

10, 15 minutes of morning business I would love to do at this point. If the Senator from Pennsylvania would agree, then we can do that.

Mr. EXON. That would be fine with me, if that can be agreed to.

Mrs. BOXER. I am sure the Senator from Pennsylvania would accommodate the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. SANTORUM. I have been informed by the staff it does not look like we will be able to clear the matter the Senator suggested tonight, and we could do that possibly tomorrow. That is what I have been informed.

Mr. EXON. The matter has not been cleared on the Senator's side?

I withdraw my objection.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SANTORUM. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Senator BOXER for up to 20 minutes.

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

The Senator from California is recognized for up to 20 minutes.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Madam President.

#### THE GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I have waited around the floor of the Senate tonight because I wanted to make a few remarks about where we stand in this battle for some sanity around here in the Congress.

We are now in the 5th day of our second Government shutdown this year. It seems to me if we have any obligation, it is to keep the people's business moving forward. It is totally unnecessary to have this shutdown, but for the fact that there are some who want to essentially hold a legislative gun to the head of President Clinton and use the threat of a shutdown, indeed, the fact of a shutdown, to force him to sign a 7-year budget that in his opinion will harm the American people because there are terribly deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment, and tax increases on those people earning under \$30,000 a year.

So the President is not going to agree to that. So there are those on the Republican side, particularly on the House side, who believe that shutting down this Government is a perfectly legitimate way for them to express their dissatisfaction with President Clinton for not signing this very extreme and very radical budget.

The President is not going to sign it. The American people do not want a President who will fold under that kind of tactic. And here we stand. No reason at all. I was here on the weekend, Sunday, when the Democratic side offered an opportunity to resolve this, pass the resolution, the continuing resolution, keep the Government going, and con-

tinue the hard and fast negotiations that have begun. But no. I have never seen anything quite like it.

I saw a freshman Republican Member of the House on national television tonight, all smiles. He thinks this is really fun and games. He said he did not care if the Government ever opened up again as far as he was concerned. He would not vote to keep the Government going until the President signed a budget he agreed with.

I think that representative ought to read the Constitution. He may not understand that we have a separation of powers and a balance of powers. The fact of the matter is, as much as this representative does not like it, President Clinton is a Democrat and so are many Members of the House and Senate. The Republicans do not run the White House or, frankly, have a working control over the Senate or the House. There are very close margins here, and so they have to compromise. But this young fellow does not seem to have the word "compromise" in his vocabulary.

But I will tell you one thing he has in his pocket, he has his paycheck. He has his paycheck in his pocket. He can demagog this issue and never feel the pain. But the American people, who deserve to have the parks open, who deserve to have the veterans checks sent out, who deserve to have a functioning Government, deserve to be able to get a passport, if they need it.

They are getting hurt, inconvenienced. For what? For what? NEWT GINGRICH has said several times he is going to vote to pay all these people who are not going to work. What is going on here? What is going on?

So there are Federal employees, despite NEWT GINGRICH's comments, who are not getting paid right now. Oh, but Members of Congress, we are getting our pay. It is just fine and dandy. What a legislative runaround my "No Budget, No Pay" bill has been given. And if I ever go into the classroom to teach a course in Government, I am going to bring this chart with me. It says "No Budget, No Pay. How a Bill Does Not Become a Law." I have never seen a runaround like it.

Three times—three times—Senators have passed this legislation. Senator DOLE supports it, Senator DASCHLE supports it; Republicans and Democrats alike—approved, approved, approved. Passed as an amendment to the D.C. appropriations bill. Unfortunately, the D.C. bill is stuck and we do not know the fate of "No Budget, No Pay." But it does not look promising.

Amendment to the reconciliation bill—knocked out.

Amendment to the ICC sunset bill, which may come up tomorrow—knocked out.

Who knocked it out? The Republican Congress.

Blocked in the House by the leadership-controlled Rules Committee which refuses to allow a vote on it.

Five times Congressman Dick Durbin tried to get a vote. It is real simple. If

Federal employees do not get their pay, neither should we. Blocked, stalled. And the President waits with his pen to sign it. He supports this. His pay would be docked as well. So "How a Bill Does Not Become a Law," a new chapter in the textbook of our children—a sad new chapter.

