

give him a clean CR when he sends us a budget that is certified balanced by CBO and signed off by the Speaker of the House, I know what Senator DOLE would say if he was President of the United States, and a Democrat Speaker over there—I know what he would tell him. I think you do, too.

So let us look at the budget that the Republicans gave us. If you were not using Social Security, you would be \$106 billion short—\$106 billion short—in the year 2002. But when you dig in and use the Social Security numbers, you get down to—I do not want to answer any questions.

Mr. CRAIG. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. FORD. Happy to yield for a question.

Mr. CRAIG. The question is, have not the Democrats used the Social Security trust fund figures in numbers just the way the Republicans are currently using them? We learned—

Mr. FORD. Not for the last 12 years.

Mr. CRAIG. Yes, you have, Senator.

Mr. FORD. The President of the United States signed—the President is responsible for that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senators will address through the Chair.

Mr. FORD. It is awful hard to address through the Chair.

Here on December 15—Mr. President, we talk about never wanting to offer anything. What bothers me is that on December 15, the President offered some numbers based on a budget he had submitted previously. He eased toward the Republican side on December 15; the Republicans eased toward the President on December 15. They moved closer to each other on discretionary cuts, on Medicare, on Medicaid, on welfare and EITC. I thought that was negotiation. That was on December 15.

Mr. President, we have agreed to a 7-year balanced budget. We have agreed to the CBO certification. Now let us get down to trying to figure out how we help our young kids and give them an education.

They talk about increasing the Pell grants. Sure they did, but they forget to tell you they cut off the bottom half. It is the way you use the words. So you increase Pell grants by \$100, but you cut off from \$600 down. A lot of people get by on \$600. That is all they need. That is all they should be given. But if they do not need more than that, they do not get anything. They want to get an education; just need a few dollars.

So this is the kind of budget that the President of the United States has said no to, has said no to.

So, I hope we will just leave this rhetoric behind us and look at where we need to work, and that is Medicare, that is Medicaid, that is education, that is the environment; and that we put a face on it instead of the numbers and we put a place instead of the numbers. And once we decide the faces we want to help and the places we want to secure, then we can put the numbers with them. I think then we will have a budget.

But the President, in my judgment, is trying to protect those people who are being hurt so severely by the Republicans saying "We won't give." It is not here, it is over on the other end of the Capitol Building, but "We won't give unless we get the \$245 billion tax cut." In April the Speaker of the House said, "We're going to shut Government down." Lo and behold, it did. But we have had bills vetoed before under Republican Presidents and we have offered a continuing resolution, we have continued Government while we sat down and negotiated those things that were objectionable to the Republican Presidents and we finally arrived at something that could be sent to the President that we agreed upon and he could sign. That is where we ought to be now.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished President pro tempore, the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is in morning business. There is no pending business at this time.

THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today in support of H.R. 1643, which will return all Federal Government employees to the workplace, and restore their paychecks. This bill will also reopen many important Government services which were closed due to President Clinton's veto of various appropriation bills.

It is regrettable that the President has permitted the budget situation to deteriorate. Let me remind my colleagues that this Congress enacted a balanced budget plan which the President also vetoed. At that point, he assumed an obligation to provide the Congress with his budget proposal. Yet despite his many promises to do so, and the statutory requirement of November 20, 1995, President Clinton has failed to submit a real balanced budget.

Mr. President, for years I have made speeches in this great Chamber, and cast my vote in support of a balanced budget. I have introduced balanced budget amendments in numerous sessions of Congress, including the 104th Congress. On July 12, 1982, a balanced budget amendment was brought to the floor. As chairman of the Judiciary Committee, I was pleased to sponsor and guide that important measure to passage. On August 4, 1982, 69 Senators voted in favor of the resolution. While a majority supported it in the House, it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote. In March 1986, the Senate voted on another balanced budget amendment. It was unfortunate that the Resolution failed by one vote. Last session, the balanced budget amendment again failed by one vote. However, I am confident that we will yet pass the balanced budget amendment during the 104th Congress and call on the President to support that effort.

With or without a constitutional amendment, this Congress will enact a budget which protects the security, health and safety of our Nation, provides quality Government services, and eliminates harmful deficits.

Mr. President, this bill brings employees back to work with back pay. It also provides targeted appropriations, through the end of fiscal year 1996, for critical Government services. Enactment of this measure will remove the issue of the Federal Government shut-down and allow us to focus on the larger objective of the balanced budget agreement.

