

seminal element in the development of this city and the Capitol complex. He deserves the commendation this resolution provides.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation to the request of the gentleman from California?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in. A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the legislation just considered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### PROVIDING ADDITIONAL DEBATE TIME ON AMENDMENTS ON WHICH VOTE WAS POSTPONED ON H.R. 2564, LOBBYING DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1995

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that in the further consideration of the bill, H.R. 2564, in the Committee of the Whole, prior to the votes on the four amendments which were considered on November 16 upon which further proceedings were postponed, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER], the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH], and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER], each be recognized for 2½ minutes in support of their amendment, and that I be recognized for 2½ minutes in opposition to each amendment.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

□ 1815

#### LOBBYING DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1995

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 269 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. 2564.

□ 1815

#### 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. 2564) to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes, with Mr. KOLBE in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee of the Whole rose on Thursday, November 16, 1995, the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER] had failed by voice vote and a request for a recorded vote had been postponed.

Pursuant to the order of the House of today, there will be a period of further debate on the following amendments on which further proceedings were postponed on Thursday, November 16, 1995:

No. 1, the amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX].

Second, the amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER].

Third, the amendment by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH].

Fourth, the amendment by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

Further debate on each amendment will be limited to 5 minutes equally divided and controlled by the proponent and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY]. Such further debate shall occur at the point of the debate.

#### AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FOX OF PENNSYLVANIA

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to debate the subject matter of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX].

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] will be recognized for 2½ minutes, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] will be recognized for 2½ minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX].

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

My colleagues, we have a very important mission tonight to look at some important amendments. I regard the first rule of safety in any matter as self-defense, and my amendment provides that security in a bipartisan fashion.

We passed a rule not long ago which requires that we not take gifts from lobbyists. My amendment makes sure lobbyists do not give us gifts so that we are not caught in a catch-22, being guilty of receiving gifts, not knowing about it, not disclosing it, having an ethics violation, when in fact it should not exist.

Now, there have been some erroneous arguments presented by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY], my good friend, and I would like to explain why they are not correct. My amendment will not derail this important legislation, it will strengthen it so that we can finally attain lobby reform in a strong and logical way, and this will make sure we have true gift reform as well.

It is necessary because a ban of lobbyists presenting gifts to Members of Congress will protect Members of Congress from an unintentional failure to reject gifts. It is consistent with the Gift Reform Act that we passed under

House Resolution 250. My amendment will provide reform without risk, and any differences there can be clarified within the conference committee.

It is fair because it makes lobbyists and Members equally responsible, and it makes sure that in fact they will be protected. As representatives of the people, we need to give the kind of reforms not only for lobbyists but for ourselves which the public wants.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. FRANK].

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] for yielding me this time and for his contributions on this important issue.

The issue here is whether or not we are going to have a lobbying bill. We have a history here of legislation getting killed because it gets caught up in House-Senate fights. I have filed a bill today, along with the gentleman from Texas and the gentleman from Connecticut, it is bipartisan, leaders in this fight, that take many of the amendments that will be offered that have a lot of merit and make them into a separate bill. Because if we amend this bill, the certainty is that it goes to the Senate; and the likelihood then is that no bill emerges and it becomes a way to kill it.

Mr. Chairman, the preferable way is to send this first very good step to the President and have him sign it and then for us to deal with this amendment and others in a vehicle that will soon follow.

I would ask the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY], the chairman of the subcommittee, who has done such a good leadership job in this, if he would agree, as he has told me, that we would have such a vehicle.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Florida.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I would say to the gentleman that I am committed to moving forward with other aspects of this reform issue early next year, and I will certainly work with the gentleman from Massachusetts and other Members who are concerned about strengthening this bill at the right time and the right place.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

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

Mr. Chairman, very often we have good bills that come to the floor and the chairman and the ranking members and many others have worked well to come forward with a bill that is a good bill. We have an amendment here which improves the bill, and frankly, my colleagues of the House, this is an amendment to protect Members of the House.

We all know that there are those out there who want to set up and entrap Members of Congress and their staff. This amendment will protect Members of Congress and their staff from entrapment by our political enemies who solely want to file ethics charges for campaign purposes.

Mr. Chairman, I say to my colleagues, I urge a "yes" vote. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX] is right on the mark.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman and my colleagues of the House, I especially understand the importance of the lobby disclosure bill, and all Americans want to see us pass it, but I think also they want to see that we do it right with the gift ban.

When we pass a rule, there is nothing like teeth in a bill like this bill, making it better, making sure that lobbyists do not try to give us gifts: and, frankly, this is what the American people want. We want to make sure we have true reform that is meaningful. This amendment is necessary, it is consistent, it clarifies, it is fair, and it will help make the Canady bill better, not worse.

Mr. Chairman, I ask for passage of this bill and this amendment.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, let me first say that I have the utmost respect for the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX]. He is a valuable Member of the House. However, I believe that the amendment before the House today is a seriously flawed amendment, and Members should pay close attention to its flaws.

The definition of gift contained in the amendment is different from the definition of gift contained in the gift reform rule adopted by the House. Look at the two versions and you will see they are different. This inconsistency will create a mess for Members. It will not protect Members.

For example, under the gift reform rule, Members may accept food or refreshments of a nominal value, other than as part of a meal. However, under the Fox amendment, lobbyists would be banned from providing such food and refreshments of nominal value.

Under the Fox amendment, lobbyists are permitted to make donations of home State products to Members, but under the gift reform rule, Members are prohibited from accepting gifts of home State products.

These and other inconsistencies will only lead to confusion and trouble for Members, not to protection for Members.

Even more troubling, and I ask the Members to pay close attention to this, is the double standard set up by this amendment under which lobbyists who give unlawful gifts will face a civil penalty of up to \$50,000, while Members are

exempt from any civil penalty, no matter how many prohibited gifts they accept. Is that what we want to do in this House today? It is patently unfair.

How can we explain to the American people that we will hammer lobbyists with fines for giving gifts while we are exempt from the same fines if we accept gifts? Any attempt at an explanation to the American people will fall on deaf ears. The double standard should be rejected. This amendment should be rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. CLINGER

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to debate the subject matter of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER].

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER] will be recognized for 2½ minutes, and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] will be recognized for 2½ minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER].

Mr. CLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, the amendment we are considering at this point is an important amendment, and it is a commonsense amendment. I would not be offering this amendment, obviously, if this were a closed rule, and it would not be allowable for me to offer that, but this is an open rule.

Second, if this were not a germane amendment, I would not be offering it. They are asking for waivers, but it is a germane amendment.

The fact is I think all of us know that we have a problem in this area. Too many Federal agencies, both now and in the past, have been using taxpayer dollars to produce propaganda, lobbying material in the form of brochures and folders and flyers, et cetera, which then are disseminated out into the grassroots, out into the field and come back to us in the form of grassroots lobbying. That clearly is an impermissible activity. It is clearly one that should be illegal; and, in fact, it is illegal.

Under a law passed in 1919, it is a criminal offense to do just that, but nobody, nobody, no agency has ever been prosecuted under that criminal offense. What we would propose to do in this amendment is create a civil problem in saying, look, it is a civil offense; you cannot do this.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FLANAGAN].

Mr. FLANAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, with great respect to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER], and there is no greater foe of Astroturf lobbying and abuses of grassroots lobbying on the floor than myself, having spoken on it several times, but I would still urge a no vote on this

amendment and every amendment to this, because the purpose we have today is to try and get a clean bill through to the President.

We can handle it in separate legislation, offered in a bipartisan way. We can amend what will be a law later to include great ideas like this. There are many ways that we can have these sorts of advances in the law without having to do it by clogging up this bill and actually stopping the process cold today. I urge a "no" vote.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT].

