

U.S. Presidential Candidate Spending Analysis – Rick Santorum

Total Net Spending Agenda: -\$670.597 billion (savings)

Economy, Transportation, and Infrastructure: -\$4.565 billion (savings)

A. Support Free Trade Agreements:

"Negotiate 5 Free Trade Agreements and submit to Congress in first year of Presidency." http://www.ricksantorum.com/made-america

Cost: Unknown.

Note: The primary impact of free trade bills is generally on federal revenues. Depending on the terms of the agreement, there may be some outlay effects as well. For example, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projects that H.R. 3080, the United States-Korea Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act (112th Congress), "would reduce revenues by \$31 million in 2012 and by about \$7.0 billion over the 2012-2021 period. CBO estimates that enacting H.R. 3080 would increase direct spending by \$53 million in 2012 but would decrease direct spending by about \$7.0 billion over the 2012-2021 period... Further, CBO estimates that implementing the legislation would cost \$7 million over the 2012-2016 period, assuming the availability of appropriated funds." http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/124xx/doc12466/hr3080.pdf

B. Phase Out Government-Sponsored Enterprises:

"Phase out Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac within five years." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 1182 (112th Congress), the GSE Bailout Elimination and Taxpayer Protection Act. The bill would gradually decrease the number of assets held by Government-Sponsored Enterprises, including Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. A current cost estimate is not available.

C. Repeal Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act:

"Eliminate funding for implementation of Dodd/Frank regulatory burdens." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$4.3 billion (-\$21.5 billion over five years).

Source: Statement by Douglas W. Elmendorf, Director, Congressional Budget Office, before the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations Committee on Financial Services, U.S. House of Representatives, March 30, 2011. http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/121xx/doc12120/03-29-Dodd-Frank.pdf

D. Repeal Major Regulations:

"As President, I would immediately rescind all major Obama regulations" http://www.ricksantorum.com/obama-regs-versus-freedom

Cost: Unknown.

Note: In its cost estimate for H.R. 10 (112th Congress), the Regulations from the Executive in Need of Scrutiny Act of 2011, CBO noted, "About 80 major rules have been issued per year, on average, over the past five years. Major rules vary greatly in their nature and scope. CBO and the staff of the Joint Committee on Taxation (JCT) cannot determine the budgetary effects of preventing all future major rules from going into effect"

http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/125xx/doc12552/hr10.pdf.

Based on this information and due to the lack of specifics in Senator Santorum's proposal, NTUF cannot provide a cost estimate.

E. Repeal Sarbanes-Oxley Act:

"We must repeal the burdensome Sarbanes-Oxley law that not only did not prevent the financial crisis, but chased capital overseas."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/news/2011/07/courage-fight-american-jobs

Cost: -\$265 million (first-year savings).

Source: *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Appendix*, page 1406. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/oia.pdf Note: The Sarbanes-Oxley Act was passed in the 107th Congress. The bill created the Standard-Setting Body and the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board to establish and regulate, respectively, national standards for the accounting industry. The President's Budget requests \$265 million in Fiscal Year (FY) 2013 for these entities.

Education, Science, and Research: \$144 million

A. Increase Abstinence Education Funding:

"[As President, Rick Santorum commits to] ... [c]all on Congress to reinstitute 2008-level funding for the Community Based Abstinence Education program." http://www.ricksantorum.com/executive-branch-actions

Cost: \$144 million (first-year cost).

Source: *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2010, Appendix*, page 490. In FY 2008, \$137 million in both mandatory and discretionary funds was spent on abstinence education. The figure has been adjusted for inflation. http://www.gpoaccess.gov/usbudget/fy10/pdf/appendix/hhs.pdf

Energy, Agriculture, and the Environment: -\$2.465 billion (savings)

A. Eliminate Energy Subsidies:

"Eliminate all energy subsidies ... within four years." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

"Eliminate all energy subsidies and tax credits. This will prevent the federal government from picking winners and losers in our effort to unleash all of America's domestic energy sources." http://www.ricksantorum.com/unleashing-america%E2%80%99s-domestic-energy

Cost: -\$2.063 billion (-\$8.25 billion over four years). Source: CBO, *Federal Financial Support for the Development and Production of Fuels and Energy Technology*, March 2012, page 7. http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/03-06-FuelsandEnergy_Brief.pdf Note: CBO's report includes outlay estimates for the spending associated with the energy efficiency, renewable energy, nuclear power, fossil-fuel research and development, electricity delivery and reliability, and the Advanced Research Projects Agency-Energy programs. NTUF assumes Senator Santorum would phase out the spending associated with these programs over a four-year period.

