

chance to offer a continuing resolution, where the Federal Government could be in operation for the next 3 days to the next 5 weeks. Let us reason together. Let us discuss these issues. Let us talk about the timeframe for balancing the budget. Let us include our national priorities—economic security for the old, opportunity for the young—and let us reach out and not be on this side of the aisle or that side of the aisle. Let us go to that sensible center and put our national interests first, put our Federal employees back to work. Let us give the taxpayers a dollar's worth of Government service for a dollar's worth of their taxes. Then we can hold our heads up high and be proud that we are U.S. Senators.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, as we begin the second day of the Federal Government shutdown, I do want to note that like all Senators, I have read the polls that say more Americans are blaming the Republican Congress for the shutdown than are blaming President Clinton.

If you think leadership is all about taking polls—as the White House does—then I suppose you can take heart in these results.

But I happen to believe that leadership is more than just trying to make everybody happy. It is about doing what is right for America and what is right for our children and grandchildren.

From the moment the votes giving Republicans their first congressional majority were tallied last November, we knew we had a choice.

We could either look to the next election, basically leave the status quo intact, and avoid taking any action that might be controversial or unpopular.

Or we could roll up our sleeves and do the hard work of giving the American people the fundamental changes we have needed for so long.

That is the road on which we embarked. We knew the road would be bumpy. We knew there would be those who would urge us to detour to the path of least resistance.

But we also know that if we stay the course, then America will be a better place to live, work, and raise a family.

America will be better because our children and grandchildren will be freed from the crushing burden of our national debt.

America will be better because the lower interest rates that will result

from a balanced budget will allow more of us to own a home, buy a car, and take out a college loan.

America will be better because we will have saved Medicare from bankruptcy.

America will be better because we will have returned power to where it belongs—to our States, our cities, our neighborhoods, and our people.

Madam President, I cannot say it any better than did Mr. Joe Ham of Lawrenceville, GA, who sent me the following fax yesterday:

SENATOR DOLE: I know the media and the White House will be pouring on the propaganda, but for our kids' sake and the sake of America, stand your ground.

As Mark Twain said, "In the beginning of a change, the patriot is a scarce man, brave and hated and scorned. When his cause succeeds, however, the timid join him, for then it costs nothing to be a patriot."

Let me just say to Mr. Ham that when I look at House and Senate Republicans I see patriots, patriots who are willing to pay the price for leadership, and who are willing to pay the price of making the tough choices today that will ensure a better tomorrow.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### REPUBLICANS SHOULD NOT CAVE IN

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, I appreciate very much the statement just made by the majority leader. What he has been hearing is the same thing that I have been hearing.

I think a lot of us, Madam President, have been distressed by reading some of the polls that might imply that there is a deadlock, and somehow the Republicans have something to do with it, when, in fact, we have come up with a solution, the solution that was a part of the mandate of the election of 1994.

They told us in loud and clear terms as Republicans took control of both the House and the Senate, that we are tired of business as usual, that we do want less Government involved in our lives. We want to change that trend that has existed since the 1960's.

I am very proud to announce here today that in our partly closed offices around the State of Oklahoma and here in Washington, that we have been watching very closely as the calls come in. The calls have come in, and the very first 6 hours after supposedly the Government shut down, 98 people called in and said that they thought the President was right; but 611 people called in—almost an 8-1 ratio—and those 611 people said "Don't give in."

We made ourselves clear in November of 1994: If the Republicans cannot do it,

you know the Democrats will not do it. Do not cave in at this time. We want a balanced budget.

The Republicans have offered a balanced budget. Every Democrat I know of has stood on this floor and said we all want balanced budgets, but when it gets right down to it, they really do not want balanced budgets. They want business as usual.

We have offered a balanced budget. We have sent all this to the President. It is in the President's court now.

It is hard for me to understand what is going to happen. I encourage all of my Republican colleagues to listen to the loud and clear message that we are getting from Oklahoma, a very wise State. That is, stay the course. The same as Mr. Ham said, who wrote to our majority leader, BOB DOLE, that he quoted a few minutes ago.

I have no intentions of caving in. This is the last opportunity we will have to actually achieve a balanced budget in America. We are going to do it.

I yield the floor.

#### CONGRESS DID NOT DO THEIR WORK

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I think there are people watching this debate who should put one thing in perspective: The Government is not being shut down because there is somehow an inability of the White House and the congressional leadership to agree on a 7-year budget plan. The fact of the matter is, it is being shut down because we have not passed 13 appropriations bills.

Now, it is the responsibility—when we talk about whose responsibility is involved, whether the President or the Congress —of the congressional leadership to pass 13 appropriations bills by the end of the fiscal year.

These begin in the other body. I understand the Speaker of the House of Representatives has spoken with a great deal of accuracy of his control over the House. The Speaker of the House of Representatives has spoken about his ability to move what he wants to move through the House of Representatives.

But the fact of the matter is there are only 3 of the 13 appropriations bills that have been signed into law.

We are shortly going to vote on a conference report as we already have on one of the remaining 10 appropriations bills.

If the congressional leadership had passed and sent the President the 13 appropriations bills as they are supposed to do, had they done that by the end of the fiscal year as they are supposed to do, and had the leadership done as they claimed they can with their new majority, to move their agenda through, had they just done the people's business, the business of all Americans—Republicans, Democrats, and independents—had they passed the 13 appropriations bills, we would have

no shutdown at all. There would be nothing to shut down. We would have passed the legislation.

