

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, shutting down the Government, harming innocent people, it is just not Government workers that are being inconvenienced, it is the elderly, it is children, it is our veterans, it is our veterans' hospitals.

If we opened this Government tomorrow, it would have absolutely no effect on negotiations that are going on on the budget. They could still trash the President. They could still have their negotiations, and you could go ahead with the business. There are a lot of people that are being inconvenienced and a lot of people are being devastated because of the shutdown of the Government. It is not just Government employees that are being inconvenienced, it is elderly, children, students, small business.

Mr. BONIOR. You are absolutely right.

Mr. HEFNER. Enough is enough. We need to open this Government and put people back to work and do the business of America that people sent us here to do and that the Federal employees were hired to do to go about doing the business of America.

Mr. BONIOR. The gentleman is absolutely right.

You know, when we had these impasses before, we would move forward. We would move forward, and we would do our negotiations, and we did not lay off and close the Government down and cause the inconveniences and the heartaches that are happening all across America.

I thank my colleagues for their attention this evening.

DEVASTATION OF GOVERNMENT SHUTDOWN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to basically express shock, if you will, tonight over the fact that the Republican majority here in the House continue this process of leaving a significant part of the Government shut down. I guess I was pretty much amazed before the Christmas recess, if you will, when we voted here on the House floor to give Speaker GINGRICH the power to recess the Congress over the holiday between Christmas and New Year's, and I suddenly realized that that meant that Government workers and the services that they provided would essentially cease to exist. The workers would be furloughed, and the services would not be provided between Christmas and New Year's.

When I heard yesterday that the Senate, after repeated requests by the President, that the Senate had finally gone along and decided that they were going to pass a continuing resolution to keep the Government going, at least for the next week or so, I fully expected that when we reconvened that I

would be coming back today to vote in the House on that Senate resolution and the Government would be up and running by tomorrow and even though the budget negotiations would continue, that at least we would not have the continuation of this Government shutdown. I guess I was very naive in assuming that.

When we came here today and we had a vote on the motion that the minority leader, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT], made to try to bring that Senate resolution up that would reopen the Government, the Republicans on the other side, almost all of them, voted to table that motion, and now we face the real possibility, based on this motion or resolution that has come up before the Committee on Rules again at the request of the Republican majority, that tomorrow we may go into recess again and possibly until January 23, which I guess is the day when the State of the Union address is given by the President, that the Government would continue to be shut down and the Congress would not be in session.

I wonder who the Members on the other side are listening to when they go home to their respective States or their respective districts. When I went home over the last week or 10 days, in my district office we repeatedly got calls from individuals, some of whom are Government employees who were not getting paid for the Christmas holiday or for the part of the time that they had already worked; others, people who were missing services, whether it was passports or Social Security applications or student loans or small business loans or whatever it was, and my phones never stopped ringing for the whole period of the recess from people who were paying their taxes but were not able to receive Government services and from Government employees, many of whom were asking how they were going to pay their rent, how they were going to pay their mortgage, how they were going to get through the next day.

So I think it is incredible and it really is shameful, the fact that we are now facing the real possibility that for the next 3 weeks this Government continues to be shut down because Speaker GINGRICH, and particularly the freshman Republicans, want to hold the Government hostage to their own particular ideology on the budget, and the blame is squarely with the House Republicans, with Speaker GINGRICH and the Gingrich Republicans because as we know, the Senate, the other body, has already acted on its continuing resolution.

I am joined here tonight by several Democratic colleagues from various parts of the country, and we wanted to highlight, if we could, in the time that we have, the fact that the shutdown is affecting the quality of life for many Americans, particularly with regard to the environment, the EPA, which is one of the Government agencies that is

shut down, particularly with regard to the Superfund program, which we were told today is about to shut down completely for all practical purposes over the next 5 days, and also highlight some other areas where the Government, through its inspection, through its enforcement, provides for the health and safety of Americans but cannot do so because of the Government shutdown that has been put upon us, if you will, by the Republicans.

So I would like to now yield, if I could, to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. HEFNER].

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

We heard in the last election, the campaign, the Contract With America, but I doubt very seriously if, during this campaign, if the people, who were campaigning as Republicans had said what we plan to do is to cut inspection in the workplace where people work, on the safety, and we are going to cut some of that and we are going to cut back on the inspectors for our safe water, we are going to cut back on the EPA, we are going to cut back on the funding for the FDA and all the other institutions and agencies that protect the food and water and air that we breathe, that we are so dependent on, I doubt very seriously if there had been the outpouring of support for the Contract With America.

But there are a couple of points that I would like to make, and as I said earlier, this is not just inconveniencing Government workers. One of the Presidential candidates made, I thought, a very crass remark when he said, "Have you missed the Government since they have been furloughed?" I mean, you are talking families, people that have children, people that have maybe their aging parents that are living with them, maybe people that are trying to support a foster child or whatever.

But there is one other area that is being very devastated to the American people, and you have thousands, thousands of people that would like to make applications for their Social Security, for Social Security disability, veterans' benefits, our VA hospitals. I have one in my district. They are short-handed.

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They are short-handed. Some of the people that are deemed to be essential, they are either getting half pay or not getting any pay. So you are hitting individuals, there are real faces on these furloughs. There are thousands of people that are being affected by these furloughs.

I just would like to give maybe some of the people who have not been here as long as some of us have, we did not use to do business such as this. Nobody wants to do business as usual, and that is the standard cry around here, we do not need to do business as usual. We certainly need to make some changes.

But in the past, we have never gone to these extremes. I have been on the

Committee on Appropriations for a lot of years. We would have disagreements with Presidents, President Reagan, President Bush, and my dear departed friend, God rest his soul, Silvio Conte on the Republican side, would always get up on appropriations when these bills that would come before the Committee on Appropriations, and he would say "OMB has some real problems with this," or "The President has problems with this, and if there are not modifications made, he is doing to veto the bill." In most instances, the committees would get together and they would make some modifications and we would work it out among the Appropriations Committee.

