

I wholeheartedly agree with Secretary Christopher that the United States must view environmental problems from a global perspective. The actions of one state inevitably affect the well-being of the citizens of its neighbors. The United States cannot afford to ignore the overpopulation, or the pollution, or the deforestation occurring in other countries because the consequences could be devastating right here at home.

That is why the United States has participated in and supported U.N. agencies like UNEP. It is in our own best interests to work together with other states to protect the international environment. Under the leadership of UNEP over the last 20 years, the international community has agreed upon several international conventions which directly further U.S. environmental objectives. These conventions include the 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species [or CITES] which prohibits or regulates trade in some 35,000 endangered species; the 1985 Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer and the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, which have led to a 77 percent drop in global CFC emissions since 1988—saving millions of lives through the prevention of skin cancer—and the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, which commits industrialized countries to reducing their emissions of greenhouse gases by the year 2000. These are but a few examples of international cooperation led by UNEP which have benefited U.S. citizens.

Despite these tangible benefits, however, I am concerned that the survival of UNEP is in jeopardy today. At a time when our Government's financial constraints are increasing, the United States should be looking for ways to increase cooperation with other states in order to avoid bearing the cost of acting alone. While I support the calls for making U.N. agencies more efficient and effective, it is important that the United States continue to play a leading role in promoting international environmental cooperation by supporting UNEP. The Clinton administration should persist in its efforts to streamline the programs and personnel of UNEP while making some real financial commitments at the upcoming meeting of the governing council in January. Equally important, the decision on the leadership of UNEP should be given high priority for United States attention during the next month.

This is a critical moment for UNEP as the agency's financial crisis has reached a point where many of its important programs may no longer be viable. Given the recent decrease in financial and political support for UNEP from its member states, the international community must decide whether or not environmental concerns are still a priority on the international agenda. If the answer is yes, then all

member states must commit themselves to both reforming and financially supporting UNEP. We have seen 20 years of impressive progress in the environmental field that has often been achieved through the expertise and leadership of UNEP. With so much at stake, it would be a tragedy to allow this organization to founder today.

WORLD LEADERS SIGN TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I was fortunate to be in New York at the United Nations yesterday with President Clinton for the signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

I can report to you that there is a tremendous sense of gratification of achievement in the United Nations with regard to this treaty. It was finally approved last week by an overwhelming majority of the Members in a 158-to-3 vote.

I will be serving this fall at the United Nations as a Member of the United States delegation. Fifty-one years ago, I had the honor of serving on the International Secretariat of the San Francisco Conference that drew up the United Nations' Charter. I was one of those flushed with youthful enthusiasm with regard to the potential future of the United Nations. In the years since, there have been excellent achievements and some disappointments. I must say that I rank the united effort that led to the comprehensive test ban as one of the paramount successes.

President Clinton has been able to bring to fruition an effort begun more than three decades ago by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. The first test ban was negotiated under the direct and forceful leadership of President Kennedy, who drew upon the workable aspects of the Russian position in order to help bring about the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, which restricted nuclear testing to underground environments.

The next test ban treaty came in 1974 under President Nixon's leadership, when the Threshold Test Ban Treaty was negotiated. The companion Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty was signed in 1976 in the Ford administration.

President Carter attempted to achieve agreement on a comprehensive test ban, but lacked sufficient time to do so. President Clinton played a leading role in bringing the comprehensive test ban, which represents the culmination of those earlier efforts, to conclusion this summer.

Under this treaty, the parties will be obligated not to conduct any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion. This very strong prohibition is a direct result of President Clinton's forward-thinking decision on August 11, 1995, not to agree to any exceptions to this ban, but instead to negotiate a true zero yield comprehensive test ban treaty.

Bringing this to fruition was a very high priority of Secretary of State Warren Christopher and ACDA Director John Holum. It involved years of painstaking work at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva by Ambassador Stephen Ledogar and his delegation and in Washington by the backstopping team led by Dr. Pierce Corden of the Arm Control and Disarmament Agency.