B. Increase Domestic Oil Drilling:

"I will also expedite the approval of leasing and permitting for domestic oil and gas companies in crucial onshore and offshore locales on day one of my Administration. I continue to support exploration in the Arctic North Wilderness Area."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/oped/unleashing-american-innovation-and-ingenuity-through-energy-and-manufacturing

"Remove bans on drilling - both onshore and offshore." http://www.ricksantorum.com/unleashing-america%E2%80%99s-domestic-energy

Cost: -\$402 million (-\$2.008 billion over five years). Source: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R 3407 (112th Congress), the Alaskan Energy for American Jobs Act and H.R. 3410 (112th Congress), the Energy Security and Transportation Jobs Act. CBO cost estimates are available. http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/hr3407.pdf http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/hr3410_0.pdf Note: CBO estimates that H.R. 3407 would implement an oil and gas leasing program for the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge that would generate \$1.5 billion in offsetting receipts (which CBO classifies as negative outlays) through FY 2017. H.R. 3410 would raise \$508 million over five years in the form of offsetting receipts. The bill would repeal the ban on leasing areas within 125 miles of the coast of Florida and in the eastern Gulf of Mexico, and would require the Department of the Interior to expedite lease auctions in other areas of the Outer Continental Shelf.

C. Preempt New Federal Regulation of Hydraulic Fracturing:

"Unlike President Obama, I will allow states, rather than the Environmental Protection Agency, to set their own regulations regarding the use of hydraulic fracturing technology, giving America access to vast proven oil and gas reserves."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/oped/unleashing-american-innovation-and-ingenuity-throughenergy-and-manufacturing

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Currently, hydraulic fracturing is regulated by the states. A 2005 law exempted hydraulic fracturing from Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulation under the Safe Drinking Water Act. However, EPA is currently conducting a review of the impact of hydraulic fracturing on groundwater. EPA also administers the Underground Injection Control (UIC) program to regulate injection wells that place fluids underground for storage and disposal, including the by-product fluid from hydraulic fracturing. EPA has requested \$11 million in UIC funding for FY 2013.

http://www.epa.gov/planandbudget/annualplan/FY 2013 CJ.pdf

It is unclear whether Senator Santorum would repeal the entire UIC program.

D. Reform Environmental Protection Agency:

"Cut EPA resources for job killing regulations and return focus to common sense conservation and safe and clean air and water."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Due to the lack of specifics in Senator Santorum's proposal, NTUF is unable to estimate, with any precision, the amount of savings that might result from redirecting resources from one program area to another.

E. Repeal Agriculture Subsidies:

"I will eliminate ... most agriculture subsidies." http://www.ricksantorum.com/bold-solutions-america%E2%80%99s-families

Cost: Unknown.

Note: According to the *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Historical Tables*, page 74, the federal government spent \$16 billion on farm income stabilization in FY 2011. It is unclear which subsidies Senator Santorum would eliminate. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/hist.pdf

Federal Government Reform: -\$-647.158 billion (savings)

A. Abolish the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals:

"[As President, Rick Santorum commits to] ... [c]all on Congress to abolish the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/executive-branch-actions

Cost: Unknown.

Note: NTUF is unable to estimate any costs due to the lack of details in Senator Santorum's proposal. Related legislation was introduced in the form of H.R. 4093 (109th Congress), the Federal Judgeship and Administrative Efficiency Act of 2005. Among other provisions, the bill would divide the Ninth Circuit and create a new Twelfth Circuit Court. CBO estimated the measure would cost \$33 million over a five-year period. The figure has been adjusted for inflation.

http://cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/68xx/doc6882/hr4093.pdf

B. Audit the Federal Reserve:

"Audit the Federal Reserve and return it to its original purpose – a single charter to only manage inflation."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/made-america

Cost: Unknown. Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 459 (112th Congress), the Federal Reserve Transparency Act of 2011. The bill would require the Government Accountability Office (GAO) to conduct a full audit of the Federal Reserve. A current cost estimate is not available.

