

some 300,000, but yet we pay them for work they did not do? Is there anybody that gets penalized other than the American taxpayer with this kind of strategy?

Mr. REID. I would say to my friend from North Dakota, they are being penalized, the taxpayers that is, to the tune of \$40 million a day. That is my understanding of the wages that are going to be paid for not doing the work. So you multiply just a little bit the time they have already been out of work—this is counted on Saturdays and Sundays. They get paid no matter what day it is—2 days, 80, 120, 160. It gets up pretty quickly.

That is where we are now. And the American taxpayer gets nothing in the way of services. We have here in Washington now one of the finest art exhibits to have been here in decades, the greatest still lifes probably ever painted, but it is only going to be here a short time and people have come from all over the United States to see that. They cannot see it. But yet those people who should be working are not working but are being paid, and the taxpayer gets a real bad deal on that.

Mr. BUMPERS. Will the Senator yield for an observation?

Mr. REID. I would be happy to yield to my friend without losing my right to the floor.

Mr. BUMPERS. It has been mentioned once or twice, but I do not think the full impact of the shutdown of the Government has really been accurately described. If you were one of the 260,000 people sitting home and being paid for nothing, first of all, that is demeaning, to ordinary people. They would much rather be working, despite the fact they are sitting home and being paid to sit home. But the dimension that I am going to mention is here is the most joyous season of the year, Christmas, that everybody looks forward to and among the 260,000 workers at home, I promise you, a lot of them live from paycheck to paycheck, and a lot of them were depending on spending money for gifts for their children for Christmas. And you know, sometimes I think the Congress ought to be charged with child abuse because a lot of children are not going to have the Christmas they otherwise would have.

I am not saying this is going to be massive, but obviously a lot of people are affected by the fact that they do not have a paycheck and therefore cannot spend any money unless they have a credit card that has a little bit left on the limit. But it is one of the most unfathomable things—I have been here 21 years. This is the most irresponsible, unfathomable, irrational things I have ever seen in my 21 years here. What on Earth are we doing?

Mr. REID. I would say to my friend from Arkansas, I repeat, especially when the Republican leadership has said these 250,000 or 260,000 people are going to be paid anyway. So would not the next step be to say, OK, you are going to get paid; go to work?

Mr. BUMPERS. It is an interesting thing about how we are cutting everybody under the shining Sun in the interest of a balanced budget but willing in the interest of some kind of unfathomable, absolutely incomprehensible to me ideology that says you cannot keep the Government going and talk about balancing the budget at the same time. It is a nondebate about whether we are going to balance the budget or not. That is a no-brainer. Everybody agrees on that point.

What we are arguing about mostly is the tax cut. If the Republicans would forgo all or just a significant portion of the tax cut, this is a done deal. Everybody knows that we have to cut Medicare. Everybody knows that we are going to have to slow the escalation of Medicaid costs. But I am not for slowing the environment and I am not for slowing education, an observation that has been made on this floor time and time again and just seems so patently clear and obvious, and yet I pick up the paper and it never points it out except "Congress Boggled Again," "Congress Can't Get Its Act Together," blah, blah, blah. And all you have to do is sit down and say let us crank the Government up, pass a continuing resolution. After all, a continuing resolution funds these agencies at a dramatic discount from what they have been getting.

Mr. REID. Twenty-five percent.

Mr. BUMPERS. I thank the Senator for yielding. We can sit here I guess and engage in this colloquy all evening. I thank the Senator very much for allowing me to interject this.

Mr. REID. As always, I appreciate the statement of my friend from Arkansas.

Mr. President, I see the majority leader in the Chamber. I have yielded to everybody else and certainly I am happy to yield to him.

I am told, Mr. President, that the leaders want to have a unanimous-consent request entered. I am happy to yield to them without my losing the right to the floor.

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

The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Nevada, Senator REID.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREE-
MENT—CONFERENCE REPORT ON
H.R. 4 AND VETO MESSAGE ON
H.R. 1058

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following Senator REID's remarks, the veto message be laid aside, and the Senate turn to the conference report to accompany H.R. 4, the welfare bill, that it be considered under the following time restraints: 3 hours to be equally divided in the usual form.

Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that at 10:15 a.m., on Friday, there be 30 minutes for closing remarks on securities, to be equally divided in the usual form, and that at

10:45 a.m., there be 30 minutes for closing remarks on welfare, to be equally divided in the usual form.

Finally, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at 11:15 a.m., the Senate proceed to vote on the question shall H.R. 1058 pass, the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding, to be followed immediately by a vote on adoption of the Welfare conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection?

Mr. KENNEDY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. KENNEDY. Reserving the right to object. If the result of this unanimous-consent request is made, we will vote on the two matters that are referred to, but we will not have an opportunity, given what the House of Representatives has just done—and that is, effectively they are recessing tomorrow without a continuing resolution, which will mean that millions of children will be unattended to, millions of the disabled will be unattended to. Effectively, do I understand the majority leader is making a request for those votes tomorrow on those two without giving any indication as to what the majority's intention is going to be, particularly without a continuing resolution, the impact that it is going to have on children and the disabled in this country?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I say to the Senator from Massachusetts, there is a meeting with the President tomorrow morning with the leadership in the Senate and the House. It is my hope that after the meeting is concluded we may be in a position to do something under the CR. I can only speak for myself. I am prepared to do that now, but the House has not sent us one.

I think there will be an effort by the Democratic leader to call up and amend the bill that is now pending, which I would be constrained to object to. But there are others that will be affected in addition to veterans. I think there are four or five groups. It seems to me, if nothing else is successful, we ought to amend the one that the House sent over dealing with veterans and put all the other groups on so they will not be deprived of any benefits or delay in their checks, if everything else fails, as far as the CR is concerned.

