

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION
OF H.R. 408, INTERNATIONAL
DOLPHIN CONSERVATION PRO-
GRAM ACT

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 153 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 153

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 408) to amend the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 to support the International Dolphin Conservation Program in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean, and for other purposes. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the bill and shall not exceed one hour equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Resources. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. In lieu of the amendment recommended by the Committee on Resources now printed in the bill, it shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the Congressional Record and numbered 1 pursuant to clause 6 of rule XXIII. That amendment shall be considered as read. Points of order against that amendment for failure to comply with clause 7 of rule XVI are waived. No amendment to that amendment shall be in order except the amendment printed in the Congressional Record pursuant to clause 6 of rule XXIII, which may be offered only by Representative Miller of California or his designee, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for one hour equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, and shall not be subject to amendment. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the amendment in the nature of a substitute made in order as original text. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommend with or without instructions.

□ 1330

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska). The gentleman from Washington [Mr. HASTINGS] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. SLAUGHTER], pending which I yield myself as much time as I may consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

(Mr. HASTINGS of Washington asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the Committee on Rules granted an unusual request from the Committee on Resources. As my colleagues know, under the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG], the Committee on Resources has typically brought its bills to the floor under open rules. However, in the case of H.R. 408, certain provisions of which also fall under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means, special circumstances clearly warrant granting a modified closed rule.

H.R. 408, the International Dolphin Conservation Program Act, essentially codifies an international agreement between 12 nations known as the Declaration of Panama. Were the House to make any significant changes to H.R. 408, this historic agreement would be lost.

Mr. Speaker, it is worth noting that the negotiations that produced this agreement could serve as a model for environmental policymaking on many other issues because virtually every important viewpoint on the tuna-dolphin debate was represented at the table. These negotiations not only involve the governments of 12 nations, but also include key representatives from both the environmental community and the fishing community.

As a result, Mr. Speaker, it is an agreement that enjoys unusually broad support from Vice President AL GORE to the Committee on Resources chairman, the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG], from Greenpeace to the American Sports Fishing Association, and from the Tuna Boat Owners Association to the labor unions whose members work on those boats. The broad support was most visibly demonstrated on July 31 of last year when the House passed an almost identical bill by an overwhelming bipartisan majority of 316 to 108. Clearly the time has come for the United States to ratify this important measure without further delay.

For that reason and in recognition of the delicate nature of this international agreement, the Committee on Rules has reported a modified closed rule that allows for an up or down vote on the bill.

The bill provides that in lieu of the Committee on Resources amendment, the amendment in the nature of a substitute printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and numbered 1 shall be considered as the original bill for the purposes of amendment, and said amendment shall be considered as read.

The rule further provides for the consideration of an amendment printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to be offered by the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] or his designee. Finally, the rule, which was agreed to in committee by voice vote without dissent, also provides for one motion to recommend, with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, Members who are committed to protecting the dolphin populations in the eastern Pacific will agree that it is vital that we move forward

with this legislation. During the coming debate, we will hear differing viewpoints on how this legislation may impact dolphins, but keep in mind that the Clinton administration's experts, our own Committee on Resources and a wide variety of environmental organizations all believe that this bill will save dolphins' lives and that it will also do so in a more effective way than current law will.

H.R. 408 backs up that claim by mandating that every tuna boat operating in the eastern Pacific carry an observer to certify that not a single dolphin was killed when the tuna nets were hauled up. Even one dolphin death would prevent the entire catch from being sold in the United States as dolphin safe. Under today's standards American consumers do not have this kind of guarantee.

However, this proposal is not just about saving dolphins; it is about preserving other endangered marine species, such as sea turtles as well as billfish and juvenile tuna. Those of us who support H.R. 408 are pleased that it will address the entire eastern Pacific ecosystem as a whole and not just one aspect of it.

Simply put, Mr. Speaker, Members desiring to protect dolphins, sea turtles and other important marine life should support this rule to pass the International Dolphin Conservation Program Act.

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

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I do not oppose this rule, but I do have some reservations about the legislation that the rule would make in order.

