

bill, one of the most important things we have to do is ensure that those Senators who have amendments that are relevant but not germane can be protected. Regardless of whether or not we come to closure in the next couple of days on this bill, it is very important that those who want to make additional contributions to this legislation, to try to improve the bill with or without negotiations that may or may not come to any fruitful conclusion, they ought to be protected in their right to offer those amendments and have them successfully debated and ultimately voted on. A vote against cloture ensures that they will have that right, and I think it is very, very important that everyone understand that.

So, I think, in essence, the message is very simple. A vote against cloture is a vote for progress, progress that has been demonstrated over and over again as we have resolved these differences and as we continue to work for final passage, as we continue to guarantee that the principles we laid out at the very beginning can be protected.

I am optimistic that we can achieve that. I believe we can continue to work in good faith to accomplish what remains. And I believe voting against cloture today is the fastest way to get there.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I will just take a minute or two because I know we have had a lot of debate here and we have had a lot of negotiations. In fact, we have been negotiating since April. This is about the 10th day now on this bill.

I think what we have forgotten—we keep talking about we have to satisfy this Senator, that Senator—somewhere out there some small business man or woman or farmer is saying, what are these people doing in the U.S. Senate? We have been on this bill 10 days. We had about 2 weeks of negotiation before that. We have made over 100 changes. When do we stop? When we satisfy every liberal Senator on the other side of the aisle? Then you could not find the rest of us voting for it.

I note in the latest offer they made they say, "We are not able to accept proceeding with any of these as individual amendments without addressing the package as a whole." So you take this package, then tomorrow you will have another package, oh, just four or five more things we thought of or the staff thought of or the administration thought of or the bureaucrats thought of.

It is one thing to say we are for regulatory reform. But we are not going to have it unless we have cloture. So the moment of truth is about to arrive. The moment of truth is about to arrive. I have heard all the speeches. I have listened to the speeches. I suppose everybody wants some vague regulatory reform. But by the time we adopt every amendment we have had

proposed by some of my colleagues, we would not have regulatory reform. We would satisfy the bureaucracy, which is apparently what some wish to do. The Senator from Louisiana just read a piece of the Glenn bill, "in sole discretion." They make the determination.

So I hope my colleagues will understand, we have a lot of work to do this year. In fact, we just voted earlier today on an amendment, I think it had regulatory reform in it. I think the vote was 91 to 8—91 people voted for this broad bill that had regulatory reform, tax reform, grazing reform, all the reforms we could think of; 91 to 8 voted for it. So there ought to be 91 votes for cloture.

I just hope my colleagues—we have made a lot of progress. Every Republican will now vote for cloture. That is up from about 49; now it is 54. But we cannot get there alone. I tell the American people, we cannot have regulatory reform without at least a half dozen on the other side. It is not possible to satisfy the concerns of some. It is never possible in any legislation.

I do not know what a filibuster is, but it seems like after a couple of weeks we ought to make some decisions. There are a lot of amendments filed, relevant, germane. There are still opportunities to improve this bill after cloture is invoked. Some of these things, in my view, we ought to just say, "If we cannot reach an agreement, there ought to be an up-or-down vote." We would win some, the other side would win some, but at least we would have some resolution.

So I urge my colleague, particularly on the other side of the aisle—and I know you are under extreme pressure. I know the little sweatshop is working right outside the corridor here. I know there are a lot of people coming out there with arms that are hurting. Some have slings. I know the pressure is great, all the way from the White House, the President, the Vice President, every bureaucrat in town is concerned about this bill because they do not want it to happen.

I think it is time we just, in the next 20 minutes, think about the American people during the vote—people in Kansas, Rhode Island, Georgia, Virginia, New York—wherever. So, before we cast our vote—Oregon. Anybody else who is here. We are all one big country. It is going to be one big vote.

I thank my colleagues.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the Dole-Johnston substitute amendment to S. 343, the regulatory reform bill:

Bob Dole, Christopher S. Bond, Bill Roth, Frank H. Murkowski, Rod Grams, John Ashcroft, Spencer Abraham, Craig Thomas, Pete V. Domenici, Bill Frist, Fred Thompson, Mike DeWine, Thad Cochran, Larry E. Craig, Bob Smith, Chuck Grassley.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

#### VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of Senate that debate on the amendment numbered 1487 to S. 343, the regulatory reform bill, shall be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are required under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. PELL (when his name was called). Mr. President, on this vote, I have a pair with the senior Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE]. If he were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "aye." I, therefore, withhold my vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 58, nays 40, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 315 Leg.]

