

this is so outrageous that we need to ban it.

I am a health care professional and I cannot even imagine a doctor or a nurse being involved in one of these procedures, delivering the baby out of the birth canal up to about here, the neck—arms and legs moving, holding that little baby in their hand, feeling life in their hand, a little heartbeat—and voluntarily taking forceps and jabbing them into the back of the skull. The skull is too big to come out so they have to collapse the skull down, sucking out the contents of the skull—the brains, basically. The baby at that point can feel pain. It is documented. In fact, it feels pain more than a normal child that has inhibitory pain fibers. We are saying this is somehow humane for the child, and that is literally beyond me.

This procedure is completely, in my mind, indefensible; it is infanticide. I want to talk about abortion in general because the other side is saying this is just chipping away at the rights of abortion. I remember when President Clinton said that abortion should be safe, legal, and rare. I think those were his terms. I was thinking to myself, safe, I can understand that; legal, from his perspective, I can understand that; but if you don't believe it is wrong, who cares whether it is rare?

If there is nothing wrong with abortion, why should it be rare? Who cares? If it is not a baby, if it is just a blob of tissue, like the other side says, who cares whether it happens all the time? Why do we care whether it is rare?

The reason even somebody like Bill Clinton says it should be rare is because there is something in our conscience that is telling us abortion is wrong. Eighty-six percent of Down syndrome babies are aborted today—86 percent. We have an incredible young man right out here who runs the elevators. His name is Jimmy. He has Down syndrome.

We have a great organization in Las Vegas called Opportunity Village which deals with a lot of people. It employs a lot of people, finds them a job, people with either congenital problems, whether Down syndrome or other problems, or whether they have had a brain injury. We are saying to those people: You don't have the right to live. We are saying to the Jimmys of the world: You know what, you aren't perfect, so you don't have the right to live. That is what abortion is about. Is it going to be difficult? Yes, but life isn't guaranteed to be easy.

Mr. President, we have to look at what we are becoming as a society. If we do not value human life to the point where it is OK to have little imperfections, what are we becoming as a society? Haven't we seen in history the societies that have tried to create the perfect race, how immoral that was? Isn't that what we are trying to do somewhat with abortions and some of the other new medical technologies that are coming out?

This is a very emotional issue, and I understand people who believe abortion should be legal. There are a lot of women who have had abortions, who have gone through incredible stress—post-abortion syndrome, as it is known. It is likened to post-traumatic stress syndrome. I feel badly, and I feel pain for those women and men who have been involved with abortions.

Sometimes as a defense mechanism, one tries to justify what one did. I think it is important for us to show compassion for those people who have been involved and it is important not to judge other people's motives. But at the same time, we have to look, as a country, at whether it is right or wrong. If it is a baby, it is wrong. It just is. If it is a baby, it is murder. If it is not a baby, if it is some tissue, like the other side says, that is exactly right, it should be legal. It should be absolutely legal, if it is just tissue. But if it is a human life, then that human life deserves to be defended. That innocent human life deserves all the protections of the law, whether they have Down syndrome, spina bifida, or any other congenital ailment. They deserve the same protection under our law any other "normal" healthy child has.

We have to look at ourselves as a society and what type of a society we want to have going into the future. America's greatness has been because we have had strong moral standards. This is the great moral problem of our day about which we have to do some soul-searching as a country, to be on our knees in prayer to figure out the right course of action. For me, it is clear.

I urge all of our colleagues to do a lot of soul-searching on this issue. I believe if you are honest, people will see the rights of a baby deserve to be protected.

I thank the manager of the bill and others who have been involved in this issue for the great work they have done. This is truly a fight worth doing and worth doing right.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 p.m. having arrived, the Senate stands in recess until 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:34 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m., and reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Mr. DEWINE).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN ACT OF 2003 CONFERENCE REPORT—Continued

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania,

Mr. SANTORUM, and Senator FRIST for their leadership on this particular issue. Both have worked extremely hard. I also commend the Presiding Officer for his leadership for the rights of the unborn.

I am pleased to be a cosponsor of the Partial-Birth Abortion Act, which is S. 3. This legislation is designed to help protect unnecessary suffering of the unborn child and also to protect the mother. It prohibits a partial-birth abortion, which is a partial delivery of a living baby, the killing of a baby before complete delivery.

The bill allows partial-birth abortion except for the life of the mother, and in cases where there is endangerment by physical disorder, illness, and injury.

I will go through some of the bill's definitions, which I think say a lot about what this bill is all about.

The term "partial-birth abortion" means an abortion which, first, "the person performing the abortion deliberately and intentionally vaginally delivers a living fetus until, in the case of a head-first presentation, the entire fetal head is outside the body of the mother, or, in the case of breech presentation, any part of the fetal trunk past the navel is outside the body of the mother for the purpose of performing an overt act that the person knows will kill the partially delivered living fetus." That is the way it is defined in the bill. Further, the term "partial-birth abortion" means an overt act, other than completion of delivery, that "kills the partially delivered living fetus with this procedure."

This type of abortion is called a D&X abortion, which would be prohibited, also referred to as a dilation and extraction abortion. The bill defines "extraction" as: "Extraction from the uterus and into the vagina of all of the body of a fetus except the head, following which the fetus is killed by extracting the contents of the skull." After the baby's skull tissue is rooted out, then the remains of the baby are removed.

I emphasize, this bill does not prohibit other abortions. For example, it does not prohibit what is commonly referred to as D&E, or dilation and evacuation, a procedure which includes dismemberment of the baby inside the uterus, induction of preterm labor with the fetus forced from the uterus, and suctioning of the baby out of the uterus. It does not prohibit suction abortion, which involves scraping the fetus apart from the placenta, or suctioning the baby out of the uterus. It does not prohibit all other types of abortion that might be applied, such as a Caesarian section or a hysterotomy.

The bill protects the life and safety of the mother. Partial-birth abortion was never intended to be a procedure to protect the health of the mother. This procedure has become a form of abortion. On the contrary, we need a ban in order to protect the health of the mother. It is a dangerous procedure, it is a fringe procedure, and it is outside the mainstream of routine medicine.