

We will also take care of the continuing resolution problem.

I am optimistic. I hope if we work on this in a bipartisan, nonpartisan way today, we can come together with some agreement.

We left the White House last night and we agreed we would be very positive in our statements to the media. I must say some of us were and some of us were not. I was a little disappointed in comments from some of my Democratic colleagues after we said, very honestly, we had a very candid meeting, we had a very candid discussion and were trying to work something out.

We have made some progress, and I think we have. We will see what happens after the meeting with Chief of Staff Panetta, Senator DOMENICI, and others, and hopefully we will be able to announce to our colleagues sometime tonight or sometime this afternoon or late evening that we have reached some agreement and we can pass a temporary continuing resolution.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the call of the quorum be rescinded.

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

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 12:30 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein not to exceed 5 minutes.

The Senator from North Dakota.

#### TRAIN WRECK IS NO ACCIDENT

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me share the sentiments offered by the majority leader moments ago that both sides get together early today and resolve this issue.

Let me also disagree on one statement. This is not about whether there should be a balanced budget. Of course there should be a balanced budget. I think all Members of the Senate agree there should be a balanced budget and a plan to bring the fiscal policies in this country into balance.

The question is, how? How do we do that? Where do we make cuts? Who bears the brunt of those cuts? Who bears the brunt of the sacrifice?

I will read from an editorial written by David Gergen, who served both the Republican and Democratic Presidents. He said, in giving the Republicans credit for pushing for a balanced budget:

But in their eagerness to satisfy one principle, fiscal responsibility, the Republicans would ask the country to abandon another, equally vital, principle—fair play. This is a false, cruel choice we should not make.

When George Bush and then Bill Clinton achieved large deficit reductions, we pursued the idea of "shared sacrifice." Not this time. Instead, Congress now seems intent on imposing new burdens upon the poor, the elderly, and vulnerable children while, incredibly, delivering a windfall for the wealthy.

That is what this issue is about, not whether the budget should be balanced. Of course it should. It is how it is balanced and whether there is fair play involved.

I want to make one additional point. We come to a shutdown not by accident, in my judgment. Let me read some quotes. We have heard boasts in this town about shutdowns for some months. April 3, this year, NEWT GINGRICH, Speaker GINGRICH, vowed to "create a titanic legislative standoff with President Clinton by adding vetoed bills to must-pass legislation increasing the national debt ceiling."

April 3, Speaker GINGRICH boasted the President will "veto a number of things, and we'll put them all on the debt ceiling. And then he'll decide how big a crisis he wants."

June 3, Speaker GINGRICH:

We're going to go over the liberal Democratic part of the Government and then we will say to them: We could last 60 days, 90 days, 120 days, 5 years, a century. There's a lot of stuff we don't care if it is ever funded.

June 5, Speaker GINGRICH, speaking about the President:

He can run the parts of the government that are left [after the Republican budget cuts] or he can run no government. Which of the two of us do you think worries more about not showing up?

September 22, Speaker GINGRICH:

I don't care what the price is. I don't care if we have no executive offices and no bonds for 30 days—not this time.

Investor's Business Daily, November 8, GINGRICH said he would force Government to "miss interest and principal payment for the first time ever to force Democrat Clinton's administration to agree to his deficit reduction." Budget Chairman JOHN KASICH said:

We'll probably have a few train wrecks, but that's always helpful in a revolution.

The point I make is we do not arrive at this issue accidentally. This is an issue that is planned by persons who, as David Gergen says in his analysis, have decided to balance the budget by adding to the burdens of the children, the poor, the vulnerable in society, and incredibly, he says, delivering a windfall for the wealthy.

Some of us think that is not the way to do business. Others apparently think it is a perfect way for the Federal Government to behave and, if it does not behave that way, they want to force the Federal Government to shut its doors.

That is not, in my judgment, a thoughtful way to do public policy. Rather, I think, it is a thoughtless, reckless approach to public policy, and I hope that sometime today in some way the leadership of both parties and the President will agree to this bridge or stopgap legislation to get us to De-

cember when we then clearly debate the larger reconciliation package.

