

for someone in your district whose achievements exemplify President Roosevelt's conservation commitment. You can even recognize several award winners by establishing a youth award, a senior award, or a local business conservation award.

Be sure to contact your local media when you establish the award and when you award the winner. To facilitate the process of identifying potential winners. You can involve your local conservation task force and local schools in the decision process.

XII. Environmental PSAs

Members of Congress are important leaders. As such it is both appropriate and encouraged that you speak out on local environmental issues through the use of public service announcements (PSAs).

Suggested environmental PSAs could include:

- Proper battery disposal.
- Encouraging recycling at home.
- Proper motor oil disposal when changing your car's oil.
- Encouraging respect for nature when camping or hunting.
- Keeping lakes, rivers, and beaches clean by putting garbage in its place.

These PSAs can air on both radio and cable stations. To produce a PSA first contact your local radio and cable stations to inquire if they will run your PSA. When producing PSAs, you can use studios at the radio and cable station or you can use the House Recording Studio.

XIII. Door to door-handing out tree saplings

If your current plans include door to door, consider passing out tree saplings with your door to door pamphlet. Some Members even design the pamphlet so that it is attached to the tree sapling.

This practice demonstrates your commitment to the environment by encouraging the planting of the trees and it provides you with an opportunity to use appropriate language tying your legislative agenda to the "roots" you are establishing or growing in your community.

XIV. River, lake, beach, or park clean ups

Through your conservation task force or through already established organizations, consider participating in local river, lake, beach, or park clean ups. Participating in these events will provide you with an opportunity to gain positive media exposure and further demonstrates your commitment to the environment.

XV. Local zoo

Become active in your local zoo. Go for a visit, participate in fundraising events, become active on its citizens advisory board, or help create enthusiasm for special projects it might be promoting.

CONCLUSION

Remember, the environment must be a proactive issue. Congressional staff in both the Washington office and the district office need to concentrate on seeking out environmental opportunities for their boss. Republicans should not be afraid of the environmental extremists—embrace our record and act to promote it.

Mr. SPECTER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I support the amendment offered by the distinguished Senator from Kansas, Senator KASSEBAUM, and supported by others, Senator LEAHY and Senator BOXER as well.

It seems to me a fundamental proposition that a private organization ought to be able to use its funds over-

seas for any purpose which it chooses. The Kassebaum amendment provides that there will be no U.S. dollars used to pay for abortion, and, in my view, that ought to take care of the objection of anybody who does not want to have U.S. taxpayer dollars spent on abortions.

But the factor of not limiting a private organization to a standard which is different than the laws of the host country seems to me to be fundamental. Were these moneys to be spent in another country, let the laws of those countries determine what is appropriate. To try to impose a limitation under the so-called Mexico City policy, the House language, which would prohibit United States dollars to organizations which are bilateral or multilateral, where those organizations use their own funds for whatever purposes, including abortion, seems to me to be a matter which is really within the purview of those private organizations. What concerns me, Mr. President, is that this controversy is part of a broader controversy which has engulfed the U.S. Senate and the House on the confirmation of Dr. Henry Foster, where he was not even given a vote on confirmation in the Senate because he performed medical procedures—abortions—permitted by the U.S. Constitution; a debate on an appropriations bill about whether women in prison would be able to have abortions at public expense, where they were necessary, in the judgment of the doctor, for medical purposes or where that woman might have been a victim of incest; even under the restrictive language of limiting the language of abortion to incest, rape, or the life of the mother. It is not just whether funds ought to be available if a woman in a Federal prison is unable to earn any money or to take care of her own medical needs, and she is denied a medical procedure—an abortion—if she is the victim of incest, or the issue about having medical procedures—abortions—available for women in overseas medical installations.

There is really a broad scale attack on a woman's right to choose, a constitutional right that is recognized by the Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States—not going back to *Roe versus Wade* in 1973, but a decision handed down in *Casey versus Planned Parenthood* by the Supreme Court in 1992, an opinion written by three Justices appointed by Republican Presidents, Reagan and Bush, an opinion written by Justices Souter, O'Connor, and Anthony Kennedy.

