

own money—their money. I have repeated this story many times. We have a \$500-per-child tax credit in the Republican plan. The President has \$300 under a little different conditions. I met a man in Jacksonville, FL, who told me he had 10 children—10. He said, "Ten times 500 is \$5,000." And he said, "Senator, I can spend that money better for my children than you or anybody else in Washington, DC." That is what the tax credit is all about.

About 70 percent, nearly 80 percent of our total tax cuts go to families with children, or reduce the marriage penalty, or go to other areas we believe are family related. We also owe it to families who are trapped in the welfare system to create a new system based on work and hope and opportunity.

We believe we have a good plan—I think the Senate bill which passed, as I recall 87 to 12, it would have been 88 to 12 but Senator HATFIELD was unavoidably absent that day—and we are going to change welfare as we know it. It is going to be helpful to those who must rely on welfare.

We are going to send it back to the States. I just finished talking to the Republican Governors, by satellite, in New Hampshire. They are excited about the prospect. Let them make the decisions. They are excited about welfare reform. They are excited about returning Medicaid to the States.

I think, finally, we owe it to the American people just to keep our word and keep our promise. I know there is not a lot of precedent for it. They may not be used to it. But these things were promised the American people in 1994, and they are being delivered in 1995.

We cannot do everything in 1 year. When you have had 40 years going the other direction of a bigger central government, more spending, more taxes, it may take more than one session of Congress to turn it all around. But this is the beginning. This is only the beginning, but it is a start of the process.

We have been told that we can do it in 7 years. Those are the estimates of the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office, which, I might add, have been, I think, right 14 out of 16 times when you compare the projections of the Congressional Budget Office and the Office of Management and Budget in the White House. That would be under Presidents of both parties. That is not intended to be criticism.

So, I thank all my colleagues, and I thank Senator DASCHLE, obviously, and others on the Democratic side, for coming together on an agreement. We can all say who won or who lost, but I think the bottom line is Federal employees are back at work. They are going to be paid. They are not going to suffer any loss of pay.

If we do what we should do between now and December 15, it will not make any difference who won and who lost. I think we won. We did not blink. We have a 7-year balanced budget using CBO estimates. But that may not be important. The important thing is, if

we do what we should do working together, the big winners will be the American people. The children will not understand it, and the grandchildren, but will understand it 5 or 10 or 15 years from now when they are looking for work, or want to get married, or want to buy a car, or want to go to college.

If we have turned the country in the right direction—right now I think 70 percent of the American people say we are going in the wrong direction—if we downsize the Government, and if we reconnect the values of this Government of ours with the average American out there, and if we regain our place as the leader of the international community, then I believe that we are off to a good start.

Everybody can take credit—Republicans, Democrats, the President, whoever. And it would be deserved. If we do the wrong thing, then I believe the American people will rebel. They will say, "Well, business as usual. They talk a good game but it never happens."

So I am excited today about the direction. I am excited about the agreement. I believe the House will pass the agreement we sent over last night, and I hope unanimously without much discussion. Then I would assume a week from today we will start the serious negotiations. We will be working with all of our colleagues on this side, and certainly I know Senator DASCHLE will work with his colleagues on the other side for input. We have also invited the Republican Governors to give us input which I think is very important.

So I want to thank my colleagues for their cooperation and wish them a well deserved and happy Thanksgiving.

I yield the floor.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, will the able Senator yield?

Mr. DOLE. I am happy to yield.

EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION FOR SENATOR DOLE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, as the President pro tempore of the Senate and on behalf of the Senate, I want to express our appreciation to our able majority leader for the great work he has done in getting the Government back into operation and for accomplishing what we did over the weekend. Without his leadership, it could not have been done. We are very appreciative of all that he does for the Senate, and this is another incident of his outstanding leadership for this country.

Mr. DOLE. I thank my friend from South Carolina.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Vermont.

COMMENDATION OF SENATORS AND STAFF

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I applaud leaders on both sides of the aisle for the work that was being done around here this weekend. I saw the hard work of Senator DASCHLE, and Senator DOLE, and of everybody else.

Let me just take a moment to applaud a lot of people whose names and faces do not get on the news, the men and women who keep the Congress running—many of whom were here not knowing whether they were going to be paid or not, who work extraordinary hours well past midnight night after night, whether they are the parliamentarians, the clerks, the security guards, the Capitol Police, the young pages, the men and women who come here to learn of the Government, whether they are from Vermont or any other State. The staff of Senators, Republicans and Democrats alike—those in the Cloakroom who, when many of us were able to go home at night, had to stay there for hours and hours after that time in case votes came up and we were called; and the same in the other body.

Those who keep doors open, those who make it possible for us to fulfill our constitutional responsibility to America to have this body—this body which should be the conscience of the Nation—open to the public; those who make sure that any member of the public who came here, even though Washington was shut down, could at least come and visit the Congress, and either be enlightened or enraged by the debate, depending upon how they might feel.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I will speak of other Government employees now. I strongly support the agreement's commitment to provide back pay for the thousands of employees and their families who were forced off the job last week through no fault of their own. It was an insult to these households held hostage through our inability to agree on a workable Government budget for all Americans. I regret that the shutdown punished hard-working families, not some faceless bureaucrats as some would have you believe.

I know an awful lot of men and women in Vermont who work very hard at keeping the Government of this great country running, from the Immigration and Naturalization Service to the Justice Department and Agriculture, food service, on and on. These are hard-working people. They are the Cal Ripkens of the Government who show up for work every single day, do their job, do it the very best they can, and suddenly are told they are not essential, we do not believe in what they have been doing, and they are sent home through no fault of their own.