C. Cut Discretionary Spending:

"Immediately reduce federal (non-defense discretionary spending) to 2008 levels through across the board spending cuts."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$45.993 billion (first-year savings). Source: *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Historical Tables*, page 173. http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/hist.pdf Note: NTUF assumes Senator Santorum would cut non-defense discretionary spending in FY 2013 before the implementation of the cap that would be required under his proposed Balanced Budget Amendment (see "Enact Balanced Budget Amendment" below).

D. Cut the Federal Workforce:

"Freeze pay for non-defense related federal employees for four years, cut workforce by 10% with no compensatory increase in contract workforce, and phase out defined benefit plans for newer workers."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$6.919 billion (-\$34.595 billion over five years) (partial estimate).

- Pay Freeze, Workforce Cut, Compensatory Increase: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 3029 (112th Congress), the Reducing the Size of the Federal Government Through Attrition Act of 2011. A CBO estimate is available. http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/hr3029.pdf
- Defined Benefit Plans: Unknown. Phasing out defined benefit plans would affect younger workers when they retire, which is likely to occur beyond NTUF's five-year budget scoring window.

Note: The bill provides the President with the authority to waive the attrition policy for national security concerns, extraordinary emergencies, or if the performance of a necessary agency might be compromised. Based on this wavier authority, CBO estimates that up to two-thirds of the federal workforce would be exempted from the attrition policy. A less expansive use of waivers could result in larger savings. The House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform estimates that similar legislation – H.R. 2114 (112th Congress) – could save \$63.75 billion over five years, or \$12.75 billion per year.

http://issa.house.gov/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=811:issa-rossand-chaffetz-introduce-bill-to-cut-federal-workforce-by-10-by-2015&catid=63:2011press-releases&Itemid=4

E. Dispose of Excess Federal Property:

"Sell unproductive and wasteful federal properties." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$620 million (-\$3.1 billion over five years).

Source: Office of Management and Budget, *Living Within Our Means and Investing in the Future: The President's Plan for Economic Growth and Deficit Reduction*, September 2011, page 60.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2012/assets/jointcommitteer eport.pdf

Note: The Obama Administration has set forth its proposal for dealing with excess property in its FY 2012 budget and in draft legislation entitled the Civilian Property Realignment Act. However, CBO is skeptical that significant savings could be achieved

in the short term (See "CBO Testified on Selling Federal Property," http://www.cbo.gov/publication/42205). The agency believes that it could cost \$420 million over five years to "identify and prepare property for sale or transfer." CBO recommends that the federal government take steps to increase the proceeds from sales by providing clear incentives to agencies, exempting property from federal laws that impede sales, and be very specific about which properties should be offered for sale. The OMB report notes that "CBO has not scored savings for similar proposals." While CBO's concerns are cautionary, OMB's estimate reflects a reasonable estimate on the disposal of excess federal property in the near-term.

F. Eliminate Duplicative Programs:

"Implement reforms and cost savings of up to \$100 billion in March 2011 GAO report requested by Senator Coburn listing 34 areas of duplication and waste." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$5 billion (first-year savings).

Source: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of S. 945 (112th Congress), a bill to save at least \$5 billion by consolidating some duplicative and overlapping government programs.

Note: Senator Santorum is referring to a GAO report entitled *Opportunities to Reduce Potential Duplication in Government Programs, Save Tax Dollars, and Enhance Revenue*, March 2011. The report outlines GAO's options for reducing spending on duplicate programs as well as other ways to reduce wasteful and fraudulent spending, and improve the collection of fees and revenues. Senator Coburn introduced S. 945 to save at least \$5 billion by eliminating, consolidating, or streamlining government programs identified in the report. It is possible that efforts to reduce waste in the federal government would result in significant savings beyond the minimum level sought in the legislation.

http://www.gao.gov/assets/320/315920.pdf

G. Enact Balanced Budget Amendment:

"Pass a Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution capping government spending at 18% of GDP so that Congress and the President will need to balance the budget like Governors are required to do."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$519.626 billion (-\$2.079 trillion over four years). Source: *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Historical Tables*, pages 23, 212.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/hist.pdf Note: All Balance Budget Amendment (BBA) resolutions provide guidance on when they would take effect; H.J. Res. 2 (which the House voted on in 2011 but did not pass) would have applied to the second fiscal year after ratification or the first fiscal year after December 2016, whichever is later. H.J. Res. 1 (which contained a spending cap similar to what Senator Santorum advocates) also provides this stipulation. Though other BBAs allow longer implementation periods, a measure like H.J. Res. 2 introduced in Santorum's Presidency would presumably take effect as soon as December 2018.