This is just the road on the way to the stadium. The main event, the main contest in December over the big reconciliation bill is not what this is about. This is the toll extracted on the road to the stadium. It makes no sense to me to see the Government shut down in these circumstances.

I read these quotes from Speaker GINGRICH and others to demonstrate it is no accident. I am sure there are people who take great delight in the fact that there is no agreement on a continuing resolution or on a debt extension; they take great delight in that because they have accomplished what they boasted about to some months.

I think there is no credit for anyone in this kind of failure. I hope more thoughtful voices, more responsible voices in both political parties today will resolve to decide to bridge this impasse and provide a continuing resolution and a debt extension to take us into mid-December when we finally come to grips with the continuing resolution.

There is no disagreement among Democrats and Republicans about whether this country ought to balance its budget. There is profound disagreement among many of us in this country who believe you ought not kick kids off Head Start and take health money away from old folks so we can build B-2 bombers and Star Wars.

There is profound disagreement about priorities, but not about goals of balancing the Federal budget. While we have speakers today trying to debate what this debate is about, I want people of this country to understand this debate is about priorities—not destinations or goals. We all want to balance the Federal budget.

There is a right way and a wrong way to do it. On the road to finding the right way to do it, the wrong approach is to shut the Government down as boasted by Speaker GINGRICH and others they would do for some months. That serves no one's interest and does not accomplish any useful purpose for this country, in my judgment.

#### HONORING DESMOND AND MARY ANN LEE FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO EDUCATION IN ST. LOUIS, MO

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, today I rise to honor two dear friends of mine whose generosity and giving spirit have made a positive impact on many throughout their home of St. Louis, MO. This week Desi and Mary Ann Lee were honored by the Missouri Botanical Garden as winners of the 1995 Henry Shaw Medal, the highest honor presented by the Garden. The Lees were honored for their generosity and service to the Botanical Garden by their establishment of the E. Desmond Lee and Family education program. The program is designed to improve science education for underserved

schools in the city of St. Louis by giving teachers expanded opportunities for training and resources in science education. The program also increases opportunities available to students using the Botanical Gardens, the St. Louis Science Center, and the St. Louis Zoo creating a partnership to improve science education in St. Louis. Desi and Mary Ann also gave the gift that allowed the Botanical Garden to purchase and renovate a building near the Garden to provide needed space and classroom facilities for the Garden's education program.

The Lee's generosity toward the education programs at the Botanical Gardens is but one of many ways that their commitment to their home of St. Louis is evident. Desmond Lee graduated from the Washington University School of Business in St. Louis in 1940 after founding the Lee/Rowan Co. while still a student. He has served on countless boards of directors in the St. Louis area, including the St. Louis Science Center, the St. Louis Symphony, and the St. Louis Zoo. An elder in his local Presbyterian Church, Desi Lee has also received many awards in the St. Louis community for his service, including an honorary doctorate of humane letters from the University of Missouri at St. Louis in 1995, and the 1995 A World of Difference Community Service Award.

I rise today to salute my good friends for not only their service to the Missouri Botanical Garden for which they received the Henry Shaw Medal this week, but for their lifelong dedication to their home of St. Louis, where they have worked and given tirelessly to improved life for all who call St. Louis home.

I yield the floor. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislation clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, at midnight last night, President Clinton threw in the towel, so to speak, and bailed out on his constitutional responsibility to keep the Federal Government in operation.

By vetoing legislation to extend the Federal Government's borrowing ability, and by vetoing a continuing resolution that would have kept the Federal Government funded, President Clinton set the engine on full throttle and barreled the U.S. Government into the train wreck we have been hearing so much about over the last several months.

And it is all because he is unwilling to follow through on a promise to balance the budget. Despite calls from the

American taxpayers for a little leadership from the Nation's Chief Executive.

Did you know that every day, the Washington Times prints a little chart illustrating exactly how much this Government owes its creditors?

