

should balance the budget on the backs of the elderly, the sick, the poor, and the disabled.

Claude Pepper once said, "My one great wish is to live long enough to see the day when this great and prosperous Nation can give every man, woman, and child every bit of health care he or she needs. I think this is a part of the American dream."

Mr. Speaker, I share Claude Pepper's dream. Let us protect seniors. Let us pass a responsible budget, and let us do it now.

I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

Would the gentleman explain for the constituents of Florida why we are into this second shutdown. And I think the first one cost over \$800 million?

Mr. PALLONE. Exactly.

I appreciate the gentlewoman from Florida bringing that to our attention. I think that much of that has been lost, unfortunately, during the debate.

The bottom line is that after the first shutdown, both the President and the Congress got together and passed what we call a continuing resolution which allowed the Government to operate for few weeks while the parties involved worked out their differences over the budget. The resolution that was passed not only called for the Government to continue to operate, it also called for a balanced budget in 7 years, and it recognized certain priorities that had to be protected as part of that budget, such as Medicare, Medicaid, education.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. School lunch.

Mr. PALLONE. Environment, nutrition programs, et cetera. The problem is that when that resolution ran out last Friday, the Republican leadership refused to bring up another continuing resolution. They have not done so Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday. Now we are into the fifth day, if you will, without a continuing resolution, which means that the Government continues to be shut down. They have refused so far to meet the agreement, if you will, of the previous continuing resolution.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Does the continuing resolution have anything to do with the budget talks that we can pick up in January and go on until the November election of 1996? Because I really believe that the American people are going to have to resolve this. They have got to decide what kind of House do they want.

Mr. PALLONE. Exactly.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. And whether or not they want this House to be run by extreme radicals.

Mr. PALLONE. Exactly. I think the point is that we had agreed, with the previous continuing resolution, that while we worked out our differences on the budget, the Government would continue to operate. And it set forth an agreement that we would have a 7-year balanced budget, assuming that certain priorities were maintained, such as Medicare and Medicaid and some of the other programs that you mentioned.

The problem now is that the Republicans let that continuing resolution

run out and have refused to bring up another one, and as a consequence, the Government shutdown is in a sense the hostage that is being held by the Republican leadership because they cannot get their way, if you will, on the budget.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. I heard some of the freshmen earlier said that they would never vote for another continuing resolution. Did we not just have one on VA?

Mr. PALLONE. We had one on VA.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. Did they not vote for it?

Mr. PALLONE. They voted for one just with the VA but they refused to bring up a larger continuing resolution that would prevent the rest of the Government from being shut down. Basically, what they are doing is playing politics, because they know that veterans' benefits will not go out tomorrow. So they agreed to let that go by, but they refused to worry about the other benefits, the other programs, whether it be education or some of the other social programs or agencies, whatever is necessary for various agencies.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. I was talking about Claude Pepper earlier, and I have a picture of Claude and Lyndon Baines Johnson together.

I have heard these Republicans get up here and talk about they want to tear this Government down, brick by brick. I think the American people need to weigh in on how they want this country to look, whether or not they just want this country for the rich and famous or for all of us.

Mr. PALLONE. I think you are absolutely right. This is the first time, and I think it is outrageous, that people have articulated that they are going to close the Government down because they cannot get their way on legislation.

Ms. BROWN of Florida. In closing, you can fool some of the people some of the time but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

#### A TITANIC BUDGET BATTLE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. METCALF] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, is there anyone in America that believes that there is no waste in our budget today? That we cannot make cuts or decrease the increases which have been projected, in a \$1.6 trillion budget?

We spend over \$1.6 trillion each year. Some say there is no way we can cut it at all. Every dollar we try to cut brings a chorus of screams. Any projected increase that we try to decrease, they say will devastate Medicare and will take food out of the mouths of children, it will put the poor right out on the streets.

This is a huge system that has been built, a spending system that has been built over many years. It is producing deficits of hundreds of billions of dol-

lars. Now we have come to the time we have to make the decision.

Everyone in America knows that there is a lot that we can remove from this budget without serious harm to anything. What is going on, then? What is going on in this House? What is going on is a titanic battle that is being waged that will determine the destiny of this Nation.

The question that will be answered in the next 2 weeks, 3 weeks, month or so, will we in this time be able to balance the budget or will we continue with the deficits that are destroying this Nation? This huge \$5 trillion debt is strangling America. The interest on this debt will surpass the defense spending, the huge defense spending bill. The interest will surpass defense spending next year in the budget that we start on in the next few months.

My wife and I have realized the American dream. We own our own home, free and clear. We run a small business in our home. It is not a large business, just a small business. But that, to me, and I think to most people, is the American dream.

But let us look to the future. What chance do our children, what chance do our grandchildren have to realize the American dream? A child born in 1995 will pay \$187,000 in taxes just to pay the interest on the debt. Just to pay the interest on the debt—\$187,000 will buy a pretty good house today. The previous spending has destroyed the American dream for a lot of the children that will be born in 1995, because it is that \$187,000 house that they are not going to get, because they had to pay that \$187,000 just to pay the interest on the national debt.

Every vote for an unbalanced budget over the last 40 years was a vote to destroy the American dream for our own children.

We have got to look at this interest thing and the amount of money that we pay in interest. England is still paying interest on the money that they borrowed to fight Napoleon. They have paid that principal in interest over 15 times and they still owe that principal.

Mr. Speaker, we have to balance the budget. We have no choice. This is not really negotiable. A balanced budget with honest numbers is the only way that we will protect the American dream for our children and grandchildren, and we must succeed at that.

#### PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I have a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. KINGSTON. With both the Democrat and the Republican leaders having an hour left and there being less than 1 hour remaining, we would like to split the time. That being the case, I would like to know how much time each side would have.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Each side will have 17½ minutes.

