

taxes except for the Social Security tax. That was a tax cut, a tax credit for families. Not wealthy people, for families.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. And it was based on the basic notion that families can spend this money far more efficiently than the Federal bureaucracy. And I doubt if there is anybody in this room or anybody in Congress or anybody who is watching this at home who doubts the basic wisdom of that. Families are very responsible for the resources that they have.

Let me tell a quick personal story. We have just a couple of minutes and I will close with this. I was raised in a family with three boys. My dad was a life-long member of the AFL-CIO. He worked in a factory. The largest single payment that my family made when I was growing up was their house payment. But for the average family today, the largest payment they make is to the government. The average family trying to raise three kids today spends more for taxes than for food, clothing, and shelter combined, and we believe that they ought to have some tax relief.

Mr. SHAYS. Thirty-eight percent of their income is paid in taxes, where when my parents were raising me it was about 15 percent. And my parents were allowed a much larger deduction per child than families are today.

Let me close and thank my colleagues for joining me by saying that this new Republican majority has three basic objectives: to get our financial house in order and balance the budget; and the second, to save our trust funds particularly Medicare from bankruptcy; and our third effort is to transform our caretaking society into a caring society, to transform our caretaking social and corporate and agricultural welfare state into a caring opportunity society.

We are looking to bring money, power, and influence out of Washington back to people in local communities. And we are going to do this for the good of the children because, as Mr. Rabin said, the former Prime Minister of Israel, politicians are elected by adults to represent the children. And this Republican Congress is looking to represent the children so that they have a brighter future than we had.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I truly thank you for giving us this opportunity, and I am going to yield back the balance of my time.

□ 2000

TEAMWORK FOR EMPLOYEES AND MANAGERS ACT OF 1995—VETO MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 104-251)

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCINNIS) laid before the House the following veto message from the President of the United States:

*To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning herewith without my approval, H.R. 743, the "Teamwork for Employees and Managers Act of 1995." This act would undermine crucial employee protections.

I strongly support workplace practices that promote cooperative labor-management relations. In order for the United States to remain globally competitive into the next century, employees must recognize their stake in their employer's business, employers must value their employees' labor, and each must work in partnership with the other. Cooperative efforts, by promoting mutual trust and respect, can encourage innovation, improve productivity, and enhance the efficiency and performance of American workplaces.

Current law provides for a wide variety of cooperative workplace efforts. It permits employers to work with employees in quality circles to improve quality, efficiency, and productivity. Current law also allows employers to delegate significant managerial responsibilities to employee work teams, sponsor brainstorming sessions, and solicit employee suggestions and criticisms. Today, 30,000 workplaces across the country has employee involvement plans. According to one recent survey, 96 percent of large employers already have established such programs.

I strongly support further labor-management cooperation within the broad parameters allowed under current law. To the extent that recent National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decisions have created uncertainty as to the scope of permissible cooperation, the NLRB, in the exercise of its independent authority, should provide guidance to clarify the broad legal boundaries of the labor-management teamwork. The Congress rejected a more narrowly defined proposal designed to accomplish that objective.

Instead, this legislation, rather than promoting genuine teamwork, would undermine the system of collective bargaining that has served this country so well for many decades. It would do this by allowing employers to establish company unions where no union currently exists and permitting company dominated unions where employees are in the process of determining whether to be represented by a union. Rather than encouraging true workplace cooperation, this bill would abolish protections that ensure independent and democratic representation in the workplace.

True cooperative efforts must be based on mutual partnerships. A context of mutual trust and respect encourages the prospect of achieving workplace innovation, improved productivity, and enhanced efficiency and workplace performance. Any ambiguities in his situation should be resolved, but without weakening or eliminating the fundamental right of employees to collective bargaining.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, July 30, 1996.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The objections of the President will be spread

at large upon the Journal, and the message and bill will be printed as a House document.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that further consideration of the veto message on the bill, H.R. 743, be postponed until Wednesday, July 31, 1996.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCINNIS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

#### PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTIONS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. GUTKNECHT] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the House for the opportunity to spend some time tonight to talk about an issue that has probably generated more mail and more phone calls and more responses from our constituents than virtually any issue since I joined the Congress just 18 months ago. I speak tonight about the issue of partial birth abortions.

I think we need to first of all talk a little bit about what in fact a partial birth abortion is. I had hoped to have some charts to show to my colleagues and those who may be watching on cable TV tonight what exactly a partial birth abortion is. But let me just say that in many respects it is a late term abortion in which the baby is virtually completely delivered and only the head of the baby is allowed to remain inside the womb, and then the doctor, the abortionist I think is a more accurate term, the abortionist takes a scissors and inserts that scissors into the back of the baby's brain, then using a very powerful suction device actually sucks out the brains of the baby. Then the baby is delivered. Of course, the baby is delivered dead.

It is true that in many respects in some of the abortions that are performed using this procedure, the babies are badly deformed and they have very little chance of surviving. I think we have to be honest and say that in some respects that is true. But in many respects, that is not true. Many times this is used just as a simple late term, what I would describe as a late term version of protracted birth control, where the baby is actually being destroyed simply because the baby is inconvenient to the mother at that particular point in her life.

On April 10, 1996, President Bill Clinton used his veto pen to perpetuate a tragedy that results in the destruction of innocent babies. It was on that date that the President vetoed H.R. 1833, the Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act.

