

Mr. President, this is a moment when we decide what we are about as a nation and where we want to go. It is a moment where we choose whether we want America to move forward, or to turn it back before 1933.

So, Mr. GINGRICH is right in one respect. In 1933, President Franklin Roosevelt looked at the United States of America, and he said, "I see a country one-third ill housed, one-third ill clothed, and one-third ill fed."

Now, if that was Mr. GINGRICH in 1933, he would have said, "I see an America where two-thirds of the people are well fed, two-thirds are well clothed, and two-thirds are well housed," ignoring the third that were being left out of our system. There is a difference between Mr. GINGRICH's philosophy and Franklin Roosevelt's.

Franklin Roosevelt and that Congress decided never again—that we were going to change government to provide that ladder of opportunity for people at the bottom as well as the people at the top. How can Mr. GINGRICH, how can the Speaker of the House, in any way compare his philosophy or what he is trying to do to what Franklin Roosevelt did in 1933? I am incredulous. Rather, what the Speaker is trying to do is to undo everything that he did to make this country a little bit more fair, a little bit more just, and a little bit more compassionate.

So, yes, we do have kind of a historic moment right now. Are we going to say that everything we have done to build a ladder of opportunity for people at the bottom we are going to take away; that what we did to provide for decency for the elderly in Medicare and Social Security, we are going to take that away, and turn it back to what it was before 1933?

We have to decide whether it is right to take \$270 billion out of Medicare for our elderly without mounting a real attack on the waste, fraud, and abuse that is rampant in the system—that every senior knows about but we cannot seem to attack.

It is a moment when we decide whether to raise taxes on working families and tell them, "We are not going to only raise your taxes, but we are going to cut your Medicaid, and now you are going to have to pay for your parents' or grandparents' nursing home, too."

It is a moment when we decide whether it is responsible to make it harder for students to go to college and easier for companies to take their jobs overseas.

It is a moment when we decide whether we are going to scrap the direct loan program for students, or whether we are going to let the banks have a nice, cushy deal and make billions of dollars in interest.

It is a moment when we decide whether we are going to cut our investment in education and training and give billions more to the Pentagon, more than they have ever asked for.

It is a moment when we decide whether we are going to pull the rug

out from under family farmers in rural communities and stick them with a farm bill that I call a Welcome to Welfare Act.

So, yes, it is a historic moment. It is a historic moment. It is nothing like 1933, though, because what we are doing here is we are turning—if we adopt this budget that the Speaker of the House has come up with, if we adopt that budget, we are turning our backs on progress in America.

I swear—some people ask me a lot of times, "What does Mr. GINGRICH really want? What kind of America is he looking at?" I swear that he will not be satisfied until we have an America that looks like a Third World country where a few rich are at the top and everybody else is at the bottom where there is no way for the people at the bottom to get to the top.

I have always believed, Mr. President, because of my background, that in America you ought to be a success. There is nothing wrong with that. There is nothing wrong with making money in this country. There is nothing wrong with being rich. I do not begrudge Bill Gates with billions of dollars. Look what he has done. There is nothing wrong with that. That is the American dream.

But I have always believed, Mr. President, that when you make it to the top, when Bill Gates makes it to the top, or if I make it to the top, that one of the primary responsibilities of government is to make sure that we leave the ladder down there for others and that we do not pull it up behind us.

This budget proposal that has come to us from the House of Representatives allows those who get to the top to pull that ladder up behind them. It not only allows them to do it, but it encourages them to do it with the aid and the assistance of the Federal Government.

Mind you, Mr. President, I said, a "ladder of opportunity." I have always believed in that. I did not say escalator. I did not say something that someone can get on and get a free ride up. I said a ladder, because with a ladder you still have to exert some work to get to the top. But the structure is there.

When you take away that structure of prenatal care, the Head Start Program, college student loans, and you take away Medicaid that is going to help the elderly pay for the nursing home bills, and when you cut Medicare and make the elderly pay for their monthly premiums when they do not have it, when you cut out the Low-Income Energy Assistance Program for people that make less than \$8,000 a year, and when you turn right around and give more tax benefits to corporations and you do not go after corporate welfare in this country, more tax benefits to those who already have a lot, when 30 percent of the tax relief in the Mr. GINGRICH's budget goes to people making over \$100,000 a year, when in that budget families making less than

\$30,000 a year pay more in taxes—when you do that, you are pulling away the ladder. You are destroying the structure that allows people who start at the bottom to get to the top.

So, yes, I believe in that American dream. I believe that people ought to be a success. But I am not going to stand here or be a part of the Senate without raising my voice and casting my vote against any budget that would take that American dream away for future generations on the bottom rung of the ladder. And that is as I see this budget.

So, I close my remarks, Mr. President, by saying that I think the Speaker of the House really ought to examine what happened in 1933 and take a look at what kind of a historic figure Franklin Roosevelt really is and what he did for this country to move it ahead out of the dark ages of the past and to provide that ladder of opportunity for families like mine.

