

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

need to talk some more. We need to negotiate some more." That is all we have been doing this year in this body.

Democrats say they have not been invited to the party. They have been at the party now for 10 months. We have debated every item that we are talking about in reconciliation. We talked about the tax cut, we talked about the changes to Medicare, to Medicaid, to welfare, to every aspect of the budget. Everybody knows what the details are. The fact of the matter is, there are people who want to maintain the status quo. They are the party of government, big government, ever-growing government. It is their ticket to political success, they think. And there are many of us who feel that our debt is of such a staggering proportion, and growing at such an extraordinary rate, that this is the moment and this is the time where, if we do not grab a hold of it now, it may be too late.

So we have put a plan together to balance that budget. What we hear from the other side of the aisle is nit-picking about portions of this plan. And so we have said, "All right, Mr. President. We will set that aside and we will simply, in return for continuing the functioning of government, we will simply ask you to agree to sit down with us and negotiate a plan to balance the budget in a 7-year period of time, certified by the very accounting agency, the Congressional Budget Office, that you asked us to use."

So I do not know how much more we can give the President. We have essentially given him everything he has asked for. And so we are going to find out whether or not the President is really interested in balancing the budget, is really interested in keeping the promise he made to the American people in his campaign for the Presidency. We are going to put this on his desk and say, "Mr. President, we have now given you what you asked for. If you really believe this, sign the bill, and we're in business. If you veto it, we'll all know where you stand."

The bluff is going to be called. It will be called very quickly. And the American people will fully understand just who is willing to put it on the line for a balanced budget and who is not willing to put it on the line for a balanced budget. So we will know now in about the next 24 hours or so just who is upfront and who is straight out with the American people about the agenda that is best and good for this country.

I think everyone instinctively knows we cannot continue on the path that we are on. To continue on that path is bankruptcy for this Nation. Republicans are saying, "It's time to draw the line to make the tough choices, to balance the budget. Mr. President, why don't you join us?"

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time has expired.

RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate stands in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Thereupon, at 7:22 p.m., the Senate recessed until 9:05; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mrs. HUTCHISON).

#### MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I now ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 2 minutes each.

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

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:08 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1014. An act to authorize extension of time limitation for FERC-issued hydroelectric license.

H.R. 2366. An act to repeal unnecessary medical device reporting requirement.

The message also announced that the House has passed the bill (S. 790) to provide for the modification or elimination of Federal reporting requirements, with an amendment, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

At 1:40 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House disagrees to the amendment of the Senate to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 1868) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

At 3:15 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House agrees to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2020) making appropriations for the Treasury Department, the United States Postal Service, the Executive Office of the President, and certain Independent Agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes; and insists on its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2539. An act to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, to amend subtitle IV of title 49, United States Code, to reform economic regulation to transportation, and for other purposes.

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#### MEASURES REFERRED

The following bills were read the first and second times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 1014. An act to authorize extension of time limitation for FERC-issued hydroelectric license; to the Committee on Energy and Resources.

H.R. 2366. An act to repeal unnecessary medical device reporting requirement; to the Committee on Finance.

H.R. 2539. An act to abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission, to amend subtitle IV of title 49, United States Code, to reform economic regulation of transportation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the second time and placed on the calendar:

S. 1410. A bill making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996.

S. 1411. A bill making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996.

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1597. A communication from the Secretary of the Senate, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the receipts and expenditures of the Senate for the period April 1 to September 30, 1995; order to lie on the table.

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. BREAU:

S. 1412. A bill to designate a portion of the Red River in Louisiana as the "J. Bennett Johnston Waterway", and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. HELMS (for himself and Mr. FAIRCLOTH):

S. 1413. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to require that an application to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission for a license, license amendment, or permit for an activity that will result in a withdrawal by a State or political subdivision of a State of water from a lake that is situated in 2 States shall not be granted unless the Governor of the State in which more than 50 percent of the lake, reservoir, or other body of water is situated certifies that the withdrawal will not have an adverse effect on the environment in or economy of that State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

By Mrs. HUTCHISON (for herself, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. HELMS, Mr. GRAMM, and Mr. MCCONNELL):

S. 1414. A bill to ensure that payments during fiscal year 1996 of compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities, of