

and I would like to say, in closing our argument. I do think that we did the best we could do on this bill. Let me say to the pro-life people, I resisted tremendous pressure from the Democratic side several years ago to put language in the bill which would have allowed abortions overseas. We did not put that language in our bill because we thought that would be inappropriate. We thought the pro-life position was the right position and we resisted that position.

I would hope the Members would take that into consideration. It sounds like we need a medic here to save this bill because everybody is talking negative. I think we have a good bill. I think we have a bill that is as good as we can get, and I hope we will be able to convince the White House to sign the bill when it finally gets to them. I would urge the Members to vote for a reasonable defense bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I thank my good friend for yielding me time.

This is a very, very difficult position, I think, for many of us on the pro-life side to be in. Let me make it very clear why many pro-life Members of Congress oppose this conference report. We do not contend that supporters of the report are necessarily pro-abortion. Indeed, the opposite is true: the chairman of the full committee and the chairman of the subcommittee and the ranking member are very pro-life. But sadly, the fact of the matter is that this is a pro-abortion bill.

Mr. Speaker, the House voted to prohibit abortions in our military hospitals. The conference report will allow abortions in these hospitals for any reason whatsoever without limitation. Members of Congress who ordinarily vote against abortion can support this legislation if, and only if, they have not read the language carefully or, perhaps, if they have other priorities that come before the unborn child.

How important are the lives of these children that would be put at risk if this conference report were to be enacted into law? If your life or mine, I say to my friends, if your life or mine were at risk or in jeopardy of being either chemically poisoned or killed by a dismemberment, or by a suction machine, would voting down this conference report be so difficult to do?

I would suggest and submit that we all know that eventually a conference report will be passed, or perhaps as part of a CR we will fund the Department of Defense. It is a matter of when. It is not a matter of if.

Mr. Speaker, let me also point out to Members that the Dornan language is carried over in this bill, but then there is gutting language. One person referred to it as a "caveat." It completely and totally negates the operative section of the Dornan language.

Let me also remind Members that all of the pro-life groups—the Christian Coalition, the National Right to Life Committee—reluctantly but, nevertheless firmly, have come down and asked for a no vote on this DOD conference report.

It is a very difficult situation for all of us to be in. I do not like it, nobody likes it, but if we want to save the unborn, if we want to save them from the cruelty of abortion, a no vote is the only way to go.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] has 1¼ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. YOUNG] has one speaker remaining.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume to simply say that I think Members have given ample reason for opposing the bill in general. I would also urge that they support the motion to recommit for the simple reason that it prevents a \$31 million ripoff of the taxpayers to the United States, a ripoff which will enrich a few corporate directors while the workers of that same company are being laid off.

I do not think that is a proposition any of us can go home and explain to any of our constituents, and I do not think we should even try. So I would urge the adoption of the recommittal motion and the defeat of the bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members responded to their names:

[Roll No. 698]

Abercrombie  
Allard  
Andrews  
Archer  
Armey  
Bachus  
Baesler  
Baker (CA)  
Baker (LA)  
Baldacci  
Ballenger  
Barcia  
Barr  
Barrett (NE)  
Barrett (WI)  
Bartlett  
Barton  
Bass  
Bateman  
Becerra  
Beilenson  
Bentsen  
Bereuter  
Bevill  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Bishop  
Bliley  
Blute  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bonilla  
Bono  
Borski  
Boucher  
Brewster  
Browder

Brown (FL)  
Brown (OH)  
Brownback  
Bryant (TN)  
Bryant (TX)  
Bunn  
Bunning  
Burr  
Burton  
Buyer  
Calvert  
Camp  
Canady  
Cardin  
Castle  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Chapman  
Chenoweth  
Christensen  
Chryslers  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clinger  
Clyburn  
Coble  
Coburn  
Coleman  
Collins (GA)  
Collins (MI)  
Combest  
Condit  
Conyers  
Cooley  
Costello  
Cox

Coyne  
Cramer  
Crane  
Crapo  
Creameans  
Cubin  
Cunningham  
Danner  
Davis  
de la Garza  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeLauro  
Diaz-Balart  
Dickey  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doolittle  
Dornan  
Doyle  
Dreier  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Durbin  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Ehrlich  
Emerson  
Engel  
English  
Ensign  
Eshoo  
Evans  
Everett