Now, this is absolutely mind-boggling to me, and it just tells me that there are egos that are involved, there is a philosophy here that is involved, that says if we do not get our way, we are going to close the Government.

I have had people that talked to me here on the floor and said "All the President has got to do is to sign the budget. If he will sign the budget, you can put these people back to work." Or "You can get a continuing resolution if the President will capitulate and do it our way."

The gentleman, the last Republican that spoke here, said "We can put this Government back to work in 6 hours. All the President has to do is to offer a 7-year balanced budget our way." He has got to make the massive cuts in Medicare, he has got to accept the giant tax cut paid for with Medicare and Medicaid cuts for the wealthiest citizens in this country.

If you just look at the numbers, the numbers that you cut from Medicare and Medicaid almost match identically the tax cuts that are going to be made for those that are the most privileged in this country. To use an old colloquialism in North Carolina, "that just ain't right."

So the Republicans have an agenda here, and what they plan to do will keep this Government shut down until the President knuckles under, and he does it our way.

But I would like to just remind my Republican friends, they talk about a big revolution that took place in 1994. I would like to remind them that 60 percent of the eligible voters in this country did not vote for anybody. They did not vote for the Republican revolution, they did not vote for the Democrats, they did not vote for anybody. And to say that there is a mandate out there, there are people that want to balance the budget, and I am one of them. But I think when you tell the American citizens "We want to balance the budget, but here is how we want to do it: We want to do it on the backs of the senior citizens, the veterans, the children, and the students that want to get a loan to go to college," I do not believe that the percentage would be 85 percent of the people that wanted to balance the budget on the backs of the people that are the most vulnerable people in this country.

I would like to make one other point. I remember Ronald Reagan, who was a very amicable President of the United States. People have said here for the past so many years, "It is the Democrats that have run up these giant deficits."

I would like to remind the Republicans and the American public that during the Reagan and Bush administrations, we accumulated more debt than we had since the founding of this Republic. The Republicans say it was Democrats that helped run up these deficits.

Let me just make a little explanation here. I will take you back and just try to bring in history. A lot of folks have tried to rewrite history. When Ronald Reagan became President, I would remind my Republican colleagues and the American people, the Republicans had a majority in the other body, and in this House for the first 4 years of the Reagan administration, he had a working majority in this House. He passed more of his legislation than any President since George Washington. They did bad tax policy. We ran up deficits. Jimmy Carter's last deficit was in the \$50-billion range, and from there they skyrocketed up to the \$300 billion range, and we accumulated \$3 trillion in just one administration.

So I would say to you, sure, it was some Democrats that voted with Republicans to pass bad tax policy. But when Ronald Reagan became President, he said "I am going to balance the budget in 3 years." He did not say "I am going to do it with CBO or OMB numbers." He said "I am going to balance the budget in 3 years," no qualifications. And in 4 years, we had well over \$200 billion more in debt in this country.

So to say that the 40 years that the Democrats have been running this body and passing legislation is responsible for the debt is absolutely rewriting history.

But that brings us to where we are today, which has really nothing to do with history, but we want to set the record straight. There is absolutely no reason and no justification for shutting down the Government to keep the budget talks going between the President and the leadership of this Congress. It is absolutely harassment. It is putting a gun to the head of the President of the United States and holding hostage the American people and those that are most vulnerable in our society.

So I would say to the Republicans, there are faces to those people out there that are being furloughed, and it is not just Government workers; it is people, our senior citizens, our children, our veterans, our small business community. They are all beginning to feel the pain from this shutdown of Government. I would urge the Republicans to take another look and do a clean CR, get the Government back to work, and continue the negotiations with the administration. Working to-

gether, we can do some good things for the American people. But this is not the responsible way to do it, it is so painful, and it is just plain wrong.

Mr. PALLONE. I appreciate what the gentleman said. I think it is particularly important that we zero in today on the fact that this is now strictly the House Republicans that are holding up this process. Because the Senate, the Senate majority leader specifically said, he has been quoted over and over again, enough is enough, it is time to put the Government back together, to send the employees back to work, to provide the services.

They sent over a resolution today which we were going to vote on, and we are being thwarted. We cannot even bring the resolution to the floor that was passed in the Senate because Speaker GINGRICH and the Republican House leadership here refuses to bring it up. I think the reason they refuse to bring it up is because they think it will pass if it comes up. So they just do not bring it to the floor.

I would like to yield now to the gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. VENTO. I thank the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] for his outstanding work in terms of trying to develop a discussion and debate I think really important, salient points to the American people with regard to budget and various programs.

I have a great deal of admiration really for my colleague from North Carolina, Mr. BILL HEFNER, and the work he has done in the Committee on Appropriations. The thing he did not say during the 1980's, when we both served, was that the Committee on Appropriations and the appropriations and the spending committees in Congress consistently provided less spending than the Presidents in the 1980's sought. They actually provided less spending. They did not always do it the same way, but they tried to do their job. As I recall, I do not recall President Reagan or Bush vetoing any appropriation bills. If they were dissatisfied with that level of spending, of course, at that time, of course, the political litany we heard from our colleagues of the loyal opposition, the Republicans, was, of course, that it was the Congress that was responsible, it was the Congress that was doing all the spending.

I would be happy to yield to my colleague and friend.

Mr. HEFLEY. In the last 30 years under Democrats and Republicans, the Committee on Appropriations and the Congress has always appropriated less money, less money, than all of these administrations had requested. Probably over 30 years, but I know for the past 30 years, we have always appropriated less money than the administrations requested. That includes Reagan and Bush and all the administrations in the past 30 years.

Mr. VENTO. I thank my colleague and appreciate his work in achieving those types of savings and making certain. We obviously have funding that

does not go through the entitlement process, the appropriations process. We want to recognize that as being a growing problem. Social Security and Medicare as we know today, at least the Part A portion of Medicare and Social Security, are not responsible for any of our deficit. In other words, Part B Medicare surely could be attributed to that, and, or course, Medicaid and the other entitlement programs, which are really an indication of trying to respond to those that are the deepest in need in this Nation.

