

□ 1107

Mr. POMEROY changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Messrs. MURTHA, KANJORSKI, MOLLOHAN and RAHALL changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. HASTERT. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 248, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes."

BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN INTEGRITY ACT OF 1997

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). Pursuant to House Resolution 442 and rule XXIII, the Chair declares the House in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 2183.

□ 1110

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H.R. 2183), to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes, with Mr. COLLINS (Chairman pro tempore) in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. When the Committee of the Whole rose on Thursday, June 18, 1998, a request for a recorded vote on Amendment No. 132 offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) to amendment No. 13 in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) had been postponed.

AMENDMENT NO. 132 OFFERED BY MR. THOMAS TO AMENDMENT NO. 13 IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. SHAYS

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on Amendment No. 132 offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) to Amendment No. 13 in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the yeas prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will redesignate the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment No. 132 offered by Mr. THOMAS to Amendment No. 13 in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. SHAYS:

Amend section 601 to read as follows (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 601. NONSEVERABILITY OF PROVISIONS.

If any provision of this Act or any amendment made by this Act, or the application

thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remaining provisions of this Act or any amendment made by this Act shall be treated as invalid.

In the heading for title VI, strike **SEVERABILITY** and insert **NONSEVERABILITY** (and conform the table of contents accordingly.)

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 155, noes 254, not voting 24, as follows:

[Roll No. 249]

AYES—155

- |             |               |               |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| Archer      | Goodling      | Petri         |
| Armey       | Granger       | Pickering     |
| Baker       | Hall (TX)     | Pitts         |
| Ballenger   | Hansen        | Pombo         |
| Bartlett    | Hastert       | Radanovich    |
| Barton      | Hastings (WA) | Redmond       |
| Bateman     | Hayworth      | Riggs         |
| Bileye      | Hefley        | Riley         |
| Boehner     | Herger        | Rogan         |
| Bonilla     | Hobson        | Rogers        |
| Bono        | Hoekstra      | Rohrabacher   |
| Bunning     | Hostettler    | Ros-Lehtinen  |
| Burr        | Hulshof       | Royce         |
| Burton      | Hunter        | Ryun          |
| Buyer       | Hyde          | Sabo          |
| Callahan    | Inglis        | Salmon        |
| Calvert     | Istook        | Saxton        |
| Camp        | Johnson, Sam  | Scarborough   |
| Canady      | Jones         | Schaefer, Dan |
| Cannon      | Kim           | Schaffer, Bob |
| Chambliss   | King (NY)     | Sensenbrenner |
| Chenoweth   | Kingston      | Sessions      |
| Christensen | Knollenberg   | Shadegg       |
| Coburn      | Kolbe         | Shimkus       |
| Collins     | LaHood        | Shuster       |
| Combest     | Largent       | Skeen         |
| Cox         | Latham        | Smith (NJ)    |
| Crane       | Lewis (CA)    | Smith (OR)    |
| Crapo       | Lewis (KY)    | Smith (TX)    |
| Cubin       | Linder        | Snowbarger    |
| Cunningham  | Livingston    | Solomon       |
| Deal        | Lucas         | Spence        |
| DeLay       | Manzullo      | Stearns       |
| Diaz-Balart | McCollum      | Stump         |
| Dickey      | McCrery       | Talent        |
| Doolittle   | McInnis       | Tauzin        |
| Dreier      | McKeon        | Taylor (NC)   |
| Dunn        | Mica          | Thomas        |
| Ehlers      | Miller (FL)   | Thornberry    |
| Emerson     | Myrick        | Thune         |
| English     | Nethercutt    | Tiahrt        |
| Ensign      | Ney           | Traficant     |
| Everett     | Northup       | Watkins       |
| Ewing       | Norwood       | Watts (OK)    |
| Fawell      | Obey          | Weldon (PA)   |
| Foley       | Oxley         | Weller        |
| Fossella    | Packard       | White         |
| Frost       | Paul          | Whitfield     |
| Gekas       | Paxon         | Wicker        |
| Gibbons     | Pease         | Young (AK)    |
| Gillmor     | Peterson (MN) | Young (FL)    |
| Goodlatte   | Peterson (PA) |               |

NOES—254

- |              |            |            |
|--------------|------------|------------|
| Abercrombie  | Bonior     | Conyers    |
| Ackerman     | Borski     | Cook       |
| Aderholt     | Boswell    | Costello   |
| Allen        | Boucher    | Coyne      |
| Andrews      | Boyd       | Cramer     |
| Bachus       | Brady (PA) | Cummings   |
| Baessler     | Brady (TX) | Danner     |
| Baldacci     | Brown (CA) | Davis (FL) |
| Barcia       | Brown (FL) | Davis (IL) |
| Barrett (NE) | Brown (OH) | Davis (VA) |
| Barrett (WI) | Bryant     | DeFazio    |
| Bass         | Campbell   | DeGette    |
| Becerra      | Capps      | Delahunt   |
| Bentsen      | Cardin     | DeLauro    |
| Bereuter     | Carson     | Deutsch    |
| Berman       | Castle     | Dicks      |
| Berry        | Chabot     | Dingell    |
| Bilbray      | Clay       | Dixon      |
| Bilirakis    | Clayton    | Doggett    |
| Bishop       | Clement    | Dooley     |
| Blagojevich  | Clyburn    | Doyle      |
| Blumenauer   | Coble      | Duncan     |
| Boehler      | Condit     | Edwards    |

- |                |               |               |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Ehrlich        | Klink         | Price (NC)    |
| Engel          | Klug          | Pryce (OH)    |
| Eshoo          | Kucinich      | Quinn         |
| Etheridge      | LaFalce       | Rahall        |
| Evans          | Lampson       | Ramstad       |
| Farr           | Lantos        | Rangel        |
| Fattah         | LaTourette    | Regula        |
| Fazio          | Lazio         | Rivers        |
| Filner         | Leach         | Rodriguez     |
| Forbes         | Lee           | Roemer        |
| Ford           | Levin         | Roukema       |
| Fowler         | Lipinski      | Roybal-Allard |
| Fox            | LoBiondo      | Rush          |
| Frank (MA)     | Lofgren       | Sanchez       |
| Franks (NJ)    | Lowey         | Sanders       |
| Frelinghuysen  | Luther        | Sandlin       |
| Furse          | Maloney (CT)  | Sanford       |
| Galleghy       | Maloney (NY)  | Sawyer        |
| Ganske         | Manton        | Scott         |
| Gejdenson      | Markey        | Serrano       |
| Gephardt       | Mascara       | Shays         |
| Gilchrest      | Matsui        | Sherman       |
| Gilman         | McCarthy (MO) | Sisisky       |
| Goode          | McCarthy (NY) | Skelton       |
| Gordon         | McDermott     | Slaughter     |
| Goss           | McGovern      | Smith (MI)    |
| Graham         | McHale        | Smith, Adam   |
| Greenwood      | McHugh        | Smith, Linda  |
| Gutierrez      | McIntyre      | Snyder        |
| Hall (OH)      | McKinney      | Souder        |
| Hamilton       | Meehan        | Spratt        |
| Harman         | Meek (FL)     | Stabenow      |
| Hefner         | Menendez      | Stark         |
| Hill           | Metcalf       | Stenholm      |
| Hilleary       | Millender     | Stokes        |
| Hilliard       | McDonald      | Strickland    |
| Hinchey        | Miller (CA)   | Stupak        |
| Hinojosa       | Minge         | Tanner        |
| Holden         | Mink          | Tauscher      |
| Hooley         | Moakley       | Taylor (MS)   |
| Horn           | Mollohan      | Thompson      |
| Houghton       | Moran (KS)    | Thurman       |
| Hoyer          | Moran (VA)    | Tierney       |
| Hutchinson     | Murtha        | Towns         |
| Jackson (IL)   | Nadler        | Turner        |
| Jackson-Lee    | Neal          | Upton         |
| (TX)           | Neumann       | Velazquez     |
| Jefferson      | Nussle        | Vento         |
| Jenkins        | Oberstar      | Visclosky     |
| John           | Olver         | Walsh         |
| Johnson (CT)   | Ortiz         | Wamp          |
| Johnson (WI)   | Owens         | Waters        |
| Johnson, E. B. | Pallone       | Watt (NC)     |
| Kanjorski      | Pappas        | Waxman        |
| Kaptur         | Pascrell      | Wexler        |
| Kelly          | Pastor        | Weygand       |
| Kennedy (MA)   | Payne         | Wise          |
| Kennedy (RI)   | Pelosi        | Wolf          |
| Kennelly       | Pickett       | Woolsey       |
| Kildee         | Pomeroy       | Wynn          |
| Kilpatrick     | Porter        | Yates         |
| Kind (WI)      | Portman       |               |
| Klecza         | Poshard       |               |

NOT VOTING—24

- |               |            |             |
|---------------|------------|-------------|
| Barr          | Lewis (GA) | Reyes       |
| Blunt         | Martinez   | Rothman     |
| Cooksey       | McDade     | Schumer     |
| Gonzalez      | McIntosh   | Shaw        |
| Green         | McNulty    | Skaggs      |
| Gutknecht     | Meeks (NY) | Sununu      |
| Hastings (FL) | Morella    | Torres      |
| Kasich        | Parker     | Weldon (FL) |

□ 1127

The clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. McIntosh for, with Mrs. Morella against.

Mr. WAXMAN changed his vote from "aye" to "no."

So the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). Are there any further amendments to the Shays amendment?

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, too many Americans believe our campaign finance system is

corrupt. We must treat this illness in the body politic which, in my opinion, if ignored, will undermine our democracy.

Like beauty, of course, genuine reform may be in the eye of the beholder. In my view, genuine reform must purge from Federal elections unregulated soft money which has become so pervasive. Meehan-Shays does that.

Reform should be subject to disclosure. The issue ads which are so clearly intended to influence elections must be covered. Meehan-Shays does that.

Reform, in my opinion, should level the playing field for challenges by further restricting franked mail in election years. Meehan-Shays does that.

Reform, as well, should encourage wealthy candidates to limit personal spending and toughen disclaimers on ads, giving voters better information with which to judge content. Meehan-Shays does that.

Reform also should enhance candidate disclosure by giving the public quick access via the Internet. Meehan-Shays does that.

Meehan-Shays does all of these good things, Mr. Chairman, but, by any standard, is breathtakingly modest. Yet, in this Republican Congress, its enactment is in doubt. Though there are good provisions in other bills, I will support Meehan-Shays as our best hope of fixing some problems now.

I might say that I know the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) has an amendment that she will be now offering, which I also strongly support, which, in effect, says that, although there are reforms in Meehan-Shays that we want to adopt, there is more yet to do. She will establish a commission to look further at how we can make our election laws better.

Having said what reform is, let me say what it is not. Reform is not the Paycheck Protection Act, a Republican proposal to gag working Americans. Californians wisely rejected, Mr. Chairman, the paycheck protections last month as we did in March. Hopefully, this part of the Republican vendetta against working families will finally disappear.

Reform is not repealing all contribution limits. This would just tilt the playing field even more toward the affluent and away from ordinary Americans, for whom giving \$1,000 to candidates is beyond reach, let alone \$25,000.

Reform is not repeal of public financing of presidential elections, which ended the thrilling campaigns of yesteryear financed out of the suitcases stuffed with untraceable cash.

Finally, reform is not underfunding the Federal Election Commission. Republicans argue we do not need new laws, just enforcement of current ones. Yet, House committees have recommended funding for next year for campaign law enforcement that is simply inadequate. The majority are generous with rhetoric, but not with the

resources the FEC needs to police campaigns.

Mr. Chairman, this debate that we are now engaged in is not designed, unfortunately, to facilitate the passage of reform. Indeed, many of us believe, perhaps cynically, that it is designed to undercut, undermine, and defeat campaign finance reform. In fact, many leaders on the Republican side make no secret of their antipathy towards reform legislation and particularly the Meehan-Shays legislation.

I hope that, notwithstanding this disastrous procedure, notwithstanding the opposition of many in the Republican leadership and many Republicans, notwithstanding those who would undercut reform efforts, I am hopeful that, through it all, that we will, nevertheless, have the courage and the wisdom and the common sense to pass Meehan-Shays.

AMENDMENT NO. 30 OFFERED BY MRS. MALONEY OF NEW YORK TO AMENDMENT NO. 13 IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. SHAYS

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I offer amendment No. 30 to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment No. 30 offered by Mrs. MALONEY of New York to Amendment No. 13 in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. SHAYS:

TITLE —INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

**SEC. 01. ESTABLISHMENT AND PURPOSE OF COMMISSION.**

There is established a commission to be known as the "Independent Commission on Campaign Finance Reform" (referred to in this title as the "Commission"). The purposes of the Commission are to study the laws relating to the financing of political activity and to report and recommend legislation to reform those laws.

**SEC. 402. MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION.**

(a) COMPOSITION.—The Commission shall be composed of 12 members appointed within 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act by the President from among individuals who are not incumbent Members of Congress and who are specially qualified to serve on the Commission by reason of education, training, or experience.

(b) APPOINTMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Members shall be appointed as follows:

(A) 3 members (one of whom shall be a political independent) shall be appointed from among a list of nominees submitted by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(B) 3 members (one of whom shall be a political independent) shall be appointed from among a list of nominees submitted by the majority leader of the Senate.

(C) 3 members (one of whom shall be a political independent) shall be appointed from among a list of nominees submitted by the minority leader of the House of Representatives.

(D) 3 members (one of whom shall be a political independent) shall be appointed from among a list of nominees submitted by the minority leader of the Senate.

