

RUSS FEINGOLD, THAD COCHRAN, and TRENT LOTT, to congratulate Green Bay Packers' quarterback, and Kiln, MS, native Brett Favre for winning the 1995 National Football League Most Valuable Player Award.

After leading the Green Bay Packers to their first National Football Conference [NFC] Central Division title since 1972, Brett Favre ran away with the National Football League Most Valuable Player voting, capturing 69 votes from a nationwide panel of 88 sports writers and broadcasters. Favre's numbers speak for themselves, as he threw an NFC record 38 touchdown passes for over 4,400 yards passing. This would be considered an amazing accomplishment for any quarterback; however, couple it with nagging injuries over a 17-week season, and you've described the iron-willed "Leader of the Pack," Brett Favre.

Brett Favre has emerged as a true star in the National Football League. His Most Valuable Player Award is the first for any Green Bay Packer since 1966, when then Packer quarterback and MVP Bart Starr led the Green and Gold to its first of two Super Bowl championships. The Packers and all their loyal fans hope history repeats itself this year.

On behalf of Wisconsinites and Green Bay Packers' fans everywhere, I congratulate you, Brett Favre, on your MVP season and a job well done.●

THE BUDGET IMPASSE

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, it is becoming more obvious every day that the White House is not prepared to reach an agreement with the Congress to balance the budget. We have not seen any specific proposal from the administration to make any changes that would, in fact, lead to a balanced budget. They are unnecessarily shutting down Government services and programs and furloughing Government workers.

The Congress must now act to identify the activities that should be funded and pass legislation that puts people who are really needed back to work. There has been too much political grandstanding. It is time for that to end.

We should not give up our goal of getting spending under control and balancing the budget. That probably means electing a new President later this year who will cooperate with the Congress in this effort. In the meantime, I am prepared, and I know other Senators are prepared to work with the Republican majority and with like-minded Democrats to get the Government back in business with reductions in those programs that should be cut back, and to resolve this impasse.

Mr. SARBANES addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I posed a question to the Senator from New Mexico and his time then expired.

I ask unanimous consent to yield to him at this moment to respond to that question.

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

The Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

THE SHUTDOWN

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I appreciate the Senator from Maryland. I will be brief. I did want to conclude my answer to his question.

I think what we have is a very troublesome development in the way that the Congress and the President are interacting. It seems that the Congress is going to take the view that it only has a responsibility to enact a Defense bill, that other bills can go their own way—and, of course, its own appropriation, the legislative appropriation bill—and it is up to the President to try to get the others enacted. If that is the case, then you have essentially a hostage-taking or a standoff, which I think is very destructive of the system of Government as it was intended.

This hostage-taking can be a two-way street. Hostage-taking begets more hostage-taking. As I indicated before, the President would be ill-advised, in my opinion, if these are going to be the ground rules for the interaction with the Congress, to sign a legislative appropriations bill in this new session of Congress until all appropriations bills for the executive branch have been signed and put into law.

I am also greatly concerned that we are not going to be able to get good cooperation between the Legislature and the President on doing a Defense appropriation bill. If, as Congressman LIVINGSTON points out, once the President signs the Defense appropriations bill, the Congress is then absolved from the responsibility to work with the President on getting the other appropriations bills signed, that, to me, is a very troublesome situation, which I take as a great problem for all of us.

Mr. President, I appreciate the chance to respond, and I hope that a reasonable resolution of these problems can be found. I thank the Senator from Maryland for the time.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I briefly want to add to the comments of the Senator from New Mexico on this particular matter. To make our constitutional system work requires, I believe, a certain amount of restraint and good judgment on the part of all decisionmakers. It must be an essential premise of our system that one is not willing to subvert everything, in effect to bring the whole building crashing down, in order to get your way. I never understood democracy to work that way. There has to be a certain amount of accommodation. Obviously, the basic functions of Government should continue. Are we to reach a state of affairs where every time there is a sharp policy difference—and people can obviously hold sharply different opinions—

that for one side to gain its way, it brings the Government to a halt and inflicts all of this harm that is being felt across the country?