I would just like to say the reason we are where we are at today with the shutdown of these essential programs is because the Republican program, the congressional program that has been put forth as a budget, cannot make it on their merits.

If these programs were in fact meritorious and would win the support of the public, obviously somebody else would be doing it. But these issues are not. I would just point out that it is up to the President. The President could say the same thing, "I will not sign a continuing resolution until you give me the type of budget I want." In other words, this could be done.

But this is not the case. This is being done by the Republicans in the House at this particular point, and earlier joined by their colleagues in the Senate, that we are saying "we are not passing a continuing resolution. We are going to stop the Government months after, months after the regular spending bills should have been in place to keep the normal operation of government in place."

I would say that no one, in the fact that these appropriations bills had not been passed was seeking 100-percent funding. It was not the Clinton program. We were funding these at 60 and 70 percent of what they could have or should have been funded at. So there was no predisposition as to what the decisions would be with regard to the spending bills.

But, in other words, this program, these Republican programs, whatever you might believe, my colleagues, cannot be sold on their merits. That is why we are here today with a shutdown of the Government, because we are in essence going to say we are going to force the public to be punished, be punished, in the short-term.

What is that punishment? What is the nature of the punishment? We have heard here. The person that wants an FHA loan cannot get it. That loan is frozen. Today there is \$3 to \$4 billion worth of paper that people, the American dream, they saved, they made their down payment, they made their contract, they cannot get it. You want a VA student loan, you cannot get it. You want your Social Security card, 60,000 Social Security cards and reissuance of Social Security cards are not being issued today.

So it is not just public employees who are being treated and mocked, mocked by the Members of this Con-

gress, and saying we do not need them. What is the difference.

I would be happy to yield to my colleague from California.

Mr. TORRES. Mr. VENTO, I thank the gentleman for yielding, but is this not really a question of a sort of cantankerous attitude on the part of our colleagues on the other side saying "We want it our way or no way at all?" Have I not understood, have you not understood, that this body is a body of compromise? We come here to compromise. None of us, none of us, get whatever we want. The President does not get what he wants. Republicans do not get what they want. Democrats do not. Somehow we work a middle ground, a compromise. That is what the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. HEFNER] was talking about.

Mr. VENTO. The gentleman makes a very good point. It is called a consensus. It is called building a consensus. The issue that my colleague Mr. PALLONE raised and Mr. HEFNER, that Senator DONE, I think he was wrong not to act on a CR earlier, he has acted on it now. I think he has recognized enough is enough.

But we do not set the agenda here. I am certain that today if that were to come up, that measure for a CR with Senator DOLE's support, it would pass in this House of Representatives.

But the leadership, the Republican leadership, not just the freshmen, not just the freshmen Republicans, but the Republican leadership, they set the agenda. They say what can come up and what cannot. When the unanimous consents have been made repeatedly on this floor today to ask to ring that up, they were denied, because the Republican leadership in this Congress that is running this House, that cannot sell their programs on the merits, are trying to obviously do this on the basis of trying to shut down and shut out Government.

The President has not even had a chance on 3 of the 13 bills; the very important Labor, Health and Human Services bill, has not even been presented to the President for a variety of reasons. You can blame whoever you want for it. The fact is the President has no option. There is no fund that has been brought before him. Nor for the District of Columbia, nor for foreign operations which are so important in terms of the passport programs.

Today in my district, as an example, a great tragedy a dear friend of mine lost his son in Rome. So we are struggling with a limited staff. Can you imagine the tragedy if that was your son or if that was your daughter. Where is the empathy? Where is the understanding of the people in this House that are proudly proclaiming "we represent the people?"

Who are you representing when you are acting in this particular manner in terms of the people? You are not representing this man that is having this problem in my district. An this experience can go on and on and on.

People getting half pay for their work. What if you are a research scientist at NIH? You think you can suspend those living models? Somebody has to feed them and keep them in place.

Here on the Wall Street Journal, not necessarily a pillar of liberal Democratic policy, they are reporting to us on the fact that we are contributing to a downturn in the economy.

You got the weather, you cannot control that; you have other factors I cannot control. In spite of whatever one thinks, the Members of Congress do not control necessarily what AT&T does or other manufacturers across this country laying off people.

But for heaven's sake, let us do what we are supposed to do in terms of just providing the regular continuing resolution, the normal operations of Government which people have a right to rely upon in terms of what is happening in this Nation.

We are contributing to the downturn of the economy in 1996 as we go forward. It is a precarious situation our economy is in today, and it is not one that can sustain this type of indifferent mocking attitude with regards "I am going to get my way and make my political points."

You failed on the merits, my colleagues. You failed on the merits.

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Now they are trying to try, in a cloud of political spin control, trying to come out. They have painted themselves in a corner. I do not know how to get them out. I would like to help them. We should send out an SOS: The House of Representatives is in trouble. It is out of control. It is out of control.

Now we see our Republican Speaker wants a resolution so he can have a suspension and a recess. He wants to send home this House of Representatives. Why? Because he cannot sustain for 2 or 3 weeks. He cannot sustain for 2 or 3 weeks the type of pressure that would develop right here on this floor if he kept this House in session. He could not sustain it from the Republican or the Democratic side of this aisle. So he is saying send them home, we will recess it, but I will not have to deal with all these individuals.

I have news for the Speaker. I am sent here and the other Members are sent here to represent people and to prevent this type of problem from happening, not to sweep it under the rug, not to recess this House, but to address the very serious problems that are coming to grip in this Nation because of the political shenanigans, the political shenanigans of the Republicans leading this House in the wrong direction.

This is not why we were elected, to hand the power over and the responsibility over to a few that have just a political agenda. We cannot stand that. We cannot do that. It is time to forget about the politics and get on with the normal operation and act responsibly

in this case, to deal with those serious problems of the environment, not to close down the EPA.

And, of course, what is the choice of some of these issues? There is no choice. There is no choice. They are saying we can either fund the EPA, defund the EPA through an appropriations bill, or defund it through a continuing resolution or through lack of passing any measure. No option there.

