

focused on, what kind of concessions need to be made on both sides to make this happen. Usually, as we come down to the end, it is amazing how quickly some things can be done as opposed to when they just stretch out in the future.

So our goals are to have no Government shutdown—certainly that is the Republican position for the rest of this year—we are settled on not having any new taxes to finance this year's new programs—we certainly have an adequate amount of money—and we are committed to paying down the publicly held debt and to protecting the Social Security surplus. These are the kinds of things I think everyone can agree upon if we can get to it this time.

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

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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 President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

TERRORISM AND ABORTION

Mr. REID. Mr. President, last Thursday, I was reading the morning newspaper in Washington when I came across an article describing for, lack of a better description, the emotional stress of a doctor, Steven Dixon. Dr. Dixon, after a lifetime of study and sacrifice, indicated he was going to give up the practice of medicine. Why? Because terrorists had broken his 40-year-old spirit. This 40-year-old doctor decided he wasn't going to practice medicine anymore. His will to work had been broken.

Dr. Dixon maintained a medical practice in the downtown DC area. Dr. Dixon, by training, was certified to be an obstetrician/gynecologist. In his practice, he helped women with a multitude of medical problems—basic checkups, physicals, and problems unique to women. On occasion, he terminated pregnancies. What did these people do to run Dr. Dixon out of the practice of medicine? They distributed wanted posters with his name and photograph like those you see in the post office. He received numerous threatening phone calls to his home and his office. Various threatening mail was sent to his home and office. These are some of the things that happened to Dr. Dixon.

In the United States, the highest court in the land, the U.S. Supreme Court, the same court that established the way commerce is conducted between the 50 States, the same court that decreed education cannot be separate and be equal, the same court that set precedence for the cleansing of Government by its overview of Watergate—this same U.S. Supreme Court has set forth a standard as to how abortion in the United States is legal. That is the final word, what the Supreme

Court says in our country. Whether one agrees or disagrees, it is the law of this Republic.

But some are unwilling to follow the law of the land. They think they know better. This has led to violence, vandalism, brutal protests at legal clinics established to deal with a multitude of female-related health problems. In the last 20 years, there has been an average of 40 of these acts each week—bombings, arsons, death threats, kidnappings, murders, tires slashed, oil drained from cars, sugar put in gas tanks, blood splattered on people's homes and sidewalks and places of business. There have been 38,000 acts during less than two decades—38,000 acts of terrorism.

I am going to talk now about some examples of these terrorist acts. For example, people who work in entities, such as Planned Parenthood clinics, face acts of violence, threats, intimidation. In 1998, at just such clinics, there were multiple murders, bombings, and arsons, a score of butyric acid attacks. That is a chemical compound that burns and leaves an awful smell. Anti-choice violence and terrorism is worsening. It should be stopped. Dr. Dixon, who I have never met, who many read about last Thursday, which caused me to begin thinking about this issue, stated in a letter:

It is ironic that I am a target, because my entire career has been about educating and empowering women to help prevent unintended pregnancies. While I have always supported a woman's right to have this legal procedure, I actually performed few abortions for my patients. In fact, I stopped performing them because of the stress associated with this terrorism. Sadly, the ongoing threat to my life and my concern for the safety of my loved ones has exacted a heavy toll on me, making it necessary that I discontinue practicing.

I don't know Dr. Dixon, never met him, never talked to him. But those who threaten Dr. Dixon are cowards, terrorists, no different than the people who blew up the New York City Trade Center. They are murderers. These killers and would-be killers and terrorists call each other patriots. The true patriots of this Nation are those who have given their all in the fields of battle, places called the Bulge and the beaches of Guadalcanal, Pork Chop Hill in Korea, and in Vietnam. And many people who haven't given their lives have sacrificed a great deal. Many serve in this Chamber. Under our system of government, which has been in existence for more than 200 years, the law of the land can only be changed by peaceful political means, through persuasion, debate, demonstrations that are peaceful in nature, grassroots political activity, the assertion of one's feelings at the ballot box, but never, never, through violence and intimidation. What is now taking place in our country by these zealots is despicable.