(Mr. BRYANT of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

□ 1830

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I urge Members to vote against this.

We have asked all Members to vote against these amendments so we can send a clean bill to the President and be signed.

This amendment would in effect say that the President of the United States and the Cabinet members are the only ones that could communicate on television about any matter of public importance.

What it in effect says is that they would have to answer every single press inquiry and nobody in the agency could legally talk to a radio or television reporter or to the press.

I think it is very, very overbroad, it is probably unconstitutional, and if it is important enough and deserves our action, the bill is now in the committee of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER]. He could bring the bill to the floor standing alone.

Vote against the amendment.

Mr. CLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. TAUZIN], a strong supporter of this amendment.

Mr. TAUZIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the amendment. This is the right bill for this amendment.

This bill is about inappropriate lobbying. If there is a form of inappropriate lobbying that is most pernicious, it is the use of taxpayer dollars, which are supposed to be spent to carry out Government programs, instead using those taxpayer dollars to lobby this Congress and to work in collusion with outside groups to lobby this Congress. That is an act that ought to be prohibited in the civil statutes just as it is in the criminal statutes.

By the way, this practice is not a Democrat or Republican one. It has been going on for years. We need to make it illegal.

Mr. CLINGER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time just to underscore a couple of points the gentleman from Louisiana made.

No. 1, this has been accused of being a partisan effort. It is not. Clearly this activity has gone on in many administrations. I can cite examples from the Reagan administration.

It is an amendment that will continue to be alive and well in the next administration, which those of us hope will be a Republican administration.

Second, we cannot worry always about what the other body is going to do. If we were going to circumscribe our activity by what the other body was going to do, we would never do anything over on this side. I think that is somewhat of a spurious argument.

This amendment is strongly supported by NFIB, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Taxpayers Union, Citizens Against Government Waste, and the House leadership, I might point out.

I would suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it is a good amendment, an amendment that clearly fits within this bill. It has to do with lobby reform, it has to do with inappropriate lobbying. Nothing could be more inappropriate in the way of lobbying than to have an administrative/executive branch agency producing documents which then are used in the field for grassroots lobbying. Let us put a stop to it. Let us vote for this amendment.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Although offered with the very best of intentions to address a real problem, I believe that the Clinger amendment is the wrong approach at the wrong time.

I am afraid to say that it is a poorly drafted proposal which will have an exceptionally broad impact. For example, under the Clinger amendment, agency press officers would not be allowed to answer inquiries from the press regarding the agency's position on legislative proposals. Do we really want to do that?

Agency press secretaries would not be allowed to issue press releases regarding pending information. Do we really want to do that?

Agency legislative liaison personnel would be prohibited from making public statements regarding the merits of legislative proposals. Do we really want to do that?

No hearings have been conducted on this proposal even though the issue is within the jurisdiction of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, the committee that he chairs.

This proposal involves a conflict between the legislative branch and the executive branch and is calculated to provoke a Presidential veto. Although there have been lobbying abuses by Federal agencies, we all understand that, it has been a bipartisan matter, the Clinger amendment simply goes too far. The proposal of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER] should be considered and refined by the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight which the gentleman from Pennsylvania chairs. It should not be allowed to threaten this Lobbying Disclosure Reform Act. We have waited too long.

I urge Members to vote against this amendment so that we can end 40 years

of gridlock and send a lobbying disclosure reform bill to the President for his signature.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ENGLISH OF PENNSYLVANIA

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to debate the subject matter of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH].

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH] and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] each will be recognized for 2½ minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH].

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1¼ minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the English-Traficant amendment and ask that the House do the right thing and slam the revolving door for all U.S. trade officials who then try to go to work for foreign interests.

The underlying bill here, which I strongly support, includes a life ban on people leaving the position of U.S. trade representative or deputy trade representative and going to work for foreign interests. It also applies a ban on individuals being hired for those positions who have previously worked for foreign interests.

I believe that it is very important that we extend this restriction to the Secretary of Commerce and to the members of the International Trade Commission. This is a clear conflict of interest. I think this is a fundamental reform necessary to protect American companies and American workers and preserve the integrity of U.S. trade law enforcement.

Mr. Chairman, we cannot allow these people to serve on one side of the table negotiating on our behalf, learn our secrets, learn our strategies, learn the inside, and then move over to the other side.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOGGETT].

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Chairman, this legislation presents us with a rare opportunity in this Congress to work together as people of good will, Democrats and Republicans, in a bipartisan effort to provide reform that people really want. We know that this is a statute that has not been significantly rewritten since 1946 when it was enacted. There has been one failed effort after another.

Now is not the time to let the perfect become the enemy of the good. This particular amendment is not a bad idea. In fact, I would support it as a freestanding piece of legislation, and there are numerous opportunities to put this kind of legislation on other legislation. But to put it on this particular bill at this time is to cripple and to defeat this bill.

There is only one way to get this legislation passed and to avoid the never-never land of a perfect bill, and that is to defeat this and every other amend-

ment and to put this bill on the President's desk now and get it in place and signed into law by January. That is what we need to do tonight.

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Youngstown, OH [Mr. TRAFICANT], one of the most distinguished trade warriors in this Chamber.

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Chairman, I have heard the discussion that now is not the time, we can add this to some other piece of legislation. There is no other legislation. We will not see it.

Let me make this point. If a Government official left the Department of Defense to go to work for our enemies during war, they would in fact be jailed and charged with espionage and treason. But today high-ranking officials, once they leave our service, work on behalf of foreign interests.

Now the bill recognizes that. With a lifetime ban, U.S. Trade Representative and other deputy representatives. What about the Secretary of Commerce? What about the members of the International Trade Commission, folks?

I think this amendment speaks right to the point. There have been people wheeling and dealing in high places and when they leave, they go right to work for our competitors.

This is the bill, this is germane, this is the time to pass it. Support this amendment. It makes sense.

Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is essential for American workers and American companies that every Member of this Chamber who supports fair trade, who supports protecting our economic interests, who opposes economic quibblings supports this amendment. It is essential. Ladies and gentlemen, let us get this one done.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BRYANT].

(Mr. BRYANT of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRYANT of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I urge Members to vote "no" on an amendment that I would on any other day in any other situation support.

I strongly support the English of Pennsylvania and the Fox of Pennsylvania amendments to the lobby reform bill. I strongly agree with the purposes of these amendments. I have supported the concepts contained in them for years and I continue to do so.

But I deeply regret I am compelled to urge Members to vote against them—just as we have urged Members to oppose all amendments to the bill—so we can send the bill on to the President to be signed into law.

We know any amendment to this bill—even those as meritorious as these two—will doom the bill to conference with the Senate, where it will surely die as all other attempts to reform lobbying for over 40 years have died.

Make no mistake about it, if we have to go to conference again on this bill, we will be stuck there—just as we were stuck at the adjournment of the last Congress when the original bill died. This bill is too important to meet the same fate in this Congress.

The chairman of the Constitution Subcommittee, Mr. CANADY, and its ranking member, Mr. FRANK, have promised to move a separate lobby reform bill through the Judiciary Committee early next year. I will cosponsor that bill and will do everything I can to ensure it becomes law with these two amendments in it.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington [Mrs. SMITH].

Mrs. SMITH of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I think what we see before us today is what some of us call loving a bill to death.

In the State legislature, we used to call it Christmas treeing. You get enough on the Christmas tree that it crumbles by its own weight. Loving it to death just means that you keep doing good things to the bill until it dies.

Today we could be loving this bill to death if we pass any of these very good amendments. What we have got is some amendments that are good but at the wrong time. If we pass amendments on this bill, the chances of the underlying bill not becoming law go up substantially.

I believe inside, and from what I am hearing from the Senate and the President, there is a good chance that we will kill this legislation by hanging one amendment on it.