The public outrage at the high level of dolphins slaughtered by tuna fishing fleets in the eastern Pacific was so strong that in 1990 the U.S. tuna canning industry announced a voluntary policy of refusing to purchase tuna caught by harming or killing dolphins. This voluntary policy led to the now well-known dolphin safe label found on cans of tuna that are sold in the United States. Under the current statutory definition of dolphin safe, which was supported by the Bush administration and virtually all environmental organizations when it was enacted in 1990. No tuna product can be labeled dolphin safe if caught by chasing, harassing or netting dolphins. But Mexico and other Latin American countries who are eager to gain access to our billion-dollar American tuna market have protested that the labeling practices constitute a trade barrier.

So to accommodate those nations H.R. 408 would change our definition of dolphin safe upon which American consumers have relied for years. Under the new definition included in this bill dolphins can be injured, chased and netted without limit in the course of catching tuna which, will then be stamped deceptively with the dolphin safe label

and sent straight to the American grocery store shelf. Essentially, the law would dupe American consumers into purchasing canned tuna stamped with the same dolphin safe label that they are accustomed to, but under a definition that is much weaker than the current one.

I remember the debate on GATT and NAFTA, and what is on the floor today is what we were promised would not happen. U.S. consumer and environmental laws are being bargained away to satisfy the demand of other nations for access to our markets. This legislation will overwhelmingly benefit Mexico and other foreign tuna fishermen who want to skirt the current requirements for selling their tuna illegally on our shelves, and it undercuts United States tuna fishing fleets who have been complying with the law.

At its heart this is not a dolphin conservation measure. We know it is not because it doubles the number of dolphins permitted to be killed. Even the National Marine Fisheries Service reports that the two dolphin stocks most frequently chased and netted during tuna fishing are at 20 percent or less of their original sizes, and neither of those dolphin stocks is increasing.

H.R. 408 is a convenient means of ending a trade dispute with Mexico and other Latin American countries at the expense of the American consumer and our environment. My real concern is the precedent the bill would set. Enacting it sends a message to any foreign trading partner that this Congress is willing to sacrifice U.S. consumer and environmental protection legislation in the name of multilateral trade agreements and that our domestic laws can simply be negotiated away.

Mr. Speaker, this is a wrong message. I am having a hard time swallowing the argument that this agreement is our only option to avoid a showdown between Latin America and the United States at the World Trade Organization. Congress is being told by the administration and Mexico to take it or leave it. Surely a compromise could have been reached that protected the integrity of the U.S. consumer and environmental laws by still allowing trade with their neighbors.

While I will not oppose the rule, I do urge my colleagues to oppose the underlying bill, H.R. 408, and in addition I urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question. If the previous question is defeated, I intend to offer an amendment that would require the House to consider campaign finance reform before Memorial Day, May 31, so that a final campaign finance reform bill can be sent to the President Clinton before July 4, and I would like to use this opportunity to again raise the issue of why the majority has yet still to hold any hearings or markups on campaign finance reform. Fifty-eight bills have been introduced in the House, 1 of which is my own, to provide free television time, and yet all 58 of these campaign finance bills languish in committee.

Mr. Speaker, there is simply no excuse for this Congress' continuing failure to take action on this issue. The leadership of this House owes it to the voters of the Nation to seize the opportunity before it and to enact responsible campaign reform, and I hope my colleagues will join me in opposing the previous question and opposing H.R. 408.

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

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS].

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

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend the gentleman from Washington [Mr. HASTINGS] for yielding me this time, and I am pleased that the House is again turning its attention to the issue of dolphin safe tuna. That actually is the subject today, the question of dolphin safe tuna and better protection of dolphins. That is on the schedule, and that is what we are going to debate because the rules of the House say that when we are going to debate a subject, we are supposed to stick to that subject. So while there are many other subjects we could talk about today, this is the moment that we have set forth in the Committee on Rules, in I think, a very fair and appropriate rule, to talk about ways to improve protection for dolphins who are senselessly slaughtered as part of a fishing process that caused international outrage a few years ago.

This debate is a very important one for the environmental community and the business community and for me especially as a Representative from southwest Florida, which is a true paradise for people and for dolphins as well.

In 1992, I was a member of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries that we had in those days, and I helped push for the successful passage of the Dolphin Conservation Program Act. That was in response to the outrage of the senseless killing of dolphins as by-catch in the fishing process.

We came up with a good solution. Over the last 5 years we have made real progress in lowering dolphin mortality. Something like 25,000 we knew of were being killed a year. We are now down, I am told, to 5,000. That is still a high number, but it is a huge improvement. But there are still a few lingering problems with the current law that we passed, and the bill under consideration today provides the United States the opportunity to address some of those problems while implementing stronger protections for dolphins and other endangered species, and that is what we are doing here; we are making sure we are doing the right job in terms of protecting endangered species.

