

10, 15 minutes of morning business I would love to do at this point. If the Senator from Pennsylvania would agree, then we can do that.

Mr. EXON. That would be fine with me, if that can be agreed to.

Mrs. BOXER. I am sure the Senator from Pennsylvania would accommodate the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. SANTORUM. I have been informed by the staff it does not look like we will be able to clear the matter the Senator suggested tonight, and we could do that possibly tomorrow. That is what I have been informed.

Mr. EXON. The matter has not been cleared on the Senator's side?

I withdraw my objection.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SANTORUM. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of Senator BOXER for up to 20 minutes.

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

The Senator from California is recognized for up to 20 minutes.

Mrs. BOXER. Thank you very much, Madam President.

THE GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I have waited around the floor of the Senate tonight because I wanted to make a few remarks about where we stand in this battle for some sanity around here in the Congress.

We are now in the 5th day of our second Government shutdown this year. It seems to me if we have any obligation, it is to keep the people's business moving forward. It is totally unnecessary to have this shutdown, but for the fact that there are some who want to essentially hold a legislative gun to the head of President Clinton and use the threat of a shutdown, indeed, the fact of a shutdown, to force him to sign a 7-year budget that in his opinion will harm the American people because there are terribly deep cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment, and tax increases on those people earning under \$30,000 a year.

So the President is not going to agree to that. So there are those on the Republican side, particularly on the House side, who believe that shutting down this Government is a perfectly legitimate way for them to express their dissatisfaction with President Clinton for not signing this very extreme and very radical budget.

The President is not going to sign it. The American people do not want a President who will fold under that kind of tactic. And here we stand. No reason at all. I was here on the weekend, Sunday, when the Democratic side offered an opportunity to resolve this, pass the resolution, the continuing resolution, keep the Government going, and con-

tinue the hard and fast negotiations that have begun. But no. I have never seen anything quite like it.

I saw a freshman Republican Member of the House on national television tonight, all smiles. He thinks this is really fun and games. He said he did not care if the Government ever opened up again as far as he was concerned. He would not vote to keep the Government going until the President signed a budget he agreed with.

I think that representative ought to read the Constitution. He may not understand that we have a separation of powers and a balance of powers. The fact of the matter is, as much as this representative does not like it, President Clinton is a Democrat and so are many Members of the House and Senate. The Republicans do not run the White House or, frankly, have a working control over the Senate or the House. There are very close margins here, and so they have to compromise. But this young fellow does not seem to have the word "compromise" in his vocabulary.

But I will tell you one thing he has in his pocket, he has his paycheck. He has his paycheck in his pocket. He can demagog this issue and never feel the pain. But the American people, who deserve to have the parks open, who deserve to have the veterans checks sent out, who deserve to have a functioning Government, deserve to be able to get a passport, if they need it.

They are getting hurt, inconvenienced. For what? For what? NEWT GINGRICH has said several times he is going to vote to pay all these people who are not going to work. What is going on here? What is going on?

So there are Federal employees, despite NEWT GINGRICH's comments, who are not getting paid right now. Oh, but Members of Congress, we are getting our pay. It is just fine and dandy. What a legislative runaround my "No Budget, No Pay" bill has been given. And if I ever go into the classroom to teach a course in Government, I am going to bring this chart with me. It says "No Budget, No Pay. How a Bill Does Not Become a Law." I have never seen a runaround like it.

Three times—three times—Senators have passed this legislation. Senator DOLE supports it, Senator DASCHLE supports it; Republicans and Democrats alike—approved, approved, approved. Passed as an amendment to the D.C. appropriations bill. Unfortunately, the D.C. bill is stuck and we do not know the fate of "No Budget, No Pay." But it does not look promising.

Amendment to the reconciliation bill—knocked out.

Amendment to the ICC sunset bill, which may come up tomorrow—knocked out.

Who knocked it out? The Republican Congress.

Blocked in the House by the leadership-controlled Rules Committee which refuses to allow a vote on it.

Five times Congressman Dick Durbin tried to get a vote. It is real simple. If

Federal employees do not get their pay, neither should we. Blocked, stalled. And the President waits with his pen to sign it. He supports this. His pay would be docked as well. So "How a Bill Does Not Become a Law," a new chapter in the textbook of our children—a sad new chapter.

Newt Gingrich has consistently blocked a House vote on this bill. I have to, again, say to my friends on the other side, they ought to read the Constitution, Article I, Section 7, which says:

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States. * * *

Imagine, we have a President and he has to sign the bill. If he does not like it and if he thinks it is harmful, if he thinks it cuts too deeply into Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment, he will not sign it, he will veto it. Then what happens? It does not say shut down the Government. It does not say that. It says that if two-thirds of those voting override him, the bill shall become law. Everyone should read the Constitution every once in a while—especially the new freshmen over there. They do not control the President of the United States of America. Thank goodness. Thank goodness, or we would have a mean-spirited country.

Now, this Government shutdown, while more limited than the first one, has caused great hardship. National parks have closed; veterans benefits checks, due next week, will not be sent; passport offices virtually have closed, and the program for tracking deadbeat dads is not operating.

Swell. Where are our family values? Family values. But shut down the program that tracks the deadbeat dads, and you, Members of Congress, keep getting your pay.

Lovely. Great values. Great values for our kids.

Safety inspections of new toys have stopped. Great timing.

New FHA homeowner loans are not being processed for people who want to buy their first home.

I have talked, on this floor, about the individuals who work for the Federal Government, who went to work for their country because they are proud to work for their country, and they cannot even buy their kids Christmas gifts. But Members of Congress, oh, we can get our kids gifts—Hanukkah gifts, Christmas gifts. It is OK because we are so important that we set ourselves above the other working men and women of the Federal Government.

A lot of our Federal employees are not independently wealthy. They live from paycheck to paycheck. Some families have two workers in them that both work for the Federal Government, like Larry Drake and his wife Joan. Larry works for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Joan works at the Public Health Service. Both have been furloughed. Their family has lost 100 percent of its income. They do not know if