(2) FAILURE TO SUBMIT LIST OF NOMINEES.—If an official described in any of the subparagraphs of paragraph (1) fails to submit a list of nominees to the President during the 15-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act—

(A) such subparagraph shall no longer apply; and

(B) the President shall appoint 3 members (one of whom shall be a political independent) who meet the requirements described in subsection (a) and such other criteria as the President may apply.

(3) POLITICAL INDEPENDENT DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term "political independent" means an individual who at no time after January 1992—

(A) has held elective office as a member of the Democratic or Republican party;

(B) has received any wages or salary from the Democratic or Republican party or from a Democratic or Republican party officeholder or candidate; or

(C) has provided substantial volunteer services or made any substantial contribution to the Democratic or Republican party or to a Democratic or Republican party officeholder or candidate.

(c) CHAIRMAN.—At the time of the appointment, the President shall designate one member of the Commission as Chairman of the Commission.

(d) TERMS.—The members of the Commission shall serve for the life of the Commission.

(e) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

(f) POLITICAL AFFILIATION.—Not more than 4 members of the Commission may be of the same political party.

**SEC. 403. POWERS OF COMMISSION.**

(a) HEARINGS.—The Commission may, for the purpose of carrying out this title, hold hearings, sit and act at times and places, take testimony, and receive evidence as the Commission considers appropriate. In carrying out the preceding sentence, the Commission shall ensure that a substantial number of its meetings are open meetings, with significant opportunities for testimony from members of the general public.

(b) QUORUM.—Seven members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number may hold hearings. The approval of at least 9 members of the Commission is required when approving all or a portion of the recommended legislation. Any member of the Commission may, if authorized by the Commission, take any action which the Commission is authorized to take under this section.

**SEC. 404. ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS.**

(a) PAY AND TRAVEL EXPENSES OF MEMBERS.—(1) Each member of the Commission shall be paid at a rate equal to the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay payable for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, for each day (including travel time) during which the member is engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission.

(2) Members of the Commission shall receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with sections 5702 and 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(b) STAFF DIRECTOR.—The Commission shall, without regard to section 5311(b) of title 5, United States Code, appoint a staff director, who shall be paid at the rate of basic pay payable for level IV of the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title 5, United States Code.

(c) STAFF OF COMMISSION; SERVICES.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—When the approval of the Commission, the staff director of the Commission may appoint and fix the pay of additional personnel. The Director may make

such appointments without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and any personnel so appointed may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of that title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, except that an individual so appointed may not receive pay in excess of the maximum annual rate of basic pay payable for grade GS-15 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

(2) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—The Commission may procure by contract the temporary or intermittent services of experts or consultants pursuant to section 3109 of title 5, United States Code.

**SEC. 405. REPORT AND RECOMMENDED LEGISLATION.**

(a) REPORT.—Not later than the expiration of the 180-day period which begins on the date on which the second session of the One Hundred Fifth Congress adjourns sine die, the Commission shall submit to the President, the Speaker and minority leader of the House of Representatives, and the majority and minority leader of the Senate a report of the activities of the Commission.

(b) RECOMMENDATIONS; DRAFT OF LEGISLATION.—The report under subsection (a) shall include any recommendations for changes in the laws (including regulations) governing the financing of political activity (taking into account the provisions of this Act and the amendments made by this Act), including any changes in the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives, to which 9 or more members of the Commission may agree, together with drafts of—

(1) any legislation (including technical and conforming provisions) recommended by the Commission to implement such recommendations; and

(2) any proposed amendment to the Constitution recommended by the Commission as necessary to implement such recommendations, except that if the Commission includes such a proposed amendment in its report, it shall also include recommendations (and drafts) for legislation which may be implemented prior to the adoption of such proposed amendment.

(c) GOALS OF RECOMMENDATIONS AND LEGISLATION.—In making recommendations and preparing drafts of legislation under this section, the Commission shall consider the following to be its primary goals:

(1) Encouraging fair and open Federal elections which provide voters with meaningful information about candidates and issues.

(2) Eliminating the disproportionate influence of special interest financing of Federal elections.

(3) Creating a more equitable electoral system for challengers and incumbents.

**SEC. 406. EXPEDITED CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF LEGISLATION.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—If any legislation is introduced the substance of which implements a recommendation of the Commission submitted under section 05(b) (including a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution), subject to subsection (b), the provisions of section 2908 (other than subsection (a)) of the Defense Base Closure and Realignment Act of 1990 shall apply to the consideration of the legislation in the same manner as such provisions apply to a joint resolution described in section 2908(a) of such Act.

(b) SPECIAL RULES.—For purposes of applying subsection (a) with respect to such provisions, the following rules shall apply:

(1) Any reference to the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives shall be deemed a reference to the Committee on House Oversight of the House of

Representatives and any reference to the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate shall be deemed a reference to the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate.

(2) Any reference to the date on which the President transmits a report shall be deemed a reference to the date on which the recommendation involved is submitted under section 05(b).

(3) Notwithstanding subsection (d)(2) of section 2908 of such Act—

(A) debate on the legislation in the House of Representatives, and on all debatable motions and appeals in connection with the legislation, shall be limited to not more than 10 hours, divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the legislation;

(B) debate on the legislation in the Senate, and on all debatable motions and appeals in connection with the legislation, shall be limited to not more than 10 hours, divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the legislation; and

(C) debate in the Senate on any single debatable motion and appeal in connection with the legislation shall be limited to not more than 1 hour, divided equally between the mover and the manager of the bill (except that in the event the manager of the bill is in favor of any such motion or appeal, the time in opposition thereto shall be controlled by the minority leader or his designee), and the majority and minority leader may each allot additional time from time under such leader's control to any Senator during the consideration of any debatable motion or appeal.

**SEC. 407. TERMINATION.**

The Commission shall cease to exist 90 days after the date of the submission of its report under section 05.

**SEC. 408. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission such sums as are necessary to carry out its duties under this title.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, my amendment which I offer along with the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) and with the support of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) and the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), it is a bipartisan amendment.

It would create an independent commission to study and recommend changes to our campaign finance laws. This amendment is identical to the substitute introduced earlier this week by the gentleman from Washington (Mr. WHITE) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANKS) except for one important point.

The White amendment, had it passed, might have blocked and killed the Shays-Meehan bill. Due to the structure of the rule, had the White amendment received more votes than Shays-Meehan, it would have prevented Shays-Meehan from becoming law.

This amendment works in conjunction with Shays-Meehan. It strengthens and supports Shays-Meehan. It lets us fix some of the most important problems with our campaign finance system today and creates a commission to solve the problems that remain tomorrow.

I think this option is the best of both worlds. Shays-Meehan can be signed into law so that we can ban soft money and provide for greater disclosure of

our third-party expenditures; but, at the same time, we will create a commission to fix problems that are not addressed in Shays-Meehan.

Mr. Chairman, I see that we have many, many amendments ahead of us on this substitute. I am sure that many of these amendments are strong. But if the House agrees to this commission proposal, then I hope my colleagues will withdraw their amendments. I certainly plan to withdraw the amendments that I had hoped to introduce, not because I do not think that they are strong and important, but, with this commission, we now have another vehicle to take a serious look at all of these issues that remain to be done and report back with a proposal for addressing them.

Mr. Chairman, we have a choice before us. We can spend until August debating every problem, every issue on campaign finance and the hundreds of amendments made in order under this rule, and we may never finish this debate. Or we can pass this amendment and pass Shays-Meehan and let the commission address the remaining problems. I think the choice is clear.

I urge all Members to support the Maloney-Dingell amendment and to withdraw any of their own amendments so that we can finally pass Shays-Meehan and take a real step toward restoring the faith of the American people in their electoral process.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to my colleague, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS), who has worked so hard on campaign finance in a bipartisan spirit.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding. On behalf of those who are supporting this reform legislation, we gladly accept this substantive amendment by the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL).

It improves the bill. It will enable us to deal with issues that are not dealt with in the Shays-Meehan reform legislation. I urge the amendment's passage. I do not think we to have too much debate about it.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of this amendment. As many of my colleagues know, I have a major bill that is also going to be considered. But I think the most important bill, the one that everyone is consolidated around and can be passed is the Shays-Meehan bill.

I ask this body, when it comes time to vote for that bill, if you do not vote for it now, when will you vote for it? If you do not vote for it, who will vote for it?

This body has been able to rise to the occasion when asked by the American people to address the issue of campaign finance reform. This body in the 101st

session of Congress passed a comprehensive campaign finance reform bill. In the 102nd session, this body passed a bill. In the 103rd session, this body passed a bill.

All of those bills received far in excess the minimum number of 218 votes. They were all bipartisan votes. So we have in the past been able to rise to the occasion and adopt very comprehensive campaign finance reform.

This amendment should be adopted because we always need to be looking farther than what we are able to legislate. America is changing, and the style of campaigning and the style of running for office is changing.

We will not have all the answers in one bill. A commission needs to look at where we go as we merge into the 21st Century. For a democracy to survive, we have got to have active participation. Politics is not a spectator sport. It is a participatory requirement to sustain a country, to sustain a government in an era when people are getting turned off and thinking that their vote does not make any difference or thinking that money in politics buys such influence so a common voter cannot have an influence.

Yet, we see time and time again where elections around this country are won by just a few votes. Even in this House, we have had Members who have won by as little as four votes. We know that votes count. We ought to be doing things to really engage people in participating in the process.

We are moving into an era where telecommunications is playing more and more of a role in communication. Our old ideas about regulating campaigns have not really taken that into consideration. A commission certainly can look into that.

A lot of voters in a lot of States are now voting by mail. In California, it has been very popular. Oregon elected a United States Senator entirely by a mail ballot election. A lot of issues were raised in that. A commission can look at that and figure out whether those are things that we as a Congress ought to be looking at.

Public financing has been suggested as a voluntary effort. Maine has adopted it. Is it good for other States. Is it good to Congress at a national level. These are options that a commission can look at. We certainly need to all encourage a greater participation. We need to encourage greater participation.

I do not think we have all the answers. We, as Members, go home every weekend. We go out and have constituent meetings. We are always trying. We are talking to schools. The galleries are filled. We have students in here all day. There are probably classrooms on the steps right now if it is not raining outside. We are always engaging them and telling them the importance of participating in the process.

But as we say this, we watch how many people participate in elections. You have to register to vote in this

country. Even those who are registered are not all the qualified adult persons. Those who are 18, American citizens, and have resided at least for 30 days in a community, those are the qualified voters in America. Yet, only half of the qualified voters register to vote, and only half of the registered voters turn out to vote.

If we are in the business of selling democracy, we are doing a very lousy job. We need to have commissions take a look at how we can better encourage people to do that. This amendment will do that. But most important, I think, to build confidence in America, we need to show them that, in 1998, this House, the House of Representatives, can pass a bipartisan bill that is both comprehensive and substantive that leads us another step towards regaining confidence in the American citizens, that their government in Washington can be a government that is true to the principles of this country. That is why we need to pass the Shays-Meehan.

I started this support for this amendment indicating that, if not now, when? My colleagues, Shays-Meehan, if not now, when?

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in very strong support for this amendment. I supported the amendment of the gentleman from Washington (Mr. WHITE), which was similar, but this is somewhat different. This amendment will strengthen this bill. I think that it is very critical to do that.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS).

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, the Meehan-Shays bill provides for a soft money ban. It recognizes that sham issue ads. It are truly campaign ads and treats them as campaign ads. It codifies Beck and improves FEC disclosure and enforcement. The legislation provides that we put a ban on unsolicited franked mass mailings 6 months to the election, that is May on, and makes it clear that foreign money and fund-raising on government property are illegal. It presently is not illegal to raise soft money from foreigners or on federal property.

□ 1145

Believe it or not, it is not illegal. We make sure that people know it is.

I would just reiterate that we are prepared to vote right now on the commission bill. We have debated it long and hard, and pointed out when we debated the White proposal as a standing substitute, that we agreed with many of the merits, as long as we took a stand now to deal with soft money, deal with the sham issue ads, codify Beck and so on.

So we are prepared to support the Dingell-Maloney amendment to the reform bill, the Meehan-Shays bill, and I hope we can move forward on this because I know we have lots more amend-

ments to deal with that Members would like to introduce.

Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Chairman, I want to just add that campaign finance reform is critical to restoring citizen confidence in our election process, and I think this is a part of it.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. DINGELL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, I first want to commend my good friend, the distinguished gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), and my colleagues the gentleman from Washington (Mr. WHITE), the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANKS), and the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) for the good work which they have done on the commission amendment, something which I believe will be helpful to the legislation. I believe that their dedication and effort in this matter does them great, great credit. I particularly want to pay tribute to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for the remarkable courage, fortitude and diligence which she has shown in this matter.

It was, I would observe, Mr. Chairman, yesterday that I chose to vote "present", with great regret, against the amendment which I had hoped to offer in the form of a commission substitute. I did not vote this way because I believed that the commission was no longer a viable idea but, unfortunately, because of the rather extraordinary rule structure making the commission bill a possible roadblock to passing desperately needed comprehensive campaign reform in the form of the Shays-Meehan proposal. This is something which we must do in the public interest, because I think almost every Member of this Congress, and certainly the public at large, is disgusted with the regrettable situation we find with regard to financing our campaigns.

I originally joined with the other lead sponsors to create a device which would bring about a quick assured vote on a responsible proposal. We have that before us in the form of Shays-Meehan. I would observe that it is a proposal which is endorsed by both my good friend the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN), and I want to commend them for their effort on this matter and thank them for their assistance to us in this undertaking.

The amendment that is offered by the gentlewoman from New York and I not only strengthens the Shays-Meehan substitute, but it will study campaign reform ideas that are not already addressed in Shays-Meehan. It should please any Member that believes Shays-Meehan does not go far enough. The commission will clearly have the authority and the ability to study and

address any additional improvements needed in our campaign system, consistent with the policies in the Constitution.