I believe that every abortion actually involves two victims, both the baby and the mother, and I believe that every abortion sadly takes the life of an innocent child. I do understand politically that the American people and

the Nation has not yet reached a consensus on saying that all abortions should be banned in this country. But I do believe that in late term abortions like this, particularly when they are performed with this grisly procedure, that I think most Americans are prepared to say that this procedure ought to be outlawed and we ought to say that this is one procedure that is not legal under our system of laws.

As I said, in most respects the baby is pulled from the mother's womb legs first, and then a scissors is inserted in the baby's skull, opening them to enlarge a hole so that a suction catheter can then be inserted and the baby's brains are sucked out, causing the skull to collapse. The difference between this heinous procedure and homicide is literally only a matter of inches.

Regardless of one's position on abortion, and I do understand and I try to be empathetic and sympathetic to those who have different views than mine about the whole system of abortion and what should be legal and what should not be legal in this United States, it is clear that a vast majority of Americans supporting banning this particular procedure. In fact, I think the more that the American people learn about this particular procedure, the more that they say that we cannot be a society that tolerates this.

If you look back to our history in our earlier discussions about the budget and other issues, there was some reference to our Founding Fathers. I would like to share with you a couple of things that our Founding Fathers said that I think in some respects reflect upon this particular issue.

Thomas Jefferson said that if you give the American people the truth, the Republic will be saved. I think the more that the American people learn about this particular procedure, the more they learn the truth about this procedure, the more that they will demand that public policymakers take the correct action and make it illegal.

Jefferson also wrote these immortal words when he talked about we the people, he said that we were endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights and that among those are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I for one do not believe that it was purely coincidence that he listed the right to life as chief among them. And I think that he understood, the Founding Fathers understood and, frankly, I think if Americans are honest with themselves they understand, that life is something more than just a biological accident, that it is a gift from a power greater than that of any government.

While I have already admitted that we probably do not have the political consensus to eliminate abortion from our American system today, I think that there is a growing consensus that this particular procedure can be and should be outlawed.

It is not really surprising that the American Medical Association's legislative counsel, a panel consisting of 12 doctors, unanimously voted last year to recommend banning this procedure. One of the doctors, the AMA counsel, described the partial birth abortion procedure as "basically repulsive."

Proponents of this heinous partial birth abortion procedure, including President Clinton, contend that there are legitimate reasons for doctors to use it. But under closer scrutiny, it is clear that their defense of this procedure is akin to infanticide and is based on inaccurate or false information.

First, Mr. Speaker, let me say that partial birth abortion proponents contend that this procedure is primarily used on babies with abnormalities or deformities. Well, Dr. Martin Haskell, who has performed more than 1,000 partial birth abortions told the American Medical News that 80 percent of the partial birth abortions he performed between 20 and 25 weeks, or about 4½ to 5½ months of gestation, were "purely elective."

Second, partial birth abortion proponents claim that babies die in the womb as a result of the anesthesia administered to the mother and therefore they do not feel any pain from the procedure. The American Society of Anesthesiologists set the record straight. When its president, Dr. Norig Ellison, said that those claims have "absolutely no basis in scientific fact."

Third, partial birth abortion proponents argue that this procedure is often necessary to protect the health of the mother. But again, Dr. Pamela Smith, director of medical education in the department of obstetrics and gynecology at Mt. Sinai Hospital in Chicago, says "there are absolutely no obstetrical situations encountered in this country which require a partially delivered human fetus to be destroyed to preserve the life or health of the mother."

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that in the bill that was drafted and sent to the President, we made certain allowances where if in fact the health or the life of the mother was at stake, that these procedures could go forward.

Moreover, though, Dr. Smith says that the partial birth abortion itself poses maternal health risks. Because the procedure involves 3 days of forceful dilation to the cervix, the mother risks damaging her reproductive organs. Uterine rupture is also a documented complication associated with this procedure.

Opponents of the partial birth abortion ban advocate including an exception to the ban of the health of the mother, as I said. Why? Because the ban opponents know that the exception would render these bills meaningless. The U.S. Supreme Court has defined health as including "all factors—physical, psychological, familial, and the women's age—relevant to the well-being of the patient." Therefore, the health exception would allow abortion-

ists to continue to perform these partial birth abortions for reasons such as depression or youth of the mother.

Despite the misinformation campaign being waged by the proponents of this violent procedure, President Clinton and the abortion advocates have placed themselves outside the mainstream of American thinking. In fact, the Roman Catholic Church and the leaders of that church are so upset with the President's veto that they held a press conference to denounce his decision. They also recently distributed over 27 million postcards at churches all across the Nation. They have been mobilizing their parishioners to bombard Congress with one message: "Override the President's veto and outlaw certain late-term abortions."

We checked with the post office here at the U.S. House of Representatives today, and they tell us there is a backlog of over 1.1 million of these cards which are coming to Members of Congress.

I want to talk also tonight a little bit about one particular hero, a gentleman by the name of John Joyce who is the president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen. He is one person who broke ranks with the AFL-CIO and rejected its endorsement of President Clinton because of President's veto of partial birth abortions. I want to talk a little bit about that. This is a gentleman I think some Members will remember. We have probably remembered the book that was written by John Kennedy called "Profiles in Courage." And I would say that if a new version of that book were being written, certainly John Joyce, the president of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen would certainly deserve a chapter because it took an enormous amount of courage for him to stand up and say that President Clinton was wrong because of his veto of partial birth abortions and that he could not support him.

Joyce said that the veto is so, and I quote, he said: It so outraged him that he could not support President Clinton even though he thought the President would be much better for working people than would Bob Dole. I could only go so far as my mind and conscience are willing to take me.

