

rushing back to Washington to say, do you know something, we are not getting paid, we better get back and fix the problem. There is not going to be any pressure that anybody can put on anybody in the Congress like saying we are not going to get paid when we cannot make the Government work. To some of us that is our only income. It will make one heck of a big difference.

I thought it was pretty much high rhetoric when initially offered. I cannot think of anything else to do. We got together with a bipartisan group. We offered a bipartisan suggestion. This is a blueprint or an outline. It has not worked. It still has not made the progress that I think is essential.

I suggest, Mr. President, that when, as I understand it, we have to have another continuing resolution that is going to be offered, I think maybe tomorrow sometime, because there is a continuing resolution to ensure that foster care payments and AFDC payments and veteran payments and Medicare payments would have to be made, that at that time if we have not reached some kind of a framework of an agreement, I will attempt to offer once again a suggestion, and part of that legislation, an amendment to that continuing resolution which will say Members of Congress shall be treated in the same manner as the basic pay of the most adversely affected Federal employees who are not going to be compensated during the shutdown period.

Mr. President, we cannot be treated better than the people that we are responsible for their jobs. I guarantee that if that amendment passes there will be a rush back to Washington by Members of both parties who will come to Washington, roll up our sleeves, and stay here and not leave until we get the job done. That may be the only way I think that we are going to push ourselves into making a proper compromise that is absolutely essential and necessary.

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the period for morning business be extended by an additional 5 minutes and I be recognized to speak therein.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEMPTHORNE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I have been listening to our colleagues this morning and I was not initially planning to say anything but with my distinguished senior colleague in the chair at this particular moment I know that I reflect his views in what I say, and what I say is that the continuing shutdown of the Federal Government and the impact it is having on not only Federal employees—and in most cases it is the most vulnerable and the least able to withstand this kind of treatment—but the impact it is having on many, many others who are directly or

indirectly affected by the Federal Government or by the activities of the Federal Government.

Mr. President, the continuation, indeed, the extent, indeed, the fact that we are having a shutdown at all, is unconscionable. I think that it makes no sense, no sense for either side, no sense for anyone who is involved in this particular debate, to see this protracted shutdown, the protracted demeaning, demoralizing impact on so many of our citizens continue.

I recognize that the feelings on both sides are very deeply felt. I recognize that there are important philosophical differences that are being debated, and indeed I have been very much supportive of the basic thrust of those who want to achieve more fiscal discipline. As the distinguished Presiding Officer knows, during the time I served as Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, one of the things I was most often identified with was fiscal responsibility and making certain that we acted within our means. I have voted for, on several occasions, a 7-year balanced budget using CBO numbers. I think there is general agreement on both sides that we are going to come up with such a budget, hopefully in the near term, although some of the philosophical differences are very, very deep and may not be resolved but we should not ask those who are most vulnerable to continue to bear the brunt of this shutdown.

Again, I am not speaking just of the 200,000-some Federal employees, many of whom reside in the State that the distinguished Presiding Officer and I represent, but all over the country, but so many others dependent on the effective operation of our Government. A huge number of citizens are uncertain whether they will be able to make their payments. For some, it will be a very basic decision as to whether or not they will be able to purchase food, medicine, what have you, the next time around, because they live from paycheck to paycheck. Others have mortgages, they have rent payments, they have car payments, they have all kinds of tuition payments, everything that you can imagine. Many things that we cannot imagine.

I have been in the last few days here at the Capitol, listening to stories of individuals who have been enormously inconvenienced by this continued shutdown. I appeal to the leadership on both sides. I believe in the Senate that there is virtual unanimous agreement that this shutdown should not continue. Indeed, the Senate has attempted on several occasions to pass some legislation that would keep the Government functioning.

But I appeal to those who are in a position to make decisions at this time to move forward, to not let this continue. Do not let this debilitating shutdown, which is so unconscionable, continue, and to put the people we are asking to provide Government services back to work, to stop the complete inefficiency

and the waste of taxpayer dollars, and then to get on to the serious business of negotiating some very real differences that I acknowledge.