I should note that this is a good proposal. It enhances, it expands, it enriches, and it benefits the system that we would find under Shays-Meehan. And I would note that yesterday a large number of my colleagues voted for this. I would note that they now have an opportunity to vote for it and Shays-Meehan both, and I urge them to do so. That is in the public interest and is what the public wants.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

We had a vote the other night on the commission bill, and it was not quite as successful as I would like, and I think many of those of us who voted for the commission are considering whether we should vote for this particular amendment. If possible, I would like to engage the gentlewoman from New York or the gentleman from Michigan in just a brief colloquy to make sure I understand exactly how this would work.

It is my understanding that if this amendment is adopted, the commission would be part of the Shays-Meehan bill. And if the Shays-Meehan bill passes, the commission, in the form that we had originally proposed it, would be included in that bill. Does that mean that, assuming it is signed into law, that the commission could then go to work, come back to Congress with a package that would amend Shays-Meehan; or would its hands be tied in any particular way?

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. As the gentleman knows, the commission bill is an appendage of Shays-Meehan. We would enact in this Congress, send to the Senate, the President would sign into law Shays-Meehan. All of the aspects of Shays-Meehan would become law.

Then, as the gentleman knows, our bill in the next Congress, the commission would go into effect for 180 days with 12 appointments, 4 Republicans, 4 Democrats, 4 Independents. It must have a supermajority of 9 votes to come back with an expedited review. That ensures that at least one Republican, one Democrat and one Independent agree. They can then come back to this floor for an up or down vote.

The likelihood of any part of Shays-Meehan being repealed, although it could be, is about as likely as a two-headed cow coming out of this commission, coming back. I do not think it would happen. I do not believe it would happen. It is beyond belief to me. But it possibly could. Again, it would have to be passed by this House.

Mr. WHITE. That is my understanding, too. Let me just ask the gentleman from Connecticut whether that is his understanding.

We do not exactly know what the commission would do, but it would at least be possible the commission could come back and propose changes that might change the Shays-Meehan approach?

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SHAYS. We accept the commission bill without any restraints. It is the gentleman's bill, as it is the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANKS), the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL).

It could recommend whatever it wants. We would make an assumption that they might not deal, and probably would not deal with items that had already been dealt with, but they are free to do it, and we know that and accept it. And we know the House ultimately has a chance to vote on it. It is truly the gentleman's amendment without any restraints.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that very much and, based on those representations, I intend to vote for this amendment.

Mr. SANDERS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Before I make my presentation, I would like to ask the gentlewoman a question. As I understand it, the gentlewoman will have four Independents as part of the commission. As the only Independent in Congress, that issue is of some significance to me.

We know how Democrats and Republicans might be appointed. Ross Perot is not the only Independent in America. Some of us do not have many billions of dollars but also consider ourselves Independents. How would those Independents be selected?

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SANDERS. I yield to the gentlewoman from New York.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. How they are selected is the members are appointed by the President on recommendations made by the four leaders in the House and in the Senate. The Republican Speaker, the Democrat minority leader, the Republican leader in the Senate and the Democratic minority leader would make the recommendations.

Mr. SANDERS. Including Independents?

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Yes.

Mr. SANDERS. Maybe we might want to chat on that. I am not so sure it would be a great idea for the leadership of the Democrat and Republican Party to decide who represents the Independent political movement in this country, of which there are more of than there are Democrats and Republicans. But having said that, I thank the gentlewoman for her efforts.

I would say this, Mr. Chairman. As a strong supporter of Shays-Meehan, and understanding that I would go further,

but I think that is the likely legislation that might pass and I will support it, the main point that we have got to understand is the American people know very, very well today that the political process in Congress and throughout this country is controlled by big money interests who make huge contributions to both political parties.

Just this past week we know that the Republican Party held a fund-raising dinner in Washington for some of the wealthiest and most powerful people in America and they walked away with \$11 million in one night. And, of course, the Democratic party, maybe not quite so successfully, tries hard to do the same thing.

Mr. Chairman, sometimes I think people think that when we talk about campaign finance reform this is an inside-the-beltway issue; that it is something esoteric; that it does not affect them. Wrong. Campaign finance reform is an issue which affects every American in every aspect of public policy.

This week the Republican leadership in the Senate killed legislation that would have required the tobacco industry to compensate our society for the death and disease it has created. Was there some connection between the defeat of this legislation and the many millions of dollars in soft money that went to the Republican Party from the tobacco interest? I think one has got to be very naive not to see the connection.

Mr. Chairman, Americans, people in our country, pay more money than any other people in the industrialized world for prescription drugs, and the Federal Government continues to provide hundreds of millions of dollars in corporate welfare to the pharmaceutical industry. Is there any connection between the \$18 million that the drug companies have provided to both political parties since 1991 and the outrageously high cost of prescription drugs in this country? Once again, one would have to be very naive not to see the connection.

Mr. Chairman, this Congress continues to spend billions of dollars for weapons that we do not need, including B-2 bombers that cost us over \$2 billion a plane. Meanwhile, we cut back on health care, education, desperately-needed housing, Medicare, Medicaid, and many other programs that ordinary Americans need. Is there a connection between the fact that the aerospace industry and military contractors contributed \$5 million during the 1996 election cycle to the high rate of military spending? I think, again, you have got to be naive.

Last year, Mr. Chairman, in the budget bill passed by this Congress, we provided huge tax breaks to some of the largest corporations and wealthiest people in America. Meanwhile, and this is an important point to be heard, the wealthiest one quarter of 1 percent contributed over 80 percent of all campaign contributions. Should we be shocked that, having received all of

this money from the richest people in America, Congress decided that most of the tax breaks would go to the very rich while, at the same time, we cut back on Medicare?

Mr. Chairman, we have heard a whole lot about the role that labor unions play in the political process. Do they contribute a lot of money? Yes, they do. But let us not forget that in the 1995-1996 election cycle corporations and groups and individuals representing business interests outspent labor 11 to 1.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN PRO  
TEMPORE

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). The Chair reminds Members not to refer to Senate actions on any other measures.

Mr. TIERNEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, sometimes we hear about a commission and we wonder what more do we need to do to study what we should do to reform the way we raise money for campaigns in this country. And while I have some reservations about this, I do want to say that we do have a vote here today on the Shays-Meehan bill, and I will support that, because I think it is a step in the right direction. However, maybe it does make sense that after passing Shays-Meehan we also talk about what steps we might take in the future, and perhaps this commission is the way to address that.

I view the passage of that measure, the Shays-Meehan bill, as a step, an important step, but only a step towards where we need to end up. I am going to vote for it because it will eliminate the insidious influence of soft money, but it still preserves an element of the status quo in the current way we do business.

The current system is, to many Americans, broken, Mr. Chairman, and it is broken for them beyond repair. They believe it cannot be fixed and they really believe it must be replaced. I have an alternative amendment before this House that we will address within the next few weeks. Unfortunately, several weeks down the line because, as I understand it, we are not going to debate this issue next week, and then we have 2 weeks in the District. But at some point, perhaps, we will get to the alternative that proposes to end the private money chase in campaign finance.

It is called the Clean Money Option. And it is just that. It is an option for those that want to continue to raise money privately and to use private resources in the campaigning. They will be able to proceed on that basis. But there is an option for those of us and the American public who believe we should do away with private resources and influence. It is an approach that has already been passed into law by the Vermont State legislature and the Maine ballot initiative.

Under the clean money system, a candidate agrees to forego all private

contributions, including his or her own, and accepts spending limits and a limited allocation to run their campaign from publicly-financed election funds.

□ 1200

It is not a blank check. Participating candidates must meet all local ballot qualification requirements and gather a significant number of \$5 qualifying contributions from the voters they seek to represent.

Clean-money campaign reform is both simple to understand and sweeping in its scope. It is a voluntary system, as I said, that meets the test of constitutionality under the Supreme Court's ruling in Buckley vs. Valeo that effectively provides a level playing field for all candidates who are able to demonstrate a substantial amount of popular support.

It strengthens American democracy by returning political power to the ballot box. None of the other approaches currently under debate or that will be under debate come close to this comprehensive solution because they all preserve a central role for private money.

What makes the clean-money campaign reform different is that it attacks the root cause of the crisis, namely, a system funded on private money that comes from a small fraction of the electorate and is dominated by wealthy special interests.

As elected public officials, we should owe our allegiance to the people who sent us here, not to the largest campaign contributors. It comes down to this, Mr. Chairman: Who should own the office in which we serve, the public or the private-monied interests?

The public gets this issue, Mr. Chairman. They know what needs to be done. Various clean-money campaign reform bills and ballot initiatives and grass root movements are now in motion in at least 3 dozen states across this country. If we cannot act here in Washington to change this system, the voters will do it for us. Get ready. Because if it is not happening in the states of my colleagues already, it will be; and this is in fact the wave of the future.

Mr. Chairman, the clean-money reform has solutions to particular problems. There are 4 major complaints that voters have about the current system. One is that political campaigns cost too much money and last too long. The solution in our bill would be that campaigns have strict spending limits that could only begin once the money is disbursed.

Another problem cited is that special interests have too much influence and certainly the perception of that. The solution is that participating candidates could not receive direct contributions from private sources.

People complain that candidates spend way too much time chasing campaign contributions. The solution in the bill would be that there would be

no need for that fund-raising. Candidates can focus on the issues and the public concerns if they choose, although they have the option to continue the private-money chase if they like.

The fourth complaint is that good people cannot win. The solution is that the clean-money option would create a level playing field and encourage more people to run.

This clean-money option, Mr. Chairman, is not a pipe dream. It is the law in two states and the subject of budding grass roots advocacy campaigns in nearly 40 others. Four states and localities, Arizona, Massachusetts, Missouri, and New York City, are poised to place similar initiatives on the November ballot.

Moreover, extensive polling has found public support in around 2-1 across all social and demographic groups, even among the self-described conservative Republicans. Newspapers from around the country have editorialized the support of clean money, including U.S.A. Today, The Boston Globe, St. Louis Post Dispatch, The Minneapolis Star Tribune, and many, many others.

Mr. Chairman, this is the direction we go. I hope the commission brings us closer to that point.

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this amendment.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues, especially the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for the merging of their substitute with the Shays-Meehan bill.

In putting together a comprehensive campaign finance reform bill, it is a very difficult task and we look to get proper compromises on both sides of the aisle. The fact is that the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. DINGELL) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) have a good proposal. It is a proposal that stems out from the meeting in Claremont, New Hampshire, 3 years ago, where the Speaker and the President shook hands and greed to establish a commission, and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) in a race to the floor of the House to introduce a bill. And I support that effort.

I also want to acknowledge the gentleman from Washington (Mr. WHITE) the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. FRANKS) and the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN) on the Republican side for all of their efforts.

The merging of the supporters of a commission with the supporters of the Shays-Meehan bill means that we are now at that critical majority where we have a majority of the Members of this House finally ready, willing, and able to pass real campaign finance reform.

That would not be possible without compromises being made, like people

like the gentleman from California (Mr. FARR) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. TIERNEY) all who have excellent proposals who are merging and coming together with the Shays-Meehan substitute so that we can forge a majority in this House.

If we look at the votes that have been held thus far, it is very encouraging to those who have been fighting for reform. The vote on the commission bill with Members voting present or against it so it will not provide an impediment to passing the Shays-Meehan bill and the most recent votes that would have gutted the Shays-Meehan bill was resoundly defeated.

What we see here is a critical mass of Members from both sides of the aisle, from all parts of the country, who have joined together to reach compromise to pass real campaign finance reform.