Why do I say what I have said? Why do I conclude this? Let me travel a little bit. Remember, we have 38,000 of these terrorist acts, and I am going to

talk about a few of these demonstrations of viciousness. A manual has been produced by a group called the Army of God. It is a manual directing there to be no trial, no jury, no appeal, no stay of execution. Their clear declaration is to kill abortion doctors and people associated with abortion clinics—kill whoever they decide should be murdered.

Doctor Barnett Slepian. I didn't realize this until after the murder had taken place, but Dr. Slepian's niece worked for me here in Washington. She is now a writer of some acclaim. She had an article published in the last issue of *George* magazine. She is from Reno, NV, and is a wonderful young lady. Dr. Barnett Slepian was shot and killed by a bullet that came through his kitchen window at the same time the doctor was having dinner with his family in his kitchen. After this brutal murder, this cowardly act, his death was mocked publicly. His murder was commended by some groups. The killer, even though identified, has not been apprehended.

In Birmingham, AL, at a health clinic, there was a bomb blast which killed the security guard who was there, a man by the name of Robert Sanderson. He was a police officer trying to make some money on the side. Emily Lyons, a nurse, was severely injured and left nearly blind and with medical bills of almost \$1 million. Eric Robert Rudolph has been charged with this attack. He is the man who is being chased through the hills in the south, someplace in North Carolina. He is one of the FBI's Ten Most Wanted. He is yet to be found.

In December of 1996, Dr. Calvin Jackson was stabbed many, many times. He lost at least four pints of blood, and one ear was severed. His assailant was apprehended a few hours later, after entering another clinic carrying a filleting knife.

John Salvi—at about the same time this Jackson matter took place—was tried for two murders of clinic receptionists, people who were secretaries—Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols. He attempted to kill five others. He fired bullets into these clinics in Brookline, MA, and Norfolk, VA.

It is hard for me to say this, but a Reverend, Rev. Paul Hill, a well-known protester and director of the anti-choice group called Defensive Action, was convicted in the fall of 1994 for the murders of Dr. John Britton and a 74-year-old man who happened to be with him outside a health clinic in Pensacola, FL.

The two victims were shot with a 12-gauge shotgun. Before the shootings, Reverend Hill had been previously arrested for his activities where he advocated continual use of force.

Dr. David Gunn, a physician, was murdered during a protest at a Pensacola clinic. Wanted posters featuring Dr. Gunn's photograph, telephone number, and schedule were distributed at an Operation Rescue rally in Montgomery, AL, and other places.

Dr. George Tiller, who was a target of violence and blockades for many years, was shot in both arms.

Finally, in Wichita, KS, a person charged with a shooting who had been arrested on previous occasions for trespassing and blockading clinic entrances praised the man who murdered Dr. Gunn.

I was the first person to come here and speak out on the Senate floor about Dr. Gunn's murder, which I thought was sickening.

Neal Horsley, a militant and founder of a group called the Creator's Rights Party, has developed a web site entitled "The Nuremberg Files." The site was designed to "collect evidence." This so-called "evidence" lists clinic staff members, law enforcement officers, judges, and politicians for use in future trials "for their crimes." Remember that they work in legal clinics. The site seeks and lists personal information such as photos of them and their families, their houses, their cars, their driving records, license plate numbers, names and birth dates of individuals, and even the birth dates of their family.

A legend accompanies this list of names under a banner where there is a simulation of dripping blood. The legend indicates the degree that this so-called Creator's Rights Party wants to place these people. There is a black font for people who just work there. Then it becomes gray when somebody has been wounded. Their name isn't completely stricken but partially stricken when they have been wounded by one of these terrorists. But if someone is killed, like Dr. Slepian, there is an immediate strike through. They are stricken off the list.

