

who believe that America's economic engine is represented by the folks on the foundation at the bottom who are working every day, working hard to try and make do for themselves and their families. We call that the percolate up belief in this economy. Hubert Humphrey used to say trickle down, percolate up. He said trickle down, now that is the theory where if you feed the horse some hay, later on the birds will have something to eat. Anyone who has been around horses knows what all that means. That is trickle down. Supply-side economics, some call it. Supply-side, that is when the other side gets all the supplies. That is pretty easy to understand.

My only point today is to say those who characterize this Congress as a Congress constructive only by the majority party over the objections of the minority misconstrue the record of this Congress. This Congress started in a set of circumstances that represented the most extreme proposals, including finally Government shutdowns because we would not go along, and then Congress changed and the second half of this Congress has been more productive because it has been bipartisan and because we have seen the embracing of some of the constructive things that we think, policies that we think will make life better in this country for the American people.

My point is this. This Congress does not work, cannot work, and will never work with one party trying to make it work. Congress will always work and work best if you find bipartisan consensus. The fact is, Senator Dole sat over there during his Senate career. I have said before and I will say again that Senator Dole is a wonderful American who has provided enormous service to this country, and I deeply admire him. He served here many, many years. While I might disagree with him on some policies, he, I think, was a remarkable Senator. I have said before and let me say again, I would not trade Senator Dole for all 73 freshmen House Republicans who came here bragging they had no experience, and quickly showed it. The fact is, there are people serving in this Congress, Republicans and Democrats, for whom I have the most enormous respect, who have the kind of experience which can provide solid, stable leadership for this country, who will help this country advance and grow, help our economy produce new opportunities, help maintain this country's leadership in the rest of the world. We can, it seems to me, and should, it seems to me, in the 105th Congress not talk about just what we do right and the other party does wrong. We should talk about what we can do together. And part of the demonstration of that is in what we have done toward the end of the 104th Congress.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FAIRCLOTH addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

#### WHITEWATER PARDONS

Mr. FAIRCLOTH. Mr. President, I rise to speak on what I consider a travesty that I believe to be imminent. Mr. President, yesterday a number of newspapers reported that President Clinton refused to rule out a pardon for his Whitewater business partners James and Susan McDougal and former Gov. Jim Guy Tucker. He would not rule it out, and, Mr. President, I believe that he has ruled it in.

The President said that such pardons would be handled in a routine fashion. I do not see how he can think about handling the McDougals and Governor Tucker in a routine fashion. That is absurd.

His statements should serve as a warning to voters of what to expect after the election. It is very possible that there will be pardons for all those involved in Whitewater, and the significance of this outrage should not be lost on the public. The President was sending a strong message to the McDougals and their friends. Susan McDougal is in jail for contempt of court because she refuses to answer legitimate questions before a duly constituted Federal grand jury that is attempting to investigate Whitewater. Her defiance is a challenge to the foundation of our judicial system, and, Mr. President, her attempt to politicize her criminal convictions, handed down by a jury of fellow Arkansans, is outrageous.

She clearly got the message yesterday, however, when she read the headlines. Essentially, the message was, "Hang in Susan. The cavalry is coming. Don't break down and cooperate. The pardon is on the way after the election."

The same message went to her former husband, Jim McDougal. He is facing 84 years in prison for his conviction last May, and he is supposedly cooperating with the Independent Counsel in an attempt to reduce his prison sentence. Nonetheless, the President comes forth and says, "Jim, I'm raising the bid. I am offering a better deal. Don't cooperate with the prosecutors and I will reduce your sentence to nothing because I will pardon you even before you start serving time."

How can the prosecutor attempt to compete with a complete pardon from the President? The message also went out to Jim Guy Tucker. Now, Mr. Tucker received a light sentence that included no jail time, but he potentially faces other charges that Mr. Starr could bring. In exchange for dropping those charges, Mr. Tucker could cooperate more fully than he has. But now he has gotten the President's message: Hold tight, sit still, the election will be over in November and win, lose, or draw, you will be pardoned.

