thousands of billions of dollars” as they used to say on the old radio serial, going back to 2001, if you can stick with me for a minute. That was the last time the United States of America had a balanced budget. Who was President at the time? It was President Clinton, who left that budget for President Bush. That represented, I think, two or three successive years of balanced budgets.

I said to my staff: Take a look at the last time our budget was in balance, take a look at today, and compare spending and revenue between those two periods of time. I think the Senator from North Dakota told me once something like 19.6 percent of GDP in that year of balance was being spent, 19.6 percent of GDP in revenue, and there was the balance.

Now we have drifted to the point where I think spending is around 24 percent, is that close? And the actual revenue is down to 14 percent. The 10-percent increase over the last time we had a balanced budget.

But in specifics, what has happened in that period of time? Thanks to Senator INOUYE, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, here is a chart which tells the story. The blue line, of course, represents spending and revenue in fiscal year 2001, the last time we had a balanced budget, and the red bar represents fiscal year 2012. I asked them to compare it and here is what we found. The security in there represents, of course, military spending, primarily military spending. In the period of time we were last in balance until today we have seen roughly a 60-percent increase in military spending—understandable, two wars and the buildup that has been part of it—OK? A 60-percent increase.

Now let’s take a look at nondefense spending. That would be everything from medical research, building highways or helping to build highways, education, basic health care. What has happened in real dollars since we were last in balance in that nonsecurity discretionary spending? Flat. Zero increase. But if you listen to the debate over the last 2 years here, you would think otherwise. All the increase—all the increase we have seen in our deficit is attributable to these nonsecurity programs. Those are the ones we have been cutting away at. I think they represent 12 percent of the budget. We keep cutting away at these nondefense programs but they haven’t added to our deficit since we last were in balance.

Now look at mandatory programs. Mandatory programs, obviously Medicare and programs such as that, have arrived. After paying into Social Security and Medicare for a lifetime—Medicare for a lifetime, after paying into Social Security and Medicare for 18 years 10,000 a day. Boomers have arrived. After paying into Social Security and Medicare for a lifetime they walk up to the window and say now it is my turn. It is understandable.

The demographics are growing for the next generation. We have mandatory programs, and the costs have been growing right along with them—a 30-percent increase.

Take a look at revenues, compared with when we were last in balance. The revenue is the most expensive provision. Senator CONRAD and I were on the Bowles-Simpson commission and 18 of us sat there for a year-plus and listened to all this testimony about everything. Here is where we came down. He and I both voted for it. We believe the premise of the Simpson-Bowles commission is the right premise—everything must be on the table. Everything.

What do you mean by everything? Spending cuts must be on the table, both on the defense side and the nondefense side. In addition, we have to put the entitlement programs on the table. My friends, we cannot ignore this conversation. We are 11 or 12 years away from Medicare going bankrupt. We have to have a serious conversation about this, and we have to look seriously at the question of revenue.

We cannot ignore the fact that we have seen a decline in the revenue coming into the Federal Government since 2001. We have to put all that on the table. I added another part that fits right into the revenue conversation, the Tax Code. This is not Holy Writ. The Tax Code is a compilation of laws passed over a long period of time that takes about $1.2 trillion out of the Treasury every year for deductions and credits and exclusions and special treatment.

They asked us at one of these meetings about the Tax Code: What do you think is the most expensive provision in the Tax Code that takes the most money out of the Treasury? I said, mortgage interest for sure. Wrong. The most expensive is the employers’ exclusion of health insurance premiums. So imagine when we get into the debate about tax reform and the first item up is the biggest item up, employers’ exclusion of health insurance premiums. Imagine that conversation. If we say your employer can no longer take the exclusion, how many of you as an employee in terms of your out-of-pocket expense, in terms of your health insurance coverage? So I am not going to suggest tax reform is an easy exercise. It is hard, but it has to be part of the conversation.

There is a basic budget imbalance: We are having an exercise today, which is not worthless, it is important. It is an exercise in discussing the budget. What Senator CONRAD has spelled out is different visions of things. What we find coming from the other side of the aisle is primarily talk about more tax cuts—particularly for the higher income people—in the belief that that is how you
spark an economy and get it to go. I disagree with that premise. I think the way to move forward is to work with families and middle-income families to have more spending power. I don’t believe we can give more money to the rich in America and expect the economy to take off.

Also we find that many of the entitlement programs, which have now become critical safety net programs, are victimizing the working poor. The deficit resolution that came to the floor. I cannot imagine what life would be like for 40 million Americans on Social Security with a 39-percent cut—as Senator Paul suggested—in Social Security benefits. Too many of the people are living on their Social Security checks and barely getting by. A 39-percent cut is cruel and unrealistic. I don’t think it is going anywhere. And the notion from others that we can keep cutting taxes from the top line is thin. The categories, let me say, we will never balance the budget doing it. Never. If we don’t balance the budget, we could jeopardize our economic recovery.

We have a cliff we are going to face on December 31. It is a big deal. I cannot remember a time when I have been in the House or Senate when so many things are going to happen in one day. But on December 31, all of the Bush tax cuts expire on the highest income levels as well as the lower and middle-income levels. For example, I think the 10-percent tax rate goes away, and the child tax credit is cut in half. All of these things mean more taxes for every American paying into income tax.

Secondly, we are going to see the end of the payroll tax cut—the 2-percent cut we have had for 2 years that the President put in place.

I could go through the litany. The bottom line is this: We need to start honest conversation about the deficit now, and we need to put something on the table ready to be discussed. The group of eight—there are four Democrats and four Republicans—has been meeting. We are trying to put together a bill, something that could actually become law. I don’t think it is the last word, but it may be the first word in the debate. If we cannot get anything done before the election, let’s hope that the day after the election we can put this on the table and say: Here is our starting point. Let’s solve the problem on a bipartisan basis, put everything on the table, and say: Here is our starting point. We need to have more of them, and we need to have a bipartisan effort with both parties to make sure we deal with the current spending in a responsible way. And equally important, we need to find a way to get past the December 31 cliff in a way that will build the economy and not take away from it.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator for his leadership and the extraordinary effort he has made to get us back on track. I thank him for supporting the group and the activity of six that is now the group of eight. SenatorDurbin has spent hundreds of hours in good-faith negotiations to bring both sides together so we actually get a result and not the political charade that so often goes on around that. We will not be here, but serious solutions to serious problems.

Senator WYDEN is a very valuable member of the Budget Committee and is here on the floor. No Senator has proposed more serious solutions to America’s problems than Senator WYDEN, and he has done it without the benefit of having a committee staff that he controls. He does it based on his own hard work and the work of his staff. Through his leadership, tax reform, major health care reform, and he has done it in a bipartisan way. In many ways, I think he has set an example for everybody in this Chamber.

How much time does the Senator need?

Mr. WYDEN. Approximately 12 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRANKEN). The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, without further ado, I want to make a point in a debate that is not being conducted. I want Senator CONRAD to know how much I appreciate his leadership. I also want to make sure people understand the record. If the Congress had passed the bipartisan proposal the Senator put together on the budget with Senator Judd Gregg, the Conrad-Gregg proposal—a Democrat joined with a Republican—in 2010 we could have forced an actual effort to put together a comprehensive tax reform and spending agreement. As we know—and I don’t want to dwell on the history of some of the sponsors of the proposal were not even willing to go along. But I think it is important that the country understand we have to do this in a bipartisan way. If Senator CONRAD and Senator Judd Gregg had prevailed in 2010, we could have forced actual spending reductions and tax reform in a bipartisan effort. I sure wish we had proceeded with it. And as one who supported and supported that, I think that would have been preferable.

For 7 years before being elected to the Congress, I had the honor of serving senior citizens. I ran the Senior Citizens Legal Aid Office, served as the public advocate on our State’s nursing home board, and I taught gerontology at several of our universities.

What I enjoyed most was the personal contact I had with senior citizens as a voluntary board member of our senior nutrition program. It is known as Loaves and Fishes, and through it I could bring meals to seniors at their homes on a number of occasions as part of the Meals on Wheels Program. Meals on Wheels is one part of government that I truly understand and the connection between the heart and the head. It touches the heart because I saw when we bring a nutritious meal to seniors, we can spend time visiting with them at home. Often they will tell us that we are the only visitor they have during that day. It causes us to use our head and a sharp pencil. We can see without Meals on Wheels, as sure as the night follows the day, some of those seniors are not going to be able to stay in the community. They will end up needing institutional services, and those services are more costly. And, of course, seniors will often be less happy with those kinds of institutional programs.

I bring up Meals on Wheels at risk like that defies common sense. I have already indicated from a compassion standpoint alone it warrants support. But even if Meals on Wheels doesn’t grab your heart the way it does for me, it certainly ought to get the attention of your head because it is the kind of program that lets society see what they want, which is to be at home at less price to the taxpayers. It defies common sense to not be bipartisan in terms of approaching something like Meals on Wheels.

I think what is common sense is what Chairman CONRAD and other colleagues have touched on, and that is tackling the big issues in a bipartisan way. Certainly when it comes to Medicare, that is what is needed. I would only say, having worked in this area, that I want to dwell with the fact that we are looking at—I am not the first to describe this—a demographic tsunami. For the next 20 years we are going to...
have 10,000 seniors turning 65 every single day—10,000 seniors turning 65 every single day.

Fortunately, we have made a commitment in this country to those senior citizens, and it is called the Medicare guarantee. That is the commitment we have made to older people. It is a commitment to good quality, affordable health care. And if absolutely nothing is done, it is a commitment at risk. If nothing is done, the Medicare guarantee is gone. My own opinion is that if nothing is done, Medicare—as Senator CONRAD pointed out, it is already facing cuts with sequestration—will face a steady diet of benefit cuts and cost shifting until we do not recognize the Medicare guarantee as it stands today. That is unacceptable to me. It ought to be unacceptable to every Member of the Senate.

As Chairman CONRAD has noted, Medicare reform is going to have to be bipartisan. The reason I believe that is that we are the least likely health care reform, if it is done on a partisan vote, as soon as the ink is dry on the signature of the passed bill, the other side will move to undo it or repeal it or radically alter it. I say the Medicare guarantee is too important for that, and that is why I, with other colleagues on both sides of the aisle and the help of the chairman, have been working to get bipartisan Medicare reform ready and signed up for enactment at the first possible opportunity. It is outlined on my Web site, Bipartisan Options for Reform. I am interested in working with every colleague here in the Senate to pursue it.

Here is what it is going to take: First and foremost, it will protect the most vulnerable seniors, who are called the dual eligibles, which are seniors who are eligible for both Medicare and Medicaid. The protections for those dual eligibles must be ironclad.

Unfortunately, a number of the offerings we are going to see from colleagues on the other side do not ensure ironclad protections for these vulnerable seniors—the dual eligibles—and by block-granting Medicaid, they put at risk the most vulnerable seniors, the seniors who need nursing home care that is paid for by Medicaid, and since Medicaid is a Federal-State program, by block-granting it, we put at risk the most vulnerable seniors. That is certainly on line with what people will see on my Web site that outlines bipartisan approaches on which Democrats and Republicans can come together for Medicare reform.

The second part of Medicare reform is to ensure that we protect traditional Medicare. Traditional Medicare mandates that the government pay doctors and other providers for services, as well as providing private sector choices that have to offer coverage that is at least as good as traditional Medicare. By doing that, we protect traditional Medicare and the private choices to hold each other accountable. It is going to be pretty hard to protect traditional Medicare and its purchasing power with some of what we are going to see later this afternoon that actually proposes to end traditional Medicare within the space of 2 years.

Third, Medicare reform—and we went into this hearing that was held in Chairman CONRAD’s Budget Committee—is going to require comprehensive consumer protection. I have been involved in this since the days when I would go visit senior citizens in my home state and they would bring out a shoe box full of health insurance policies that weren’t worth the paper on which they were written. It was a Medigap scandal that we finally fixed in 1990. I have seen how these rip-off artists try to exploit our seniors. So at Chairman CONRAD’s hearing we talked about comprehensive consumer protections and specifically ensuring that any Medicare reform would have to have a strong risk-adjustment program so that if, for example, a network of health care providers or an insurer took mostly healthy people, their contribution from the government would be far less than the contribution that would be afforded for a program that took a greater amount of older people with health challenges.

So I bring this up only by way of saying I am committed to bipartisan Medicare reform. I think Medicare is a program that can only be preserved and protected by ensuring that we take the steps I have just outlined—three or four of them this afternoon—which ensure that we put seniors and their well-being before ideology and politics. This afternoon we are going to hear several alternatives offered by colleagues from the other side of the aisle that, in my view, don’t do that, don’t meet that test. In effect, we are going to be dealing with ideology and politics, and I have outlined here today that I think can win support from colleagues on both sides of the aisle and that people can see on my own Web site have attracted the support of influential Republican volunteers.

So we have a test to meet. It is a test that builds on a bipartisan approach to a program that is sacred—I ask unanimous consent for 1 additional minute. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WYDEN. —and that is built around a Medicare guarantee that must be protected and preserved. A number of the proposals we will get from the other side this afternoon don’t meet that test.

I want colleagues to know that I am committed to working with them to produce what America wants in this Congress: that is, bipartisan Medicare reform that ensures that this very special program prospers in the days ahead. We are up to it. We are up to it if we build on the bipartisan example Senator CONRAD started years ago with Senator Grassley.

With that, I yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator. I thank him for the extraordinary work he has done on the Budget Committee.

I thank him for the extraordinary work he has done as an individual Senator to propose bipartisan tax reform, bipartisan Medicare reform, and the kinds of thoughtful solutions we so desperately need.

I see Senator LAUTENBERG is here. We are glad to have the Senator. How much time would the Senator like?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask for recognition from the Presiding Officer to move ahead with my statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I wish to inform the Senator from New Jersey that Senator ALEXANDER is scheduled to be here at 12:30 or thereabouts, so if the Senator could consume about that amount of time, we can make this all work.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. We will give the Senator a good greeting.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, one thing we know is that a budget isn’t just a collection of numbers, it is an expression of principles and priorities.

While I have the floor, I will take a moment to say to our friend and colleague from North Dakota that he has been one of the strongest chiefs of the Budget Committee for a long time. I think it is fair to say, Republican or Democrat, the Senator from North Dakota deserves the thanks and respect from everybody here for the detail and for the arduous task he took on to make sure our budgets were clear. No matter how often the challenges came, Senator CONRAD would stand and give the background and give the details that got things where they are, and his work.

I yield to the Senator.
fighting against strong headwinds and too many Americans are out of work, the Republicans are offering the same old prescriptions: tax cuts for the rich and austerity for everyone else.

Now, I have seen this country of ours through adversity many times, and I have seen it come out stronger on the other side. But our recoveries have never been spurred by starving the middle class while giving tax breaks to the wealthy. Prosperity has never trickled down from the wealthy few. Prosperity has always grown up from a broad middle class. We can’t build a building starting with a chimney, and we can’t build a society’s strength by starting from the top. It has to have a foundation at the bottom that is strong and has the ability to support the needs of our total society.

But a strong middle class depends on a first-rate educational system—and forgive me—I say that for a moment more. When I got out of the Army—I was a high school graduate. I enlisted when I was 18, and I was lucky. I was able to get an education paid for by the government. I was one of those—service people—who got our education paid for virtually because of the fact that we had served in the military. As a result, half of those who were in uniform—8 million out of 16 million—got a college education. I can tell my colleagues that it enabled me, working with two colleagues, to start a company that the three of us founded, a company that took years and years to build. Slowly and geometrically it began to develop. Today that company produces the labor statistics every month for the worldwide knowledge of what is happening with working people, what their wages are, what employment is like. The name of the company is ADP. We have 50,000 employees now. We were three poor boys with nothing going for us except the willingness to work hard, and that is the value. What did we get? It was determined that was the greatest generation. Why? Because an education was given to so many who could learn but didn’t have the ability to get to college.

What we need is a society with affordable and accessible health care and a tax system where everyone pays their fair share.