First let me commend the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GILCREST] and the others for their work on this bill.

They have been out there doing the hard work while others have been doing the complaining and the talking to the press, and they have come up with a pretty good solution. We have got some environmental legislation here that is difficult to craft, but we have got a bill that is actually strongly supported both by environmental organizations and by business, in this case the tuna industry, and it is supported by the Vice President, Vice President GORE, and the gentleman from Alaska [Mr. YOUNG], and those represent fairly diverse views on how we deal with the environment.

Under current law to receive the dolphin safe stamp of approval requires only that the tuna was caught using fishing practices generally considered safe for dolphins. That does not mean they were safe; it is just that somebody got away with saying they were considered safe. We were measuring what we thought might be an expectation, and when we looked at the outcome, we decided we could do better, and hence this bill today. Whether the dolphins are actually killed during the catch is what matters, and we think we have a better way to stop that senseless death.

H.R. 408 tightens the dolphin safe definition to require that no dolphins are killed, a standard that will be enforced by having an observer on each fishing boat observing every catch, and if even one dolphin death happens in a catch, that would prevent the whole catch from being sold in the United States as dolphin safe. The United States is a very lucrative market, much sought after, so that is a very important consideration. Clearly it is also a more stringent standard and one we should all be able to agree on today.

Another issue of particular importance to me is by-catch. When sea turtles and other nontarget species are caught and die in fishing nets, it is called by-catch. We have made real progress towards reducing this wasteful practice in the Magnuson bill last year, and I am pleased H.R. 408 will help reduce what is a very real problem still of wasteful by-catch.

Some have expressed concern about this bill in relation to trade, to NAFTA or GATT. At the outset let me say that I too have some concerns about trade issues, particularly in Florida, about questions of enforcement in NAFTA. But I am convinced that this bill has little to do with the trade issue. If my colleagues will excuse the word, it is a red herring and does not impinge upon U.S. sovereignty.

H.R. 408 implements more stringent protections for dolphins and marine life in the eastern Pacific. If we want to protect dolphins, sea turtles, and other marine life, we should support this rule and vote for H.R. 408. I think it does the job very well, and that is the job we are here to do today.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR].

□ 1345

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER] for yielding me this time.

Let me begin by saying that I am going to support the gentlewoman from New York in her efforts to get the previous question defeated so that we can offer an amendment so that we can get a debate on campaign finance reform in this Congress.

It will be the fifth time in this Congress Democrats are demanding that we vote on campaign finance reform, and we will try to defeat the previous question to get that done. We have had campaign finance reform votes on January 7, March 13, April 9, and April 16, and not one of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle has joined us in support of creating a day when we can have the debate on a very important issue that this country is yearning to hear about.

Our way of financing political campaigns in this country is broken. Everybody knows it. We all labor through an elaborate series of hurdles and meetings and fund raisers just to stay above water in order for us to compete politically, and it is eating up our time. It is eating up our resources. It is wasting the country's energies. It is creating a situation in which scandal after scandal on both sides of the aisle appear daily in our newspapers and on our radio and television sets.

I think the American people have had it. They want a full-blown debate on how best to fix this. Now, we know there are many parts. There is a constitutional part that is involved here, there is legislative, probably some regulatory things we can do, but we all ought to have it out. We ought not to hide behind a system that is not working. Some of our colleagues in this body have to raise as much as \$10,000 a day in order for them to be viable politically. That is outrageous.

We have just seen or come through an election in Great Britain where very few dollars are required to run for political office. We are watching the Canadians now in their parliamentary elections right across from my district, the same situation. The Irish will have one soon. And yet here we are, spending upward of \$1-\$2 million per individual on congressional races. We need to change the system. And the other side needs to participate in that debate.

Although some have proposed spending even more on campaigns on this side of the aisle, the American people think just the opposite. Nine out of ten believe too much money is being spent on political campaigns today. So we need to fix the system, to get the money down, to set limits, to stop the negative advertising, and to get Americans voting again.

Somewhere along the line our Nation's political discussion got discon-

nected from the American people. They no longer see a link between their lives and politics, between their work and the economy, between their community and the challenges that we face as a country. We need to have a debate about the fundamental nature of politics in this country, and we should not be afraid to have it.