This morning's paper, for example, shows the U.S. Government approximately \$4.984 trillion in debt.

In just one 2-day period recently, the national debt increased more than \$2.2 billion—enough, estimated the Times, to buy a Big Mac, medium french fries, and medium-sized drink for every person in the entire United States and Mexico.

Just the interest alone on a debt that massive is accumulating at the rate of \$4 million an hour.

If our national debt were shared equally among all Americans, each of us would owe more than \$19,000.

Every child born today in the United States of America—and that is going to be about 8,200 children—comes into this world already saddled with more than \$19,000 in debt.

That is immoral, Mr. President.

So the difference between Congress and the President—the difference in what we apparently see when we look at those staggering statistics—is the difference between passion and politics.

Congress is passionate about fulfilling our promise to balance the budget and end the legacy of debt we continue to build for the coming generations. We cannot imagine what it took to build up a national debt of nearly \$5 trillion—that is a 5 followed by 12 zeroes—and we cannot imagine letting it go on for another day.

That is passion.

The President's guiding force, meanwhile, is politics. For him to shut down the Government is nothing more than a political move—an attempt to derail all our hard work at balancing the Federal budget merely to satisfy the radical liberal wing of his own party.

Congress wants to move forward, while President Clinton wants to stop the people's agenda dead in its tracks. Harry Truman used to have a sign on his desk that read: "The Buck Stops Here."

Well, President Clinton ought to have a sign on his that says "The Revolution Stops Here." For him, leadership is not about fulfilling promises or making change, or principled decision-making. It is all about politics.

Mr. President, I came to the floor last Tuesday to speak about the budget and the President's unwillingness to work with us, in good faith, toward the goals shared by a majority of all Americans.

Immediately afterward, one of my good colleagues from across the aisle responded with his own thoughts about the budget debate, and he chided me for making the Senate what he called "a political arena."

All I can say is that it is nearly impossible to talk about this President without somehow mentioning politics.

His public comments of the past week have been nothing but political rhetoric, and desperate rhetoric, at

that. In his Saturday radio address, he asked listeners to:

Imagine the Republican Congress as a banker, and the United States as family that has to go to the bank for a short-term loan, for a family emergency. The banker says to the family, "I will give you the loan, but only if you will throw the grandparents and the kids out of the house first."

Mr. President, my constituents in Minnesota and the rest of the American people asked for fundamental changes last November from their Government, not empty rhetoric. But President Clinton has made the decision not to climb aboard.

Of course, that is his choice, and none of us is apparently going to change his mind.

But hear this—Congress will not bow out of its responsibility to deliver to the people a budget that balances within 7 years, that draws the line at tax increases, and in fact cuts taxes for working-class Americans, that preserves and protects Medicare.

The question of why the President of the United States of America is so vehemently opposed to a balanced budget that does not increase taxes that he would shut down the Federal Government and default on the Nation's financial obligations, can only be answered by the President himself.

And the American people are waiting for an answer.

#### WELCOMING CROATIAN-SERBIAN AGREEMENT ON EASTERN SLAVONIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, finally, there is good news from former Yugoslavia. On Sunday in Croatia, Croatian leaders and rebel Serbs signed an agreement ending the territorial conflict over Eastern Slavonia, the last part of Croatia still occupied by Serbs. As late as last week, Croatian Government officials, including President Tudjman, were threatening to retake the territory by force. I am pleased that Croatia has recognized the folly of carrying out those threats, and has opted instead for a diplomatic solution.

There are still serious questions about this agreement that need to be answered. For example: Who will participate in the transitional administration to be established by the United Nations to govern the region? Will there be separate military and civilian administrations? How does this agreement relate to the continuing negotiations on Bosnia? What, if anything, does Serbia get in return for its agreeing to this accord?

Despite these and other questions, this much is clear: The agreement will avert a military confrontation between Croatia and Serbia over Eastern Slavonia, and together with last week's agreement on the Federation, offer needed momentum to the Dayton negotiations.

Our Ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith and U.N. Envoy Thorvald