The Republican budgets include vicious cuts to the middle class. Just look at what they want to do to education. They slash funding for education by $19 billion. They want to do that now when we desperately need the skills and the knowledge that education brings and the opportunity for invention and creation. They don’t want us to see the scifi programs they cut, but let’s look at the devastating consequences if their cuts were distributed evenly.

I don’t know whether Head Start is a familiar operation in our country, but it is one of the most valuable. I believe there are about a million children who participate in the program. Look at the face of this child, looking through a narrow prism. There are 200,000 of these children—Stay-at-home. There is no room for you. We can’t afford to pay for you.

I recently went to a Head Start school in New Jersey and I met the children. I am such a professional grandfather. Kids look beautiful to me. I met the children. What they were learning was that learning is fun. Words mean something. Pictures mean something. They were prepared, when they got to kindergarten or first grade, to say that learning is good.

I met a child there. The children lined up to greet me. This is a school that is bilingual.

I said: What is your name?

The little boy standing in front of me said: My name is Julio.

So I put my hand out to shake his hand, and he pushed it aside and instead he wrapped his arms around my legs and gave me a hug. All the little kids were thinking that he was the leader, so they all gave me hugs. It was one of the best days I have had, to see what happens when we treat these little kids to an opportunity to learn. Imagine slashing funding for a program that will help children learn how to learn.

These cuts are shortsighted. They are cruel. Ten million college students could see their Pell grants cut by more than $1,000 in 2014—very painful. With less support and rising costs for higher education, young people would be forced to take on more debt in order to attend college because we see college tuition is going up rapidly across the country.

The Republican budgets address student debt too. They would let the interest rate on the new student loans double, increase by twice. It is an outrage. Why are Republicans putting obstacles in front of young people seeking an education? I never would have been able to attend, as I said, Columbia University without that government help for me and the services that ADP provides. It enabled me to cofound one of America’s most successful companies. The other side say all; a lot of people on the other side are good people concerned about their constituents, concerned about what happens—but many on that side say balancing the budget is the mission, the only mission. And in order to do it, they want to make sure that includes a high priority for tax breaks for the millionaires.

But instead of offering a helping hand to this generation of students, the Republican proposals close the door in their faces. Government investments in science, technology, and medical research are cut by more than $100 billion over the next 10 years. Medical research funding alone could take a hit of nearly $1 billion per year.

What does that do? It delays research on new treatments for diseases such as cancer, childhood asthma, and juvenile diabetes. Imagine telling a parent of a sick child that we could not help him get back with his friends out in the playground or going to school on a regular basis. Is that where America wants to be? Right now we are finding new treatments and new cures that is a greater likelihood that autism will enter into a family’s difficulties with a child being born with autism. How can we say no when we see, in my State alone, that in 29 male babies has autism? That is a plague. That is a terrible statistic.

Then we want to talk about cutting back on health research? In their budgets, instead of helping seniors retire with dignity, Republicans have proposed to end Medicare as we know it, giving seniors a voucher instead of guaranteed care. If that voucher cannot cover the cost of needed medical services, Republicans say: Hey, too bad; you are on your own. We have heard comments from them saying: Well, so what if you are poor. It does not matter.

I look at this chart that says: “Ends Medicare As We Know It To Provide Tax Cuts For The Wealthy.” They want to make sure that includes people who are fortunate enough now under present conditions to be able to have long-term care with a disease that is terminal.

The Republican plan would also cut Medicaid. Medicaid is not for those less able to provide for themselves because of low income or no income. The Republican plans also want to cut that by more than $800 billion over 10 years. Medicaid provides vital resources such as pregnancy services for expectant mothers and nursing home care for seniors.

We created Medicare and Medicaid because it was decided in this country as a society that we have to be there for seniors and the young when they get sick. But now the Republicans are proposing to break that promise. They seem to do it without shame.

Republicans are not even exempting the hungry from their cuts. They would eliminate food stamps for up to 10 million Americans over the next decade.

In their obsession with austerity, they cut through far more than the fat in the budget. They cut into the bone. They cut into the presidency of the children born with autism. How can we talk about them when there are about a million children who participate in the program. Look at the face of this child, looking through a narrow prism. There are nearly $6 billion by 2014. Medical research funding alone could take a hit of nearly $1 billion per year.

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plan shreds the safety net for seniors and the poor while padding the mattress for the rich.

I ask my colleagues, please get your priorities straight. America needs your help across the board. Your families, your neighbors, your State, all need your attention. Millionaires do not need more tax cuts, and they certainly should not get them at the expense of seniors, children, and the middle class.

With that, I yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I thank the Senator.

Senator ALEXANDER is next. I wonder if we could enter into a quick time agreement to get the next Senators slotted. That might help us manage the floor, I would say to my colleague, Senator SESSIONS.

Mr. SESSIONS. Right. I believe Senator TOOMEY is here and would be prepared to go next after Senator ALEXANDER.

Mr. CONRAD. We have Senator REED slotted in between.

I wonder if we could propose—I say to Senator ALEXANDER, how much time would you like?

Mr. ALEXANDER. Well, Mr. President, I would like to request that Senator COONS and I are hoping to introduce a piece of legislation on another matter and talk about it. I think, given the focus on the budget here, I am going to suggest to Senator COONS, who will be coming here at 12:15, that we just hold on until 12:45. If he could have 5 minutes to do that, and then we would stay focused on the budget, and we will talk about the other matter tomorrow.

So what I wish to do, if I may suggest, is ask that I have 5 minutes to speak on the budget and maybe 5 minutes to speak on the other matter, for Senator COONS to be recognized for 5 minutes, and that would take all of the time I would ask for.

Mr. CONRAD. The problem is, we are overscheduled by that. It is difficult to—we have not been yielding for things that are not budget related, I would say to the Senator. So I wonder if it would be agreeable if the Senator would take 5 minutes on the budget, we come back to Senator REED, if he could take 5 minutes on the budget, and then we go to Senator TOOMEY for 15 minutes on the budget because he has a substantive budget alternative that deserves additional time.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I think that is a reasonable request. I wonder if I might ask on behalf of Senator COONS that if he should come to the floor during that period, he be recognized for 1 minute to simply stand up and say he was planning to do this, but we will defer our introduction of our bill until tomorrow out of respect for the budget discussion.

Mr. CONRAD. I appreciate that very much.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator ALEXANDER be recognized for 5 minutes on the budget, Senator REED of Rhode Island for 5 minutes on the budget, then Senator TOOMEY for 15 minutes on the budget, and if Senator COONS comes after that point he be recognized for a minute on a separate matter, and then we come back to Senator WHITEHOUSE for 8 minutes. If we could lock those in I think that would help.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, am I now recognized for 5 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Thank you, Mr. President. Please do me know when 30 seconds is remaining.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will do so.

FOREIGN STUDENT LEGISLATION

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, Senator TOOMEY and I have also discussed the possibility of allowing States to have the option of choosing per capita caps on their average Medicaid expenditures per beneficiary as an alternative to traditional block grants, and I am encouraged by these discussions.

Last August, I supported the Budget Control Act because it was an opportunity to take an important step in the right direction.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Thank you, Mr. President.

The House-passed budget and the budget proposed by Senator TOOMEY are opportunities to take the next step after the Budget Control Act. I look forward to working with them to adopt a responsible budget that grows the economy and reduces our debt.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

This is an irresponsible proposal, and instead of playing politics we should be working together on a plan to address the debt, which is the most urgent problem facing our country and, according to former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen, the biggest threat to our national security.

The Simpson-Bowles fiscal commission plan, the Domenici-Rivlin plan, and the Gang of Six proposal all offer bipartisan blueprints for how to add to our deficit. Each of these proposals would reform the Tax Code and restructure entitlement spending—the main source of our dangerous Federal debt—so that seniors can count on Medicare and Social Security and taxpayers can afford them.

Mandatory entitlement spending, which is 58 percent of the Federal budget, is growing at nearly 3 times inflation and bankrupting our country. Discretionary spending, which funds our national defense, our national parks, and National Laboratories, is only 36 percent of the Federal budget and is growing at the rate of inflation. Focusing our budget cutting on discretionary spending is just a way for Congress—to use the President’s words—to kick the can down the road. The real work is reducing the growth of mandatory spending.

Although the Senate is not debating its own budget resolution, going 1,113 days without passing a budget, we are debating several proposals. I may not agree with every one of these, but I do support the House-passed budget because it is a serious proposal to cut out-of-control spending and help solve our fiscal crisis.

I will also support the proposal offered by Senator TOOMEY. Even though it cuts nondefense discretionary spending to 2006 levels, which I believe is too low, it reform mandatory entitlement spending, it closes tax loopholes, it lowers tax rates, and it would save Medicare for future generations.

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The claim was rated by this organization as false. We are closing a loophole that benefits the wealthy and some of the most powerful interests in this country in order to allow middle-income families to send their children to school. I hope this is something more sensible or anything more fair. I will just return to the final point about these budgets. As I read them, they, by and large, echo the Ryan budget, which allows for a doubling of the interest rate on students and does not target the biggest middle-income and middle-class people all to benefit the wealthiest through additional tax cuts. That is not good fiscal policy, not good educational policy. It is not good policy for the growth of this country, to invest in education, and it is not fair. I would hope that we would reject them.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. COONS. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleague, Senator ALEXANDER, in briefly making reference to a bill which we introduced today and which we will speak about in more detail on the Senate floor tomorrow.

At the moment, the Senate is engaged in an important and purposeful debate on the budget. I support Chairman CONRAD and his leadership of our Budget Committee. We will cast a series of other important and difficult votes on other budget matters later today. But I take 1 minute to say that at a time when there is not enough bipartisanship, I am grateful to Senator ALEXANDER for his leadership and for working with me on an issue that will, I hope, move forward—the debate on how we make the promise and the opportunity of America open to more real job creators.

The record shows that a significant number of the most innovative and fastest-growing industries in America were founded by immigrants. Immigrants have long contributed significantly to our culture, to our strength, and to our competitiveness. I think this particular bill, which opens a new class of visa for students from outside the United States who would pursue master’s or doctoral programs in STEM, is an important step forward.

There are many other issues in immigration we need to resolve. There are many other elements we need to reform. But I am grateful for the chance to work with Senator ALEXANDER on this bill and will address it further tomorrow.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. TOOMEY. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the budget resolution I have introduced and on which we will have a vote later today, at least on a motion to proceed. I want to start with underscoring the magnitude of the challenge we face. We have a full-blown crisis that awaits. It could arrive at any moment virtually if we do not change the course we are on.

The deficit we have in 2012, $1.3 trillion, is the fourth consecutive year with a deficit of over $1 trillion. We are now routinely running deficits that are 7, 8, 9 percent of GDP. Of every year we run a deficit, the excessive spending over the tax revenue has to be funded by more borrowing. So we have the mounting debt that is now at stunning levels. For most of this post-war era, after the big repayment of debt after World War II, the national debt fluctuated somewhere around 40 percent of our total economic output.

Today our actual debt held by the public is 73 percent of our total economic output, and that is just the publicly held debt. That does not include the liabilities within the government, which, if you add that, is up to 100 percent of our total economic output. This has never worked well for a country that last chose to run up massive deficits and massive debt. I would argue that we are seeing exactly how this typifies plays out. We are seeing it across the Atlantic in Europe where countries are running up even further deficits than we are today, having run big structural deficits for longer than we have, and having accumulated more debt as a percentage of GDP than we have thus far.

We see what has happened, especially in countries such as Greece where it is particularly acute, and other countries, especially on the periphery of Europe, that arguably are not terribly far behind. This is certainly unsustainable, and I think what we are witnessing today on the Senate floor is that there is one party in this Chamber that is addressing the problem. There is one party that is proposing very specific solutions.

It is perfectly reasonable to have objections and disagreements with any number of elements in my budget resolution or Senator PAUL’s or Senator LEE’s or the Ryan budget. But what I do not understand is why the majority party, the party that is actually in control of this Chamber, can think that it is OK not to have an alternative, not to offer a vision, not to offer a solution to the biggest problem we face as a nation and one that is imminent; one that if left unaddressed certainly will result in a crisis. It is just a question of when.

So I think this is an unacceptable abdication of responsibility. That is where we are. I would argue that what got us into this problem is too much spending. Look at the numbers. They speak volumes. Since 2000, Federal spending has more than doubled. We were spending, as recently as 2007 only a little over 19 percent of our total economic output, and grew that to 24 percent of our economic output. That is a tremendous surge, not just in the absolute dollars in spending, but in the relative rate of spending relative to our economy.

President Obama’s budget is not a serious attempt to deal with this. It was
I do that in part by reducing the total level of spending relative to GDP as compared to the alternative budgets, specifically the President’s alternative or CBO’s. I cannot compare it to the Senate’s Democratic alternative budget because that does not exist. We know the Senate Democratic Demo-
cratic proposal is, but I have one.

So I will elaborate on that a little bit. My proposal is that we get spending down to about 18.3 percent of GDP. That is about the same level revenue we would continue to increase at about a rate of 3 percent per year nominally. See, this is my point. This is a solvable problem. All we need to do is cut out some of the excess, restructurcertain programs, and allow the government spending to grow. It just cannot grow quite as rapidly as it is currently projected to do.

If we get that under control, we can put ourselves on a sustainable path.

Another part of this is to have policies that maximize economic growth. I mean that is an important goal in and of itself, but it is also a path to restoring balance because stronger growth generates more revenue for the Treasury.

Well, my budget would do that without raising taxes. What I would do is have pro-growth tax reform. That is comparable in spirit and in the right direction. It goes to all of the bipartisan commissions that have looked at this, whether it is Simpson-Bowles or Rivlin-Domenici or any of the others. I know there is broad bipartisan consensus on the principle that we would have stronger economic growth if we simplified the code, broaden the base, lower the rates, and then apply those taxes but at lower marginal rates. That is what my budget calls for. It should not be all that controversial to move in this direction of tax simplification, lowering marginal rates, and distributing the lost revenue by reducing the value of deductions and loopholes and writeoffs. That is what my budget asks for.

There are a couple of areas that I think are important where there is bipartisan support for elements within that. The Clinton administration, supports this. Senator Wyden, supports this approach as well.

I wish to emphasize that this is a different plan than what it was last year. Last year there was a criticism that any premium support model that estab-
ishes the amount of money given to people to purchase health care at a fixed dollar amount was a flawed approach because what if health care costs rose more rapidly than that amount could afford to pay for? That is a valid concern.

This is a different dynamic, a different mechanism in the House-passed budget, and in my budget, and I think it is part of the reason a Democratic Senator has embraced this, and Alice Rivlin, a former senior member of the Clinton administration, supports this. You set the premium based on the second lowest bid for the health care services we want to provide, thereby ensuring that a senior citizen would have enough money to purchase that plan.

Not only that but we further and include the traditional fee-for-service Medicare system to which seniors are currently accustomed—we include that as one of the plans that could bid. So it is absolutely the case that any senior who wanted to stick with the traditional fee-for-service Medicare Program could do so under the reform plan.

I happen to believe that in an innovative marketplace, there will be more attractive options. I happen to know that under this system, a lot of seniors—my parents included—have to wait forever to see a doctor, and part of the problem is the dysfunctional system we have now. It is already costing us a lot of money in health care.

I think this reform makes Medicare a better program for the people who need it. Yes, we will ask the wealthy to pay a little more for it. That is reasonable. Those seniors who want to stay in traditional Medicare can do that too in the program. You can put this on a sustainable path. It has some bipartisan support. Mr. Presi-
dent, we don’t really know the extent of that because our Democratic colleagues refuse to put a budget or mark up a budget in committee, present one on the floor.

I will close with this request, which is to vote for the motion to proceed.
Let's get on to my budget and have a debate about this, and let's see where people are. I don't know how we are ever going to reach the compromise we need to reach to put us on a sustainable path if one party is consistently putting forth a range of ideas and the other party refuses. How do you negotiate with somebody who doesn't have a position? How do you have that discussion?

