

resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, there then be a period for morning business until the hour of 12 noon, with Senators to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. DOLE. Let me indicate for the information of all Senators, as I said before, we will probably discuss the Labor-HHS bill, the motion to proceed. Maybe we will work that out. We will also maybe resume consideration of the DOD authorization conference report or any other available conference reports, and as I have stated, I do not believe there will be any rollcall votes. If there are, we will try to give everybody ample notice or arrange to have a vote at a later date or work out a voice vote of some kind.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DOLE. So, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask that, after the Senator from California, Senator BOXER, speaks, that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order—unless there is any other Senator wishing to speak? OK.

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

The Senator from California.

GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mrs. BOXER. I thank the majority leader. It has been a very difficult day. It is very late. I will not go on at length.

I just feel we are fortunate here, as Members of the U.S. Senate, even though we are working very long and hard, and it is very stressful, at least we know we are going to get our paycheck. But, unfortunately there are those very hard-working families tonight who really do not know if they will get their paychecks. About 350,000 families are adversely impacted because tonight the Congress was not able to pass a continuing resolution to send a signal to the entire country that we can keep this Government operating.

I do not want it to be lost, as we end here this evening. I do not want the people out there to think that they are forgotten. I also do not want people to think that who are veterans who will not get their services, perhaps, as readily as they should come Monday, or people who need passports, or people who want to go to our parks. We certainly know tomorrow they will be inconvenienced for no good reason.

It may well be that Democrats and Republicans cannot come together on a long-term, 7-year balanced budget. It

may be that we will never be able to do that. I, for one, hope that we can and think that we can. I, for one, believe there are a few key areas where we could come together and get that balanced budget.

But surely we could come together to keep this Government operational for another week? I do not know what is happening here, but it seems to me, with all the anger I have seen on the Senate floor, we ought to put that aside for 10 minutes and pass a clean continuing resolution as our Democratic leader recommended. Yes, we have those outstanding debates. Yes, we will have to discuss them and resolve them. But we can keep this Government going instead of acting like little children who do not get their way and marching outside of the room and objecting when there is a very simple, straightforward suggestion that we can keep things going until—even Monday or Tuesday.

But, no, we are not going to do that. So, constituents of mine and others across this country who work for the Federal Government, like Ken Takada, a veterans claim examiner in Los Angeles are very concerned. He is not independently wealthy. He lives from paycheck to paycheck like most of us in America do. He could default on his student loans if he misses a paycheck. The day the Government shuts down, Ken has told us, he is going to have to go to the unemployment office and apply for benefits to keep his life going. He does not want to be on unemployment. He wants to work. And the veterans of southern California, who depend on him to handle their cases, want him to be at his post at the Federal building in Los Angeles.

Then there is Larry Drake and his wife, Joan. Larry works for the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Joan works at the Public Health Services. If the Government shuts down, both will be furloughed. Their family will lose 100 percent of its income. We do not know if they will get their back pay; perhaps they might, perhaps they might not. But what kind of way is that for us to act? We have a responsibility to the workers and to those that they serve. All we had to do is say "aye" to the Democratic leader when he said, "Put aside our problems. Let us keep the Government going at least until next week." Simple, straightforward, easy thing to do.

But, no, we cannot get it done.

I heard the majority leader over in the House, Mr. Arme, Representative ARMEY from Texas, who is the Republican majority leader over there, say, "Well, we didn't get a good enough budget from the President. We got a meager budget. Therefore we are not going to send over a clean debt extension." That is a little bit like a guard in a prison camp. "You haven't behaved. We are not going to give you your bread and water."

The fact is, these appropriations bills have not been done and there is a very

easy way to handle it. Wrap them in a continuing resolution. But, oh, no. The Republican leaders over in the House—and presumably we went along with it on this side, I am sad to say—they did not like what they got so they are not sending over a clean extension.

I would assume if the House did it, the Senate would have gone along.

Well, if we furlough Larry Drake and his wife Joan, what are they going to do? A two-income family and they are going to lose their income, either temporarily or for a longer time.

Then there is Ray Montgomery who works for the Census Bureau in Los Angeles. He is classified, even though he works for 40 hours a week, as an intermittent employee, so he will not get his back pay at all.

Ray told my office he is so worried about a second shutdown that he has not yet bought any Christmas presents for his family, and if the Government shuts down there will not be any presents at all. And Ray wrote to me, "For Heavens sakes, I am one paycheck away from being homeless. I work hard to be a credit to my country. I try to be a good representative of Government employees to the American people."