I thank the Members on both sides of the aisle who are forging this very important critical majority. I look forward to getting through these amendments as soon as we can. Because the evidence is clear and overwhelming that we have a majority of the Members of this House who are prepared to pass the Shays-Meehan bill.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 325, noes 78, answered "present" 1, not voting 29, as follows:

[Roll No. 250]  
AYES—325

|              |             |             |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| Abercrombie  | Brown (FL)  | Deal        |
| Ackerman     | Brown (OH)  | DeFazio     |
| Aderholt     | Bryant      | DeGette     |
| Allen        | Burr        | Delahunt    |
| Andrews      | Calvert     | DeLauro     |
| Baesler      | Camp        | Deutsch     |
| Baldacci     | Campbell    | Diaz-Balart |
| Barcia       | Capps       | Dickey      |
| Barrett (NE) | Cardin      | Dicks       |
| Barrett (WI) | Carson      | Dingell     |
| Bartlett     | Castle      | Dixon       |
| Barton       | Chabot      | Doggett     |
| Bass         | Chambliss   | Dooley      |
| Becerra      | Christensen | Doyle       |
| Bentsen      | Clay        | Dreier      |
| Bereuter     | Clayton     | Duncan      |
| Berman       | Clement     | Dunn        |
| Berry        | Clyburn     | Edwards     |
| Bilbray      | Coble       | Ehlers      |
| Bilirakis    | Condit      | Ehrlich     |
| Bishop       | Conyers     | Emerson     |
| Blagojevich  | Cook        | Engel       |
| Bliley       | Costello    | Ensign      |
| Blumenauer   | Cox         | Eshoo       |
| Boehlert     | Coyne       | Etheridge   |
| Bonior       | Cramer      | Evans       |
| Bono         | Crapo       | Ewing       |
| Borski       | Cummings    | Farr        |
| Boswell      | Cunningham  | Fattah      |
| Boucher      | Danner      | Fawell      |
| Boyd         | Davis (FL)  | Fazio       |
| Brady (PA)   | Davis (IL)  | Filner      |
| Brown (CA)   | Davis (VA)  | Foley       |

|                |               |               |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| Forbes         | Lee           | Rohrabacher   |
| Ford           | Levin         | Ros-Lehtinen  |
| Fox            | Lipinski      | Roukema       |
| Franks (NJ)    | Livingston    | Roybal-Allard |
| Frelinghuysen  | LoBiondo      | Royce         |
| Frost          | Lofgren       | Rush          |
| Furse          | Lowey         | Ryun          |
| Gallegly       | Lucas         | Sanchez       |
| Ganske         | Luther        | Sanders       |
| Gejdenson      | Maloney (CT)  | Sandlin       |
| Gibbons        | Maloney (NY)  | Sanford       |
| Gilchrest      | Manton        | Sawyer        |
| Gillmor        | Manzullo      | Saxton        |
| Gilman         | Markey        | Scarborough   |
| Goode          | Mascara       | Schumer       |
| Goodlatte      | Matsui        | Scott         |
| Gordon         | McCarthy (MO) | Sensenbrenner |
| Goss           | McCarthy (NY) | Serrano       |
| Graham         | McGovern      | Shaw          |
| Greenwood      | McHale        | Shays         |
| Gutierrez      | McHugh        | Sherman       |
| Hall (OH)      | McInnis       | Shimkus       |
| Hall (TX)      | McIntosh      | Shuster       |
| Hamilton       | McIntyre      | Sisisky       |
| Harman         | McKinney      | Skaggs        |
| Hastings (WA)  | Meehan        | Skelton       |
| Hefner         | Meek (FL)     | Slaughter     |
| Herger         | Menendez      | Smith (MI)    |
| Hill           | Metcalf       | Smith (NJ)    |
| Hilleary       | Mica          | Smith, Adam   |
| Hilliard       | Millender-    | Smith, Linda  |
| Hinojosa       | McDonald      | Snowbarger    |
| Hobson         | Miller (CA)   | Snyder        |
| Hoekstra       | Minge         | Solomon       |
| Holden         | Mink          | Spence        |
| Hoolley        | Moakley       | Spratt        |
| Horn           | Moran (VA)    | Stabenow      |
| Houghton       | Myrick        | Stark         |
| Hoyer          | Nadler        | Stearns       |
| Hunter         | Neal          | Stenholm      |
| Hyde           | Nethercutt    | Stokes        |
| Inglis         | Ney           | Strickland    |
| Istook         | Norwood       | Stupak        |
| Jackson (IL)   | Nussle        | Talent        |
| Jackson-Lee    | Olver         | Tanner        |
| (TX)           | Ortiz         | Tauscher      |
| Jefferson      | Owens         | Tauzin        |
| Jenkins        | Packard       | Taylor (MS)   |
| John           | Pallone       | Taylor (NC)   |
| Johnson (WI)   | Pappas        | Thompson      |
| Johnson, E. B. | Pascrell      | Thune         |
| Jones          | Pastor        | Thurman       |
| Kanjorski      | Payne         | Tierney       |
| Kaptur         | Pease         | Towns         |
| Kelly          | Pelosi        | Trafficant    |
| Kennedy (RI)   | Peterson (MN) | Turner        |
| Kildee         | Peterson (PA) | Upton         |
| Kilpatrick     | Petri         | Upton         |
| Kim            | Pickett       | Velazquez     |
| Kind (WI)      | Porter        | Vento         |
| Kingston       | Portman       | Visclosky     |
| Kleczka        | Poshard       | Walsh         |
| Klink          | Price (NC)    | Wamp          |
| Knollenberg    | Pryce (OH)    | Waters        |
| Kolbe          | Quinn         | Watkins       |
| Kucinich       | Rahall        | Watts (OK)    |
| LaFalce        | Ramstad       | Waxman        |
| LaHood         | Rangel        | Weldon (PA)   |
| Lampson        | Redmond       | Weller        |
| Lantos         | Regula        | Wexler        |
| Largent        | Riggs         | Weygand       |
| Latham         | Riley         | White         |
| LaTourette     | Rivers        | Wolf          |
| Lazio          | Rodriguez     | Woolsey       |
| Leach          | Roemer        | Wynn          |
|                | Rogers        | Yates         |
|                |               | Young (AK)    |

NOES—78

|            |              |               |
|------------|--------------|---------------|
| Archer     | Doolittle    | McDermott     |
| Armey      | Everett      | McKeon        |
| Bachus     | Fossella     | Miller (FL)   |
| Baker      | Fowler       | Mollohan      |
| Balleger   | Frank (MA)   | Moran (KS)    |
| Bateman    | Gekas        | Murtha        |
| Boehner    | Granger      | Neumann       |
| Bonilla    | Hansen       | Northup       |
| Brady (TX) | Hastert      | Oberstar      |
| Bunning    | Hayworth     | Obey          |
| Burton     | Hefley       | Oxley         |
| Eshoo      | Hostettler   | Paul          |
| Callahan   | Hulshof      | Paxon         |
| Canady     | Hutchinson   | Pickering     |
| Cannon     | Johnson (CT) | Pitts         |
| Chenoweth  | King (NY)    | Pombo         |
| Collins    | Lewis (CA)   | Radanovich    |
| Combest    | Lewis (KY)   | Rogan         |
| Crane      | Linder       | Sabo          |
| Cubin      | McCollum     | Salmon        |
| DeLay      | McCrery      | Schaefer, Dan |

|              |            |            |
|--------------|------------|------------|
| Shaffer, Bob | Smith (TX) | Tiahrt     |
| Sessions     | Souder     | Watt (NC)  |
| Shadegg      | Stump      | Whitfield  |
| Skeen        | Thomas     | Wicker     |
| Smith (OR)   | Thornberry | Young (FL) |

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—1

English

NOT VOTING—29

|               |              |             |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Barr          | Johnson, Sam | Morella     |
| Blunt         | Kasich       | Parker      |
| Coburn        | Kennedy (MA) | Pomeroy     |
| Cooksey       | Kennelly     | Reyes       |
| Gephardt      | Klug         | Rothman     |
| Gonzalez      | Lewis (GA)   | Sununu      |
| Gooding       | Martinez     | Torres      |
| Green         | McDade       | Weldon (FL) |
| Gutknecht     | McNulty      | Wise        |
| Hastings (FL) | Meeks (NY)   |             |

□ 1224

Messrs. TIAHRT, FOSSELLA, BURTON of Indiana and Mrs. NORTHUP changed their vote from "aye" to "no."

Mr. MCHUGH and Ms. MILLENDER-MCDONALD changed their vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mrs. KENNELLY of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, I want to state my strong support for the amendment offered by Representative CAROLYN MALONEY to the Shays-Meehan campaign finance reform bill. This amendment creates a 12-member commission to recommend changes to current campaign finance law.

I am a strong supporter of the Shays-Meehan bill and look forward to its enactment, but we all recognize that there may be some aspects of the current system of financing political campaigns that may not be addressed by the Shays-Meehan bill. The commission will serve as a necessary backstop, so as we encounter unanticipated campaign finance issues, we have a process to review and make recommendations to resolve these issues. I think this commission amendment is an important addition to the Shays-Meehan bill.

I did not support and voted against an earlier substitute to the underlying campaign finance bill that just provided a commission approach to address the abuses in the current campaign finance system. It is way past time for more review and study of the problems in our current system. We know what the problems are and the Shays-Meehan bill addresses these problems. To just enact a review commission would only further delay legislation on this important issue.

Our job here is to make laws. We can not continue to abdicate that responsibility on the issue of campaign finance reform. We have a good bill before us—the Shays-Meehan bill. The Maloney amendment will make this good bill better. Therefore, I strongly support the Shays-Meehan bill with the Maloney commission amendment and I urge all my colleagues to work together to enact this important bipartisan legislation.

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, my understanding is the next amendment will be the Gillmor amendment, at which time a vote would be expected sometime just after 1 o'clock. Then we would go to other amendments, but there would not be a vote after the Gillmor amendment, that would be sometime after 1 o'clock. That is my understanding, and I think it would be helpful to Members to get what the schedule is.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MEEHAN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I believe the gentleman has a correct understanding with the only correction being that if we can begin the Gillmor amendment and we can conclude it before 1 o'clock, there is no reason to wait until 1 o'clock to vote on it, if there are only two or three speakers on the Gillmor amendment.

My understanding is that both of the authors of this particular substitute are willing to accept the amendment as written if we could keep to a minimum the discussion of that amendment. As soon as the Gillmor amendment is voted on, that would be the last vote for the day. But if we begin discussing any other amendments, there would be no more votes and we would rise at 2 o'clock regardless of where we were in the discussion of any amendment.

Mr. MEEHAN. Certainly there may be some other people that want to speak on amendments, but I just wanted to get a clear understanding of what the schedule was so that Members could make their plans.

Mr. THOMAS. If the gentleman will yield further, the bottom line is the Gillmor amendment will be the last vote of the day, whenever that occurs prior to 2 o'clock.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. GILLMOR TO AMENDMENT NO. 13 IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. SHAYS

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. GILLMOR to Amendment No. 13 in the Nature of a Substitute Offered by Mr. SHAYS:

Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

**SEC. 510. PROTECTING EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.**

Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by sections 101, 401, and 507, is further amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"PROTECTING EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

"SEC. 326. (a) IN GENERAL.—Nothing in this Act may be construed to prohibit any individual eligible to vote in an election for Federal office from making contributions or expenditures in support of a candidate for such an election (including voluntary contributions or expenditures made through a separate segregated fund established by the individual's employer or labor organization) or otherwise participating in any campaign for

such an election in the same manner and to the same extent as any other individual eligible to vote in an election for such office.

"(b) NO EFFECT ON GEOGRAPHIC RESTRICTIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS.—Subsection (a) may not be construed to affect any restriction under this title regarding the portion of contributions accepted by a candidate from persons residing in a particular geographic area."

Mr. GILLMOR (during the reading). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Chairman, the amendment which the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER) and I are offering would reaffirm in law a vital national interest, namely, that all Americans eligible to vote be treated in the same way by the Federal Election Campaign Act. The Gillmor-Tanner amendment is necessary because proposals have been made, both in this body and at the FEC, which would treat nearly 5 million Americans as second-class citizens politically. Namely, such proposals would deny American citizens who work for American subsidiaries of companies which are headquartered abroad an avenue of political association and participation that is guaranteed all other Americans, namely, the right to voluntarily contribute money to political candidates through political action committees sponsored by their employers.

Mr. Chairman, in my home State of Ohio, more than 218,000 Ohioans are employed by American subsidiaries of companies headquartered abroad, and there are more than 5 million Americans nationwide. That number is growing daily. It will get larger still as soon as the merger between Chrysler and Daimler-Benz is completed to form a new Daimler-Chrysler corporation.

□ 1230

It makes no sense to tell these Americans that today they may contribute to their company's political action committee, but the day the merger is completed they instantly become second class citizens and are denied this avenue of political participation. Even though the name on the paycheck may change, these employees remain American citizens, and the vagaries of corporate mergers should not be permitted to deny them their rights as Americans.

Just as past barriers were erected to discourage participation in the political process, some of today's propositions attempt to deny participation based on where an American chooses to work. Just as discriminatory behavior was wrong then, it is wrong now. Foreign nationals should not be allowed to contribute to American campaigns. That practice is already against the law, and I believe we ought to uphold

that law, and this amendment in no way changes the illegality of foreign campaign contributions.

Furthermore, both the current law and the Federal Election Commission regulations prohibit foreign nationals' contributions to or any foreign national decision-making with respect to either corporate or labor-sponsored political action committees, and those prohibitions would not be amended by this amendment.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, the political rights of American citizens must not be limited by race, gender or place of employment, and a vote for the Gillmor-Tanner amendment would protect the right of American citizens to be treated equally by our current election law and any reforms that may eventually be enacted.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS).

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I know that the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. TANNER) wants to speak. I just want to speak on behalf of the Meehan-Shays supporters, that we do support this amendment. It is a right of American citizens today.

I know we will have other amendments to consider, but we do support it and would urge others to support it as well.

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. FAZIO).

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of this amendment which I think is really an affirmation of existing law and one, however, that is needed because the debate, the discussion, of overseas contributions has been muddled to a point where some have implied that perhaps those who work for corporations that are headquartered in other parts of the world should be prevented from participating in our political system.

We are part of a global economy, and increasingly who we work for is going to change during the time in which we work for them. Gentleman pointed out the Daimler-Benz-Chrysler merger as a good example of a long-standing American corporation where its employees have contributed both to its union's political action fund and its corporate PAC, and under some proposals that have been made their rates will be truncated and eliminated.

It seems to me the American people ought to be able to participate in politics regardless of the vagaries of who they work for at any given time. We all know that increasingly the subsidiaries, or even the companies that once were independent have become affiliated with entities that have not only multiple owners in terms of stockholders in most countries in the world, but perhaps the corporate headquarters anywhere else.

This amendment is, I think, an important reassertion of what should be a fundamental right for every American.

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

(Mr. TANNER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TANNER. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Chairman, I would associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from California (Mr. FAZIO).

Obviously the vagaries of employment are that on any given time a corporate entity may or may not be a foreign-held corporation, but the American citizen who wants to participate and contribute through such devices as are legally available to American citizens to do so should be maintained, and I think that is appropriate, and I support the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. TANNER. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman, I understand the sponsors of the amendment are going to agree to this, and so in order to save time I submit my statement in support of the Gillmor amendment for the RECORD.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge my colleagues to support an amendment which I have co-sponsored with my colleague from Ohio, Mr. GILMOR, which would very simply protect the rights of all American citizens who are eligible to vote by ensuring that they will not be discriminated against as the result of changes we make to our campaign finance law.