I don't know how many of my Democratic colleagues agree with the President of the United States and my own thought that we ought to ask wealthy seniors to pay a little more for Medicare benefits. If we get on the bill, we could have a debate and have amendments. I think this is too big and too important an issue not to address. The way to address it is to vote yes on the motion to proceed to get on a budget resolution, and then let's have that discussion and let the American people see it and decide on the ideas and all of the ideas we have and see if we can make some progress.

There is an unambiguous fact that I want to underscore. There is one party who wishes to pursue a radical and unwelcome agenda of tax cuts that we voted on and agreed to for next year and the-year after. Mr. Whitehouse. I thank the senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. I thank the chairman, Senator CONRAD, for his leadership on this important issue. I would note for the record that with the conclusion of Senator TOOMEY's remarks, following Senator REED, I think for the first time in the history of the Senate, we had back-to-back presentations by two separate Senators who were graduates of LaSalle Academy in Providence, RI—noteworthy, perhaps, in Rhode Island.

I did note in his remarks his references to the magnitude of this challenge, to the full-blown crisis he perceives, to the completely unsustainable nature of our outward debt, that this is too big and too important not to address. But the House Republican budget approach to protecting and enlarging tax giveaways for the ultrarich.

Let's make no mistake about what this would do to middle-class families. The House Republican budget would start by cutting taxes for big corpora-
tions and the ultrarich, adding $4.6 trillion to our national debt. To pay for these extra tax cuts, the Republicans would decimate programs on which regular American families at some point in their lives come to rely. They may not know it, but we do—beginning for workers who retire in 2023, the House Republican budget would make it a voucher system, which, according to the nonpartisan CBO, will add an estimated $8,000 in annual out-of-pocket costs for each retiree by 2050. In Rhode Island, the average annual Social Security benefit is about $13,600. It is hard to imagine how future seniors living on a fixed Social Security income will be able to maintain health care coverage with that kind of extra cost allowed in. At the same time that they would slash Medicare, the House Republican budget gives those making over $1 million per year an average tax cut of over $150,000. Those making over $1 million per year are getting older or you are a working family and you are going to need Medicare one day, you will get an end to Medicare as we know it. If you are making over $1 million, you get an average tax cut of over $150,000. Those 2,000 people such as Olive in Woonsocket, whose husband fell into the doughnut hole last year. Thanks to that law, they saved $2,400. Under the House Republican budget, they would be stuck paying that $2,400 as an out-of-pocket cost to the big drug companies.

The radical House budget would slash funding for Pell grants, and it would increase interest on student loans. We have all heard people say here that they don't want to encourage the increase in student loan rates we are facing. But while they say that, they, of course, are filibustering our effort to do that. In their budget, they build in the increase in the interest rate. So they speak from two notions.

The House budget requires only $1 trillion in additional and unspecified cuts, and that will be Draconian. Senator PAUL's budget, which we may take up today, would also slash middle-class programs, including Social Security. He includes an eventual 39 percent cut to Social Security benefits and would end Medicare for all seniors in 2014. If we were to take up in 2014, the Paul budget looks like a really great opportunity for you. But that is not what I think anybody really
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wants in this country. I think almost every American wants to see Medicare strengthened and supported.

We should move on from this unnecessary budget messaging exercise and resume our work to keep student loan rates low and support good-paying highway jobs bills that are being delayed that we need action on now. When we turn to a real debate about deficit reduction, I hope my colleagues will unshackle themselves from the tea party and put forward a budget that doesn’t skimp on education, healthcare, or even protect Big Oil subsidies. With that, I yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator from Rhode Island. I thank him for his contributions on the Budget Committee. I don’t think there has been any stronger voice for fundamental health care reform along the lines of dealing with the system that we currently have that, by most accounts, is costing us hundreds of billions of dollars and not adding to the quality of health care. Nobody has been a stronger voice on the Budget Committee or off of it on that subject. I appreciate the Senator’s leadership.

We have Senator WICKER next. Does the Senator have an estimate as to how much time he may consume?

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, I have been told I have 10 minutes allocated, and I shall use probably less than that allocation.

Mr. CONRAD. Very well. Senator WICKER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WICKER. I thank the Chair for recognizing me and I appreciate the time. I want to agree with my friend from Rhode Island to this extent: He said this is not a reality debate about a budget resolution. These are show votes. These are messaging votes we have today.

One can argue all he or she wants that we have a budget in place that we voted on last year, but there is no getting around 2 U.S.C. 631, which is the budget law of the United States of America, passed back in 1974. That budget requires Congress each year to pass a budget resolution. As a matter of fact, it says on or before April 15 of each year, Congress completes action on a concurrent resolution on the budget.

The last time this Senate did that was in 2009. We missed the April 15 deadline in 2010, the leadership of this body missed that deadline in 2011, and they missed it again this year. It has been that long since this body, under the leadership of my friends across the aisle, have complied with the explicit terms of the Federal statute and brought a budget to full consideration on the floor.

What we will have today is debate on five concepts. I am happy to vote for some of them, and will certainly vote against others, but make no mistake about it, this is not the process called for by the Federal statute and it doesn’t comply with the solution that doesn’t serve the purposes of advancing public policy in the United States of America. We are long overdue for a real budget debate that puts something in place.

As I mentioned a moment ago, we have passed the 3-year mark now—1,100 days—since Senate Democrats fulfilled one of their basic obligations, as I mentioned, laid out in Federal statute. A recent column in the Washington Times pointed out that the iPad had not yet even been introduced when the last budget was passed on the floor of this Senate. But since that time, in 3 years, Federal spending has topped a staggering $10 trillion.

Every day our country’s debt grows closer to the future fiscal cliff. This is money my generation will not be able to pay. We have our pages here on the floor. Even their generation will not be able to pay off this $16 trillion in debt. It will be left to their children and grandchildren. The deficit has continued to soar, adding to that debt—over $1 trillion each year during President Obama’s time in office—even though the President promised in 2009 he would cut the deficit in half during his first term. That first term has not been fulfilled. Instead, his latest budget relies more on spending, new taxes, and accounting gimmicks, and it leaves insolvent entitlement programs without meaningful reform.

I noticed the previous speaker stated he would not be voting for President Obama’s budget proposal. I think it is because it is such a false and weak proposal. I expect the Obama budget today would get the same response it got on the House of Representatives. It got a big fat zero when it was put to a messaging vote in the House of Representatives last year when it failed to get a single vote. As I understand it, it failed to get a single vote in the House of Representatives. Not one Republican or Democrat in the House of Representatives earlier this year was willing to step forward and embrace the Obama budget proposal, and it got a big fat zero when it was put to a messaging vote in the House of Representatives. So we are watching a disastrous trajectory and we need to change it now.

Families, businesses, and organizations in my home State of Mississippi, and in every State across the country, know the importance of having a sensible budget and living within that budget. Likewise, taxpayers deserve to see a blueprint of where their money is going and how much will be spent. Washington must be held accountable.

We heard talk on the other side of the aisle about priorities that our Democratic friends wish to see enacted. The Democratic majority in the Budget Committee needs to bring those priorities forward. They need to wrap them up in a budget resolution and bring them to the floor. That is the one thing we are not seeing today—a proposal by the Democratic majority.

It only takes 51 votes to pass a budget. There is no two-thirds rule on a budget. Yet with a 53-vote majority, and with only 51 votes required, they do not bring a budget to the floor for us to consider so we can know what their budget priorities are.

There are plenty of excuses from across the aisle for not complying with the clear mandate, but there is no excuse. It is inexcusable that the majority party in this Chamber refuses to fulfill this statutory responsibility when the warning signs of fiscal calamity are at our doorstep.

You know, it is no wonder our popularity rating as a Congress is down around 10 or 11 percent when this Federal statute explicitly requires us to do this by April of every year. We do not do it. It is no wonder we are held in such low regard by the public. Inaction ultimately bequeaths a burden of debt to our children and grandchildren.

We certainly can’t afford an inaction on an absence of ideas. As has been stated by my friend from Rhode Island, we have five proposals before us today. President Obama’s will probably get zero votes. The House Republican budget will be considered, and budgets from Senators LEE, PAUL, and TOOMEY. Yet the Senate Democrats, regrettably, stay on the sidelines. They have the votes, but we do not have their proposal on the floor—one they are willing to put forward and tell the American people they own. My friend the budget chairman has suggested the upcoming election stands in the way. In April he said:

This is the wrong time to vote in Congress. This is the wrong time to vote on the floor. I don’t think we will be prepared to vote before the election.

I want to make it clear, I have the highest affection and regard for the chairman of the Budget Committee, but I do believe what he is saying, in other words, is that we have a job to do, we have a law to comply with, but we are not going to bring it up at this time because of political concerns. I think political concerns are keeping our friends on the other side from saying where they stand on the budget issues. I think political concerns are keeping them from making the hard choices.

I imagine the American taxpayer would like to know when will be the right time for the Senate to begin complying with Federal law and the right time for a budget that takes fiscal responsibility seriously. They know kicking the can down the road will not make the debt problem go away.

I noticed recently our Commander in Chief told a Russian leader that after
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the election he would have more flexibility on a national security issue—the issue of national military defense. He said, I need to have some time, because after the election I will have more flexibility. Please pass that along to Vladimir. The other side of that is they believe they will have more flexibility on spending issues and budget issues and taxation issues after the election.

The truth is Republicans and Democrats have differences on a number of issues, but I think they will not deter a concentrated effort to lower the deficit and curb runaway spending. I hope this week we can focus on constructive dialogue. I would have hoped we would have an honest process and do what is right and necessary to put this country’s fiscal house back in order.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CARPER. I thank the Chair.

Mr. CONRAD. If I may, if the Senator could do his presentation in about 8 minutes, we have six speakers left and we have 50 minutes.

Mr. CARPER. I will be happy to do so.

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, in listening to the presentation of my friend from Mississippi, I am reminded of the words of Harry Truman when he said something to affect: The only thing new in the world is the history we forgot or never learned.

I want to go back in history. I want to go back about 15 years. We had gone from 1968 to 1997 and never balanced a budget. All those years—almost 30 years. Then President Clinton said to Erskine Bowles, his Chief of Staff, figure out a way to maybe negotiate a balanced budget deal with Republicans in the House and in the Senate and see what kind of deal you can get. So Erskine Bowles and negotiators and came up with a deal. It was the deficit reduction deal that lead to not one but three balanced budgets by the end of that decade. Interestingly enough, half of the debt reduction was on the spending side and half the debt reduction was on the revenue side.

Now fast forward to 2001, a new President, a change in administration, and as far as the eye could see not just balanced budgets but plenty of black ink—surpluses as far as the eye could see. Eight years later, we had another change in administration, and a new President was handed over a $1 trillion deficit, the worst recession since the Great Depression, and we are still trying to dig our way out of that. When we tried to pass legislation here to create a deficit commission a couple of years ago and failed—we were short of votes, and our Republican friends who had co-sponsored that measure, as I recall, ended up not voting for it—this President and his Executive branch said we are going to have a deficit commission and he asked Erskine Bowles to head it up, along with Alan Simpson, a former Senator and deficit hawk from Wyoming.

There were 18 good people, including some from this Chamber, who went to work on a real deficit reduction plan—Democrats and Republicans—and 11 on each side of the aisle for this kind of plan. It was not a 50–50 deal on deficit reduction, but $3 on the spending side for every $1 on the revenue side, with $4 trillion to $5 trillion in deficit reduction over a 10-year period of time.

As my friend mentioned, we are seeing a lot of different ideas. We have a bunch here on the floor: The administration submitted their budget as well, and, frankly, none of them come close to being as good as Bowles-Simpson. Alice Rivlin has done good work. Pete Domenici, our former colleague here in the Senate from New Mexico, has done a good one. But in the end, they all have a budget in place for 2013. We have a budget that is going to be effective for 2013. Right now, we are seeing a deficit reduction of $600 billion in defense spending implemented over a 10-year period of time. Right now, we are seeing a deficit of $600 billion in domestic discretionary spending implemented over a 10-year period of time. And if we don’t come up with an agreement, such as Bowles-Simpson, we will see $600 billion more of deficit reduction, another $600 billion on the nondefense side, and some entitlement program changes as well.

A much better plan than doing that: even though that adds up to about $2 trillion worth of deficit reduction for this year and the coming fiscal year—is the kind of comprehensive balanced plan we have been given by the deficit commission. My hope is, at the end of the day, we will be ready to debate here—later this year, when the elections are behind us—people will actually turn around and say, let’s try to figure out the right thing to do, and then do it. This is the right thing to do. In the meantime, let’s not waste the next 6, 7, or 8 months.

I would suggest to my colleagues to join the bipartisan efforts of people such as Tom Coburn and myself and others. Senator Conrad and Senator Grassley and others, and to join us in going to work on a to-do list provided to us by GAO, the Government Accountability Office. That to-do list is just a few ways to avoid wasting money, and it includes ways to save money by reducing improper payments. We are down from $119 billion last year to $115 billion this year, finally heading in the right direction, reducing fraud in Medicare and Medicaid.

Some very good steps are being done there to help reduce the fraud losses. We have all this surplus property, a lot of which we don’t need. The idea is to get rid of that, and we are beginning to do that. We have too many bad information technology projects and too many information processing centers. We are getting rid of a bunch of those we don’t need. There is actually some good work that is beginning to be done. We can do more, and we ought to do more.

Lastly, I would suggest we ought to consider making the President’s rescission powers real. Senator McCaul and I and about 40, almost 45, Democrats and Republicans have proposed that we make the President’s rescission powers real. The President could sign an appropriations bill under current law, send us proposals to rescind or reduce spending within that appropriations bill that he has just signed into law, and we don’t even have to vote on the rescission. We don’t even have to take it up or look at it. For the most part, we don’t. What John McCain and I and almost half the Senate, Democratic and Republican, have said is, when a President signs an appropriations bill into law and sends it to us, he can send us a rescission message as well that we have to vote on, we actually have to vote on it. And it doesn’t affect taxes. It is not a deal that affects entitlement programs but on appropriations, and we would try this for 4 years.

With a simple majority, we literally vote on the President’s proposal. If it doesn’t get a simple majority in the Senate—51 votes—or a simple majority in the House—218 votes—then it goes away. But at least we have to take responsibility to be held accountable to vote on it. The President would perhaps have some extra responsibility and the opportunity to make meaningful reductions.

Mr. President, how am I doing on time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 30 seconds.

Mr. CARPER. I want to close and say to my friend, Senator Conrad, I know the Senator, as much as I, favors Bowles-Simpson, and I want to thank the Senator for the work he is doing in bringing attention to it again and saying this is still the best plan in the room. I think it is still the best plan out there.

So the idea is when we get to the day or the week after the election, we will be ready to move and to take it up and,
hopefully, to embrace and endorse large parts of it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Iowa for his leadership on these issues. Nobody has been more serious about getting deficits and debt under control than the Senator from Delaware, Mr. CARPER.

Mr. President, how much time would Senator GRASSLEY like to use?

Mr. GRASSLEY. Ten minutes or a little less.

Mr. CONRAD. Perhaps we can ask for a unanimous consent request to lock in these next Senators so people know who is waiting.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I am not prepared to speak for our side.

Mr. CONRAD. We can do it. We have been doing this and I think it works out well.

So seek unanimous consent that Senator GRASSLEY be recognized for 10 minutes, followed by Senator CARDEN for 8, followed by Senator CRAPO for 10 minutes.

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

The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, adopting a budget for the country is one of the most basic responsibilities and fundamental functions of the Congress.

The Budget Act of 1974 requires Congress to adopt a budget by April 15 each year. It is a requirement that this Senate majority has ignored time and again. In fact, the Senate hasn’t adopted a budget since April 29, 2009. More than 3 years have passed since the Senate last adopted a budget. During that time, more than $4 trillion has been added to our Nation’s debt. In President Obama’s Presidency, we have added $5 trillion to the national debt.