I ask unanimous consent that a Washington Post story giving examples of such harm be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SARBANES. The headline is: "Day 19: Federal Siege Takes Public, Private Hostages."

It says:

The partial shutdown of the federal government dragged through its 19th straight day yesterday with one clear effect. It took even more hostages.

Health officials in Nebraska, facing a widespread flu outbreak, urged Federal officials to reopen the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to help them assess and contain the problem. The federal Meals on Wheels Program, which delivers hot food daily to more than 600,000 needy senior citizens, is running out of money and may be partially closed by week's end. The Peace Corps, also desperately short of cash, began drawing up plans to recall some or all of its 7,200 members worldwide if the shutdown persists much longer.

In Mariposa County, CA, home to Yosemite National Park, which has been closed throughout one of its busiest times of the year, the number of private-sector layoffs climbed past 1,600. Most are hotel, restaurant and gas station workers who usually can depend on the revenue that they collect during the holiday season to carry them until the summer.

One-fourth of the adults in the county are now out of work, and officials there have declared an economic emergency.

This is no way to do business, obviously. There is no reason to it. It does not make common sense. There is a tremendous ripple effect throughout the private sector of people dependent on Federal contracts and Federal activities. Needless and harmfully the shutdown is resulting in laying off people in the private as well as the public sector.

The distinguished Senator from Virginia, in his comments earlier, made reference to one such occurrence about which he had received notice only this morning. Currently half a million Federal workers are coming to work and not getting a paycheck. Another quarter of a million have been furloughed and are not getting paychecks. Workers in the private sector now are not going to get paychecks. How is it anticipated that people will be able to handle this situation?

The Federal workers are told that once they go back, they will be paid. But who can bridge the intervening period? Unfortunately, there may be a lack of sensitivity in the Congress because, many Members have significant economic means and, therefore, the loss of a paycheck—which is not happening for them—does not really place a burden upon them. They can handle that situation. But most people are not so well situated. Whether they work for the Federal Government or whether they are in the private sector, they

need a regular paycheck in order to meet their obligations, such as mortgage payments, car payments, and school payments.

Nearly half of the Federal employees—46 percent—make less than \$35,000 a year. Three quarters of all Federal employees make less than \$50,000 a year. Less than 1 percent—six-tenths of 1 percent of all Federal employees—make over \$100,000 a year. Members of Congress make more than that. Close to 100 percent of all Federal employees make less than Members of Congress. Now, these employees cannot move from period to period without a paycheck. We need to put them back to work.

The New York Times had an editorial this morning, and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. SARBANES. The editorial states:

The turmoil and uncertainty created by vast numbers of Federal workers not going to work or not being paid is poisoning the atmosphere for progress on the budget. Too much hardship has already been inflicted, not only on the 760,000 unpaid workers, but on millions of Americans who cannot get visas, loans, or any number of other Federal services. Congress and the President should reopen the government now.

I absolutely agree with that sentiment. There is a colleague in the House, in the Republican leadership in the House, who said in mid-November, "You have a group in our conference who could not care less if the Government shuts down. They will be cheering." What an abdication of responsibility.

Do Members of Congress, as my distinguished colleague from New Mexico states, think they have no responsibility for ensuring that the Government continues to function and providing the basic services upon which so many of our people are dependent?

The people in the private sector, some will go bankrupt out of this escapade. They will go bankrupt. I have had people call my office who say, "We are not going to be able to make it. We set up a small private business and things were working fairly well and now we are confronting a situation where we may well go under." For 19 days now we have been through this situation after the previous closedown of 6 days, all in order to try to bring a coercive pressure, a scorched earth bargaining tactic, with respect to the larger issue of the 7-year budget projection.

Now, that issue involves many difficult and complex questions and a strong difference over what the priorities should be. But in my judgment, it is an irresponsible and impermissible tactic to use the closing of the Government, which has never been done before, to use the closing of the Government as a coercive pressure in to achieve a certain result with respect to the larger budget issues.