There is no question in my mind that this treaty from this date forward will constrain the qualitative development of nuclear weapons. International controls and the inspection regime will become active upon entry into force. It will serve to ban the development of advanced new types of nuclear weapons and it will serve to demonstrate to the world that the declared nuclear powers—United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and China—are truly committed to control their nuclear arsenals and genuinely desire to contribute to the prevention of nuclear proliferation.

This treaty truly represents a significant step toward nuclear disarmament.

Mr. President, we would be deluding ourselves if we thought that gaining Senate advice and consent to a comprehensive test ban treaty is going to be easy. It will not be. Once the treaty is submitted by the President, the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I have been chairman or ranking member since 1981, will hold thorough and wide-ranging hearings. It is a process that I would enjoy very much, but will instead be viewing from a distance as a retired Senator.

The degree of contentiousness that is possible can be seen in the simple fact that the treaty was achieved by a Democratic President with the support of his party and is rejected in the Republican Party platform adopted this summer.

I hope that the hearings to be held by the Committee on Foreign Relations will serve to bring the sides together and will serve to assuage the fears and concerns of those who fear the possible consequences to our national security of a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing.

I believe that, since nuclear weapons design clearly is a mature science, we do not need further testing to assure that our scientists have done their work well and that we can move into a future without nuclear testing secure in the knowledge that we have a fine and reliable nuclear arsenal deterrent that will serve us well so long as we rely upon nuclear weapons to protect us.

Experts will testify that there are no safety and reliability issues that would necessitate further testing. Experts will also assure us that the restraints that this treaty will place on other nations are very much in our national security interests. Moreover, I would expect there will be expert testimony from the intelligence community that will provide the necessary reassurance to the Senate.

When all of that happens, I would expect that the Senate will, indeed, determine that it can proceed ahead with the comprehensive test ban without any jeopardy to our national security. That step forward will bring us well-deserved commendation from other nations and it will be a gift beyond value to the generations that will succeed us.

Mr. INHOFE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTIONS

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, like the Senator from Indiana, this is kind of a preview to coming attractions. I plan tomorrow to spend some time on the floor talking about one of the most serious issues we have been addressing here in the U.S. Senate, that is, the issue of partial-birth abortion.

As I was listening to the Senator from Indiana, the statements he made, it occurred to me that if we made one mistake during this entire debate, it has been to refer to this as an abortion, because most people think of abortions as something that is taking place prior to the time that, in their own minds, a fetus becomes a human being. I suggest that everyone has to make that decision as to when human life begins. I made my decision many years ago.

But I think when you deal with something as barbaric as a procedure such as the partial-birth abortion, you have to understand that this is something that happens at a time and can happen during a normal birth process.

I know the occupant of the Chair recently went through an experience when his wife delivered a new child. I am happy to tell you, Mr. President, that on Friday of this week, I will have my fourth grandchild, so I know something about this, too.

I remember so well, and I will be referring to this tomorrow, an experience I had about January of this year when we had the birth, at that time, of my third grandchild. My daughter called me up and said, "Daddy, would you like to come over and come into the delivery room?" Of course, back when we were having babies they would not let you in the same hospital, let alone the same delivery room. I remember so well when the baby was born, baby Jason was just a tiny, beautiful thing, and it had not been more than a minute since his first breath and she handed this baby to me, and I thought, this is just about the time this procedure has been customarily used; if only people knew what was happening, the fact that an incision would be made into the back of the head in a baby that is three-fourths of the way already born in this world, open up the head, and place a catheter and suck the brains out and the skull collapses. It is barbaric. It is a procedure that we have to do something about in this country.

I had occasion to ride back to Oklahoma with one of my fellow delegates, a Member of Congress, TOM COBURN, a medical doctor. TOM COBURN, Member of the House of Representatives, de-

scribed this, because he saw this procedure take place one time. He said it was nightmarish.

