

ABM Treaty as the cornerstone of U.S. strategic defense policy as this administration has done. The President has stated in his veto message that there is a linkage between the ABM Treaty and the START II Treaty. He says the Congress' determination to proceed with national missile defense "puts U.S. policy on a collision course with the ABM Treaty," and "puts at risk Russian ratification of the START II Treaty." I reject the notion that we should adopt some type of a treaty—in this case the START II Treaty—just in order to protect the provisions of the ABM Treaty.

I am aware that there is broad support in this body for ratification of the START II Treaty. I understand it. I expect the final vote to be overwhelmingly in favor. That vote may be a 98 to 1 vote and I may be the 1, but I would be compelled to speak out and at least let the American people realize how significant an issue this is.

There are a lot of reasons to be concerned about the merits of the START II Treaty. You could talk about compliance, the fact that the Russians' past record does not inspire a lot of confidence. We could talk about verification. Many provisions would be difficult to verify in the very best of circumstances. We could talk about the SS-18 MIRV'd missiles, and the fact that this would not actually do away with the launch facilities for these destructive multiwarhead missiles. We could talk about the downloading provisions and the fact that, in many cases, it does not require that you do away with the missile. It merely requires that you download it. And if you download it, then you can turn around and upload it.

Yet for all of these concerns, I don't seek to go into great detail. But what I will be addressing is what it does as far as the ABM Treaty is concerned and how it impacts our ability to proceed with the kind of national missile defense we need. This is what is most important.

I agree with Dr. Kissinger that the ABM Treaty is something that outlived its usefulness and no longer should be effective today. And, while I respect the views of some of my colleagues who are saying we now have managers' amendments that address all of these problems, I do not think these managers' amendments really do address them. For one thing, they do not change the treaty itself. All they are is advice by the Senate. I agree that those nine provisions of the managers' amendments are good and they make the Senate's understanding of the treaty much clearer. Unfortunately, they are not a part of the treaty.

I think we should recognize, finally, Mr. President, that they underwent some parliamentary elections in Russia on December 17. The Communists got 22 percent of the vote gaining seats and renewed influence. We now have the Communists at 157 seats in the Duma. Then you have Boris Yeltsin's party. Then there is a very interesting indi-

vidual by the name of Vladimir Zhirinovsky, from the ultranationalist party that is now No. 3, close behind the party that we were hoping would stay in power.

So it is a changed situation that we have today. And, of course, none of us can predict the future with certainty. But I come back to a simple proposition. Missile defense is among our highest national security priorities. If the President believes this priority must be sacrificed to gain Russia's approval of START II, then I would suggest it is too high a price to pay. This is why I believe it is imperative to resolve the impasse over the Defense authorization bill before we move to final approval of the START II Treaty.

Therefore, today, I am joined by Senator BOB SMITH in sending a letter to the majority leader stating we will object to proceeding to final action on the START II Treaty until an arrangement has been made with the Clinton administration enabling the people of America to be defended against missile attack. I believe this a prudent and justified course of action and I would urge my colleagues to concur.

Finally, if there were other individuals who had been with me in Oklahoma City on April 19, where we observed the results of the most devastating domestic bombing in the history of this country, they might begin to understand what is at stake. There at the Murrah Federal Office Building, we saw the destruction and had heard the cries of the individuals who were in there trapped and injured. And, of course, so many died—169 brave Oklahomans and wonderful people; citizens, who were not guilty of anything. They were killed without warning and without provocation for no apparent reason. This is modern terrorism at its worst. But if you just multiply that tragedy by 100 or 200 or 300, you can only begin to imagine what type of impact a future missile attack might have on a major American city.

The threat is there. The threat is more imminent than many realize. It is a very real threat. And I do not think there is anything this body will be engaged in, in discussing and putting into effect, that has a greater significance for our future security, than developing a national missile defense system.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada is recognized to speak in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

A BULLY IN CONGRESS

Mr. REID. Mr. President, first of all I commend Senator DOLE and those leaders on the other side of the aisle who yesterday made it possible to pass a clean CR. I am sorry we did not do it sooner. I wish it had been done sooner. But I commend and applaud the Republican leadership and those Members of the Senate who allowed this to go forward.