In our zeal to pass some kind of campaign finance reform, let's not inadvertently take away rights from Americans to participate in our electoral process. I think we all agree that we should be very careful not to pass any reform which hinders Americans from participating.

Our amendment would make it clear that U.S. citizens who work for companies in the United States which happen to be foreign-owned will not lose the rights they presently enjoy to fully participate in federal campaigns.

An amendment being proposed later in this debate would bar U.S. subsidiaries of foreign-owned companies from operating PACS. Under this proposal, the definition of "foreign" would be decided by degree of ownership. Any company that is more than 51 percent foreign-owned would not be allowed to operate a PAC—regardless of the number of employees they have in the U.S. or the extent of their contributions to the U.S. economy.

Let me first reiterate that U.S. law presently forbids foreign nationals from participating in any way in federal elections, including contributing to and making decisions about a PAC.

Many U.S. subsidiaries make substantial contributions to our economy and are stellar corporate citizens. To discriminate against them and the U.S. citizens they hire is simply wrong. For instance, both Hardees and Burger King are foreign-owned, yet they—like U.S.-owned McDonalds—are U.S. institutions which hire American citizens to work in the thousands of restaurants all across my state and throughout this country. It would simply be unfair to deny American employees of Hardees and Burger King the basic right of participating in a PAC while ensuring American employed by McDonalds that they would continue to have the right to fully participate in their own government's election process.

After all, those employees at Hardees and Burger King pay taxes, shop at local stores,

volunteer for the local charities and otherwise contribute to their communities just as their neighbors do who work for U.S.-owned companies. I urge all of my colleagues to ask constituents in your district who work for U.S. subsidiaries if they should be treated as "foreign". I am sure the response will convince you that it is patently unfair to discriminate against these American workers.

U.S. subsidiaries of companies based outside the U.S. are increasingly important participants in the American economy. In my home state of Tennessee:

138,200 Tennessee workers are employed by U.S. subsidiaries.

From 1980 to 1995, Tennessee employment at U.S. subsidiaries increased more than five times faster than all jobs in Tennessee.

Employees at U.S. subsidiaries constitute over 6% of Tennessee's total work force.

Support the rights of ALL Americans to participate fully in our political process and give these employees at U.S. subsidiaries the assurance that we will not treat them as second class citizens.

Support the Gillmor-Tanner amendment.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I wanted to take this opportunity because I will be offering amendments later in the month concerning foreign contributions to U.S. campaigns, and I respect my colleague from Ohio and his desire to preserve the rights of U.S. citizens regardless of where they work to participate in our political system. But I have to say to both the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) that sometimes what appears is not always everything that should appear in the offering of an amendment, and I think, as we move through this bill, there may be the opportunity to refine some of the concepts in the amendment currently on the floor from other issues that also bear on the subject of national interest versus any purely private interest. And I think under our laws it is pretty clear that U.S. elections should be for U.S. citizens and that we have a problem in this country in foreign money infecting U.S. campaigns on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. Chairman, we have seen what has happened when millions and millions of dollars manages to come into this country either as independent expenditures or for various candidates not being disclosed properly, and in some cases, even though the law says foreign citizens shall not contribute, in fact they end up contributing because the disclosure requirements for foreign contributions are not kept in a separate category at the FEC.

This issue is not as simple as it first appears on the surface, and so I would say with all due respect to my colleague from Ohio, though I respect the right of individual Americans to contribute to campaigns, I draw the line where in fact those contributions are coming from foreign interests. I do not care who those foreign interests are, this is a nationally sovereign country,

and we should be able to safeguard the election processes inside our nation.

Now let me draw an example for those of us who served during this period of time when Toshiba Company through a subsidiary in northern Europe gave away U.S. submarine technology to the then Soviet state, and if I were asked if I think Toshiba should be able to contribute to U.S. elections, I would say absolutely not. Their ability to try to subvert the rightful penalties that they should have paid for that incredible act against this country and our national security should not have been rewarded by allowing that corporation to participate in any way in the U.S. political process.

Now for their employees, for their employees to be able to participate as U.S. citizens they should be able to participate in their elections if they wish to support a candidate absolutely. But there are serious problems with the way in which foreign contributions are booked and with the way in which records are kept at the FEC.

I have studied this now for almost 10 years. I know this issue inside and out.

So I would just say that I would vote present on the proposal offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. GILMOR) if it were brought to a full vote here. I would encourage the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) to work with us as we try to get equal disclosure on foreign contributions into the elections in this country and to try to draw a very clear line here on what we are talking about.

Mr. Chairman, there is a difference between U.S. citizens and foreign interest participating in U.S. elections.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Ms. KAPTUR. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) for the tone of her message and the strength of her message, and I agree with her comments, and one of the challenges that we have is, as these amendments come in, make sure we are touching base with all sides and making sure that we are able to meld this process so we can accommodate the various sincere and real concerns that Members have such as the gentlewoman, and I appreciate her present vote, and I appreciate her comments.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) very much, and I thank my colleague from Ohio (Mr. GILMOR) for alerting me to the fact that this amendment would be discussed, and we look forward to working with the gentleman as our amendment comes up on the floor.

Mrs. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words, and I rise in strong support of the Gillmor-Tanner amendment which seeks to ensure that all American citizens are treated equally under the law. The political rights of American voters

should not be determined by where they work.

Just as our Nation has assured equal political participation for all citizens regardless of race, gender or national origin, we should ensure that no class of Americans are denied an avenue of political participation that is available to all other Americans.

In my home State of New York nearly 349,000 American citizens work for American subsidiaries of companies headquartered abroad. It makes no sense that my constituent who works at their American-owned McDonald's can join with fellow employees and contribute to campaigns through a political action committee while their neighbor who works at a foreign-owned Burger King or Hardee's is denied this avenue of participation in our political system.

Mr. Chairman, it is only fair and common sense that we provide in our election law a provision to ensure that all Americans receive the same opportunities and avenues of political participation. I urge my colleagues to support the Gillmor-Tanner amendment.

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Gillmor-Tanner amendment. I come from a State where the number of employees of U.S. subsidiaries of corporations headquartered in other countries has grown by 233 percent since 1980. Two of the largest employers in the high-tech Research Triangle Park, for example, Nortel and Glaxo-Wellcome, collectively employ 15,000 people in North Carolina. They make tremendous contributions to the U.S. economy, to the North Carolina economy, and to our local communities. It is unfair to discriminate against American citizens who are employees of these companies.

It is already illegal, Mr. Chairman, for foreign nationals to participate in political action committees. PACs are operated by U.S. employees, and funds for PACs are provided only by U.S. employees. There is no reason to deny U.S. citizens the right to participate fully in the political process, and that includes financial participation.

The Gillmor-Tanner amendment is a straightforward amendment ensuring that all U.S. citizens are treated equally under our campaign finance laws regardless of where they work.

I encourage all colleagues to support this sensible and fair provision.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Gillmor amendment. This amendment has a simple objective: it ensures that American citizens who can vote in elections are not prohibited from participating in the political process solely because they work for U.S. subsidiaries of foreign-owned companies.

Although Federal election law already bars foreign nationals and foreign corporations from contributing to Federal candidates, in the current debate on campaign finance reform, amendments have been filed that would not

only restrict foreign nationals from participating, but American citizens employed by foreign-owned companies as well.

Mr. Chairman, while intended to reduce foreign influence on our elections, such a change in election law would only end up excluding a class of Americans from enjoying rights held by all others. This approach would not only be unfair to the 209,000 residents of my state of New Jersey who work for U.S. subsidiaries of foreign-owned companies, but would also be constitutionally indefensible. The Gillmor amendment makes clear that campaign finance reform should apply equally to all Americans, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. GILLMOR) to the amendment in the nature of a substitute offered by the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

## RECORDED VOTE

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 395, noes 0, answered "present" 3, not voting 35, as follows:

[Roll No. 251]

AYES—395

|              |             |               |                  |                    |               |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Abercrombie  | Carson      | Evans         | Houghton         | Millender-McDonald | Schaffer, Bob |
| Ackerman     | Castle      | Ewing         | Hoyer            | Miller (CA)        | Schumer       |
| Aderholt     | Chabot      | Farr          | Hulshof          | Miller (FL)        | Scott         |
| Allen        | Chambliss   | Fattah        | Hunter           | Minge              | Sensenbrenner |
| Andrews      | Chenoweth   | Fawell        | Hutchinson       | Mink               | Serrano       |
| Archer       | Christensen | Fazio         | Hyde             | Moakley            | Sessions      |
| Armey        | Clay        | Filner        | Inglis           | Mollohan           | Shadegg       |
| Bachus       | Clayton     | Foley         | Istook           | Moran (KS)         | Shaw          |
| Baesler      | Clement     | Forbes        | Jackson (IL)     | Moran (VA)         | Shays         |
| Baldacci     | Clyburn     | Ford          | Jackson-Lee (TX) | Murtha             | Sherman       |
| Ballenger    | Coble       | Fossella      | Jefferson        | Myrick             | Shimkus       |
| Barcia       | Collins     | Fowler        | Jenkins          | Nadler             | Shuster       |
| Barrett (NE) | Combest     | Fox           | John             | Neal               | Siskys        |
| Barrett (WI) | Condit      | Frank (MA)    | Johnson (CT)     | Nethercutt         | Skeen         |
| Bartlett     | Cook        | Franks (NJ)   | Johnson (WI)     | Neumann            | Skelton       |
| Barton       | Costello    | Frelinghuysen | Jones            | Ney                | Slaughter     |
| Bass         | Coyne       | Frost         | Kanjorski        | Northup            | Smith (MI)    |
| Bateman      | Cramer      | Furse         | Kelly            | Norwood            | Smith (OR)    |
| Becerra      | Crane       | Galleghy      | Kennedy (RI)     | Nussle             | Smith (TX)    |
| Bentsen      | Crapo       | Ganske        | Kennelly         | Oberstar           | Smith, Adam   |
| Bereuter     | Cubin       | Gejdenson     | Kildee           | Obey               | Smith, Linda  |
| Berman       | Cummings    | Gekas         | Kilpatrick       | Olver              | Snowbarger    |
| Berry        | Cunningham  | Gibbons       | Kim              | Owens              | Souder        |
| Bilbray      | Danner      | Gilchrist     | Kind (WI)        | Oxley              | Spence        |
| Bilirakis    | Davis (FL)  | Gillmor       | King (NY)        | Packard            | Spratt        |
| Bishop       | Davis (IL)  | Gilman        | Kingston         | Pallone            | Stabenow      |
| Blagojevich  | Davis (VA)  | Goode         | Klecza           | Pappas             | Stark         |
| Bliley       | Deal        | Goodlatte     | Klink            | Pascrell           | Stearns       |
| Blumenauer   | DeFazio     | Gordon        | Klug             | Pastor             | Stenholm      |
| Boehlert     | DeGette     | Goss          | Knollenberg      | Paul               | Stokes        |
| Boehner      | Delahunt    | Graham        | Kolbe            | Paxon              | Strickland    |
| Bonilla      | DeLauro     | Granger       | Kucinich         | Payne              | Stump         |
| Bonior       | DeLay       | Greenwood     | LaFalce          | Pease              | Stupak        |
| Bono         | Deutsch     | Gutierrez     | LaHood           | Pelosi             | Talent        |
| Borski       | Diaz-Balart | Hall (OH)     | Lampson          | Peterson (MN)      | Tanner        |
| Boswell      | Dickey      | Hall (TX)     | Lantos           | Peterson (PA)      | Tauscher      |
| Boucher      | Dicks       | Hamilton      | Largent          | Petri              | Tauzin        |
| Boyd         | Dingell     | Hansen        | Latham           | Pickering          | Taylor (MS)   |
| Brady (PA)   | Dixon       | Harman        | LaTourette       | Pickett            | Taylor (NC)   |
| Brady (TX)   | Doggett     | Hastert       | Lazio            | Pitts              | Thomas        |
| Brown (CA)   | Dooley      | Hastings (WA) | Lee              | Pombo              | Thompson      |
| Brown (FL)   | Doolittle   | Hayworth      | Levin            | Pomeroy            | Thornberry    |
| Brown (OH)   | Doyle       | Hefley        | Lewis (CA)       | Porter             | Thune         |
| Bryant       | Dreier      | Hefner        | Lewis (KY)       | Portman            | Thurman       |
| Bunning      | Duncan      | Heger         | Linder           | Poshard            | Tiahrt        |
| Burr         | Dunn        | Hill          | Lipinski         | Price (NC)         | Tierney       |
| Burton       | Edwards     | Hilleary      | Livingston       | Pryce (OH)         | Towns         |
| Buyer        | Ehlers      | Hilliard      | LoBiondo         | Quinn              | Traficant     |
| Calvert      | Ehrlich     | Hinchey       | Lofgren          | Radanovich         | Turner        |
| Camp         | Emerson     | Hinojosa      | Looney           | Rahall             | Upton         |
| Campbell     | Engel       | Hobson        | Lucas            | Ramstad            | Velazquez     |
| Canady       | English     | Hoekstra      | Luther           | Rangel             | Vento         |
| Cannon       | Ensign      | Hooley        | Maloney (CT)     | Redmond            | Visclosky     |
| Capps        | Eshoo       | Horn          | Maloney (NY)     | Regula             | Walsh         |
| Cardin       | Etheridge   | Hostettler    | Manton           | Riggs              | Wamp          |
|              |             |               | Manzullo         | Riley              | Waters        |
|              |             |               | Markey           | Rivers             | Watkins       |
|              |             |               | Mascara          | Rodriguez          | Watt (NC)     |
|              |             |               | Matsui           | Roemer             | Watts (OK)    |
|              |             |               | McCarthy (MO)    | Rogan              | Waxman        |
|              |             |               | McCarthy (NY)    | Rogers             | Weldon (PA)   |
|              |             |               | McCollum         | Rohrabacher        | Weller        |
|              |             |               | McCrery          | Ros-Lehtinen       | Wexler        |
|              |             |               | McDermott        | Roukema            | Weygand       |
|              |             |               | McGovern         | Roybal-Allard      | White         |
|              |             |               | McHale           | Royce              | Whitfield     |
|              |             |               | McHugh           | Rush               | Wicker        |
|              |             |               | McInnis          | Ryun               | Wise          |
|              |             |               | McIntosh         | Sabo               | Wolf          |
|              |             |               | McIntyre         | Sanchez            | Woolsey       |
|              |             |               | McKeon           | Sanders            | Wynn          |
|              |             |               | McKinney         | Sandlin            | Yates         |
|              |             |               | Meehan           | Sanford            | Young (AK)    |
|              |             |               | Meek (FL)        | Sawyer             | Young (FL)    |
|              |             |               | Menendez         | Saxton             |               |
|              |             |               | Metcalf          | Scarborough        |               |
|              |             |               | Mica             | Schaefer, Dan      |               |

