

think it has been inflammatory. The Senator from Pennsylvania continues to say those of us who disagree with him, in essence, want to kill children. We are mothers. We have bore children. We are grandmothers. We love the children. So it is highly offensive to hear those words used on the Senate floor.

My colleague says he feels the pain of the families who went through this horrible experience; yet he demeans them. He basically says they don't know what they are talking about when they beg us not to pass this legislation, when they beg us to turn away from this legislation, which makes no exception for the health of a woman.

Again, we are not doctors. We are Senators. When the women of this country need help—and serious help—they don't turn to us. They turn to us for other things, but they don't turn to us to get the help they need. They turn to a physician they trust; they turn to their God, to their families, to their closest friends, and they turn to their conscience. So I hope we will reaffirm *Roe v. Wade* because that is what *Roe v. Wade* says—trust the women, respect them, respect their privacy.

I want to put into the RECORD a statement sent to us by an award-winning actress, Polly Bergen, who came forward to talk about her illegal abortion in the 1940s. She said:

Someone gave me the phone number of a person who did abortions. . . . I borrowed about \$300 from my roommate and went alone to a dirty, run-down bungalow in a dangerous neighborhood in east L.A. A . . . man came to the floor and asked for the money. . . . He told me to take off all of my clothes except for my blouse. . . . I got up on a cold metal kitchen table. He performed a procedure, using something sharp. He didn't give me anything for the pain—he just did it. He said . . . I would be fine.

Well, Polly Bergen was rendered infertile.

Vote for the Harkin amendment. Vote no on the underlying bill.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I move to table amendment No. 2321 and ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the amendment No. 2321. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. NICKLES. I announce that the Senator from Arizona (Mr. McCAIN) is necessarily absent.

The result was announced—yeas 48, nays 51, as follows:

(Rollcall Vote No. 336 Leg.)

YEAS—48

Abraham	Fitzgerald	Mack
Allard	Frist	McConnell
Ashcroft	Gorton	Murkowski
Bennett	Gramm	Nickles
Bond	Grams	Reid
Breaux	Grassley	Roberts
Brownback	Gregg	Roth
Bunning	Hagel	Santorum
Burns	Hatch	Sessions
Cochran	Helms	Shelby
Coverdell	Hutchinson	Smith (NH)
Craig	Hutchison	Smith (OR)
Crapo	Inhofe	Thomas
DeWine	Kyl	Thompson
Domenici	Lott	Thurmond
Enzi	Lugar	Voinovich

NAYS—51

Akaka	Edwards	Lieberman
Baucus	Feingold	Lincoln
Bayh	Feinstein	Mikulski
Biden	Graham	Moynihan
Bingaman	Harkin	Murray
Boxer	Hollings	Reed
Bryan	Inouye	Robb
Byrd	Jeffords	Rockefeller
Campbell	Johnson	Sarbanes
Chafee	Kennedy	Schumer
Cleland	Kerrey	Snowe
Collins	Kerry	Specter
Conrad	Kohl	Stevens
Daschle	Landrieu	Torricelli
Dodd	Lautenberg	Warner
Dorgan	Leahy	Wellstone
Durbin	Levin	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

McCain

The motion was rejected.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, earlier today I voted against tabling a sense of the Congress amendment proposed by Senator HARKIN regarding the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in the case of *Roe v. Wade*. Because that vote was, to the best of my recollection, the first time the Senate has directly and specifically addressed the issue of the Court's ruling, I wish to take a few moments to explain my position for the benefit of my constituents in West Virginia.

First, despite the fact that I supported the Harkin amendment, I reiterate that I am, as I always have been, personally opposed to abortion, with few exceptions—such as when the life of the woman would be endangered, or in cases of incest or rape, when promptly reported.

However, the reality of the situation is that the decision of the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* is the law of the land. No matter what I think personally of the procedure in question, I accept the fact that the Court, in a 7-to-2 ruling, has definitively spoken on this matter. Accordingly, I felt it was appropriate to support the language of the Harkin amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment. The yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent there be a vote on the Harkin amendment at 2 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

WORK INCENTIVES IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1999

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Senate now proceed to the consideration of H.R. 1180, the work incentives bill. I further ask consent that all after the enacting clause be stricken and the text of S. 331, as passed by the Senate, be inserted in lieu thereof. I further ask the bill be read a third time and passed, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, the Senate then insist upon its amendment, and request a conference with the House.

