

When we fail to get the word out repeatedly and pointedly, we put our young people at even greater risk. And it encourages those today who still push the 1960's agenda that has destroyed so many promising lives. We cannot afford to do this. We have seen the consequences. And the increases in cocaine and heroin hospital emergencies today are a legacy of our foolishness yesterday. We cannot let this happen to our tomorrow.

I yield the floor.

Mr. PRESSLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER] is recognized.

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 5 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator may speak as in morning business for 5 minutes.

A CLASHING OF TWO CULTURES

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, in Washington, we are facing a crisis. It is not just a crisis of a Government shutdown, but it is the crisis of what direction we shall go as a nation regarding a balanced budget.

It is my strongest opinion that the liberals are standing in the way of a balanced budget. I always tell high school audiences that they should decide if they are liberal or conservative. If they are more liberal, they probably should join the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. If they are more conservative, they probably should join the Republican Party.

Let us face it, there are two cultures clashing here. One is the traditional liberal culture of big government; the other is the effort to have less government, lower taxes, less regulation, and the two cultures have clashed here in this balanced budget debate.

It has been my opinion that there has been shameless waste in many Federal Government spending programs—shameless waste. There has been waste, fraud, and abuse, and the American people want our Federal Government to become more efficient. They want to take care of the poor, they want to take care of the Medicaid and Medicare people and, indeed, our budget does take care of them. We are a compassionate people in that we certainly will not abandon the poor and the elderly. But our people want us to be more efficient in the use of Federal dollars.

Working middle-class families have felt that they are left out of the system. A lot of families, or a lot of people, are what are called working middle class. They do not get a lot of the tax breaks. They are required to pull the wagon, so to speak.

There is a revolt across the country of these working middle-class families and their children, because they feel that if we do not move toward a balanced budget, they will have to pay higher taxes and their children will have to pay higher taxes.

I tell all of the high school graduating classes that I talk to that they will have to pay between 3 and 5 percent additional taxes all their lives because of the debt that this country has.

In my State of South Dakota, we primarily have working middle-class people, and they are the ones who drive us to stick together to get this budget passed that will bring us to a balanced budget in the year 2002. I feel passionately that we must give the dream of America back to our children.

I feel that this budget is the most important single piece of legislation, because if we fail, we will be continuing the same habits of deficit spending that has gotten us this huge debt. At some point, we have to stop, and we have reached that point.

In my State of South Dakota, our field offices have received an overwhelming number of calls that indicate that our people want us to continue; our people do not want us to compromise the balanced-budget principle; our people want us to take the steps. So we have cast many of those difficult votes this year.

I hope our leadership does not compromise. I know that all parties are acting in what they believe to be the national interest. But I think realistically and actually what is happening is that the liberal traditional approach to Government is clashing with what came out of the 1994 elections, and that is a fiscally conservative approach to Government. Those two forces are now clashing, and the working middle-class families of America are watching to see if we have a resolve to continue to move toward a balanced budget by 2002. I urge our leadership to continue that effort.

Ms. MIKULSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI] is recognized.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 5 minutes as in morning business.

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

A FIGHT ABOUT AMERICA'S FUTURE

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, as you know, I am a Senator from Maryland, but I am a Senator not only from Maryland but I am a Senator for Maryland. I represent a State that is the host agency to some of the most important Federal agencies in the United States of America: The National Institutes of Health, Goddard, the Federal Drug Administration, Andrews Air Force Base, the home of the President's own; the U.S. Naval Academy.

I come to the Senate floor today to tell you I am absolutely opposed to the continuation of this Government shutdown. It is terrible for Federal employees, it is unfair to the taxpayers of the United States, it has a tremendous negative impact on the State of Maryland, and I believe it compromises

America's public health and safety, and I think it threatens our American global reputation.

Today is the second day of the Federal Government shutdown. No end is in sight. We are in gridlock, we are in deadlock, and I think that that is a disgrace.

Now what is this fight all about? Presidential politics? Yes, but this is a fight also about America's future, about our priorities, about our values, what kind of Nation we are going to be, how do we preserve the economic security for senior citizens and provide economic opportunity for young people? That is what the national debate should be all about, but we should not have to shut down the Federal Government to have a conversation about America's future.

That is why I absolutely support the effort of Senator TOM DASCHLE, a Democrat, to call for a continuing resolution for at least 5 days to 5 weeks, a cooling-off period where there are no gimmicks, there are no riders, no blackmail, where the leadership of this Nation, Republican and Democrat, can sit down and negotiate really in not what is in a political party's interest, but what is in the national interest.

We must seek the sensible center. We must find an answer to balancing the budget and balancing our priorities at the same time. That is what we should be doing, but we should not be making pawns of Federal employees.

Right now, 800,000 Federal employees were told that they were not essential and sent home. How demeaning. How demeaning to those scientists at NIH. How disgraceful to say that to the people at FDA who are trying to move pharmaceutical products to the marketplace that are safe and effective. How demeaning to the caseworkers who take the calls from senior citizens applying for Social Security, and how disgraceful it is to those who work for the Veterans Administration, who may be veterans themselves—when the veterans call to apply for their disability, they are going to get voice mail.

I have said to the Federal employees, "I think you are essential. I want you on the job and I want you working hard for the people of the United States." And to the taxpayers listening, I hope you call this an outrage. Get on the phone and tell us to pass a continuing resolution to put those Federal employees back to work. Your Government, American people, should be working as hard for you as you work for your money.

I think to close down the Government is an absolute insult to the taxpayers of the United States. We have people on furlough, we have jobs that need to be done, and we are playing politics, we are playing this kind of Mickey Mouse politics. We have to get out of the Disney World of Washington and stop acting like the Federal budget is some aspect that we can play politics with.

