

Government to try to balance the judiciary, executive, and the legislative, gave the President that power.

What the Republicans are really doing, Mr. President, whether they realize it or not, is putting a gun to the head of the President of the United States, saying, "If you veto, which you have a right to do under the Constitution, we are going to take that away, or attempt to take it away by saying to you we are going to close down Government if you exercise your right, Mr. President."

We are going to violate the principles of the Constitution simply by putting that gun to your head and saying, "If you do that, we will close down Government because you, Mr. President, can't veto this bill or you will close down Government."

I think the President is standing up not only for himself but every other President that we are going to have in the years to come. If this President of the United States does not stand up and protect the prerogatives of the President of the United States, that are guaranteed in the Constitution, if he is going to set precedence here to some time in the future with some other Congress and some other President, they are going to hark back and say "Well, the Republicans back there in 1995 took away the prerogatives of the President."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time allotted to the Senator from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. EXON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent since there are no other speakers on this side of the aisle that I be allowed to continue for an additional 3 minutes.

Mr. CRAIG. I will allow for another 3 minutes and then I will object.

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

Mr. EXON. So, Mr. President, I simply say, what is at stake here is the fact that we cannot get together.

What is at stake is the President of the United States and others who were negotiating last night said, "OK, 7 years. We will work for a 7-year balanced budget but we are not going to accept what I think is being tried to be dictated to by the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

We are in a very serious situation. I looked at the clippings from the newspapers back home today. One headline says "GOP Puts Wrapping on Budget Package;" "Return to Sender Seen as Response."

Here is another: "Gingrich's Remarks Fuel Democrats' Budget Fight." Down below that a headline, "Park Service to Evict Campers."

Then, of course, "Veto Expected As House OK's Defense Funds." That is what has been addressed here.

I simply say, Mr. President, that if we could have the continuing resolution that we have been pleading for, on a short-term basis, that has been continually rejected by the Republicans, primarily led, I suspect, by Speaker

GINGRICH, we could have that continuing resolution, all of us know that all of these concerns that have just been addressed by the Senator from Alaska and others would fade. They just would not be there.

Why can we not be reasonable? Two other items and headlines: "Office of Aging Plans Furloughs, Service Cuts," and "21 Guard Drills Are Canceled As Budget Standoff Continues."

Let me read briefly from the "Office of Aging Plans":

The Eastern Nebraska Office on Aging intends to furlough 74 of its 90 employees because of the federal budget dispute.

Bob Whitmore, a spokesman for the Omaha-based agency, said the furloughs would take effect at 5 p.m. Wednesday. . .

All this would not be necessary and we would not go through the silly charade if we could have, as we have had several times in the past, a short-term continuing resolution to December 5 or December 15.

All this could be set aside if it were not for the fact that the Republicans were trying to put that gun to the President's head to take away the constitutional right guaranteed to the President by saying "You are going to do it our way or none, or we will close down Government."

I hope we have an understanding between cooler heads in the future.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia has 1 minute and 21 seconds remaining.

Mr. WARNER. I do hope that I could pick up on your final comments, I say to my good friend—that is, cool heads. I hope the Senator would rephrase some of his rhetoric about the gun to the head.

I kind of think that this matter needs a little cooling off in terms of rhetoric, Mr. President. I know that the meetings which I have attended today, it has been calmness, coolness, and very conscientious efforts on behalf of those in attendance to try to bring this to resolve.

I know the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DOLE, is going to be working through the early evening. I hope to work with him on this matter.

One last comment. The distinguished colleague, a member of the Armed Services Committee, mentioned the authorization bill. I say that Chairman THURMOND has been working through late last night and again this morning with the ranking member, Mr. NUNN, and other members of the committee.

I am pleased to say I think we are making some progress on that bill to bring it to a conclusion and soon, hopefully, present it to the Senate, the conference report.

I yield the floor.

#### BALANCE THE BUDGET

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, America is watching what we do here today, or more importantly, what we fail to do. I think they are watching with a much

more critical eye than we are willing to give them credit for.

I say that because it was well over 20 years ago when another Senator from Virginia put legislation through this body, passed by law, to balance the Federal budget within a very short period of time. That was law. That was Federal law, Mr. President.

This Congress went by it so fast that it was not even the blur of a stop sign. Four times following that over the last two decades this Congress has passed laws, I tell you, to balance the Federal budget. Yet, of course, that never happened.

We are now nearly \$5 trillion in debt. We have a \$200 billion deficit. This President came forward last night and said, "Let's set a goal. Let's once again have a goal to achieve a federally balanced budget." Somehow that was worthy.

I know what the American people are saying at this moment. "Oh, no, you don't, Mr. President. We don't trust you nor do we trust the Congress. You no longer have any credibility in the area of spending because you have shown you cannot control your appetites."

That is why only by 1 vote out of 535 votes this year, 435 votes, did we miss sending out an amendment to the Constitution of this country to assure the citizens' right to decide on whether they want a balanced budget or not.

I know what folks in my State are saying right now. While they recognize the inconvenience of what we do at the moment, and while there are Federal employees in my State who are furloughed by phone calls pouring in to all of my State offices and my office here, on a 12-1 ratio, they are saying, "Don't blink. Don't blink. It is not a goal. It is no longer a concept. It is no longer an ideal."