This is one example, and I think there are many examples, of Americans across the country who have said that enough is enough. This is one area where I think the President has gone too far. John Joyce, as I say, should find himself a chapter in the next version of "Profiles in Courage" because he had the courage to stand up and say this is wrong and, despite what my union says, despite what the members say, despite what the labor bosses in Washington say, I cannot support President Clinton because of this particular issue.

I am pleased to have with me tonight and join with me someone who has been a longtime advocate for the rights

of the unborn and someone who particularly understands the whole issue of partial birth abortions, probably is much more of an expert in Roman Catholic teaching than I have ever been. I am pleased to have join me tonight the gentleman from Orange County, CA, the Honorable ROBERT K. DORNAN. I would yield to him for a few moments to talk a little bit about this issue, what we can do, where we stand and perhaps where we can go from here.

□ 2015

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman. If there is anything I know about theology or philosophy or rhetoric or logic or ethics more than you do, it is only because I am years older than you are and you are catching fast on me. Before you are my tender years you will have gone beyond me.

My wife was down in the cellar filing unbelievable reams of mimeographed documents, books, and paperwork, and she came across the House Ethics Manual. You got one a long time ago. They gave you one over a year and a half ago.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Was not that long ago.

Mr. DORNAN. Right. And this particular one, this current Congress, it is not the last Congress, it is the 102d Congress, April 1992, and it is published by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, which is loosely referred to as the Ethics Committee, probably because their manual is called the House Ethics Manual.

Now my wife opened this up because of a recent dust-up around here between Republican Members, and she came to the opening page. It has the committee two Congresses ago. LOU STOKES was the chairman. Half of these people are defeated or left, like Fred Grandy and others. JON KYL has moved on with distinction to the U.S. Senate from his great State of Arizona.

And my wife looked at the first page, and it says: "The code of official conduct, House rule 43," and it is good ethics material. "A member, officer, employee of the House of Representatives shall conduct himself at all times in a manner which shall reflect credibly upon the House of Representatives."

Give me a drum roll; that is a given.

Do not seduce a page.

Do not seduce or corrupt the pages or you get kicked out.

Wrong. You can do that; not get kicked out, only get a censor. turn your back on the House, use the Lord's name in vain in the Speakers lobby, and get reelected in one of our original 13 colonies five more times. That was the darkest day in the history of this House in this century.

Then my wife comes to, still in the prologue, those little tiny roman numeral fives and so forth, Roman numeral V: Code of Ethics for Government Service. And this comes to the core of what you were saying about the

head of that union. Which union was it; not the Carpenters and Joiners, the—

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Bricklayers.

Mr. DORNAN. Bricklayers Union, where you put principle above everything, faith, family, and freedom. Faith comes first before your country and freedom.

Code of Ethics for Government Service:

"Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring", passed 1958. The year I got off active duty I was 24 years old, flying F-100 super-sonic Sabres. Fifty-eight. Jim Wright, the former Speaker, was only in his sophomore year here. Ike was still President. Go down to only 143 Republicans from 221 when he got elected. So this is Ike's third to last year:

"Resolved by the House, Senate concurring, that it is the sense of the Congress that the following Code of Ethics should be adhered to by all government employees, including officers."

Mr. GUTKNECHT, Mr. DORNAN are included here.

Code of ethics for Government service; there are 10 of them. Ten commandments.

Any person in service should, colon, 10 things listed.

First, put loyalty to the highest moral principles and to country above loyalty to government persons, to party or to your department, talking to the executive branch out there, but this would apply to the Supreme Court, to every branch of government, every elected person, and it is applicable to the States, the counties and cities; loyalty to the highest moral principles, above everything, and to your country, above loyalty to any government person from a President to a Speaker to a Senate leader to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and ahead of your party certainly and your department. It is high moral principle; that is, the principles of our Creator that was mentioned several times in the Declaration of Independence.

Now what happened with the head of the Bricklayers Union and what happened with the Democratic Governor of one of our biggest States, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, with Bob Casey, was they said:

Look, I want to go to heaven.

I hope they thought that. I know Bob Casey did.

I want to go to heaven here. I want to do what is right.

If they are a good Protestant, they say:

Wait a minute. Billy Graham went to the White House on May 1 and told the President you cannot veto something that is passed with a huge majority in the House and Senate that involves delivering a baby into this world fourths, and then you stop the birth process, bringing distress to the delivery mother, and hold the head inside the birth canal while you attack it in the back, stab it in the back of that perfectly formed little head formed by God, stab it in the back of its head and

remove its brains, suction out that perfect little formed brain. You cannot do that.

What is the gentleman's name, the head of the Bricklayers Union; I want to—

Mr. GUTKNECHT. John, and I am sorry I turned it over to the—John Joyce was the gentleman's name, an American hero. And if the gentleman—

Mr. DORNAN. Bob Casey, John Joyce. American heroes, yes.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Absolutely, and the world is full of them. But I just want to bring to your attention a quote also from one of the Framers of our Constitution.

John Adams said that our Constitution was intended for a moral and religious people. It would be wholly inadequate for any other.

I think they understood, and I think we understand, and I think the American people understand the morality, principles, values; you cannot separate them from our Constitution or even from our codified law. In fact, I think many Americans forget sometimes that the Founding Fathers believed that the law, the body of law, was the bare minimum of expectation from moral behavior, that there ought to be actually a higher standard, and yet somehow we have been reduced to the lowest common denominator.