So as we enter the midst of the fourth consecutive year of $1 trillion deficits. All the while, the Senate Democratic majority has failed to propose a budget blueprint that would lay out their priorities for deficit reduction, economic growth and a path to balance. It is no wonder, then, our Nation is driving toward a fiscal cliff of deficits and debt. There is no one in the Democratic leadership willing to take hold of the wheel of this vehicle.

In February, President Obama released his budget. The President’s 2013 budget would expand the scope of government by spending more money, increasing taxes on job creators, and continue on the path of enormous deficit and record debt.

While President Obama claims his budget will create an America built to last, the only thing his budget builds, it seems to me, is higher deficits and debt—a bigger and more intrusive government and economic decline for future generations.

During the past 60 years spending has averaged about 21 percent of GDP. Over the 10-year window of President Obama’s budget, spending never gets below 22 percent. In dollar terms, spending goes up from the present $3.8 trillion to $5.8 trillion in the year 2022. So it is very clear President Obama is built to spend.

President Obama’s budget is also harmful to our fragile economy because it would impose a $1.9 trillion tax increase. Maybe the President’s purpose in imposing this huge tax increase is an effort to control the nation’s debt. Unfortunately, that is not what he has planned in his budget. He wants to spend every dollar.

His budget runs deficits totaling $6.4 trillion over the next 10 years. Debt held by the public increases from 74.2 percent of our economy today to 76.3 percent in 2022. Of course, we need to remember that the historical average since World War II has been about 43 percent.

If people believe President Obama is putting us on a path to fiscal sustainability, I would suggest that they look at the annual deficits over the next 10 years. They never drop below $575 billion, and they actually go up at the end of his budget, rising to $704 billion in 2022. President Obama’s budget puts America on the course of deficits and debt as far as the eye can see into the future.

The President also took a pass on proposing any real changes to our entitlement programs, which are a real driver of future deficits and debt. Again, he is absent from the discussion. He has no solution. He has chosen not to lead. The leadership from the Senate majority? Where is their budget? Why have they not proposed a budget in more than 3 years?

The budget chairman has said repeatedly that we already have a budget in place for this year and even for next year. The chairman and majority leader believe the Budget Control Act was a budget resolution. The Budget Control Act is not a budget. President Obama’s budget puts America on the course of deficits and debt as far as the eye can see into the future.

The American people are going to pay a heavy price for the unwillingness and inability of the Senate majority to lead and to offer solutions. Once again, the Senate majority and its leadership and President Obama are content to be absent from the discussion. Three years without this sort of debate is proof of that. There are no solutions; there is no leadership. There is only failure and punting until after the next election.

We have a moral obligation to offer serious solutions for today—most importantly for future generations.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, the budget document is a very important document.

It speaks to the priorities of our Nation, and it gives instructions to our committees to report out legislation consistent with that of the budget resolution. It gives instructions to the Appropriations Committee to pass appropriations bills and to other committees as it may affect revenues or mandatory spending.

We have that budget document for the fiscal year that begins October 1 of this year. That was included in the Budget Control Act which passed this body by 74 votes. It has the force and effect of law.

So our appropriators committees know the numbers for the appropriations bills for the year that begins October 1, and the other committees know what the requirements will be. The question is whether we should have a longer term commitment on dealing with our budget problems.

We do need a bipartisan, credible program that involves not only the Democrats and Republicans in the Senate,
but also the Democrats and Republicans in the House, and the President of the United States. We need to avoid sequestration, and we need the predictability for our economy and for those who act upon our actions to know what the rules are that we are going to follow. Let me explain that. We need to do two things. We need to pass a balanced budget that the current one we have is not. But more importantly, we need to make the changes that we need for our economy. We need to make the changes that are needed to get our economy moving again. We need to do that because we are going to face a decision soon that will determine whether we have a successful future or not.

I compliment Senator CONRAD for his leadership in giving us an opportunity to move in that direction. I think Senator CONRAD showed tremendous leadership on behalf of the Democratic members of the Budget Committee to forgo bringing forward a partisan budget and instead said: Let’s take a look at a long-term budget that can get bipartisan support, that has been tested, that has been out there, and that is called Bowles-Simpson.

We are talking about the broad outline. This document gives broad instructions to the committee. It is the so-called macro numbers. I think the chairman has provided us the leadership on that issue. But do not get confused, we have a budget for the fiscal year 2012. We are working on that. We have it earlier than we have ever had it, and it has the force and effect of law.

Each of the four Republican plans that we will be voting on moves us in the wrong direction to accomplishing those goals. They use almost all of the spending cuts that are included in these budgets for additional tax cuts. It benefits primarily those who do not need an additional tax cut. The House Republican budget would provide $1 trillion in tax cuts for the wealthiest among us, giving millionaires an average tax cut of $150,000. At the same time, that budget would ask our college students to pay more by allowing interest rates on their loans to increase. It would ask our seniors to pay more by paying more for their Medicare benefits.

They have it backward. Those who have sacrificed the most during these economic times under Republican budgets would be asked to pay more. Those who have benefited the most during that period of time would get additional tax cuts. That is not what we should be doing. It would hurt our economic recovery.

It is impossible to make the types of cuts that are in the Republican budget that deal with American innovation. Take a look what it would do for basic research in this country, which I hope we all agree is necessary for America to continue to lead the world in innovation. In my own State of Maryland I look at the jobs we created in the biotech field, through cybersecurity. Basic research is critically important to advance those job opportunities and economic opportunities for America. We need commitments to building our infrastructure—our transit systems, our roads, our energy grids. If we are going to be competitive, we need to rebuild America to meet the global challenges.

It would reduce our commitments in education. An educated workforce is America’s future. Investing in our children is what we should be doing. The Bowles-Simpson approach has an even prettier K—what they do with Head Start —and I already mentioned the cost of student loans in postsecondary education would go up. For our seniors, they would be thrown into a voucher program in Medicare at the mercy of private insurers and asked to pay more when they are already overburdened by the costs of their health care.

Under the Toomey budget, they would block-grant Medicaid, throwing that burden onto our States. Our children and families would suffer.

Under the Paul budget, Social Security benefits would be reduced on average by 39 percent. Social Security is a vital lifeline for the people of this country. It is a program that becomes a political football is not what we need for this country. For our students, the cost of a college education would be increased.

We need to put forward a credible plan to reduce the deficit. We need to do this—and we have done it before. When Bill Clinton was President of the United States and I was serving in the House of Representatives, we passed a plan that balanced our Federal budget and actually created a surplus. How did we do it? We did it through a balanced approach. We did it through cutting spending and raising the revenues so we paid our bills. What were the results? Our economy took off, creating millions of jobs. That is what we need to do again.

How do we get this done? Let’s get working together. Let’s have Democrats and Republicans work together in order to come up with a balanced approach that has spending cuts and those who can afford to pay more should be paying more because it is not fair to future generations for us to spend money today and ask our children and grandchildren to pay for it tomorrow.

Let us protect the programs that are important for economic growth, for the dignity of our seniors, and for the welfare of our children. It starts with rejecting the extreme partisan budgets that our Republican colleagues are offering. I urge my colleagues to reject those budget resolutions.

I yield the floor. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Idaho is recognized.

Mr. CRAPO. Mr. President, I appreciate the efforts by our Republican leader, MITCH McCONNELL, and by the ranking member of our Senate Budget Committee, JEFF SESSIONS, to give the Senate a chance today to do its job. It has been 3 years since the Senate has passed a budget, almost 1,100 days, $4 trillion in increased debt since we last had a budget. Yet it seems as if the current majority are the only ones who do not think passing a budget is part of our job.

I have to stop here for a moment and commend the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Senator CONRAD. I know he has fought mightily to get a budget to this floor. But the politics he faces have not allowed him to do so. As of today, for 1,100 days we have not been able to see a budget proposal reach the Senate floor from our committee.

I have worked with Senator CONRAD long and hard and will continue to do so, trying to get a broad, bipartisan solution brought forward. But today we need to take action on the Senate floor. Everyone else has a budget. The President has offered a budget. The House Republicans have offered a budget. The House Democrats have offered a budget. Even though it is widely acknowledged that the current paths of our entitlement programs are unsustainable...
and even though they are on track to soon become insolvent, the President’s budget has no comprehensive reforms to our entitlement programs—none. The modest amount of health care savings he does propose would not even be enough to offset the extension of the doc fix or the other increases in the health care spending he proposes.

This is a dangerous approach, and it should be noted that this budget failed by a vote of 0 to 414 in the House. Yet we have no other pending budget proposal from the other side to consider.

Today the Senate will also have an opportunity to reject the President’s approach to the Federal budget, and I expect it will do so, just as it did last time, because the Democratic majority here in the Senate has failed to produce their own budget, we will also have the opportunity to vote on some important budget proposals offered by the House Budget Committee chairman and by our own colleagues here in the Senate. TOOMEY, PAUL, and LEE. Each of these proposals would include true comprehensive reforms to our entitlement programs to prevent the impending insolvent and to protect the programs for current and future generations, and would put us on a sustained pathway to balancing our Federal budget.

These budgets also call for comprehensive tax reform which takes us out of the old paradigm of Congress debating how to raise or cut taxes and, instead, these proposals would each in their own way dramatically streamline the Tax Code, reduce the tax rates, and unleash significant economic growth in our economy. A by-product of this robust economic growth would be an increase in revenues to produce their own budget, we will also have the opportunity to vote on some important budget proposals offered by the House Budget Committee chairman and by our own colleagues here in the Senate. TOOMEY, PAUL, and LEE. Each of these proposals would include true comprehensive reforms to our entitlement programs to prevent the impending insolvent and to protect the programs for current and future generations, and would put us on a sustained pathway to balancing our Federal budget.

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I again commend the chairman, Senator CONRAD, for his effort to bring forward an alternative plan, a solution—one that originated with Bowles-Simpson on which he and I sat and one which has then been worked on by the so-called Gang of Six for a significant amount of time now to improve and bring forward, and one which the chairman is prepared to move when the opportunity is available. I have encouraged him to do it now. I believe we ought to have it on the floor today for this debate. But whenever the time becomes available, this is a proposal such as this that we need to be dealing with. We need to develop the bipartisan support that is necessary to pass it.

What is it? First of all, as we worked on the Bowles-Simpson commission, we made some basic decisions. We concluded that spending was the major problem—that is where the major part of the solution should be—but that revenue was also critical to the solution and that growing our economy was an important part of anything Congress should discuss. So we put forward a series of proposals that together a strong approach to entitlement reform, structural entitlement reform. We put strong spending caps in place and we made clear that our spending patterns in the Federal budget would be brought under control. In addition, recognizing the importance and need for strong growth, we concluded that our Tax Code must be reformed, so that we could unleash the full potential of our economy, and that broadly broadening the base, reducing the rates, and reforming the way we tax in America by simplifying our Tax Code and making America a strong, powerful, and robust economy as it historically has been.

Then we put together what is critical for any plan to succeed, and that is an enforcement mechanism. Congress has a perfect record of violating its own budgets. Congress has a record of ignoring the declarations in the FY 2012 Budget Act, and enforcing the sequester. We have in the past two decades or more, the Congress has done so. Republican or Democratic, the Congress has done so; the Congress has done so; the Congress has done so; and the Congress has done so. What we put together in our negotiations was an enforcement plan that would keep Congress within the walls of the budget we adopt. It would have a series of points of order to protect against the declarations of emergencies that are unjustifiably and would then force even emergency spending, that usually is conducted outside the budget, to be done in the face of a sequester backed up by 67-vote points of order on the floor. This kind of strong enforcement is also critical to what we must do to protect our Nation.

We need a comprehensive plan, we need to have entitlement reform, we have to have discretionary spending reform, and we need to have budget enforcement that is solid. We need to strengthen our revenue stream and enforce our Tax Code by lowering taxes. That gives American businesses the opportunity to compete aggressively across the globe.

If we do so, we will see a strong revenue component to our reform measures, and we will see strong growth coming out of the fact that we put to together a strong plan to deal with our service members and families, and protecting and supporting the middle-class families and so much more.

I also appreciate the leadership of Senator MCCONNELL and Senator SESSIONS, who have given the Senate the opportunity today to debate this issue and have votes, at least, on meaningful proposals that move us down the path, I have discussed, that puts us onto a pathway for economic prosperity and growth for all.

America is at a terrible crisis point. Our national debt is now exceeding 100 percent of our GDP and threatens our economy. We must take action. We cannot let another year go by without adopting a budget on the floor of the Senate.

I yield the floor.
That was the agreement we came to. Speaker BOEHNER shook on it. Minority Leader MCCONNELL shook on it. Majority Leader REID signed it, joined many of my colleagues in voting for it, and then President Obama signed it into law. It was the law of the land. I would add it to the binding and replace and carries more weight than a budget resolution. It makes the budget resolutions we are debating today nothing more than political theater.

Senate Democrats fully intend to honor their word and stick to the bipartisan budget levels for next year, and Senate Republicans in our Appropriations Committee, including the minority leader, recently voted to stick to those levels as well. I was disappointed that less than 9 months after we shook hands on that deal House Republicans turned right around and broke it. They put appeasing their extreme base ahead of the word they gave to us and the American people. They demonstrated clear and now let’s not call it cloudy that this deal with them isn’t worth the paper it is printed on.

Despite House Republicans reneging on the deal, the Budget Control Act is the law, it is signed, and we have so many challenges ahead of us as a nation that we cannot afford to re-litigate these bipartisan deals every time members of the extreme end of the Republican Party make some noise in a meeting. House Republicans are not only trying to re-litigate that Budget Control Act, they want to pretend it never happened.

As part of that deal, in addition to the $1 trillion in discretionary spending cuts, a joint select committee on deficit reduction was formed to reduce the deficit by at least an additional $1.2 trillion. In fact, if they couldn’t come to an agreement, the bipartisan budget control act put in place automatic spending cuts, or sequestration, which spread evenly across defense and non-defense spending.

We knew in the time the sequestration was not the ideal way to reduce spending, but we wanted to have that in place so that painful cuts were prominent and would help both sides to come to a bipartisan compromise. I was called on by the majority leader to cochair that committee with Republican Representative JEB HENSARLING, and I am proud of that committee’s hard work. I was extremely disappointed in the end that committee was not able to come up with a bipartisan deal.

I want to be clear—because this is very relevant today—we weren’t able to get a deal because Republicans refused to even consider tax increases on the wealthiest Americans. The talks fell apart around that issue and that issue alone.

I came to the table with many of my colleagues with proposals for serious compromises on spending and a willingness to roll back sequestration and make more changes to strengthen entitlements. We knew many of these compromises would be painful, but we were willing to put them forward to get to a bipartisan deal and a balanced deal. But as much as we offered, we couldn’t get our Republican colleagues to give an inch when it came to taxes on the wealthiest Americans and the biggest corporations even though the rich are paying the lowest tax rates today in generations. They were fundamentally opposed to any plan that would call on the wealthy to pay a penny more in taxes.

In poll after poll Americans overwhelmingly say they want to see a balanced approach to tackling the deficit and debt that puts everything on the table, including revenue. Every single bipartisan group that has come together to tackle this—from Simpson-Bowles, Domenici-Rivlin, Gang of 6—has included a balanced approach that reduces spending and raises revenues. That is the only real and fair way to tackle this challenge, and it simply doesn’t make any sense to solve this problem with cuts alone.

So as we watch House Republicans rolling back the automatic cut they don’t like and acting as though the bipartisan Budget Control Act never happened, I say to them today what I said to the Republicans in the joint select committee: We will not allow the debt and deficit to be reduced on the backs of our middle-class and most vulnerable Americans without calling on the wealthiest to contribute as well. It is not fair for the American people want, and it is not going to happen. We are facing these automatic cuts because Republicans continue to protect the rich above all else. Unless that changes before the end of the year, our country is going to have to face the consequences of intransigence.