So I hope that we will not further limit the right of a private organization to use their own funds for overseas purposes, even if they include abortion, simply because that U.S. organization may have U.S. funds for totally separate and collateral purposes.

MILITARY ACTION IN BOSNIA

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, this is a subject which has been spoken about on our floor and has been the subject of action by the House—that is, the subject of not having military action in Bosnia, which utilizes United States troops without prior consent by the Congress of the United States. This is a very, very important subject, Mr. President, for many reasons.

We have learned from the bitter experience of Vietnam that the United States cannot successfully wage a war which does not have public backing, and the first indicia of public backing is approval by the Congress of the United States.

We have deviated from the constitutional requirement that only the Congress can declare war. In Korea, we had a conflict, a war without a declaration of war and, again, in Vietnam. When a Republican President, President George Bush, wanted to act under Presidential authority to move into the gulf with military action, I was one of many Senators who stood on this floor and objected to that, because it was a matter that ought to have been initiated only with congressional action.

Finally, in January 1991, in a historic debate on this floor, the Congress of the United States authorized the use of force, and I supported that policy for the use of force. But the more important principle involved was that the President could not act unilaterally, could not act on his own.

Similarly, I think that is a mandatory consideration on the Bosnian situation. I have disagreed—many of us have—with the President's policy in Bosnia. On this floor, I have said on a number of occasions, as have others, that the arms embargo against the Bosnian Moslems was bad public policy, that the Bosnian Moslems ought to be able to defend themselves against Serbian atrocities.

After the Senate voted overwhelmingly to lift that embargo, and the House voted overwhelmingly to lift that embargo, only then did the President become involved in the Bosnian situation and effectuated a policy of United States airstrikes. And I, among many others, argued with the administration and the military leaders that we should have undertaken airstrikes to use U.S. military power in a way which did not put large numbers of our troops at risk.

We were told by the administration and by military leaders that air power without ground support would be ineffective. But, finally, when the administration was faced with no alternative, except to face a possible override on their veto of the legislation lifting the arms embargo, then, and only then, was air power employed, and very, very effectively. I believe that the use of U.S. air power is entirely appropriate, but the use of ground forces is not.

We have seen the policy in Somalia, where this administration went beyond

humanitarian purposes to nation building. It was up to the Congress of the United States to withhold funding. That might be necessary again, in a very unsatisfactory way, to have the constitutional mandate that only the Congress can declare war, enforced through the congressional power of the appropriations process. It is most unsatisfactory to have a Presidential commitment and to have U.S. troops involved and then to have it terminated only by the withholding of funds.

So it is my hope, Mr. President, that President Clinton will not act unilaterally, as he did in Haiti, against the overwhelming sense of the Senate and sense of the House that there not be an invasion of Haiti. Fortunately, it was done without bloodshed. But this is a constitutional issue of the highest import. If the President wishes to exercise the use of force in Bosnia, he ought to follow the constitutional doctrine, the precedent of the gulf war, and he ought to come to Congress for authorization. Then, and only then, will there be an appropriate opportunity to debate the matter and for Congress to exercise its will under the Constitution.

On the state of the record, my view is that there ought not to be an American commitment of troops. But, certainly, that ought not to be done by the President unilaterally. The matter ought to come before the Congress, and it ought to be a congressional decision one way or another, under the constitutional provision that only the Congress has the authority to declare war.

I yield the floor.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the conference report.

Mr. SIMPSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 3041

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask that I be added as a cosponsor of the Leahy-Kassebaum amendment.

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

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I want to show my support for this amendment, which, of course, includes U.S. funding for the U.N. Population Fund, UNFPA, as it is known. President Clinton had to resume funding for the population fund 2 years ago after a 7-year suspension during the Reagan and Bush administrations. I did not ascribe to that. I did not agree with the fine Presidents of my own party on that issue—either the wonderful Ronald Reagan or my fine, loyal friend, George Bush.