Mr. President, I hope that this afternoon we give Senator DASCHLE the

chance to offer a continuing resolution, where the Federal Government could be in operation for the next 3 days to the next 5 weeks. Let us reason together. Let us discuss these issues. Let us talk about the timeframe for balancing the budget. Let us include our national priorities—economic security for the old, opportunity for the young—and let us reach out and not be on this side of the aisle or that side of the aisle. Let us go to that sensible center and put our national interests first, put our Federal employees back to work. Let us give the taxpayers a dollar's worth of Government service for a dollar's worth of their taxes. Then we can hold our heads up high and be proud that we are U.S. Senators.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. SNOWE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, as we begin the second day of the Federal Government shutdown, I do want to note that like all Senators, I have read the polls that say more Americans are blaming the Republican Congress for the shutdown than are blaming President Clinton.

If you think leadership is all about taking polls—as the White House does—then I suppose you can take heart in these results.

But I happen to believe that leadership is more than just trying to make everybody happy. It is about doing what is right for America and what is right for our children and grandchildren.

From the moment the votes giving Republicans their first congressional majority were tallied last November, we knew we had a choice.

We could either look to the next election, basically leave the status quo intact, and avoid taking any action that might be controversial or unpopular.

Or we could roll up our sleeves and do the hard work of giving the American people the fundamental changes we have needed for so long.

That is the road on which we embarked. We knew the road would be bumpy. We knew there would be those who would urge us to detour to the path of least resistance.

But we also know that if we stay the course, then America will be a better place to live, work, and raise a family.

America will be better because our children and grandchildren will be freed from the crushing burden of our national debt.

America will be better because the lower interest rates that will result

from a balanced budget will allow more of us to own a home, buy a car, and take out a college loan.

America will be better because we will have saved Medicare from bankruptcy.

America will be better because we will have returned power to where it belongs—to our States, our cities, our neighborhoods, and our people.

Madam President, I cannot say it any better than did Mr. Joe Ham of Lawrenceville, GA, who sent me the following fax yesterday:

SENATOR DOLE: I know the media and the White House will be pouring on the propaganda, but for our kids' sake and the sake of America, stand your ground.

As Mark Twain said, "In the beginning of a change, the patriot is a scarce man, brave and hated and scorned. When his cause succeeds, however, the timid join him, for then it costs nothing to be a patriot."

Let me just say to Mr. Ham that when I look at House and Senate Republicans I see patriots, patriots who are willing to pay the price for leadership, and who are willing to pay the price of making the tough choices today that will ensure a better tomorrow.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. INHOFE. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

REPUBLICANS SHOULD NOT CAVE IN

Mr. INHOFE. Madam President, I appreciate very much the statement just made by the majority leader. What he has been hearing is the same thing that I have been hearing.

I think a lot of us, Madam President, have been distressed by reading some of the polls that might imply that there is a deadlock, and somehow the Republicans have something to do with it, when, in fact, we have come up with a solution, the solution that was a part of the mandate of the election of 1994.

They told us in loud and clear terms as Republicans took control of both the House and the Senate, that we are tired of business as usual, that we do want less Government involved in our lives. We want to change that trend that has existed since the 1960's.

I am very proud to announce here today that in our partly closed offices around the State of Oklahoma and here in Washington, that we have been watching very closely as the calls come in. The calls have come in, and the very first 6 hours after supposedly the Government shut down, 98 people called in and said that they thought the President was right; but 611 people called in—almost an 8-1 ratio—and those 611 people said "Don't give in."

We made ourselves clear in November of 1994: If the Republicans cannot do it,

you know the Democrats will not do it. Do not cave in at this time. We want a balanced budget.

The Republicans have offered a balanced budget. Every Democrat I know of has stood on this floor and said we all want balanced budgets, but when it gets right down to it, they really do not want balanced budgets. They want business as usual.

We have offered a balanced budget. We have sent all this to the President. It is in the President's court now.

It is hard for me to understand what is going to happen. I encourage all of my Republican colleagues to listen to the loud and clear message that we are getting from Oklahoma, a very wise State. That is, stay the course. The same as Mr. Ham said, who wrote to our majority leader, BOB DOLE, that he quoted a few minutes ago.

I have no intentions of caving in. This is the last opportunity we will have to actually achieve a balanced budget in America. We are going to do it.

I yield the floor.

CONGRESS DID NOT DO THEIR WORK

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I think there are people watching this debate who should put one thing in perspective: The Government is not being shut down because there is somehow an inability of the White House and the congressional leadership to agree on a 7-year budget plan. The fact of the matter is, it is being shut down because we have not passed 13 appropriations bills.

Now, it is the responsibility—when we talk about whose responsibility is involved, whether the President or the Congress—of the congressional leadership to pass 13 appropriations bills by the end of the fiscal year.

These begin in the other body. I understand the Speaker of the House of Representatives has spoken with a great deal of accuracy of his control over the House. The Speaker of the House of Representatives has spoken about his ability to move what he wants to move through the House of Representatives.

But the fact of the matter is there are only 3 of the 13 appropriations bills that have been signed into law.

We are shortly going to vote on a conference report as we already have on one of the remaining 10 appropriations bills.

If the congressional leadership had passed and sent the President the 13 appropriations bills as they are supposed to do, had they done that by the end of the fiscal year as they are supposed to do, and had the leadership done as they claimed they can with their new majority, to move their agenda through, had they just done the people's business, the business of all Americans—Republicans, Democrats, and independents—had they passed the 13 appropriations bills, we would have