Ewing  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fawell  
Fazio  
Fields (TX)  
Filner  
Flake  
Flanagan  
Foglietta  
Foley  
Forbes  
Ford  
Fowler  
Fox  
Franks (CT)  
Franks (NJ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Frisa  
Funderburk  
Furse  
Gallegly  
Ganske  
Gejdenson  
Gekas  
Gephardt  
Geren  
Gilchrest  
Gillmor  
Gonzalez  
Goodlatte  
Goodling  
Gordon  
Goss  
Graham  
Green  
Greenwood  
Gunderson  
Gutierrez  
Gutknecht  
Hall (OH)  
Hall (TX)  
Hancock  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hastert  
Hastings (FL)  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Hefner  
Heineman  
Herger  
Hilleary  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hobson  
Hoekstra  
Hoke  
Holden  
Horn  
Hostettler  
Houghton  
Hunter  
Hutchinson  
Hyde  
Inglis  
Istook  
Jackson-Lee  
Jefferson  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnson, Sam  
Johnston  
Jones  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kasich  
Kelly  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
Kim  
King  
Kingston  
Kleczka  
Klink  
Klug  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lantos  
Largent  
Latham

LaTourette  
Laughlin  
Lazio  
Leach  
Levin  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (GA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Lightfoot  
Lincoln  
Linder  
Lipinski  
Livingston  
LoBiondo  
Lofgren  
Longley  
Lowey  
Lucas  
Luther  
Maloney  
Manton  
Manzullo  
Markey  
Martinez  
Martini  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy  
McCollum  
McCrery  
McDade  
McDermott  
McHale  
McInnis  
McIntosh  
McKeon  
McKinney  
McNulty  
Meehan  
Meek  
Menendez  
Metcalf  
Meyers  
Mfume  
Mica  
Miller (CA)  
Miller (FL)  
Mineta  
Minge  
Mink  
Molinari  
Mollohan  
Montgomery  
Moorhead  
Moran  
Morella  
Murtha  
Myers  
Myrick  
Nadler  
Nadler  
Neal  
Nethercutt  
Neumann  
Ney  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Olver  
Ortiz  
Orton  
Oxley  
Packard  
Pallone  
Parker  
Pastor  
Paxon  
Payne (NJ)  
Payne (VA)  
Pelosi  
Peterson (FL)  
Peterson (MN)  
Petri  
Pickett  
Pombo  
Pomeroy  
Portman  
Poshard  
Pryce  
Quinn  
Radanovich  
Rahall  
Ramstad  
Rangel  
Reed  
Regula  
Richardson  
Riggs

Rivers  
Roberts  
Roemer  
Rohrabacher  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Rose  
Roth  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Royce  
Rush  
Sabo  
Salmon  
Sanders  
Sanford  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer  
Schiff  
Schroeder  
Schumer  
Scott  
Seastrand  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Shadegg  
Shaw  
Shays  
Shuster  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (MI)  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Spratt  
Stearns  
Stenholm  
Stockman  
Stokes  
Studds  
Stump  
Stupak  
Talent  
Tanner  
Tate  
Tauzin  
Taylor (MS)  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas  
Thornberry  
Thornton  
Thurman  
Tiahrt  
Torkildsen  
Torres  
Torricelli  
Towns  
Traficant  
Upton  
Velazquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Volkmer  
Vucanovich  
Waldholtz  
Walsh  
Wamp  
Ward  
Waters  
Watt (NC)  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Williams  
Wise  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wyden  
Wynn  
Yates  
Young (AK)  
Young (FL)  
Zeliff  
Zimmer

□ 1408

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BUNNING of Kentucky). On this rollcall, 403 Members have recorded their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

Under the rule, further proceedings under the call are dispensed with.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret that my being involved in an event at the White House prevented me from voting on rollcall No. 698, a quorum call. Had I been able to vote I would have voted "present."

#### CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2126, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1996

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. YOUNG] has 5 minutes remaining.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LIVINGSTON], the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

(Mr. LIVINGSTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, if this bill goes down, what does he think the next one is going to look like?

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LIVINGSTON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. MURTHA. Mr. Speaker, the problem, as I see it, is, we had over 2000 suggestions and recommendations to the bill. Obviously, we had to make a judgment on each of those recommendations as we went through the bill. Certainly, it would be a problem because as it gets involved in negotiations, there will be less of everything available. So there is no question in my mind, that there will be some substantial changes in the bill.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. There was some clapping when the gentleman said that. Some Members believe that what the gentleman from Pennsylvania said is a good thing. As a matter of fact, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY] spoke against the bill. He thinks that there is too much spending. The gentleman, various other folks on the other side of the aisle and on this side of the aisle have spoken against the bill for various reasons.

We got a letter here from Alice Rivlin, dated today, saying the President of the United States is going to veto this bill because it is too much spending. I know that that represents a large sentiment in the minority, the minority.

