

this discussion to get to a balanced budget. Oh, you hear that I am for a balanced budget. Everybody is for a balanced budget. But wishing does not make it so. You have to make decisions. You have to come to a conclusion on how we are going to do it.

All we are trying to get from the President right now in a CR, which is the spending bill that we are going to be considering probably later tonight, is a commitment from the President that he will agree in the next few days to sit down and negotiate a balanced budget over the next 7 years using real numbers—not phony, rosy scenario numbers, not gimmicks, not smoke and mirrors, but the real thing, the thing he said he was going to use. That is what we said we wanted. That is not much.

That is exactly what the Senator from Arkansas said he is for. He is for a balanced budget. Let us get a balanced budget. Let us do what we promised the American public. Let us do what President—then candidate—Clinton promised the American public, that he had a plan to balance the budget in 5 years. Three years have gone by—no balanced budget. And how about 10 years? That is what it has been since the President said he could do it in five. That is all we are asking. That is where we are. I know there is a lot of confusion out there.

The Senator from Arkansas is correct. The people are being scared to death out there. If I listened to the Senator from Arkansas very long, I would be scared too. You would think everything is going to collapse around here. Well, the fact of the matter is that most of America has gone on pretty well the last couple of days. Life is OK. And we have a serious problem. Those of us who are here trying to solve that problem believe it is important to stand our ground and to do what is right—which is a balanced budget. That is not to say that we should not compromise. We should. We should sit down and discuss a balanced budget over the next 7 years. We will sit down with the President. We will assess his priorities. He will assess ours. But we need to do that. We need to sit down and start negotiating on how we are going to get there.

My goodness, we owe it. I have three young children, a 4-year-old, a little boy who is going to turn 3 this weekend, and a 5-month-old little boy. I cannot go home every night and look at them. I just cannot go home and look at them and say, "Well, we are going to continue to spend more money. You are going to have to work more hours with probably less take-home pay than people are making today and have less opportunity, less chance for advancement, because I just could not make tough decisions because I was afraid that someone was going to vote against me or the polls said, you know, people do not like what we are doing. I am sorry. If anybody in this country who has listened to this

can look at their children or grandchildren and say that extra \$5 a month means your future, that is just that important to me, I do not think anyone can do it.

This is a historic time in our country. I had a gentleman who saw me outside on the way in. He has been sitting up in the galleries biting his tongue for the last 3 days listening to all of this. He suggested in a letter that he gave me that we should do what the Founding Fathers did in Philadelphia when they were working on the U.S. Constitution, that we should take a day off, sit and ask God to help us and intervene, and we should pray about it, and we should have a reconciliation. Maybe that is a good idea. Maybe we should get rid of all this rhetoric around here—all of these charges and countercharges—and think about what this country was founded upon. Think about how important this great experiment is to the world, and how all of this politics—that is what it is, folks; this is just all politics being played—how all this just is not necessary.

We are not that far apart. I mean, we really are not. It is amazing, if anybody—I do not know if any of the news publications have done this—would take a look at where the President wants to go, at least his public statement, and where we want to go. The Senator from Wyoming said we are seven-tenths of 1 percent away on Medicare spending. I mean, that is a few billion dollars a year out of a program that is a \$250 billion program. You do not think we can come together on something? Of course we can.

Welfare reform—I have been working on welfare reform for 3 years on this bill. We have a bill in conference that is very similar to the Senate bill, one that the Senate passed 87 to 12, and one that the President said he would sign. That is going to be in the reconciliation bill. It is something he should sign. We are not far apart. There may be a few minor differences in welfare, but not substantial. It has everything the President campaigned on. It is in that bill. Tax cuts—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair reminds the Senator from Pennsylvania—

Mr. SANTORUM. I will take 45 additional seconds.

We are close together on tax cuts. He says he wants a tax cut for middle-income families. I talked before. We say EITC increases for next year and the year after. That is included in our budget, with the exception of families that do not have children. But if you have a child, you are going to get those increases.

We have a middle-income tax. Ninety percent of our tax cut goes to people under \$100,000.