I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for yielding, and my colleagues that are joining in this special order. This is very serious moment in terms of the credibility of this Government and the health of our economy. It goes well beyond the normal politics that should play. They have failed on the merits. They have failed on the merits, and now they are trying to do it in terms of wedging this through and pressuring it through.

The fact is, many of us have and hold convictions very deeply. I have got news for the new Republicans in this House. They are not the first group to come down here with a plan for a balanced budget. The 7-year scheme that they have, which is an effort to get elected 3 or 4 times, I guess, before they achieve their balanced budget, is a very interesting scheme. Someone said where did this come from, out of intuition? I say it came out of the political play book. This is a justification for getting reelected, because, therefore, if one is reelected, they can be expected to achieve this.

I have news for my colleagues. The last two Presidents, and many others, many of us want a balanced budget, but it is not whether we want a balanced budget, it is how we balance it. We do not balance the budget by providing lavish tax breaks for our special-interest friends. We do not provide a balanced budget by building a social deficit in terms of health and in terms of education.

I have got news for my colleagues, that type of deficit and that type of cost is something that we cannot afford to deny to those that are in need, to the future generations of this country. We do not develop a balanced budget by developing an environmental deficit and selling our natural resource legacy.

So there is much that has to be debated, and I want to debate all these issues on their merits. I want the Government back and running in the normal operation. And I am happy to live, I understand, we understand, the Democrats do, in this House and in the Senate, that we lost the election in 1994. The Republicans have a right to come forth and sell their agenda on its merits. That is what they have been trying to do. And the answer that is coming back from the public is we do not want the Republican agenda. We do not want the contract. We did not buy into it. Most people are not even aware of what it was or is.

So I would hope that we can address this issue this week; that we can get

out the CR and then have our battles over policy and votes, which we understand. There are more Republicans in this House than Democrats, and in the Senate, and, obviously, we will have to make compromises and develop consensus.

As my colleague, the gentleman from California, ESTEBAN TORRES, pointed out, some of those compromises I know I will not like. But, nevertheless, I do not think this is the way we should achieve our goal. I certainly will stand here and resist it and fight it very vigorously, and I thank the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Minnesota for those remarks and, obviously, he is very concerned.

I want to say briefly, and then I want to yield to someone else, that I think, as I have been watching this debate, and some of the comments by our Republican colleagues, I just see this radicalism, this extremism, taking over amongst them. It is the whole idea that their ideology is the only ideology, and unless they get their way on the budget, they are going to close the Government down.

There is a lack of concern for Government workers, lack of concern for constituents who need Government services. The whole idea that somehow Government itself is bad and, therefore, it is not a problem to shut it down because the Government is evil, the Government should not even be here. Almost an anarchistic approach, that I think the gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTUR] mentioned before. It is an extremism. It is a radicalism that seems to be taking hold on the other side of the aisle.

I yield to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. LOWEY].

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey, and I will save my comments on the environment for a little while later, but I just wanted to respond and thank my colleague from Minnesota before he leaves for his comments and for his well-placed anger.

I want to make one point that he made so well and add to it; that we talk about the freshmen who are standing in the corner like children, holding their breath and saying if we do not do it their way, it is no way. But I think we also have to put the blame on the so-called moderate Republicans. After all, the Democrats passed a resolution in our conference; that we wanted to pass a clean CR that would support the bipartisan resolution passed in the Senate to open up the Government.

So we have to hold them responsible, because we have 198 votes; is that not correct?

Mr. PALLONE. Exactly.

Mrs. LOWEY. All we need is 20 votes from Republicans who understand that this kind of pain and suffering is wrong.

And, incidentally, I want to add that I got a call today from someone who

works in the Veterans Administration at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Hospital in Montrose. They had to hold a bake sale because some of their employees who are so loyal, they want to go to work, but did not get their paycheck that was worth anything. In fact, it was 2 weeks that included all the deduction, but it was really less than 1 week's pay that they got. And, in fact, they cannot afford to get to work at the Veterans Hospital in Montrose.

So people who are working, taking care of our veterans, who gave their heart and soul, and some made the ultimate sacrifice for their country, cannot afford to go to work to take care of our veterans.

So I just want to say to my colleague that I understand his anger, because I know all of us share it, and we cannot just blame the freshmen Republicans who are standing in the corner saying my way or no way, but the moderate Republicans have a chance now to join with Senator DOLE in the Senate in a bipartisan way to open up this Government and then we can have and continue to have a debate.

This is a serious debate about the priorities of our country. We really disagree. We want to protect Medicare, Medicaid, the environment, and education, and they want to give tax cuts to those who really do not ask for it. This is a serious debate. Let us have it, but not to shut down the Government and cause so much pain.

And the impact on the economy, my colleague mentioned, which is also so very important. It is not just the national parks, but it is all those small businesses around the national parks that are not making the income and contributing to our tax base.

So I want to thank the gentleman very much.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate what the gentlewoman is saying. That is a good point. We keep talking about the extremism and the radicalism of the freshman, but all we need is 20 votes, 198 plus 20 votes from anybody on the Republican side and we can reopen the Government.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I want to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. TORRES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New Jersey for this special order. Obviously, it provides for us a time to be able to speak to some of these issues that concern us so much here today.

I was struck by the comments by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. VENTO], when he talked about the Wall Street Journal, certainly no pillar of liberal reporting, so to speak, but today's Wall Street Journal really is an indictment. It is an indictment of what is taking place in this House.

To reflect on what Mr. VENTO said, that we are told in this particular article that 12 States of the United States that are serving 600,000 elderly have told the Department of Health and Human Services that within 2 weeks, 2

weeks, the Meals on Wheels Program will run out, and the transportation programs for seniors will run out.

Moreover, they say that the Government has not paid the private companies that process Medicare claims since mid-December, and they are now owing something like \$60 million. The administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, HCFA, which really makes the payments to Medicare and Medicaid, is saying that benefits are funded with trust fund money, but administrative officials worry that the processing companies which they depend on will have to begin to lay off workers by the thousands and this is going to delay reimbursement to the hospitals and to the doctors.