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3

Johnson, E. B. Kaptur Leach

NOT VOTING—35

|          |               |             |
|----------|---------------|-------------|
| Baker    | Green         | Morella     |
| Barr     | Gutknecht     | Ortiz       |
| Blunt    | Hastings (FL) | Parker      |
| Callahan | Holden        | Reyes       |
| Coburn   | Johnson, Sam  | Rothman     |
| Conyers  | Kasich        | Salmon      |
| Cooksey  | Kennedy (MA)  | Smith (NJ)  |
| Cox      | Lewis (GA)    | Solomon     |
| Everett  | Martinez      | Sununu      |
| Gephardt | McDade        | Torres      |
| Gonzalez | McNulty       | Weldon (FL) |
| Goodling | Meeks (NY)    |             |

□ 1300

So the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Chairman, regrettably I was unavoidably detained for rollcall votes 250 (Maloney Amendment) and 251 (Gillmor Amendment). Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on both rollcall votes 250 and 251.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. MORELLA. Mr. Chairman, because of a family matter, I unfortunately missed three rollcall votes (249, 250, 251) pertaining to campaign finance reform.

I would have voted "no" on rollcall No. 249, the Thomas amendment to add a nonseverability clause, "yes" on rollcall No. 250, the Maloney amendment providing for a commission on campaign finance reform, and "yes" on rollcall No. 251, the Gillmor amendment to ensure every voter can participate in the political process.

I strongly oppose the Thomas amendment. It goes too far; the amendment strikes the provision in Shays-Meehan stating that if any part of the bill is found unconstitutional, the remainder stays intact, and it adds a provision stating that if any part is found unconstitutional, the entire bill is invalid. This Congress has passed several bills with severability clauses, including the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. Bills that are silent on the issue are considered by the courts to be severable. The Thomas anti-severability approach is highly unusual, and found in only four of the thousands of bills introduced this Congress.

I support the Maloney amendment, which would create a 12-member commission to recommend changes to current campaign finance law. The commission must submit recommendations, approved by at least 9 of the 12 members, within six months of the end of this Congress, and be considered under expedited procedures. The commission would be comprised of an equal number of Republican and Democratic appointees. While I strongly support the Shays-Meehan bill, I favor further reforms to our system, and this commission gives us the opportunity to further reform our system.

AMENDMENT NO. 82 OFFERED BY MR. DOOLITTLE TO AMENDMENT NO. 13 IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE OFFERED BY MR. SHAYS

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). The Clerk will designate the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The text of the amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute is as follows:

Amendment No. 82 offered by Mr. DOOLITTLE to amendment No. 13 in the nature of a substitute offered by Mr. SHAYS:

Strike section 301(20)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201(b) of the substitute, and insert the following:

"(B) NONAPPLICATION TO PUBLICATIONS ON VOTING RECORDS.—The term 'express advocacy' shall not apply with respect to any communication which provides information

or commentary on the voting record of, or positions on issues taken by, any individual holding Federal office or any candidate for election for Federal office, unless the communication contains explicit words expressly urging a vote for or against any identified candidate or political party."

(Mr. DOOLITTLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I am going to offer this amendment which is short and to the point. I believe I will just read it, because it makes the point.

It is entitled the Nonapplication to Publications on Voting Records: The term "express advocacy" shall not apply with respect to any communication which provides information or commentary on the voting record of, or positions on issues taken by, any individual holding Federal office or any candidate for election for Federal office, unless the communication contains explicit words expressly urging a vote for or against any identified candidate or political party.

Mr. Chairman, the effect of this language is to preserve the Buckley opinion, which of course is going to stand whether or not we enact Shays-Meehan. But it is to make sure that we do not place citizens in jeopardy for exercising their God-given right to free speech protected in the U.S. Constitution.

The Buckley case, which is so demeaned by our left-wing reformers, is quite clear on this. And it was a case that was a very strong case by judges, most of whom supported it. We have heard Buckley defamed time and time again. I want to quote a couple of things from Buckley and my colleagues will see why it has remained the constitutional foundation for so many years.

In the words of Buckley, The Federal Election Campaign Act, known as FECA, their regulation:

... apply only to expenditures for communications that in express terms advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for public office . . . this construction would restrict the application of FECA regulations to communications containing express words of advocacy of election or defeat, such as "vote for," "elect," "support," "cast your ballot for," "Smith for Congress," "vote against," "defeat," "reject."

Now, here are the so-called magic words that are demeaned by our left-wing reformers. But the reason we have such words is further explained by the Court itself.

... the distinction between discussion of issues and candidates and advocacy of election or defeat of candidates may often dissolve in practical application. Candidates, especially incumbents, are intimately tied to public issues involving legislative proposals and governmental actions. Not only do candidates campaign on the basis of their positions on various public issues, but campaigns themselves generate issues of public interest."

And then we come to this, and this really is the philosophical underpinning of the First Amendment. It ex-

plains how that applies to these disastrous attempts such as Shays-Meehan to abridge our freedom of speech. And it goes on to say:

Whether words intended and designed to fall short of invitation would miss that mark is a question both of intent and effect. No speaker, in such circumstances, safely could assume that anything he might say upon the general subject would not be understood by some as an invitation. In short, the supposedly clear-cut distinction between discussion, laudation, general advocacy, and solicitation puts the speaker in these circumstances wholly at the mercy of the varied understanding of his hearers and consequently of whatever inference may be drawn as to his intent and meaning.

Such a distinction offers no security for free discussion. In these conditions it blankets with uncertainty whatever may be said. It compels the speaker to hedge and trim.

This is why we have all said on our side that Shays-Meehan is patently unconstitutional on its face, because its regulation compels the speaker to hedge and trim.

Now, in Shays-Meehan, they claim they allow voter guides, but their regulation compels the speaker to hedge and trim. Why? Because there is a requirement that it be done in an "educational manner." Clearly, it is intended to require only a flat recitation of facts and to bar commentary or advocacy on an event or issue.

But certainly the scorecards and voter guides put out by issue groups and labor unions do reflect a point of view. They do contain commentary. And under the First Amendment, they have every right to do so.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. DOOLITTLE was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, also the requirement in Shays-Meehan is that the publication must contain, "no words that in context have no reasonable meaning other than to urge the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates."

See, this is the inference they are talking about here where whatever inference may be drawn as to its intent and meaning. All of a sudden a Federal bureaucratic czar is going to determine whether or not what citizens have said in their voter guide fell within the law or outside the law. It chills the speech.

Mr. Chairman, I ask my colleagues to just think of this. Any organization that wants to distribute a voter guide, such as the Christian Coalition, such as National Right to Life, such as, I think the Abortion Rights Action League does them, any organization is now going to have to have in the back of its mind, and in its bank account, a half-million dollars, knowing that they will then be prepared to withstand a prosecution by the Federal bureaucratic czar who may determine that through the inference and so forth of the words, that the words fell within the scope of the Shays-Meehan law and, therefore, can be punished.

Now, the First Amendment of course would never allow this. But as we all know, when we have statutes that infringe on the Constitution, the only way to deal with that problem is to go through the extremely time-consuming and costly litigation process. So this puts every issue advocacy group in the country in jeopardy. They will all have to raise more money in order to fight the half-million dollar legal battle. I think that is wrong.

By the way, a voter guide, here is one from the Christian Coalition, this is what a lot of the incumbents who are not casting votes consistent with the wishes of the Christian Coalition get very upset by. This is very influential and it is definitely determined to influence the outcome of elections, which the Constitution says they have the right to do.

But it takes a Member's vote, they have votes probably of 20 different things or so, and it lists the voting records of everybody around the country. But it is an advocacy thing. It does have a point of view, because it says, "How did your congressmen and senators vote on issues critical to the family?" And on the backside it says, "Christian Coalition, giving pro-family Americans a voice in their government again."

Well, I think would it not be safe to infer that if Members are casting antifamily votes as related by the Christian Coalition, that they would think that Member should be defeated rather than elected? I do not think it is a large jump in logic to understand that that would be the intent.

When we get into the language of Shays-Meehan, they then are violating what can be done because this is not neutral. They now have words and context that can add no reasonable meaning other than to urge the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates. Under Shays-Meehan, they are not just doing a flat recitation of facts such as they intend by the words "educational manner."

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we need this amendment and I urge my colleagues to adopt it.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, first of all, I am looking for the language of the amendment. It does not really state it correctly. It says nonapplication to publications of voting records. And everybody should understand this goes far beyond voting records. It goes to all communications.

Let me read it. "The term 'express advocacy' shall not apply with respect to any communication which provides information or commentary on the voting record of or positions on issues taken by . . ." So it is anything in a political campaign. ". . . by any individual holding Federal office or any candidate for election for Federal office, unless the communication contains explicit words expressly urging a vote for or against any identified candidate or political party."

So the amendment offered by the gentleman from California is not really related to voting guides. What it does is try to strike all of the language within Shays-Meehan relating to express advocacy, to issue ads. Let no one be unclear about that.

□ 1315

Secondly, I wish we would stop talking about people who are for this bill as left wing reformers, I say to the gentleman from California, because when he says that, he is demeaning the gentleman across the aisle from him, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS). He is demeaning the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. WAMP) who has been actively involved, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST), the gentleman from New York (Mr. BOEHLERT), the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL), the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SANFORD), and others, and Mr. McCAIN.

My colleagues may disagree with their fellow or sister Republicans. Do not call them by an epithet. This debate serves better than that. No one is calling my colleagues a right wing nut.

We are also not demeaning the Supreme Court. By the way, if it is patently unconstitutional on its face, then do not present an amendment. The court will eliminate it. The problem with my colleague's position is that that is not true, and that is what they are worried about.

The 9th Circuit, which is not filled with left wing reformers, has interpreted the decision, the Buckley decision. There is a circuit that disagrees with it. But the 9th Circuit has said this, and we essentially, in this bill, attempt to follow the language in Furgatch or the gist of it.

Here is what they say: We begin with the proposition that express advocacy is not strictly limited to communications using certain key phrases. The short list of words included in the Supreme Court opinion in Buckley does not exhaust the capacity of the English language to expressly advocate the election or defeat of a candidate.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVIN. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, Furgatch is an express advocacy case and is perfectly consistent with our beliefs in the Buckley case. Furgatch, as I understand the case, the court named, I do not know, seven or eight words in the Buckley case, and Furgatch, the facts of the case amounted to essentially the same thing. That is all it says. But it is express advocacy. It does not advocate blurring the line between express advocacy of election or defeat of a candidate versus everything else.

Mr. LEVIN. I say to the gentleman, then, go back and read Shays-Meehan. Go back and read it, because all it says is, within the last 60 days, especially if there is express advocacy, if you attack

a candidate, but do not say vote against, or if you say things that do not exactly say vote for, that, still, if the clear purpose is a political ad, it shall fall within independent expenditures and be controlled by the regulations with the FEC.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. LEVIN. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Only to say, right up until now and even now, it is clear we do not have to look at what the purpose or the intent is. Unless the words themselves are express and advocating the election or defeat of a candidate, then it is not subject to regulation.

The man in Furgatch said, I think it is Harvey Furgatch ran this ad and said, do not let them do this, meaning defeat them. I think they were talking about Jimmy Carter. It is quite clear. We should not seek to blur the line.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) has expired.

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LEVIN was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I would suggest, then, between now and next week that the gentleman should get together with the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) because I just think that his language is contrary to what he says he understands Furgatch to be.

He says, unless the communication contains explicit words expressly urging a vote for or against any identified candidate. That is, rewrite your amendment, then.

Let me just go on. Let me just finish, if I might. It goes on to say, a test requiring the magic words elect, support, et cetera, or their nearly perfect synonyms, for finding of express advocacy would preserve the First Amendment right of unfettered expression only at the expense of eviscerating the Federal election campaign ad.

No one is trying to gag anybody. If they want to do a political ad that essentially wants people to vote for or against, what they say is fall within the independent expenditure and other provisions of the law, which has limits on what can be expended and has requirements for disclosure, which is not true of these ads that are clearly campaign ads, that are clearly political ads.

But the people do not know who put the money up. They are hidden. They are endless. There is a flood of hidden, in terms of its support, of hidden money. That is what we say should not happen.

Now, look, in terms of the brochures, voter guides, if you think the language on voter guides is not clear enough, then amend that. But the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) have carefully tried to spell this out.

They say that a printed communication is not included if it presents information in an educational manner solely about the voting record or position on the campaign issue of two or more candidates. If it is not education, if it is essentially political, it should fall within the purview of the ad.