I think my friend from Wyoming may have a good idea. We ought to start thinking about what our calling is here and the great experiment that we have in this country, and can the politics. Let us get down to the substance, be-

cause on the substance we agree. We are not far apart, and we hope we agree that balancing the budget is the best thing for this country.

I yield the remainder of my time.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I understand that I have 7 minutes. I ask unanimous-consent that I be granted 3 additional minutes and 3 additional minutes on that side as well.

Mr. SANTORUM. I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Mr. President. That just shows you the kind of cooperative spirit we have when the Senator from California asks for 3 additional minutes and that the unanimous-consent request asks for an additional 3 minutes for the other side. That that would be objected to is extraordinary.

Mr. COATS. Will the Senator yield?

Mrs. BOXER. On your time. I only have 7 minutes.

Mr. COATS. We were informed that an agreement was made with the leaders, the majority and minority leaders, that an hour of time would be allocated, 30 minutes to each side, and that Senator DOLE would then recess.

May I suggest that the Senator from California take her 7 minutes. We will check to see if that can be extended, and perhaps additional time can be added on, an equal amount on each side, while she is speaking.

(Mr. SANTORUM assumed the chair.)

Mrs. BOXER. I thank my friend very much because I do not think 6 minutes in a day like today is going to make or break the U.S. Senate. That is why I asked equally for each side.

Mr. COATS. It may not. But since there was an agreement between the leaders, we have to check with them.

Mrs. BOXER. I absolutely have no problem with that at all. I thank the Senator very much.

RECONCILIATION AND THE BUDGET

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, when you took to the floor, you talked about your obligation to your children. I relate to that very much because I raised two of them, and now I am a grandmother. That is what this debate is all about. You are exactly right. It is about our children, and it is about what life in America is going to be like for them.

I grew up in the years when I was able to get the American dream. I came from a very middle-class family. Actually, my mother never graduated from high school, and I am in the Senate because I got a free education, because I played by the rules of the game, because I had a community that was safe to grow up in and a caring community it was. I grew up in an inner city.

So that is what this debate is all about. It is about the Presiding Officer's children and my grandchild and generations to come.

I find it very interesting; on the one hand we hear a new cry: All we want is a little bit different than the President. All we are talking about is incremental change. That is what the Senator from Tennessee said.

Well, gee, I have listened to the Republicans. They are talking about a revolution—a revolution—not incremental change. And it is a revolution to allow Medicare to "wither on the vine," to quote NEWT GINGRICH. He says he was talking about HCFA. He was talking about Medicare. Even all the analysts agree—wither on the vine. The majority leader bragging to a group that he led the charge against Medicare.

So let us not take to the floor and say one thing one day: It is a revolution, and another thing another day: No, no, it is just that we want to balance the budget.

Today the majority leader made a very eloquent speech in which he praised Republicans for their courage. He said the polls are not going our way, but we are courageous. And I think that the majority leader clearly sees it that way. But I have to ask a question: What is courageous about shutting down the Government? What is courageous about cutting Medicare by \$270 billion and giving the money to the wealthiest among us? What is courageous about gutting education and environmental funds and, frankly, repealing nursing home standards? What is courageous about loading down the temporary debt extension and the continuing appropriations bills with extraneous matters such as regulatory reform, habeas corpus reform, and my all-time favorite, a debt limit extension for a few weeks that says to the President, "Your hands are tied on the debt crisis. You cannot do anything but default."

That is really swell. When I was a stockbroker on Wall Street, I watched the market shift, and so far they do not believe anything is going to happen, but I can tell you we are playing with fire here. For the greatest nation in the world, the dollar is under stress right now. The markets are wondering. S&P is looking at us for bond ratings. The international bond raters are saying we are on the watch list.

Swell. Real courageous. I say it is outrageous, and it is a dereliction of our duty. What is courageous about not doing our job? What is courageous about thousands and thousands of American workers being sent home, workers who have to care for their families. They, too, I say to the Presiding Officer, have beautiful little children just like you, and you do, and you adore them, and these workers adore their families. They do not know if they are going to get paid. As a matter of fact, they will not get paid until this mess is over, even if they are essential.

