

taxes for America's families? Where does he stand on saving Medicare?

The President's decision on this bill will, once and for all, clear up all confusion. Because by signing this bill, the President will finally allow his actions to match his words. But by vetoing it, he will make very clear that he is against a balanced budget, and the benefits it will bring. He is against welfare reform. He is against tax reduction. He is against saving Medicare.

And by vetoing this bill, the President will be against many other provisions. He will be against a capital gains tax cut. He will be against putting an end to the marriage penalty tax. He will be against medical savings accounts. He will be against adoption tax credits. He will be against helping Americans who provide care to their parents.

Now, when President Clinton vetoes this bill, he will shake his head, and he will say what many of his liberal allies have said today. He will say that he would like to sign this bill, but it's just too harsh. He will say that we are cutting spending on programs for the less fortunate among us. He will say we are cutting Medicare. He will say our tax cuts favor the business community.

He will say all that again and again. And he will be wrong every time he says it.

He will be wrong because this bill does not cut overall Federal spending—it allows it to grow by 22 percent over the next 7 years.

He will be wrong because this bill does not cut Medicare. In fact, Medicare will continue to grow at a rate of 7.7 percent a year.

He will be wrong because this bill does not cut programs to the needy—it allows 34 percent growth over the next 7 years.

He will be wrong because total funding for student loans will be increased by nearly 50 percent over the next 7 years.

He will be wrong because 73 percent of the tax cuts in this bill will help families throughout their lives.

Those are the facts. The President will try his best to obscure these facts with emotional rhetoric. In fact, the Democrat National Committee already has a television commercial on the air trumpeting the President's so-called balanced budget proposal, and saying that the Republican plan will cut Medicare.

It's a nice commercial with catchy music, but not a word of it is true. As I have said, the President has never submitted a budget anywhere near balance. And the Republican plan increases Medicare spending.

Mr. President, I'm from a farm State, and I want to say to the farmers of Kansas and the farmers of America that this bill is also important to them.

Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, the Government has been in the business of telling farmers how to farm. Under this bill, that will end, and be-

ginning in 1996, farmers will be planting for the market place.

Under this bill, farmers will have full planting flexibility, elimination of set-asides, program simplicity, and a farm policy that transitions farmers into the next century without disrupting the farm economy or land values.

While I am concerned about farmers receiving payments in good years, I am pleased we were able to cap the entitlement spending of agriculture programs. We accomplish this goal through a declining transition payment which is guaranteed to the farmer. In exchange, farmers will be required to maintain their land conservation efforts in both good and bad years. And this bill also protects family farms by providing some much needed estate tax relief.

Mr. President, let me conclude by saying that I know that the American people have wondered about the events taking place in Washington this week. They have wondered why the Government was shut down. They have wondered why Congress and the White House aren't talking to each other.

Well, as I have said many times this week, I wonder why we haven't spent more time talking to each other. And I remain ready to talk with the President any time to put all Federal employees back to work.

But I also would tell Americans that if ever there was a debate you wanted your elected Representatives to have, this is it. This is it. Because we are debating your future. We are debating the future of your children and grandchildren. We are debating the future of America.

I speak for all Republicans in saying that, as we approach Thanksgiving, we are thankful to have the opportunity to stand for something.

We are thankful to have the opportunity to stand for fundamental change.

We are thankful to have the opportunity to stand for a better future for the next generation of Americans.

And let me close by saying—and I know I speak for all Members of the Senate—that we are thankful that we have the opportunity to serve with a Senator as courageous and committed as PETE DOMENICI, and I salute him for his many years of leadership in support of a balanced budget.

Mr. President, let's do the right thing for America's future. Let's pass the Balanced Budget Act of 1995.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is informed the yeas and nays have not been ordered.

Mr. DOLE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to recede from the Senate amendment to H.R. 2491 and concur thereto with an amendment.

The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 52, nays 47, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 584 Leg.]