So I am calling on the leaders on the Republican side, the Speaker and the other leaders. Set a date. We have asked for May 31. That is obviously not going to happen. Now we want to have that debate to meet the President's expectations on the Fourth of July.

It is no secret why some on this side of the aisle do not want to have that debate. They have huge, wealthy donors that contribute enormous amounts of money, mostly from the business community. They outspent the labor community seven to one in this last election. The Washington Times, according to an article on April 9, said this: Those wealthy contributors have told the Republican leadership they can forget about more money for the Republican Party unless tax cuts are enacted.

Just last week, before thousands of wealthy contributors who gave as much as a quarter of a million dollars to attend a dinner, a leader of the Republican Party asked the assembled crowd to imagine Democrats in charge of Congress. And then he said, and I quote: Whatever you have donated, worked for or given to avoid that alternative is a token of what it has saved you. It is a token of what it has saved you.

Well, it does not take an Einstein to read between the lines there. Money is eating at the heart of the system. Vote "no," vote "no" on the previous question so we can get a debate on this floor on the alternative.

Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the gentlewoman from New York. She has offered an alternative. She has an alternative that will open up our airwaves, the airwaves that we pay for so we can get on and we can campaign and we can get our messages out to the American people. It means taking on the broadcasters, but they are our airwaves. I want to compliment her for doing that.

I want to compliment the gentleman from California [Mr. FARR] for his bill. I want to compliment my Republican colleagues who have a disclosure bill. I do not agree with it, but they need to have that opportunity to have the debate on the disclosure bill. I want to compliment the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MEEHAN]. He has a proposal which I agree with in many respects but have some disagreements with.

We ought to have it all out. We ought to have some debate. There are too many good ideas that are sitting, wasting away. The American people want this debate, our system demands it, we ought to clean up politics in this country and get on with campaign finance reform.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield as much time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Washington for yielding me the time. I remind my colleagues we are debating a rule for the International Dolphin Conservation Program Act. This was a noncontroversial rule until my colleagues on the other side of the aisle decided to take this time to discuss unrelated issues. And certainly the speaker that just preceded me is a former member of the Committee on Rules, he is also one of the most intelligent Members of the Congress. He is in the Democrat leadership and he knows the rules of the House. The rules of the House prohibit the discussion of unrelated matters when discussing a rule.

However, since they have done that, Mr. Speaker, I guess I could have objected to it and made a point of order, but I think rather than do that, let me just participate in this nonrelated issue which we should not be discussing on the floor.

The previous speaker made some reference to contribution dollars coming from labor and contribution dollars coming from big business from the corporate sector. Well, let me just remind the gentleman that it is illegal to accept any kind of money from corporations or companies that are incorporated in this country. I do not think any of us do. And if any of us do that, we ought to be brought up on ethics charges and FEC violations by the FEC. The previous speaker who just spoke, and I happened to look at his financial filing the other day, and he receives money from labor, just like the gentleman from New York, [Mr. JERRY SOLOMON] does, this Member of Congress, and I am very proud that the workers at GE and the postal workers, the letter carriers who were just at my office a few minutes ago, make contributions into a political action committee to me to help me be reelected, and I really appreciate that.

I also have it from other employees at General Electric Co., for instance, who contribute to my campaign as well. Under the Constitution, that is absolutely legal, and the way that it should be.

The minority is attempting to defeat the previous question and offer the following so-called proposal. I think this is what it said the last time I looked at it: The House shall consider comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation under an open amendment process. And the gentlewoman from New York [Ms. SLAUGHTER], my good friend, mentioned something about before May 31, but then I hear the previous speaker, the minority whip, say something about July 1. I really think we ought to get our act together and decide which is which here.

But let me just say this, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues. There is no bill, no

amendment, no text, no proposal, no idea even. This is just a lot of hot air meant to influence some people up in the press gallery or those that might be watching.

Now, having said that, I would ask my colleagues on the other side of the aisle, how would this alleged proposal address violations of existing law? Let me tell my colleagues something, that is what I am concerned about here. Does the Democratic bill that they are talking about relate at all to obstruction of justice by high-level Clinton administration officials as reported in the Washington Post? Where are these articles I just had here, and the New York Times a little while ago? Does the minority have any kind of plan that would address the daily revelations of national security breaches that threaten the security of the United States of America within the highest levels of the executive branch, according to these articles? These articles say Whitewater prosecutor finds obstruction of justice evidence. Whitewater counsel says he has evidence of obstructing justice. Whitewater grand jury term extended, cites possible obstructions of justice.