If Mr. GINGRICH looks at that and is indeed honest with himself, then he will see that what he is about is undoing all of that and turning us back to where we were before. But maybe that is what he wants. Maybe that is what Mr. GINGRICH wants to do. Well, if so, that is his political philosophy.

I do not want to turn this country back, and I do not want to take away that ladder of opportunity. I hope that more reasonable Members on the other side of the aisle, both in this body and in the House, will come to a reasonable bipartisan conclusion—that, yes, we need to balance the budget but not just do it on the backs of those on the bottom rung of the ladder.

I believe if we work together in a spirit of compromise, we can get it done and we can get out of here for Christmas. But if Mr. GINGRICH proceeds with this plan of his in shutting down the Government, well, then it looks like we might be here over Christmas and New Year's, too. If that is what it takes, I am prepared to stay here. If that is what it takes to stop this folly that the Speaker of the House is trying to inflict upon the American people, well, then I guess we will have to stay here.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the Senate, on December 15, 1995, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing

that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 1747. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to permanently extend and clarify malpractice coverage for health centers, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1977. An act making appropriations for the Department of the Interior and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2099. An act making appropriations for the Department of Veterans Affairs and Housing and Urban Development, and for sundry independent agencies, boards, commissions, corporations, and offices for fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2236. An act to amend the Doug Barnard, Jr.—1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympic Games Commemorative Coin Act, and for other purposes.

S. 1060. An act to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were signed subsequently on December 16, during the session of the Senate by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

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#### ORDERS FOR SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1995

Mr. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until the hour of 5 p.m. on Sunday, December 17; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be deemed approved to date, no resolutions come over under the rule, the call of the calendar be dispensed with, the morning hour be deemed to have expired, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and there then be a period for morning business until the hour of 5:30 p.m. with Senators permitted to speak for up to 5 minutes each.

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

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#### PROGRAM

Mr. DOLE. Let me indicate that we will have a session on tomorrow. I am not certain whether or not there will be a continuing resolution come over from the House, but we should know by 5 o'clock. And if it does come from the House, it is my hope that we can pass it on a voice vote. There will not be any votes tomorrow. If somebody demands a rollcall, then we would wait

and act on that late on Monday. So there will be no votes during tomorrow's session.

We are still hoping to be able to reach an agreement for a time certain to vote on adoption of the DOD authorization conference report. That vote will come on Tuesday morning. We are also hoping that we will be able to proceed to the consideration of the Labor, HHS appropriations bill. A cloture motion was filed on the motion to proceed to Labor, HHS appropriations yesterday.

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#### ORDER FOR VOTE ON CLOTURE MOTION—H.R. 2127

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, the vote on invoking cloture occur on Tuesday, December 19, at a time to be determined by the two leaders, with the mandatory quorum being waived.

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

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#### PROPOSED ACTION ON LEGISLATION

Mr. DOLE. I might say for the information of my colleagues we did have a meeting this morning with reference to welfare reform. We think we are very close to an agreement. We hope to have that before the Senate next week. The House will act first. We hope to take it up on Tuesday or Wednesday.

We also believe that we have resolved the problem with the D.C. appropriations bill, and it is possible that might be acted on tomorrow. It is unlikely. But it would be acted on by Monday. We could take it up on Monday. I know there have been conversations with the Mayor today to indicate that we hope to have the D.C. appropriations bill wrapped up on Monday and on the way to the President, and on that basis I understand that there will not be any shutdown of anything in the District of Columbia. At least that is what I was advised.

We also met with reference to the foreign operations appropriations bill. We have not yet resolved the one issue remaining with reference to abortion. But it is our hope that we could come to some resolution of that on Monday. If that were the case, then we will have

completed action on all the appropriations except Labor, HHS, which we are unable to take up because of objections on the other side of the aisle. If cloture is invoked, then we can complete action on that.

I would just say with reference to the budget negotiations, we have heard nothing from the President or any of the President's representatives today. It may be that there will be some information later today or tomorrow. We are available. We are prepared. We believe we should have serious discussions. If we are not going to have serious discussions, then we ought to sit down and say, OK, it is not going to happen this year and make some arrangements so that many Members and others and those who may be affected by a Government shutdown can be protected.

I hope that we could get serious about this, sit down and start talking with the President of the United States, with the Speaker, with the majority leader of the Senate present so that we could make some movement. I think one way it might help is if we start canceling all the press conferences that everybody is having downtown and up here. That might speed up the process because it seems to be that every time you have a meeting you have to have a press conference. I am not sure that has been productive the last couple, 3 days.

In any event, if the President wants us to be responsible, we are certainly prepared to do that. We are waiting for him to get with all of us. We would be glad to come to the White House or anywhere else to meet with the President to talk about the balanced budget in 7 years and how we can reach an agreement between now and next Friday, December 22. If not then, sometime in the following week before New Year's.

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#### ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 5 P.M. TOMORROW

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 2:27 p.m., adjourned until Sunday, December 17, 1995, at 5 p.m.