Now, look, no one is talking about a czar. We have laws on independent expenditures that the FEC has to enforce. The Supreme Court was worried about this 20 years ago. A lot has happened in the last 20 years, to include this bombardment of so-called issue ads that are really political ads.

If Members adopt this amendment, they are essentially eviscerating the issue advocacy provisions, the effort in Shays-Meehan to call and regulate political, what is really political and a campaign ad that is really a campaign ad.

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to lend my voice to the debate on campaign finance reform and reluctantly stand in opposition to the amendment of my good friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE).

The issue at hand is express advocacy, and the courts have made a number of statements on this, and there are a number of conflicting comments on express advocacy and whatever the magic words are. Buckley makes a statement. Lower courts have been split on this issue.

But I think it is very important, for no other reason, for the Congress to have some legislative history on what express advocacy is. I am of the strong opinion that when we do this, the Shays-Meehan legislative framework provides the kind of structure we need to ensure that those who want to advocate a position, an issue, or even a candidate be heard in a responsible manner.

Shays-Meehan does not limit the First Amendment rights for free speech. It provides a framework in which rigorous mental debate, rigorous mental effort, intellectual discussion can be pushed for. It does not limit free speech. It holds speech to a standard. It holds free speech and those who are giving it to be held accountable. It just does not let the broad array of anybody's opinion based on good judgment, good facts, or based on absolutely nothing go out into the free media. So I have a strong position, and I would hope my colleagues vote for Shays-Meehan.

I just want to make a couple of other points. Our responsibility as Congress is to ensure protection from the public against corruption. I do not think anybody in this House Chamber would say that too much money or money expended in years passed or in this election cycle, especially in some of the elections and special elections that are going on right now do not put forth or masquerade as putting forth the truth.

We have too much money in certain instances being put forth against Republicans and Democrats that do not support good, legislative, fundamental, sound issues. We as Members of Congress, I strongly feel, have the broad ability to protect the public in the political process from corruption and the appearance of corruption.

The Supreme Court specifically noted on a number of times that contribution limits do not undermine robust and effective discussion for candidates. Myself, I do not take, and I am not advocating this for everybody, even though I have an amendment, I do not take any PAC money. I do not take any money out of the district. You have to be eligible to vote for me as a candidate to contribute to my campaign.

That way, I do not raise a whole lot of money in campaign, but I can tell my colleagues that my campaigns, my discussions in campaigns, and my debates, even though I have been outspent six to one, seven to one, eight to one all across the board in most of my campaigns, I still have a rigorous and robust debate.

I would advocate that for everyone. But I think this Congress has the right, the power, and the broad responsibility to protect the public from political corruption and the appearance of corruption.

The Shays-Meehan bill does not affect, I will throw this in very quickly, State campaigns or State politics or State elections. It does regulate State party activity to the extent that it affects Federal elections. I think this is a positive thing.

Mr. Chairman, I will make two last quick points. Number one, the Supreme Court makes a statement. They make a ruling, and that is fine. To the extent we live with that, but we still have the option and the ability and the freedom and the responsibility to question that decision. That is what democracy is.

We are debating this issue. It is an exchange of information with a sense of tolerance for somebody else's opinion wherever they lie on the political spectrum. Then we vote. That is what is happening here.

The last point I would like to make is, in my judgment, the question here is, will we continue to allow campaign ads to bypass campaign finance laws simply because they appear to be such?

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST) has expired.

(On request of Mr. DELAY, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GILCHREST was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Chairman, let me make this one last point, the question is should campaign ads escape finance laws simply because they are crafted to masquerade as something else? I do not think so. So I strongly urge my colleagues to vote for Shays-Meehan.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me. He is a dear friend of mine, and I appreciate my dear friend's well intentions. But we are debating the Doolittle amendment that exempts certain groups like the Christian Coalition from this bill and allows the Christian Coalition to pass out their voter guides.

The gentleman made two statements, and I ask him to clarify them for me. The gentleman said these groups should be held accountable. My question is, by whom? Second, that these groups are corrupting. They are corrupting. What about the Christian Coalition is corrupting the process by handing out a voter guide?

Mr. GILCHREST. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, I think, number one, we, as Members of Congress, should continue to debate the kinds of language and the kinds of things that the overall American public would consider as real campaign advocacy.

There is an election in New Mexico right now, I would tell my colleagues of this House, where the kinds of campaign rhetoric against one of the candidates, which happens to be a Republican, is absolutely false. There are blatant lies. That is what I would assume and strongly feel that this legislation would get at.

I would never say that the Christian Coalition in its information packet about candidates and their voting record is masquerading as something other than what it is. I think they would be protected under Shays-Meehan. I do not see the Christian Coalition packet of information about Members of Congress any different from that of the League of Women Voters.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. GILCHREST) has again expired.

(On request of Mr. DOOLITTLE, and by unanimous consent, Mr. GILCHREST was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, what does the gentleman understand the term in the Shays-Meehan to mean in an educational manner?

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? I can answer.

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, we just need to know exactly what is in the bill, and then we can argue it. We say a voting record and voting guide exception. The term "express advocacy" does not include a printed communication that prevents information in an educational manner solely about the voting record or position on a candidate issued on two or more candidates that is not made in coordination with the candidate, political

party, or agent of the candidate or party or a candidate's agent or a person who is coordinating with a candidate's agents. Third, it does not contain a phrase such as vote for, reelect, support, cast your ballot for, name of candidate for Congress, name of candidate in 1997, vote against, defeat, reject, and so on.

□ 1330

This 1994 Christian Coalition guide is legal. And what the gentleman wants to do is he wants to strike out the very language we put in the bill. I would just point out to the gentleman this is allowed under our bill, and the gentleman is taking it out.

Mr. GILCHREST. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman, I would say to the gentleman from California that I would agree with the interpretation of the author of the bill; that the statement the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) just read in no uncertain terms protects the brochure that the gentleman is holding for the Christian Coalition.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Then support my amendment and then it will make it unambiguous. The problem with the Shays-Meehan language is it is ambiguous because we have the phrase "in an educational manner".

Mr. GILCHREST. Reclaiming my time, my interpretation of the bill and that section of the bill is that if we take that out, then what the gentleman is trying to do becomes more ambiguous. I think the specifics of the Shays language offers a concrete protection for the Christian Coalition's advocacy material.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. I wish to say to the gentleman from California that he says it relates to voting records. It is a misstatement of what it applies to. It applies to any communication. And it says that it will not be covered by Federal regulation unless there are explicit words urging a vote for or against.

What the gentleman is doing is trying to totally vitiate the express advocacy provisions. And the gentleman has said it so well, the gentleman who has the time. The gentleman is so right in saying that we should not allow ads to masquerade for something that they are not.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GILCHREST. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DELAY. The gentleman is absolutely wrong. He is reaffirming the express advocacy affirmed by the Supreme Court through Buckley-Valeo, Colorado, and many other decisions.

Ms. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today to speak to two issues which are very much related around this issue, which is soft money and express advocacy. Both are currently being used to deliver campaign ads by skirting campaign laws.

Soft money is meant to be used for general party building. It is meant to benefit the party as a whole, not to benefit any particular candidate. Express advocacy ads are meant to speak to issues and not to expressly advocate for the election or defeat of any single candidate. Currently, both of these laws and both of these activities have huge loopholes that are being exploited shamelessly by groups across the political spectrum.

Consider a real, not hypothetical, series of ads that ran this last cycle in New York. The people who ran these ads argued that publicly attacking one candidate in a race is not a benefit to the other candidate and should not be considered so. It is an interesting interpretation. \$750,000 of soft money was spent to attack one candidate in a two-candidate race under the argument that this should be protected because it was, of course, not a benefit to the other candidate.

Let me tell my colleagues what the express language used was. On the air, the suggestion was that candidate number one was for more taxes, for more welfare. Candidate number one would tax and spend. Candidate number one was responsible for the mess in Albany. And the ad finished up by flashing the telephone number of the candidate and urging viewers to call and tell this candidate to cut taxes, not take another bite out of our paychecks.

Now, my understanding is that when these ads aired, there were no tax votes imminent in the assembly where that candidate was serving. There was no specific issue that was mentioned. The only message that one can glean from this particular ad was the one that was meant to be gleaned, which is to turn public opinion against the featured candidate, and \$750,000 of soft money was used to air these ads.

The reforms embodied in Shays-Meehan are meant to shut down these sort of semantic shenanigans. Changes are needed because parties and organizations on both sides of the political aisle are currently abusing the system. My belief is that those who are pursuing real issue advocacy should have no problem doing so in a system reformed by Shays-Meehan. This is just another alarmist argument meant to frighten Members away from the reforms that our constituents want.

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Ms. RIVERS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. MEEHAN. Actually, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has brought up an interesting point. These ads, that are supposedly issue ads, let us talk turkey here and do one of the ads. I have it right here.

Now, this is an ad we cannot find out where the money came from, but it was spent by a tax exempt organization founded on June 20th, 1996 called Citizens For a Republic Education Fund. Here is the ad.

"Senate candidate Winston Bryant's budget as Attorney General increased by 71 percent. Bryant has taken taxpayer funded junkets to the Virgin Islands, Alaska and Arizona. And spent \$100,000 on new furniture. Unfortunately, as the State's top law enforcement official, he's never opposed the parole of any convicted criminal, even rapists and murderers. And almost 4,000 Arkansas prisoners have been sent back to prison for crimes committed while they were out on parole. Winston Bryant: government waste, political junkets, soft on crime. Call Winston Bryant and tell him to give the money back."

Now, if somebody wants to run an ad like that, that is fine, but the American public has a right to know who funded that ad. The American public has a right to know what money is behind that kind of a negative ad.

And that is what we are talking about here. The gentleman's amendment would gut our ability to have the public know who has funded that ad. Voters in any district, in any State, anywhere in America have an absolute unequivocal right to know who funded that particular ad, as well the first amendment guarantees a right to run that ad. That is a negative ad that can be run anywhere in America. But the public deserves to know who funded an ad like that.

And that is what this debate, by the way, is all about. The question is does the public have a right to know when somebody blatantly uses a negative political ad in a race and spends \$300,000. The public has a right to know.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, it is my intention to save at least 2 of those 5 minutes for any individuals who wishes to engage me in debate so that we have a good exchange of views, and, indeed, I would like to begin with a point that has, to my judgment, not yet been raised.

The amendment by my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE), not only puts in a provision regarding the use of the so-called magic words as the only definition of express advocacy, but it strikes the provision in the bill that has other tests, and that is where I wish to focus. I have not heard the debate focus on it yet. Because one of those other tests says that the so-called advocacy in question cannot be "made in coordination with a candidate." Instead, the amendment of the gentleman from California says that as long as the magic words are not used, "vote for this candidate", "vote against this candidate", it is to be permitted.

So the legislative history will be absolutely clear, if the amendment of the

gentleman from California passes, it will replace this language in the bill of the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS). So that it was the intention of the author and the intention of the House, if we pass this, to allow, as express advocacy, to allow as any advocacy so long as it does not use the words, "even if it is in coordination with a candidate."

Now, here is the example that I want to emphasize. Suppose, for example, then, that the Christian Coalition or the National Abortion Rights Action League, to choose a different point of view, sits down with a candidate and says, "When do you want the voter guide to go out; how big print do you want; which issues do you want to suggest that we inform the public about; give us the good photograph instead of the bad photograph." In other words, they operate hand in glove with the candidate. That would be permitted under the amendment of the gentleman from California so long as the words "vote for" or "against" were not used.

Because I think that has to be an inadvertent error, I will now yield to my colleague from California as much time as he would like to take, hoping he will save me some time to respond, to explain if I have it wrong.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, let me say that my amendment is pretty clear, I think. What the gentleman was describing was exactly what Bill Clinton and AL GORE did in this last election.

Now, Shays-Meehan wants to make that illegal. I do not want to make that illegal, although I will render it unnecessary because we will wipe away this monstrous regulation in present law that the big government, is that okay to say, or the pro-government reformers gave us 25 years ago, and instead we will just remove the limits and then the contributor can give to the candidate. That is the natural flow of money. We will not have to have these diversions and circumventions, soft money, issue advocacy, et cetera. It can just go right to the candidate.

I do not outlaw any of that, because we have a first amendment which protects speech.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I want to reclaim my time so I can respond to the gentleman, and then maybe we will get unanimous consent to continue, but I would like to respond. It is always a pleasure dealing with my colleague from California. He is honest, direct, and he has admitted my point was right, and let me repeat it.

What President Clinton did in the last campaign, which would be outlawed by the gentleman from Connecticut, is permitted by the gentleman's amendment. And that means, to wit, that the candidate sits down with a group, works through which issues will be identified in the so-called legislative information card, works out the text, works out the timing, works out the printing, works out the picture, works out everything to help the candidate,

but so long as the magic words are not used, it is permitted.

My friend from California is candid. He admits that is what his amendment will do, and that is why we must vote against it.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DELAY. I wanted to quickly point out, Mr. Chairman, the fact that the gentleman from Massachusetts, when he brought this ad up, has nothing to do with the gentleman's amendment. What we are talking about are voter guides. That is what his amendment addresses and has nothing to do with what the gentleman from Massachusetts is trying to portray. We are talking about voter guides here.

And the point I would make is a different point than the gentleman was pointing out. The gentleman from Connecticut failed to read, if he had read the last of his bill, where it says, "no reasonable meaning other than to urge the election or defeat." And I pointed out that in the voter guide I held up, the Christian Coalition guide, if we took that guide and distributed it in a church, then a reasonable meaning person would describe that as advocacy for the person that was against abortion, against homosexual type things that are on that voter guide.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL) has expired.

(On request of Mr. DELAY, and by unanimous consent, Mr. CAMPBELL was allowed to proceed for 1 additional minute.)