Let me tell my colleagues something, that is what the constituents I represented are interested in. They want to know where all of this money coming in from the Chinese Government into political pockets in this Congress, they want to know how that money got here and how that is illegal. Sure, if we want to get to the bottom of that, let us get it out here and let us debate it. I would challenge anyone and all of my colleagues on that side of the aisle, come on out here; we will do a special order and we will talk about it to the end.

Would the minority's proposed bill address the allegations of foreign corruptions of our national system which is being discussed across the country in the media? As I scan down the newspapers every single day, what I am confronted with, Mr. Speaker, is not a question of how the Nation should finance political campaigns but more a question of, is the White House adhering to the rule of law? That is the important thing.

The American people expect their public officials to abide by the law. Once this minimum threshold is met, then we can consider proposals to existing law.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding, because I too join him in this almost fetish about creating new laws, and yet, no interest at all in enforcing the current laws, which may or may not have been broken.

I add to the gentleman's list of questions; when the Democrats talk about campaign finance reform, do they want to find out about the international

contributions that were apparently illegal made to the Democrat Party and the Clinton White House? Did they influence foreign policy? I would like to know from the Democrats whether the Democrat operative, John Huang, broke campaign finance laws by fundraising when he was on the Government payroll. I would like to find out whether John Huang broke the laws by coordinating donations from non-U.S. citizens who have ties with his former employer, and with no apparent reasons, what was the pattern that they were given to the Clinton folks and the Democrat National Party?

Did Mr. Huang compromise the U.S. national security by sharing secret Government information with his former employer overseas? This is a very relevant security question. Do the Democrats want to find out if White House officials, while on Government payroll, illegally raised funds for the Democrat Party? I would like to know about the computer database at the White House. Was it legitimate or was it just there to keep track of Democrat donors?

I would like to know whether the White House improperly used the FBI, the National Security Council, or the CIA to pursue fund raising.

I think all of this is very important. I would like to know how long was the President raising money in the Lincoln bedroom, and does the President plan to continue doing this? I would like to know, if the Democrat Party took all of this money so earnestly, why have they had to return so much of it?

I believe that we have a legitimate reason to be talking about campaign finance reform, but I also think a major part of it is to talk about implementing current law. Before we go on with new grandiose plans blaming it on the system, let us talk about the current ethics situation over at the White House.

I think that, if the Democrat Party insists on ignoring these very pertinent and relevant questions, which have far more to do with national security than they do with partisan differences, then I think they are doing the country a disservice. We in this Congress have a security obligation as well as a campaign finance reform obligation.

□ 1400

Mr. SOLOMON. Reclaiming my time, Mr. Speaker, because we are running out of time, the gentleman mentioned a name, the name of John Huang. Yes, the gentleman is right, we ought to get to the bottom of this, because this is a man who was hired at the request of the President's wife, worked for the Commerce Department, and it had at first been revealed that he had 39 classified briefings, followed up by simultaneous phone calls to an international conglomerate called Lippo, who is undermining and competing with American business and industry and jobs in this country.

Then we found out from the Commerce Department that they had held

back, that it was not just 39 meetings, it was 109, and some of those were held at the White House. We are still trying to find out with whom they were held and what was discussed, and what kind of economic espionage was leaked at that time. Then just yesterday or the day before I find out it was not 39, it was not 109, it was 149, by this same gentleman that is undermining American business and industry.

What we need on this floor, and the gentleman has my commitment to get on our bill, is full financial disclosure. I want to know where that money came from, who contributed it, and then let us get to the bottom and hold those people responsible.

I would say to the gentleman, I am going to have to yield back, but if the gentleman gets his own time I will stay on the floor and I will be glad to enter into a colloquy.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MCGOVERN].

Mr. MCGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to ask my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question. I ask my colleagues to defeat this motion so we may offer an amendment that will require the House of Representatives to debate real campaign finance reform before July 4, the deadline the President gave Congress in his State of the Union address 4 months ago.