#### YEAS—58

|           |            |           |
|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Abraham   | Gorton     | McConnell |
| Ashcroft  | Gramm      | Murkowski |
| Bennett   | Grams      | Nickles   |
| Bond      | Grassley   | Nunn      |
| Breaux    | Gregg      | Packwood  |
| Brown     | Hatch      | Pressler  |
| Burns     | Hatfield   | Roth      |
| Campbell  | Heflin     | Santorum  |
| Chafee    | Helms      | Shelby    |
| Coats     | Hutchison  | Simpson   |
| Cochran   | Inhofe     | Smith     |
| Cohen     | Jeffords   | Snowe     |
| Coverdell | Johnston   | Specter   |
| Craig     | Kassebaum  | Stevens   |
| D'Amato   | Kempthorne | Thomas    |
| DeWine    | Kyl        | Thompson  |
| Dole      | Lott       | Thurmond  |
| Domenici  | Lugar      | Warner    |
| Faircloth | Mack       |           |
| Frist     | McCain     |           |

#### NAYS—40

|          |            |               |
|----------|------------|---------------|
| Akaka    | Feingold   | Lieberman     |
| Baucus   | Feinstein  | Mikulski      |
| Biden    | Ford       | Moseley-Braun |
| Bingaman | Glenn      | Moynihan      |
| Boxer    | Graham     | Murray        |
| Bradley  | Harkin     | Pryor         |
| Bryan    | Hollings   | Reid          |
| Bumpers  | Kennedy    | Robb          |
| Byrd     | Kerrey     | Rockefeller   |
| Conrad   | Kerry      | Sarbanes      |
| Daschle  | Kohl       | Simon         |
| Dodd     | Lautenberg | Wellstone     |
| Dorgan   | Leahy      |               |
| Exon     | Levin      |               |

PRESENT AND GIVING A LIVE PAIR, AS PREVIOUSLY RECORDED—1

Pell, for

NOT VOTING—1

Inouye

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 58, the nays are 40. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the

affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. LEVIN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida.

Mr. MACK. I would like for the RECORD to indicate that my colleague from Nevada, Senator REID, joins me in the tabling motion.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Let me indicate to my colleagues this will not be the last vote this evening because we will try to finish the legislative branch appropriations this evening and then later on in the evening, much later on in the evening, we will take up the rescissions bill. When everything else is done, nothing else is left to do, we will take it up.

#### VOTE ON AMENDMENT NO. 1808

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the amendment to H.R. 1854 offered by Mr. HOLLINGS. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUE] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 54, nays 45, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 316 Leg.]

#### YEAS—54

|           |            |               |
|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Abraham   | Faircloth  | Mack          |
| Ashcroft  | Feingold   | McCain        |
| Baucus    | Frist      | McConnell     |
| Bennett   | Gorton     | Moseley-Braun |
| Brown     | Graham     | Nickles       |
| Bryan     | Gramm      | Nunn          |
| Burns     | Grams      | Packwood      |
| Chafee    | Gregg      | Pressler      |
| Coats     | Harkin     | Reid          |
| Cochran   | Hatfield   | Roth          |
| Coverdell | Helms      | Santorum      |
| Craig     | Hutchison  | Shelby        |
| D'Amato   | Inhofe     | Smith         |
| DeWine    | Kassebaum  | Specter       |
| Dole      | Kempthorne | Thomas        |
| Domenici  | Kyl        | Thompson      |
| Dorgan    | Lott       | Thurmond      |
| Exon      | Lugar      | Warner        |