Last Monday, I had occasion to be in a number of cities and small towns in Oklahoma, having a series of town meetings, places, Mr. President, you have never heard of, like Durant, OK, and Idabel, OK, and Pontotoc, OK. There was not one place where they did not bring up in the course of this meeting: Are you really going to do something back there like the House did, do away with this procedure? Well, when I told them that the votes were not there and that President Clinton had vetoed our attempt to make this procedure illegal, it became, all of a sudden, a character question on him: Why would he do that? I have no way of answering that.

Tomorrow I will present over 15,000 signatures of people from Oklahoma and the comments they have made, over 15,000 people who are saying: Whatever you do, override the veto as the House of Representatives did.

As I have served here and I see people who want to retain a medical procedure that allows this method of taking the life of a small baby and I think of the people who are behind this, and you know what the baby is going through, because tomorrow I will read a report that will lead you to the incontrovertible conclusion that a baby, even in the first trimester, feels and senses the same pain that you feel, Mr. President, or anyone else in this Chamber, or any baby that is fully born and out and breathing today.

It occurred to me when the distinguished Senator from Indiana, Senator COATS, was talking a few minutes ago and he talked about if this were happening in another country we would be invoking sanctions, we would be talking about how this might affect trade, talking about economic aid. I would go a step further than the Senator from Indiana. I would say if this had been happening, if this procedure were legal and taking place in an animal, a dog or a cat, those same people who are trying to keep this medical procedure in our law would be picketing back and forth outside our Senate offices.

Tomorrow we will have a chance to talk about it.

(The remarks of Mr. INHOFE pertaining to the introduction of S. 2129 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BROWN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAIRCLOTH). The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I am advised by leadership that there will be no further votes today.

Mr. President, I rise to address the question of the partial-birth abortion ban.

Mr. President, I must disclose at the start of this discussion that I am pro-choice. I have been pro-choice ever since I entered public life. I have been pro-choice in my voting pattern in the Senate and pro-choice in my voting pattern in the House of Representa-

tives. I was pro-choice in my voting pattern in the State legislature of Colorado. I have been pro-choice in the discussions and debates we have had in Colorado, as well as in Washington, DC. So I come to this question of partial-birth abortions with a clear pro-choice record.

I must say that I am not for subsidizing abortions. In that regard, no one is liable to give you a perfect score—even the pro-choice groups of which I feel part of, because occasionally those votes get counted. But then I have not been very good at subsidizing anything with public funds. So perhaps I can be seen as unforgiving in that area.

Mr. President, I am pro-choice because I believe in limited Government. I know many of my friends and colleagues have described someone who is pro-choice as being liberal. My own sense is that it is exactly the opposite. A society that gives citizens maximum choice and discretion in their lives is conservative, in my way of thinking, not liberal. For those who have suggested that this unreasonably or unfairly restricts a person's right to choose, I submit that that is a mistake. If someone shares my view that part of limited Government involves maximizing individual freedom and choice, then they rightly wish to preserve rights for people, even though they may not agree with them. Such, I think, is the case with many people who seek to preserve people's rights or the freedom to choose with regard to abortions. That does not mean—in spite of what the critics say—that one has to be in favor of abortions. It does mean that one has to understand that sometimes things happen in a free society, that we don't like, and where we do not think it is the Government's right to dictate the answer.

Mr. President, it seems to me that it is important for Members, as they cast this very important vote on the veto override, to take a look at the specifics of the bill itself. Here are some observations, that I see as I look at it. The expert testimony we had before the committee indicated that as many as 1,000 to 1,500 abortions a year, perhaps more are done using this procedure. The actual number of partial-birth abortions performed in a year is unknown. Second, it is a very rare procedure and very limited in scope, primarily confined to a late-term pregnancies. If one approaches this issue with concern about preserving the right to choose, and suggests that banning this procedure eliminates the right to choose, I think they would be mistaken. It is quite clear, if one looks at the facts and the number of these procedures that are performed, that restricting them or prohibiting them does not eliminate someone's right to choose. The bill is extremely tightly drawn.