

business time allotted to Senator GRAM of Florida be allocated to Senator DORGAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MEASURE PLACED ON CALENDAR—SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 22

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, I understand there is a resolution at the desk that is due for its second reading.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (S.J. Res. 22) to express the sense of the Congress concerning the application by the Attorney General for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate allegations of illegal fundraising in the 1996 Presidential election campaign.

Mr. NICKLES. Mr. President, on behalf of other colleagues, I object to further proceedings on this matter at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be placed on the calendar.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be a period for the transaction of morning business, not to extend beyond the hour of 1 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. SANTORUM. Thank you, Mr. President.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, this morning, I attended a press conference with Representative CHARLES CANADY from Florida, as well as Senator HATCH and Congressman HYDE, the chairmen of the respective bodies' Judiciary Committees, to introduce the House bill, which is companion to the bill I introduced last month, on the issue of partial-birth abortions.

At that press conference, Senator HATCH and Chairman HYDE announced a joint House-Senate Judiciary Committee, calling witnesses before the joint committee hearing to talk about previous testimony given by those organizations to Congress in light of the disclosure of Ron Fitzsimmons, who heads an organization of abortion clinics, that he "lied through his teeth," and others, likewise, I will add—this is me speaking, not him—lied through their teeth in telling Congress and the American public the situations in

which the partial-birth abortion procedure was used and the number of times that procedure was used.

I said at that press conference, and I will say to my colleagues in the Senate today, as I did last year when we debated this bill, I am hopeful that as a result of the new information having been brought to light, not just with Mr. Fitzsimmons but, frankly, over the past year or so, with this new information that has been brought to light not just by him, but by newspaper reports, magazine reports from the mainstream media, that we will have Members of the Senate on both sides—I ask everyone to relook at this issue and base your decisions on the facts as we now know them, not the misinformation or disinformation given out by organizations like the National Abortion Rights Action League or Planned Parenthood or others who deliberately lied to the American public, misled the American public on a variety of issues.

First, they came to the Congress and said—in fact, look at Members of Congress on the House side, going to the well, saying this was true because these organizations said it was true, that the procedure was done under anesthesia and the anesthesia killed the baby.

We had an anesthesiologist come forward and say, "Wait a minute, we have women now who won't get anesthesia to deliver children," which is normal in this country, of course, "because they are afraid they are going to kill their baby," and so they had to back off. "Well, we didn't really mean that." Well, of course they meant it. They testified to it.

Then the next great lie was that this was a procedure done, you know, with only a few hundred a year, only with women whose health was in danger or whose children were fatally deformed, and, as a result of that, we need to have this option available. "There's only a few hundred a year."

In fact, you know, tap into NARAL's home page. You will find the information still there. At least it was a couple days ago until some people found it. Now they may have pulled it. But they still say there are only a couple hundred being performed and only in the third trimester. That was their argument all along. It is a lie. That is what Mr. Fitzsimmons says—he lied through his teeth.

How would he know? He is the president of an organization of abortion clinics. He called up the doctors of the clinics, and the doctors said, "No. We perform this fairly routinely," not just on third trimester babies—and some are—but the vast majority—95 percent is my guess, or even more—are on healthy mothers with healthy babies in the fifth and sixth months of pregnancy. Those are the facts.

If Members of this body will look at those facts and vote based on the facts as we know them—this procedure, which involves taking a baby, late term, fifth, sixth, in rare cases seventh,

eighth, maybe even ninth month, but in rare cases in that situation, taking this baby, delivering the baby feet first, delivering the entire baby except for the head, then taking a pair of scissors and puncturing the base of the skull, sticking a suction tube in there and suctioning the brains out, killing the baby and then delivering this now dead baby.

If the Members of the U.S. Senate know, as we do know now, that that happens, not a few hundred times—in my opinion, a few hundred times is pretty horrible—now several thousand times, at least according to Mr. Fitzsimmons, 3,000 to 5,000—given the industry track record on what they report, probably multiples of that, but at least that many—whether we are going to condone healthy moms, healthy babies, some of them viable, being allowed to have this abortion done in this just most gruesome manner.

So I ask the Members of the Senate to not just fall into your camp that you are comfortable with, you know, if you are pro-choice, "I've got to be pro-choice." This is not pro-life, not pro-choice, certainly not Democrat or Republican. There were Democrats at the press conference. Democrats have been some of the most vocal supporters of this bill. This is an issue of who we are as a country and who this body is as a Senate.

We have a life-of-the-mother exception. I know Members continue to get up and say, "Well, we need to do this to protect the life of the mother." There is a life-of-the-mother exception. It is clear. It is solid. No one who reads it would say it is anything but a life-of-the-mother exception.

So, if this procedure needs to be done to save the life of the mother, which I have not found anybody who says it is necessary, but if it is, you can do it. But after that, this procedure must be made illegal, given the facts as we now know them.

So I am asking Members, new Members who have not voted on this issue, and Members who have voted the other way in particular, to take a look at this information.

Let me challenge folks here in the other gallery, in the news media, to start doing your homework. This information was readily available. All you had to do was report it. All you had to do was look. All you had to do is ask. I know you folks love to believe people who agree with you, and you take that as gospel. Well, do your work. Investigate. Find out the truth.

The American public just does not want to hear what your friends in these organizations say is the truth. They want to know the real truth. It is your job to tell them. We tried to tell them. We were here giving you the facts. You just decided not to report them. Tell the truth. Let the American public know what is really going on out there. When they continue, as they will, to lie on television, these organizations, to try to hide their dirty secrets, call

them on it. Quit pandering to the other side. You owe it to the country. We are talking about lives of innocent babies here. You owe it to your profession. We owe it to the country. I yield the floor.