Newt Gingrich has consistently blocked a House vote on this bill. I have to, again, say to my friends on the other side, they ought to read the Constitution, Article I, Section 7, which says:

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States. \* \* \*

Imagine, we have a President and he has to sign the bill. If he does not like it and if he thinks it is harmful, if he thinks it cuts too deeply into Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment, he will not sign it, he will veto it. Then what happens? It does not say shut down the Government. It does not say that. It says that if two-thirds of those voting override him, the bill shall become law. Everyone should read the Constitution every once in a while—especially the new freshmen over there. They do not control the President of the United States of America. Thank goodness. Thank goodness, or we would have a mean-spirited country.

Now, this Government shutdown, while more limited than the first one, has caused great hardship. National parks have closed; veterans benefits checks, due next week, will not be sent; passport offices virtually have closed, and the program for tracking deadbeat dads is not operating.

Swell. Where are our family values? Family values. But shut down the program that tracks the deadbeat dads, and you, Members of Congress, keep getting your pay.

Lovely. Great values. Great values for our kids.

Safety inspections of new toys have stopped. Great timing.

New FHA homeowner loans are not being processed for people who want to buy their first home.

I have talked, on this floor, about the individuals who work for the Federal Government, who went to work for their country because they are proud to work for their country, and they cannot even buy their kids Christmas gifts. But Members of Congress, oh, we can get our kids gifts—Hanukkah gifts, Christmas gifts. It is OK because we are so important that we set ourselves above the other working men and women of the Federal Government.

A lot of our Federal employees are not independently wealthy. They live from paycheck to paycheck. Some families have two workers in them that both work for the Federal Government, like Larry Drake and his wife Joan. Larry works for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Joan works at the Public Health Service. Both have been furloughed. Their family has lost 100 percent of its income. They do not know if

they will get it back or when they will get it back. They hope they will get it back. They want to go to work. If this shutdown lasts long, they may not be able to make their mortgage payment.

Ray Montgomery works for the Census Bureau in Los Angeles. He is classified as an intermittent employee even though he works 40 hours a week, but he will not ever recover his back pay. Ray told my office he is so worried about the second shutdown he has not bought any Christmas presents for his family. Ray wrote to me,

For heavens sakes, I am one paycheck away from being homeless. I work hard to be a credit for my country. I try to be a good representative of Government employees for the American people.

It is absolutely embarrassing that the greatest country in the world cannot keep services going. If we want to argue about whether these services are important, that is a legitimate argument. Some of us might think it is very important to have people tracking deadbeat dads. Others might say, "No, leave that to someone else, we should not do it." That is fair. That is the long-term discussion of what our priorities are. It should not mean that in the short run these hard-working people are in limbo.

By the way, there are about 280,000 of them. That is 280,000 families. My home county has about 215,000 people living in it. So there is more unemployed tonight in this interim period than my entire home county. It is unbelievable. You figure 280,000 workers, and many of them are married with children. You are talking half a million people who are probably directly impacted by this.

Now, the Senator from Maine and I, Senator SNOWE, have an excellent bill. It says Members of Congress should be treated the same way as the most adversely impacted Federal employee. We had our efforts blocked here also. This is a bipartisan effort here in the U.S. Senate. The Senator from West Virginia, Senator BYRD, said put partisanship aside. I think that is very good advice. That is why I reached out to the Senator from Maine, Senator SNOWE, and to Senator DOLE, and brought Senator DOLE and Senator DASCHLE both solidly behind this bill.

Over on the House, a Republican Congress has blocked it, blocked it, blocked it, blocked it, five times—stalled it. Members of Congress who go on national television practically giggling with joy at what they are doing, continue to bring home a pretty hefty paycheck. It is embarrassing.

Now, I have to say there is a show on CNN entitled "Talk Back Live." A Member of the House leadership said that he opposed my bill, saying—and this is directly from the transcript—"I am not a Federal employee." Imagine—who pays his check? Some private corporation? No, the Federal Government. But he does not consider himself a Federal employee. He is more important. He said, "I am not a Federal employee. I am a constitutional officer."

Madam President, it is this kind of attitude that has led us to these unnecessary Government shutdowns. We are setting ourselves above others, and that is dangerous. People who do that come down real hard. Ever see people like that in life who set themselves apart, they think they are so special? Well, some day, they will learn to be humble. God has a way of doing that and so do the voters.