Since Senator Santorum specified a particular GDP target (rather than announcing his intention to support a generic balanced budget proposal) NTUF assumes he would submit budgets that would set the federal government on a path to meet his GDP target as though his preferred BBA were in place. For the purposes of this estimate, NTUF assumes that the cap would begin with the budget that Senator Santorum would submit for FY 2014 and be fully phased-in by FY 2017.

However, as this proposal is an expression of what the candidate would implement as President, this estimate cannot account for the potential effects of congressional attempts to override any spending caps. For example, H.J. Res. 1 allows a two-thirds supermajority of both Houses of Congress to suspend the 18-percent-of-Gross-Domestic-Product spending limitation clause.

H. Increase Federal Efficiency:

"Implement Strong America Now reform through Lean Six Sigma management process as a key engine for cutting government waste and improving efficiency." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Lean Six Sigma (LSS) is a managerial concept that focuses on eliminating specific types of waste, including defects, overproduction, transportation, waiting, inventory, motion, and over-processing. It is unclear what effects the LSS management program would have on the federal government.

I. Eliminate National Labor Relations Board Funding:

"Cut funding for National Labor Relations Board for decision preventing airplane factory in South Carolina."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: Unknown. Note: It is unclear what level of funding Senator Santorum would cut from the Board.

J. Establish National Language:

"Make English the official language of government, not to penalize but to promote opportunity and a common culture for new immigrants." http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 1164 (112th Congress), the National Language Act of 2011. The bill would establish English as the official language of the U.S. Government. A current cost estimate is not available.

K. Rescind Federal Stimulus Dollars:

"Stop implementation of any remaining federal stimulus spending." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 620 (112th Congress), the Recovering Excessive Stimulus Expenditures for Taxpayers (RESET) Act. The bill would rescind unobligated funds associated with the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act. At the time of introduction of the bill, its sponsors estimated there were approximately \$7 billion of unobligated "stimulus" funds. It is unclear whether there will be any unobligated funds remaining in FY 2013.

L. Reform Welfare Programs:

"Freeze spending levels for social programs for 5 years such as Medicaid, Housing, Education, Job Training, and Food Stamps, time limit restrictions, and block grant to the States like in Welfare Reform."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

"I will support social innovation in the states and local communities, modernize our social safety net and be fiscally responsible by block granting to the states Medicaid, housing, job training, [F]ood [S]tamps and education programs. We will promote dignity and control costs through time limits for able-bodied people, as we did successfully in welfare reform." http://www.ricksantorum.com/bold-solutions-america%E2%80%99s-families

Cost: -\$69 billion (-\$345 billion over five years) (partial estimate).

 Medicaid: -\$69 billion (-\$345 billion over five years). CBO, *The Budget and Economic Outlook: Fiscal Years 2012 to 2022*, page 52. http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/01-31-2012 Outlook.pdf

Note: CBO's baseline estimate for FY 2013 Medicaid spending is \$281 billion. NTUF is unable to estimate other provisions in Senator Santorum's proposal because of the lack of available multi-year outlay projections for the remaining social programs that would be frozen, as well as the lack of specificity regarding the control of costs that he would implement.

Health Care: -\$42.655 billion (savings)

A. Enhance Health Savings Accounts:

"Strengthen patient-driven health coverage options such as Health Savings Accounts coupled with high deductible insurance plans"

http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Health Savings Accounts are personalized, non-taxable savings accounts for individuals' health-related expenses. Unless the accounts were to be subsidized through "refundable" (i.e., in excess of actual tax liability) credits or a federal matching rate, there would be no effect on outlays. Budgetary agencies classify the refundable portion of tax credits as outlays.