Mr. President, I would remind people that 12 fellow Arkansans convicted the McDougals and Jim Guy Tucker. They were convicted of misusing taxpayers' money. Mrs. McDougal used a \$300,000 Government loan intended for dis-

advantaged people to increase her real estate holdings and to redecorate her home. Who is going to pay for the \$300,000 loss? The hard-working taxpayers in this country. The McDougals ran a savings and loan into the ground and into bankruptcy. That cost the American taxpayers \$68 million. Today, on the Senate floor, we will very likely consider legislation to address the problems of funding the savings and loan crisis. It is still with us. Banks and savings and loans that had nothing to do with creating the crisis are going to be taxed to pay billions of dollars more to help end this and solve the problem.

You can rest assured that there are job losses in this country, and many of them, because of the billions that the banking industry will have to pay back to further solve the savings and loan crisis. But I have not heard anybody complaining about the job losses. Yet, you see a nightly sympathetic portrayal of the position of Susan McDougal, who contributed to the losses significantly, and about the plight of her life now that she has been caught and convicted.

Mr. President, I hope the American people would not be fooled by President Clinton's action. I can only conclude, and I do not think anybody can conclude otherwise, that he intends a full pardon, which would amount to a full-blown coverup of Whitewater, between November and his exit from the Presidency, in January. He just needs to keep everyone tight-lipped until the November election and then he will eliminate Whitewater as an issue altogether.

Can you imagine what would have happened, how changed things would have been, if Richard Nixon had been so bold? What if he had simply pardoned all Watergate burglars immediately after his election? If he had, Watergate would not be in the vernacular of politics today and he never would have been forced into a resignation.

Mr. President, the American people need to be forewarned and alerted. If reelected, or not reelected, I believe that Bill Clinton has every intention of pardoning his friends in the Whitewater case. What does this say about his supposed innocence in the affair?

Many people would like to suggest that Whitewater is not a story, that it is old news, that it has no relevance for today. They are wrong. Today's headlines, "Whitewater Pardons Possible" speaks volumes about this administration and its integrity. This can be applied to a whole host of issues that have come before this administration, and it is a good glimpse into how Mr. Clinton would conduct the Presidency if he were to be elected for 4 more years.

I yield the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, it is my understanding the Senator from Nevada

has 15 minutes under a unanimous consent as agreement?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent that Senator FEINGOLD be allowed to speak for up to 10 minutes as in morning business.

Mr. INHOFE. Reserving the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, I do not believe I will object but I would like, for clarification purposes—I intended to speak right after the Senator from Nevada. Would the 10 minutes be included as part of his 15 minutes?

Mr. REID. No. The unanimous consent was to give him 10 minutes. I did not say when it would be, but it would be as in morning business.

Mr. INHOFE. I would not object if I would be allowed to speak for 5 minutes prior to that.

Mr. REID. I ask that be part of the unanimous-consent request.

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

#### THANKING FIREFIGHTERS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, as I indicated last week, one of my concerns is how people feel about Government. We hear so much negativism that it seems that nothing good ever happens in Government. Whenever I return to Nevada, and especially when I go to the elementary and secondary schools, and universities, I always tell those young people that Government has done good things for people and continues to do good things for people.

What I want to do is, certainly, not whitewash what Government has done or is doing, because we all know we can do better and could have done better in the past. What I want to do, on a periodic basis, is talk about some of the things that are happening in Government that are good.

Every summer, communities up and down the east coast keep a wary eye out for the hurricane season and the havoc that hurricanes wreak. It is hard for me to comprehend the devastation that has taken place in the State of Florida, as an example.

Here in Washington, we only have to look back a few weeks to the chaos caused by Hurricane Fran. But just getting a little bit of that vicious storm, the Potomac overflowed its banks, we have roads that were washed out, and people all across Virginia have soaked basements. Commuting became very difficult.

Out in the western part of the United States, we have problems that are also created by nature. It happens almost on a yearly basis, and that, Mr. President, is the calamity of wildfires. I am sure people from the East have difficulty understanding how these fires will rage over thousands and sometimes millions of acres of land. They are very difficult to stop. The dry hot

weather, mixed with the brittle underbrush, makes millions of acres nothing more than tinderboxes waiting for a flash of lightning, or a careless act by a human being.