Mr. President, I grew up in a small town in southern Nevada. When I was in the eighth grade, there were six kids in the class. That was one of our bigger classes. In the school at that time there was a bully. He was an eighth-grader and everyone in the school was afraid of him. If they were not afraid of him they worked something out with him, so that they could live with him.

We rarely had new people come to school there, but there was a young boy who came to school, an eighth-grader, somewhat small in stature, who came from someplace in Arizona. His name was Gary. He was a quiet young lad. And he was pushed around by this bully for 3 or 4 days, a week, 2 weeks. Finally this young man said I have had enough of this and we are going to settle this. And this young boy agreed to fight the big bully. Everyone knew the bully would win, everyone except Gary. And they engaged in fisticuffs and the young man, like one of the heroes in the books we read as young kids, won the fight. The bully was all through. He no longer pushed anyone around.

The reason I mention that, we kind of have a bully running around Congress. It is in the form of 73 Republican freshman Congressmen. They have suddenly gotten the stature that they can push everybody around. Mr. President, there are 535 Members of Congress, 435 House Members. It seems to me that leaves about 360-plus Members of the House who should be able to do pretty much what they want to do. Mr. President, 73 should not be a bully make; 73 should no longer be able to push a body of 535 people around. The time has come, as when Gary came to Searchlight Elementary School many, many years ago, to stand up for what is right.

What is right is to allow people to go to work and to be paid for working. I think it is absolutely unreasonable and unconscionable that the American taxpayer would be told: Yes, we are going to pay these people someday in the future. We are going to pay them, but they do not have to work for the pay.

Please, somebody tell me how that is rational? How is that reasonable? We are saying, "Go ahead and stay home, do not work, and we will pay you anyway?"

Or, we have another deal floating around. You can come back to work but you cannot buy any pencils, cannot buy any gas for cars. You basically cannot do anything.

Mr. President, I suggest that people of good will, both Democrats and Republicans, should follow the lead of the Republican leadership in the Senate, what took place in this body yesterday, and do what is right. What is right is to pass a clean CR and get on with our business. Allow people to go back to work.

Some people say an ongoing Government shutdown is a good thing. I say, tell that to people who want to get a visa to come to the United States. Thousands of them every day want to do that and they cannot do that. Does

that matter? Of course it matters, because those people who come here spend around about \$3,000 in businesses and retail stores around here. Students trying to get home need to have paperwork processed in our Embassies overseas, and that cannot be done. Foreign exchange students want to come here to study. They cannot do that.

One Member of this body suggests that no one even noticed the shutdown and we ought to keep the Government partially closed. I say that is foolish. Whoever said that has not been out of the beltway long enough. Say that, that the Government shutdown does not mean anything, to Meals on Wheels. What is Meals on Wheels? Meals on Wheels is people who are shut-in's, and they are allowed to stay at their homes as a result of Meals on Wheels. If Meals on Wheels is shut down, these people are going to have to go into rest homes, extended care facilities, and cost the taxpayers even more. Meals on Wheels allows people their independence, their ability to stay at home. But for Meals on Wheels, our rest homes, our convalescent centers, our extended care facilities would be burdened even more than they are.

For someone who says we ought to keep it shut down, what about our Superfund cleanup sites? We have now Superfund cleanup sites that are being cleaned up. We just had a big celebration because the final Love Canal payment was made. We have 30 Superfund cleanup sites that are going to be shut down in the next 24 hours; shut down. That not only involves stopping the cleanup, it costs a lot more money to get them cranked up again. So people do care if the Government is shut down. They care about the thousands and thousands of people who cannot go to our national parks. They cannot go fishing, and small retail merchants at entrances to these parks are screaming for help. They depend on these national parks to earn a livelihood.

This shutdown has nothing to do with agreeing to a balanced budget. We could go back to the process of the appropriations bills which were not passed. We could pass blame on why they were not passed. The fact of the matter is they were not passed, and there is no reasonable, just cause for this Government shutdown and not allowing people to go to work. In fact, we are paying them anyway.