The current campaign finance system is clearly broken, and it needs to be fixed in a comprehensive way, and it needs to be fixed today. The Founding Fathers intended the loudest voices in elections to be those of the American people, not wealthy, powerful special interests. When a candidate for elected office spends 90 percent of his or her time raising money, how can they effectively address their constituents' concerns?

Unfortunately, many of my colleagues on the other side of the aisle have resisted Democratic efforts to reduce the influence of money in politics. Speaker GINGRICH has said he would emphasize far more money in the political process. In my view, that is precisely the wrong direction for us to go. There are a number of very good, comprehensive campaign finance proposals out there. While we might not all agree on every detail, I think we deserve to have a date set for discussion to begin.

What we are asking Speaker GINGRICH to do, then, is to simply give us a date certain, give us a day when we can discuss campaign finance reform. Let advocates and opponents of various proposals offer their opinions and defend their positions on that day.

I and a number of my freshmen colleagues have been pressuring the Speaker and the Republican leadership to schedule a day of debate and a vote on real campaign finance reform before Memorial Day. Memorial Day is next Monday, and guess what, no date, and

there is no indication that there will be a date.

My colleague, the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rules, said he would be willing to engage us in a special order. We do not want a special order, we want a day where we can vote on campaign finance reform.

Mr. Speaker, let us move forward and pass real, comprehensive campaign finance reform. The fact is that in view of all the campaign finance scandals that have engulfed both parties, the fact that this House has failed to act is in my view a national scandal. Vote "no" on the previous question.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. FARR].

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

I rise on this rule on H.R. 408, the bill that deals with changing the law about truth in labeling. It essentially changes the law about how we label things in America. I rise to speak against the rule, because we are refusing to change the law that allows truth in America about how we run campaigns.

The honorable chairman of the Committee on Rules just said this is a lot of hot air. The heat is being turned on because the American public wants to have campaign finance reform. The worst abuse of power about it all is when they, because they are in power, if they have the power to bring issues to the floor for debate, that is what is missing. That is why we ought to be defeating this rule, and every rule until we get a bill here on the floor, get a moment here on the floor where we can vote on choices for campaign reform.

Look at this. We have had campaign reform voted on on this floor in the last four Congresses. Every one of those has taken up campaign reform. The President for the first time came right here in this room and asked us, by July 4, just a few months from now, to have that bill on his desk, and we have done absolutely nothing about it. That is the abuse of power. That is the abuse of power.

The Republican leadership is avoiding the issue. The American public wants us to debate it, wants us to vote it, and wants us to reform it. All we are here to talk about is how we are going to take away the law about tuna in a can, how we are going to change that law, how we are going to tell people, they will misperceive, and people are not going to know whether the tuna in that can was fished safely or not, and yet we will not debate about how we are going to get people elected to the U.S. Congress.

Congress needs to confront this issue. I urge my colleagues to vote "no" on the previous question, and to insist that we honor the people of this country, that we honor the President of the United States, that we honor our own process and our own power by bringing to the floor those bills that have been

introduced, all of those bills that have been introduced on campaign reform, and have an honest debate and vote them up and down. That is what we ought to be doing. Defeat the previous question.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON].

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, my friends on the majority, the Republicans, are on the horns of a dilemma. They are trying to keep the focus on the Presidential campaign. They always forget Mr. Barbour, their chairman, who got a half a million dollars from a Chinese company. It seems clear by some of the articles that they targeted foreign money over at the RNC, they washed it through a non-profit and sent it over to the RNC.

But we can all sit here and talk about the failures of the present system. The horns of the dilemma which they are on is while they can highlight the problem, the American people reject their solution.

The last time they brought a bill to the floor they wanted to increase the amount of money wealthy individuals could give. If Members think wealthy people do not have enough access to Government, maybe that is their solution. The American people do not believe that. They wanted to increase the amount of money you could give to parties in almost every other category. The American people do not believe that is the solution. So the reason they do not want to bring the bill to the floor is because if they bring it to the floor, the solution they present will be almost unanimously rejected by the American people.

The record here is clear. Under Democratic control this House passed campaign finance reform through the House and Senate. It was then vetoed by President Bush. With the election of President Clinton and his commitment to sign a campaign finance reform bill in the first 2 years, with a Democratic House we were able to pass the bill, only to find it to be filibustered by the Senator from Kentucky.

Now the filibusterers are apparently in this Chamber as well. The Committee on Rules, the leadership on the Republican side of the aisle, have refused to give the Members of Congress an opportunity to bring this legislation to the floor.