They just want to work. I had so many call my home, call my office, and

say: We are ready to come to work. We will volunteer. There are things that have to be done. Passports have to be issued; social welfare claims have to be heard; and so on. It is the same throughout this country.

Remember these same Government employees who died for this country in Oklahoma, these same Government employees who make the greatest democracy on Earth operate with a quarter of a billion people. They should not become pawns in a budget chess match.

THE BIPARTISAN BUDGET AGREEMENT

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I applaud the bipartisan budget agreement that was reached yesterday between President Clinton and the congressional leaders in both parties because it ends the longest Government shutdown in our history, and it sets the stage for bipartisan negotiations to achieve a balanced budget by 2002, something that in the debate most people forget. The vast majority of Republicans and Democrats want that balanced budget.

So it is truly a bipartisan compromise in the best sense of both of those words. It puts away partisan politics. It uses common sense to reach shared values. It commits Congress and the President to the worthy goal of a balanced budget in 7 years while also committing us to achieve a balance with compassion—not just “hard, cold, numbers crunching,” as the expression goes. We are past, I hope, the political posturing and the finger pointing.

Thanks to those Government employees who will keep the Government working during the time of the negotiations in the coming weeks as the Congress and the President build on this temporary agreement. It is not going to be easy. But we have to succeed.

I suggest three principles of common sense and reason to make these negotiations work.

First, scale back the \$245 billion in tax cuts in the Republican budget plan. I learned many years ago that the best way to get out of a hole is to stop digging. Past Presidents and Congresses have spent our country into a \$5 trillion debt. With this kind of huge debt we cannot afford \$245 billion more in tax cuts. We ought to be spending that money to get us out of debt—not create more debt.

Second, plow back the savings from scaled-back tax cuts that will lower the reductions in Medicare and Medicaid. Keep our commitment to the current generation of Medicare recipients, and preserve the system for future generations. Also keep the Medicaid safety net in place for our most needy citizens. If we scale back those tax cuts, we can avoid unnecessary cuts in Medicare and Medicaid.

Third, invest in our future; provide adequate funding for education and nutrition programs for our children. It only makes sense that we give the next

generation every chance to succeed in today's demanding economy, an economy far more demanding than when I was a child. We also have to maintain our environmental protection to preserve our natural resources for future generations.

If we use these three principles, I believe Democrats and Republicans can resolve our differences, and make our Government work to achieve a fair balanced budget.

We have to understand, Mr. President, that all of us are in this together, and that each one of us is going to have to cast votes that will be unpopular. It will be unpopular for Democrats or unpopular for Republicans. We have to take steps that may be unpopular at the moment but that are for the good of the future.

We are not going to pass a Gingrich budget. We are not going to pass a Dole budget, or a Daschle budget, or a Clinton budget, or a Leahy budget. But we can pass parts of each that will make a better budget for this country. But think of the long-term gains. Think about what we want in the future. Think of our children. My children are going to live most of their lives in the next century. That is probably true of many of them. Let us think of them and have a policy for our country.

We have been guided by policy through pollsters. Instead, let us be guided by legislation through leadership. It would be a refreshing change in this country. Just ignore the polls of the day.

It seems that we come in here and somebody sneezes or gives a speech, and there is a poll of the hour. There is a poll that says the President is ahead at this moment, the Congress is behind; 3 hours later the Congress will be ahead and the President will be behind, and we seem to try to adjust to that.

I do not think the American people are impressed by that. I think the American people would be impressed if the polls said what we are doing is what we think is best in moving forward. If we do that, we are going to have the kind of budget we want.

I was 1 of 11 who voted against Reaganomics back in the 1980's. With the deficits and the huge increase in our national debt built up during that time, we are now spending \$1 billion a weekday in interest, \$1 billion a weekday in interest on what we did then. I remember the polls were 10 to 1 against my vote. But I think it is like some of the votes on Vietnam at one time; a lot of people wish they could go back and do it over again.

We have to find a way. I voted for the plan of the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD]. I voted for a lot of things in that plan that are going to be unpopular back in Vermont, but they bring us to a balanced budget.

Let us assume that we all want that balanced budget, and we do. But we also have to invest in our future. We also have to make sure our education opportunities are there for our chil-

dren. We have to make sure we do those things that create jobs, that allow us to lower the enormous trade deficit.

The enormous trade deficit in this country is hurting us more than our deficit in our Federal budget because it is owed to people outside of this country exclusively, and the more that deficit builds up the more our jobs flee the United States and go to the Pacific basin and go to Europe and go to other parts of the world.

Let us improve our ability to compete with the rest of the world in our education, in our financing, and all these other things so that we create the jobs here and we start exporting far more and the money comes back into this country. That would not only lower our trade deficit but it would, more importantly, put hundreds of thousands, millions of Americans back to work in good, productive jobs. Bring those jobs back into the United States. Use the productivity and the genius of our Nation but make sure our investment is in keeping that genius and that productivity in education, in health and nutrition.

Mr. President, I think now is the time for us to step back, applaud the good motives of people in both parties and of the President, but let us close the door on the pollsters setting policy. Let us use our own leadership to pass legislation that is good for this country.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senator will suspend just one moment, I failed to read the previous order.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 10 minutes each.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Mississippi.

CONDITIONAL RECESS OR ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS FROM NOVEMBER 20 OR 21 UNTIL NOVEMBER 27 OR 28, 1995

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, at the request of the majority leader and with the understanding that it has been cleared on both sides of the aisle, I send the adjournment resolution to the desk and ask that it be considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 32) providing for a conditional recess or adjournment of the Senate on Monday, November 20,