B. Implement Roadmap for America's Future:

"Implement Medicare Reforms and Innovation proposed by Congressman Paul Ryan and speed up their implementation to control healthcare costs and improve quality." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

"I will work to implement key reforms to Medicare and Social Security. Those approaching retirement can only be confident if these programs are on sustainable footing. I support Rep. Paul Ryan's Medicare reforms, which include private-sector innovation, competition and consumer choice. While I whole-heartedly [sic] support cutting taxes, I believe that changes to payroll taxes should be tied to sustainable reforms in Medicare and Social Security." http://www.ricksantorum.com/bold-solutions-america%E2%80%99s-families

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Congressman Paul Ryan's Roadmap for America's Future calls for long-term structural changes to the federal government's major retirement and entitlement programs. The Roadmap reduces Medicare costs by phasing in reforms for those individuals under age 55. It attempts to provide individuals and states greater flexibility when it comes to Medicaid spending. Additionally, the Roadmap also seeks to improve Social Security's solvency by implementing reforms that affect individuals under age 55 while retaining current benefits for those over that age. The Roadmap was introduced in the 111th Congress as H.R. 4529, a bill to provide for the reform of health care, the Social Security system, the tax code for individuals and business, job training, and the budget process. It has not been reintroduced in the 112th Congress.

Even if Senator Santorum were to accelerate the implementation of the Roadmap, NTUF is unable to estimate the savings that might be realized within the next five years. http://www.roadmap.republicans.budget.house.gov/UploadedFiles/Roadmap2Final2.pdf

C. Increase Health Care Efficiencies:

"Reduce costs through competition, increased transparency, electronic records, and health care literacy"

http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: Unknown.

Note: The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) provided \$548 million grants "to build or expand systems enabling health care providers within each state to share patient information" through 2015. However, it is unclear how states will maintain the new systems thereafter. ARRA also provided \$27 billion in Medicare and Medicaid payments to incentivize health care providers to switch to the new digital systems. http://www.iwatchnews.org/2011/11/02/7255/stimulus-funds-will-build-state-health-exchanges-might-not-sustain-them?utm_source=iwatchnews&utm_medium=site-features&utm_campaign=most-active

D. Purchase Insurance across State Lines:

"Allow patients to purchase health insurance across state lines to gain access to the best insurance coverage to fit their individual needs – patients shouldn't be required to pay for (and subsidize for others) coverage for services they don't want or need." http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: \$65 million (\$326 million over five years).

Source: CBO cost estimate for H.R. 2355, the Health Care Choice Act of 2005 (109th Congress), a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for cooperative governing of individual health insurance coverage offered in interstate commerce. CBO's initial cost estimate has been adjusted for inflation. The bill was reintroduced in the 112th Congress in the form of H.R. 346.

http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/66xx/doc6639/hr2355.pdf

E. Reform Medical Malpractice:

"Enact meaningful medical liability reform – to increase access, and reduce added costs and inefficiencies from defensive medicine for federal programs and incentivize state liability reforms."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: -\$2.42 billion (-\$12.1 billion over five years). Source: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 5 (112th Congress), the Help Efficient, Accessible, Low-cost, Timely Healthcare (HEALTH) Act of 2011. A CBO cost estimate is available.

http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/HR_5_Rules.pdf

F. Institute Refundable Health Credit:

"Allow those who purchase their own health care coverage to do so with pre-tax dollars, including a refundable tax-credit for the purchase of health coverage (so that employees are not tied to jobs solely for health coverage, but have portability of affordable coverage)." http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: Unknown.

Note: The impact on outlays would depend upon the extent to which subsidies or "refundable" credits for insurance are offered. In his Fiscal Year 2008 Budget, President George W. Bush offered a health insurance tax credit proposal that had a refundable component. At the time, NTUF estimated the potential cost at \$2.856 billion per year. However, NTUF is unable to estimate any other costs here due to the lack of details in Senator Santorum's proposal.

G. Repeal the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act:

"[R]epeal ObamaCare"

http://www.ricksantorum.com/repeal-and-replace-obamacare-patient-centered-healthcare

Cost: -\$40.3 billion (-\$201.5 billion over five years).