So far this year in 1996, almost 6 million acres have been consumed by fires across the United States. About 90,000 fires have started. Firefighters have managed to quell most all the fires. Those they have been unable to defeat are in the hundreds.

The manpower required to battle Mother Nature is mindboggling. Mr. President, 25,000 firefighters worked this summer to save communities from these wild raging fires. On August 30, it reached its peak; that is, the battle of man against nature, when 22,000 men and women in 1 day were on the fire lines trying to control these fires.

The efforts of these firefighters are coordinated through a Government agency called the National Interagency Fire Center, which is based in Boise, ID. This agency was established 31 years ago as a cooperative project with the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service.

When a fire breaks out, local firefighters usually can handle it, but if they cannot, it is then that they call the National Interagency Fire Center, in effect, asking for help. Then the Fire Center calls in resources from the Bureau of Land Management, Fish and Wildlife Service, National Park Service, Forest Service, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or any combination thereof. As ground and air crews battle these fires, the National Interagency Fire Center—experts in fire ecology, fire behavior—work with the National Weather Service personnel to plan strategies for fighting these raging fires while keeping an eye, of course, on changing weather patterns. These fires become so intense, Mr. President, that they, on occasion, create their own weather.

As we all know, firefighting is a dangerous and unglamorous business. But fighting wildfires is more grueling than most can imagine.

There are different types of firefighters. There are the major league firefighters and there are firefighters who are referred to as type 2 crews.

What are type 1 crews? They consist, first of all, of smokejumpers. When the fire breaks out and the National Interagency Fire Center is called, usually who they send in first are these very courageous, well-trained men and women who are smokejumpers.

There are only 400 of them in the United States, but they do so much. They are chosen for their incredible physical and mental stamina. These elite crews parachute into areas that are otherwise inaccessible. They carry with them packs that can weigh over 80 pounds. They jump from these airplanes with packs, as I indicated, weighing over 80 pounds. In the packs, they have firefighting equipment, and they have food and water, enough to last them for up to 3 days.

They are the first line of defense most of the time in stopping one of these fires. When they are in the middle of one of these infernos, they push on and go for as many as 3 days without sleeping.

We also have as first line fire crews people who rappel into an area off helicopters. Helicopter firefighting is something that is relatively new, but these helicopters also take these people into very remote areas. Once they have reached their destination, these brave people rappel down to the fire and begin their work.

They, too, carry huge packs. There are 400 smokejumpers. There are only 200 of these so-called heli-rappellers working for the Forest Service.

Hotshots are also part of the type 1 crews. These firefighters, part of an elite ground crew, are working the front lines of fires that have raged out of control. Many times we have the smokejumpers come in, we have the heli-rappellers come in and then if a fire cannot be contained, you have these hotshots come in and work the front lines of fires that have raged out of control.

Mr. President, very recently, I called a man at one of the hospitals in Nevada. He was at the university medical center. He was there because it is the best and perhaps the only intensive care facility for people who are badly burned in all of the State of Nevada. He was transported about 400 miles from a fire that he had been fighting. He had to be transported because Dave Webb, the man who I called on the telephone, had been badly burned in a fire near Winnemucca, NV. He had second- and third-degree burns on his face, hands, and legs.

When I called, he was not able to handle the telephone. Someone had to handle the telephone for him. He is one of the very brave men who every summer endanger their own lives to go into these areas where it is difficult to comprehend people would be willing to go into.

I talked with him about what had happened, and he explained it to me, with a lot of humility, embarrassed that the fire had gotten to him and burned him so badly. He felt that he had been a failure. Of course, he had not been a failure. He had worked in many of these fires.

This happens every summer. He was one of the lucky ones. He was not killed.

These type 1 crews, like Dave Webb, have worked together for many years. They know each other. They are, in effect, the Green Berets of the firefighters. I extend my appreciation to the type 1 firefighting crews, those who jump out of airplanes, climb out of helicopters, who work the front lines.

Mr. President, there are others, though, thousands and thousands of others who do not jump out of airplanes or helicopters or are not trained to be hotshots, but are extremely important. These are the type 2 crews.