Republicans in the House of Representatives are not only acting as though the BCA never happened, they are highlighting the moral and intellectual bankruptcy that allows itself only to think in terms of cutting, shrinking, eliminating, and never in terms of investing and growing and fairness. The legislation they passed would roll back sequestration for next year by simply taking funding from programs middle-class families and the most vulnerable Americans count on and shifting it to defense. They want all of the deficit reduction from the budget control act without any bipartisan compromise or shared sacrifice.

Since they refuse to consider raising taxes on the wealthy, the only way they can increase spending on defense is by absolutely devastating critical government investments in our families and in our future.

According to a report from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, the House legislation would not only roll back sequestration on the defense side, it would increase overall defense spending by $50 billion per year.

And while they may say they are rolling back the automatic cuts on non-defense spending too, this report shows House Republicans are slashing these programs almost three-quarters of the way to what would be cut under sequestration.

Since they need to find a way to pay to undo the automatic cuts they don’t like, their bill cuts even deeper, into programs millions of families across America count on.

According to that same CBPP report, the Republican legislation would cut assistance to the most vulnerable families, Medicaid, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, and block grants for States to run programs to help families and workers get back on their feet.

So House Republicans are actually increasing defense spending, protecting the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations, and throwing the entire burden on the backs of middle class families and the most vulnerable Americans.

That’s not just bad policy, it is simply wrong.

If Democrats were willing to accept a wildly imbalanced deficit reduction plan that avoids the automatic cuts, we would have done that in the Joint Select Committee. But we didn’t then, and we won’t now.

Any bipartisan deficit reduction plan, whether the goal is to reduce the deficit in a better way than the sequesters or to put our country on sound fiscal footing over the long term, has to be balanced. It has to be fair. And it has to work for middle class families across America. That means responsibly cutting spending. It means making sure entitlement programs that seniors and the most vulnerable families depend on are strengthened and secured for the next generation. It means examining where we can save money on the defense side. And it means making sure revenue from the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations who are paying close to the lowest levels in generations.

Just because budgets aren’t just numbers on a page. They aren’t just about charts and formulas and trajectories. Those are important but budgets are also about real people, with real lives. They are about investments in our deficit in a better way than the sequesters or to put our country on sound fiscal footing over the long term, has to be balanced. It has to be fair. And it has to work for middle class families across America. That means responsibly cutting spending. It means making sure entitlement programs that seniors and the most vulnerable families depend on are strengthened and secured for the next generation. It means examining where we can save money on the defense side. And it means making sure revenue from the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations who are paying close to the lowest levels in generations.

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fat to trim, I think it makes sense to scour the tax code in just the same way and eliminate the egregious loopholes that the wealthiest Americans and biggest corporations take advantage of.

And while oil and gas companies are making record profits, I think it just makes sense to end the wrong direction, and makes it even harder to get to the bipartisan deficit reduction deal they say they want.

So I urge them to end this partisanship.

Stop allowing a small and extreme minority of members to dictate policy for an entire chamber of Congress. Stop protecting the wealthiest Americans from sharing in the sacrifices so many Americans are making every day, and to truly work with us to get this done for the people.

As soon as that happens, Democrats stand ready to get to a balanced and bipartisan deal.

The choices we make as a body in the coming months will affect every single American. As the majority leader, I have said from the start, we will put everything on the table, but that word is “everything.” We cannot come to a solution in America unless everybody contributes and there is shared sacrifice. That is the principle we have been fighting for. It is the one we will continue to fight for, and that is what the American people want. I am proud to stand with my party to continue to fight for that.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise to say that it is stunning to see the Republican Party running away from a bill they supported and a deal they cut. The tax cut, the deficit reduction deal was led by Senator CONRAD. The Budget Control Act is the law of the land. Instead they are offering up a series of budgets that I believe will destroy this country.

Why do I say that? Because they destroy the middle class and they give to the millionaires and the billionaires. That is a recipe for a third world nation, the haves and the have-nots. I hope the American people wake up and hope the American people wake up and hope the American people wake up and hope the American people wake up. I believe will destroy this country.

One of these budgets actually cuts Social Security by 39 percent. Imagine a Social Security recipient living on $18,000 getting a cut of almost 40 percent. Social Security by 39 percent. Imagine a Social Security recipient living on $18,000 getting a cut of almost 40 percent.

So this is what they are doing. I say to my colleagues. They eliminate the Department of Education. They eliminate the ability for many people to pay for their energy assistance in the winter. They walk away from alternative energy. They free us from foreign oil and make us safer. That is what they do, and they do it all in the name of tax breaks for the people in America who—I am very proud of them. They made it. In my State, a lot of those folks who have made it have written to me and said: Senator, we want everybody to have the chance we had.

The only passion of Republicans is for those who have. They practice Robin Hood in reverse. In one of the budgets, they even—I think it is the Ryan budget—tax the poorest people. They tax the poorest people. They raise taxes on the poorest people, and they cut taxes on the richest people. Robin Hood in reverse. Isn’t that sweet? Isn’t that kind? Not. So they bring America to its knees. They walk away from the Budget Control Act. Do we know why they don’t like it? Because it forces spending cuts across the board. I don’t like them either. But we are serious about deficit reduction.

In my closing remarks I will say this: In the last 40 years, one party balanced the budget. In the last 40 years, one party created a surplus. That happens to be the Democratic Party and a Democratic President named Bill Clinton. How did we do it? We met each other halfway. We said that when we are faced with a crisis, we have to put everything on the table and everybody makes a little bit of a sacrifice. It is no big deal. We ask the people who have the most to do a little more, and we find ways to cut spending. That is what we did in the Clinton years. Do we know what happened? We created 23 million new jobs. We balanced the budget, we created a surplus, and now we have to listen to the demagogues over there lecture us about how to balance the budget. Wrong. We know how to do it. They don’t know how to do it. All they know how to do is stand up and attack our President when our President inherited this terrible deficit from George W. Bush, who took a surplus—Bush did—and turned it into deficits as far as the eye can see. And we were losing—And I ask unanimous consent for 30 additional seconds.

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

Mrs. BOXER. We were losing how many jobs a month? We were losing 800,000 jobs a month when our President took over. The country was falling apart.

He saved the auto industry—It is back on top—when others said: Let’s let the auto industry go under. He saved millions of jobs. Not created 23 million new jobs. We balanced the budget, we created a surplus, and now we have to listen to the demagogues over there lecture us about how to balance the budget. Wrong. We know how to do it. They don’t know how to do it. All they know how to do is stand up and attack our President when our President inherited this terrible deficit from George W. Bush, who took a surplus—Bush did—and turned it into deficits as far as the eye can see. And we were losing—And I ask unanimous consent for 30 additional seconds.

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I wish to make a reference to the Budget Control Act. One of my colleagues said we are running away from the Budget Control Act. I would suggest that is not accurate. In truth, the Budget Control Act was a cap on spending, and the Republicans have proposed that we spend less than that, as any economist would tell us we need to do because it wasn’t sufficient.

The difficulty arises, however, when we consider what President Obama proposed with regard to the Budget Control Act. It is amazing. In August President Obama signed the Budget
Control Act as an agreement to raise the debt ceiling by $2.1 trillion in exchange for reducing spending by $2.1 trillion. He signed that, it went into effect, and it is the current law today.

But when he proposed his budget in January of this year, that we have set deadlines and we have a budget—Mr. President, I expect it will not get a single vote, and it should not—President Obama’s budget wiped out half of those savings. So $1 trillion of those savings were wiped out, and he replaced it with almost—he added more spending in his plan. Mr. President, I am having a little trouble thinking here.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senate will suspend for a moment.

The Senator from Alabama.

Mr. SESSIONS. So I think the dramatic event that has gone unappreciated is that the President’s budget eviscerates the Budget Control Act and puts us back on full speed tax and spend.

I see my colleague Senator ENZI is here, a senior member of the Budget Committee who has been involved in so many important issues. He is an accountant, a small businessman, and he understands the real world and the value of a dollar. I yield to Senator Enzii.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I thank the ranking member of the committee for all of his work on this issue and the suggestions he has as to the importance of what we are doing today.

I rise today to discuss our Nation’s budget situation and the budget proposals we will vote on later today. While I am pleased that my colleagues have put forth a number of good ideas, this debate is long overdue.

The Congressional Budget Act sets a statutory deadline of April 1 for the Senate Committee to report a budget resolution and a deadline of April 15 for completion of a congressional budget. Despite these statutory deadlines, it has been more than 3 years since the Senate passed a budget, and the majority party once again refuses to debate this important topic through the normal budget process. We did not mark up a budget in the Senate Budget Committee, and we have not been given the opportunity to offer amendments to any of the budgets that are before us on the Senate floor. That is disappointing.

With a national debt approaching $16 trillion, and it is hard for me to even say $16 trillion—I saw a kid with a t-shirt that said that. ‘Please don’t tell him what comes after $1 trillion.’ With $16 trillion in debt, we cannot afford to continue operating without a budget that is a blueprint to put the country on a sustainable path in both the short term as well as the long term, and we better be looking at that long term as well.

We cannot continue to simply spend money we don’t have without a plan to get our spending under control. We are so bad on spending that we are taking 10 years’ worth of revenue to pay for 2 years’ worth of projects, and those are projects that will continue after that. I don’t know what we do after the 2 years. How much more money that may not even come in because it might not even be budgeted? A budget is supposed to do just that—it is supposed to put spending under control. But instead, for the third year in a row, it looks as if the Senate majorities—Mr. President, I will put my plan to help fix the fiscal crisis we face.

In the 3 years since the Senate majority passed a budget, our country has spent approximately $10.4 trillion. We have accumulated around $4.5 trillion in gross debt, which translates to an additional $15,000 for every man, woman, and child—$15,000 for every man, woman, and child—which brings it up to about $49,000 total for every man, woman, and child. Since we last adopted a budget, we have spent more than $626 billion on net interest payments to service the debt alone. These are unsustainable levels of spending. Yet the majority continues to ignore the problem and refuses to take these numbers seriously and consider, much less pass, a budget.

The majority argues that we have a budget in place because of the passage of the Budget Control Act, which also governed our spending in fiscal year 2011. But that the President knew what we were doing; why did the President even submit a budget to us? If that was the budget, he shouldn’t have gone to all the effort to put his own budget together. But he felt he needed to put a budget together.

In fiscal year 2011, the government brought in slightly more than $2.3 trillion in revenue. At the same time we collected $2.3 trillion, we spent $3.6 trillion. In other words, we overspent by $1.3 trillion. That is more than 50 percent of the revenue we were expecting. We are on pace for another $1.1 trillion deficit this year. The Budget Control Act may include some spending limits, but with record trillion-dollar deficits, the Budget Control Act cannot replace an actual budget that puts in place long-term spending cuts and helps get our country back on the path to balance. Again, if that Budget Control Act really took care of everything, the President was truly governed what we are doing, why did the President submit a budget to us? If that was the budget, he shouldn’t have gone to all the effort to put his own budget together. But he felt he needed to put a budget together.

I applaud the President for appointing a deficit commission. We tried to pass that as a bill. It came close, but it didn’t make it. He saw there was a need, and he appointed a commission. The commission was cochaired by Erskine Bowles and Senator Alan Simpson. They painted a pretty bleak picture for our country. More than a year and a half has gone by since they painted that bleak picture, and it has only gotten worse. I really expected at the State of the Union that year that the President would have painted the same bleak picture he had been handed by the deficit commission. It was scary. It is now scarier. But he didn’t. Instead, he gave us another stimulus budget. I think if he had painted the bleak picture in the State of the Union that was handed to him by the deficit commission, if he had paint the same picture and not placed a solution out there but painted the picture so America would understand where we are with the debt and the deficit—if he had done that, he could have come out with a budget that was par-allel to what Simpson-Bowles had, and I think we would have had a solution over a year ago.

We have a nearly $16 trillion debt that keeps growing. It is unaffordable, and we need to make a change. What will happen if we don’t act and if we don’t cut spending? We won’t be able to afford the military we need. People will have drastically reduced Social Security checks. Roads won’t be fixed. All of our money will go toward paying interest on the debt.

People shouldn’t doubt that this is real. There were riots in the streets in Greece when their government was forced to deal with the realities of debt. In the United States, we owe more every year—and we have accumulated around $4.5 trillion. In other words, we overspent by $1.3 trillion. That is more than 50 percent of the revenue we were expecting. We are on pace for another $1.1 trillion deficit this year. The Budget Control Act may include some spending limits, but with record trillion-dollar deficits, the Budget Control Act cannot replace an actual budget that puts in place long-term spending cuts and helps get our country back on the path to balance. Again, if that Budget Control Act really took care of everything, the President was truly governed what we are doing, why did the President submit a budget to us? If that was the budget, he shouldn’t have gone to all the effort to put his own budget together. But he felt he needed to put a budget together.

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I have news for my colleagues. Our debt per person, as I mentioned, is more than Greece’s debt per person. It is more than Italy’s debt per person. In fact, the United States owes more than all of the Euro countries and the United Kingdom put together.

My Republican colleagues and I have put forth a series of budgets that would help to improve the fiscal situation. I don’t think the debt ceiling by 1 percent per year until we reach balance. By reducing spending by 1 percent, we can achieve balance by fiscal year 2017. That is a 1-percent reduction per year to 2017, and most of the people I have talked to—and I have talked to a lot of people in Wyoming and some other places around the country—have said 1 percent is not bad. One percent is definitely not bad if we compare it to the possibility of a 19-percent cut that we see in the House.

The House of Representatives passed a budget last year that cut spending by $5.8 trillion. This year the House passed a second budget that would reduce the deficit by $4.1 trillion, in comparison to the President’s budget over the next decade, which does nothing to improve the short- or long-term economic outlook of the country. In fact, President Obama’s budget would make things worse.

Senator TOOMEY has put together a detailed budget plan that would balance the budget within 8 years. It would enact corporate tax reform, and it would adopt important changes to
the entitlement programs that are the drivers of the Nation’s unsustainable debt.

Senator Paul has put forth a budget that would balance within 5 years. Of course, it eliminates four departments and more by $8 trillion by the next 10 years. It seems radical, but we are facing a cliff, and he is willing to put a budget out there.

Senator Lee has also introduced a budget that balances our budget by fiscal year 2017 by cutting spending by $7.1 trillion over the next 10 years, and it, too, reforms Medicare and Social Security.

Why do we have to reform Medicare? Well, in the health care reform bill we took $2 trillion out of Medicare. It was already going broke but, don’t worry, we put in a special panel that will tell where cuts can come from each and every year, and if we don’t suggest different cuts, it is our decision. I do not agree with everything that is included in these budgets I have mentioned, but I want to commend our Republican colleagues for making tough choices and putting forth solutions.

While they have been doing that, President Obama and the Senate majority have ignored the problem and refused to acknowledge the need to cut spending. They have demonized Republicans and suggested it is our fault that cuts to harm seniors, poor people, and children. One advertisement showed a picture of House Budget Chairman Ryan pushing an elderly woman off a cliff. That kind of rhetoric does not help anything that is included in these budgets I have mentioned, but I want to commend our Republican colleagues for making tough choices and putting forth solutions.

While they have been doing that, President Obama’s budget was such an empty proposal that it failed by a vote of 0 to 97 in the Senate. In the House this year, his latest budget failed by a vote of 0 to 414. I suspect it may face the same fate when it is considered later today—the same one they voted on. Not a single Member of either party was willing to support the President’s budget proposal. How is that for leadership?

In some of the countries that have a parliamentary form of government, they have heard about these votes and are terrified because in their country it would call for a special election and a new Prime Minister.

We will be voting on five budgets later today—four from Republican Members and President Obama’s budget. Absent from the discussion is a budget produced by the Senate majority that is shirking their responsibility to govern.

We are in too serious a situation to continue ignoring the budget problems we face. At a time when the national debt breaks down to more than $49,000 for every person in Wyoming and across this country, we cannot afford to continue business as usual. We cannot continue our budget decisions simply because the tough decisions might impact our reelection campaigns. The decisions that are painful today will be even more painful in the future.