Mr. President, I thank the President and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

A CONTINUING RESOLUTION

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, before my distinguished colleague from Virginia leaves the floor, I wish to express my appreciation to him for the references he made about me while I was the Presiding Officer. I know that my fellow Senator from Virginia has worked very diligently on the question of trying to resolve this budget impasse.

But, Mr. President, I would also like to suggest in his very careful comments about the Federal employees, which I do share, we should also bring to the attention of the Senate the severe suffering that has been placed upon the Nation's Capital, the Greater Metropolitan Washington area, composed of the District of Columbia, Virginia, and Maryland, because this area not only houses the Federal Government in large measure, but it also houses so many of the private organizations and institutions that have, as a consequence of this shutdown, been closed. That is bringing about a severe financial crisis here in the Nation's Capital because, as my distinguished colleague knows, tourism is one of the major sources of income in this region. The Commonwealth of Virginia, together with Maryland, provides the facilities for so many of these tourists to stay for whatever period, overnight, or, hopefully several days. It provides the meals and quality of life. That industry is virtually at a standstill.

So the distinguished colleague of mine from Virginia, and I, together with those colleagues from Maryland, have a very special desire to see that the Government returns to work.

Mr. ROBB. Mr. President, I ask my distinguished senior colleague to yield for a comment?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, I yield.

Mr. ROBB. Let me join with my colleague and say I fully understand the point he was making. Indeed, perhaps less eloquently, I tried to make the same point. But it is not just in the Nation's Capital. It is not just in our Commonwealth of Virginia. I think people would expect it of us, representing a disproportionate number of those who are directly affected, but it is all over this country and indeed all over the world in terms of Federal employees and people who depend on the Federal Government. Many of those small businesses, people who depend on the national parks and other facilities for their living, when those parks are shut down, when those visitor attractions are shut down all over this country, small business men and women who make their living being accessible to

those who come to those institutions are going through the same kind of a shutdown. They do not have any guarantee. Indeed, they are not going to be paid back whatever they lose after the shutdown is over. That is why this makes so little sense.

If everybody who has been laid off or furloughed in this process is going to be ultimately made whole, it is an enormous waste of taxpayer dollars. But those individuals after the inconvenience and the trauma, in many cases, of not being able to pay their bills on time, are going to be made whole. Many others, who are directly related to those, are not going to be made whole. The impact is a little bit like a cancer. It is corrosive and it continues. And I thank my senior colleague for yielding on that particular point. It is clearly important to those of us who represent the States contiguous to our Nation's Capital, but it affects everyone throughout this country and many, many small businesses and others who are simply not on anybody's radar screen are wondering right now whether or not they are going to make it.

With that I thank the Chair and I yield.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank again my distinguished junior colleague. A day or so ago, as a matter of fact I think it was on Saturday, the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DOLE, together with others, passed legislation here in the Senate to enable the military to receive their pay raise, which was in the defense authorization bill. My distinguished colleague and I, since we both serve on the Armed Services Committee together with the Presiding Officer, the Senator from Idaho, recognize that there was at least some recognition of the urgency to move on with this.

I would like to add also, Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from North Dakota, Mr. DORGAN, for his kind remarks about the majority leader today, Senator DOLE. Indeed, the leadership of the Senate, I think, has been working diligently to bring this impasse to resolve.

I am very pleased to hear this morning, by and large, constructive comments about this problem. I think it is not in the interests of the Senate, indeed the Congress as a whole, to have a blame game going on, sort of passing the football back and forth to each other as to who is at fault. It seems to me certainly America saw this weekend, over a period of 72 hours, enough football, some 12 magnificent games played across our Nation. I think it is time for the Congress to recognize maybe we better put the football of blame on the 50-yard-line and blow a timeout so the President, together with the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DOLE, and others can work with the leadership of this institution, the Congress of the United States, again, today, to try to resolve this problem.

I am going to be joining with the distinguished majority leader, Mr. DOLE,

on a continuing resolution which I hope will be offered at the earliest opportunity, and that will provide the restoration of the pay and full benefits for a period of time here, into January, such that these negotiations can continue.