Last year, about a year ago, at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Milwaukee there was an envelope received in the mail. Inside the envelope was a bomb constructed of two batteries with wire wrapped in modeling clay. These bombs didn't work. But the message written on white paper stated that the next one might be real. The next day, Milwaukee's Affiliated Medical Services received a similar mailing.

A week after the murder of Dr. Slepian, four clinics in three States received letters purporting to contain anthrax, which we know is the most deadly strain of bacteria. A few days later, six more anthrax threats were sent to clinics. Although some clinics were closed and staff decontaminated, all of these threats turned out to be hoaxes.

Bombs were discovered at two clinics in North Carolina about a year ago, less than a month after these clinics had been damaged by arson.

Between May and July of last year, 19 clinics in Louisiana, Florida, and Texas were vandalized with butyric acid, that I have already talked about, which is a noxious industrial chemical which sent people who happened to be in the area to hospitals, including patients and staff members. They went there with respiratory problems, nau-

sea, and sickness. Clinics were closed for days while they tried to get the smell out of their facilities.

Shortly after the clinic bombings in Atlanta and Oklahoma, an Oregon physician, Peter Bours, received a letter which demanded \$50,000 in cash and threatened, "The bombings in Atlanta and Oklahoma are a warning," and indicated that those who do not comply to our demands will be destroyed.

The FBI arrested a man by the name of William Kitchens. When they arrested him, they discovered a book in his kitchen on extortion and kidnapping.

Within 2 weeks of Dr. Britton's murder in Pensacola, FL, the last remaining doctor then providing advice in Mississippi, Dr. Joseph Booker became the target of a "No Place to Hide" campaign. The campaign's leader, Roy McMillan, signed a petition advocating the murder of Dr. Britton and others.

According to physician Pablo Rodriguez, "[i]n the beginning, the harassment consisted of just nasty letters and graphic pictures. Then I began receiving strange packages with dolls inside, as well as subscriptions to gun magazines. . . . Then the "Wanted" posters with my picture on them began to appear. . . . Then the doors and locks to our clinic were glued several times, and protesters blockaded the clinic three times. . . . Just after Dr. Gunn's death, . . . I realized that my car was steering poorly. I checked my tires and found 45 nails embedded in them. . . . That evening, my wife painfully discovered with her foot that our driveway had been booby-trapped with roofing nails cleverly buried beneath the snow. . . . My home, my haven of safety—violated."

Shortly after Operation Rescue targeted physician Frank Snyder as part of its "No Place to Hide" campaign, his 80-year-old mother received a telephone call that was false and misleading and a prank at 3 a.m. in the morning telling her that her son had been killed in a car accident.

A Dallas physician by the name of Norman Tompkins and his wife received hundreds of phone calls and pieces of hate mail. The message, for example, left on Dr. Tompkins' answering machine stated, "I'm going to cut your wife's liver out and make you eat it. Then I'm going to cut your head off." Protesters with bullhorns repeatedly demonstrated at Dr. Tompkins' home early on Saturday mornings. On several occasions, he has had to have a police escort to go to church.

A 14-page "joke" booklet—it certainly is anything but a joke—was distributed by an anti-choice group called "Life Dynamics" to more than 33,000 medical students. These so-called "jokes" recommended physicians who perform abortions should be shot, attacked by dogs, and buried in concrete. One medical student who received the booklet the same day Dr. Gunn was murdered stated, "To say the least, it was upsetting"—that all OB/GYNs should be killed.

The extraordinary measures that people must take for their protection doesn't seem right in a country such as

ours. But physicians and other clinic workers face the daily possibility of terrorism and violence in order to provide women with legal reproductive health services.

In the wake of the recent killings and harassment of people at their homes, providers are resorting to extraordinary new measures to protect themselves. Clinics are spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in bulletproof glass, armed guards, security cameras, metal detectors and other security devices. Doctors are wearing bullet-proof vests and some have even purchased armored vehicles to go to work.

Clinic workers have been instructed by Federal marshals to vary their routes to go to work—clinic workers, secretaries, nurses, phone operators, janitors—to drive to a safe haven if followed, and to call police if they receive a suspicious package, as it would likely contain a bomb.