They are saying, "Make it a reality, Mr. President. Balance the Federal budget and do it now. Put together what you promised us in last year's election that you would do." Are we once again going to be the traditional politician of Washington and tell the citizens one thing and then bow to the pressure to do something else? I say no, absolutely no. It is time we send a message to the American people that we mean exactly what we told them.

Mr. President, we have people out of work on the Federal payroll today because of you. You are the one who vetoed the bills. You are the one who is now saying you will veto the DOD appropriations bill.

Senator STEVENS from Alaska was in here very distressed, as he should be, that we have now done our work and tonight a bill that will put hundreds of thousands of men and women, both civilian and in uniform, back to work—this President says "No, I will veto it." Why? Because "It does not meet my goal."

Mr. President, check in the Constitution. Read the Constitution. Who budgets for our Government? We do. You

execute the budget, Mr. President. That is what the Constitution says.

I have advocated giving the President more authority. In the balanced budget amendment that I helped craft it has been the No. 1 amendment here on the floor of the Senate and in the House for well over 5 years. We have given the President a right to become a full participant in the budget process but he does not have that right now.

Yes, he can veto. But when he vetoes, it is without question his responsibility for the people who are no longer employed by action of that veto.

So we crafted another continuing resolution and he said, "I will veto it. Don't send it down," and it has not gone down.

Last night we passed a balanced budget for 1995.

This President says he will veto it. Mr. President, this is one Senator who is not going to bow to that kind of pressure. I will not vote for a goal or a concept or an ideal. And I encourage all of my colleagues not to vote that way either. We will vote for a balanced budget in 7 years and we will vote for it based on legitimate, legal, responsible figures that tell the truth and show the American public exactly what we are spending and where we are spending it and where the revenue to spend is coming from. That is what this Government and that is what this Congress must do, without question or without doubt.

For, if we do not, the clock continues to tick. A \$5 trillion debt, a \$5.1 trillion, \$5.2 trillion, a \$5.3 trillion, and on and on and on. And the children of tomorrow are going to owe, not \$15,000 or \$16,000 or \$17,000 of their earnings back to Government for the debt we created, it will be \$20,000 or \$25,000 or \$30,000 or \$40,000. The American people are smarter than that. How possibly can we continue to do that?

That is why we saw the greatest political realignment ever in the history of our country occur last November, because finally the American people said, "Enough is enough." Mr. President, hear me: I will not bow to the goal or the concept or the idea, because I know what you want. You have already indicated it. You want billions more to spend for programs that are questionable in their nature as to the services they provide.

The American people want a balanced budget. We have now labored nearly 11 months to craft a budget and bring it into that concept and into those parameters. It has not been just the Republicans that have done that; it is Republican and Democrat alike.

So I hope our leadership will not bend. I hope our leadership will listen to their people and listen to the phone calls. Adhere to a balanced budget. Adhere to the tough decisions. Say to this President, if you will not agree with us, then we will continue our work. We will not recess, as I have encouraged our leader not to do, and we will bring down the appropriations bills and we will fund a balanced budget.

I will tell you that is a gun to no one's head. That is simply what the American people want. The hand-wringing is over with. We have spent 30 years playing this game, and I sincerely believe the game is over. It is now time to realize we must do what the American people asked us to do and do so in a responsible fashion.

I yield the remainder of my time.

#### 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 5:02 p.m., the Senate recessed until 6:47 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. GORTON).

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING RECESS

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 18, 1995, during the recess of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 2020. An act 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.

H.R. 2126. An act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 4 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 House to the bill (S. 440) to amend title 23, United States Code, to provide for the designation of the National Highway System, and for other purposes.

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

H.J. Res. 123. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1996, and for other purposes.

At 6:49 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2606. An act to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation, or as

part of any implementation force, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law.

#### MEASURES REFERRED

The following bill was read the first and sent times by unanimous consent and referred as indicated:

H.R. 2606. An act to prohibit the use of funds appropriated to the Department of Defense from being used for the deployment on the ground of United States Armed Forces in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of any peacekeeping operation, or as part of any implementation force, unless funds for such deployment are specifically appropriated by law; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. PRESSLER, from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 1396. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to provide for the regulation of surface transportation.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

#### BUDGET RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE REPORT

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, yesterday, with the Senate's consideration of the Budget Reconciliation bill, the rubber really met the road. This is the real thing.

We have been warning for some time now that this bill would represent the extreme priorities set largely by the majority in the other House. The budget reconciliation bill which the conference set us—conference which effectively excluded Democrats—and which the Senate passed on near party lines, included a very large cut in Medicare. The \$270 billion cut is three times what is necessary to stabilize the trust fund. These plus a cap on direct student loans, reductions in the earned Income tax credit for working Americans, all, in part, are to pay for a large tax break, the benefits of which will go mainly to the wealthiest among us. There are a number of other short-sighted changes in Federal programs including cuts in child nutrition programs.

Mr. President, for the past week we have seen the Speaker of the House and Republican majority irresponsibly shut down large parts of the Government and threaten the credit rating of the United States. This is a long-planned tactic to force the President to accept their extreme budget priorities. Now, those priorities are laid bare in this bill for all to see.

The issue isn't whether one favors a balanced budget. I do. I have voted for one on more than one occasion.

Let us look at balance, as the Republicans have defined it. On the one side,