Since I have gotten here, I have found that a lot of people say a lot of good things about reform but then they find a lot of good ways to kill it. Do not kill this bill. Vote "no" on all the amendments.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I rise in opposition to this amendment, although I am very sympathetic to the goal of this amendment and I believe that the amendment has substantial merit. This proposal and others relating to representation of foreign interests will be considered by the Subcommittee on the Constitution early next year.

I do not believe, however, that it should be allowed to interfere with the passage of this bill and sending this bill to the President for his signature. We have waited 40 years and we should not allow this good proposal to get in the way of our goal of enacting lobbying disclosure reform.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WELLER

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to debate the subject matter of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER] and the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] will each be recognized for 2½ minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

□ 1845

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, this is basically a pretty simple issue on this amendment, and that is: Do taxpayers have the right to know?

Earlier this year there was a poll that was taken, and the national news media was actually held in lower esteem by the taxpayers than the Congress. I believe that the public deserves the right to know.

This amendment gives the public the opportunity to know that journalists are being paid speaking fees and honoraria by special interests. The Senate has already made clear its intentions by urging members of the media to disclose it.

Well, this amendment places the burden on the lobbyists when they disclose their paperwork every year. All they have to do is say what honoraria they pay to which journalists and when they pay it. It still allows journalists to collect the fees. It still allows journalists the right to go out and speak. It just gives the public the right to know.

I ask for a "yes" vote.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Oregon [Mr. DEFAZIO].

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Chairman, I was to offer an amendment tonight that would require disclosure of paid lobbyists' contacts with Members. I thought it would be extraordinarily valuable to the public and the lobbyist community. But in the interests of getting this bill passed and getting some improvement in this situation here in Washington, I will withhold that amendment tonight and would urge everybody to oppose all amendments because it is a ruse to kill the bill.

We have got to get this bill, begin reform, and then we can come back with more significant reforms later in a second piece of legislation that we will bring up after the first of the year.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington [Mr. TATE].

Mr. TATE. Mr. Chairman, I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois for his leadership in regards to reform issues.

This Congress has truly been cleaning house about rebuilding faith in our institutions. We have already done many of these reforms. There is more to be done.

There are some in the media, as was stated, that do receive honoraria for their speaking engagements. They then get the opportunity to report in regard to these industries on television.

The public has the right to know who these industries are. This amendment does not prohibit, does not limit. It simply requires the disclosure by the lobbyists who provide this honoraria.

The taxpayers have a right to know. We owe it to them.

Mr. CANADY. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS].

Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, if Members want to kill lobby disclosure, just amend it. Find the best amendment and just amend it, and you have killed lobby disclosure.

The last meaningful bill we had was in 1946. Then the Senate gutted lobby disclosure. We have 660,000 to 780,000 people who lobby. Only 6,000 are registered lobbyists.

I urge my Members to wake up and see what is happening here. This is, in the end, an attempt to kill lobby disclosure.

Defeat all amendments. Send this to the President. Get this signed into law, and then bring out these bills after they have had public hearings.

Mr. WELLER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chairman, I stand in strong support of the bill the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] has brought forward. He is my friend. He has worked hard on this. I understand his intent.

Let us make a good bill better. I believe the process works. We need to add good amendments.

I also believe the American public has the right to know when those who are providing information and determining what information is shared with the American public on issues that are so important to American taxpayers that those who are the gatekeeper on information are receiving speaking fees or honoraria.

Let us give the public the right to know. What this amendment does is require a registered lobbyist to disclose speaking fees and honoraria that they pay to journalists, when it was paid, how it was paid and how much, and let the public know. Otherwise, journalists can continue receiving these fees.

It does not prevent them from being on the speaking circuit. It just gives the public the right to know journalists are receiving speaking fees up to \$60,000.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Chairman, I urge a vote against the Weller amendment on the grounds it raises serious first amendment concerns.

I believe that targeting the media in the way that this amendment does is not something we should do, and would urge Members to vote against it on that basis.

But I would also urge Members, focus on what is at stake here. Tonight the House has a historic opportunity to end 40 years of gridlock, 40 years of inaction and stalemate and 40 years of failure. The bill we are considering is identical to the bill which passed the Senate 98 to zero. The President has said he will sign it.

It is time we got the job done. The American people want lobbying reform. We should listen to them. We should listen to them. We should not let this opportunity pass us by.

Let us send a bill to the President, no more delay, no more promises, no more excuses. Let us give the American people lobbying reform tonight.

I urge that the Members vote against all the amendments and support this bill.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. Speaker, lobbying reform needs to be enacted now. If there is any delay, it may be another 40 years before anything gets done.

The United We Stand organization has written all of us that amendments on this bill should be opposed so that lobbying reform does not get caught up again in legislative gridlock. My colleagues SMITH, BRYANT, CANADY, FRANK, and others have argued passionately and convincingly that amendments would only mean that once again the enemies of lobbying reform would prevail. This is why I chose to oppose any amendments to this legislation.

I do want to emphasize, however, that under any other circumstances, I would support the Fox amendment to prohibit lobbyists from giving gifts to Members of Congress. Already, as of January 1, 1996, Members will be prohibited from accepting gifts, and we ought to make this a two-way street.

Additionally, I would strongly support Representative ENGLISH's amendment which would impose a lifetime ban on the Secretary of Commerce and the Commissioner of the International Trade Commission from lobbying for a foreign interest.

Representative CANADY has promised that these amendments will be brought up in a second piece of legislation. I intend to be a part of the effort to move these amendments and will work for their passage.

While I think there are many ways to further improve lobbying reform legislation, it is time to end the gridlock on lobbying reform. The time is now. The place is here. At long last, let's send a lobbying reform bill to the President.

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, I support the amendment offered by Representative BILL CLINGER to put an end to the lobbying activities of executive branch employees.

Too much of the information the executive branch distributes is designed not to educate or inform but to generate public opposition or support for matters before Congress. Currently, there is a law on the books to prohibit such political lobbying activity. However, the statute is so vague, no one has ever been held accountable.

The Clinger amendment clarifies the existing law to make sure that Federal employees are administering Federal programs and assisting the American people rather than spending their time involved in partisan politics. Executive branch officials such as the President, Vice President, and officials approved by the Senate are exempted, but other public servants involved in the day-to-day operations of this Nation would be prohibited from playing politics with taxpayer money.

I have witnessed first-hand this irresponsible and inappropriate behavior by Ohio employees of the Department of Agriculture [USDA]. Ohio State directors of USDA programs issued a press release making outrageous claims mimicking the shrill, partisan attacks we have heard from full time politicians in Washington.

The antics of these employees, at taxpayer expense, degrade the term "public servants." These politically appointed bureaucrats with the USDA should have been spending their time and our tax dollars helping Ohio's farmers instead of attacking for partisan gain efforts to balance the budget. No administration, Democrat or Republican, should be allowed to use publicly paid employees to further blatantly partisan and political agendas.

I urge my colleagues to support the Clinger amendment.

Mrs. COLLINS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, my Republican colleagues are a little thin-skinned. They do not like criticism. Faced with it, their instinctive reaction is to try and silence it.

That is what the Istook amendment was all about—silencing the criticism of the Red Cross, the Girl Scouts, the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and countless other nonprofit groups that oppose Republican cuts in education, nutritional programs, and health care.

They especially wanted to silence the National Council of Senior Citizens that had the nerve to oppose Speaker GINGRICH's cuts in Medicare and Medicaid. Republicans even went as far as to have senior citizens arrested when they tried to make their views known at a committee meeting.

The amendment of my colleague from Pennsylvania is also aimed at silencing opposition—this time it's the opposition of Federal agencies.