Source: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 2 (112th Congress), the Repealing the Job-Killing Health Care Law Act. A CBO cost estimate is available. http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/120xx/doc12069/hr2.pdf

Homeland Security and Law Enforcement: \$1.148 billion

A. Deport Criminals:

"Deport immediately all illegal immigrants involved with criminal and drug trafficking activity unless a specific individual would create a security concern because they may be released in country of origin."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 2952 (112th Congress), the Immigration Backlog Reduction Act of 2011. The bill would expedite the removal of criminal and certain inadmissible arriving aliens. It is unclear if the bill would result in new administrative costs.

B. Strengthen Electromagnetic Pulse Protection:

"Authorize more research on the Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) Threat." http://www.ricksantorum.com/response-iran

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 668 (112th Congress), the Secure High-voltage Infrastructure for Electricity from Lethal Damage (SHIELD) Act. The bill would allow the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to order emergency measures to protect electrical systems and infrastructure. A current cost estimate is not available.

C. Increase Border Security:

"The key to a safer America lies in an approach to border security that includes the following enforcement measures:

- Expand the border fence fully where needed and enhance physical border security;
- More law enforcement resources and border agents;
- The increased use of and access to cutting-edge technology; and
- Enforcing immigration and labor laws including through employer verification including an E-Verify system that is simple, reliable, and protects businesses."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: \$1.087 billion (first-year cost of \$335 million, plus \$3.758 billion over five years) (*partial estimate*).

Fence: Unknown. A 2009 report from GAO lists the target length of the border fence to be 661 miles. A January 2012 update from Customs and Border Protection states that the agency has overseen the construction of 651 miles of pedestrian and vehicle fencing. Vehicle fencing was completed in January 2010. The last mile of pedestrian fencing is to be completed by April of this year. It is unclear whether Senator Santorum would expand the fence to reach the initial target of 661 miles or extend it further along the 1,993-mile border. Costs would vary depending upon the type of fencing to be used. According to the GAO report, fencing completed by October 2008 cost an average of \$3.9 million per mile for pedestrian fencing and \$1.0 million per mile for vehicle fencing. The report further notes, "However, once contracts were awarded, the average per mile costs had increased to \$6.5 million per mile for pedestrian fencing and \$1.8 million per mile for vehicle fencing. Tactical infrastructure program officials said the per mile costs increased over time due to various factors, such as property acquisition costs incurred for these miles that were not a factor for many of the previous miles and costs for labor and materials increased."

Source: GAO, Secure Border Initiative: Technology Deployment Delays Persist and the Impact of Border Fencing Has Not Been Assessed, September 2009. http://www.gao.gov/assets/300/294982.pdf

United States Department of Homeland Security, "Southwest Border Fence Construction Progress," January 2012.

http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/ti/ti_news/sbi_fence/

 Law Enforcement: \$455 million (\$2.276 billion over five years). CBO estimate for H.R. 4088 (110th Congress), the Secure America through Verification and Enforcement (SAVE) Act of 2007. Title I, Subtitle A, calls for 5,000 additional fulltime border patrol agents. This bill was reintroduced in the 112th Congress in the form of H.R. 2000.

Note: It is possible that Senator Santorum might hire more, or fewer, border agents. http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/91xx/doc9100/hr4088ltr.pdf

Technology: \$335 million (first-year cost). Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 1507 (112th Congress), the Border Security Enforcement Act of 2011. Section 6 would increase spending for communications technologies. The text of the bill authorizes the spending.
 Note: It is possible that Senator Santorum might support higher, or lower, levels of

technology funding.

E-Verify: \$296 million (\$1.482 billion over five years). CBO estimate for H.R. 4088 (110th Congress), the Secure America through Verification and Enforcement (SAVE) Act of 2007. Title II would make E-Verify permanently funded and mandatory for employers to check the legal status of their workers. This bill was reintroduced in the 112th Congress in the form of H.R. 2000.

http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/ftpdocs/91xx/doc9100/hr4088ltr.pdf

D. Protect Infrastructure:

"Develop a National Prevention Plan to prevent a severe terrestrial [sic] and space emergencies that would take down our information systems or electrical grids." http://www.ricksantorum.com/response-iran

Cost: Unknown.