We talk about pay-fors here when people want to do a new program or continue an old program with additional expenses, but we better start including the debt. Our debt is greater than the value of everything we produce in this country in a year. That is the gross national product. The debt is greater than the gross national product.

There are a lot of stories about what happens when your debt gets greater than the gross national product, and none of them is good. I have heard from a lot of people in Wyoming about the national debt and the lack of a budget for more than 3 years. While they have differing viewpoints on the best solution, they have one common message: Do something. Do something, and do it as soon as possible. I am concerned that, after votes, we will end up in the same place we started—without a budget and without a fiscal plan to get our Nation’s debt and deficit in check. I do not know about you, but it is keeping me up nights.

Some of my colleagues have offered plans to make that happen. Those who control the Senate appear content to sit on the sidelines and criticize. While that happens, we continue to add trillions of dollars to our national debt. I would encourage my colleagues on the other side of the aisle to think about what that means to future generations and join us in finding a plan to fix our fiscal woes.

I know that is what they are thinking about because I have been in meetings off of the Hill where they have talked about this same thing. But we have to solve it; we cannot just talk about it. We cannot give it lip service when we are off of the floor and excuse it when we are on the floor.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, before Senator Enzi leaves the floor, he made reference to the fact that in the European parliamentary system, when a Prime Minister proposes a budget that falls, that would be cause for collapse of the government and a new election.

He also correctly recalled how the deficit commission that was appointed by President Obama came back with a number of recommendations that would have gone far farther than the President’s budget in dealing with our debt course.

But I would ask the Senator about that moment he mentioned, after the debt commission reported, when the President came before the joint session of Congress to give the State of the Union. Was the Senator surprised and disappointed that the President virtually ignored the debt commission and did not take the opportunity to explain that we must make choices to save the American people that we are on an unsustainable course that could lead to financial catastrophe?

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I was both surprised and disappointed. I thought he had a unique opportunity, and it had been handed to him on a platter that he designed. He appointed these people, and they put a lot of hours into it, including the Senator from North Dakota, who is here on the floor, and came up with a plan. It was not a pleasant plan by anybody’s imagination. It was an important plan by everybody’s—well, evidently not everybody or we would have adopted it by now. But it had some critical things in it that should be taken care of, that should be considered in a budget, and should have leadership coming from the White House. That is where leadership on budgets happens.

I remember being in the Wyoming legislature. We had a requirement that you have to balance the budget each and every year, and we do that. If you find out there is going to be a deficit before the legislature meets—and they only meet for 20 days in the budget year—if you knew that before that time, the legislature has to make those cuts. One of the things I noted was when we made the cuts, the people in the administration picked out something that was painful and made that cut so the constituents out there would say: Oh, that really hurt. Those stupid legislators picked the wrong things. Well, it was not the legislators who picked the wrong things. It was the people in charge of each of those trying to make sure the legislature felt their pain.

If that deficit is noted outside of the time of the few days that the legislature meets, then the Governor has to make the cuts. Virtually everybody in the administration worked for the Governor. So when he made the cuts, they took the priorities and they chopped off the lowest priorities, so it was not noticeable around the State, and it worked out well. That is leadership. That is tough leadership because the Governor does not like to have to be the one who is held up for all the scrutiny of what is spent.

That is what the President has to do. That is the President’s job, to get this budget back in balance. There are some examples around the world where, when they put the budget on a path to balancing, the economy comes up.

Mr. SESSIONS. Yes.

Mr. ENZI. That gives people a little bit more confidence of what can happen. Right now, the President has confidence around this country, so the economy is dropping. But a good budget, that follows a plan, that gets us in
fiscal stability, would make a huge difference for this country and stimulate business.

Mr. SESSIONS. I could not agree more. I do believe the debt course we are on, which is unsustainable—every expert and constitutional law who comes before the Budget Committee on which Senator Enzi and I serve have told us it is unsustainable, and if we get off of it and tighten our belts and do things such as Governor Bentley in Alabama is doing, Governor Christie has had to do, Governor Brown is now facing in California—they let that State go so far out of control, it is going to be difficult to bring it back—but they have to make tough choices. If we do that, I believe we will get some positive impact on the economy from the confidence that restores.

I say to Senator CONRAD, I see Senator LIEBERMAN is here. I would be willing to yield if you are ready to use some time now.

Mr. CONRAD. Could I say to my colleague, we have 17 minutes left on this side. We have four Senators left to speak. The Senator has, I think, probably 54, 53 minutes left—something like that.

So say to Senator LIEBERMAN, if you could take about 4 minutes, if that would work for you.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I was hoping for 4 1/4 minutes. OK, I will do my best.

Mr. CONRAD. Sold.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I will yield 4 minutes to the Senator from our side.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SESSIONS. He will have a flat 8 minutes.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. That is very generous of my friend.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from North Dakota and the Senator from Alabama.

I have been listening to some of the statements that are being made. They are quite sincere. They are quite interesting. But I am afraid, in the end, they are not going to signify very much except good intentions.

We have ourselves in a position here where we all know the country has a terrible problem. We are spending a lot more than we are bringing in. The simplest way to explain it is, the last time I looked—I think I am still close on this—revenues of the Federal Government are about 15 or 16 percent of gross domestic product and the spending of the Federal Government is about 25 percent of gross domestic product. There you have a yawning, enormous deficit, which adds up now to a long-term debt of over $15 trillion.

We cannot go on like this and be a great country. We cannot go on like this and have any hope of economic recovery. We cannot simply be in gratitude for the extra time Senator Sessions has given me—I happen to agree with the last thing he said. I think—and I am not alone; I think some people on both sides feel this—the best thing we can do for our economy and economic growth is to adopt a bipartisan long-term program that will reduce and hopefully eliminate our debt. Why? Because it will restore confidence in the economy.

We all know that jobs do not come from government. They should not come from government or in government. Jobs that people want, need, come from the private sector. The last thing we can afford is another recession.

American business—was sitting on somewhere between $2 trillion and $3 trillion of liquid assets that they are not spending. Why aren’t they spending it? They have very little confidence in the future—not just confidence about how the economy is going to be, but what we are going to do, what the government is going to do.

I think if we adopted a long-term bipartisan debt reduction program that gave them the security about what taxes and spending policies were going to do for some years ahead, they would start to invest that $2 trillion to $3 trillion again, and that would create hundreds of thousands of jobs that people desperately want who are trying so hard to get back to work.

Look, basically we know what we have to do to make this happen. To state it bluntly, it has to be a combination of tax reform and entitlement reform. We have to raise revenues so they get back up to 18, 19, 20 percent and we have to bring spending down—most of the spending increases are coming from entitlements—to about 18 or 19 percent of GDP so we can be in balance. It is not very mysterious how we are going to do this. But the political will is not there now to make those tough decisions.

Today is a classic moment. We have these budget resolutions that are before us a privileged. They are privileged matters. I have wanted to vote to proceed to some of them just to get on the subject matter, hoping that maybe the door would be opened for direction to various committees to come back with long-term solutions, as I have talked about.

We all know the Bowles-Simpson model is the one we are going to eventually get to. The question is, how close do we get to the fiscal cliff—or the country get over the cliff, falling down some, finally, we rush in here and in a panic rescue it with something like Simpson-Bowles?

The closest Senate proposal that would do what we need to do is the one my friend from North Dakota has tabled in the Budget Committee. I wish we could vote on it. I do not know how many votes we would get, but I wish we could at least start the process.

I know everybody says we are going to come back after the election and they give me some excuse of course, I guess because the election is over, and we are going to do the Simpson-Bowles tax reform and entitlement re-
Japan, he goes on to note, “once a comparatively low public-debt nation, apparently bought into the Keynesian message many years ago.” That is the “spend” message. “The consequences for today is a ratio of government debt to GDP around 210 percent, the largest in the world.”

I ask unanimous consent to have that article printed in the RECORD because I think it helps give us some guidance that at some point bringing spending under control and tightening our debt domestically would achieve more financial benefit than continuing to borrow and spend or create new taxes that depress the economy.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 9, 2012]

**STIMULUS SPENDING KEEPS FAILING—IF AUSTERITY IS SO TERRIBLE, HOW COME GERMANY AND SWEDEN HAVE DONE SO WELL?**

(By Robert J. Barro)

The weak economic recovery in the U.S. and the even weaker performance in much of Europe have renewed calls for ending budget austerity and returning to larger fiscal deficits. Curiously, this plea for more fiscal expansion comes from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries that chose more budget stimulus have performed better than those that chose for more austerity. Similarly, in the American context, no evidence is offered that past U.S. budget deficits (averaging 9% of GDP between 2009 and 2011) helped to promote recovery.

Two interesting European cases are Germany and Sweden, each of which moved toward rough budget balance between 2009 and 2011—

That is after the financial crisis—while sustaining comparatively strong growth—the average growth rate per year for real GDP for 2010 and 2011 was 3.6% growth for Germany and 4.9% for Sweden. If austerity is so terrible, how come these two countries have done so well?

The OECD countries most clearly in or near renewed recession—Greece, Portugal, Italy, Spain and perhaps Ireland and the Netherlands—are among those with relatively large fiscal deficits. The median of all fiscal deficits for OECD countries for 2010 and 2011 was 7.9% of GDP. Of course, part of this pattern reflects a positive effect of weak economic growth on deficits, rather than the reverse. But there is nothing in the overall OECD data since 2009 that supports the Keynesian view that fiscal expansion has promoted economic growth.

For the U.S., my view is that the large fiscal deficits had a moderately positive effect on GDP growth in 2009, but this effect faded quickly and most likely became negative for 2011 and 2012. Many Keynesian economists look at the weak U.S. recovery and conclude that the problem was that the government lacked sufficient commitment to fiscal stimulus. It should have been even larger and pursued over an extended period.

This new point is dangerously unstable. Every time heightened fiscal deficits fail to produce desirable outcomes, the policy advice is to choose still larger deficits.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I would share a few thoughts in general about where we are. Our colleagues on the Democratic side have said they were refused to put it on paper.

Mr. CONRAD. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama.

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Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, I would share a few thoughts in general about where we are. Our colleagues on the Democratic side have said they were refused to put it on paper.
They voted against the Toomey budget; they voted against the Ryan budget; they voted against the Rand Paul budget; and voted against the President's budget.

They wrecked their hands. They did not vote on the cause they claimed to anybody. And presumably they thought that was better than actually being engaged in leading and telling the American people what they planned to do to change the debt course we are on. That is the deal.

We would say a couple of things. If I were talking to a group of American citizens today, I would say this: Do not send one more dime to Washington, DC until they show you a budget, how they are going to spend it. I mean, why should they? We get in trouble; we overspend; we place the Nation at risk. And all we want to say is: Send more money. You cannot cut, we are going to throw people into the streets, and push older people off the cliff. That is not what we want to see.

No, I do not think so. I think the American people need to hold this Congress, this government, to account. They need to say, we are not sending you any more money until you get your act together. And we are not paying for hot tubs in Las Vegas. We are not throwing away $500 million on a Solyndra loan project that never had a chance to succeed and was benefiting cronies of the White House. We are not going to pay for the TSA to have warehouses filled with millions of dollars in equipment not being used.

You do not have your act together. We want you to get your act together. We want to see some leadership. Who is the top manager in America? It is not the chairman of the Budget Committee, or the ranking member of the Budget Committee, it is the Chief Executive. The President heads the executive. Every Cabinet member is a subcabinet member, sub-sub cabinet member works for the President.

We had a situation where it has become clear that for over a year, people illegally in the country earning money are filing income tax returns and gaining as much as $4 billion a year in child tax credit money, a direct payment from the United States for children who do not even live in the country.

The Inspector General for the U.S. Treasury said this should have been ended, and the IRS is not ending it. Congress ought to pass a law about it. The House has done so. This Senate has not acted. Those are the kinds of things that are happening. I would think the President of the United States as soon as he learned that, would say: Stop it today. If you care about the money of the American people, if you care about the fact that we are now spending about $3.6 trillion dollars a year, taking in $2.3 trillion a year, or a deficit of $1.3 trillion a year.

Oh, they say that President Bush increased the deficit. And he did. But the highest deficit he ever had was about $450-some-odd billion. The last 3 years under President Obama, the deficits have averaged over $1.3 trillion a year. Next year, beginning September 30, the next fiscal year, it is projected to be over $1 trillion again.

This is an unsustainable course. We are looking for some reality and leadership. I think it is a stunning, amazing development when we have the President of the United States at a time of financial systemic crisis and danger who has the opportunity to lead the American people to have an opportunity to tell the American people why we need to change the course we are on, the fact that it is going to take some belt tightening and some pain and some sacrifice—not so much, but some.

We are going to have to do it. And if we do it, the country will be on a good path. We can save this country. We can avoid a debt crisis that could happen to us, because indeed our debt per person in America is higher than that of Greece, higher than that of any other country in Europe. We are in a dangerous area. We need to get off of it. I am amazed the President has not led.

I think it is a development of the most stunning nature that he would, as the law requires, submit the budget he submitted. It is irresponsible. It did not get a single vote in the Senate last year. It went down 97 to 0. It was voted down 414 to 0 in the House this year. I suspect in an hour or so it will go down again on the floor of the Senate by unanimous vote. That speaks a lot. That says a lot, indicates the sad state of affairs which we are in.

It is deeply disappointing. I see Senator LEE from Utah here, who is a new Member of the Senate. If Senator CONRAD doesn't have an objection, I will yield to him and note that Senator LEE campaigned throughout his State. He talked to thousands of people. He was elected in this last cycle. He felt the mood of the people of his State and America, their concern about the debt course we are on. He has worked extremely hard and has laid out a proposal that he would like to explain and ask us to support.

I thank the Senator for his leadership and his commitment and his hard work since he has been in the Senate. Mr. CONRAD, might I inquire of Senator LEE, how much time would the Senator require for the 10 or twelve minutes.

Mr. CONRAD. Can we have an agreement for 15 minutes? Is that reasonable?

Mr. LEE. Yes. Mr. CONRAD. And if the Senator completes his statement before then, he can yield back—either way.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President, the true greatness of our Nation lies in the power and beauty of the American Dream. Unfortunately, for many individuals and families, this dream has become a national nightmare. Without the clear priorities and accountability of a budget, we continue to careen toward the economic cliff, with our massive debt and trillion-dollar deficits threatening the prosperity of Americans from every walk of life. To put it simply, we must change course.

Restoring the American dream will require more than clever bumper sticker slogans. While optimism is an important part of the American dream, hope simply is not a strategy for the kind of course correction our country desperately needs.

Doing nothing is no longer an option, although this President and this Congress have attempted, by not having a budget, to convince the American people that doing nothing is somehow the only option. Ignoring our broken entitlement programs, maintaining our complex Tax Code, and pretending we don't have a spending problem ensures that our economy will never truly recover and that the American dream will never be restored.

The good news for Americans is that many of us do have solutions to confront and correct the country's most pressing challenges. In today's debate and discussion, the Nation has seen a range of proposals on how to change course and balancing our budget doesn't have to take 30 years, nor does it have to require the kinds of drastic cuts that could devastate America's most vulnerable citizens.

As we conclude this debate, I remind my colleagues of the old adage that "you can make excuses or you can make progress, but you cannot make both." Given the gravity of our current situation, we should also recognize that our present path is unsustainable. A course correction is coming; the question we will be held accountable for answering is whether that correction comes by choice or as a consequence of making excuses and doing nothing.

The Saving the American Dream Plan, which I have proposed, puts us on a sustainable and affordable path toward economic growth. It reforms our Tax Code to make paying taxes a simple, transparent, and equitable process that regular people can perform on their own. It empowers families to save by making savings tax free, which in turn lowers their tax burden in a way that helps them and our economy. It establishes a single tax rate. It eliminates payroll taxes for all Americans—especially those at the lowest income level—and it abolishes the death tax permanently. Under this plan, Americans will no longer be forced to navigate the complex web of countless loopholes for people who don't need them—controlling within a tax code that is longer than the works of Shakespeare.