And if they are nonessential, who knows.

That is a dereliction of duty that is not courageous. So I hope we get off of the self-congratulatory binge around here, whether Republicans or Democrats, because a pox on everyone for this mess we are in. There is nothing courageous about this continuing shutdown, about Congress not passing its appropriations bills. Let us not try to blackmail the President with a budget that destroys Medicare and rewards the wealthy. The fight should take place over the budget bill, not over these short-term extensions and trying to force the President into signing something that makes it impossible for him to negotiate. I do not know how else to say it except, ladies and gentlemen, we do have a Democrat in the White House, the Republicans control the Congress, and we better work together and not tie each other's hands. Come to the table clean.

I ask a question: Why should we get our pay when thousands of other Federal employees are not getting theirs? Why should we get our pay? It is not fair. We passed here in this Senate the Boxer-Durbin bill that essentially says if there is a shutdown, Members of Congress and the President will not get our pay and we will not get it back retroactively. And some of us have begun doing something about it. But this is about institutional failure.

I was here when we all voted for congressional accountability, and we said we are not above the law; we are going to be treated like everybody else. And yet we are the only Federal employees who are guaranteed their pay even though there is no appropriations bills signed into law for this function.

I do praise the leadership of the Senate; in a bipartisan way, Senators DASCHLE and DOLE, they came together. They supported this. But over there on the House side Speaker GINGRICH is blocking a vote as we speak. I hope people will call Speaker GINGRICH.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mrs. BOXER. I hope they will tell him to support the Boxer-Durbin no budget-no pay bill. It is not courageous for us to take our pay and cut off everybody else's.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

The Senator from Indiana.

CALLING THE PRESIDENT'S BLUFF

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, what we are faced with here very shortly is essentially calling the President's bluff. We sent him a continuing resolution that would keep Government open, keep those workers working, keep the functions of Government going forward, and the President vetoed it, he said, because it was loaded with extraneous material. There were items on there that promoted the Republican budget, promoted the Republican plan

to redefine some of the functions of Government, and therefore he could not accept it. But give him a clean CR, so-called clean continuing resolution, that is what he needed. That is what he wanted. We had all kinds of injunctions from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue about giving the President just a clean bill.

Now, the President campaigned in 1992 vigorously on the proposal of a balanced budget in 4 years, some say 5. It might have been 5. The President has kind of been all over the lot on this. But 4 or 5 years is almost irrelevant here. The President said this country needs a balanced budget, and if I am elected, I will deliver a balanced budget.

He also campaigned vigorously on tax relief for middle-income families with children, saying it is a disgrace that they are so shortchanged in our Tax Code; the costs of raising children are increasing dramatically; we need tax relief for middle America.

That was 1992, and that was the campaign. Subsequently, we have not seen delivered from 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue a balanced budget that is scored as a real balanced budget. It was the President himself in his first address to a Joint Session of Congress after he was elected who looked at the Republican side with a big smile on his face and said we are going to use the numbers certified by the Congressional Budget Office because they are non-partisan and they are not politically motivated as are the numbers from the Office of Management and Budget, which is the President's own budgeting people.

Now, all that the Republicans are asking for, and I assume will come over from the House of Representatives, we hope this evening, is what the President has said he wants: a continuing resolution which will bring back Federal workers to work tomorrow morning, which will continue the functions of Government. There is only one condition attached to it, and that is the condition that the President campaigned for and the President now has asked for, and that is a balanced budget.

We are saying, Mr. President, we will allow Government to go forward for a period of time while we resolve the details of a balanced budget. And unlike the 4 years or 5 years that you campaigned for, we will allow 7 years in order to accomplish this fact. That is all we are asking. And we are attaching it to this continuing resolution as a condition because, frankly, that is the only way we can bring the President to the bargaining table.

We have heard nothing but excuse and obfuscation from the White House and from the President, from Democrats, our friends across the aisle. "Oh, yes, we're for a balanced budget, but not this one." Well, I have been here 15 years, and that is all I have heard from the party across the aisle. "We're for a balanced budget, but not this one. We