E. Reform Legal Immigration System:

"Streamline the legal immigration system to avoid unnecessary bureaucratic delays and burdens."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: Unknown.

Note: This proposal could have administrative cost savings or could require additional funding, depending upon how it is structured. NTUF is unable to provide a cost estimate due to the lack of specificity in Senator Santorum's proposal.

F. Limit Government Services for Illegal Immigrants:

"Stop the federal government from requiring states to provide government services to illegal immigrants and oppose provision of government benefits not available to all citizens such as instate tuition."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

"Oppose other rewards for illegal immigrants at taxpayer expense such as in state tuition rates." http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: Unknown.

Note: Low-income programs such as Medicaid or the Women, Infants, and Children nutrition program are funded by both state and federal spending. It is unclear as to how the programs would be affected. In addition, some states might choose to continue extending partial benefits to illegal immigrants. Due to the lack of specifics in Senator Santorum's proposal, it is unclear if the federal government would continue providing funding for its share of benefit payments to citizens and legal immigrants or if it would cut off all funding to states that provide benefits to illegal immigrants

G. Reform Guest Worker Program:

"Create a workable guestworker program for America's farmers." http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: \$98 million (\$492 million over five years).

Source: CBO estimate for S. 2611 (109th Congress), the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006. Title VI would have established the Blue Card Program for temporary agricultural workers. Tamper-proof cards were to be issued to individuals as a means of identification and proof of legally being in the United States. CBO's initial cost estimate has been adjusted for inflation. The bill was reintroduced in the form of H.R. 307 in the 112th Congress.

http://www.cbo.gov/doc.cfm?index=7501&zzz=34050

H. Repeal Immigration Lottery:

"Prioritize admittance of legal immigrants by what is good for our country rather than lottery system."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/immigration-reform-securing-and-strengthening-america

Cost: -\$37 million (-\$147 million over four years).

Source: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 704 (112th Congress), the Security and Fairness Enhancement for America Act of 2011. The bill would eliminate the diversity visa lottery and reduce the number of legal immigrants, which CBO estimates would reduce spending on federal benefit programs such as Medicaid and Food Stamps. A CBO estimate is available.

http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/hr704.pdf

National Security and International Relations: \$30.591 billion

A. Complete Ballistic Missile Shield:

"Would push for, fully fund and build a comprehensive missile defense system, and reevaluate the ramifications of the START Treaty." http://www.ricksantorum.com/response-iran Cost: \$4 billion (\$20 billion over five years).

Source: The Heritage Foundation, *Issues 2012: The Candidate's Briefing Book, Missile Defense.* The United States currently spends \$10 billion on missile defense and Heritage calls for \$14 billion for each of the next five years in total funding to complete the system.

http://www.candidatebriefing.com/missile-defense/

B. Expand Humanitarian Aid:

"...[W]e need to keep and expand our commitment to humanitarian aid, especially in Africa." http://www.ricksantorum.com/10-steps-promote-our-interests-around-world

Cost: Unknown. Note: It is unclear whether – and by what amount – Senator Santorum would increase U.S. funding in this area.

C. Cut Number of Aid Workers and Reduce United Nations Funding:

"Cut in half the number of State Department USAID employees and US funding for United Nations programs."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

"Eliminating funding for United Nations' agencies which oppose America's interests and promote abortion and cut the US contribution to the UN in half." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$909 million (first-year savings).

- United States Agency for International Development: -\$333 million (first-year savings). USAID has requested \$665 million for personnel benefits and compensation for FY 2013. *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Appendix*, page 907.
- http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/oia.pdf
 United Nations: -\$576 million (first-year savings). *Congressional Budget*
- Justification, Volume 1: Department of State Operations, Fiscal Year 2013. http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/181061.pdf

D. Reinstate the Iran Freedom and Support Act:

"Reinstate full funding authorized under the Iran Freedom and Support Act to assist prodemocracy groups within Iran." http://www.ricksantorum.com/response-iran

Cost: Unknown. Note: Related legislation has been introduced in the form of H.R. 1714 (112th Congress), the Iran Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Act of 2011. A current cost estimate is not available.

