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Senate

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable JEFF SESSIONS, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Sovereign God, help us to know what we mean when we call You our Sovereign. May this name for You, used so frequently by our Founding Fathers and Mothers, become an experienced assurance in our lives. Abigail Adams' own words written to her husband John on June 20, 1776, become our motto: "God will not forsake a people engaged in so right a cause, if we remember His loving kindness." O Divine Master, help us to be engaged in causes that You have assigned and never forget Your faithfulness.

Belief in Your sovereignty gives us a sense of dependence that leads to true independence. All that we have and are is Your gift. When we are totally dependent on You for guidance and strength, we become completely free of fear and anxiety. What You guide, You provide. Trust in Your sovereignty provides supernatural power to accomplish what You give us to do for Your glory. And acceptance of Your sovereignty gives us courage. This is Your Chamber. It is holy ground; keep this Senate sound. May Your sovereign authority abound. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable JEFF SESSIONS led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication

to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, March 29, 2001.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable JEFF SESSIONS, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. SESSIONS thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, today the Senate will resume consideration of the DeWine amendment regarding issue advocacy ads. There will be up to 15 minutes of debate prior to a vote at 9:45. Following the vote, Senator HARKIN will be recognized to offer an amendment regarding volunteer spending limits. By previous consent, there will be up to 2 hours of debate on the amendment. Senators should be aware that the vote on the Harkin amendment is expected to occur prior to noon today.

Further amendments will be offered throughout the day. There will be numerous votes, with the goal of completing action on the bill by this evening.

I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I have been in contact with the two managers of the bill, and I have indicated that Senator DODD and I have worked to cut down the list. We have several amend-

ments. I think there has been a civil debate in this 2-week period of time. There have been very few quorum calls in effect. We are going to do what we can.

I alert everyone, to finish this bill today is going to be extremely difficult. We had 21 amendments yesterday on this side. We are down now to about 14. We picked up two during the night. I am sure most of them will work with time limits on the amendments. But that having been said, it is going to be very difficult to finish today. I think the leadership should consider we will have to have something else either going into tomorrow or Saturday or finishing next week.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I must say while the amendments seem to be multiplying on the other side, they are vanishing on this side. There are a couple of amendments, but there is really only one, I think, that has any serious drama attached to it, and that is the nonseverability amendment which we hope to vote on later today, to be offered by Senator FRIST, in coordination with a member of the Democratic Party from the other side of the aisle.

I say to my friend, the Democratic whip, we don't have many amendments left to go over here, so we may at some point just be dealing with Democratic amendments.

Mr. REID. We will do our best to cooperate with the manager of the bill.

Mr. MCCAIN. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I am happy to yield.

Mr. MCCAIN. Over the last 2 weeks, literally every day I have been standing on the floor with the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Nevada saying we are going out early, we have a lot of amendments to go, and we need to get this done, and everybody wants to get it done by the end of this week, particularly by this evening. Apparently that is going to be very difficult to do.

My suggestion to the Senator from Kentucky and the leadership on both

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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sides is stay in tonight until we get it done or—that is my first choice. My second choice would be tomorrow and then on Saturday. I think we are all aware that the leadership wants to move to the budget debate. I think that is appropriate. We all agreed at the beginning that 2 weeks was sufficient time to address this issue.

One thing I suggest to the Senator from Kentucky and the Senator from Nevada is tabling motions, but clearly first-degree amendments have at least an hour and a half, even if all time is yielded back on the other side.

I hope most Members appreciate that there are a couple or three issues, the main one being severability, but the rest of them either have been addressed in some fashion or are not of compelling impact, even though the authors of the amendments may believe that is the case.

I urge my colleagues to be prepared to stay in very late tonight because we need to finish this legislation.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I say to my friend from Arizona, he will notice I have not filed a cloture motion. I have said that there is only one major amendment left, the nonseverability amendment, which will be offered on a bipartisan basis, and that there are few to no amendments left on this side.

From my point of view, as someone who is certainly unenthusiastic about this bill and will vigorously oppose it, nevertheless I realize it is time to get to final passage sometime today. I say to the Senator from Arizona we will not have a problem getting to final passage because of this side. We cleared things out on our side and are ready to go to final passage. I am happy to finish it up sometime today.