In addition to placing an enormous burden and imposing immense uncertainty on our people, such a tax system hides the true size of our government. This plan is simple, and it provides certainty for individuals and for businesses.
Opponents of reform will play petty politics and prey on false fears about the government’s ability to help the helpless. They claim that any course correction in entitlement or social service spending will damage the social safety net. The truth is the reverse: nothing will absolutely and completely destroy the safety net. If we do not change course, the collapse of safety net services for our most vulnerable Americans is certain, and it is certain to hurt those who have the least.

This plan saves Social Security by transitioning to a real insurance plan that provides income security for seniors and prevents sudden poverty as a result of unforeseen events. The affluence that a fund does not get stuck in a failing school system, this plan ensures families don’t get stuck in a failing health care system.

Finally, this plan acknowledges that we have a spending problem and works to reduce the size of government, eliminate waste, lower the future burden on taxpayers, encourage productive economic activity, and enhance individual liberty and choice. It reins in economic activity, and enhances individual liberty and the right to pursue happiness.

This budget preserves the clear priorities of the American people: we must have to jump-start the economy, create real jobs, strengthen the safety net, and restore the American dream.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. FRANKEN. Mr. President, I would like to echo what so many of my colleagues have already explained: that voting on a budget today would serve no purpose. We keep hearing from our friends on the other side of the aisle: “We haven’t passed a budget in a thousand days.” While this is technically true, this is a technicality without a difference, and ignores one essential detail: we passed something else which, for all intents and purposes, accomplishes exactly the same thing as a budget the Budget Control Act of 2011.

First let’s look at what a budget resolution actually is. According to the Congressional Research Service, a budget resolution: "sets forth aggregate levels of spending, revenue, and public debt. It is not intended to establish details of spending or revenue policy and does not provide levels of spending for specific agencies or programs. Instead, its purpose is to create enforceable parameters within which Congress can consider legislation dealing with spending and revenue.

A budget resolution is a document intended to guide Congress, and never goes to the President for his signature. The Budget Control Act actually went one step further than a budget resolution—it actually set spending caps for the next 10 years and put them into law—a law signed by the President. The spending caps alone produce $600 billion of cuts. In addition, the Budget Control Act created the Super Committee and, because the committee failed to produce a deficit reduction plan, the Act calls for automatic cuts—through a so-called “sequestration”—of an additional $1.2 trillion over 10 years. So Congress passed over $2 trillion in spending cuts—the biggest package of spending cuts in American history.

Yet some of my colleagues are now calling on Congress to also pass a budget resolution, despite the fact that the Budget Control Act has the force of law, and has spending caps, whereas a budget resolution has none of that and, in fact, the Budget Control Act states clearly that it “shall apply in the same manner” as a concurrent resolution on the budget.

In addition, the Budget Control Act is something that we all agreed to. This legislation passed the Senate and the Republican-controlled House with wide margins. And this was not a deal that we passed years ago that we have somehow forgotten about—we passed the Budget Control Act less than 10 months ago. Those millions diverge greatly from the deal that we all agreed on. We passed that legislation to avoid a debt default, to give us some certainty. But here in 10 months later, rehashing much of the same debate.

Going through the motions of considering a budget resolution would not be a productive use of our time. Procedural rules require that we spend up to 50 hours on a budget resolution. And on top of that, they force us into a “vote-a-rama” on all amendments that are offered. So that means that we would lose a week or 2 on an exercise that is most because we already have budget control. But instead, the minority is insisting that we spend precious time debating whether or not we should pass a budget resolution. And so here we are with five pending budget resolutions, and it is hard to tell which among them is the most detrimental to our country, because they are all very dangerous.

Senator Paul’s proposal eliminates the U.S. Departments of Education, Commerce, and Urban Development and turns important safety net programs like child nutrition and Medicaid into block grants, resulting in their funding being slashed.

Most of the proposals fundamentally change Medicare from a program that guarantees health care to seniors to one that gives seniors some money—not but not enough money—to buy health insurance in the private market. This is a promise made to Americans—that if they work hard and pay into the system, their health care will be covered when they retire.

Yet these massive cuts to programs which benefit millions of Americans seem designed to bankrupt new tax cuts that benefit only the wealthiest few. The Urban Institute and Brookings Institution’s joint Tax Policy Center estimates that Senator Toomey’s proposal would save more than a million dollars a year an average tax cut of $92,000. And that plan looks reasonable compared to Senator Paul’s, which not only cuts the top tax rates in half for wealthy Americans but in fact increases the tax rate on the wealthy.

And all the while, these plans would sacrifice programs that assist children, seniors, and the poor in favor of those tax giveaways to the wealthy. That is how these plans can be summarized. If there were a reason to vote on these proposals, which I do not think there is, then they would all deserve our full-throated opposition.
But, as we have pointed out repeatedly, passing a budget resolution is simply not needed after we have already passed spending caps in the Budget Control Act. That would be about as productive as asking for someone to draft up blueprints after they already had built your house.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, our Nation faces enormous and worrisome fiscal challenges. There is no question we must address our budget deficit for the medium-term and prepare for a longer-term future in which an aging population stresses Medicare and Social Security funds. And we face, at the beginning of January, the prospect of automatic, unpriced, and unwise budget cuts that would do tremendous harm to just about every program in the government, from domestic programs to our military, and would in the process threaten our economic recovery.

The way to address these enormous challenges is by coming together to address the sources of our budget deficit. The solutions must include prudent, prioritized spending cuts. They will undoubtedly include reforms to entitlement programs to ensure their long-term viability. And, as just about any objective observer has repeatedly pointed out, the solutions must include restoration of revenues lost to the Treasury through unjustified tax cuts for the wealthiest and unjustified tax loopholes.

Democrats have repeatedly demonstrated a willingness to address these areas—even in painful ways that have a real impact on programs about which we feel strongly. President Obama has repeatedly reached out to Republicans to work with our Republican colleagues to deal comprehensively with the deficit.

Rather than seeking compromise, Republicans seem determined to draw uncompromising lines in the sand. Today we will vote on extreme budget proposals that would sacrifice vital programs like education, transportation and research in order to protect tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires.

The Republican proposals before us today demonstrate that our efforts to deal constructively with the deficit have faltered on deaf ears. Rather than offer prudent, thoughtful spending cuts, these proposals would gut programs that Americans have repeatedly told us to preserve. Rather than recognize the obvious fiscal reality that some tough choices must be part of the solution, these proposals demonstrate a continued, ideologically motivated refusal to even consider what must obviously be part of any serious attempt to address the deficit. Rather than reform entitlement programs so we can maintain our commitment to seniors, these proposals would upend that commitment.

Perhaps the clearest statement of all of Republican intentions is the budget passed in the House, one of the proposals we will vote on today. This budget eliminates the decades-long guarantee of health care for our seniors, replacing Medicare with a voucher program that would cause skyrocketing out-of-pocket costs for seniors.

There is more. The Ryan budget proposes to cut billions and billions from domestic programs, but gives us no specifics as to how those cuts would be accomplished. It proposes almost no specific spending cuts, though it promises massive savings. We can see just how devastating these cuts would be if we assume, in the absence of specific proposals, that they would be distributed evenly across the budget. If that were the case, we would lose more than $100 billion in funding over the next decade for science, including the search for new cures and other new technologies. We would lose 100 million fewer Head Start students to get a jump on their education. More than 9 million college students would lose $1,000 in Pell grant funding to afford college.

This budget would slash spending to educate our children and to train our workers. It would cut funding to support new sources of energy and to protect our national parks and historic sites, and for environmental protection and other natural resource programs. It would wipe out programs to pave our roads and bridges and meet other transportation needs.

And the Ryan plan does not address what budget experts of all ideological stripes tell us we must address: the need for additional revenues. Rather than restore revenue, this budget is premised on the notion that high-income earners haven’t gotten enough in tax cuts—and so it slashes the top tax bracket.

If you are not willing to address revenues, you are not serious about addressing the deficit. The Ryan budget and the other Republican proposals before us fail that test. I hope we can dispense with these proposals and get to the challenging work of dealing with the deficit.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, Senator HARKIN is here, and Senator HARKIN needs a 2-minute; is that right?

Mr. HARKIN. Yes.

Mr. CONRAD. How much time do we have?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirteen minutes 20 seconds.

Mr. CONRAD. On the other side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Twenty-four minutes 46 seconds.

Mr. CONRAD. This might be a useful time to get another consent. If we can have Senator HARKIN for 4 minutes, how much time does Senator JOHNSON need?

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Not more than 10 minutes.

Mr. CONRAD. OK. I ask unanimous consent that Senator HARKIN speak for 4 minutes and Senator JOHNSON for 10 minutes.

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

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I wish to address these budget proposals in one context. First of all, we have to dismiss the so-called Sessions budget that is supposedly the Obama budget—it is not. That is not even serious. Beyond that, we have four Republican budgets. Here is the one thing people have to keep in mind, especially now: Each one of those budgets will double the interest rate on student loans beginning on July 1 of this year—every single one of them.

We were here in the last couple of weeks trying to bring up a bill to prevent those interest rates from going up, to keep it at 3.4 percent rather than going to 6.8 percent. The Republicans fiercely opposed that. What would have happened is that will be voted on in about an hour and a half, if it passes, will double the interest rate on student loans on July 1. At the same time, they continue to filibuster our bill to even bring it on the floor. My friends on the other side of the aisle are telling students across the country they don’t want to see the interest rate double, but their budget has it.

Our former colleague and now the Vice President of the United States JOE BIDEN, when he was a Senator, said something I think very savvy one time: Don’t tell me what you value; show me your budget, and I will tell you what you value.

Mr. President, my friends on the other side may say in public that they want to prevent the student loan rate hike, but their actual budget tells a very different story. Likewise, their ongoing filibuster of our Stop the Student Loan Interest Rate Hike Act tells a different story. Again, they have blocked us from proceeding to the bill. If we had proceeded, we could have had a serious discussion about how we pay for it. They could have offered amendments that we could have amended. Instead, they chose to obstruct the entire process, and yet repeatedly on this floor Republicans, one after the other, came up and said they want to stop the increase in interest rates from going from 3.4 percent to 6.8 percent. Don’t tell me what you value; show me your budget. I will give them credit for this: They have shown us their budget, and in it is a doubling of the interest rate on student loans beginning July 1.

I want to be clear that anybody who votes for any one of these budgets is voting to double the student loan interest rate on July 1 regardless of what may be said, regardless of crocodile
tears that may be shed on interest rates and what is happening. The budgets we are voting on today tell the true story: Republicans are willing—not only willing, but they are going to, if they vote for these budgets, double the interest rates on student loans beginning on July 1. There is just no getting around that, and that is a shame.

We have to stop that interest rate hike on July 1. That is why it is important to vote down these proposed budgets this afternoon. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSSON of Wisconsin. I ask unanimous consent to speak for no more than 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MERKLEY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSSON of Wisconsin. Mr. President, before I start talking a bit about my friend Senator LEE, and the things I would like to talk a little about the budget of my friend Senator President, before I start talking a bit about Senator LEE’s budget, is that he would come in and spend about $37 trillion and put us on a more aggressive path toward fiscal sanity. While we hear about Draconian cuts all the time, one doesn’t have to be a math major to realize that moving to $37 trillion, $40 trillion, or $47 trillion is not a cut from $26 trillion. All we are trying to do is reduce the rate of growth.

The other thing I like about Senator LEE’s budget is that he is willing, but they are going to, if we ever have any chance of living within our means, we better get Federal spending down to about that level. That is what Senator LEE’s budget does today.

So, again, I thank my friend Senator LEE, as well as Senator TOOMEY, and Senator PAUL for putting forward serious proposals. I thank all Republicans in Congress who are actually voting for something because, Mr. President, Republicans are proving we are willing to be held accountable to the American people by putting a plan on the table and showing the American people what we would do to try to get our fiscal house in order.

With that, Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I will not take more than a few minutes, as I have explained to the senior Senator from North Dakota. I appreciate his courtesy, and I ask unanimous consent that my statement be made as in morning business.

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

(The remarks of Mr. LEAHY are printed in today’s Record under “Morning Business.”)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, before he leaves, I want to say that the Senator from Vermont has done an incredible job on the Violence Against Women Act. He has put together a bipartisan coalition, and I would like to second his words that the House pass our bill. It is a careful compromise, and all the rules and regulations, all of government’s intrusion into our lives and the resulting cost of government, this is the key metric: How large is the Federal Government in relationship to the size of our economy?

Currently, the Federal Government takes 24 cents of every dollar that is generated by our economy. If we add in State and local governments, total government in the United States consumes 39.2 percent. Put another way, 39 cents of every dollar goes through some level of government.

I don’t know about anyone else, but I don’t find government particularly effective or efficient. To put that in perspective, for example, the cost of government for Norway last year—one of the European-style socialist nations—was 40 percent. For Greece, it was 47 percent. Anybody hear of Greece recently? That economic model is collapsing.

This is why Senator LEE’s proposal is important. If we take a look at spending and revenue generation over the last 50 years, we can see spending from 1959 through 2009 was 23 percent. Over the last 3 years we have increased that to 24 percent. Revenue generation has been 18.1 percent over that same time period.

By the way, as much as our friends on the other side of the aisle want to punish success and increase the top marginal tax rates, the problem with that is it simply doesn’t work. During my lifetime, the top marginal tax rates have been 90 percent, 70 percent to 50 percent to 28 percent, 35 percent, 39.6 percent, and now back to 35 percent. In all that time period the average tax receipts—the maximum amount the Federal Government could extract from our economy—has averaged very tightly around that, and that mean that we spend too much. And this is why Senator LEE’s proposal is important.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. How much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 4 minutes remaining.

Mr. CONRAD. I give the Senator 3 minutes.
Mr. SCHUMER. I thank my colleague for the time.

Again, I want to compliment the Senator from Vermont and agree with him and hope we can move the bill forward.

But, Mr. President, I am here to talk about the budget. All afternoon I have heard my colleagues on the other side of the aisle repeat over and over that we haven’t passed a budget. As my friend from North Dakota knows, that is clearly not the case.

Last August, President Obama signed a budget for this year that reduces the deficit by $2 trillion. It is called the Budget Control Act. It was passed 74 to 26, bipartisan, with many Republicans voting for it on August 2, 2011.

Despite what we hear on the floor today, after the Budget Control Act passed, several Senate Republicans, including Senators GRASSLEY, ALEXANDER, and COLLINS, admitted it constituted a budget. So watching the debate on the Senate floor is a sort of through-the-looking-glass experience. We are watching our colleagues call for something they acknowledge already happened and they supported. This is nothing more than petty politics. We should be putting more jobs and the economy. Instead we are forced to spend hours debating something that already happened. It doesn’t make sense.

But let’s put that aside for a moment and look at the extreme plans we are voting on today. The only real differences between the four Republican budgets—the only real difference between the four Republican budgets—is how quickly they race to end Medicare as we know it. The Republican budgets all cut taxes on the wealthiest Americans and leave the middle class to foot the bill. They all allow student loan rates to double. They all provide tax breaks for millionaires and billionaires. And they all put the middle class last instead of first.

When I first examined the Ryan budget passed by the House GOP this year, I thought it was the height of irresponsibility. But now that we have seen three other Republican budgets, we know they make the Ryan budget almost seem reasonable by comparison, and that is no small feat.

I have nothing against the wealthy. I am glad they make money. That is the America way. God bless them. Many are like the American dreamers who work in order to keep that dream alive and get our country on firmer fiscal footing. I think we need a little shared sacrifice. The bottom line is any budget that jeopardizes the middle class while filling the pockets of the wealthy with greater tax breaks is ultimately untenable and will never pass the Senate. While we are certainly open to compromise, Democrats will not tolerate an assault on the middle class. It isn’t fair and it isn’t right.