Isn't it interesting that the Republicans, who are so fond of reminding us that the Government belongs to the people, propose in this amendment to prohibit, I repeat prohibit, Federal agencies from talking to anyone except Congress? I ask my Republican colleagues, why do you want to prevent the people's Government from speaking to the people?

This amendment strictly prohibits, and I quote, "the preparation, publication, distribution, or use of any kit, pamphlet, booklet, public presentation, news release, radio, television, or film presentation, video, or other written or oral statement, that is intended to promote public support or opposition to any legislative proposal \* \* \* on which congressional action is not complete.", end of quote.

Mr. Chairman, we had a President, not so long ago, who prided himself on being a great communicator. President Reagan took his case directly to the people. He had his whole administration out convincing the people of the correctness of his policies.

He went around Congress in order to build public support for his legislative agenda, and without that public support he would never have gotten Congress to do what he wanted.

I sincerely doubt President Reagan, the great communicator, would have wanted his administration restricted to communicating with Congress. While I was not a fan of many of President Reagan's policies, I firmly believe that he, and every President, not only has the right, but the duty to make his case directly to the people.

Mr. Chairman, let's get one other thing clear, too. The amendment we are now considering seeks to remedy a nonexistent problem.

Federal law already prohibits agencies from using appropriated funds to engage in lobbying.

If the proponents of this amendment believe agencies have engaged in grassroots lobbying, then they can take action under existing laws that already prohibit this activity.

So, why are new restrictions needed?

Mr. Chairman, the answer is: they are not.

I urge my colleagues to vote no on this amendment. True democracy can only exist where trust, not deceit, binds the people to their government and the government to its people.

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Chairman, I rise to explain a series of votes on lobby reform under consideration today. Amendments, several of which meet thorough-going commonsense

standards, have been introduced which I expect to vote against because they will precipitate the bill going to conference where those leading the reform movement are convinced I will be buried.

National organizations from Common Cause to Ralph Nader's advocacy groups, as well as major newspapers such as the New York Times, Washington Post, and Des Moines Register have expressed concern that unless this lobby disclosure bill is passed without amendment exactly as the Senate has already approved it, lobby disclosure will wither in this Congress.

Hence, it is my intention to vote against amendments to this bill with the understanding that I would expect to support the precepts underlying them in discreet, separate bills which can be brought to the floor at another time.

As for now, if we pass this bill unamended, it can go to the President's desk for signature this week. If we amend it with any of the well-intentioned amendments before us, a strong possibility exists that the underlying bill will never become law. Let us thus pass the bill as is and then bring forth the approaches contained in the amendment in another context at another time.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 and in opposition to the amendments that will be offered for consideration today.

Mr. Speaker, the bill before us today is identical to the legislation passed by the Senate by unanimous vote. If we approve this legislation without amendment, the bill will be sent to the President and signed into law. If, on the other hand, the House adopts even a single amendment, the bill must be sent to conference, where history has taught us that the enemies of lobbying reform will delay, obstruct and effectively kill this breakthrough legislation.

Therefore, I will vote against the amendments offered today not because the bill is perfect or because all of the amendments are without merit, but because Congress can no longer afford to delay meaningful lobbying reform.

I appreciate the commitment of Chairman CANADY and Mr. FRANK to strongly advocate for the expeditious consideration these amendments in separate legislation. In this way, Congress will have the opportunity to evaluate the merit of these amendments without endangering the enactment of lobbying reform.

I congratulate the chairman and ranking minority member for their work on this legislation and strongly urge its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. All time for further debate on these amendments has expired.

Pursuant to the order of the House of Tuesday, November 16, 1995, proceedings will now resume on those amendments on which further proceedings were postponed in the following order: The amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER], the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH], and the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER].

The Chair would advise Members that he will reduce to a minimum of 5

minutes the time for any electronic vote after the second vote in this series. The first and second votes will be 15-minute votes. The last two will be 5-minute votes.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FOX OF PENNSYLVANIA

The CHAIRMAN. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX], on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania: Page 23, insert after line 2 the following:

(D) PROHIBITION ON GIFTS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—No lobbyist who is registered under section 4 may provide any gift to a Member of the House of Representatives, a Senator, or an officer or employee of the House of Representatives or the Senate unless the lobbyist is related to the Member, Senator, or officer or employee.

(2) DEFINITION.—For the purpose of paragraph (1), the term "gift" means any gratuity, favor, discount, entertainment, hospitality, loan, forbearance, or other item having monetary value. The term includes gifts of services, training, transportation, lodging, and meals, whether provided in kind, by purchase of a ticket, payment in advance, or reimbursement after the expense has been incurred.

(3) EXCEPTION.—The restriction in paragraph (1) shall not apply to the following:

(A) Anything for which the Member, Senator, officer, or employee pays the market value, or does not use and promptly returns to the donor.

(B) A contribution, as defined in section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) that is lawfully made under that Act, a contribution for election to a State or local government office limited as prescribed by section 301(8)(B) of such Act, or attendance at a fundraising event sponsored by a political organization described in section 527(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

(B) A gift from a relative as described in section 109(5) of title I of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-521).

(C)(i) Anything provided by an individual on the basis of a personal friendship unless the Member, Senator, officer, or employee has reason to believe that, under the circumstances, the gift was provided because of the official position of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee and not because of the personal friendship.

(ii) In determining whether a gift is provided on the basis of personal friendship, the Member, Senator, officer, or employee shall consider the circumstances under which the gift was offered, such as:

(I) The history of the relationship between the individual giving the gift and the recipient of the gift, including any previous exchange of gifts between such individuals.

(II) Whether to the actual knowledge of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee the individual who gave the gift personally paid for the gift or sought a tax deduction or business reimbursement for the gift.

(III) Whether to the actual knowledge of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee the individual who gave the gift also at the same time gave the same or similar gifts to other Members, officers, or employees.

(D) A contribution or other payment to a legal expense fund established for the benefit of a Member, Senator, officer, or employee that is otherwise lawfully made in accordance with the restrictions and disclosure requirements of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

(E) Any gift from another Member, Senator, officer, or employee of the Senate or the House of Representatives.

(F) Food, refreshments, lodging, and other benefits—

(i) resulting from the outside business or employment activities (or other outside activities that are not concerned to the duties of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee as an officeholder) of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee, or the spouse of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee, if such benefits have not been offered or enhanced because of the official position of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee and are customarily provided to others in similar circumstances;

(ii) customarily provided by a prospective employer in connection with bona fide employment discussions; or

(iii) provided by a political organization described in section 527(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 in connection with a fundraising or campaign event sponsored by such an organization.

(G) Pension and other benefits resulting from continued participation in an employee welfare and benefits plan maintained by a former employee.

(H) Informational materials that are sent to the office of the Member, Senator, officer, or employee in the form of books, articles, periodicals, other written materials, audiotapes, videotapes, or other forms of communication.

(I) Awards or prizes which are given to competitors in contests or events open to the public, including random drawings.

(J) Honorary degrees (and associated travel, food, refreshments, and entertainment) and other bona fide, nonmonetary awards presented in recognition of public service (and associated food, refreshments, and entertainment provided in the presentation of such degrees and awards).

(K) Donations of products from the State that the Member represents that are intended primarily for promotional purposes, such as display or free distribution, and are of minimal value to any individual recipient.

(L) Training (including food and refreshments furnished to all attendees as an integral part of the training) provided to a Member, Senator, officer, or employee, if such training is in the interest of the Senate or House of Representatives.

(M) Bequests, inheritances, and other transfers at death.

(N) Any item, the receipt of which is authorized by the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act, or any other statute.

(O) Anything which is paid for by the Federal Government, by a State or local government, or secured by the Government under a Government contract.

(P) A gift of personal hospitality (as defined in section 109(14) of the Ethics in Government Act) of an individual other than a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.