In Boston, MA, Dr. Maureen Paul no longer sits on the third floor atrium she built for herself as a so-called "dream spot." In light of Dr. Slepian's murder in his home, she feels too vulnerable there, which, according to Dr. Paul "really makes me angry because, wow, this is the space I created for me. I don't get to be home very often, and so it really disturbs me that I have to think about getting shot in a place I love."

Many other clinic directors, including Director Warren Hern, installed bullet-proof glass in his office and hired private armed security guards. He wears a bullet-proof vest at his public appearances. Stated Dr. Hern:

I walk out of my office and the first thing I do is look at the parking garage the hospital built two doors away to see if there is a sniper on the roof. I expect to be shot any day, any minute. I'm in a war zone. It is frightening and it has ruined my life.

These are only a few of the 38,000 acts of intimidation that have taken place in America.

For example, Dr. Slepian was murdered. Keep in mind, his murder occurred while he was having dinner with his family in his kitchen. Somebody with a high-powered rifle shot him through his kitchen window with one bullet through the head in front of his entire family. After the killing took place, a poem appeared on the Internet, "Ode to Slepian." They say the most vicious things. They have the audacity to quote Holy Scripture to condone their act of violence and their attempt to "coronate" this act of violence as something good and positive.

"The sound of window glass shattering, a hollow thud, and a woman's scream coming from within the house, pierced the frigid air. He smiled. Hallelujah to the Lord."

This has got to stop.

Six years ago, I was first to speak out against clinic violence. On the day Dr. Gunn was brutally murdered in Florida, I said I thought that was wrong. I still think it is wrong. Regardless of a person's feeling on the issue of abortion, we can't allow this to take

place. After the speeches on clinic violence and the public's disgust, a law was passed - Federal Access to Clinic Entrance Act. It was directed toward this terrorism at clinics. It has helped. Not a great deal, but it has helped. It is a step in the right direction.

Today, I am directing a letter to the Attorney General of the United States, Janet Reno. I say to Janet Reno, I know there is a task force dealing with these issues, but we in Congress need to be told what is being done. We need to see some results and we need to know what more can be done. We need a report.

We not only have to go after those people who have committed these atrocious deadly acts, but we need to figure out a program to stop them from happening in the first place. We can't have the Internet, the U.S. mail, people's homes and businesses violated by these terrorists.

I am asking Janet Reno to give us in Congress some direction, some guidance as the chief law enforcement officer in this country. We want to know what you are doing to stop these acts of intimidation and violence. It is time these 38,000 acts are stopped. We must do something to stop this senseless violence in the land of our liberty.

We must understand that what separates any pluralistic society from anarchy is a recognition that no one has a monopoly on the truth. When this basic precept fails, so does the community. It was thus in Kosovo, Bosnia, and Rwanda, in the Germany of the 1930s and America of 1861.

There have always been people who knew the wishes of their Supreme Being more clearly than others. Some became St. Francis; others burned St. Joan. Some raised cathedrals; others sacked Jerusalem. Some wrote hymns of praise to the Lord; others wrote his name in blood. There have always been people who knew their law was of a higher moral value than the laws of society in which they live.

Some became Gandhi and led marches to the sea; others became Theodore Kaczynski and mailed bombs to people they never met. Some became Henry David Thoreau and refused to make war; others became Timothy McVeigh and made war on innocent men, women, and children. Some became Martin Luther King and marched to Selma; others became James Earl Ray, the lone fanatic with a gun.

As long as any man or woman combines that mistaken belief in a higher law with a conviction that they are empowered to enforce it against their fellow man, so long will the fringe fanatics of the pro-life movement, murder and maim and intimidate in violation of the rights and beliefs of every person dedicated to a just and civil society in America.

All Americans must speak out against this new American terror; to do otherwise is un-American.

