

I have to hand it to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the senior Senator from Oregon, a fine, fair chairman who has done the best he can under very difficult circumstances.

There is no excuse for these bills not having passed. But I think it was part of a contrived program, established by the leaders in the House. I do not make this up. Why were these annual appropriations bills not passed on time? Because stuck inside most of these bills are controversial legislative proposals that otherwise would not be passed. Abortion, in many of the appropriations bills, has simply drawn them to a grinding halt.

Wiping out environmental protection—one bill had 17 environmental riders to, in effect, wipe out the ability of the Environmental Protection Agency to protect clean air, clean water. They stuck in things like grazing.

I am a western Senator and I have fought the good fight on grazing for many years. There is a time and a place for grazing. It should be in authorizing legislation, not on appropriations bills. The same as mining, same as drilling in ANWR, same as clear-cutting of trees in various parts of this country. Why do we not do these in the ordinary, regular procession of authorizing regulation? Why in appropriations bills?

Many of these appropriations bills read more like legislative wish lists. The majority knew these bills must be signed into law to keep the Government operating, and they viewed these bills from a gambler's perspective. They gambled, notwithstanding controversial legislation that they could not get passed in the ordinary process, that the President would sign them anyway.

They were wrong. Even if the President refused and the Government were to shut down, they would use the shutdown as a weapon, and that is what they have done. They would force the President to sign legislation that the majority of the American public opposed for the sake of keeping the Government operating. This was apparent as far back as April.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is advised, at his request he was to be reminded when he had 1 minute remaining.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to have 4 more minutes.

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

Mr. REID. In April, House Speaker NEWT GINGRICH vowed to create a titanic standoff for President Clinton by adding vetoed bills to must-pass legislation increasing the national debt. This was reported in a number of places, including the Washington Times, on April 30. He boasted that "the President will veto a number of things and we will put them all in the debt ceiling, and then he will decide how big of a crisis he wants." Again, this is a quote from Speaker GINGRICH.

We learned, a couple of days ago, why the Speaker is allowing this standoff to continue and why, even from his own perspective, it is tougher than it would have been ordinarily. Do you know why? Because he had to leave Air Force One from a door that he did not feel was appropriate, and the President did not spend enough time with him on the airplane. This is going to the funeral of an assassinated Prime Minister of the State of Israel.

In the Washington Post, the Speaker is quoted as saying, because the President did not speak with him on the flight to Israel for Prime Minister Rabin's funeral, "that is part of the reason why you ended up with us sending down a tougher interim spending bill." The Speaker is also quoted as saying, "It is petty, but I think it is human."

I suggest, Mr. Speaker, that it is not human; it is just plain petty.

Let us talk about some facts. Fact No. 1: Speaker GINGRICH said, as early as April, that a Government shutdown and default were political tools he was likely to use as a lever to push his extreme agenda. That is a fact.

Fact No. 2: There are 12 appropriations bills necessary to fund the Government. Since this Government has been in session starting last January, the majority has simply failed to do this, and that is why we have the crisis we have today.

Fact: President Clinton favored a balanced budget and is fighting for one. The fight is over how to get there. The Republicans want to do it on the backs of seniors, the poor, students, and ordinary citizens. The Republicans want to do it in their own way.

We have now an economy that is great. We have the lowest inflation, the lowest unemployment in 50 years. We have the third year in a row where we have had declining deficits—certainly not enough, but the third year in a row for the first time in 50 years. We have 175,000 fewer Federal employees than we had 2½ years ago, the highest economic growth since the days of Johnson, the highest corporate profits in the history of the country. Why? Because the Democrats, a couple of years ago, passed a budget that cut \$500 billion from the deficit. That is why the economy is so good.

Do you know we did not get a single Republican to vote with us? The Vice President had to come and break the tie.

Fact: Recent polling shows Americans do not want the extreme agenda pushed by the radical right in the GOP. That is why the Speaker is using the Government shutdown and the threat of default as a way to blackmail this Congress and this President.

Final fact: Since the Republicans cannot pass their ideologically extreme agenda through normal legislative channels, they are trying to force the President to agree to their demands to shut the Government down. That is not how the system should work.

Mr. President, the crisis has been planned by Professor GINGRICH. He knows how crises develop. He has studied it. We have one here. It is all of his own doing, and I say, people of good will, both Democrats and Republicans in the Senate, should stand up and say that is not the way to run a government.

Legislation is the art of compromise, and we should work this out. We all agree on a balanced budget. It is a question of priorities. Let us fight out the priorities on the floor of the Senate and the floor of the House the way we have done it for 200 years.

Mr. GORTON addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Washington is recognized.

#### ORDER FOR RECESS SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, I am requested by the leadership to ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks, those of the distinguished Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN], and those of the distinguished Democratic leader, the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Washington is recognized.

#### THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION

Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, about 3 days ago when we began to debate a continuing resolution which would have caused the Government to go back to work while we attempted to reach a balanced budget, the leading member of the Democratic Party on the Budget Committee, the Senator from Nebraska, pleaded with us for what he called—and I quote him—a "simple extension."

Mr. President, this standoff is taking place because—between a "simple extension" and the dramatic change represented by the formal 7-year budget passed by this body 2 nights ago that would balance the budget by the year 2002—there is a great gulf fixed. This is not a petty difference. This is not a minor difference in opinion on a slight change in direction for the Government of the United States. It is reflected in what the majority leader said if that bill passed. That profound difference was reflected by the remarks of the majority leader to the effect that the vote that he cast to cause the budget to be balanced was probably the most important that he had cast in all of his many years in the U.S. Senate.

We on this side of the aisle wish to end the practice of spending \$200 billion a year on programs which we like and support eloquently but refuse to pay for and, therefore, send the bills to our children and grandchildren. Members on the other side wish for a simple extension of the present course of action. They argue eloquently for the status