Can you imagine the chaos that this country is going to go through if that is, in fact, brought about?

We talk about the environment. The Environmental Protection Agency yesterday began to shut down its Superfund Program, the very program that is so important to the cleanup of toxic waste in this country. And although the program already has multiyear funding, that funding operates on an administrative spending ceiling that the EPA could crash through if the shutdown continues as it is now doing.

The EPA yesterday started issuing stop-work orders to its contractors who employ some 10,000 employees across this country. They are going to be laid off. There are 18,000 employees of EPA now on furlough. What is going to happen to Superfund? There is some real crises, my friends, taking place here unless we reach some solution.

Mr. PALLONE. If I can just follow up briefly on what the gentleman said about the Superfund Program. I have, in New Jersey, in my State, the largest number of Superfund sites in the country of any State, and in my particular congressional district a large number of Superfund sites, and already this shutdown has delayed indefinitely cleanup work at about, I guess five of the sites in my congressional district.

In fact, last Wednesday I actually went to the EPA lab and center in Edison, in the heart of my district, and was in an empty room. The entire place was closed down. I think there were two staff personnel involved not only in Superfund, but all the EPA research activities that took place in Edison, NJ.

Basically, what it means is that a number of these sites, not only in my district, but around the country, if we do not continue to do that work, a lot more work will have to be done. There were some contractors that were quoted in a lot of the newspapers today that were saying that because they are not able to do the contract work on Superfund sites, when they go back again there is going to be even more hazardous waste, and they are going to have to spend even more money in order to do the cleanup.

So not only is it a question of health and safety about being at risk for these

hazardous waste sites in terms of people's exposure to hazardous waste because the sites are not being cleaned up, but also more money is likely to be incurred for the Superfund, which again goes back to the taxpayers, if the shutdown continues, particularly the way we are hearing now that it might go on, if we recess tomorrow, for 2 or 3 weeks or indefinitely.

Mr. TORRES. I have a particular interest, of course close to home, because I represent a large sector of the San Gabriel Valley in California wherein the water is polluted and a particular San Gabriel basin provides drinking water for a million people. And we have already started on a very unique plan to clean up that water, and it has taken the cooperation of business and political and local leadership and citizens to clean up, and they are cleaning up while keeping the lawsuits out that would generally stifle this kind of advancement.

But now with this shutdown, we are going to see the safety and the prospects for clean water for the San Gabriel Valley affected very largely.

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These are the kinds of problems that are concerning all of us, I am sure. I thank the gentleman for giving us this opportunity to speak to these issues, especially the environment and what is happening with the furlough and the shutdown.

Mr. PALLONE. I appreciate the gentleman's comments. I yield now to the gentlewoman from Oregon.

Ms. FURSE. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk a little about safety, both environmental safety and other types of safety. I do not know if the people in this country understand that this Congress has talked a lot about putting people in prison. Let me talk a little bit about a Federal prison in my district that is a large Federal prison.

We had a terrible riot there. The guards were fantastic. They worked so well. I got a letter from the wife of one of those prison guards, and she said, and I quote from this letter, "Three hundred eighty-five correctional workers at Sheridan, Oregon, are being held as political hostages. Those guards are not being paid."

Can you imagine the kind of work they do for the safety of the community, and yet because of a political issue, this issue of who is up front, who is going to win this political argument, those workers who every day go to work to protect our safety, their financial safety is being held hostage.

Now, there are some other environmental issues and safety issues that I believe who should understand with this Government shutdown. We have a choice. We can open the Government, as the Democrats tried to do today; tried to get a continuing resolution that mirrored the Senate resolution. We tried to get the Government back. Well, I think we should think about the safety of people and their health.

When we close down, as we will, clean drinking water facilities, the protection to turn the faucet on and get clean water, that is an EPA function and if we do not have those people working in the EPA, the drinking water of every single one of us will present a problem.

The veterans hospital, my colleague spoke about that. Well, I have a veterans hospital too in my district. They will run out today of money for drugs, food, and supplies. Imagine a government that would turn its back on its veterans who are in hospital. Absolutely awful.

Ten States will have no money for unemployment benefits. Those unemployment benefits, those people paid into that. This is something those citizens earned, and yet, because there is a political goings-on in this place, they are being held hostage.

The Republicans are holding the environment and the health of all Americans hostage when they play this political game. We could have a clean continuing resolution, get the Government back to work, act like a civilized country, and then deal with the issues of the benefits.

But I will tell my colleagues one of the problems of why we are in this crisis. We were supposed to have 13 appropriations bills on the President's desk October 1. That is the way it is supposed to work. But we still, because of the mishandling of the legislation and the disagreement between the Senate and the House, the Senate Republicans and House Republicans I might add, we have not had those appropriations bills even get to the President. How can they talk about a balanced budget when they did not do the work that was necessary?

I want to remind my Republican colleagues that there was a time when a crisis occurred with a Republican President and a Democratic House, and they worked it out in less than a day because the people's right, the people's safety and health was put first, beyond the political game.

We do not need this crisis. We could get back to work if they would bring forward, and they are in the majority, bring a resolution to us. Let us vote to keep the Government open. That is what we want to do. That is what we should do.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentlewoman's comments. I think the reality is that they are afraid. That actually the House Republican leadership, Speaker GINGRICH is afraid to bring this resolution up, because as the gentlewoman from New York said, we only need 20 Republican votes and we could possibly get them if we could only have the continuing resolution brought up to the floor for a vote. But we have been thwarted in that effort and now we are told that tomorrow we are going to recess.

Mr. FURSE. If the gentleman would yield further, when we take an oath of office to do our duty by the people of this country, we do not take an oath of

office to get reelected. We take an oath of office to look after the health and safety of the people of the United States. That is our office and our oath. That is what we are paid for. These Federal workers are losing money, but the Members of Congress are still getting paid. It is not right.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from New Jersey for, one, requesting this hour, but also getting a lot of diverse Members that are Democrats. But we are diverse. We are from all parts of the country: Florida, New York, Oregon, Texas and New Jersey, and tonight we are talking about the Department of the Interior concerns and the shutdown and also the EPA.