YEAS—52

Abraham	Gorton	McConnell
Ashcroft	Gramm	Murkowski
Bennett	Grams	Nickles
Bond	Grassley	Pressler
Brown	Gregg	Roth
Burns	Hatch	Santorum
Campbell	Hatfield	Shelby
Chafee	Helms	Simpson
Coats	Hutchison	Smith
Cochran	Inhofe	Snowe
Coverdell	Jeffords	Specter
Craig	Kassebaum	Stevens
D'Amato	Kempthorne	Thomas
DeWine	Kyl	Thompson
Dole	Lott	Thurmond
Domenici	Lugar	Warner
Faircloth	Mack	
Frist	McCain	

NAYS—47

Akaka	Feingold	Levin
Baucus	Feinstein	Lieberman
Biden	Ford	Mikulski
Bingaman	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Graham	Moynihan
Bradley	Harkin	Murray
Breaux	Heflin	Nunn
Bryan	Hollings	Pell
Bumpers	Inouye	Pryor
Byrd	Johnston	Reid
Cohen	Kennedy	Robb
Conrad	Kerrey	Rockefeller
Daschle	Kerry	Sarbanes
Dodd	Kohl	Simon
Dorgan	Lautenberg	Wellstone
Exon	Leahy	

So the motion was agreed to.

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mrs. BOXER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I will make a unanimous-consent request to the Republican side. I anticipate, as they did last night, they will once more object.

I would ask that there be order in the Chamber?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order. The Senator from California was propounding a unanimous-consent request but no one could hear.

The Senator from California.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, in about 3 minutes I will offer my unanimous-consent request. But I do appreciate your getting order in the Chamber so that I can make a comment very briefly for a minute on another matter, and then talk about my unanimous-consent request.

#### THE OKINAWA RAPE

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I think many of us were shocked to read today that the commander of U.S. forces in the Pacific called the recent rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl "absolutely

stupid," and said Friday the incident could have been avoided if the U.S. servicemen had simply paid for sex. The commander of the Pacific fleet in essence said, if they had taken the money that they spent to buy a van, they could have bought a girl.

Mr. President, that is a sickening statement, and I want to commend my colleague from California, Senator FEINSTEIN, for responding very quickly when she heard of this. And what she said is very important. What she said is that rape is not about sex, and it is not about money. It is a violent act.

I am very pleased that on the floor this evening is the author of the Violence Against Women Act, Senator BIDEN of Delaware. I was so honored when I was in the House to be coauthor and carried the bill on that side, and after many years the bill became law.

But I say to my colleagues that until this attitude changes, until people view rape as a violent act—it is about power, it is about the abuse of power—then we are never going to make any progress.

For the commander of the Pacific fleet to have said this—and he did apologize, I am happy to say—it is extraordinary. I only hope that the Secretary of Defense will take proper action in this matter.

Mr. President, I know others will speak about this tonight. But I am going to shift very briefly to another subject.

#### NO BUDGET—NO PAY

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, we are in day 4 of the partial shutdown of the Federal Government. It is causing harm to many people in this country who require and need the services of the Federal Government, be they veteran, be they the elderly, or be they the business community. One example is someone desperately needed a passport in order to conduct some very important business for a small business, was denied it, and missed a chance maybe at the American dream. So we are dealing with a very serious circumstance.

There is 1 Federal employee who is getting paid during this period. They are all getting docked except for the Members of the Senate and the Members of the House.

I took to the floor last night with Senator SNOWE and Senator HARKIN to protest this situation. Where we stand is that the bill, the no budget-no pay bill, is stuck in the DC conference. And who knows? It may never emerge because the Speaker of the House is not pushing the no budget-no pay bill.

Senator SNOWE and I authored another bill, and we have been trying to get it before this body. The Republican side of the aisle has objected. Maybe they will not object tonight. Last night, the excuse was, gee, everyone had to go home. We cannot take it up. Well, what about today? We waited. Senator SNOWE was working hard to get it through. We could not get it.

Some of my colleagues are making charitable contributions. Some are leaving their money in escrow. Some are giving it back. And that is noble. But this is not about the good guys doing something; this is about institutional failure.

