

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for as much time as I may consume.

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

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, Alan Cranston was a Senator in this Chamber for some long while. In fact, in recent months he visited this Chamber, and I had an opportunity to say a few words to him. He was someone who left a significant mark, especially in the area of fighting for a policy in this country that would put this country in a leadership position to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

Mr. Cranston worked diligently on that issue here in Congress, but after he left his service in the Senate, he especially was interested, and active all around this country, in trying to mobilize the energy and interest for this country to lead in a range of areas dealing with stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. I recall, perhaps 6 months ago, driving down a rural highway in North Dakota and receiving a call on my cell phone. The call was from former Senator Alan Cranston, and he was calling from California. What he was calling about was what he always talked about in recent years. He was trying to find ways to continue our country's obligation to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons and the threat of nuclear war.

He felt passionately about the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty and was disappointed when the treaty was voted down in the Senate last year or a year and a half ago. But he never stopped working. He always believed that our country, as strong and as big as it is, had a leadership responsibility in the world to mobilize its energy and commitment to find ways to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

So today we pay honor to his memory. We should be thankful that there was an Alan Cranston involved in public service. I say to his family that our sympathies go to them. We will all miss his commitment in dealing with this issue of nuclear arms reduction.

(The remarks of Mr. DORGAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 165 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. DORGAN and Mr. BAUCUS pertaining to the introduction of S. 171 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. DORGAN. I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mrs. CLINTON). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, what is the parliamentary situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is conducting morning business.

WELCOMING SENATOR CLINTON

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, before I begin on the topic I wish to discuss, I welcome my neighbor and friend from across Lake Champlain, which many of us consider a great and beautiful lake. I am delighted to have the Senator from New York to be serving here in the Senate.

THE MEXICO CITY POLICY

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I listened attentively to President Bush on Saturday when he called on all Americans to unite in a spirit of civility and common purpose. Those are sentiments we all share. I, for one, intend to make every effort, guided by conscience and my constituents, to work with the new administration for the good of the country.

I was also impressed by some of the things he said yesterday to his staff about treating every person with decency and respect and never taking the White House for granted. Those are important messages, and I commend the President for setting a tone of civility.

I also take the President at his word when he speaks of "working together to unite the country." I assume he means that on issues that have long divided us, he and his administration will make a sincere effort to bring people together.

But that doesn't happen simply by making a speech. Actions speak louder than words. On his first day in office, President Bush, by executive order, with no prior consultation with Congress, reinstated the controversial Mexico City policy on international family planning. The President explained his decision with these words:

It is my conviction that taxpayer funds should not be used to pay for abortions or advocate or actively promote abortion, either here or abroad. It is therefore my belief that the Mexico City policy should be restored.

Madam President, if current law did, in fact, permit taxpayer funds to be used to pay for or promote abortions overseas, then the President might have a point. But our law does not allow that. Our law explicitly prohibits any U.S. funds from being used for abortion or to promote abortion.

That is the settled law of the United States. It was passed by the Congress and signed into law by President Clinton. It is something we have all supported. In fact, it has been the law for as long as I can remember, even during past administrations. It is already against the law to use taxpayer funds for purposes related to abortion. Somebody should have told that to the new President.

In fact, the Mexico City policy, which he has reinstated, goes much, much further. Many have called it a "global

gag rule." It prohibits taxpayer funds from being used to support private family planning organizations like the International Planned Parenthood Federation. These organizations use a small portion of their own private funds—not taxpayer funds, but private funds—to provide advice, counseling, and information about abortions, and to advocate for safe abortion practices in countries where tens of thousands of women suffer injuries or die from complications from unsafe abortions.

If we tried to impose the Mexico City policy on any family planning organization within our borders, it would clearly violate the First Amendment. It would be illegal. But we impose it on those same organizations when they work overseas beyond the reach of our Constitution.

Proponents of the Mexico City policy maintain that it will reduce the number of abortions. The reality is the opposite. The distinguished Presiding Officer knows this very well. The International Planned Parenthood Federation, which is now going to be cut off from U.S. Government support, has used every tax dollar it received in the past to provide voluntary family planning services, like contraceptives, to couples who lack them. By providing for the first time modern birth control methods to people in countries where abortion was the primary method of birth control, the number of abortions goes down.

Now, taxpayer funds to the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which is comprised of dozens of family planning organizations around the world, are cut off.

I remember the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon, former Senator Mark Hatfield, a dear friend of mine, one of the most revered Members of this body, who became chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Senator Hatfield was fervently pro-life, opposed to abortion, very strong in his beliefs. I remember a debate on the Mexico City policy when he stood here—and he probably said it best. I will quote what he said:

It is a proven fact that when contraceptive services are not available to women throughout the world, abortion rates increase. The Mexico City policy is unacceptable to me as someone who is strongly opposed to abortion.

President Bush's decision was not unexpected, based on what he said during the campaign. But I am disappointed because one would have hoped that after pledging to change the way we do business in Washington, after years of successive Congresses and administrations tying themselves in knots over this issue, his advisers would have taken the time to consult with the Congress about how to avoid the quagmire the Mexico City policy has produced in the past.

Now, had they done that, would an agreement have been possible? Who knows? There are strong passions on both sides of this issue, but they should

at least have asked whether maybe, before unilaterally turning back the clock, there is a way to find common ground.

President Bush has made much of his abilities as a consensus builder. Frankly, I think had he bothered to ask, he would have found a willingness to compromise, because contrary to the President's statement and contrary to a lot of the press reports, this issue is about far more than abortion.