And I think one of the reasons this whole issue of the partial-birth abortion, the reason I think it cuts so many people right down to the bone and the reason it has generated so much interest and so many letters and so many calls and so many postcards from our constituents is because I think they begin to understand that there is something happening in this country, and it is not just partial-birth abortion. It is about the basic unraveling of the moral fiber of this culture, and our Constitution was intended for a moral and religious people. It would be wholly inadequate for any other.

Those words were true when John Adams said them almost 200 years ago. They are absolutely true today, and I think—so in many respects partial-birth abortion and the unraveling of our society, the unraveling of the moral fabric, are all sort of symptoms of a greater disease.

That is not to say that I think the American people are turning to the Congress or they are turning to politicians to become the keepers of the moral flame, but I do think that they expect us to be a good example, and I think they do expect us to set certain standards and certain minimum standards, and whether or not we can totally make all abortions illegal or whether we even should, I think is a separate question. We certainly can, and I think the American people are saying loudly and clearly we can and we should make this particular grisly procedure illegal here in the United States.

Mr. DORNAN. Well let me show how the courage of a John Joyce, of a Robert Casey, former Governor of the

State where my mother was raised, the beautiful Pennsylvania; let me tell you about a letter dated today that was just given to me by Edward J. O'Hearn, the chairman of the pro-life committee of the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Look at that beautiful Irish flag with an American flag.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Are not they Irish? Is that not the ultimate Irish organization?

Mr. DORNAN. Roman name for Ireland, Hibernia; and Caldonia for Scotland.

Now this out of Louisville, KY. Edward O'Hearn is, as I said, chairman of pro-life. Listen to what he writes to NEWT GINGRICH.

Dear Mr. Speaker, since 1992 Republican elected officials and Republican spokespeople have been critical of the Democratic Party for the treatment of Gov. Robert Patrick Casey at the 1992 Democratic Convention because of his refusal to back down on a matter of conscious and religious conviction, the abortion issue.

Well, he says with exclamation points, no more. Your treatment of Congressman CHRIS SMITH of New Jersey, an Irish Catholic, and I am going to leave out the next Irish Catholics because I am cooling my jets here as the conference chairman suggested, on the same issue ranks right up there with the insult to Casey and Catholics in general by the Clinton team in 1992, and that insult continues.

Remember that George Bush was on the ramp of Detroit with the Holy Father when the Pope said, stand up for life. And Barbara and George Bush, then the President and First Lady, went yes, yes, yes. And the last time Clinton stiffed him because he was leaving from Baltimore Airport, I was there, and the Pope said again, we must defend and protect innocent human life.

The Governor sat on his hands, the Catholic Lieutenant Governor, Kathleen Kennedy Townsend, sat on her hands, Polish Catholic BARBARA MIKULSKI sat on her hands. I started applauding with my grandson who is 14, and we made enough noise for all the other VIP's and the whole crowd behind started to cheer. But PAUL SARBANES, a Greek Orthodox Christian, he would not applaud; JOE BIDEN would not applaud, Catholic Senator from Delaware; nobody would applaud the Pope except me in the second row. And then later, the Secret Service brought me up and stood me next to a wonderful lady, Tipper Gore, and we said goodbye to the Pope, and I did not know if he would ever have the health to come back here again. But what a courageous and saintly fight this man has made for life.

And he said this culture of death in Europe and in this country has got to be reversed if we are to survive in this mortal existence of ours. And instead of surviving, we have upped the ante so one Republican and one independent and 65 people in this House a couple of

days ago voted for homosexual marriage, and 15 Republicans, 15 out of 236, voted for infanticide.

So I continue from the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In April of this year the Ancient Order of Hibernians rescinded our invitation to President Clinton to address our national convention because he vetoed the partial-birth abortion ban, hereafter known as the partial birth infanticide. Your actions against Representative SMITH are directly related to their refusal—I left somebody else out there—to compromise their convictions on partial-birth abortion.

Not really so in my case. I had known about votes involved at the time.

We would be remiss if we did not also blast your actions as publicly and forthrightly as we condemn the actions of President Clinton. It should come as no surprise that we support the declaration of conscience resolution—this is making the rounds around here now. A copy of our letter is being sent to the American bishops, the American cardinals, the Ancient Order of Hibernian membership, and leaders of other Catholic organizations in America, plus Catholic newspaper in the United States of America. Sincerely Edward J. O'Hearn, chairman, pro-life committee, Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Now, Mr. GUTKNECHT, we do not need to create fights like that. There are votes that above and beyond any votes. As I told all of our leadership today quite respectfully and quite politely why this infanticide vote was different, I pointed out to Speaker GINGRICH, to Majority Leader ARMEY, to Majority Whip DELAY, to conference Chairman JOHN BOEHNER, and to fighting BILL PAXON of New York, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, I said: Mr. PAXON, with all due respect, if your wonderful wife, a fighting Member here, had not broken her unbroken string, and I use their language of pro-choice votes, and if she had not voted to ban partial-birth infanticide abortion, she would not be the keynote speaker at our convention.

□ 2030

He was silent. Some others conceded it. The gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY], who is the cause of all this controversy, because she is 1 of the 15 that voted for infanticide, she is a polite, wonderful lady. She conceded to me standing right there that if the gentlewoman from New York, Ms. MOLINARI, had not voted with the majority of both parties to ban this infanticide, partial birth abortion, she said, using the verb, concede, "I," this is SUE KELLY, "I concede SUSAN would not be the keynote speaker of the convention."

