

Yet, while we have operated that way for 206 years, all of a sudden we have a new deal, that if you do not have the votes to override a veto, you shut the Government down, and, in addition to that, send 250,000 people home this morning, saying do not come to work but we will pay you for it anyway. Who benefits from that?

Mr. MACK. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. NICKLES. I will be happy to yield to my colleague from Florida in a moment. The President of the United States is the one who sent most of these individuals home because of his vetoes today and tomorrow. Those bills affected hundreds of thousands of people. The President had the right; he could veto the bill. But the President is the one who sent those individuals home. If he were to sign those bills, my colleague, I am sure, would concur, there would be no furloughs. Those employees would work. He had that option. He chose to veto bills. So he is directly responsible for sending those hundreds of thousands of people home today.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, if I may say so, I have only been here 21 years; not as long as the Senator from North Carolina who I see here on the floor, but pretty near. I have never—I have never—witnessed anything like this and hope to goodness I never witness it again, where, instead of passing a continuing resolution to allow people to operate at even a severely constrained level, even much less than they got last year, we shut down the Government instead. Actually, if I were the President I would be a little ambivalent about this, because, if we continue operating on a continuing resolution, we might get a balanced budget faster because a lot of these people are operating on a severely constrained budget.

But my point is this. We have never—we have never—taken the option of shutting down the Government simply because we disagree with the President. It seems to me we might wind up having to have a constitutional amendment one of these days to say that is absolutely prohibited. Congress would be solemnly bound to pass a continuing resolution or something.

I must tell you, I am at an absolute, abject, total loss as to how anybody can possibly believe that the country's business is being well served by shutting the Government down. I do not care how much you disagree with the President.

Mr. NICKLES. If the Senator will yield, I hope you will contact the President and tell him to sign those bills, and those individuals would go to work.

Mr. BUMPERS. Even if I did, he would not because he disagrees with them. And that is his prerogative as President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I think the Senator from Oklahoma and

I, if we sat down and talked about this for a couple of weeks, we might work something out even though we have very serious disagreements. I know the Senator was euphoric, and I was depressed, in November 1994 when the American people took away the long, long, 40-year Democratic majority in the House and, I guess, about a 10-year majority in the Senate. They were voting for a whole host of reasons. Some of them were mad about gays in the military. Some of them were mad because we had not passed a constitutional amendment on prayer in school. Maybe some of them wanted a flag desecration amendment to the Constitution, or term limits. Maybe some of them missed a Social Security check that month. I do not know. I do not think there was one single thing, one single thread that ran through the election of 1994 that caused people to vote the way they did.

But I will tell you one thing. They did not vote for chaos, and that is all they have had.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. BUMPERS. On the defense authorization bill, I was very pleased to listen last week to a man whom I believe is probably the most respected man in the United States on defense issues. He and I have had very serious disagreements, particularly about the size of defense spending. But I have never really questioned his motives, his intellect, or his understanding of the defense issues. Yet he stood on the floor last Friday and said he fully intended to vote against this defense authorization bill. That was SAM NUNN, the distinguished Senator from Georgia.

He gave a lot of reasons, not the least of which was this so-called national missile defense system.

Somehow or other, the people in this body simply cannot give up on the Soviet Union. Our defense policies and our State Department policies for as long as the memory of man runneth not, has been keyed to that terrible evil empire of the Soviet Union. We have spent tens and hundreds of billions—trillions, really, because we were so frightened of the military might of the Soviet Union.

Interestingly, 2 weeks ago we learned that a lot of our defense spending and a lot of our policies were based on misinformation given to us by spies for the Soviet Union who were feeding us disinformation about how powerful the Soviet Union was, and it played right into the hands of the defense industries and the hawks of this country, and we spent trillions of dollars. That is one of the reasons we are in the pickle we are in with a \$5 trillion debt we are trying to do something about.