It is about protecting the health of women in desperately poor countries where more than half a million women die each year from complications relating to pregnancy, and where women have little control over their own bodies or their lives. We have the opportunity, at very little expense, to help. Instead—not to save money but to make a political point—we cut off that help.

The Mexico City policy has been the subject of more political posturing, more press releases, more fund raising letters, more debates, more votes, and more Presidential vetoes, than virtually any other issue I can think of.

I remember when President Clinton did the right thing by repealing the Mexico City policy 8 years ago. When he did that, a Republican Congress responded by sharply cutting funding for voluntary family planning—not funding for abortions but for voluntary family planning. The predictable, tragic result of that misguided, politically motivated act was an increase in the number of abortions and of deaths of women from botched abortions.

Again, the evidence is indisputable that when family planning services are available, the number of abortions goes down. But apparently that didn't matter. Mexico City proponents cared more about scoring political points than preventing abortions or saving women's lives.

President Bush has made a decision. He has a right to do that. But I believe it was the wrong decision—wrong because the Mexico City policy is not about taxpayer dollars, wrong because he ignored the bipartisan majority in the Senate that opposes the Mexico City policy, wrong because it will likely result in more abortions, not less, in poor countries where abortions are often unsafe.

The irony is that if we had a vote a majority of Senators—Republicans and Democrats—would vote the other way.

I do appreciate that the administration has said it will provide the full \$445 million the Congress appropriated for family planning this year. That is critically important, and we should discuss how to significantly increase that amount in future years. But by reinstating the Mexico City policy, by cutting off support for some of the most effective organizations involved in family planning and women's health, the President has set us on a collision course. We can now expect extended debates that we have all heard countless times before, votes to repeal the pol-

icy, vetoes of appropriations bill, and on and on.

I hope this is not what the President meant when he spoke of working together. We can do better. We have to do better if we are going to avoid the pitfalls that divided us in the past on this issue.

Madam President, we have moved foreign aid bills through this body in record time in the last few years. Senator McCONNELL of Kentucky and I have been the floor leaders year after year. But it used to take many days, and one of the reasons was that we got bogged down in debates on the Mexico City policy.

The President could have waited until February 15 to make his decision. There was time to consult with Republicans and Democrats. He could have said: Look, I know this issue is divisive. Let us work together, come back and sit down again in a few days and work through this—because one thing we can all agree on is that with the abysmal state of women's health in so many parts of the world, we can make it better. That should not be a Republican or a Democrat or pro-choice or right-to-life issue. That is a human issue, a moral issue. This would be a good year to forget the political point making, and solve this.

I have traveled to many parts of the world. My wife is a registered nurse. She has traveled with me. We have seen how bad the situation is. We have seen how a little help can move women in many parts of the world generations ahead of where they are today.

The distinguished occupant of the chair has visited some of those same places, and many more. I know I preach to the converted.

We have enough other ways to make political points, on either side.

Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. Madam President, we do have an essential agreement here that will allow us to move through three more nominations. I would like to go through this and then also give the Senators some further idea as to how we might proceed beyond this next week.

As in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that at 2 p.m. on Monday, the Senate proceed to the nomination of Gale Norton to be Secretary of Interior and that it be considered under the following agreement: 3 hours to be equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the

Energy Committee, 60 minutes equally divided between the two leaders or their designees, and following the use or yielding back of the time, the nomination be laid aside.

I further ask unanimous consent that at 10 a.m. on Tuesday, the Environment and Public Works Committee be discharged from further consideration of Gov. Christine Whitman to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration; that there be 30 minutes for debate to be divided as follows: 10 minutes under the control of Senator CORZINE, 10 minutes under the control of Senator TORRICELLI, 10 minutes equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Environment Committee.

I further ask unanimous consent that following that debate, at 10:30 a.m. on Tuesday, the nomination be temporarily laid aside and the Senate resume consideration of the Norton nomination under the following agreement: 10 minutes under the control of Senator FEINGOLD, 15 minutes under the control of Senator DURBIN, 15 minutes under the control of Senator WELLSTONE, 10 minutes under the control of Senator STABENOW, with 30 additional minutes for closing remarks under the control of Senator BOXER and the final 30 minutes under the control of Senator MURKOWSKI.

Further, I ask unanimous consent that at 2:15 on Tuesday the Senate proceed to the consideration of Elaine Chao to be Secretary of Labor, and that there be 15 minutes for debate equally divided between the chairman and ranking member of the Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee, and 15 minutes under the control of Senator WELLSTONE, to be followed by a vote on the confirmation of the Secretary of Labor, to be followed by a vote on the confirmation of Gale Norton to be Secretary of Interior, and that be followed by a vote on the confirmation of Governor Whitman to be the head of EPA.

I further ask unanimous consent that following the three back-to-back votes, the President be immediately notified of the Senate's action and the Senate resume legislative session.

Finally, I ask unanimous consent that either leader may vitiate the agreement with respect to the Chao agreement prior to the vote and that in no case shall it proceed if the Senate has not yet received the nomination and the accompanying papers.

Mr. REID. Madam President, reserving the right to object, as I understand what just transpired and will have transpired by next Tuesday early in the afternoon, is that all of the President's nominees for his Cabinet will have been approved with only one selection still to be debated. It is our intention, I say to the leader, to move this to a final vote without undue delay. I hope we can do that expeditiously.