Mr. President, in closing, I commend the majority leader, Senator DOLE, and Senator DOMENICI, the chairman of the Budget Committee, for their leadership and continuing efforts to resolve this important issue. I call on the President to keep his promise, to stop the gimmicks, and do the right thing for the future of our great Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CONSTITUENTS

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, the Senate hopefully will be hearing from the distinguished majority leader and Democratic leader, as they are now returning from the White House. I am continuing to review the actions taken by the House. I am hopeful that these actions will reach a compromise, a position whereby the Government can return to provide the services to the people of this Nation. But I am going to withhold my approval until I read each word and study every comma and period in it. I am still working through that. But I felt at this time it would be appropriate for me to have printed in the RECORD a number of communications, just a sampling of the communications that I have received throughout this day in my office, together with, I think, some very fine editorial review by the newspapers in my State.

I will first include a letter written by a Mr. Paul T. Gernhardt, who writes:

I know you and your staff are quite busy so I will keep this short and to the point. I am not at all pleased with your handling of the budget process. You are not helping anyone's cause and are directly responsible for a great deal of unnecessary harm. People are beginning to lose their businesses, homes, and financial standing as you squabble between yourselves. As a business owner I just cannot understand your actions—there is no justification whatsoever.

As "constitutional officers" you have certain privileges, benefits, and opportunities (including protecting your own pay). However, you also have obligations. These include conducting the business of government in a professional and competent manner. At this point you are not fulfilling the responsibilities you agreed to assume. One of your primary duties is to pass a budget. This is not something that came up suddenly—waiting until well past the last moment solely for political gains is undignified and unprofessional.

I have to accept my share, as a Member of this body, of such criticism. I

still believe, however, that this debate has focused the Nation's attention on the need to get a balanced budget within a period of 7 years using certain criteria, namely the Congressional Budget Office figures in which the Congress of the United States places, I might say, a great deal of faith and credit. I am hopeful the final drafts, of what may be acted upon here momentarily, will make specific reference to that need, that the President should be forthcoming with such a budget using the 7-year criteria as well as CBO figures.

I hope we can resolve this tragic situation which has impacted my State, the Commonwealth of Virginia, as severely certainly as any other State, and in my judgment probably more severely than any other State in the Union, given the fact that we are privileged—and I say that—we are privileged to provide a home for so many Federal employees, a working place and an infrastructure to accommodate their needs, not only here in the northern Virginia area but, indeed, throughout the Tidewater of Virginia where we have the largest naval base in the world, one of the largest Air Force bases, several of the large Army bases, and, indeed, the industrial base which supports so much of our national defense.

As I have said here day after day on the floor, we are not only addressing the tragic plight of certain Government employees who have been furloughed, or others who are working but without pay. Also, the infrastructure that serves these Government employees—and vice versa, they serve the infrastructure, it works both ways—has been severely crippled. It has a ripple effect all throughout my State.

To compound the tragedy of the private sector, many of these employees being laid off in the private sector do not have any certainty that their loss of pay and benefits or other job security will ever be the subject of restitution.

Throughout this controversy I have worked with the distinguished majority leader. He has provided a letter to this Senator, as well as other Members of the House delegation from the greater metropolitan area of Washington, assuring us that he would fight very hard to see that all Federal pay is received eventually. As a matter of fact, S. 1508, the legislation which I cosponsored with Senator DOLE and the Presiding Officer, the senior Senator from Alaska, so provides specifically.

So, Mr. President, I really take very seriously these many communications. I myself have gone to our phones and received a number of the calls from my constituents, coming in from all over the State.

Let me mention another organization called Resource Applications, Inc. This is dated January 3, 1996.

DEAR SENATOR WARNER: As the partial shutdown continues into its third week, the economic damage is spreading fast, and the situation is becoming painful. The Govern-

ment shutdown is having a ripple effect on people and is devastating their lives. Yesterday, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) sent home 2,400 of its Superfund workers and stopped work at over 600 sites across the Nation, throwing tens of thousands of contract employees out of work.

The letter goes on to explain the impact on his particular firm, Resource Applications, Inc. It says:

As President of RAI, an environmental firm, I am like a father figure for our employees; they look to me for job security. With the majority of RAI's business with EPA, I am seriously concerned about the financial welfare of more than 100 people and their families. While I agree with your stand on issues that are morally and ethically good for our people, particularly the elderly, and the integrity of the environment, I want to tell you, the situation is becoming very difficult for the working people. An early resolution of the budget impasse and Government shutdown issues would be in the best interest of the country.