I just think it is a shameless situation. It is not necessary that we shut this Government down. We have a legitimate disagreement over how to balance the budget in 7 years. That is legitimate. It is a big problem. I am on the Budget Committee. I voted for two balanced budgets, one by BILL BRADLEY, one by KENT CONRAD. I am proud to have done it because it got to a balanced budget without hurting Medicare, Medicaid, without giving these outrageous tax breaks to the wealthiest who do not need them right now. For God sakes, put off the tax breaks until we have really balanced the budget. This is a phantom celebration. Give a tax break to the wealthy. People who earn \$350,000 a year are going to get back almost \$8,500 a year.

I mean really, while we cut Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment and veterans, cops on the beat? Where are our values?

I say to my friend from Minnesota, Senator GRAMS is a very effective speaker. He says, when we say, on our side of the aisle, "Where are our values?" that the only value that is important—and I am paraphrasing him—is to balance the budget.

It is certainly important to balance the budget. Do you know the last time we had a surplus in this country was under Lyndon Johnson? Do you know the first President to get the deficit down 3 years in a row? Guess. Bill Clinton—the first one. George Bush and Ronald Reagan added more to the debt than all the Presidents from George Washington to Jimmy Carter. So Democratic Presidents take a back seat to no one in fiscal responsibility—no one. We are the ones who have a better record.

I have to say, there is a lot of anger on this floor. There is anger toward the

President. I have not seen such anger. I serve on that special committee that is looking into the Whitewater. The Presiding Officer and I sit there. God, there is anger toward that President. And the President does say he wants a balanced budget that is consistent with our values.

What are those values? I will not take too long to go into them because I know the hour is late. Respect for our elderly—pretty important value. I learned that as a child. So why would you sock it to Medicare and Medicaid and people in nursing homes, if you believe that we should respect our elderly? And give a tax break to the very wealthy who do not need it?

How about respect for our children? But, no, we are going to have thousands of fewer kids in Head Start, thousands of fewer kids getting special reading attention, cuts in education. Do you want to hear more? Respect for our environmental heritage. Respect for our environmental heritage. Respect for our environment—not only passing laws that say we will have clean air and clean water but actually enforcing those laws.

The Republican budget does not have respect for the elderly or the children or the environment and many other areas because they are so respectful of the rich and powerful that they will give them a huge tax break and therefore have to cut into these other programs.

Do the people want a balanced budget? You bet. You bet. But they want it to be fair. That is a value, too. Fairness is a value. In their budget they

raise taxes on people earning less than \$10,000 a year. Where is the value there for fairness? And they are mad at the President because he will not go along with it, and he has the guts to stand up and say it. And they do not like it. And they keep saying, "Gee, the President doesn't stand for anything." But now that he does they do not like what he stands for. They want it all ways.

And then they say, "Well, the President signed a commitment, a commitment to balance the budget in 7 years with CBO estimates." They left out a few things, however. In the agreement that CBO would check with the other experts, the blue chip indicators, the OMB indicators, and consider those. It is an important point. He did not just say, yes, whatever CBO says. The CBO has to check with these others. He also signed on to the fact that we will all protect certain priorities. They are listed in that document: Medicaid, Medicare, education, the environment.

So, yes, we all want a balanced budget. And we know that we can get there in a fair way. But we are not going to be blackmailed into it. And I honestly think that some of the Republican leaders over in the House think that because they are threatening a government shutdown we are going to say, OK, we give up. Cut Medicare, Medicaid. We do not really mean what we say. We do not care about tax breaks to the wealthy. All of this was just talk. Just keep the Government. We will give up.

It is not going to happen. So we come down to this very unhappy moment in the Senate, angry words, angry feel-

ings, dispirited people all over the place. It is about a very important issue: What are our values? What do we value as a people?

So, Mr. President, thank you for this time that I have had to express myself this evening. My heart goes out to those Federal employees who do not know if they will have a happy Christmas. But I will do everything I can to separate that fight, that short-term battle from the long-term question, and I hope we can all do that and keep this Government going.

I yield the floor.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE TOMORROW

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the Senate tonight, the Senate resume consideration of the motion to proceed to the Labor, HHS appropriations bill tomorrow at 12 noon.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate now stands adjourned.

Thereupon, at 8:53 p.m., the Senate adjourned until Saturday, December 16, 1995, at 11 a.m.