My colleagues, I address these comments to my friends on this side, we are the majority. We have been elected to set the agenda. One of the planks in the Contract With America was to provide for a strong national defense.

Now, there are those among us who came to Congress with one issue or two issues in mind that had nothing whatsoever to do with the strong national defense. And I agree with them on those issues. Some want to balance the budget. Some believe that the protection of innocent life is the most important thing in this world. I agree with them. I have got a 100 percent pro-life record. But I also think that we as elected Members of the House of Representatives have the responsibility to represent our mutual constituents. We have the responsibility of representing every live: man, woman and child in our districts, every man, woman and child in America. Under the Constitution of the United States, one of our primary, if not our primary, responsibilities is to provide for an adequate defense for this Nation.

The House Committee on Appropriations and the Senate Committee on Appropriations have met in conference and we have produced a conference report in bipartisan fashion which provides for not only an adequate defense but for a better defense than the President of the United States was prepared to provide if his numbers had governed.

Last year in the rose garden in front of the White House, the President of the United States, surrounded by people with medals of all sorts, his Joint Chiefs of Staff, said his plan to reduce the military, the pentagon, had gone so far that he was \$25 billion short, short in his plans to protect the sanctity of the United States to provide for the national defense. And, therefore, he was going to recommend that we spend \$25 billion more.

Guess what? The check never arrived. It never came. In his budget proposal in February, he provided for spending on defense of \$7 billion less than last year, \$7 billion less than last year.

This conference committee, in conjunction with the Senate, said, no, Mr. President. We are going to hold you to your promise. We are going to provide exactly, not more, not less, but exactly what we provided last year. We are going to stem the flow. We realize that defense has been the scapegoat for every domestic program on earth for 11 straight years, that for the last 11 years procurement has gone down by almost 75 percent, that in real terms, spending on defense has gone down by nearly 30 percent, and that it is time to stand up for the young men and women in uniform in this country and provide the basic services, the basic maintenance, the basic operations, the basic training that they need to do their job.

□ 1415

Now the President of the United States, the President of the United States, may well come to us in a few weeks and say he wants to send 25,000, or any number, of troops to Bosnia, and some of my colleagues want to put a preemption in there and say, "No, Mr. President, you can't do that." I suggest to my colleagues that we can do that,

that he must come to Congress, that he cannot ignore us, but to take the unheard-of-step, unconstitutional step, of binding him before he has taken that action, is to play in the hands of the foolish of the world who believe that it is in the best interest of the pacifists of the world to simply bind the President in future events. How in the world can we really seriously say that no matter what happens in this world, no matter how much more peaceful in this world the President can make Europe by helping Bosnia, that we are going to cut it off today without knowing what is going to happen tomorrow and that under no circumstances can we put 10 troops in Bosnia, let alone 25,000?

Let us cross that bridge when we come to it. Let us not unconstitutionally bind the President of the United States. Let us pass a good defense bill, even with last year. Let us not get hung up on pro-life issues that are important to all of us who are pro-life, but let us not forget that our first responsibility is to provide for an adequate national defense for every man, woman, and child in America today.

This is a good bill. Pass it.

Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I stand before this House and offer a pledge of allegiance. However, unlike the pledge we take each morning, this pledge of allegiance is to those who are not yet born.

Simply said, I pledge allegiance to the right to life.

My belief in the right to life is not debatable, it is not contestable, it is not even open to discussion. It is an issue that simply offers no compromise and yet, today we face a dilemma.

That dilemma surrounds our vote on the 1996 Department of Defense Appropriations Act conference report. That report contains a provision that prohibits funds from being made available to perform abortions at DOD medical facilities only if specifically authorized in the National Defense Authorization Act. The Appropriations Committee has now placed a burden of responsibility squarely on the shoulders of those on the authorization committee.

Well, I accept that responsibility. And as I cast my vote for the appropriations conference report, I clearly understand that I must work hard to make certain the 1996 DOD authorization language directs that those facilities will not be used for abortions. At the same time, a vote for the appropriations conference report is a vote of support for our national defense and the needs of our Nation's military.

The correct forum to fight the battle against performing abortions in DOD facilities is in the authorization conference committee. As such, I encourage my colleagues to support the appropriations conference report.

Vote today for the conference report but I implore each and everyone in this chamber to support the design of language that prohibits this unacceptable procedure in our 1996 Defense Authorization Act.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to oppose the conference report accompanying H.R. 2126, the Defense appropriations bill for fiscal year 1996. My colleagues, this conference agreement appropriates a total of \$243.3 billion for defense programs—\$6.9 billion more than the administration's request