I said, "Pardon me for using a double entendre, and I do do deliberately, this is a killer vote." In other words, if it can kill your speaking at the convention, then it has an aspect to it that is beyond a 1,000 out of 1,001 votes around here.

It is like the homosexual marriage vote, homosexual marriage. If anybody other than a lame duck or possibly a write-in Member from your neck of the woods, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON], if anybody but him had voted for this, they would be in deep trouble getting reelected in a Republican primary or even in a Republican or in a general election as a Republican.

We have pushed the envelope here, if I may use a test pilot's term. That is why I said in this well, standing right where you are at that leadership lecture, and the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. FRANK, said, if you want this whole debate to be characterized by the last speaker's mention, so be it. Do you know what I said? I predicted in 3 years we would be debating pedophilia.

When I left the floor I started thinking about it. Other Members came up to me and said, how about a year or two from now? How about a year from now? Because there is already a term for it by the activist movements around this country, the hedonist and sodomy movements, transgenerational sex. That is all. That is what they want to call it.

If an adult, as in ancient Greece, which destroyed the Golden Age of Pericles, if an adult can con a child into consensual sex, which is impossible by the laws of all States when you involve a minor, that is what statutory rape is about. But if you can somehow or other act like the child seduced you or it was consensual, then who is to stand in the way of that? And it is now called pedophilia chic, and the movement is beginning.

For anybody whose brain circuits are being short-circuited by me tonight, this is the way we all felt about homosexual marriage last year, certainly 5 years ago, and certainly when I got here. I never thought we would ever debate in this Chamber, after I was sworn in in 1977, delivering a child four-fifths of the way in the birth process, from the birth canal, hold it in the mother's womb—I wish I had had this line in the debate—causing distress of the mother; where is the help to the mother and the relief—causing distress, an interruption in the birth process, so they can stab it in the back with a pair of Mendelson scissors and open up a wound to suction out the brains?

This is unbelievable. And what is absolutely short-circuiting my centers of logic is that in California there should be a 29 percent gap between Clinton, who faced off against Billy Graham, the head of his own Southern Baptist Church; the Pope in Rome; the Greek Orthodox; the folks in all of Islam, that is why they call us the Great Satan; all ethicists around the world worth a farthing, he faces the whole world down and vetoes the majority in both Houses, and does not drop a point in the polls. How do you fathom that, my distinguished colleague?

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I would say to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], I am afraid I cannot explain that. It is one of the most troubling things we have confronted in this Congress, that we have watched the unraveling of our moral fabric. And somehow the media, and I am not one to point fingers or point blame, because I am not a fault-finder. The bad news is that I think the American people have somewhat become numbed to this kind of thing.

I think there needs to be a reawakening. When the Pope and the Catholic Church, and there have only been a handful of people who have received official condemnation of this Vatican, of the Vatican in general. It is a very short list. It is a rather infamous list. Yet, he now finds himself on that list.

Mr. DORNAN. Let us reconstruct that list that Mr. Clinton finds himself on: Fidel Castro, Bill Clinton, Mu'ammar Qadhafi of Libya, and is Hafez Assad from Syria on there? But Rafsanjani is, the Iranian controlling oligarchy there in Tehran.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. There are only about four or five of some of the most despicable people in the world.

Mr. DORNAN. Pol Pot, Pol Pot, from the Killing Fields. He is on that list that the Pope has condemned. He came into office in 1978 in the killing fields in Cambodia, with the death after 33 days of John Paul I, making him the first. That was in 1978.

I remember I was correcting remarks, I had to intercept them at the general Post Office, and I thought, this is worth reflecting upon. I said, my Lord, the college of cardinals met for days. The puffs of white smoke went up, they picked somebody, and I said, God said no, I am taking him to heaven. Try again. I did not want that. And they picked, instead of the wonderful Italian, the bishop of Venice, the Cardinal of Venice, they picked this Polish Pope.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Karol Wojtyla.

Mr. DORNAN. Karol Wojtyla. And Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and a couple of Catholics, Lech Walesa, pulled down the evil empire. It is amazing.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I will never forget, and I think the American People and the American press did not really pick up on this, but there was a particular pint in history when there was a lot of fear that the Soviets were going to—when Lech Walesa was leading the Solidarity movement in Poland, there was a lot of belief that the Soviets were going to move in with tanks to reoccupy Poland. There was one particular moment in history where a man of enormous courage literally sent a message to the Soviets that if you come to Poland, I will be there to meet you. That is the kind of courage that it took.

Mr. DORNAN. That was the Pope.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. He looked them down. It was a moment in history that, again, I do not think most people real-

ize, or it did not get the kind of publicity it needed. But it took an enormous amount of courage for the Holy Father to say to the Soviet empire that "If you invade my motherland, I will be there to meet you." And I think in some respects, that, and the time that Ronald Reagan went to Berlin and he stood before the wall and he said, "Mr. Gorbachev, if you mean what you say, then tear down this wall."

Mr. DORNAN. It echoed.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. If you look at the story of history, it has been extraordinarily brave people who have had the courage to say, this is wrong and it must stop. And I think we have reached a point, particularly on the issue of partial birth abortions, where people of courage must stand and say, this is wrong and it must stop. And whether it is the gentleman from California, ROBERT K. DORNAN, or the gentleman from Minnesota, GIL GUTKNECHT, or thousands and millions of Americans, saying to this Congress and to this Government that "You've gone too far; that the moral fabric has frayed too far. We must take back our country. We must be a people of moral conscience. We must be a people of moral fiber," because we cannot survive.