Agreeing to a balanced budget plan and allowing the Government to operate are two entirely separate issues. There is simply no linkage. There should be no linkage. Attempts to make one solely contingent upon the other is really a form of legislative terrorism. The Federal workers are being used as negotiating chips. In order for one side to be able to declare unconditional victory, these people are being used as pawns. This simply is not right. They are not part of the best equation leading to a balanced budget, and it ought not to stop them from going back to work.

What is the current impact of the shutdown?

Six hundred thousand elderly Americans may lose their Meals on Wheels. That is a large number of people.

States have lost \$74 million in grants for child protection programs. Child protection programs, this is not welfare. These moneys are used to deal with more than 2½ million cases of child maltreatment each year.

Eleven States have exhausted their funding for unemployment insurance.

The Federal Housing Administration is unable to process 2,500 home loans and refinancing each day of the shutdown. There are 2,500 each day.

More than 1,000 workplace safety complaints have gone unanswered. We receive an average of about 240 calls each day to EPA's hotline for drinking water contamination information. We have people who are complaining that their water is contaminated. These are calls going unanswered.

Five other hotlines which receive thousands of calls each month are shut down, depriving the public of potentially critical information on pesticides, toxic substances, asbestos in schools, and other public health information.

Three hundred and eighty-three thousand people each day are being denied access to our national parks—almost 400,000 people a day. And some say it does not matter?

As Senator DOLE said yesterday—enough is enough. It is time to end this folly and stand up to this bully. A few jabs and a left hook would end them real quick.

This, Mr. President, should end immediately. The bully should be put down, and put down quickly.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia is recognized.

THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, before the distinguished Senator departs the floor, I would like to say how much I personally appreciate his remarks regarding the Republican leader, Mr. DOLE. I was with Mr. DOLE throughout the meeting of 2½ hours yesterday, along with the Speaker, Mr. GINGRICH, Senator DOMENICI, House Budget Chairman KASICH, House Majority Leader DICK ARMEY, and others. In my judgment, he has been a pillar of strength throughout.

I also extend my remarks to the distinguished Democrat leader who has worked with Senator DOLE here in the last 48 hours, and many Members on both sides.

I think the Senate should stand with great pride as to how it has met this tragic shutdown in the Federal Government and the ripple effect throughout the private sector, so that it just is not the Government employees.

I will also address other matters from my constituents here momentarily. But I wish to thank the Senator

from Nevada for his remarks about our distinguished leader.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, this morning in my office Congressman WOLF, Congressman DAVIS, and Congresswoman MORELLA joined—and we now have met several times a day—to try to provide our respective leadership here in the Senate and in the House, together with our colleagues from Maryland.

I note the presence of the junior Senator from Maryland on the floor, as well as yesterday the senior Senator from Maryland, and Senator ROTH also.

We worked here as a group because the greater metropolitan area of Washington is probably the most severely affected as a consequence of this Government shutdown. Not only is there a large number of employees—perhaps as high as a half million—who are working at their jobs without pay, but there are some 260,000 to 280,000 who are furloughed and not able to report to their offices for various reasons.

I also wish to mention that at 1 o'clock, and I shall be departing shortly to join Members of Congress, Congressman DAVIS, Congressman FRANK WOLF, and Congresswoman CONNIE MORELLA, and others, to meet with the various members of the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund. This is under the leadership of Jerry Shaw, a nationally known individual with Federal employees, currently the counsel for the Senior Executive Association.

We are coming together, the Members of Congress, to encourage others—those who can—who will pledge some personal financial support for Federal employees receiving short paychecks. This is becoming a crisis.

I commend the Federal Employee Education Assistance Fund for doing this. This is a private member of the Combined Federal Campaign assisting Federal employees in dire need during the shutdown with interest-free loans for rent, mortgage, utilities, and food. The charity is in danger of running out of funds without additional contributions.

I am happy to join with others to try to make our contributions to help them.

Attending this 1 o'clock meeting will be representatives from the Federal employee organizations represented on the board of directors. Among them include the Senior Executive Association, the National Treasury Employees Union, the Federal Managers Association, the National Federation of Federal Employees, and the Social Security Managers Association.

THE BUDGET

Mr. WARNER. Now, Mr. President, I would like to make reference again to the problems here. They are all well