Are we going to descend, deteriorate into such practices in the Congress, thereby falling short of meeting the responsibilities I think we have under the Constitution? Mr. President, Congress and the President should reopen the Government now as the majority leader sought to do when he moved the continuing resolution and sent it over to the House. House adoption of it would bring this crisis to an end.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 4, 1996]

DAY 19: FEDERAL SIEGE TAKES PUBLIC, PRIVATE HOSTAGES

(By Rene Sanchez)

The partial shutdown of the federal government dragged through its 19th straight day yesterday with one clear effect. It took even more hostages.

Health officials in Nebraska, facing a widespread flu outbreak, urged federal officials to reopen the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to help them assess and contain the problem. The federal Meals on Wheels Program, which delivers hot food daily to more than 600,000 needy senior citizens, is running out of money and may be partially closed by week's end. The Peace Corps, also desperately short of cash, began drawing up plans to recall some or all of its 7,200 members worldwide if the shutdown persists much longer.

In Mariposa County, Calif., home to Yosemite National Park, which has been closed throughout one of its busiest times of the year, the number of private-sector layoffs climbed past 1,600. Most are hotel, restaurant and gas station workers who usually can depend on the revenue that they collect during the holiday season to carry them until the summer.

One-fourth of the adults in the county are now out of work, and officials there have declared an economic emergency. The local newspaper has launched a food drive for those in need, and radio stations in the Yosemite area are urging residents in neighboring counties to drive over and do business there.

"Who's paying the price for this? Not Congress or the president, but the average citizen," said Michael Coffield, the Mariposa County administrator. "All the money our residents are losing is gone for good. Every day, it is getting more and more dire."

Ever since the shutdown began, President Clinton and congressional Democrats have insisted that it would pose significant hardships, and Clinton made his most strident remarks yet on that subject yesterday by ticking off a lengthy list of problems he said the government's partial closure is causing Americans.

But some Republican leaders have countered by saying the shutdown shows how large parts of the government do not affect many Americans. Other Republicans contend that short-term problems from the shutdown are far less important than the long-term crisis an unbalanced budget will create.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich said that his department has received more than 63,000 phone calls regarding working and wage complaints that it has not been able to answer in the past three weeks.

Federal courts have remained open throughout the shutdown by running on filing fees and other miscellaneous funds. But court officials are now predicting that they will exhaust those emergency funds by Sunday. David A. Sellers, spokesman for the federal courts' administrative office, said at that point it would be up to individual courts around the country to decide whether

to close or to keep some of their business going.

The Peace Corps also has stayed partially open during the shutdown by using leftover funds from the last fiscal year. That pool of money is now drying up. Officials said that if the shutdown persists another week or so they may be forced to recall volunteers who work in 95 countries, because the agency will not be able to pay their living allowances.

"We're having to take a very serious look at that as this goes on," said Andre Oliver, a Peace Corps spokesman.

The furlough also has begun to threaten the complicated process by which scientists, universities and other research organizations apply to the National Institutes of Health (NIH) for money to finance experiments and other scientific studies.

January is the beginning of a thrice-yearly cycle in which grant applications are reviewed by committees of outside experts, and then recommendations on whether to fund them is passed on to NIH officials. None of the preparation for that is occurring.

NIH also has about 2,000 grants that have been approved but whose financing hasn't been provided to the researchers in the last month. About half are multi-year projects already underway, and about half are for new research waiting to begin.

"We're all sort of teetering on the edge now," said Wendy Baldwin, NIH's deputy director for extramural research. "There's a whole cascade of scheduling in jeopardy."