We share and we will talk about the lack of funding for the Medicare suppliers. My own VA hospital in Houston, they are running out of supplies tomorrow just like they are in Oregon. We are not serving the veterans by keeping the Government closed. What I think is ironic, the extremists, they think they are hurting Democrats or bureaucrats. They are hurting a lot of people.

The people who are veterans who are not getting those services and the senior citizens who want to apply for Social Security and cannot apply for it. I had a townhall meeting in Houston and I had a senior citizen with an appeal on his Social Security check. He thinks they misfigured. The appeal here in Maryland is shut down. We do not know when he is going to get some redress or at least an answer on it.

Tonight I want to talk a little bit about the Department of Interior and what is happening all over the country, because a few years ago I had the opportunity, in fact I took my kids and we went to Yellowstone in Wyoming and we could not go into Yellowstone in 1985 or 1986 because of the fires. They closed the park. That was a natural disaster.

Mr. Speaker, what we are experiencing now with our National Parks and with our veterans and health care is an unnatural disaster, an unnatural crisis to paraphrase my colleague from Oregon, that has been created by the Republican Majority to force tax cuts that nobody has asked for.

Sure, all of us would like a tax cut. But the first priority ought to be to balance the budget. Let me talk about the 383,000 people that visit our National Parks that are closed. In California, Yosemite, that is not represented by a Democrat by any means, has asked for assistance from the Governor of California, who could not do anything. Yosemite and Mariposa County asked for State disaster assistance, but the Governor of California, who was a Republican presidential candidate, said he could not help.

It is just atrocious what is happening. The Forest Service that operates our campgrounds and monuments and

visitors centers, not just here in Washington, because I have a group of students coming next week from a junior high in my district. It is the first time a lot of those youngsters will be able to come to their capital, and it is going to be closed to them.

Mr. Speaker, it is unreasonable what they are trying to do because they do not have the votes in Congress to override a presidential veto to accept the cuts that they want to do in education funding and health care.

In Houston, we have a petrochemical complex and there are EPA sites that are not being staffed now because of the shutdown. That is why I know the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] asked for the time tonight. The other point is that the EPA is not only not enforcing the Superfund sites, but the non-Superfund civil environmental enforcement actions have been stopped, costing us \$3 million a day.

I always hear from my colleagues on the Republican side saying that no business can run like the Federal Government, and they are right. No business can have \$5 trillion deficits. But also you do not get your income just because you want to cut the budget. We should balance the budget first. That is the first priority, and then we are going to have to make some tough decisions.

But, Mr. Speaker, we should not give \$200 billion in tax cuts before we balance the budget. We should not cut health care for seniors and investment in our future for both job training and the children who are the ones who are going to be paying those taxes tomorrow. We should not cut environmental to make sure that we have a cleaner tomorrow by saying we are going to cut that now. That is what they are doing.

That is why they have not been able to pass them, and we saw today they could not pass a bill that would override a presidential veto. Even though there were lots of things in those bills that I wanted to vote for, I could not take the cuts that they were going to do in those programs.

It is the same way with VA-HUD and NASA. In Houston, we have the Manned NASA Space Center. We have those employees who are furloughed right now. Tomorrow there will be a picket out in front asking, "Why are NASA employees being furloughed?" That was passed here by overwhelming votes, the efforts, and yet they are furloughing those employees that are, quote, nonemergency.

Mr. Speaker, it is a tragedy that is happening, but it is a tragedy that was in the making by the Speaker. And earlier this year I had some Republican freshmen tell me they said they were elected to come up here and close it down. I want to congratulate those 73 Republican freshmen. They are successful. They closed down Pearl Harbor for veterans who want to go out there. They closed down Yosemite and Yellowstone and the monuments, and they

are effectively closing down my VA hospital. If that is what they want to do, then they are successful.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, I think it is incredible, but I have heard it over and over again, many of our colleagues saying that they were in fact elected to come here and shut down the government. That is what we are hearing. It is part of this radical extremism that we are seeing come into play every day.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN for participating. He pointed out that these problems that we are facing with the shutdown are throughout the country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. PALLONE] for calling us together. I want to reiterate once more that it is strange that this is an election year, and Senator DOLE has joined with the President, Democrat and Republican, in a bipartisan way and joined with the Democrats of the House to say, "Let us open this government and do it now."

So, it is the extreme Republicans of the Republican Conference in the House that are controlling the party, because all we need is 20 Republican votes to join with the Democrats and the government would be open again.

I just want to take a few minutes to talk about the impact of this shutdown on the environment. We have been hearing a lot about the monuments that are closed, and certainly the impact of the economy in those areas, all the small businesses that are not doing well, but there are a lot of other areas that are severely impacted by this shutdown.

For example, EPA's role in helping to ensure safe drinking water has been halted. EPA's role in helping to ensure that the air we breathe is free of harmful pollutants has been shut down. EPA's role in helping clean up toxic waste that pollutes our drinking water and fouls our air has been suspended. EPA's civil enforcement actions against polluters, which bring in \$3 million in fines on an average day, have been terminated.

In the EPA region that includes the States of New York and New Jersey, and we have worked so closely on protecting the waters in our areas, nearly all of the 1,000 EPA staff are suspended. These are the environmental cops on the beat, the people who protect our health from polluters.

To step back for a moment, let us not forget that the shutdown is part of a larger, concerted effort to roll back a host of laws that my colleagues and I have been speaking about to protect our natural resources and the environmental health and safety of the American people.

They have already gutted the Clean Water Act. They have already put in place a 21-percent cut in the Environmental Protection Agency's budget, including a 50 percent cut in the enforcement activities and a 20 percent cut in

the program that cleans up hazardous waste sites; a 40 percent cut in funding for land acquisition for National Parks and Wildlife Refuges; a 24 percent cut in major wetlands conservation programs and a measure that would terminate altogether the EPA's role in protecting wetlands; a measure that speeds up the desecration of our National Forests by increasing timber sales and the construction of logging roads; and, a 30 percent cut in loans to States to help keep raw sewage off our beaches and out of our rivers; 40 percent cut in funds that provide critical assistance to local communities to keep drinking water safe in my district, and on and on and on.