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, Senator CRAIG from Idaho and I, following the

Senator from Montana speaking, intend to have perhaps 15 minutes split between the two of us. I ask unanimous consent we be recognized following the presentation by the Senator from Montana.

Mr. REID. The Senator from Montana needs 10 minutes?

Mr. BAUCUS. I will need 10 to 12 minutes.

Mr. DORGAN. I ask unanimous consent following the presentation of the Senator from Montana I be recognized for 15 minutes with the intention of yielding some of that time to the Senator from Idaho.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nevada controls the time.

Mr. REID. I have no objection to that.

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

JAPAN'S MARKET OPERATIONS

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, a long list of issues must be addressed in the next round of the multilateral trade negotiations that kick off in Seattle in 4 weeks. Agricultural trade is at the very top. Other issues include further reducing tariffs, repairing the WTO dispute settlement process, removing restrictions on trade and services, increasing opportunities to sell to governments, avoiding measures that restrict the growth of electronic commerce and figuring out how to put a human face on trade law consideration of the relationship between trade and labor and between trade and the environment.

There is another issue that has received virtually no attention at all. Yet it is of critical importance to the United States, to most other nations, and to the world trading system itself. I refer to the problem of Japan, the second largest economy in the world. A country where the markets for our goods and services remain far more closed than they should be.

The sense-of-the-Senate resolution I am introducing today, along with Senator GRASSLEY, urges the administration to pay much more attention to Japan in the next trade round than was the case in the past.

I want the administration to work overtime to ensure that Japan makes commitments that will genuinely open its markets. And the administration must then ensure that Japan meets those commitments. Paper agreements will not suffice. Agreeing to broad principles is unacceptable. Negotiations in the next trade round must lead to clear results in Japan. There must be meaningful, measurable change in the way Japan's markets operate.

Historically, the relationship between multilateral and bilateral trade commitments made by Japan, and then whether there is actual change in Japan's markets, has been tenuous, at best. The American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, in its report "Making Trade Talks Work", documented this

problem of implementation and results.

In the Uruguay round, Japan did not have to make the kind of significant changes that were required of many other major trading countries. Including the United States. Even where Japan agreed to open its market, such as the rice market, the out-of-quota tariff rate is still in the range of 500 percent. That is not a misquote. It is Five Zero Zero, 500 percent tariff on rice coming into Japan from the United States. I am worried that in the next round, the Japanese Government will be able to minimize the commitments they make. And then, in a uniquely Japanese way, they will be able to minimize the implementation of those commitments and obligations. In earlier trade rounds, Japan agreed to the GATT Government Procurement Code. But the United States found that we had to negotiate special bilateral agreements with Japan in order to get genuine access to their government market. We negotiated multiple arrangements on computers, supercomputers, telecommunications equipment, medical equipment, and satellites. Even with these arrangements, access to Japan's market has still been a major problem in many of these areas. The GATT system has not worked well here. In the Uruguay round, we were so focused on other problems, especially in Europe, that we missed a lot of opportunities with Japan. I am concerned that the same thing may happen again. I certainly do not want to take away from the focus on agriculture and other priorities we have for the next round. But I want to be sure that we do not let Japan off again.

Japan seems now to be working overtime to protect its trade-distorting policies in agriculture, forestry, and fishing. The Advanced Tariff Liberalization efforts would have been further along but for Japanese opposition at APEC. Now, Japan is trying to hide its protectionist policies behind the banner of the "multifunctionality" of agriculture. That is, they claim that farming plays an important role in a country's social and cultural fabric, trade liberalization cannot interfere. Of course, farming is integral to the social fabric of many nations, including our own. But that is not an excuse for trade protection and making other countries pay those domestic social costs.

At the same time, Japan is playing a leading role in criticizing United States trade laws and in working with other countries to challenge our anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws in the next round. Some speculate that this is just another attempt to undercut American initiatives in the new round. Japan could, and more important Japan should, take a leadership role in a number of areas. After all, few countries in the world have benefited more than Japan over the past half century from an open world trading system.