I further ask consent that nothing in this agreement shall alter the provisions of the consent agreement on June 14, 1999, relating to S. 331.

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

The bill (H.R. 1180), as amended, was read the third time and passed.

(The text of S. 331 is printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 16, 1999.)

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. KENNEDY. Reserving the right to object. I reserve the right to object, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator reserves the right to object.

Mr. KENNEDY. If the Senator from Pennsylvania is the acting leader, could he give us some indication of when we will go to conference on that legislation? It is the most important piece of legislation affecting the disabled in this country. We have passed the legislation 99-0. It has been in the House of Representatives for several months. I hope at the time we are announcing we are going to appoint conferees, we would have at least some indication from the leadership as to when we are going to get to conference. I know millions of disabled Americans across this country will want to know what the intention of the leadership is on this legislation.

Can the Senator give us some idea?

Mr. SANTORUM. I say to the Senator from Massachusetts, first, I think this bill we are considering right now has a far greater impact on people with disabilities to come than this piece of

legislation. But that being said, I am just doing this on behalf of the leader. I have not conferred with the leader as to what his plans are, so I am unable to answer the Senator's question.

Mr. KENNEDY. Further reserving the right to object, and I will not at this time, I think this legislation is of enormous importance. We are very hopeful we will get an early conference on it and we will get a favorable resolution. This has passed 99-0 in our body. It is a good bill that came out of the House. It is legislation we ought to complete before we adjourn.

I have no objection.

There being no objection, the Presiding Officer (Mr. HAGEL) appointed Mr. ROTH, Mr. LOTT, and Mr. MOYNIHAN conferees on the part of the Senate.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT OF 1999—Continued

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I submit for the RECORD a speech given by Mother Teresa. I think it is quite germane to this debate we are having on partial-birth abortion. It is piercing in its view of the truth. It is piercing in its view of the issue of abortion. It is quite clear. I think it is full of great wisdom.

I ask unanimous consent it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THIS GIFT OF PEACE—SMILE AT EACH OTHER (By Mother Teresa)

As we have gathered here together to thank God for the Nobel Peace Prize, I think it will be beautiful that we pray the prayer of St. Francis of Assisi which always surprises me very much—we pray this prayer every day after Holy Communion, because it is very fitting for each one of us, and I always wonder that 4-500 years ago as St. Francis of Assisi composed this prayer that they had the same difficulties that we have today, as we compose this prayer that fits very nicely for us also. I think some of you already have got it—so we will pray together.

Let us thank God for the opportunity that we all have together today, for this gift of peace that reminds us that we have been created to live that peace, and Jesus became man to bring that good news to the poor. He being God became man in all things like us except sin, and he proclaimed very clearly that he had come to give the good news. The news was peace to all of good will and this is something that we all want—the peace of heart—and God loved the world so much that he gave his son—it was a giving—it is as much as if to say it hurt God to give, because he loved the world so much that he gave his son, and he gave him to Virgin Mary, and what did she do with him?

As soon as he came in her life—immediately she went in haste to give that good news, and as she came into the house of her cousin, the child—the unborn child—the child in the womb of Elizabeth, lit with joy. He was that little unborn child, was the first messenger of peace. He recognized the Prince of Peace, he recognized that Christ has come to bring the good news for you and for me.

And as if that was not enough—it was not enough to become a man—he died on the cross to show that greater love, and he died for you and for me and for that leper and for that man dying of hunger and that naked person lying in the street not only of Calcutta, but of Africa, and New York, and London, and Oslo—and insisted that we love one another as he loves each one of us. And we read that in the Gospel very clearly—love as I have loved you—as I love you—as the Father has loved me, I love you—and the harder the Father loved him, he gave him to us, and how much we love one another, we, too, must give each other until it hurts. It is not enough for us to say: I love God, but I do not love my neighbour. St. John says you are a liar if you say you love God and you don't love your neighbour. How can you love God whom you do not see, if you do not love your neighbour whom you see, whom you touch, with whom you live. And so this is very important for us to realize that love, to be true, has to hurt. It hurt Jesus to love us, it hurt him. And to make sure we remember his great love he made himself bread of life to satisfy our hunger for his love. Our hunger for God, because we have been created for that love. We have been created in his image. We have been created to love and be loved, and then he has become man to make it possible for us to love as he loved us. He makes himself the hungry one—the naked one—the homeless one—the sick one—the one in prison—the lonely one—the unwanted one—and he says: You did it to me. Hungry for our love, and this is the hunger of our poor people. This is the hunger that you and I must find, it may be in our own home.