Mr. MCCAIN. I thank the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I don't want to belabor this. I briefly say to the Senator from Arizona, the votes for this reform have been supplied by this side of the aisle. We appreciate its bipartisan nature. We are doing our very best, and we have people who believe in campaign finance reform who have amendments. They believe they strengthen the bill, and we will work with them to try to cut down their time. Some of them have waited, they haven't been off the Hill doing something else, they have been waiting to offer these amendments. We will do everything we can to protect them so they can offer these amendments for what they believe will strengthen this bill.

Mr. MCCAIN. Hopefully, we can collate the number of the amendments, perhaps work out some time agreements on each one, so we can have an idea as to when we can finish.

Mr. REID. We will do our very best.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, one final item: I want to notify the Senate that about 4 o'clock I am planning to address the Senate on the implications

of this bill on our two parties. I know we frequently don't show up to listen to each other's speeches, but I recommend that Senators who are interested in the impact of this bill on the future of the two-party system and on their own reelections might want to pay attention to what I have to say. My current plan is to deliver that speech around 4 o'clock, and I want to notify people on both sides of the aisle and the staffers who may be listening to the proceedings on the Senate floor.

I think this is one speech that maybe Senators on both sides of the aisle ought to listen to. So maybe just to give notice, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to address the Senate for up to 30 minutes, beginning at 4 o'clock.

Mr. REID. I have no objection as long as there is 30 minutes reserved to respond to the Senator from Kentucky by someone from this side of the aisle.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator so modify his request?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I say to my friend from Nevada, I don't think there will be anything to respond to. I am sure it will be a factual presentation of the impact.

Mr. REID. I am sure that will be the case, but we ask for 30 minutes.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I have no objection.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2001

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of the DeWine amendment, No. 152, on which there shall be 15 minutes for closing remarks.

First, the clerk will report the bill.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill, S. 27, to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide bipartisan campaign reform.

Pending:

Specter amendment No. 140, to provide findings regarding the current state of campaign finance laws and to clarify the definition of electioneering communication.

DeWine amendment No. 152, to strike certain provisions relating to noncandidate campaign expenditures, including rules relating to certain targeted electioneering communications.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 152

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield for a minute?

Mr. DEWINE. I yield.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I yield, on behalf of the opponents of this measure, 7½ minutes to the Senator from Maine.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Ohio is recognized for 4 minutes.

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, in a few moments the Senate will have an opportunity to vote on an amendment I have offered along with Senator HATCH, Senator HUTCHINSON from Arkansas, Senator BROWNBACK, and Senator ROBERTS. This amendment is a very simple amendment. It strikes title II from this bill.

This will be the last opportunity that Members of this Senate will have to strike what is blatantly and obviously a unconstitutional provision of this bill. We all take an oath to support and defend the Constitution. I think it is one thing to say we are not sure how a court is going to rule. That is certainly true. We are never totally sure. It is one thing to say a provision of a bill may be held unconstitutional. But I do not know how anyone can look at the amended bill, which is no longer Snowe-Jeffords—it is now Snowe-Jeffords-Wellstone; it is fundamentally different—I don't know how anyone can look at this bill and not know it is blatantly unconstitutional. I think everyone knows when it leaves here it will be held unconstitutional and that is why we will have, later today, a debate about this whole issue of severability. We would not have to have that debate if people did not believe this provision is unconstitutional.

What does it do? What does Snowe-Jeffords-Wellstone do? What will the bill say unless we amend it by striking this provision? It will draw an arbitrary, capricious, and I submit an unconstitutional line in the sand 60 days before an election, and it will say that within 60 days of an election free speech goes out the window. No longer can a corporation, no longer can a labor union, and most important and clearly the most unconstitutional part, no longer will citizen groups that come together to run ads on TV or radio be able to do that if they mention the candidate's name. That is an unbelievable restriction on free speech at a time when it is the most important, when it has the most impact—60 days before the election—and in the most effective way, on TV and radio.

This Congress will be saying in this bill, if we pass it and if we keep this provision in, that we are going to censure that speech, we are going to become the free political speech police corps and we are going to swoop in and say you cannot do that.

Groups that want to run an ad criticizing MIKE DEWINE or criticizing any other candidate will then go into a local TV station to run an ad talking about an issue and mentioning the name or putting up our picture on the screen and will no longer be able to do that. The station manager will have to say: I am sorry, you can't run that ad. People will say: Why not?

The Congress passed a ban on your ability to do that.

That is clearly unconstitutional.

What is the criterion? What have the courts held necessary, before Congress can abridge freedom of speech? There