I know we have two colleagues that want to share a few words, so I will not continue; I will save it for another day. But I want to make it very, very clear, this is unacceptable to the majority of American people. They have to understand, and the ones that understand, understand it very clearly, that this environment, our precious water, the air we breathe, should not be destroyed by a right-wing extreme group of Republicans. We all want to balance the budget, but it is priorities that we care about, that has made our country strong, that must be preserved.

So, we are going to continue to fight for our environment, and I know we are all going to do it together. But right now I ask again that at least 20 Republicans come join the Democrats, come join the bipartisan effort in the Senate. Let us get this Government open and then let us continue this very serious debate about the priorities of our country. We can do it civilly and not close the Government down and create all this hardship for thousands and thousands of people in my district and all of our districts.

□ 2030

I want to thank the gentleman again for calling us together, and I hope we will gather another night until we get this Government open.

Mr. PALLONE. I appreciate the gentleman's remarks. I think she is pointing out that, in fact, the shutdown even more severely impacts, and it is selective in a sense, in that the agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency, that the Republican majority has targeted for these severe cuts, are the very ones in many cases that are being shut down. So the ideology even goes to which agencies are being shut down, which is one of the reasons that we are talking about the EPA and other such health and safety regulators tonight.

I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS].

Mr. OWENS. I want to congratulate the gentleman and thank him for holding this special order. I know he is almost out of time, and I just want to be associated with the remarks that were heard before from my colleagues, especially the anger and the indignation that I heard expressed here.

It is time to be angry. It is time to be indignant. This is a cruel and heartless exercise being perpetrated on people who can accept it the least, the least of our people, people who are working for wages, people who are contract workers. There are a whole lot of people out there who do not have any cushion at all. They cannot afford to be without a paycheck.

As the ranking Democrat on the Subcommittee on Workforce Protections, I can tell my colleagues also that there are very few nonessential employees in the Government agencies which carry out inspections of the workplace. OSHA, for example, 10,000 workers lost their lives on the job last year. About 56,000 workers died as a result of injuries experienced on the job or diseases contracted on the job, a very serious matter. Without OSHA inspections, all of these things increase. They have never had enough people. This is one area where we did not need downsizing and streamlining in the first place.

But since the Republican majority took over here, they have shown great contempt for workers. They have gone after OSHA. They have gone after the Department of Labor. They have let it be known that although it is not in the Contract With America, they do not value workers in this society very much. They want a class war. They are waging a class war. The workers do not know, they are not fighting back yet, but there is a class war being waged against them.

To have the civil servants, the Government workers, held as hostages in a situation like this displays in dramatic form, very specifically, that contempt for workers that is unAmerican. It is unAmerican to be as heartless as they are in this exercise. It is not in keeping with our tradition to use people in the way they are being used.

I just want to make certain, and I will continue this at a later date, that we understand that workers are suffering a great deal in many different ways. Certainly those Government agencies, the bureaus and the units of the Department of Labor which are involved in activities which deal with workers, not only OSHA but also Fair Labor Standards Act and a number of others, they are essential and we need them now for many reasons. Workers should not be treated with such great contempt by the Republican majority.

Mr. PALLONE. I appreciate what the gentleman said. Going back to what I said before, he points it out so well, that this shutdown is selective and it is those departments in many cases that provide health and safety protection. They are the ones that are shut down and are not being funded.

You mentioned OSHA, safety complaints, a minimum wage, other types of labor violations. These are the agencies that are shut down and are not able to do their work, so clearly health and safety is impacted in a significant way. I appreciate the gentleman's comments.

I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. DEUTSCH. I thank the gentleman. I guess I pose the question to my Republican colleagues who are here, two freshman Republicans who are about to take over the next special order, and the question is, they came here saying they were going to run Government like a business.

What we have is a situation, if you would think about it, in any corporation in American where the CEO has a disagreement with the board of directors. And what they decide to do is, they decide to furlough the workers and pay them. If you think about that, furlough the workers and pay them when they have a disagreement, and I guess I would throw back to any of my Republican colleagues or anyone in America, is there any corporation in America that would do that? Absolutely not. And if any corporation did that, if it were a publicly traded corporation, the value of that corporation would disintegrate the following day.

That is exactly what we have done. Again, if we think about what is going on, it is a situation that is totally indefensible. Adults have disagreements. They have disagreements, and what they do in those disagreements, is, they try to work out those disagreements.

On a practical level what is happening is we are actually wasting taxpayer dollars, about \$50 million a day of actual salary expenditure, \$50 million a day for the last 19 days, over \$750 million that has been wasted in direct taxpayer dollars to date. The last shutdown cost about \$750 million in direct payments, \$1.5 billion in direct taxpayer waste, which is going to take a long time to catch up on that \$1.5 billion, but there is a multiplier effect. There is a huge multiplier effect. It is probably a 10 to 50 times multiplier effect in terms of what is happening.

You cannot get a visa to come to the United States of America today, if you are in any country in the world that needs a visa to come to America. When those people come, they travel, and luckily a lot of them come to south Florida and my district. They spend plenty of money, on average a couple of hundred dollars a person, and there is a multiplier effect on the couple of hundred dollars they are spending. Those people are not coming.

There are 2,500 HUD home loans that are approved every day. That has a multiplier effect. That is not happening. In my district, whether it is the Flamingo—I have three national parks in my district—whether it is a hotel in Flamingo, FL, in the Everglades National Park, or closing down fishing in Florida Bay where people would come and spend money, that is not happening.

Again, for anyone who is listening, for my colleagues on the Republican side, try to explain to me why we cannot pass a CR and agree to disagree and

keep working on this. It is not unprecedented that the President and the Congress have had disagreements over the budget. For 2 full years under the Reagan administration, we operated under CR's. That is not such a terrible thing. And let the voters decide in November.