I never forget an opportunity I had in visiting a home where they had all these old parents of sons and daughters who had just put them in an institution and forgotten maybe. And I went there, and I saw in that home they had everything, beautiful things, but everybody was looking toward the door. And I did not see a single one with their smile on their face. And I turned to the sister and I asked: How is that? How is it that the people they have everything here, why are they all looking toward the door, why are they not smiling? I am so used to see the smile on our people, even the dying ones smile, and she said: This is nearly every day, they are expecting, they are hoping that a son or daughter will come to visit them. They are hurt because they are forgotten, and see—this is where love comes. That poverty comes right there in our own home, even neglect to love. Maybe in our own family we have somebody who is feeling lonely, who is feeling sick, who is feeling worried, and these are difficult days for everybody. Are we there, are we there to receive them, is the mother there to receive the child?

I was surprised in the waste to see so many young boys and girls given into drugs, and I tried to find out why—why is it like that, and the answer was: Because there is no one in the family to receive them. Father and mother are so busy they have no time. Young parents are in some institution and the child takes back to the street and gets involved in something. We are talking of peace. These are things that break peace, but I feel the greatest destroyer of peace today is abortion, because it is a direct war, a direct killing—direct murder by the mother herself. And we read in the Scripture, for God says very clearly. Even if a mother could forget her child—I will not forget you—I have curved you in the palm of my hand. We are curved in the palm of His hand so close to Him that unborn child has been curved in

the hand of God. And that is what strikes me most, the beginning of that sentence, that even if a mother could forget something impossible—but even if she could forget—I will not forget you. And today the greatest means—the greatest destroyer of peace is abortion. And we who are standing here—our parents wanted us. We would not be here if our parents would do that to us. Our children, we want them, we love them, but what of the millions. Many people are very, very concerned with the children in India, with the children of Africa where quite a number die, maybe of malnutrition, of hunger and so on, but millions are dying deliberately by the will of the mother. And this is what is the greatest destroyer of peace today. Because if a mother can kill her own child—what is left for me to kill you and you to kill me—there is nothing between. And this I appeal in India, I appeal everywhere: Let us bring the child back, and this year being the child's year: What have we done for the child? At the beginning of the year I told, I spoke everywhere and I said: Let us make this year that we make every single child born, and unborn, wanted. And today is the end of the year, have we really made the children wanted? I will give you something terrifying. We are fighting abortion by adoption, we have saved thousands of lives, we have sent words to all the clinics, to the hospitals, police stations—please don't destroy the child, we will take the child. So every hour of the day and night it is always somebody, we have quite a number of unwedded mothers—tell them come, we will take care of you, we will take the child from you, and we will get a home for the child. And we have a tremendous demand for families who have no children, that is the blessing of God for us. And also, we are doing another thing which is very beautiful—we are teaching our beggars, our leprosy patients, our slum dwellers, our people of the street, natural family planning.

And in Calcutta alone in six years—it is all in Calcutta—we have had 61,273 babies less from the families who would have had, but because they practice this natural way of abstaining, of self-control, out of love for each other. We teach them the temperature meter which is very beautiful, very simple, and our poor people understand. And you know what they have told me? Our family is healthy, our family is united, and we can have a baby whenever we want. So clear—these people in the street, those beggars—and I think that if our people can do like that how much more you and all the others who can know the ways and means without destroying the life that God has created in us. The poor people are very great people. They can teach us so many beautiful things. The other day one of them came to thank and said: You people who have evolved chastity you are the best people to teach us family planning. Because it is nothing more than self-control out of love for each other. And I think they said a beautiful sentence. And these are people who maybe have nothing to eat, maybe they have not a home where to live, but they are great people. The poor are very wonderful people. One evening we went out and we picked up four people from the street. And one of them was in a most terrible condition—and I told the sisters: You take care of the other three, I take of this one that looked worse. So I did for her all that my love can do. I put her in bed, and there was such a beautiful smile on her face. She took hold of my hand, as she said one word only: Thank you—and she died.

I could not help but examine my conscience before her, and I asked what would I