Mr. BROWNBACK addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas is recognized for up to 30 minutes.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Thank you, Mr. President.

I certainly appreciate what the Senator from Pennsylvania was just stating on this very critical issue on partial-birth abortions. It is a sad situation that has occurred in this country. I am hoping that this body and this Nation and this Government can respond to this situation.

AN UNLIMITED AMERICA

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, the era of big Government is over. May it rest in peace. In its place a new era is about to unfold. An unlimited America with a smaller Federal Government, economic opportunity for all, and a renewed culture.

An unlimited America was the vision for the Nation set forth by our Founding Fathers. It is the vision enshrined in those two great charters of freedom: our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution. Many of America's most intractable problems stem from the fact that we've strayed from that vision—and lost direction. But I have no doubt that if we can recapture the Founders's vision of limited Government, personal responsibility, and economic opportunity that America's greatest days will be yet to come.

The Founding Fathers of our Nation believed in the people. They created a new nation based on the radical notion that the people could be free and trusted—that the nation would be great if you trusted the people to be good. Before the birth of America, individual rights only existed so far as the grace of the dictator or monarch allowed. They were believed to have a divine right to rule, because it was thought that the people could not be trusted to rule themselves.

Our Founders believed that the people had the right to govern themselves—and that government derives its power from the consent of the governed. But this right also imposed a requirement on "We the People": We must be a moral and just people. John Adams put it this way, "Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate for the government of any other."

Yet, today, we have placed the Government in the role that was reserved for citizenship. We have gone from "We the People" to They the Bureaucracy.

In our recent efforts to create a more perfect union we have relied too much on the Government and too little on ourselves. We have forgotten that self-government demands the habits and virtues required for such a government.

"Republican government," James Madison noted, "presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form." Yet at some point we decided that goodness for the Nation simply came from the greatness of government. But the greatness of our Nation can never be measured by the size of our GDP or even the strength of our armies. National greatness rises from personal goodness.

And that is the starting point for ending the era of big Government and beginning the era of an unlimited America. Our mission is to re-limit the Federal Government; to release economic opportunity for all our citizens; and to renew our families and our culture. In my view these principles are not divisible—if any one is missing, the old era will not give way to the new and America will not return to the straight path—the only path which leads to national greatness.

RELIMITING GOVERNMENT

Fifteen years ago, President Reagan spoke before the British Parliament and made a prediction that shook the world. We were witnessing, he declared, "a great revolutionary crisis—a crisis where the demands of the economic order are colliding with those of the political order." The Soviet Union, which seemed at the height of its power, was running "against the tide of history by denying freedom and human dignity to its citizens." Despite all its tanks and missiles, the Soviet Union would soon be swept aside by the "march of freedom and democracy"—leaving—"Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history."

Many of Reagan's listeners thought he was dreaming. But Ronald Reagan had faith in freedom. He knew that communism, though militarily powerful, was ideologically dead. He knew what our founders knew: that in a truly legitimate government, power does not come out of the barrel of a gun, but only from the consent of the people. In a few years the Berlin Wall came tumbling down and the Evil Empire crumbled with a suddenness that astonished supporters of freedom and rocked the world's remaining tyrants.

Today big Government is facing the same internal crisis as the Soviet empire was in 1982. Big Government is institutionally strong, but structurally weak. It is backed by armies of special interests that ferociously protect their budgets and intimidate anyone who challenges their subsidies, but it has been abandoned by the American people.

Our mission is to implement big Government's replacement—to unite the principles of economic freedom and the cause of cultural renewal to forge a new governing consensus that will lead America into the 21st Century. Conservatives sometimes forget that limiting government is not an end in itself, but a means to a better society.

We must remember that our Federal Government has helped America

achieve many great things in this century. Along with our allies, we defeated two potentially mortal threats to freedom: fascism in World War II and communism in the cold war. Government built the Interstate Highway System that helped create our modern economy. It established Social Security and Medicare systems which have sharply reduced poverty in old age, and enabled senior citizens to live longer and in better health. Through student loans and the GI bill, it offered educational opportunity to those who might have otherwise been denied. And it enforced civil rights laws in the 1960's when it was clear that State governments could not protect the civil and political liberties of all Americans.

But today, America's problems are different. And they require a different response by government.

Unlike 50 years ago, our most difficult problems cannot be solved by the benevolent hand of a powerful, centralized bureaucracy. We can still have an effective Government, without a big Government that takes away our freedoms and degrades our values.

UNLEASHING AMERICA'S ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

As I stated, our mission is to implement the replacement of big Government—to unite the principles of economic freedom and cultural renewal to forge a new governing consensus that will lead America into the 21st century.

The principles of economic freedom are the very same principles that will bring forward a renewed culture and a society of limited government. Faith, family, and freedom: these are the values that make both our national economy and our national character strong. When government undermines these values, it hurts our families and our economy. Today, big Government is holding back our economy and preventing our people from reaching their full potential.

Perhaps, the most obvious evidence is the fiscal bankruptcy of the Federal Government. Today, we are more than \$5.3 trillion in debt—a crushing burden that amounts to over \$20,000 for every man woman and child. We are broke. And the budget deficits of today are minor compared with the fiscal disaster that will confront us in the early 21st century when Social Security and Medicare are unable to pay their bills.

But huge deficits and skyrocketing debt are just one problem.

Americans currently labor under a tax code so complicated that even tax lawyers and accountants can't understand it. We tax personal income two and three times before a citizen can see a return on his work or investment. Our people must work until May 8 just to pay their taxes to the Government before they can earn a penny to support their families.

Our Tax Code is one of the greatest remnants of an over-intrusive big Government. It is perhaps the single greatest obstacle to greater individual freedom and prosperity. Ronald Reagan