We have lots of problems, and a lot of them are economic. We talk about the budget and we talk about the deficit. But if we really boil them down, they really come down to this basic view of morality, and our responsibility not only to ourselves but our responsibility to our fellow human beings.

As someone who came from my State, the late Senator Hubert Humphrey, one of the most famous quotes I remember from Hubert Humphrey was this. He said "If you love your God, you must love his children." If we must love our children, we must love the smallest and the most innocent of them.

We cannot stop all abortions. I will agree, this is a political environment, and we are a nation of laws and not of men. I cannot enforce my morality or my views on other people. But when you have 70 to 80 to 90 percent of the American people saying that partial birth abortion is wrong and it ought to be outlawed in the United States of America, then the Congress ought to respond.

That is the bad news, that we have gone this far. The good news is this: That we are only a few votes away in the House and in the Senate of overriding this terrible veto. I think we are going to be given an opportunity, if not in the next week, then certainly when we come back after the August recess, to correct this wrong.

I think if the American people, and I am not just talking about the Catholic people, I am talking about people of faith of every religion, and I am even talking about people who are not necessarily religious people, but who do have a very deep and abiding sense of fundamental morality, if they will send

a clear message to the Congress and to this government here in Washington, I think we have a golden opportunity to reverse the course and begin to say that life is sacred, it is a gift from a power greater than that of any government, and there are some points where we can honestly say that we have gone too far. This certainly is one of them.

I have a deep and abiding faith in the American people, as Ronald Reagan did. Ronald Reagan believed in the honesty and the integrity and the morality of the American people. If you give the people the truth, the Republic will be saved. That is what this debate is about.

This is one point where I think we can make a difference. Frankly, as John Kennedy said, this is one point where we must.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I just wanted to recall something, if the gentleman will yield further.

On May 2, the day after Rev. Billy Graham, who has given his whole life to preaching morality, ethics, and the good news of our Savior, he met with Clinton in the Oval Office and he said to him, respectfully, you must not let your veto stand. Let them override it, or encourage it. I do not know how we are going to break some hearts over there in the other Chamber.

The next day he came to what I have taken to calling, because it is, the secular nave of our cathedral of government, the rotunda of our Capitol. The first time I went in there as a little kid, it was like a church. I ask that of constituents. They say, "It is like a cathedral. It is like the nave of a beautiful cathedral, St. Paul's in London, St. Peter's in Rome, to a much smaller degree."

In there, with about five rows of international press bleachers built on the east wing, and with Billy Graham and his wife of 53 years, Ruth, with their back to Grant and Lincoln, and a POW-MIA flag, and I want to speak about that for the better part of an hour tonight, how we have sold out our missing-in-action families, he very thoughtfully, to all the leadership, Bob Dole was still there as the leader with his wonderful wife, Elizabeth, TOM DASCHLE, my friend from many years in this House was there as the Democrat leader in the Senate, and there was Senator BYRD looking up with respectful awe as a member of his particular denomination, all the Senate leaders on our side, I did not see Marianne, the First Lady of this House, but I saw Speaker GINGRICH and I saw the gentlemen from Texas, Mr. ARMEY, and Mr. DELAY, right down the line of our leaders, the gentleman from Missouri, DICK GEPHARDT, the Democratic leader, the gentleman from Michigan, DAVID BONIOR, they were all there.

Billy Graham said "This is a Nation on the brink of self-destruction." You could have heard a pin drop, except I involuntarily let out one of these youthful "yeses," "yes," and scared

the press, because I was standing back by them. I just kind of looked up and, "That is right." There was this quiet. That was May 2; June 2, July 2. We are coming up on August 2, almost 3 months later.

I honestly feel, I would say to the gentleman, that is went in one ear and went out the other of all of our leaders. Because they understand what I say to them. Billy Graham was not addressing—the occasion was he was getting the Congressional Gold Medal unanimously from both Chambers. He was not talking about a 21st B-2 bomber. He was not even talking about the budget battle, although there are huge moral ramifications to unloading immorally a ton of debt, \$5.5 trillion worth of debt on grandchildren not even born yet. He was talking about these social issues: Homosexual marriage and infanticide abortion. He is talking about the unraveling of the family and our social fabric, that we are on the verge of self-destruction.

In a wonderful meeting at 1:30 this afternoon, with those five leaders on our side and the gentleman from New Jersey, CHRIS SMITH and myself, CHRIS said if he were an activist, pro-abortion activist, he would not try to join the Democratic Party. They own that party, temporarily, praise God, we pray. He said "I would come in the Republican party and keep it," and CHRIS SMITH's words were good, he said "Keep our party conflicted and confounded and confused."

I added to it, and nobody wanted to hear this, that if I were a homosexual activist, starting my career, instead of ending it 16 years later under a cloud, I would join the Republican Party to also work within this party, because they open the other temporarily, good Lord, we hope, to come into the Republican Party and create conflict, to conflict us, to use it as a verb, conflict, to confound people and to confuse people. The battleground has become the Republican Party.

□ 2045

That is why, deliberately paraphrasing Billy Graham, now that I have time to say it, I paraphrase Reverend Graham, the Republican party is a party on the brink of self-destruction. We have 99 days, let us make it 98 when we wake up in the morning, 98 days when we wake up to election night.