E. Freeze Defense Spending:

"Freeze defense spending levels for 5 years and reject automatic cuts." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

> Cost: \$27.5 billion (\$110 billion over four years). Source: *Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 2013, Historical Tables*, pages 145-146.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/hist.pdf

Note: NTUF assumes the defense spending freeze would be enacted in FY 2014 and would freeze future outlays at FY 2013 levels (\$693.0 billion). However, this estimate excludes the amount of the Administration's FY 2013 request for Overseas Contingency Operations (\$88.5 billion). The Budget projects that defense spending would decline to \$581.7 billion by FY 2017.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2013/assets/tables.pdf

F. Reform the Intelligence Community:

"... [W]e need a reinvigorated human-intelligence apparatus in the Middle East so we can better understand who and where [our] enemies are and then identify opportunities to counteract them and support allies and would-be allies."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/10-steps-promote-our-interests-around-world

Cost: Unknown.

G. Reinstitute "Don't Ask, Don't Tell":

"[As President, Rick Santorum commits to] ... [c]all on Congress to reinstitute Don't Ask/Don't Tell."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/executive-branch-actions

Cost: Unknown. Note: "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) was repealed in 2011. According to *The Washington Post*, DADT cost "at least \$364 million in associated funds over the policy's first decade." It is unclear if reinstituting DADT would result in similar costs. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/02/13/AR2006021302373.html

H. Support Israeli Military Strikes against Iran:

"Would work with Israel to eliminate the Iranian nuclear threat immediately; and developing a potential plan for military action if needed. ...

Would work with Israel to determine the proper military response needed to stabilize the region, protect our allies and protect this country – including the authorization of targeted airstrikes on Iranian nuclear facilities."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/response-iran

Cost: Unknown.

Miscellaneous: -\$5.637 billion (savings)

A. Investigate Operation Fast and Furious:

"Would you appoint an Independent Counsel to investigate possible wrongdoing by the [Bureau of Alcohol, Firearms, Tobacco, and Explosives], FBI, and the Offices of Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General in connection with [Operation Fast and Furious]?" "Yes."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/sites/default/files/GOA Santorum Survey Response.pdf

Cost: Unknown.

Note: The cost of an Independent Counsel can vary based on the scope and duration of the investigation. For example, the 1981 investigation into whether Tim Kraft, President Jimmy Carter's national campaign manager, used illegal drugs cost \$3,348, while the investigations led by Ken Starr cost taxpayers more than \$55 million. Given this wide range, NTUF is unable, with any precision, to estimate the potential cost of Senator Santorum's proposal.

http://www.justice.gov/jmd/2008justification/pdf/29_ic.pdf

B. Eliminate Planned Parenthood Funding:

"Eliminate funding for Planned Parenthood and use half of the dollars to support adoption instead."

http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$237 million (first-year savings). Source: Factcheck.org http://www.factcheck.org/2011/04/planned-parenthood/

Note: According to Factcheck.org, Planned Parenthood received \$70 million in Title X family planning funds and a total of \$293 million in Medicaid funding in FY 2009. The Medicaid federal reimbursement rate to states averages 57 percent, resulting in potential revenues of \$167 million for Planned Parenthood.

http://www.medicaid.gov/Medicaid-CHIP-Program-Information/By-Topics/Financingand-Reimbursement/Financing-and-Reimbursement.html

C. Reform Social Security:

"Reform Social Security and place on a sustainable path by a combination of reforms such as addressing adjusting CPI, dependent benefits and disability income benefits reforms, moving back the retirement age for younger workers, means testing benefits, annual adjustments as needed, and dedicating Social Security payroll taxes to Social Security." http://www.ricksantorum.com/spending-cuts-and-entitlements-reform

Cost: -\$5.4 billion (-\$27 billion over five years) (partial estimate).

 CPI: -\$5.4 billion (-\$27 billion over five years). The Moment of Truth: Report of the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform. The Simpson-Bowles Commission Report recommended calculating the Social Security Cost of Living Adjustment using a more detailed version of the Consumer Price Index. http://www.fiscalcommission.gov/sites/fiscalcommission.gov/files/documents/TheMo mentofTruth12_1_2010.pdf

Note: NTUF is unable to estimate any other costs due to the lack of details in Senator Santorum's proposal.