(Q) Free attendance at a widely attended convention, conference, symposium, forum, panel discussion, dinner, viewing, reception, or similar event provided by the sponsor of the event.

(R) Opportunities and benefits which are—  
(i) available to the public or to a class consisting of all Federal employees, whether or not restricted on the basis of geographic consideration;

(ii) offered to members of a group or class in which membership is unrelated to congressional employment;

(iii) offered to members of an organization, such as an employees' association or congressional credit union, in which membership is related to congressional employment and similar opportunities are available to large segments of the public through organizations of similar size;

(iv) offered to any group or class that is not defined in a manner that specifically discriminates among Government employees on the basis of branch of Government or type of responsibility, or on a basis that favors those of higher rank or rate of pay;

(v) in the form of loans from banks and other financial institutions on terms generally available to the public; or

(vi) in the form of reduced membership or other fees for participation in organization activities offered to all Government employees by professional organizations if the only restrictions on membership relate to professional qualifications.

(S) A plaque, trophy, or other item that is substantially commemorative in nature and which is intended solely for presentation.

(T) Anything for which, in an unusual case, a waiver is granted by the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct.

RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 171, noes 257, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No 824]

AYES—171

Abercrombie	Evans	McIntosh
Allard	Fields (LA)	McKeon
Andrews	Fields (TX)	McNulty
Archer	Filner	Metcalf
Armey	Forbes	Mica
Bachus	Fox	Miller (CA)
Baesler	Frisa	Molinari
Baker (CA)	Funderburk	Moorhead
Baldacci	Gallegly	Myers
Ballenger	Gekas	Myrick
Barr	Gillmor	Nethercutt
Bartlett	Goodling	Neumann
Barton	Gordon	Ney
Bishop	Green	Norwood
Bliley	Gutierrez	Oxley
Boehner	Gutknecht	Parker
Bono	Hall (TX)	Pastor
Boucher	Hastert	Paxon
Brewster	Hastings (WA)	Peterson (MN)
Bryant (TN)	Hayworth	Porter
Bunn	Hefley	Poshard
Bunning	Heineman	Pryce
Burr	Herger	Quillen
Burton	Hilleary	Radanovich
Buyer	Holden	Rahall
Camp	Horn	Ramstad
Chabot	Hostettler	Reed
Chambliss	Istook	Regula
Christensen	Jefferson	Riggs
Clinger	Johnson (CT)	Rogers
Coburn	Johnson (SD)	Rohrabacher
Collins (GA)	Johnson, Sam	Roth
Combest	Jones	Royce
Cooley	Kanjorski	Salmon
Costello	Kasich	Saxton
Crane	Kelly	Scarborough
Creameans	Kim	Schaefer
Cubin	Kingston	Schumer
Danner	Klink	Seastrand
de la Garza	LaHood	Shadegg
DeFazio	Largent	Skelton
Dickey	LaTourette	Smith (MI)
Dornan	Lewis (CA)	Solomon
Doyle	Lipinski	Souder
Duncan	LoBiondo	Stearns
Dunn	Lucas	Stenholm
Durbin	Manton	Stockman
Edwards	Manzullo	Stupak
Ehlers	Mascara	Talent
Ehrlich	McDade	Tanner
English	McInnis	Tate

Tauzin	Traficant	Weller
Taylor (MS)	Walker	White
Taylor (NC)	Wamp	Whitfield
Thornberry	Watts (OK)	Wicker
Thurman	Weldon (FL)	Williams
Tiahrt	Weldon (PA)	Young (AK)

## NOES—257

Ackerman	Gephardt	Nadler
Baker (LA)	Geren	Neal
Barcia	Gibbons	Nussle
Barrett (NE)	Gilchrest	Oberstar
Barrett (WI)	Gilman	Obey
Bass	Gonzalez	Olver
Bateman	Goodlatte	Ortiz
Becerra	Goss	Orton
Beilenson	Graham	Owens
Bentsen	Greenwood	Packard
Bereuter	Gunderson	Pallone
Berman	Hall (OH)	Payne (NJ)
Bevill	Hamilton	Payne (VA)
Bilbray	Hancock	Pelosi
Bilirakis	Hansen	Peterson (FL)
Blute	Harman	Petri
Boehlert	Hastings (FL)	Pickett
Bonilla	Hayes	Pombo
Bonior	Hilliard	Pomeroy
Borski	Hinchey	Portman
Browder	Hobson	Quinn
Brown (CA)	Hoekstra	Rangel
Brown (FL)	Hoke	Richardson
Brown (OH)	Houghton	Rivers
Brownback	Hoyer	Roberts
Bryant (TX)	Hunter	Roemer
Callahan	Hutchinson	Ros-Lehtinen
Calvert	Hyde	Rose
Canady	Inglis	Roukema
Cardin	Jackson-Lee	Roybal-Allard
Castle	Jacobs	Rush
Chapman	Johnson, E. B.	Sabo
Chenoweth	Johnston	Sanders
Chrysler	Kaptur	Sanford
Clay	Kennedy (MA)	Sawyer
Clayton	Kennedy (RI)	Schiff
Clement	Kennelly	Schroeder
Clyburn	Kildee	Scott
Coble	King	Sensenbrenner
Coleman	Klecicka	Serrano
Collins (IL)	Klug	Shaw
Collins (MI)	Knollenberg	Shays
Condit	Kolbe	Shuster
Conyers	LaFalce	Sisisky
Cox	Lantos	Skaggs
Coyne	Latham	Skeen
Cramer	Laughlin	Slaughter
Crapo	Lazio	Smith (NJ)
Cunningham	Leach	Smith (TX)
Davis	Levin	Smith (WA)
Deal	Lewis (GA)	Spence
DeLauro	Lewis (KY)	Spratt
DeLay	Lightfoot	Stark
Dellums	Lincoln	Stokes
Deutsch	Linder	Studds
Diaz-Balart	Livingston	Stump
Dicks	Lofgren	Tejeda
Dingell	Longley	Thomas
Dixon	Lowey	Thompson
Doggett	Luther	Thornton
Dooley	Maloney	Torkildsen
Doolittle	Markey	Torres
Dreier	Martinez	Torricelli
Emerson	Martini	Towns
Engel	Matsui	Upton
Ensign	McCarthy	Velazquez
Eshoo	McCollum	Vento
Everett	McCrery	Visclosky
Ewing	McDermott	Vucanovich
Farr	McHale	Waldholtz
Fattah	McHugh	Walsh
Fawell	McKinney	Ward
Fazio	Meehan	Waters
Flake	Meek	Watt (NC)
Flanagan	Menendez	Waxman
Foglietta	Meyers	Wilson
Foley	Mfume	Wise
Ford	Miller (FL)	Wolf
Frank (MA)	Minge	Woolsey
Franks (CT)	Mink	Wyden
Franks (NJ)	Moakley	Wynn
Frelinghuysen	Mollohan	Yates
Frost	Montgomery	Young (FL)
Furse	Moran	Zeliff
Ganske	Morella	Zimmer
Gejdenson	Murtha	

## NOT VOTING—4

Fowler	Tucker
Hefner	Volkmer

□ 1909

Messrs. BARCIA, LATHAM, and LAZIO of New York changed their vote from "aye" to "no."