Mr. KINGSTON. It is my intention to split that time with the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE].

#### FAILURE TO PASS CONTINUING RESOLUTION A REAL TRAGEDY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 17½ minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to use my time tonight to point out what I consider to be a real tragedy in what has happened here today in the House of Representatives. This morning when we began the session, I was particularly upset because the gentleman from Texas, who is part of the Republican leadership, got up and made a point of the fact that it was incumbent, if you will, on the Republican majority to shut down the Government until they were able to get agreement on the budget.

I strongly disagree with the message that was sent in that regard. As the day went on, we saw speaker after speaker on the Republican side get up and say basically the same thing, which is that if the Republicans cannot get their way on the budget, if the President and I guess the Democrats in the House do not agree on the policy of the budget that the Republicans have put forth, then we should simply shut down the Government and it should not continue to operate until that agreement is reached.

That is totally the opposite of what I believe we should be doing here and what I believe the obligation of the majority is.

The majority that was elected in this House of Representatives in November of 1994, like any majority, has the obligation to govern. The obligation to govern means that the Government continues to operate while you work out your differences with the minority or with the President about what the budget should be.

Speaker GINGRICH actually articulated a few weeks ago exactly what the position is that the Republicans represented today. He said, "I don't care what the price is, I don't care if we have no executive offices and no bonds for 30 days, not at this time."

It is totally irresponsible in my opinion to hold the Government hostage, in essence, and say that unless we get our way on this budget, unless our priorities are met, we are going to keep this Government shut down. That is exactly what we have in front of us.

This evening there was a continuing resolution passed, a continuing resolution, which is what allows the Government to continue to operate, only on one aspect of the government shutdown and that was with regard to veterans' benefits.

But it should be pointed out, as it was today by many of the Democrats,

that the price of the Government shutdown is not only millions of dollars that are lost because Federal employees will get paid for doing nothing, and also the fact that the Government has to keep certain essential services going, but also that many Americans who have paid taxes all along simply do not have the benefit of Government services that for many of them are very important or are very necessary.

We only dealt with one aspect of that this evening, and that was with veterans' benefits. Thankfully the Republican majority was willing to bring up the provision that would allow veterans' benefits to be paid starting tomorrow. But for whatever political reasons they saw fit to do that so as not to offend the veterans, the same should be done for every other Government agency and every other Government program. They should be allowed to continue to operate.

Just as an example, we have as of day 5 of this shutdown, this second shutdown now, almost 2 million people who have been turned away from National Park Service facilities. Four hundred thousand people have been turned away from the Smithsonian museums and the National Zoo just here in Washington. Sixty thousand students and parents applying for Pell grants or student loans have not had their applications processed and may not be able to pay for college. Over 780 small businesses have not received SBA guaranteed financing totaling over \$120 million in loans. And about 720 calls made to the EPA, the Environmental Protection Agency's hot line for drinking water contamination outbreaks, have gone unanswered.

I could go on. There is a long list of the various Government services that are not functioning now with the shutdown. Again, I would say, what is the reason for this? What possible reason is there to hold the government hostage and to not allow the taxpayers who have paid for these services to receive them and thus be inconvenienced?

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We could talk about passport offices, we could talk about many other things that are not being accomplished here.

The problem is that the President and the Democrats in Congress together have a very different sense of a priority for a balanced budget than the Republican majority, and what I have maintained all along is, if there are those differences, and there are, we should continue to operate the government while we work out the differences, and do not misunderstand that the Republican majority, because they control the Congress, they are the only ones that can bring up a continuing resolution and send it to the President so that government can continue to operate. So, if anyone suggests to you that somehow the President is shutting the government down, it is simply not true. The legislative responsibility for passing the continuing resolution exists with the Congress and

with the majority party that governs the Congress.

Today it was my understanding actually that the leadership in the Republican Party, both Speaker GINGRICH and the House, as well as the Senate leadership in the Senate, were willing to go along with a continuing resolution to reopen the government, and the President articulated and said that that was the case, and they, both of the gentlemen who lead the House and the Senate, indicated to the President that they were willing to go along with that. But our understanding is that when Speaker GINGRICH went back to the Republican Caucus, he was told mostly by the less senior members, the freshmen and some others perhaps, that that was unacceptable, that the government should not continue to operate until the budget is signed by the President.

I think that those on our side who have characterized many of the new members of the Republican Party as extremists because of their position on the budget realize now that those extremist elements, if you will, within the Republican Members of Congress are now controlling the show and that even the Speaker, who has the responsibility, if you will, to represent the majority party, does not have the ability any more to control those extremist elements within the Republican Party, the less senior members who want to hold the government hostage because they cannot get their way on the budget.

Now in the time that I have left I would like to talk about these priorities that the President has set forward and that he insists must be maintained in the context of a 7-year balanced budget before he would sign the bill, before he would sign a budget bill, and I want to stress that these are important priorities, these are priorities that effect every American in some way.

One of the most important, of course, is Medicare.

The problem is that the Republican budget would take so much money out of Medicare that Medicare as we know it essentially would not be able to continue to operate. And for those who doubt that that is the case I will go back to a statement that Speaker GINGRICH made awhile ago on Medicare where he said, "We don't do not get rid of it in round one because we don't think that's politically smart, and we don't think that's the right way to go through a transition period, be we believe it is going to wither on the vine because we think people are voluntarily going to leave it." He said that; it was quoted in the Washington Post on October 26 of this year.

This is the problem. So much money is cut out of the Medicare program under the Republican budget, and the way that the Medicare program is transformed essentially so that those who now have a choice of doctors are essentially pushed into managed care