Now we come back, because we still cannot give up on that anti-Soviet

mentality, and we say we want a national ballistic missile defense system in place by the year 2003 that will protect all 50 States. There is not any doubt, and neither the chairman nor the ranking member of the Armed Services Committee would refute, that that is going to require multiple antiballistic missile sites.

And when you start talking about multiple sites, you are talking about a direct abrogation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, one of the very few treaties we still have in existence with the Soviet Union, now Russia. It says that neither country will deploy a strategic antiballistic missile system at more than one site in its own territory.

I engaged Senator NUNN in a colloquy on this subject Friday afternoon, and asked him if this is not a legislative abrogation of the Antiballistic Missile Treaty. Senator NUNN very wisely answered in language that all lawyers understand. He said it constitutes an anticipatory breach. What that means is, once we deploy more than one site, we have in fact abrogated the treaty.

Colleagues, let me ask you a question. How would we react if the Russians were to announce today, as we sit here debating this bill, that they are going to deploy a national missile defense system that will have many sites? I promise you that all 100 Senators would be on the floor squealing like a pig under a gate. And you would hear, "There they go again. You cannot trust them." Yet, here we cavalierly get ready to spend billions on a national missile defense system which will abrogate a treaty that is in the interest of the Russians, the United States, and all the people of the world.

I ask you this: To add to the question, what if the Russians were doing this, what would our response be? It would be to start deploying one as quickly as we could. And you tell me when the ABM Treaty is gone and the Russians and the United States both have national missile defense systems, who do you think is better off? I can tell you nobody is better off, and the world becomes again a very dangerous place living with a hair trigger.

The Russians are right now in the process of complying with START I. And they are complying with it by dismantling nuclear weapons. They, like the United States, are prepared to consider the ratification of START II which will cut nuclear weapons still further. Do you think if we go ahead with this national missile defense system the Russians are going to ratify START II? Of course, they are not. If we are going to deploy a system that will shoot down their missiles, they are not going to keep dismantling missiles. They are not stupid. They know exactly what is going on.

So I am going to vote against this bill because it costs too much money, because the national missile defense plan envisioned in it is dangerous in the extreme, and because we are putting \$493 million more into the B-2 program. And I defy anybody in the U.S.

Senate to read the committee report and tell me what we are going to do with the money for the B-2. Is it for advanced procurement for more bombers? Or is it to take care of the flaws in the present bombers?

The committee report had one line that was the most curious line I have ever seen in a conference committee report. It said the Senate conferees believe so and so. Who cares what the Senate conferees believe? It is what the conference of the House and the Senate both believe that we are supposed to be voting on.

It reminds me of a story about a little boy. The teacher said, "What do you believe?" The boy said, "I believe what the Methodists believe." She says, "And what do the Methodists believe?" He says, "They believe what I believe." "And what do both you and the Methodists believe?" "We both believe in the same thing."

Mr. President, I invite all of my colleagues to read the committee report and tell me where the \$493 million is going.

Finally, I can remember all the years I have been here and posing the question about things in our defense budget: Why are we doing this and why are we doing that? And the answer has been, well, the President wants it, the chiefs want it, and the Secretary of Defense wants it. So we went merrily on our way spending tens of billions of dollars because they wanted it.

Now you ask the powers that be in the U.S. Senate. Why are we doing it when the Secretary does not want it, the President does not want it, and the chiefs do not want it? The answer is, what do they know?

Mr. President, at a time when everybody is groaning and straining to deal with the balanced budget and trying to accomplish a balanced budget, we have a defense appropriations bill which the President has already signed. I disagreed with the President on that because, as I have said before, my good friend, the President, has a right to be wrong just like I have. There is \$7 billion more in that bill than anybody asked for—ships being built that they did not ask for, and in places where there was no bidding.

So, Mr. President, I do not know how much longer this bill will be debated, but I can truthfully say that I think it is a terrible mistake. I think the world will be less safe once we pass this conference report.

I yield the floor.

Mr. GRAMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

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

Mr. GRAMS. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, during this second shutdown of the Federal

Government, I am reminded of the old saying that two wrongs do not make a right.

