

Mr. Speaker, I am amazed. I thought that pro-life and pro-abortion advocates would finally be able to find some common ground in this contentious debate. I thought that no one would be able to defend such an abhorrent procedure. Sadly, I was wrong. Luckily, there is still time to review the facts, and I urge my colleagues to do just that. Read over the procedure. Read over the AMA legislative counsel's unanimous decision. Read over the polls on America's view on late term abortions. Then do the only thing you can do and vote for the ban on partial-birth abortions.

Thank you.

Mrs. VUCANOVICH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend the following editorial which appeared in the September/October issue of the American Enterprise magazine. Maggie Gallagher does an excellent job of describing the brutal reality of an inhuman procedure known as partial birth abortion.

After you have examined the facts, I invite you to join with me in voting for H.R. 1833—the Partial Birth Abortion Act Ban of 1995.

[From the American Enterprise, September-October 1995]

A PERFECTLY LEGAL PROCEDURE

(By Maggie Gallagher)

She still has recurring nightmares—flashbacks, like a soldier back from Vietnam: "I see the baby, its hands and legs moving. Then the scissors jab, and the body goes limp. It haunts me."

Despite what you might think, Brenda Schafer, a 38-year-old registered nurse from Franklin, Ohio, is not a witness to a gruesome crime. She is an eyewitness to a perfectly legal procedure going on across America under the cover of abstract, pious words that all sensible people believe in—words like, "a doctor-patient relationship" and "a woman's right to choose."

The procedure is called a partial-birth abortion, and perhaps 500 to 4,000 of them are carried out every year. According to Brenda, it is impossible to exaggerate the procedure's horrors. Here is what she saw the day the temp agency assigned her to Dr. Martin Haskell's Dayton, Ohio abortion clinic: "The whole baby was delivered, except for its head. I could see the hands and legs moving. Have you ever seen a baby fling out its arms when it is startled? That's what it look like. I saw Dr. Haskell insert a pair of scissors, then the baby flinched. He inserted a high-power suction catheter [to remove the brain tissue], and the baby went limp. I almost threw up all over the floor." The baby was not defective and, at a gestational age of 26-and-a-half weeks, was well past the 23 to 24 weeks doctors considered the point of viability; most premature infants born at that age do pretty well.

There were six partial-birth abortions that day in that clinic alone. Brenda assisted in three of them. One mother sought an abortion because her baby had Down's syndrome; the other two carried babies with no defects. One mother was a 17-year-old unwed woman. The other, whose partial-birth abortion is described above, was a married 40-year-old with a grown son who apparently decided, rather late, that she didn't want a change-of-life baby.

While the larger issue of abortion is of course enormously controversial, we know that practices like partial-birth abortions, abortion for sex selection, and late-term abortion are strongly opposed by large majorities of Americans. Aiming to bring some peace to the abortion wars by at least eliminating these most offensive procedures, the House Committee on the Judiciary recently approved a bill to ban partial-birth abor-

tions. Abortion-rights advocates, however, have made it clear they will accept no limitations of abortion on demand, at any time or for any reason. NOW president Patricia Ireland has denounced the House bill, while Barbara Bradford of the National Abortion Federation sent out talking points for abortion defenders that urged: don't apologize, it's legal procedure.

Brenda says she once believed in the noble-sounding slogans of the pro-choice movement: "I have four teenage daughters. I told them if they got pregnant, I'd make them have an abortion." Like many Americans, she was fiercely committed to abortion rights in the abstract; it was the reality she literally couldn't stomach.

When it was over, the mother who underwent a partial-birth abortion that day insisted on seeing the results. So Brenda and the other nurses cleaned it up, wrapped it in a blanket, and put the corpse of a little baby in her arms. Face-to-face with what she had done, the woman began crying inconsolably, repeatedly pleading, "God forgive me."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. SEASTRAND). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SKAGGS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

[Mr. SKAGGS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

ENDING WELFARE FOR LOBBYISTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MCINTOSH] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MCINTOSH. Madam Speaker, I am here to speak tonight on an issue that is continuing to be debated in the House and in the Senate, and that is our efforts to end welfare for lobbyists. As many of you know, last summer this House of Representatives passed a landmark piece of legislation that was added to the Labor-HHS appropriations bill, that said from now on anybody who receives a Federal grant has to make a choice. They can either continue to receive the Government funds or they can give up the funds and then continue to be lobbyists. But they cannot do both as long as they are receiving a Federal subsidy.

That bill, I think, strikes an important blow on behalf of taxpayers everywhere who no longer wish to be seeing their taxes used to finance some of the biggest, most powerful and influential lobbying organizations right here in Washington, DC, organizations who have continually over the last 40 years lobbied this Congress for more and more and more spending so that we have runaway deficits and the largest national debt in history.

This legislation, legislation that we referred to as ending welfare for lobbyists, I think is very important and strikes a blow on behalf of taxpayers everywhere for responsible Government. Tonight I wanted to discuss with you and several of my colleagues the nature of this problem and what our solution is and how we plan to go for-

ward in implementing that reform on behalf of the taxpayers.

First, I have a chart here that gives you an idea of what is happening. We discovered that currently there are \$39 billion that the Federal Government says it gives out in grants each year. Now, some of that money goes to very worthwhile causes and to groups who are not lobbyists, but the large percentage of that money goes to groups who turn around and lobby the Government for more spending and for various social programs. That subsidy for the lobbying activities here in Washington is exactly the area that we are targeting with this legislation.

Again, I want to emphasize what we will be doing is saying to the groups, "If you want to be a charity and do good works, that you are entitled to do, and we will support you under the various Federal programs. But if you want to be a lobbyist, you need to do it on your own time and on your own dime, because the taxpayer is not going to subsidize lobbying any longer."

Madam Speaker, at this point I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. HAYWORTH], who is here to join us in support of this bill.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Madam Speaker, I thank my friend from Indiana for again introducing and really being the catalyst for this important legislation.

Madam Speaker, I think perhaps you were also in the Chamber the night this particular measure was first debated. I can recall, after all, this is known as the people's House, and as my good friend from Indiana joined me here on the floor, I guess it is safe to say that there was a particularly raucous response from one of our friends on the minority from California. Indeed, to read his comments the following day in the Wall Street Journal, I found it to be somewhat incredible; quoting him now, "It is a glorious day if you are a fascist; if you are a fascist, it is a glorious day."

My friend from California took great unbrage at the fact that through the efforts of my friend from Indiana this new majority was moving not to extinguish advocacy, but to say, as my colleague from Indiana did so quite eloquently, if you are engaged in lobbying, do it on your own time with your own dime. Would that it were just a dime being spent.

But as my friend from Indiana, in concert with my good friend from Maryland and our more senior colleague from Oklahoma have detailed, this is not penny ante here. This is \$39 billion in money from the taxpayers of America, Madam Speaker, from you and I and other taxpayers out there working hard to feed their families and to provide a future for their children, or as seniors on a fixed income, to make ends meet.

Their money is going into a process that I think is fair to describe, and I am not exaggerating here, it can only be described as somewhat incestuous, where people come to the Hill and lobby for funds and, indeed, many of their endeavors are worthwhile, and