I continue to believe if we fail to do the most basic part of our job, then we do not deserve to be paid.

I want to read from this transcript from the show. Just so I put it on the Record, this is Representative THOMAS DELAY, who is the majority whip over in the House of Representatives. Susan Rook, the MC, says, "I think PATTY brings up a really good point \* \* \* I want it go back to Representative BOXER in the Senate who cosponsored a bill, and it was saying, 'OK, we, the legislators, will not get paid' \* \* \* Her office said the bill passed unanimously in the Senate three times, but it was held up in the House because of NEWT GINGRICH. Your response?"

To which Representative TOM DELAY says, "Look, Ms. BOXER"—he did not say "Senator," but that is OK—"Ms. BOXER is demagoguing this issue and trying to change the subject. Ask Ms. BOXER if she voted for a balanced budget. She did not. She does not want a balanced budget, and she's trying to change the subject."

Now, No. 1, he had no idea what I voted for. I voted for two balanced budgets. It is in the RECORD. One was written by BILL BRADLEY and one written by KENT CONRAD, and I support another effort by the Senate Democrats, CBO scored, 7 years, balance the budget.

But, of course, he knows what I voted for, I guess. So he says I was just trying to change the subject. But the moderator does not buy it and says, "Yeah, but if Federal employees are not getting their pay, or Marty—actually Cathy, right behind you. Marty you were telling us a story. Now, you are a Federal employee but considered essential. What about some of your supplies?"

Answer, "Supplies aren't available. We work a 24-hour shift, so the fire department is our home for 24 hours. And you've got to basically ration because the money is not in our budget, because there is no budget \* \* \*"

This is someone in a fire department.

And then an audience member says—oh, and then she says, "Marty, would you feel better if they said, 'OK, if you're not getting your supplies, if they're not getting their paychecks, we won't get paid either?' Would that make you feel at least better toward all of them?" Meaning us Members of Congress.

And the audience member says, "Either that or else have them, you know, cut back what they were making. They're making \$100,000, I'm making, you know, 32."

He is wrong, we are making \$133,000. We are making \$133,000 a year and we are getting our pay. And people making \$32,000 and \$24,000 are trying to support their families.

Then another person said, "Good ol' NEWT. Pay him, but not the government workers, by golly."

So, people do not like this. And then it went on and on, people asking Mr. DELAY continually.

This is TOM DELAY, one of the leaders in the House. He says, "Well, Susan, you can play all these games you want to change the subject. The point here is that if the President was concerned about Federal employees and their pay, he wouldn't have vetoed [all these bills]."

And she says, "OK, but Marty's question \* \* \* why don't you go ahead and take a pay cut? So would you support the Boxer bill or no?"

And he says, "No, I would not. I am not a Federal employee. I am a constitutional officer. My job is in the Constitution. \* \* \*"

And then an audience member says, "But why are you not a government employee?"

And he says, the leader, the majority whip over there, "I am not a government employee. I am in the Constitution."

"You are, sir," says another audience member.

And then the audience member says, "Where is your ethics at? You're a government employee. All of you are government. All of you fall into the Federal Government \* \* \* everybody gets paid by the Government."

And then he says, Susan, why is it all you want to do is talk about salaries, et cetera.

So, here you have a situation where the leadership of the Republican House of Representatives is thrilled and delighted to shut this Government down. They object to a very clean CR, that is a continuing resolution, to in fact keep this Government running. They want to put a gun to the President's head and hold this Government hostage. And he is not going to do it. And that is where we stand tonight.

Madam President, I am going to complete my remarks, could I have just an additional 1 minute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Absolutely.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much. I just hope that Members who might have heard me talk tonight will begin to feel a little bit embarrassed themselves about the situation, a little bit ashamed about the situation, and that they will not continue, over there on the House side, to block the bipartisan "No Budget, No Pay" bill. But more important, that we get this Government rolling and we sit down like grown-ups, men and women, Republicans and Democrats, to debate the long-term issues.

I know we can resolve the long-term issues. I know that we can. There is a lot of room for compromise. The Constitution wants us to compromise. Our

founders envisioned something like friends, you compromise to make it start working together, and solve this this. That is why they have something happen. crisis.  
called a veto, and a two-thirds over- So I am prayerful and I am hopeful Madam President, thank you for ride. If you cannot get that, my that we will all grow up around here, your generosity. I yield the floor.