Yesterday, I had the head of the Environmental Protection Agency in to see me on wide range of issues, Carol Browner. I serve on the committee which has oversight for that Agency, and I had to bring to her attention, among other issues, the fact that our State very proudly has a large manufacturing plant operated by the Ford Motor Company. They are turning out a brand-new pickup truck which is eagerly being awaited all across the United States. As a matter of fact, I purchased my pickup truck from the same plant in Norfolk in 1989. It has been very useful to me on my farm, and I have enjoyed it, and I am going to keep driving it. But I must say I am quite envious of this new model. But, Mr. President, the new model cannot go into circulation for the reason that the Environmental Protection Agency has not had the staff with which to make the proper certifications as to the fact that this truck, this particular new model, can meet the environmental standards. That is an important thing to do—to have the truck meet those standards before it goes on the road.

So that is just another example of the many problems that the State of Virginia is facing.

I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the Roanoke Times of today be printed in the RECORD, a very balanced analysis of the problem.

And, again, it concludes with the last paragraph:

Dole was right, however, in judging the shutdown a poor means of exacting concessions. The House should end it today.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Roanoke Times, Jan. 5, 1996]

TIME TO END THE SHUTDOWN

Political fault-lines underlying the partial shutdown of government shifted and rose closer to the surface this week, as the shutdown's effects began rippling more ominously across the land.

As if to confirm his reputation as one of Washington's grown-ups, Majority Leader Bob Dole on Tuesday pushed legislation

through the Senate that would have reopened the government until Jan. 12, while Congress and the White House continued their budget talks.

The Senate reasonably, overwhelmingly approved the measure. Yet, egged on by a GOP vanguard of freshman militants, the House on Wednesday turned it down.

Now there's word the GOP leadership is changing its tune, and none too soon.

Keep in mind: Federal employees who were furloughed, as well as those working without pay, in the end will be paid. In the claimed pursuit of austerity, the shutdown is costing taxpayers, on top of other costs, huge sums to pay employees for work they weren't allowed to do.

Give credit, therefore, to Reps. Rick Boucher and L.F. Payne for their vote Wednesday to end the partial shutdown. Rep. Bob Goodlatte unfortunately joined with the GOP's House majority, initially refusing to consider the Senate-passed measure.

"Bob Dole made a huge miscalculation," grumbled one of the GOP tough guys, John Shadegg of Arizona. The partial shutdown, he and other House Republicans argued, is their best leverage for getting the White House to accept the basics of their balanced-budget plan. Shadegg called Dole's support for ending the shutdown "an act of betrayal."

But if Dole betrayed his party's zealots, he hardly betrayed his country—or his chances for the presidency. On Thursday, House leaders were conceding theirs was the miscalculation.

The shutdown has gone on long enough. Indeed, it is more likely getting in the way of, than moving along, the budget talks. Clinton might have discerned a self-serving political interest in continuing the standoff rather than try to end it.

"It is wrong * * * to shut the government down while we negotiate, under the illusion that somehow that will affect the decisions that I would make on specific issues," Clinton said. He's right.

It is wrong to hold Americans hostage to budget bargaining and partisan charade; Meals on Wheel clients, nursing-home residents. Head Start youngsters, vendors waiting to be paid, citizens wanting to visit national parks or to travel overseas, Americans depending on unemployment assistance or water-quality monitoring—not to mention 760,000 unpaid federal workers.

Congress has proposed measures that Clinton is right to veto—mean-spirited, counterproductive measures. But House Republicans are right when they criticize the president for failing to specify how he would balance the budget in seven years, given a common set of fiscal assumptions.

To bargain in good faith—while still sticking to principles that, in most cases rightly, he says he'll stand by—Clinton needs to be more forthcoming.

Dole was right, however, in judging the shutdown a poor means of exacting concessions. The House should end it today.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, let us hope that the relevant document delivered to the desk in the Senate by the Clerk of the House of Representatives contains the legislative initiatives that will enable us to resolve this.

Mr. President, seeing the distinguished majority leader, I yield the floor.

AGRICULTURE POLICY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, for the past several weeks, America has focused its attention on the budget talks