Last year, the Congress appropriated \$40 million for the fund, and \$50 million was appropriated for 1995. This year, we are looking at funding levels of \$35 million.

I do understand that funding for all programs across the board needs to be reduced if we are to incur savings in this year's budget bill. However, I do not want to see population programs unfairly targeted for larger reductions than other foreign assistance programs.

The United States needs to keep its funding at an adequate level, or we will surely send exactly the wrong message to the rest of the developed nations across the world. Last year, the United States was seen as a world's leader of population and development assistance at the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. I was a congressional delegate at the conference, as was my friend, Senator John KERRY. There were not a lot of colleagues eager or seeking to go to that particular conference. I came away very impressed with the leadership and direction displayed there by Vice President GORE, and the assistance given him by the now Under Secretary of State, former Senator, Tim Wirth in guiding the conference and its delegates in developing a "consensus document," on a broad range of short- and long-term recommendations concerning maternal and child health care, strengthening family planning programs, the promotion of educational opportunities for girls and women, and improving status and rights of women across the world.

We surely do not want to lose our moral leadership role and relinquish any momentum by abandoning or severely weakening our financial commitment to population and development assistance. The United States needs to continue its global efforts to achieve responsible and sustainable population levels, and to back that up with leadership with specific commitments to population planning activities.

In my mind, of all of the challenges facing this country—and there are surely plenty of them—and around the world—none compares to that of the increasing of the population growth of the world. All of our efforts to protect the environment, all the things we hear about what is going to happen, what will happen to this forest system, or this ecosystem, promoting economic development, jobs for those around the world, are compromised and severely injured by the staggering growth in the world's population.

I hope my colleagues realize, of course, that there are currently 5.7 billion people on the Earth. In 1950, when I was a freshman at the University of Wyoming—not that long ago, surely—there were 2.5 billion people on the face of the Earth. Mr. President, 2.5 billion people using the Earth's surface for sustenance and procreation in 1950. Today, 5.7 billion—double—more than double.

Since 1950 to today, the figure has doubled and it will double again if birth and death rates continue. The world's population will double again in 40 years. These are huge figures.

If you want to talk about food supply, want to talk about the environment, pollution, fish, timber, coal, resources, there is your figure. Nobody pays much attention to that because we allow this debate to slip over to abortion. It does not have anything to do with abortion or coercive practices.

That is why it is so important we show our support by funding this particular fund. It is supported entirely by voluntary contributions, not by the U.N. regular budget.

You do not have to get into this one because you hate the United Nations either. This is not about whether you like the United Nations or not. Many of us have great problems with the United Nations, and they have certainly failed in many endeavors, but this is not a "U.N. caper."

There were 88 donors to the fund in 1994, most of which were developing nations. Japan and the United States were the leading contributors to the fund with the Nordic countries not lagging far behind.

UNFPA assistance goes to support 150 countries and territories across the world. UNFPA total income in 1994 was \$265.3 million, and it provides about one-fourth of the world's population assistance to all developing countries.

I think it would be a real shame if the United States were to back away from its commitment to the world's largest source of multilateral assistance for population programs.

I want to reiterate again what has been said already about U.S. participation in this fund. The U.S. contribution would be subject to all the restrictions which have been in place for many years. These restrictions are in place to address concerns specifically about U.S. funds being spent in China. I hear those concerns.

Under current appropriations law, foreign aid funding is denied to any organization or program that "supports or participates in the management of a program of coerced abortion or involuntary sterilization" in any country. That is pretty clear. I agree with that.

Furthermore, current appropriations law ensures that none of the United States contribution to UNFPA may be used in China—none. Listen carefully: The United States is not funding any of the population activities in China.

Furthermore, the U.N. Population Fund does not fund abortions or support coercive activities in any country including China. The UNFPA assistance goes toward family planning services and maternal and child health care across the developing world.

Finally, no U.S. funds may be commingled with other UNFPA funds and numerous penalties exist in law for any violation of this requirement.

I also have deep and serious concerns about China's coerced abortion policy, but forcing the U.N. Population Fund to withdraw from China will not affect that policy one whit. In fact, without