I saw George Bush, our President, alone in the Oval Office, just the two of us, for 20 minutes, 97 days before the election of 1992 when he lost, November 3, so the date would have been July 27. He had 2 days less to campaign than Bob Dole will have.

I said, "Chief," the only time I addressed President Bush other than "Mr. President" was a term of affection, I said, "Chief, when do we fight? When do we begin to fight back? This guy's ahead of you," meaning Clinton. "You've got to fight. Do you want him walking around the hallowed halls of this White House?"

And George Bush, an honorable 1958 veteran, Navy combat carrier attack pilot, flinched, "Ooh, Bob." He did not want to think about Clinton. I said "We've got to fight."

Now here we are 98 days out in the morning. I am not going to be meeting ex-Senator Bob Dole in any White House, with Air Force One and marshaling the whole impact of the incumbency. Mr. Clinton has got all that going for him. I think in 4 more years of what we have seen in the last 3½ years, we are not just a party on the brink of self-destruction, kick it up to what Billy Graham said, we are a nation on the brink. On the brink.

It is these issues that brought the gentleman to the floor with his wonderful special order tonight that better kick the American people into high gear, and really everybody who understands what family is, even if it is a single mother, because our friend Vice President Dan Quayle was always misunderstood, misquoted.

I had a CEO of one of the biggest communication outfits in the world say, and this was just the other night, and this man is big, Manhattan. He said, "You know, they may have killed the messenger, Dan Quayle, politically but, boy, he changed the landscape of America."

Values is the core of all our issues that we are fighting, and if you do not think so, listen to how many times the Clintons use the word values, values, values, over and over. So I am sure certainly happy that the gentleman took this special order tonight.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Speaker, I am not nearly as pessimistic as the gentleman from California, because if we look at history, and it was sort of underscored when we talked about what happened with the Polish Pope who warned the Soviets, or when Ronald Reagan went to Berlin and he said that if the Soviets, if Mikhail Gorbachev meant what he said, then he should tear down this wall. I happen to believe that words have meaning, that ideas matter, and that actions have consequences. If you study history, every great movement, every great change in national attitudes has started with one person or a handful of people who had the courage to speak the truth.

There is a book coming out that was written by all of us freshmen. One of the chapters is written by one of my colleagues from Indiana, JOHN HOSTETTLER. He wrote a chapter about a gentleman by the name of Maplethorpe who was a member of the British House of Commons in the late 18th and early 19th century in Great Britain.

One of the things that Mr. Maplethorpe tried to do was to end the slave trade in Europe. Basically he said, "This is morally wrong and it must stop." At first he was laughed out of the House of Commons. Particularly the elites of that particular point in history said that he was ridiculous, they demeaned him in every way they could, but Maplethorpe did not give up.

Mr. Speaker, the one thing that we know is that facts are stubborn things and truth is an incredibly powerful weapon. The more we learn about this partial-birth abortion, the more we realize that the American people can see through this smoke screen, they know that it is wrong, they know that it is morally wrong, they know that it should stop, and if only a handful of us have the courage to say to the American people that partial-birth abortions are wrong and they should be stopped, and we have got to stop unraveling this moral fabric that has made this country the greatest country in the history of the world, then I think we can begin to roll back the clock, because facts are stubborn things. Truth is a powerful weapon. All we have to do is speak the truth.

The gentleman quoted Billy Graham. It is a great quote, that this society is on the brink of destruction. It was barely reported in the next day's press.

Mr. DORNAN. It did not make the evening news at all. It just showed in silent that he got the Gold Medal from Congress.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. But, nonetheless, I believe that words have meaning, that actions have consequences, and that ideas matter. In the long light of history, whether or not it was well reported beyond the dome of this Capitol building, I think the American people believe that Billy Graham was right.

He recently came to Minneapolis and he spoke to I do not know how many hundreds of thousands of people, both directly and indirectly through television. Billy Graham is one who has the courage of his convictions. He, like the Pope, has been willing to stand up and say, this is right, this is wrong, and this should stop.

Mr. DORNAN. Would the gentleman want to add a note of excitement to his special order tonight? My middle daughter of 5 sons and daughters just called in a play. She did not mean to, but she knew it was your special order and I maybe could bolt for the Cloakroom phone booth for just a second.

She told me that it is all over the news, they are speculating on who our good friend Bob Dole's Vice President might be. It is an outsider, never been elected to office, but he wrote a book that had to do with that subject of values, and it is called the Book of Virtues.

Bill Bennett, former Secretary of Labor, for 2 weeks head of the Republican Party, former drug czar, Director of National Drug Policy, and Secretary of Education. He appears at the moment at least, these things may come and go, to be the front runner. He has had a few dustups with the Republican Party of late, but this is a man that knows we are a country on the brink of self-destruction. Billy Graham did not have to tell Bill Bennett that.

He is a son of North Carolina, educated in Massachusetts, and he is traveling around the country right now with Bob Dole. This is a no-nonsense

guy, quite frankly he always reminds me of a grizzly bear who has just kind of rubbed his eyes and messed his hair a little, and you are going to get direct from him.

He has this great friendship with this wonderful black American, this lady of African-American descent, Delores Tucker. They have traveled together on the rock lyrics and how it is poisoning a whole generation of white Americans, Hispanic Americans, African-heritage Americans.

This will be very interesting. This could be one heck of a debate, because although the Bible is on one of the two nightstands on either side of our bed, I have to concede the Book of Virtues is on the other one.