We hope the Senate debate will yield a sound serious agreement. But if it doesn’t, Democrats are happy to take this contrast of priorities into November because we know we have the high ground.

I thank the Chair, and I yield my remaining time back to my friend and colleague from North Dakota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, the Budget Control Act is not a budget, it is just a containment of spending. A clever attempt was made to make it look like a budget, but it is not a budget.

If it did, why did the President submit a budget this year? Why did the House pass a budget? Why were four budgets produced in the House by Democratic House Members?

In today’s Politico, an article quotes Senator LIEBERMAN, who just spoke and who caucuses with the Democrats.

I don’t think [Democrats] will offer their own budget and I’m disappointed in that.

Senator MANCHIN of West Virginia, a Democrat, said he would have been “impeached” if he had failed to produce a budget as West Virginia’s governor. He conceded there are differences with the State budget process.

Sure I have a problem with [failing to offer a budget]. As a former governor, my responsibility was to put a budget forward and balance it, so anyone who comes from the executive mindset has a problem with that. I don’t care if you’re Democrat or Republican.

“A problem with that” means a problem with not having a budget.

Senator Mark Pryor, a Democrat from Arkansas:

The budget process is just not working around here. We’ve had three years with President Obama where we’re not able to get a budget resolution.

That 3 years includes this one. So we don’t have a budget, we have a spending cap. And our Democratic colleagues—bless their hearts—have been whining that the House proposed a budget that came below the Senate’s Budget Control Act caps in some areas, so they say that was breaking the budget.

I would just advise them that when they vote on the President’s budget—and I assume they will all vote against it; they did last year—the President’s budget wipes out half the savings in the Budget Control Act.

The President signed the Budget Control Act last August to raise the debt ceiling. We agreed to cut spending $2.1 trillion. This year, we cut $485 billion. That is what it takes to stabilize the debt. We agreed to cut spending. We worked hard to get the House to pass a balanced budget. And the House passed a balanced budget. And the Senate agreed to the balanced budget. And the Presi-
dent agreed to the balanced budget. He signed the balanced budget. It was a decent step forward, and the President invites over to a conference, sits him down there, and then attacks it, and he has been attacking the budget ever since. Why is this? Why will not our colleagues support any budget?

I fully expect my Democratic colleagues to vote against all of these budgets and not vote for one. Think about that. They will vote against four, not vote for one. Well, because you don’t have the fingerprints on anything that results in cutting spending, nobody that benefits from spending is going to be mad with you. Everybody who wants more money and doesn’t want to have a dime reduced in the taxes they get from the taxpayers’ trough and the debt we borrow—they don’t have any reduction in that, and then they can’t be mad at me. But that is not a responsible course.

This is not a little matter. This is what Admiral Mullen, the former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said just 2 years ago:

The biggest threat we have to our national security is our debt.

In an important statement by 10 former Chairs of the Council of Economic Advisers, who served in Republican and Democratic administrations, they wrote in March of 2011:

At some point, bond markets are likely to turn on the United States, leading to a crisis they would dwarf 2008.

Bond markets will turn. That is what they have done on Greece.

The Simpson-Bowles Commission’s Erskine Bowles and Alan Simpson, in testimony to our committee, said:

The nation has never faced a more predictable financial crisis.

The same thing as the Council of Economic Advisors said: You are on a debt path that is unsustainable.

Chairman Bernanke, Chairman of the Federal Reserve, last week what he says—talking about the Congressional Budget Office’s projections of surging debt year after year, says:
The CBO projections, by design, ignore the adverse effects that such high debt and deficits would likely have on our economy. But if government debt and deficits were actually that large, at the pace envisioned by this scenario, the economic and financial effects would be severe.

And I recall at one point he said in his testimony: You see these debts being there, there, there, year after year, surging at this high level? You are never going to get there.

What he meant was that we would have a financial crisis before that happened.

I would say to my colleagues, this is a time of challenge for the Senate and the Congress of the United States. Will we rise to the challenge and actually do something? We can talk about it. We can have secret meetings and secret meetings and secret meetings. That is not fixing it. We can have these last-minute decisions, like last summer when the government was about to virtually shut down because the debt limit was next, and reach a secret agreement that is brought up on the floor for a vote and is not very well written. Or we can do what the law requires. In the United States Code, the Congressional Budget Act of 1974. It requires a budget. We can guarantee exactly how it will all come out, but we ought to attempt to comply with the law, at least. We haven’t attempted to do that.

I am worried about our future. I am worried about where we are heading. And I do think the American people have a right to be upset with us. They are not happy with us. They should not be happy with us. When their Congress has allowed this country to reach a state where we are taking in $2.3 trillion and spending $3.6 trillion, when 35, 40 percent of what we spend is borrowed money, the American people have a right to be unhappy about that. They absolutely do. We are not protecting them, their children’s interests, their future, or the economy.

And it is stunning to me that the leader of the free world, the President of the United States, the Chief Executive, isn’t pounding away at the Congress to bring spending under control and to reduce the debt we have. Instead, he seems to never want to talk about it. He only talks about investments—more investments.

In fact, that budget he produced this year, what did it do to the spending levels we agreed to last August? Before the budget control agreement of last August, the U.S. Government was on path to spend $47 trillion over 10 years. What it effectively did was it reduced that spending to $45 trillion—still substantially more each year than we are spending now. There is growth every year under that proposal—too much growth, too much debt. But it was a step. So this year when he proposed his budget, he proposed spending another $1.4 or $1.5 trillion, on top of that. After he signed the agreement that we would cap spending at $45 trillion, this would take spending up to $46.6 trillion again, almost $47 trillion, where we were before the agreement was reached. Now, that is not responsible leadership. And he had a big tax increase. Tax and spend—that is what that budget is. And the American people shouldn’t be happy with us. It was not the Senator HARKIN said, well, this isn’t the President’s budget, that Senator SENSORS offered some joke, or something to that matter. But it is the President’s budget. It has the numbers in it that the President has repeatedly said reflect the President’s request. If any Senator wants to come forward and show any number we put in there that is different from the President’s numbers when he laid out his budget, then I would like to see it. Maybe we could correct it. But I don’t think there is an error. I think we scrupulously followed the President’s budget proposal request, and when people vote on it, they can know they are voting exactly on what he proposed. I don’t think anybody will dispute the numbers we have in the budget.

Also, I note that some of our Democratic colleagues are not happy about having no budget produced by the President. They feelbad about it, and I understand that. But I would have thought we would have had some Members come down and complain about it, to say that they didn’t think the Democratic leadership, the Democratic conference should have blocked Senator Conrades Budget Committee from having a budget, that they should be handling this differently. But we haven’t had that, so I guess everybody is basically happy on the Democratic side not to have to cast any tough votes.

Mr. President, how much time is remaining on this side?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 4 minutes.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, as we come to a conclusion of this debate, Senator HARKIN said something that was pretty insightful. He said: Show me your budget, and I will show you what you value.

Refuse to show me your budget, I will say, and I can say you are refusing to show what is important to you.

One of the things that has been brought up is the war costs. The war on terror in Iraq and Afghanistan has been expensive. They are expensive. Last year the total for both wars over 10 years reached $1.3 trillion—10 years—both wars. That was the deficit last year alone, $1.3 trillion. This year the war costs are declining. The year we are in, we are spending $118 billion on the war. Our deficit will be $1.200 billion. So eliminating all war costs would be less than 10 percent of the amount of our deficit.

I say that so we understand what has happened. Over 50 percent of our spending are mandatory, direct benefit programs—Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, food stamps, retirement benefits. Those are huge and they are increasing at two, three times the rate of inflation. That is what puts us on an unsustainable course.

The President’s budget goes against everything the experts said, against the debt commission he appointed, and requests to confront the entitlement costs. That is a disappointment because we have nothing from the other side on how they would deal with them.

But the Members on this side have offered budgets, and Congressman Ryan offered a budget. They do begin to deal with this painful but difficult situation concerning the entitlement programs. I note the Budget Control Act that they have been calling a budget had nothing to do with over 50 percent of the budget. It did not deal with those expenditures, it did not deal with the entitlements. That is another reason it is not a budget. It is a cap on discretionary spending. That is all that it is. It has a step in the right direction but not a budget plan that would help us have a prosperous future.

This is an important day. I think it will cause the American people and all of us in Congress this reality of a danger we face from debt. No matter how we vote this day, this next hour—even if we vote in what I think is the wrong way—hopefully this whole process would have caused all of us to confront the reality of the danger to the American Republic, the growing debt.

I would say from my experience it will be tough to deal with it, but I absolutely believe we can. It is not outside of the possibility and ability of this country to reverse our course. The kind of cuts we will need to have will not be such that will damage in any significant way the strength and health of America.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I would ask Senator Sessions, if I might, for 2 additional minutes because of the time Senator Leahy consumed?

Mr. SESSIONS. I appreciate that and will agree to those 2 additional minutes.

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

Mr. CONRAD. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. President, the place we agree is we have a long-term problem for this country that we must address. I attempted to lay before the Budget Committee, and did lay before the Budget Committee, the Bowles-Simpson plan. It is the one plan that has had bipartisan support. I hope before the year is over that we can go back to it because I think it holds the greatest potential. A key difference Senator Sessions and I have is whether we have a budget for this year and next. I believe it is clear we do. The Budget Control Act that passed last year says that the allocations and spending levels set since
apply in the Senate in the same manner as for a concurrent resolution on the budget.” That is for both 2012 and 2013.

I believe our Republican friends want to focus on that because they do not want to focus on the specifics of their budget. Arguably, the last time we were in charge, when they controlled everything—the House and the Senate and the White House—the Republican policies led us to the brink of financial collapse. The proposals they are advancing today are a return to those failed policies. Remember what happened when they were in charge. We were losing 800,000 jobs a month and the economy was shrinking at a rate of almost 9 percent a year. That is why they do not want to focus on the substance of their plans.

Let’s focus on the substance for a moment. Every Republican budget ends Medicare as we know it. One Republican budget cuts Social Security benefits by 30 percent. Every Republican budget cuts taxes for millionaires by at least $150,000 a year. And every Republican budget protects offshore tax havens.

I have shown on the floor many times a picture of this little building in the Cayman Islands that claims to be the home of 18,657 companies. It is not their home. They are not doing business out of this little five-story business in the Cayman Islands. They are doing monkey business. The monkey business they are doing is avoiding the taxes they owe. Every Republican budget protects this scam. That should not be allowed to continue.

I hope my colleagues reject these proposals. I hope we will vote no, and then get on with the serious business of a bipartisan plan to get America back on track, the Simpson-Bowles plan that I presented to the Budget Committee.

I yield the floor. I believe all time has expired.

Mr. SESSIONS. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

The question is on the motion to proceed to S. Con. Res. 41.

Mr. SESSIONS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is to proceed to S. Con. Res. 41.

Mr. SESSIONS. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There appears to be a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, we have 1 minute on each side.

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

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. President, the President’s budget is now before us. Last year it failed in this body by 97 to 0. It failed in the House, the budget that he offered this year, 414 to 0. I expect it will receive no votes today. That is a stunning development for the President of the United States in his fourth year in office to produce a budget for the future of our country at a time of fiscal danger, great financial and economic danger to our country, to not receive a single vote.

Maybe somebody will vote for it. Let me tell you why we should not. It does not change the debt course. It violates the budget agreement the President signed and Congress passed last year, by increasing spending over that level by $1.5 trillion. It throws off another $1.8 trillion in tax increases, essentially using tax increases to offset new spending programs, not to pay down the debt. It is the most irresponsible budget submitted. I urge my colleagues to vote no.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, this is the budget. This is what Senator Sessions has presented as being the President’s budget. Do you see a difference?

This is what Senator Sessions describes as the President’s budget. This is the President’s budget. I think it is readily apparent, there is a big difference between the President’s budget, which I hold in my hands, and what Senator Sessions has presented as being the President’s budget. This is not the President’s budget, so of course we are not going to support it. It is not what the President proposed.

I yield back my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The result was announced—yeas 0, nays 99, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 97 Leg.]

NAYS—99

Moderated by Matthew R. Phillips.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The President’s budget is now before us. It failed in the House, the budget that he submitted. I urge my colleagues to vote no.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, this is the budget. This is what Senator Sessions has presented as being the President’s budget. Do you see a difference?

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Mr. KYL. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. KLOECKNER). The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. KLOECKNER). The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 0, nays 99, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 98 Leg.]

YEAS—41

Moderated by Matthew R. Phillips.

Mr. KYL. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 41, nays 58, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 98 Leg.]
The motion was rejected.

Mr. TOOMEY. Madam President, the vote we are about to cast is on a motion to proceed to the budget I have introduced, one of the important features of which is within the customarily 10-year budget window this budget would balance. It does not happen overnight. It takes 8 years to get there. But it does, in fact, balance, and it does it by essentially containing the rate of growth in spending. Only in the first year is there a spending cut, and that is less than 3 percent. Every year thereafter spending grows in this budget, but it grows a little more slowly than the alternative. It grows at a sustainable pace so that with normal economic growth we will reach a balance within 8 years and a modest surplus thereafter.

It does call for some of these structural entitlement reforms we need. Specifically, it would call for adopting the bipartisan Medicare reform plan that I would remind everyone permits senior citizens to continue to choose the traditional fee-for-service Medicare they have now—if that is their choice—but it does make other options we think would be more cost effective available as well.

It also adopts the President's recommendations by asking the wealthiest Americans to pay a little more for the Medicare benefits they enjoy. It asks for tax reform that we all know we need to generate economic growth, and it puts our budget on a sustainable path.

I urge Members to vote in favor of this motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. CONRAD. Madam President, this is another unbalanced plan. There is very little in the way of revenue to reduce deficits and debt but deep spending cuts in priorities such as education and energy. In fact, this proposal cuts discretionary spending $1 trillion below the Budget Control Act, which cut $900 billion. In addition, this cuts $3 trillion in health care by ending Medicare as we know it and by block-granting Medicaid, holding hostage those who are the most vulnerable among us, children and the disabled.

I urge my colleagues to resist this proposal.

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, my colleague yield for a question?

Mr. CONRAD. I am happy to yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. HARKIN. Does the Toomey budget we are about to vote on increase student loan interest rates on July 1 from 3.4 percent to 6.8 percent?

Mr. CONRAD. It does permit that.

Mr. HARKIN. Well, I hope every Senator who votes on this knows, if they are voting for this budget, they are voting to double student loan interest rates on July 1.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 57, as follows:

YEAS—42

Mr. TOOMEY. Madam President, the vote we are about to cast is on a motion to proceed to the budget I have introduced, one of the important features of which is within the customary 10-year budget window this budget would balance. It does not happen overnight. It takes 8 years to get there. But it does, in fact, balance, and it does it by essentially containing the rate of growth in spending. Only in the first year is there a spending cut, and that is less than 3 percent. Every year thereafter spending grows in this budget, but it grows a little more slowly than the alternative. It grows at a sustainable pace so that with normal economic growth we will reach a balance within 8 years and a modest surplus thereafter.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

Mr. CONRAD. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 42, nays 57, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 99 Leg.]
The motion was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The previous order, the motion to reconsider is considered made and laid upon the table.

STOP THE STUDENT LOAN INTEREST RATE HIKE ACT OF 2012—MOTION TO PROCEED—Continued

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to address the Senate as in morning business.

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

FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. MORAN. Mr. President, today we considered five separate budget proposals for the Federal Government. At first glance, that would appear to be the fiscally responsible thing to do. The families and small business owners I talk to back home in Kansas do that every year. They operate with a budget, and we know the Federal Government needs to do so as well. However, this Chamber has not passed a budget in 1,113 days. That is more than 3 years.

In my first speech on the Senate floor as a new Member of the Senate a little more than a year ago, I indicated to my Senate colleagues that my greatest concern for our country is our Nation’s out-of-control spending. I am here today because I still have that concern. We spend too much money, and we no longer can delay the difficult decisions necessary to correct that problem.

Our national debt stands at more than $15 trillion. This enormous