Messrs. PORTER, CHAMBLISS, SCHUMER, WILLIAMS, MILLER of California, and DEFAZIO changed their vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. CLINGER

The CHAIRMAN. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER] on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the ayes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CLINGER: Beginning on page 25, redesignate sections 8 through 24 as sections 9 through 25, respectively, strike "this Act" each place it occurs and insert "this Act (other than section 8)", and insert after line 2 the following:

**SEC. 8. PROHIBITION ON USE OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR LOBBYING.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter III of chapter 13 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

**"§1354. Prohibition on lobbying by Federal agencies**

"(a) PROHIBITION.—Except as provided in subsection (b), until or unless such activity has been specifically authorized by an Act of Congress and notwithstanding any other provision of law, no funds made available to any Federal agency, by appropriation, shall be used by such agency for any activity (including the preparation, publication, distribution, or use of any kit, pamphlet, booklet, public presentation, news release, radio, television, or film presentation, video, or other written or oral statement) that is intended to promote public support or opposition to any legislative proposal (including the confirmation of the nomination of a public official or the ratification of a treaty) on which congressional action is not complete.

"(b) CONSTRUCTION.—

"(1) COMMUNICATIONS.—Subsection (a) shall not be construed to prevent officers or employees of Federal agencies from communicating directly to Members of Congress, through the proper official channels, their requests for legislation or appropriations that they deem necessary for the efficient conduct of the public business or from responding to requests for information made by Members of Congress.

"(2) OFFICIALS.—Subsection (a) shall not be construed to prevent the President, Vice President, any Federal agency official whose appointment is confirmed by the Senate, any official in the Executive Office of the President directly appointed by the President or Vice President, or the head of any Federal agency described in paragraph (2) or (3) of subsection (d), from communicating with the American public, through radio, television, or other public communication media, on the views of the President for or against any pending legislative proposal. The preceding sentence shall not permit any such official to delegate to another person the authority to make communications subject to the exemption provided by such sentence.

"(c) COMPTROLLER GENERAL.—

"(1) ASSISTANCE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL.—In exercising the authority provided in section 712, as applied to this section, the Comptroller General may obtain, without reimbursement from the Comptroller General, the assistance of the Inspector General within whose Federal agency activity prohibited by subsection (a) of this section is under review.

"(2) EVALUATION.—One year after the date of the enactment of this section, the Comptroller General shall report to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Senate on the implementation of this section.

"(3) ANNUAL REPORT.—The Comptroller General shall, in the annual report under section 719(a), include summaries of investigations undertaken by the Comptroller General with respect to subsection (a).

"(d) DEFINITION.—For purpose of this section the term 'Federal agency' means—

"(1) any executive agency, within the meaning of section 105 of title 5; and

"(2) any private corporation created by a law of the United States for which the Congress appropriates funds."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 13 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 1353 the following new item:

"1354. Prohibition on lobbying by Federal agencies."

"(c) APPLICABILITY.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to the use of funds after the date of the enactment of this Act, including funds appropriated or received on or before such date.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 190, noes 238, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No. 825]

## AYES—190

Allard	Cunningham	Hobson
Archer	de la Garza	Horn
Armey	DeLay	Hostettler
Bachus	Dickey	Houghton
Baker (CA)	Doolittle	Hunter
Ballenger	Dornan	Istook
Barr	Dreier	Jacobs
Barrett (NE)	Duncan	Johnson (CT)
Bartlett	Dunn	Johnson, Sam
Barton	Ehlers	Jones
Bass	Ehrlich	Kasich
Bereuter	Emerson	Kelly
Bliley	English	Kim
Boehner	Ensign	Kingston
Bonilla	Everett	Klug
Bono	Ewing	Knollenberg
Brewster	Fields (TX)	Largent
Bryant (TN)	Forbes	Latham
Bunn	Fox	LaTourette
Bunning	Franks (CT)	Laughlin
Burr	Frisa	Lazio
Burton	Funderburk	Lewis (CA)
Buyer	Gallely	Lewis (KY)
Callahan	Gekas	Lightfoot
Camp	Gillmor	Linder
Chabot	Gilman	Livingston
Chambliss	Goodling	LoBiondo
Chenoweth	Gordon	Longley
Christensen	Green	Lucas
Chrysler	Greenwood	Manzullo
Clinger	Gutknecht	McCrery
Coble	Hall (TX)	McDade
Coburn	Hancock	McHugh
Collins (GA)	Hansen	McInnis
Combest	Hastert	McIntosh
Condit	Hastings (WA)	McKeon
Cooley	Hayes	McNulty
Cox	Hayworth	Metcalfe
Crane	Hefley	Mica
Crapo	Heineman	Molinar
Cremeans	Herger	Moorhead
Cubin	Hilleary	Myers



Myrick  
Nethercutt  
Neumann  
Ney  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Oxley  
Packard  
Parker  
Paxon  
Peterson (MN)  
Pombo  
Porter  
Portman  
Pryce  
Quillen  
Radanovich  
Ramstad  
Regula  
Riggs  
Roberts  
Rogers

Rohrabacher  
Roth  
Royce  
Salmon  
Scarborough  
Schaefer  
Seastrand  
Shadegg  
Shuster  
Skeen  
Smith (MI)  
Solomon  
Souder  
Spence  
Stearns  
Stenholm  
Stockman  
Stump  
Talent  
Tanner  
Tate  
Tauzin

## NOES—238

Abercrombie  
Ackerman  
Andrews  
Baesler  
Baker (LA)  
Baldacci  
Barcia  
Barrett (WI)  
Bateman  
Becerra  
Beilenson  
Bentsen  
Berman  
Bevill  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Bishop  
Blute  
Boehlert  
Bonior  
Borski  
Boucher  
Browder  
Brown (CA)  
Brown (FL)  
Brown (OH)  
Brownback  
Bryant (TX)  
Calvert  
Canady  
Cardin  
Castle  
Chapman  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coleman  
Collins (IL)  
Collins (MI)  
Conyers  
Costello  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Danner  
Davis  
Deal  
DeFazio  
DeLauro  
Dellums  
Deutsch  
Diaz-Balart  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Doyle  
Durbin  
Edwards  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Evans  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fawell  
Fazio  
Fields (LA)  
Filner  
Flake  
Flanagan  
Foglietta  
Foley  
Ford  
Frank (MA)

Franks (NJ)  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Furse  
Ganske  
Gejdenson  
Gephardt  
Geren  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gonzalez  
Goodlatte  
Goss  
Graham  
Gunderson  
Gutierrez  
Hall (OH)  
Hamilton  
Harman  
Hastings (FL)  
Hilliard  
Hinchey  
Hoekstra  
Hoke  
Holden  
Hoyer  
Hutchinson  
Hyde  
Inglis  
Jackson-Lee  
Jefferson  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson, E.B.  
Johnston  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
King  
Klecicka  
Klink  
Kolbe  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lantos  
Leach  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Lincoln  
Lipinski  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Maloney  
Manton  
Markey  
Martinez  
Martini  
Mascara  
Matsui  
McCarthy  
McCollum  
McDermott  
McHale  
McKinney  
Meehan  
Meek  
Menendez  
Meyers  
Mfume  
Miller (CA)  
Miller (FL)  
Minge

Mink  
Moakley  
Mollohan  
Montgomery  
Moran  
Morella  
Murtha  
Nadler  
Neal  
Oberstar  
Obey  
Olver  
Ortiz  
Orton  
Owens  
Pallone  
Pastor  
Payne (NJ)  
Payne (VA)  
Pelosi  
Peterson (FL)  
Petri  
Pickett  
Pomeroy  
Poshard  
Quinn  
Rahall  
Rangel  
Reed  
Richardson  
Rivers  
Roemer  
Ros-Lehtinen  
Rose  
Roukema  
Roybal-Allard  
Rush  
Sabo  
Sanders  
Sanford  
Sawyer  
Saxton  
Schiff  
Schroeder  
Schumer  
Scott  
Sensenbrenner  
Serrano  
Shaw  
Shays  
Sisisky  
Skaggs  
Skelton  
Slaughter  
Smith (NJ)  
Smith (TX)  
Smith (WA)  
Spratt  
Stark  
Stokes  
Studds  
Stupak  
Tejeda  
Thompson  
Thornton  
Thurman  
Torkildsen  
Torres  
Torricelli  
Towns  
Velazquez  
Vento  
Visclosky  
Walsh  
Ward

Taylor (MS)  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas  
Thornberry  
Tiahrt  
Traficant  
Upton  
Vucanovich  
Waldholtz  
Walker  
Wamp  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Young (AK)  
Zeliff

Waters  
Watt (NC)  
Waxman  
Williams  
Wilson

Wise  
Wolf  
Woolsey  
Wyden  
Wynn

Yates  
Young (FL)  
Zimmer

Fowler  
Hefner

Tucker  
Volkmer

## NOT VOTING—4

## □ 1926

So the amendment was rejected.  
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, November 16, 1995, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device may be taken on each additional amendment on which the Chair has postponed further proceedings.

## AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ENGLISH OF PENNSYLVANIA

The CHAIRMAN. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. ENGLISH] on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed on voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania: Page 39, line 9, strike "REPRESENTATIVE" and insert "OFFICIAL".

Page 39, line 13, strike "or" and insert a comma and in line 14 insert before the close quotation marks a comma and the following: "Secretary of Commerce, or Commissioner of the International Trade Commission".

Page 39, line 18 strike "APPOINTMENT" through "REPRESENTATIVE" in line 20 and insert "APPOINTMENTS."

Page 40, line 4, strike "or as a" and insert a comma and insert before the first period in line 5 a comma and the following: "Secretary of Commerce, or Commissioner of the International Trade Commission".

Page 40, line 8, strike "or as a" and insert a comma and in line 9 insert before "on" a comma and the following: "Secretary of Commerce, or Commissioner of the International Trade Commission".

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The CHAIRMAN. This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 204, noes 221, not voting 7, as follows:

[Roll No. 826]

## AYES—204

Abercrombie  
Allard  
Andrews  
Archer  
Armey  
Bachus  
Baker (CA)  
Baker (LA)  
Baldacci  
Ballenger  
Barcia  
Barr  
Barrett (NE)  
Bartlett

Barton  
Bass  
Bereuter  
Bliley  
Boehlert  
Boehner  
Bono  
Boucher  
Brewster  
Bryant (TN)  
Bunn  
Bunning  
Burr  
Burton

Buyer  
Callahan  
Calvert  
Camp  
Chabot  
Chambliss  
Christensen  
Chrysler  
Clinger  
Coble  
Coburn  
Collins (GA)  
Combust  
Condit

Cooley  
Costello  
Cox  
Crane  
Creameans  
Cubin  
Cunningham  
Danner  
DeFazio  
DeLay  
Dickey  
Doolittle  
Dornan  
Doyle  
Duncan  
Dunn  
Durbin  
Edwards  
Ehlers  
Emerson  
English  
Ensign  
Evans  
Everett  
Fields (LA)  
Fields (TX)  
Forbes  
Fox  
Franks (CT)  
Franks (NJ)  
Frisa  
Funderburk  
Gallegly  
Gekas  
Geras  
Gillmor  
Gilman  
Goodlatte  
Goodling  
Gordon  
Green  
Greenwood  
Gutknecht  
Hall (TX)  
Hancock  
Hastings (WA)  
Hayes  
Hayworth  
Hefley  
Heineman  
Herger  
Hilleary  
Hobson  
Horn

Hostettler  
Hunter  
Istook  
Jacobs  
Johnson (CT)  
Johnson (SD)  
Johnson, Sam  
Jones  
Kasich  
Kelly  
Kim  
Kingston  
Klug  
Largent  
Latham  
LaTourette  
Laughlin  
Lazio  
Lewis (CA)  
Lewis (KY)  
Lightfoot  
Lincoln  
Lipinski  
LoBiondo  
Longley  
Lucas  
Mascara  
McCrery  
McDade  
McHugh  
McInnis  
McIntosh  
McKeon  
McNulty  
Menendez  
Metcalfe  
Mica  
Molinari  
Moorhead  
Myers  
Myrick  
Nethercutt  
Neumann  
Ney  
Norwood  
Nussle  
Obey  
Oxley  
Packard  
Parker  
Paxon  
Peterson (MN)  
Pombo  
Portman

Poshard  
Quillen  
Ramstad  
Reed  
Regula  
Roemer  
Rogers  
Rohrabacher  
Roth  
Royce  
Salmon  
Saxton  
Scarborough  
Schaefer  
Schumer  
Seastrand  
Shadegg  
Shuster  
Sisisky  
Skeen  
Skelton  
Smith (MI)  
Solomon  
Souder  
Stearns  
Stenholm  
Stockman  
Stump  
Talent  
Tanner  
Tate  
Tauzin  
Taylor (MS)  
Taylor (NC)  
Thomas  
Thornberry  
Thurman  
Tiahrt  
Torricelli  
Traficant  
Upton  
Visclosky  
Vucanovich  
Walker  
Wamp  
Watts (OK)  
Weldon (FL)  
Weldon (PA)  
Weller  
White  
Whitfield  
Wicker  
Young (AK)  
Zeliff

## NOES—221

Ackerman  
Baesler  
Barrett (WI)  
Becerra  
Beilenson  
Bentsen  
Berman  
Bevill  
Bilbray  
Bilirakis  
Bishop  
Blute  
Bonilla  
Bonior  
Borski  
Browder  
Brown (CA)  
Brown (FL)  
Brown (OH)  
Brownback  
Bryant (TX)  
Canady  
Cardin  
Castle  
Chapman  
Chenoweth  
Clay  
Clayton  
Clement  
Clyburn  
Coleman  
Collins (IL)  
Collins (MI)  
Conyers  
Coyne  
Cramer  
Crapo  
Davis  
de la Garza  
Deal  
DeLauro  
Dellums  
Deutsch

Diaz-Balart  
Dicks  
Dingell  
Dixon  
Doggett  
Dooley  
Dreier  
Ehrlich  
Engel  
Eshoo  
Ewing  
Farr  
Fattah  
Fawell  
Fazio  
Filner  
Flake  
Flanagan  
Foglietta  
Foley  
Ford  
Frank (MA)  
Frelinghuysen  
Frost  
Furse  
Ganske  
Gejdenson  
Gephardt  
Gibbons  
Gilchrest  
Gonzalez  
Goss  
Graham  
Gunderson  
Gutierrez  
Hall (OH)  
Hamilton  
Hansen  
Harman  
Hastert  
Hastings (FL)  
Hilliard  
Hinchey

Hoekstra  
Hoke  
Holden  
Houghton  
Hoyer  
Hutchinson  
Hyde  
Inglis  
Jackson-Lee  
Jefferson  
Johnson, E. B.  
Johnston  
Kanjorski  
Kaptur  
Kennedy (MA)  
Kennedy (RI)  
Kennelly  
Kildee  
King  
Klecicka  
Klink  
Knollenberg  
Kolbe  
LaFalce  
LaHood  
Lantos  
Leach  
Levin  
Lewis (GA)  
Linder  
Lofgren  
Lowey  
Luther  
Maloney  
Manton  
Manzullo  
Markey  
Martinez  
Martini  
Matsui  
McCarthy  
McCollum  
McDermott



McHale	Pomeroy	Spence
McKinney	Porter	Spratt
Meehan	Pryce	Stark
Meek	Quinn	Stokes
Meyers	Radanovich	Studds
Mfume	Rahall	Stupak
Miller (CA)	Rangel	Tejeda
Miller (FL)	Richardson	Thompson
Minge	Riggs	Thornton
Mink	Rivers	Torkildsen
Moakley	Roberts	Torres
Mollohan	Ros-Lehtinen	Towns
Montgomery	Rose	Velazquez
Moran	Roukema	Vento
Morella	Roybal-Allard	Waldholtz
Murtha	Rush	Walsh
Nadler	Sabo	Ward
Neal	Sanford	Waters
Oberstar	Sawyer	Watt (NC)
Olver	Schiff	Waxman
Ortiz	Schroeder	Williams
Orton	Scott	Wilson
Owens	Sensenbrenner	Wise
Pallone	Serrano	Wolf
Pastor	Shaw	Woolsey
Payne (NJ)	Shays	Wyden
Payne (VA)	Skaggs	Wynn
Pelosi	Slaughter	Yates
Peterson (FL)	Smith (NJ)	Young (FL)
Petri	Smith (TX)	Zimmer
Pickett	Smith (WA)	

## NOT VOTING—7

Bateman	Livingston	Volkmer
Fowler	Sanders	
Hefner	Tucker	

□ 1934

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

Mr. FRANKS of Connecticut changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BATEMAN. Mr. Chairman, on rollcall No. 826, I was detained and missed the vote on the English amendment. Had I been present, I would have voted "no."

## AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. WELLER

The CHAIRMAN. The unfinished business is the demand for a recorded vote on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. WELLER], on which further proceedings were postponed and on which the noes prevailed by voice vote.

The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WELLER: Page 21, line 9, strike "and", in line 14 strike the period and insert "; and", and after line 14 insert the following:

(5) a report of honoraria (as defined in section 505(3) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978) paid to a media organization or a media organization employee, including when it was provided, to whom it was provided, and its value.

## RECORDED VOTE

The CHAIRMAN. A recorded vote has been demanded.

A recorded vote was ordered.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 193, noes 233, not voting 6, as follows:

Abercrombie	Farr	Myrick
Allard	Fields (LA)	Nethercutt
Archer	Fields (TX)	Neumann
Armey	Filner	Ney
Baessler	Forbes	Norwood
Baker (CA)	Fox	Nussle
Baker (LA)	Frisa	Obey
Ballenger	Funderburk	Ortiz
Barr	Gallegly	Oxley
Bartlett	Gillmor	Packard
Bass	Gilman	Parker
Biiley	Goodling	Pastor
Boehner	Graham	Paxon
Bonilla	Greenwood	Pelosi
Bono	Gutierrez	Peterson (MN)
Boucher	Hall (TX)	Pombo
Brewster	Hancock	Porter
Bryant (TN)	Hansen	Poshard
Bunn	Hastert	Quillen
Bunning	Hastings (WA)	Radanovich
Burr	Hayes	Regula
Burton	Hefley	Rogers
Buyer	Heineman	Rohrabacher
Callahan	Herger	Roth
Camp	Hilleary	Salmon
Chambliss	Hobson	Schaefer
Chenoweth	Holden	Schumer
Christensen	Horn	Seastrand
Chryslers	Hostettler	Shadeegg
Clay	Hunter	Shuster
Clinger	Istook	Skeen
Coble	Jacobs	Slaughter
Coburn	Johnson (SD)	Smith (MI)
Coleman	Johnson, Sam	Solomon
Collins (GA)	Jones	Souder
Collins (MI)	Kanjorski	Stearns
Combest	Kelly	Stenholm
Condit	Kingston	Stockman
Cooley	Klink	Stokes
Costello	LaHood	Stump
Cox	Largent	Tanner
Crane	Latham	Tate
Crapo	LaTourette	Taylor (MS)
Creameans	Laughlin	Taylor (NC)
Cubin	Lewis (CA)	Tejeda
Cunningham	Lightfoot	Thomas
Danner	Lincoln	Thompson
de la Garza	Lipinski	Tiahrt
DeFazio	Longley	Torricelli
DeLay	Lucas	Trafficant
Dickey	Maloney	Upton
Dingell	Manton	Visclosky
Doolittle	Manzullo	Vucanovich
Dornan	Mascara	Walker
Doyle	McInnis	Wamp
Duncan	McIntosh	Watts (OK)
Durbin	McKeon	Weldon (FL)
Edwards	McNulty	Weldon (PA)
Ehlers	Metcalfe	Weller
Ehrlich	Mica	Whitfield
Emerson	Miller (CA)	Wicker
English	Molinar	Young (AK)
Eshoo	Moorhead	Zeliff
Everett	Murtha	
Ewing	Myers	

## NOES—233

Ackerman	Cardin	Flake
Andrews	Castle	Flanagan
Baldacci	Chabot	Foglietta
Barcia	Chapman	Foley
Barrett (NE)	Clayton	Ford
Barrett (WI)	Clement	Frank (MA)
Barton	Clyburn	Franks (CT)
Bateman	Collins (IL)	Franks (NJ)
Becerra	Conyers	Frelinghuysen
Beilenson	Coyne	Frost
Bentsen	Cramer	Furse
Bereuter	Davis	Ganske
Berman	Deal	Gejdenson
Bevill	DeLauro	Gekas
Bilbray	Dellums	Gephardt
Bilirakis	Deutsch	Geren
Bishop	Diaz-Balart	Gibbons
Blute	Dicks	Gilchrest
Boehlert	Dixon	Gonzalez
Bonior	Doggett	Goodlatte
Borski	Dooley	Gordon
Browder	Dreier	Goss
Brown (CA)	Dunn	Green
Brown (FL)	Engel	Gunderson
Brown (OH)	Ensign	Gutknecht
Brownback	Evans	Hall (OH)
Bryant (TX)	Fattah	Hamilton
Calvert	Fawell	Harman
Canady	Fazio	Hastings (FL)

Hayworth	McHugh	Sawyer
Hilliard	McKinney	Saxton
Hinchey	Meehan	Scarborough
Hoekstra	Meek	Schiff
Hoke	Menendez	Schroeder
Houghton	Meyers	Scott
Hoyer	Mfume	Sensenbrenner
Hutchinson	Miller (FL)	Serrano
Hyde	Minge	Shaw
Inglis	Mink	Shays
Jackson-Lee	Moakley	Sisisky
Jefferson	Mollohan	Skaggs
Johnson (CT)	Montgomery	Skelton
Johnson, E. B.	Moran	Smith (NJ)
Johnston	Morella	Smith (TX)
Kaptur	Nadler	Smith (WA)
Kasich	Neal	Spence
Kennedy (MA)	Oberstar	Spratt
Kennedy (RI)	Olver	Stark
Kennelly	Orton	Studds
Kildee	Owens	Stupak
Kim	Pallone	Talent
King	Payne (NJ)	Tauzin
Klecza	Payne (VA)	Thornberry
Klug	Peterson (FL)	Thornton
Knollenberg	Petri	Thurman
Kolbe	Pickett	Torkildsen
LaFalce	Pomeroy	Torres
Lantos	Portman	Towns
Lazio	Pryce	Velazquez
Leach	Quinn	Vento
Levin	Rahall	Waldholtz
Lewis (GA)	Ramstad	Walsh
Lewis (KY)	Rangel	Ward
Linder	Reed	Waters
LoBiondo	Richardson	Watt (NC)
Lofgren	Riggs	Waxman
Lowe	Rivers	White
Luther	Roberts	Williams
Markey	Roemer	Wilson
Martinez	Ros-Lehtinen	Wise
Martini	Rose	Wolf
Matsui	Roukema	Woolsey
McCarthy	Roybal-Allard	Wyden
McCollum	Royce	Wynn
McCrery	Rush	Yates
McDade	Sabo	Young (FL)
McDermott	Sanders	Zimmer
McHale	Sanford	

## NOT VOTING—6

Bachus	Hefner	Tucker
Fowler	Livingston	Volkmer

□ 1941

So the amendment was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. CHRYSLER) having assumed the chair, Mr. KOLBE, Chairman 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. 2564) to provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on the amendments just considered.

Mr. SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.