EXHIBIT 2

[From the New York Times, Jan. 4, 1996]

THE BUDGET SCRUM

For fans of political games, President Clinton put on a rip-roaring show yesterday, as he charged right through the budget rift that has opened up on the Republican side between Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole. The new year thus dawns with the surprising spectacle of two archrivals, Mr. Dole and Mr. Clinton, trying to look like grown-ups while the Republicans in the House insist childishly that the only way to apply leverage on the President is to keep the Government closed. More and more it looks as if the zealous freshmen are calling the shots in the House.

Say this for the freshmen Republicans. In theory they are just the kind of people the public says it wants in politics—men and women of principle who have a lot more on their minds than re-election. But zeal needs to be harnessed to a caring practicality. In the current impasse, Mr. Clinton and Mr. Dole have it right. The turmoil and uncertainty created by vast numbers of Federal workers not going to work or not being paid is poisoning the atmosphere for progress on the budget. Too much hardship has already been inflicted, not only on the 760,000 unpaid workers, but on millions of Americans who cannot get visas, loans or any number of other Federal services. Congress and the President should reopen the Government now.

But it is also time for the White House to help resolve the budget impasse by sketching more details of the President's own thinking on how to achieve a balanced budget in seven years, as House Republicans demand. Mr. Clinton's skill in gaining political advantage from the current situation has been impressive. But his tactics leave even his allies confused on how much he really does want a compromise balanced budget, as opposed to an impasse on which he can run for re-election while defending longstanding Democratic principles.

By all accounts, the long hours of negotiating over the holiday weekend involved a lot of Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich discussing the arcana of Federal social policies while many other people in the room rolled

their eyes. There is no sign yet of real horse-trading except a leak here and there. For instance, the White House might be willing to modify its opposition to a cut in the capital gains tax. The Republicans seem willing to scale back their \$240 billion tax cut. But the House freshmen and their allies insist that they simply do not trust Mr. Clinton to bring the process to a conclusion until they get a clearer signal of where he would be willing to make concessions, particularly on Medicare, Medicaid and welfare.

The freshmen militants, Mr. Gingrich and even the Democratic leadership have the luxury of being dealt into a game whose outcome means less to them than to Mr. Clinton and Mr. Dole. With their eyes on the Presidential race, each man is trying to calculate whether he has more to gain from accommodation or recalcitrance. Mr. Dole has promised to bring adult leadership to the White House, but he does not look very adult if he cannot stand up to his party's kiddie-corps zealots. Mr. Clinton needs to emerge as a President who can stay resolute in the face of opposition; but at a certain point the Chief Executive of a Government that cannot open for business will begin to look weak.

Mr. Dole is right when he observes that Americans are growing impatient with the budget impasse. Right now, Mr. Clinton may have more to gain by holding out on the budget while insisting he wants to reopen the Government. But there is clearly a deal within reach, and the public will remember who walks out of the wreckage with it.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for morning business be extended until the hour of 12:30, and Senators be allowed to have 10 minutes to speak.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, the majority leader has indicated to the Senator from Virginia that that is quite agreeable.

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

THE SHUTDOWN

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, all my life I have heard the saying, "Can't see the forest for the trees." I think those words can be appropriately applied to the situation we now find ourselves in. For too many Federal workers, for too many thousands of honest, hard-working Americans trying to make a decent living, this budget impasse and shutdown has demonstrated to them that some of their elected representatives cannot see the forest for the trees.

While some are wrapped up in trying to score political points, to gain political favor in certain circles, they are missing the point of what is really going on outside the beltway. How disappointing it is to pick up the morning's Washington Post with the headlines, "Employees Find They Are an Afterthought." How sad it is to know that people who need food, who need medicine and basic care will be deprived of services. How sad it is, Mr. President, to hear some demagog the situation by saying that nobody is missing those Government workers and we need to get rid of more of them.

My office, as others have stated here this morning, is being overrun with calls and letters about how this shutdown is affecting families in Kentucky, far outside the beltway, far away from the political arena. A mother in Lexington, KY, wrote me, "Most of us live from paycheck to paycheck. We cannot survive without being paid. I am a single parent struggling to pay rent, a car payment, and keep food in the house, so I haven't been able to save part of my salary. If I'm not paid on January 16, I will be evicted." This is a woman that was on welfare, that was able to get a job and get off of welfare, and now the Government is forcing her back into welfare. She asks in her letter, "Isn't this the United States of America? Isn't our Government supposed to be by the people and for the people?" "Federal employees," she says, "are also people."