I just put him to one test. I said, "Let me ask you something, Bill." He told me the book was coming out. I introduced him at a Christian Coalition meeting 2 or 3 years ago. I said, "What's this new book you've got coming out? Explain it to me." As I am just going up to introduce him, I lean back, I say, "It's got everything in it, Aesop's Fables, everything?"

He says, "Yeah."

I said, "Here is the acid test. My favorite most impressive morality story as a young man, other than all the scriptures I was getting from my family, it was a Disney film but it was from an Italian classic, Pinocchio. Is Pinocchio in that book?"

"Absolutely it is." Lampwick, Pleasure Island, smoking cigars, and shooting pool. Today it is Michael McCurry talking about toking a few joints and doing more than shooting pool, taking your pleasures wherever you may, and all of a sudden you are a jackass and suddenly you are enslaved to something, enslaved to a sex addiction, enslaved to drugs, enslaved to something, but you lose your freedom when you indulge yourself hedonistically to the extreme.

That Pinocchio story is a powerful story because what was it about? A little boy with no feelings who developed feelings and it turned him into a real boy. And whatever happened to Lampwick, the party guy? We do not know. But he said, "It's in there," and sure enough it was. Everything is in there.

What Bill Bennett was trying to respect was the wisdom of the ages, that absolute truth exists. There are certain core values. The 10 Commandments are not new and they are not old. They are just eternal.

So I think that might be an interesting development, and it will certainly keep my classmate AL GORE on his toes, and it may add a dimension, if it turns out to be true, to this race.

The other thing was, get this little play by my daughter Theresa Ann Dornan Cobban, who ran one of the best and cheapest presidential campaigns in the country, mine. She said, "Dad, the jury in Little Rock, AR, is deadlocked, and the judge said you go back in there and you come to a decision."

Deadlock is no good for the Clintons because that means they will call for a new trial and they will just keep going, and it will just take it right into September and October. The prosecution, when they wrapped up down there, said the monkey does not get the monkey grinder to dance to his tune. The monkey grinder, the owner of the banks, spreading all the money illegally into Clinton's gubernatorial races, the junior associate in the bank, that would be the monkey, he danced to the bank president's tune, and he is the one who has plead guilty, turned State's evidence and taken his lumps.

I do not know what is going to happen with that trial, but we may end up with something beyond Nixon. Because when Nixon won in 1972, nobody knew that Watergate was going to come back to cause him to fire his Doberman pinschers, Haldermann and Erlichman, on April 30, 1973. Nobody dreamed it would pull him down on August 9, 1974.

But this time, if Dole cannot save the country, then we are going to have impeachment proceedings in the spring of next year, of 1997, with all of this weight of scandalous material building up, building up, building up, until, as two Democrats told me on the center of the aisle back there, it is kind of dangerous to be a friend of the Clintons because you either end up dead or in jail. So we have got a moral crisis in this country.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MCINNIS). The Chair would just remind the gentleman at the microphone that Members are to address their remarks to the Chair and not to the viewing audience, if the gentleman from California could observe that.

Also, as a reminder, the gentleman from Minnesota has 2 minutes remaining.

Mr. DORNAN. I thank the gentleman. I certainly yield back to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I thank the gentleman. I just want to close this, and I know that he is going to have an hour to talk about some other issues that are important to us and the American people.

But I wanted to talk a little bit tonight about the partial-birth abortion issue, because I think it is one point where the American people can begin to turn the clock back, that they can begin to recover the lost moral ground that we have already seen.

We have heard some of the quotes from Billy Graham, we have heard some of the quotes from our Founding Fathers. We have talked a little bit about Robert Maplethorpe and what he did in Great Britain in terms of recovering the fumble of slavery and beginning to return Great Britain to a much more morally oriented society. As a result, the British are a much more

moral and better society because of that.

I think the news that Bill Bennett may well be the vice presidential nominee of the Republican party is very good news, because I have known Bill Bennett for a number of years. He is one person who has probably the strongest sense of truth and morality and character of any human being that I have met. He is an intellectual. He is a Ph.D., I believe from Harvard, and perhaps Congressman DORNAN can correct me, but he is an intellectual as well as being someone who is well grounded in basic American values.

I would hope that the American people would not lose faith, would not lose hope in this American system that we have, that we can somehow recover this fumble. As I said earlier to Congressman DORNAN, we are only a handful of votes away from overriding the veto of this grisly procedure we call partial-birth abortions. I think if the American people join forces, if they send one loud, clear, demanding signal to the American Congress, that somehow we can find the votes to override that veto and once and for all begin to send a message that there are points beyond which the American people simply will not retreat.

#### COMPELLING ISSUES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to talk this evening—this evening, it is 6 at night in Los Angeles, Mr. Speaker, and only 4 in the afternoon in Hawaii—I want to speak tonight about one of the most heartbreaking, agonizing, complex stories of American history that has haunted me my entire life and came to another tragic conclusion this evening.

□ 2100

It is the story of the world's greatest Nation, the United States of America, the most noble Nation to ever exist, with all due respect to the mother country, Great Britain, to wonderful little homogeneous nations like Norway or New Zealand, and to a multilingual nation who has avoided war and persecution for almost 500 years, Switzerland.

Given our size, the problems we have overcome, the destructive moral evil that destroyed our morality for our first four score and 7 years, then four score and 10 years, then a century, then another century of neglect, slavery and its aftermath, we have overcome so much. And just in this century, when we could have been isolationists, and were at first, we entered a war called the Great War. And because it broke out again, bringing fathers back into conflict with their own sons, World War II, we put Roman numeral one on