Mr. KENNEDY. I will just take another moment.

Mr. President, I appreciate the willingness and the commitment of the majority leader to do that. As the Senator knows, the House has passed now their resolution just a few moments ago which effectively puts them in recess for 3 days, with the possibility of extending 3 more days, the possibility of extending 3 more days, with a 12-hour call-back, and without any continuing resolution, which will be in effect as of 2:30 tomorrow afternoon.

We are being asked to consent to this agreement, where the final votes of which will be some time in the midday;

and the House of Representatives, according to the House rules and the Senate rules, then will be permitted to effectively recess without corresponding necessary action by the Senate. And the particular groups that the majority leader has addressed, their needs will be left unattended.

I just want to know what the intention of the majority is going to be with regard to those individuals, particularly since the majority leader has indicated to the minority leader that he has every indication that he is going to object to a clean continuing resolution.

This appears to be the only avenue that is left open to us. I just learned a few moments ago that this was the action that was taken in the House. And this is the inevitable action that will result if the House takes off and we pass this. Those individuals which the majority leader has identified, they will be left unattended while the House of Representatives recesses and while evidently we will be unable to take any action. We will be foreclosed from taking any action too. And I find that that is a troublesome response.

I want to say at this point, I know that the majority leader has been very positive and constructive in trying to move the larger issue about the reconciliation on the budget forward. I think all of us understand that he has tried to be and is a positive force toward moving in that direction. So I am not at this time trying to interrupt that continued kind of effort.

But that really is independent from the groups that the majority leader has mentioned, from their needs being served. I fail to see how we are going to be able to reach any conclusion with regard to those individuals because it will require both bodies taking action.

Is that the understanding of the majority leader?

Mr. DOLE. It is my understanding—I would have to check—but what happened in the House was simply to give the Speaker authority to recess for 3-day periods in accordance with their rules. I do not believe the recess takes effect at 2:30 tomorrow. It is my understanding our meeting at the White House should end about 11:15, 11:30.

If we can accomplish something tomorrow morning, which I believe we can, then it would be my hope that the House would then—either we amend the bill that is over here with a CR or they send us a CR. I am not an advocate of shutting down the Government. I never have been.

We have indicated in a letter to Senator WARNER and others that we would support on this side and the House side paying all those who were furloughed. But I think we have a larger problem, as pointed out by the Senator from Massachusetts. If everything else fails, I think the least we should do is take up the bill that is now here concerning veterans and add to it the other categories that might be affected.

Mr. KENNEDY. I appreciate that. So that would be the intention of the majority leader.

I will not object to the request. I want to commend the majority leader for that responsible action. I hope that during the time between now and tomorrow that he would use his persuasive powers, which he uses so frequently around here, to encourage that action be taken in a similar way by the House of Representatives.

Mr. DOLE. I thank my colleague from Massachusetts. I certainly will make every effort. I am not certain I will be successful, but I share many of the views he has expressed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. MOYNIHAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, it would be the right of any Senator to ask at this time that the conference report to accompany H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, be read in its entirety by the clerk. Such a reading would provide the first indication to most Senators of what is in this conference report. It has been 3 full months since the bill passed the Senate, but the conference committee met only once, 2 months ago, October 24, and conducted no business at the meeting other than opening statements. The entire conference process was conducted behind closed doors and without participation by the minority, which is one reason why there is not a single Democratic signature on this conference report.

I was able to obtain a copy of the conference report only a few hours ago, as the House completed its consideration. We are woefully uninformed as to the details, but may I say that all any Senator needs to know about this legislation is that it would repeal title IV-A of the Social Security Act, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and that it will be vetoed by President Clinton. Mr. President, I do not object.

I simply want to make the point that this partisan mode is not the way great social-political issues are addressed successfully in our country, and I hope this will pass with the coming of Christmas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—START II TREATY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that immediately following the two votes, the Senate proceed to executive session to begin consideration of the START II Treaty.

Let me indicate with reference to that, there has been ongoing work that I have been indirectly involved in, in the past several days, to reach some agreement on START II. As I understand, there were seven or eight different issues that have been resolved. They are very close to getting agree-

ment. If that happens, it should not take too long to dispose of the START II treaty.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT REQUEST— HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 134

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks made by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. Many of us have watched with some dismay as the House continues to refuse to offer a resolution which funds the Government. They have now provided for a resolution which only funds that part of the continuing resolution dealing with veterans. We have no objection at all to the veterans resolution coming to the floor and passing it.

We would like to offer an amendment which does that for everything else, including the children and many others who are adversely affected by this Government shutdown.

It is our hope that at some point, certainly before the end of the week, that can be done and would like to see if it could be done tonight.

So, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to House Joint Resolution 134, the veterans' continuing appropriations resolution; that the bill be read a third time and passed, as amended, with an amendment that will reopen the Government and keep it open until January 5, 1996; and that the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I do reserve the right to object and I shall object, because it does not seem to me this will serve any constructive purpose at this time.

We are going back tomorrow. The principals are going to meet on a balanced budget in 7 years. I am not certain what action the House will take on this this evening, in any event.

As I indicated to the Senator from Massachusetts, and I will again state to the Democratic leader, it is my hope we can make enough progress tomorrow that we can do precisely what he recommends. Maybe the date will not be January 5. I do not know about that date. It does seem to me we have made progress today. If we make some in the morning, perhaps we cannot only do some other legislative business, but also pass a continuing resolution. Therefore, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me just say, I hope as a result of the meeting tomorrow at the White House we can move forward with some form of a continuing resolution tomorrow. I would like it to be a complete continuing resolution, obviously, dealing with