In case, my colleague, you want to know what people think about this, look at the poll in the San Francisco Examiner. They put out a telephone poll, and it came back today. Eighty-nine percent say we should not get our pay during the shutdown. By the way, they included the President, which our bill includes, and 11 percent say we should. That 11 percent maybe is our relatives.

But I have to tell you. This is a total and complete outrage. We should be treated like every other Federal employee. Our staffs are working into the night, and they are being docked. But not us.

So I ask unanimous consent that the Senate immediately proceed tonight to the Snowe-Boxer bill. I make that request.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mrs. BOXER. Further, since it has been objected to, I ask unanimous consent that we go to the Snowe-Boxer bill the first thing in the morning.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mrs. BOXER. Let me just say, is the time mine, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no time. The Senator from California has the floor.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much. I want to express my disappointment and my despair of this. We should not treat ourselves better than our own staff. We should not treat ourselves better than the good people who work for the Federal Government. I think now that we finally have seen the light here. There was an objection yesterday, there is an objection today, there is an objection for tomorrow, and I will be back in the morning making the same unanimous-consent request.

I am sad to say—I thought the Senate was bipartisan on this. Senator SNOWE has 27 Members in a bipartisan way on this bill, but you hear objection from the leadership, the Republican leadership, of the Senate. And I hope people let them know that they are wrong, that this is wrong.

Mr. BIDEN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware.

Mr. BIDEN. I will be brief. I know the Republican whip wants to speak.

Mr. President, I do not want to repeat what I said last night. I agree with Senator BOXER, Senator SNOWE, and Senator HARKIN about the fact that we should not be getting paid. I will not elaborate. I think it speaks for itself. It is clear.

#### THE OKINAWA RAPE

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I want to speak very briefly to something that was called to my attention only an hour or 2 hours ago. That is, according to the wire services, Admiral Macke said, and I quote, with regard to the case where two Marines and a Navy seaman are on trial in Okinawa on charges that they abducted a 12-year-old girl on September 4 in a rental car, drove her to a secluded sugar cane field where one of the persons, Seaman Marcus D. Gill, admitted in court that he had raped the girl.

In response to that incident, which has international consequences for us, it is probably the most significant disagreement we have had with Japan, including trade agreements, caused as much of a stir and outrage, and understandable stir and outrage, on the part of the Japanese.

This admiral, probably one of the two or three most visible people known by name in Japan, because he is head of the Pacific Fleet, instead of him getting off of his ship, getting in a car and going to wherever the hell that family or the relatives of that child lived, and begging the forgiveness on the part of this Nation for something in the nature that occurred back when Attila the Hun came down into Japan and raped and pillaged centuries ago, instead of doing that, this fellow says—if this is true, this guy should be disciplined. If any one of us said this, it would be enough, in my view, for the voters to never vote for us again. If it were a Cabinet Member, we would probably dismiss them. We have had Cabinet Members dismissed for less insensitive things than this.

He says—if this is true, because what the press says is not always true; so that is the one caveat that I will make—but if he said, "I think that it was absolutely stupid, I've said several times," Macke said, "for the price they paid to rent the car they could have had a girl."

I realize I am accused, rightfully so, by my colleagues on occasion of being a little too emotional, but I want to tell you, if that were my daughter and that admiral said that, I would go find the son—I would go find him. I would look for him. I would—it would not be right; I would be wrong; it would be a violation of law—but I would find him and rip his ears off, if I could, or get killed in trying.

Mr. MCCAIN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. BIDEN. I will yield to my friend from Arizona.

Mr. MCCAIN. I share my friend's anger. Where was this—how was this report carried?

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, it is carried by the AP Wire Service. Date: The 17th, today, 19:22 hours, Eastern Standard Time, Copyright 1995. All rights reserved, AM—

Mr. MCCAIN. I thank my friend. The AP.

Mr. BIDEN. Again, I will publicly apologize—I want to make this caveat.