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman continue to yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. DELAY. So the point is that the Christian Coalition, NARAL, or anybody else would not, under the Shays-Meehan bill, be able to put out their voter guides.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I thank the gentleman for his courtesy, Mr. Chairman, and I want him to stay in the well just to be sure. My point was a different one, and I will just hammer my point home, because I believe I have the right to do so.

The language in the Doolittle amendment removes the prohibition against coordinated expenditures for voter guides. So I am not now dealing with what the gentleman's dispute with the gentleman from Massachusetts may be, but just on this one question. I read the Doolittle amendment as saying that even if an organization works with the candidate for choosing the issues, for how they phrase them, for when the voter guides go out and how many people get it, indeed, the addresses that it is sent to, so long as they do not use the words "vote for" or "vote against", it would be permitted.

Now, that issue, the gentleman from Texas did not address. I want to make clear he is not disagreeing with me

that that is the effect of the amendment of the gentleman from California.

Mr. DELAY. Well, if the gentleman wishes to continue to yield, I would suggest he yield to the gentleman from California, because he knows more about his amendment on that particular point.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I will be happy to do so, but I wanted to hammer home the point first that the gentleman from Texas was not disagreeing with me.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from California (Mr. CAMPBELL) has expired.

(On request of Mr. DOOLITTLE, and by unanimous consent, Mr. CAMPBELL was allowed to proceed for 2 additional minutes.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CAMPBELL. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. What I would say to the gentleman, Mr. Chairman, is that while I support the coordination language that we talked about, I want to make the point that this amendment does not deal with it. All this amendment deals with is basically allowing communication with regard to voting records to require terms of express advocacy.

Mr. CAMPBELL. The gentleman's amendment begins, and I am reading, "Strike section 30.120(b)", and what the gentleman strikes in that is exactly what I quoted, the prohibition on coordination. So I really did think the gentleman did not intend this. That is what I prefaced this by.

But if the gentleman looks at his amendment, it begins, "Strike section 30.120(b)", and section 30.120(b) says we cannot do this if, among other things, it is coordinated.

□ 1345

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will continue to yield, I am trying to get a copy of the language to respond. I am looking at what our language strikes, and it does not say anything about coordination.

Mr. CAMPBELL. I direct the attention of the gentleman to 30.120(b) on page 12 of the draft bill, line 14 of the voting record and voting guide exception. I draw the attention of the gentleman to little 2, line 21, that is "not made in coordination with the candidate."

You are striking that provision. Your amendment says "strike section 30.120(b)."

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I just got a copy of the bill. Give me the line again.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Page 12, line 21.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I guess we are not going to be able to clear this up because I do not really have the same text that the gentleman does. This is going to continue and we will address the issue upon continuation.

Mr. CAMPBELL. In closing, anyone can make a mistake. I am not suggesting that the gentleman has. But if he has, I do not think he intended that result. It is, nevertheless, a devastating

result and it is reason to vote against the amendment.

Mrs. CAPPS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in opposition to the amendment by my colleague the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE) and I oppose this amendment because it strikes me at the very heart of what is good about the Shays-Meehan campaign finance bill, a bill which, although it is not a perfect bill, but which addresses two of the major loopholes in current campaign finance law.

Current law, and under Shays-Meehan as well, free speech is not opposed, people have the right to address issues. But the topic that I want to speak about in a very personal and direct way, because it happened to me just a few months ago, has to do with so-called issue ads. These ads are not issue ads when they directly support or attack a candidate's point of view even though they do not expressly say "vote for" or "vote against." They use the picture of the candidate. They mention the candidate's name.

I want to even become more personal with my own experience. In a hard-fought race in the 22nd District of California, my opponent and I both faced this new phenomenon in our current campaign situation. I am speaking now about \$300,000 ads that were used to support me. And I opposed those ads because they were issue ads that did direct voters to vote for me but did not do so under current laws, which, in the right way, regulate the way campaigns should be run.

In other words, they did so under this giant loophole which we have allowed and these laws, these issues and the people behind them which are not disclosed, the amount of money that they can contribute is not limited, the source of their funds are not disclosed, and these ads are not accountable. They directly influence the way campaigns are handled.

It even became common knowledge in my race in the special election in California in March that eventually these issue people said, candidates themselves will be incidental in congressional races, that they are looking for these people who espouse particular issues, particular ideas about issues, who want to have a platform and they see the congressional campaign as a very good platform on which to run their issues.

They do not care about the people who live in the district. They do not particularly care about the candidate. They want a national platform and a national voice for their issue. And maybe it is a good issue. Maybe it is not.

But by not regulating this particular part of campaigns, we are allowing them access to the way candidates become elected officials and it is really doing an injustice I believe to the very core of what this House of Representatives is about.

If we are elected to represent constituents, then we owe it to those constituents to speak to the issues which they care about and which we feel legitimately qualified to speak about. And it is the responsibility of this House to do something about our races.

I am not talking about presidential races. I am not talking about state raises. I am talking about how we are elected to this House. We are elected every 2 years. These people, those folks who want their issues put before the public, they know they have got a great audience in our congressional races. And they told us in March, in California in the 22nd District, "You watch out now, we are going to do this in your races," I am talking about people that supported me, "and then we are going to go full bore in November across this country and we are going to change the way elections occur."

We have the responsibility I believe. And that is why, when I came to Congress, the day after I was sworn in, I knew I owed it to my constituents to get busy on this and I asked, where is the bill that is bipartisan that will address this issue of these so-called sham ads?

I feel very deeply about this particular part. I am not talking about the voter cards. I am talking about the ads on television, very expensive ads. They crowded our airwaves in California to the degree that constituents came up to me and said, "What is this? This does not sound like anything we have been talking about in your race."

It is demeaning to the process by which we come to this place. It is turning off our constituents. It is making them feel like we and they are pawns to a national idea, a good idea or a bad idea. I am not debating the merits of the issue. I am talking about what we are doing here in this body.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. COLLINS). The time of the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) has expired.

(On request of Mr. DOOLITTLE, and by unanimous consent, Mrs. CAPPS was allowed to proceed for 3 additional minutes.)

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. CAPPS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the gentlewoman and I think feel similarly about the trend of our elections. We draw different conclusions as to what is the cause of this. But in response to the question "where is the bill that addresses this?" I would submit my bill addresses this, H.R. 965. Because I would submit it is the severe limits on hard-money contributions, which are contributions by contributors directed to candidates, that are driving this problem.

The Constitution allows, under the various court rulings, which I think are generally correct, people to contribute and express their point of view. It limits contributions right now to

candidates. But they can still, under the Constitution, comment on issues.

As my colleagues heard me quote from Buckley the line between issues and candidates, it is hard to distinguish. That is why the Court in order to preserve free speech, said that, in order to fall under the scope of regulation, they have to have words of express advocacy which are clearly related to the election or defeat of the candidate.

What I think this bill is going to do is actually go against the result my colleague seeks to achieve and I frankly seek to achieve, which is that more of our money in campaigns should be centered from the candidate, not from groups out on the periphery that are getting as close to the line as they can without crossing it and influencing the election.

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentlewoman yield?

Mrs. CAPPS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. FARR of California. The campaign of the gentlewoman from California (Mrs. CAPPS) is very well-known in this country. And what she is saying is her campaign was taken over by outside influences, both her campaign and her opponent's, and these outside influences were not accountable to anybody in their district because they did not have to disclose who they were and where the money came from.

Basically, what is happening here is the American public knows there is a campaign season, there is a beginning and there is an end and they know what goes on in between. There ought to be something we know who is saying it.

They could call somebody a rotten SOB. They could call somebody good. They could call somebody evil. They could say all kinds of things about them. But as long as they do not have to say vote for or against them but they say everything but that, they can destroy them. And they as a consumer, as a voting person, they have no idea who has paid for all that. They do not even know who it is because they usually make up fake titles about what they are. They are always good citizens for something, but then all they do is talk about evil.

So the campaign of the gentlewoman showed to America something that we in Congress were not even aware was going to happen, and that is that it is totally out of control, that we are going to have messages all over this country by people that are totally unaccountable.

If we pass this amendment, it will make it worse. Because the amendment says they can have any commentary, any commentary, they can say anything about anybody they want to as long as they do not say vote yes or no. So they put out this message that is very evil and derogatory and they do not have to be accountable.

That is not the way the American public is. Everything we are doing in

this country is trying to make consumers have more information. We are labeling what they eat. We are labeling what we sell them. We are labeling what they borrow their money from. And we ought to label what their candidates have to deal with. It is a bad amendment.

Mr. WHITFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the requisite number of words.

First of all, I know the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) a while ago was talking about this ad that ran, and I am assuming it ran on television. I assume it ran on television.

Mr. MEEHAN. If the gentleman will yield, I did not see it on television, but I read the transcript of it and it was a television ad and about \$300,000 worth.

Mr. WHITFIELD. Reclaiming my time, I think all of us are very much concerned about any ads that run without a disclaimer.

I talked to some FEC lawyers yesterday about that very point; and it is my understanding that if an ad like that runs anywhere without a disclaimer, they can go to the Federal Communications Commission because they have a law and regulations that prohibit those type of ads.

I agree with the gentleman that we do not need ads running on television or anywhere else that does not have a disclaimer on them. But the FEC does have some rules that disclaimers are required.

Mr. MEEHAN. If the gentleman would further yield, it is not so much the problem of the disclaimer on the bottom of the advertisement. The problem is that nobody knows where this money came from. The problem is we have an ad that is clearly meant to influence an election; and when we run ads that are clearly meant to influence an election, the public has a right to know where the money came from. That is what the issue is.

Mr. WHITFIELD. The only point I would raise there is that that brings up the whole issue of the right of privacy of individuals who contribute or organizations that contribute; and the Supreme Court, in certain cases, has indicated that they have a right to keep that private. But that is another issue that we could talk about another day.

Mr. MEEHAN. If the gentleman would continue to yield, people have a right to privacy. However, when people spend their money to influence elections in this country, the Supreme Court has clearly indicated that the public does have a right to know who is spending money and how much they are spending and where it is coming from to influence elections.

Under this amendment that is being offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. DOOLITTLE) basically, it says, any communication, any commentary on the voting record positions or anything else would be okay. That is a different right to privacy.

Mr. WHITFIELD. Well, all I would say is that, if the gentleman is talking

about the hard money, of course, anybody can go down to the FEC and get a record and they will know who gave him money or anybody else in this Chamber and it is spelled out very explicitly.

I think soft money is a little bit of a different issue. If it is independent expenditures, they are required to file their report with the FEC anyway. In issue advocacy, if it is a political committee, it is required to file a report.

But my colleague is right, other groups do not have to file a report. And I think we can find some cases where the Court has said that is free speech and it is a little bit different than hard money and they do not have to go file all these reports, because they can make the argument that in filing all these reports it provides an obstacle for people engaging in the political process.

I want to just touch on for a moment, the reason that I object to what my colleagues all have done on this voting record guide is that in paragraph 3 they basically lay out the language as set out in Buckley vs. Valeo, the so-called bright line, and if they had stopped after the word "reject," I mean, I would not have had any problem with it myself. But the Court has repeatedly said that they do have to use these express words.

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As a matter of fact, the question I would ask, the FEC is a group of government employees and they are going to have to make the decision about what does this mean. Does this ad, or a campaign slogan or words in context have no reasonable meaning other than to urge the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates? I think different people looking at a particular ad can come up with different conclusions.

I would say to the gentleman that in the Maine case, almost the exact language was used in that case where it said could only be interpreted by a reasonable person as containing advocacy of the election or defeat of one or more clearly identified candidates, and the Supreme Court ruled that as unconstitutional. I think the point we are trying to make is I think you are going to be inviting another overturn by the Supreme Court on that.

The gentleman mentioned the Furgatch case which is exactly right. Basically they said the simple holding of Furgatch was in those instances where political communications do include an explicit directive to voters to take some course of action, then they are going to say that that is express advocacy. In that case, they said, "Don't let him do it."

I would also say to the gentleman that that case was decided in the Ninth Circuit. The Ninth Circuit has been turned over 27 of 28 times it went to the Supreme Court. I think we have a legitimate concern about the stifling of speech that could go on by the way you

are expanding this definition. That is simply the point that I would like to make.

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, subject to the agreement I think of all sides, this debate will continue, and we will have further information provided from both sides, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. COBLE) having assumed the chair, Mr. COLLINS, Chairman pro tempore of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2183) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. FAZIO of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. FAZIO of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS) so I may traditionally as I do at this time of the week inquire of the majority as to the schedule for the coming week.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from California for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that we have concluded legislative business for this week.

The House will next meet on Monday, June 22, at 12:30 p.m. for morning hour and at 2 p.m. for legislative business.

On Monday, we will consider a number of bills under suspension of the rules, a list of which will be distributed to Members' offices. Members should note that we do not expect any recorded votes before 5 p.m. on Monday, June 22.

On Monday, we will also consider H.R. 4059, the Military Construction Appropriations Act, and H.R. 4060, the Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act.

On Tuesday, June 23, the House will meet at 9 a.m. for morning hour and 10 a.m. for legislative business. We will again consider a number of bills under suspension of the rules, a list of which will be distributed to Members' offices.

On Tuesday, the House will also take up the Agricultural Appropriations Act. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday evening, Republicans and Democrats will face off in the annual charity congressional baseball game. We hope to finish legislative business by 5 p.m. and head to the diamond for batting practice.

On Wednesday, June 24, the House will meet at 10 a.m. to consider the following legislation:

The Treasury and General Government Appropriations Act; and the Department of Defense Appropriations Act.

On Thursday, June 25, the House will meet at 10 a.m. to consider the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act.