Mr. SARBANES. Will the Senator yield on that point?

Mr. WARNER. Yes, Mr. President, without yielding the floor.

Mr. SARBANES. I commend the Senator from Virginia for that statement. I know how hard he has been working at this issue. I think it is very important that we pass a clean continuing resolution.

People should be put back to work and they should be paid. If you bring them in but do not pay them, you still are creating a financial crisis in their lives. I know the Senator is most sensitive to what people are going through and I appreciate his efforts.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Senator from Maryland. We have worked together these many years in this Chamber on behalf of the Greater Metropolitan Washington area. I listened very carefully, as I was privileged to preside this morning, to his comments, and particularly the reference to the hardship being thrust upon the innocent persons, some 500,000 who are basically working without pay, and another 260,000 remaining at home, in all close to 800,000 individuals. They are indeed hostages. I am hopeful with this CR we can stop that at the earliest possible time and restore them to work. And, in a sense, restore America's confidence in the ability of the Congress of the United States to work with the President to resolve such problems.

No Senator feels more strongly about the balanced budget and the 7-year stipulated timeframe within which to resolve this problem than the Senator from Virginia. Indeed, I would say both Senators from Virginia have stood steadfast on that principle.

As my colleague from Maryland stated this morning, and, indeed the Senator from Virginia, who has taken a very active role in negotiations with a group of Senators over here on, should we say, a third proposal—neither the President's nor that being pursued primarily by the leadership of the House and Senate—this third proposal, all of those have to be melded together to see what we can do.

With the majority of both the House and the Senate under the control of the Republican Party, America put that power into the hands of the Republicans, such that we have the responsibility to redirect, in a major way, the course on which this Nation has been embarked for so many years, and such a tragic deficit that is being rolled up each year together with a mounting national debt now at some \$5 trillion.

I commend my colleagues who are working on this situation. I am very hopeful we can resolve it here in the near future and that, today, we can pass, or at the earliest tomorrow, given

that the House of Representatives, as I understand it, although subject to call is not in session today—that we can put a stop to the question of the Federal employees.

Mr. President, I see on the floor the distinguished Senator from Alaska who, likewise, has been a tower of strength with respect to the Federal employees all through these many years that I have been privileged to serve with him in the Senate.

Therefore, I ask, at the request of the majority leader, unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair, following a period for the remarks by the distinguished senior Senator from Alaska.

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

The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

THE SHUTDOWN OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I had hoped to stay in Alaska. I have been in Alaska and had a very interesting visit. I intended to spend the rest of the week, but due to a call I received from my good friend from New Mexico, Senator DOMENICI, I have returned so I can confer with him about matters on the Balanced Budget Act of 1995.

I have come to the floor today to talk a little bit about this shutdown. I think there have been some statements in the press, unfortunately, made without knowledge of the past history of these lapses in appropriations.

For those Members who are interested, I have spoken on the floor before about the work of James P. McGrath, who is the analyst in American national government, in the Government division of the Congressional Research Service. He has issued a series of bulletins on this whole subject of lapses in appropriations and the shutdown of the Federal Government and the effects on the Federal work force.

I find it very interesting. It has been pointed out in his report that from fiscal year 1962 to fiscal year 1981, in the 2 decades preceding the opinion of Attorney General Civiletti, who was President Carter's Attorney General, that the General Accounting Office found interruptions in agency fundings took place 32 times. Mr. McGrath reports that,

Such lapses appear to be the rule, rather than the exception, according to GAO, which noted that from 1961 to 1980, "85 percent of appropriations bills for Federal agencies have passed after the start of the fiscal year."

The reason we now have a different circumstance is that in a landmark opinion in 1980, just prior to leaving office, Attorney General Civiletti issued an opinion concerning the Anti-deficiency Act, and Mr. McGrath's report states that "Prior to that landmark 1980 decision, Federal agency managers, while cognizant of the anomaly of continuing to operate during a lapse