#### NAYS—45

|          |           |            |
|----------|-----------|------------|
| Akaka    | Conrad    | Johnston   |
| Biden    | Daschle   | Kennedy    |
| Bingaman | Dodd      | Kerrey     |
| Bond     | Feinstein | Kerry      |
| Boxer    | Ford      | Kohl       |
| Bradley  | Glenn     | Lautenberg |
| Breaux   | Grassley  | Leahy      |
| Bumpers  | Hatch     | Levin      |
| Byrd     | Heflin    | Lieberman  |
| Campbell | Hollings  | Mikulski   |
| Cohen    | Jeffords  | Moynihan   |

|           |             |           |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| Murkowski | Robb        | Simpson   |
| Murray    | Rockefeller | Snowe     |
| Pell      | Sarbanes    | Stevens   |
| Pryor     | Simon       | Wellstone |

#### NOT VOTING—1

Inouye

The motion to table the amendment (No. 1808) was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. GRAMM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY REFORM ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to thank my Republican colleagues and four of our colleagues on the other side who voted for regulatory reform and congratulate those who stuck together to bury it. It seems to me they have been successful.

I will just say, we thought we made a good effort. There is always more and more and more, and maybe this is all a way to keep the bill from going to the White House where the President indicates he would veto it.

We have had months of negotiation, hundreds of changes, 10 days of consideration, and then we are told, "Oh, we just need more time." Either we are for regulatory reform or we are not. We cannot satisfy everybody in the Chamber, and those people made their choices.

After the vote, people said, "Oh, we just need to negotiate more. Let's just have some more negotiations."

The truth is that our bill largely tracks President Clinton's Executive order but has one important difference. This bill will ensure the requirements are actually carried out.

I particularly want to commend Senator JOHNSTON for his work, and his tireless efforts. He came to me—it seems like months ago now, but I guess it was just weeks—and he said, "We are not going to get anywhere unless we make some changes in this bill." So we set about to make changes. Today, all across America—I do not have a copy—we are being flooded with statements by the Democratic National Committee on this vote about how Senator DOMENICI is for dirty meat, and Senator WARNER and somebody else is for dirty meat. They mixed it up a little, depending on where you live. It has a little cartoon there with our pictures in the middle. Very nicely done.

I think that has been the purpose right along—to try to get a campaign issue. Forget about the farmers and ranchers in Montana, or Kansas, or Virginia, or somewhere else. Forget about the small businessmen and women all across America. We have to

protect the bureaucracy. We cannot have the bureaucracy overworked in Washington, DC. That is what we have heard for the last 3 days.

Not many people in Russell, Kansas, are worried too much about the bureaucracy in Washington, DC. They have never seen it, most of them. They have felt it in their wallets, and they feel it when they open up their little business, and they feel it when they go out of business, and they feel it on the farm, and they feel it on the ranch, and they feel it all across America. But they cannot have regulatory reform because we cannot get the cooperation. Everything in this Senate needs 60 votes. To get 60 votes, you end up with nothing. I do not believe that is what the American people expect us to do.

We can hold our heads high, those of us who voted for cloture. We can look the small businessman in the eye, and we can look the rancher in Montana in the eye, or wherever he may live, and say we did our best, we tried once, twice, three times. We were told, oh, nobody is delaying this bill; we do not want to delay this bill, and we are all for regulatory reform—until a vote came.

Mr. President, I do not know—I think I know what the final outcome is. I do not want to cause any anxiety for my friends on the other side, but I thank Senator BREAUX and Senator HEFLIN and Senator NUNN for their votes, because I know the pressure was great, intense, and steady.

I assume we could have put together a package that would have gotten 100 votes. It would not have been worth anything, but we could have said we all voted for regulatory reform. Particularly, Senator ROTH and Senator HATCH, and others on this side, have worked so hard to try to bring it together. But I think there is a little bit of principle left in this argument. We would like to think that we have at least 58 votes. That is 58 percent of the Senate that would like to have regulatory reform. Eighty-eight percent of the American people would like to have it. But we cannot get it because we are short 2 percent. Two percent of the Senate is denying about 85 or 90 percent of the American people regulatory reform.

That is a right we all have. We have all been through it. Some of us have been on the other side. I do not know of any more important bill than this one. But I think the dye has been cast. I am willing to entertain any legitimate concerns, but no more of these four or five pages that say at the end, "we are not able to accept proceeding with any of these individual amendments without addressing the package as a whole." Then I assume that if this were addressed, there would be another one ready. They are endless.

So I regret that we have failed the American people—again. But there will be other opportunities. I, again, thank my colleagues on this side of the aisle