Now, they have a majority of Republicans in the House. They have a majority of Republicans in the Senate. They could very easily have passed and sent to the President for signature 13 appropriations bills. Thirteen appropriations bills could have been signed into law, and there would be no Government shutdown today.

Do not talk about this as being some kind of a case where our side and their side or the White House and the congressional leadership cannot meet agreement. If we, here in the Congress, had done the work we are paid to do, hired to do, elected to do—that is, pass our bills on time—everybody would be at work today. None of the stoppages would be occurring. There would be none of the inconvenience and the tourists here in the Capitol would be able to see something besides just us.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Morning business has just expired.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent morning business be extended for 5 minutes for the purpose of introducing legislation.

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

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I send a bill to the desk and ask it be appropriately referred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be referred to the appropriate committee.

The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. I thank the Chair. (The remarks of Mrs. HUTCHISON and Mr. SIMPSON pertaining to the introduction of S. 1414 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

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#### FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask that the Chair lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 1868, a bill making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the House of Representatives.

*Revolved*, That the House disagree to the amendment of the Senate to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate numbered 115 to the bill (H.R. 1868) entitled "An Act making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. McCONNELL. Madam President, let me bring the Senate up to date on the status of the foreign operations appropriations bill. It has been sort of bouncing back and forth between the House and the Senate.

The conference report itself on foreign operations was passed by both Houses by very wide margins. It passed in the Senate 91 to 7. It passed in the House, 331 to 71.

This morning the House passed, once again, language offered by Congressman SMITH, 237 to 183, which remains in disagreement with the Senate. So what we have extant is an amendment in disagreement. The conference report will not be needed—will not be needed to be voted on again.

So what we have before us this afternoon, upon which there will be a motion to table shortly, is the Smith language.

The Senate defeated this language 53 to 44 on November 1, and, candidly, I expect the outcome of the vote we are about to have to be exactly the same. Let me repeat. The only item in disagreement is amendment 115. That is the only item upon which we are called to vote in a few moments.

The underlying conference report, which we have already approved, enjoys strong bipartisan support. We fund a number of key national priorities including the Camp David accords, aid to the NIS, including Armenia and Ukraine. Also in this bill is an extension of the Middle East Peace Facilitation Act.

So, again, let me say the conference report itself enjoys very strong, overwhelming bipartisan support. The only item we have before us today is what is known as the Chris Smith language, on abortion.

My colleague, Senator LEAHY may want to make a few comments and then I believe the chairman of the Appropriations Committee is going to make a motion to table.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, very briefly, I am old enough to remember going to the movies when they would have a cartoon. They would have sort of a single line to follow the bouncing ball. Most of the other Members here are not old enough to remember those cartoons. But in effect this bill has been like a bouncing ball going back and forth. The distinguished chairman can correct me if I am wrong, but I believe we had 193 items in disagreement in conference that lasted until after midnight. We resolved 192. Both bodies have voted on those. It is time now to realize that the last matter is at an impasse. Let us get the basic bill passed and sent on to the President for his signature and allow this part, at least, of our foreign policy to go forward.

So I support the distinguished chairman in this. I see the superchairman, the overall chairman, on the floor. So I yield the floor.

Mr. HATFIELD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

Mr. HATFIELD. Madam President, very shortly I am going to move to table the underlying Senate amendment, amendment No. 115, which will take with it both the original amendment by Senator KASSEBAUM and the House amendment by Congressmen CALLAHAN and SMITH.

Madam President, I need not talk further about the crisis that we all face today and of the need to resolve the crisis. I am taking a small step to narrow the area of disagreement between the White House and the Congress.

But I want to make it very clear that I speak as a deeply committed, unadulterated pro-life person, and I have cast my votes on this Senate floor scores of times on that issue. I ran a political campaign in my State for reelection when that issue was of paramount importance, and Oregon is considered the most pro-choice State in the country.

So I want it clearly understood that, regardless of my personal viewpoint on this question, I have to look at the fact that we are legislating on an appropriations bill, and we do so regularly.

We have three appropriations bills struggling with this issue of abortion. Not one of these amendments belongs on an appropriations bill. It violates the rules of the Senate. It violates the orderly legislative process.

At the same time, this very issue and this form of the abortion question is already on the foreign relations reauthorization bill adopted by the House of Representatives, by the same authors, which will be here for consideration by the full Senate. That is where the issue should be debated. That is where the issue should be worked out, not on the foreign operations appropriation bill.

I realize that when you get into the position of trying to explain procedure to the public, you are lost. But, nevertheless, this is a fundamental procedural question that we have to consider seriously. Bear in mind we could have a vote on this—and I plan to ask for the yeas and nays—so that everyone will have an opportunity to express his or her viewpoint and to cast a vote. I hope that people vote on the procedural question rather than on the abortion question.

That is probably wishing against all odds, but I do feel that even as a pro-life person I will have to vote to table this amendment that was put on this appropriations bill. I have no desire to further encumber the appropriations process and to further exacerbate the contention that now exists between the White House and the Congress. We have to take some small steps to bridge and to resolve that conflict, and I think we ought to be about the business of resolving it rather than exacerbating the circumstances of conflict.

So we can pass this bill. If we will adopt this tabling motion, we can pass this bill that has been approved by this