She is speaking from her heart about real people, about the thousands who cannot get mortgage insurance, thousands who are losing home loans, thousands working in service industries, the rippling effect, facing the daily threat of being laid off. Homeowners in eastern Kentucky threatened with landslides because the Office of Surface Mining is operating on reduced staff and reduced funding. Real people, Mr. President.

Another person wrote, "I'm excepted from furlough which means I'm working now with no pay. The check I received yesterday was one-quarter of my salary. My mortgage is due. This one-quarter does not cover the mortgage. What is worse is that I have two small children. I must continue to pay my baby sitter to keep them after school while I go to work for no pay."

I received a call from a grandmother. I do not know how many in here have ever been involved in trying to help a couple adopt a child. When I was Governor of Kentucky we worked with agencies. It is an emotional period. It is a real decision to adopt a child. So I got a call from this grandmother. She was worried about her granddaughter. The adoption of a baby has been halted because the agencies do not have enough money to process the necessary paperwork. That is hurt, Mr. President. That is not inconvenience, that is hurt. You have hurt that family that made up their mind to adopt a child. That is hurt, capital H-u-r-t. She is looking to her representatives for help and answers. What do we do to help her? How do you tell someone that is out there working hard, paying their taxes, that because of circumstances completely out of their control they cannot go forward with adopting a child?

Mr. President, the hardest thing I have had to do in my 21 years in the U.S. Senate is to say to men and women in the military to go defend our country on some foreign shore, to lay their lives on the line. One thing I have told them, and one thing that helps, that whatever I can do to support them when they come back, or their loved

ones if they do not come back, I will do.

Looking now at the VA, "VA Runs on Promises." "Nursing home workers tend patients without pay. They are stripping the sheets off, the laundry, trying to take care of our veterans, for no pay."

So we say to our veterans, the only reason you are being taken care of is because they are willing to come as long as they can. These people cannot get another job. They are prohibited from getting another job to have some income, maybe, to offset the loss of their paycheck.

Let me also tell you about "Helen's Hotline" from the VA hospital in Lexington. What are they doing? Food—God's Pantry, in Lexington, distributes food to the homeless and those who need food. They will provide up to 3 weeks of food to those people. They are even giving them transportation to God's Pantry in order to pick up some food. Food and social and spiritual support are being offered by the VA hospital there in Lexington, stress relief, and the canteen service will accept—think about this, now—accept postdated checks from the cafeteria or retail store through January 17.

Creditors' letters have been sent from the Director of the VA to the utilities, the mortgage companies, the lenders, the bankers, asking for leniency because they do not have their check.

I think the lowest blow of all is they have set up a food bank at the VA hospital for their employees, and they are being asked to bring food, those who can afford it, to bring nonperishable food to the VA hospital to help their employees. They have asked the citizens of Lexington to help with the food bank and financial contributions, monetary donations. They are trying to van pool and help the employees because they have lost their cars because they could not make the payments. These people do not wait on payments: "Oh, go ahead, that's all right, you don't have to pay me until you get paid." That does not work.

"Things to do." The utilities companies? Ask them to be lenient. Mortgage company? Ask them to be lenient. How lenient will these people be?

"What is this," one asked me. "Is this really America? Is this what America is all about? Is this how the world's greatest superpower functions?"

These people want a resolution to the crisis. They want to reopen Government just like the distinguished majority leader, Senate Republicans, and Senate Democrats want. As one said, it is time to stop the nonsense going on here in Washington. They agree with our majority leader when he says, "Enough is enough."

Let us reopen Government. Let us stop this insanity and get on with the shaping of a fair and equitable budget agreement.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the