But to do this destructive behavior, which is really what it is, it is destructive behavior for ourselves, for our children, for our economy, is just wrong, immoral, and just plain stupid.

Mr. PALLONE. I want to thank the gentleman. I really want to thank all my Democratic colleagues for participating in this special order this evening. I think all we are really asking is that we be allowed to bring a continuing resolution, that has already passed in the Senate on a bipartisan basis, to the floor of the House so that we can vote on it.

Unfortunately, what we are hearing from the Republican side, from Speaker GINGRICH and the Republican majority, is not only are they not going to allow the continuing resolution to come up either today or tomorrow—they did not let it come up today—or tomorrow, so that we can vote on it and open up the Government again, but they are actually considering another motion to put us in recess for as much as 3 weeks.

Today is the 19th day of the Government shutdown. If it goes from today until the 23d of January, which is what the motion that passed out of the Committee on Rules today and which we will probably consider tomorrow would allow, you would have to add another 20 days, almost 3 weeks, to that 19 days that the Government has already been shut down. It is already unprecedented, and we hope that that does not happen and we are going to continue to make the point that it should not happen.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, the personal toll resulting from the Federal shutdown is enormous and its effects are far reaching. For thousands of Federal workers, the shutdown means a great financial stretch for many to make mortgage and other payments due. For American taxpayers, it means they are simply not getting their money's worth. Taxpayers have made an investment in these workers and their services to the public, and they are getting no return on their investment. Federal workers have been shut out by the shutdown, and the American taxpayer has been shut out by the shutdown.

In addition to the personal toll, there is a tremendous impact on the environment. Cleanup of Superfund sites has been halted. The 2,800 individuals who are responsible for this important program have been furloughed. Other important environmental enforcement programs have been shut down, including the call-in EPA hotline to report drinking water contamination. Many companies have been put on hold waiting for EPA assistance or permits to conduct their activities. They have been shut out by the shutdown.

In today's Post, there is an article about an EPA contractor which discusses the difficulties imposed by lack of Federal funding for the agency that owes him money. As a result of

not being paid, he and scores of other small businesses in the same situation may have to release workers they can no longer afford to pay. These Federal contractors and small businesses have been shut out by the shutdown.

The communities adjacent to parks and lands operated by the Interior Department are losing tourist revenue. In California, Mariposa County has asked Governor Wilson to declare a state of emergency because of the loss of business from visitors to Yosemite National Park. The average 383,000 people who visit national parks each day are shut out by the shutdown.

The loss on all levels is great. The Republicans may be mad at Government, but Federal workers, small businesses, and visitors to our Nation's scenic wonders are not big government or what the Republicans have now relegated to little taxpayers. They are valued workers who deserve to be paid for their work and a public who deserves to get what it pays for.

Balancing the budget in the name of taxpayers is a contradiction when the shutdown is costing them over \$40 million a day—over \$1.5 billion so far. By your actions to continue the shutdown, you are depriving Federal workers of their earned income and the American taxpayer of a return on their investment.

Balance the budget, but don't shut out our Federal workers and the American public. This balancing act is just too expensive for everyone.

REPUBLICAN VIEW OF BALANCED BUDGET BATTLE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. WHITE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYWORTH] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank the Speaker and I thank my colleague from Kentucky for joining me this evening.

Mr. Speaker, I listened with great interest to my friends from the minority just a few moments prior offer a variety of opinions. And indeed as we stand in this Chamber tonight, surrounded by the great law givers of history, in a Chamber that resounds with the echoes of history, again we acknowledge the right of Americans to disagree and at times to disagree profoundly. At this juncture in our history, we have come, once again, to a fundamental argument as to the philosophy and purpose of government.

In the preceding presentation from the minority party, I listened with great interest as time and again well-meaning Members of this House mentioned that they stood for a balanced budget but—and therein is the rub—but.

There is always something that seems to get in the way, and regrettably a quarter century has passed since this government faced up to the notion of balancing the budget. So it is always simple, in terms of rhetorical excess, to divert one's attention from the central goal, and in the midst of a cacophonous presentation, unfurl the

venom and vitriol of name calling and things that just do not square with the facts.

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentleman of this House, and those who join us tonight, there is one central and inescapable fact of our recent time here in this historic 104th Congress. Because once you get past the rhetoric and the apologists for those who would continue to promote a tax-and-spend agenda, once you would get past the rhetoric of victimization that spews forth like unto a flood from the other side, we are faced with one indisputable fact. This government would not face this partial shutdown if the President of the United States would have exercised his constitutional responsibility to sign the appropriations bills.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, in all candor, in all sincerity, the straight talk, the inescapable fact is this: Only one man stands between Government employees and their jobs, and he resides at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Oh, to be sure, those who would continually look for excuses and ways to spend more of your money will tell you it is not so. They will continue to label people with unfair epithets, and that is their right in a free society.

But understand that this President failed to sign those appropriations bills, and understand further, and this is the distressing fact, this President did more than make an agreement. He signed a public law in November saying that he agreed with the notion of balancing the budget within 7 years using honest, nonpartisan numbers as offered by the Congressional Budget Office. And the tragedy of this situation is that this President again abdicates his responsibility. Believe me, there is no joy in having the situation come to this.

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYWORTH. I would gladly yield to my friend from Kentucky and again I thank him for joining us during the course of this hour.

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. The President not only signed his name to that continuing resolution that the gentleman voted for, I believe, and I voted for to allow Government workers to go back to work, with a promise from the President that he by the end of the year would come up with a balanced budget, scored by CBO, that would balance over the next 7 years, buy the end of the year.

Where are we?

□ 2045

We are past the end of the year. Where is the President? Four budgets that he has offered later that did not balance. You are right. He is the gentleman that stands in the way of the Government workers from going back to work.

Mr. HAYWORTH. I thank the gentleman for making his point.

Reclaiming my time, it is vital that we move forward. But it is also worth