I believe it is wrong to tell 300,000 Federal workers that because the Government considers them nonessential, they cannot come into work today.

But Mr. President, it is even more wrong to then turn to the American taxpayer and tell them to pay these workers for not working.

That's right. For the second time this year, Washington is requiring taxpayers to pay with their hard-earned dollars for services that will never be given.

While we may have honest differences about the amount of government people should pay for, I think we can all agree that taxpayers should not be forced to give something for nothing. But that is exactly what they are getting for their tax dollars: nothing.

What is worse is that this whole situation has arisen because President Clinton has refused to carry through on his promise to deliver a 7-year balanced budget using real numbers.

One month ago, when the first Government shutdown occurred, the debate was over whether or not to balance the budget in 7 years. It took a week, 800,000 furloughed employees, and a lot of complaints from the American taxpayers, but the President finally got the message.

We came to an agreement by both Congress and the White House that the American people would finally get what they have been calling for—a real 7-year balanced budget. Gridlock was over. Or so we thought.

Instead of following through on his promise, President Clinton has deliberated, deferred and delayed his balanced budget proposal. The only thing he has not done is delivered—and it does not look like he ever will.

Make no mistake about it—the shutdown of the Federal Government and the problems it has caused the American people lie squarely on the shoulders of one man—William Jefferson Clinton.

Nothing symbolizes that fact more than President Clinton's generous offer this weekend to pay out of his own pocket the cost of keeping the White House Christmas tree lit.

What the President did not say is that the bill which would pay for this expense—the funding bill for the Department of the Interior—was sitting right on his desk over the weekend, unsigned.

Now that the President has vetoed the Interior appropriations bill, is he prepared to pay for all the programs at the Department of Interior that he is holding up?

Will he personally pay for the expenses at the Departments of Veterans' Administration, Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, Justice, State and any other agency whose funding he has vetoed?

Are the Democrats who are holding up the Labor-HHS bill in the Senate

willing to use their salaries to pay for the programs at the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education?

Are they willing to pay with their own money for the Low-Income Heating Energy Assistance Program, the funding for which they have stalled and refused to consider, even today in mid-December?

Obviously, the answer is no. But if they did, if they were the ones forced to pay the bills, instead of the taxpayers, maybe things would be different. Maybe we would not be so willing to lay off Federal workers and then pay them for not working. Maybe we would not have so much Government to pay for in the first place.

Unfortunately, justice and fairness for the taxpayers is not a concept well received in Washington, and as a result, the American taxpayers are stuck with the bill but without services rendered.

On Friday, I introduced legislation that I believe will reverse this trend and restore some fairness to the taxpayers. The Federal Employment Taxpayer Accountability Act would eliminate the current distinction in law between nonessential and essential Federal workers, thereby considering them all essential.

After all, if a worker is considered nonessential on 1 day of the year, what makes them so essential on the other 364? And why should we force the taxpayers to pay for a service that is considered nonessential?

My legislation would ensure that all Federal workers are at their desks every day, that they no longer be used as pawns in a Washington chess match over the budget.

It will help lift the morale of Federal workers by letting them know that their efforts are recognized and appreciated, while guaranteeing the taxpayers that only an honest day's work earns an honest day's pay.

Mr. President, two wrongs do not make a right, nor do three or four or the many wrongs Washington has done the American taxpayer.

Let us do something right for a change. Let us protect the taxpayers from having to pay for unsolicited vacation days in Washington because it is the right thing to do. Let us pass and get signed into law the remaining appropriations bills because it is the right thing to do. And let us deliver the American people a real, honest 7-year balanced budget before Christmas because it is the right thing to do.

As 1995 comes to an end, I ask Congress and the President to make an early New Year's resolution on behalf of the taxpayers and our children and grandchildren that we will keep them in forefront of our minds as we conduct the people's business by doing the right thing.

Thank you very much, Mr. President. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Utah.