If the Members were firemen on that side of the room, they would be looking at a fire saying, my, it is terrible. It is burning. It ought not to be doing that. Why do you not turn a hose on? They say, "Oh, no, we are just here to critique the present system. God forbid we should come forward with a solution."

There are solutions on their side of the aisle. The gentleman from California [Mr. FARR] has one, I have one. There may be different ways to fight a fire, but not turning the hoses on is not one of them.

In this case, we have to shut the fire of money down. The average citizen

does not feel he can have an impact on a political process when he hears about a half a million dollars to the RNC or a half a million dollars to the DNC. We ought to limit contributions to \$100, make every American feel like they can be empowered. We have to have a system that encourages women and minorities to have the same opportunity to run as wealthy white males.

I have nothing against wealthy white males, but they should not be the only ones represented here.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore [Mr. GUTKNECHT]. If the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON] will suspend, the Chair will take the prerogative of the Chair to remind all Members that under the rules and precedents of the House, it is not in order to cast reflections on the Senate or its Members, individually or collectively.

Finally, it is not in order to refer to the President in terms that are personal.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Chair. I think those are good rules. We are all trying to live by them.

The question is, Are we going to respond to a system that is endangering the support of the American people? When they see a half a million dollars given to one campaign or another, they feel like their involvement volunteering in a campaign, or a small contribution that an average individual could give, are meaningless.

Let us come together on this and give the country back to the people, send them the message that their volunteering in campaigns for Republicans, Democrats, or Independents is vital to the political process. Let us tell them that we are not going to have the kind of monstrous-sized checks given to political parties and candidates that make the average citizen feel like they do not count.

Let us give America back to the people of this country, and let us rebuild the confidence, not just pointing fingers at each other, where each side may have erred, but how do we fix it. That is why we are sent here. We are not just observers in a war, we are here to fight for our constituents. I believe the majority is abdicating that responsibility on this crucial issue.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MICA].

Mr. MICA. Mr. Speaker, we are talking about a rule here on a tuna-and-fish bill. Everyone knows there is something fishy and something wrong with campaign financing as we know it. I think this side wants to change it.

The problem is that the other side and the White House, even as we speak here today, have not done much to cooperate in the investigation to see what is wrong with current campaign financing. Even as I am here, documents are being delivered from the White House. Today we were about to question and hold in contempt the

White House legal counsel because month after month they have refused to cooperate with us. They said they were going to give us documents and did not until that pressure was applied.

So we want campaign finance reform, we want to improve the system, we want to work with the other side, and we know we can and must do a better job. But we should at least have the cooperation that we have had to elicit out of the other side by force, unfortunately, today.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the question that we have to ask ourselves is simply, when is enough enough? How much longer can we sit here as Members of the House of Representatives and pick up any morning paper in almost any city in the United States and read yet another story about some campaign committee, some officer of the Republican National Committee, the Democratic National Committee, the White House, the congressional campaign committees, engaging in activities either that are illegal, or have so distorted the system that those who write large checks, those who have access to money, get access to government that the ordinary citizen could never dream of.

This is supposedly the people's House. Yet we find that money, money is becoming the means of access, as opposed to your rights as a constituent to Members of Congress. Every day we see more and more decisions brought forth in the press that were distorted by money: decisions of regulatory agencies, decisions of committees, decisions of subcommittees, where money influenced the outcome of the deliberations.

The Republicans like to suggest that it is all just about illegal contributions. The tragedy at the end of all of these investigations will be that the vast amount of money that causes the distortions in the system in terms of representational government is legal. It is legal. It is legal to the extent that it is simply swamping the ability of local constituents to have a say in their election.

We need campaign finance reform. At the very beginning of this session, I and 100 of our colleagues, on a bipartisan basis, wrote to the Speaker and asked him to give us a date to bring it forth within the first 100 days of Congress. May 26 is the 100th day and he has not brought it forth. The President has asked to do it by July 4. There is no indication that will be done.

In 100 days we defeated Saddam Hussein in the Persian Gulf. In 100 days the Brits defeated the Argentinians in the Falklands. In 100 days Franklin Delano Roosevelt laid the groundwork for a New Deal.

□ 1415

In 100 days, 2 years ago we passed most of the Contract With America. In

100 days one can do great things. This House, this Speaker has chosen to do nothing in this first 100 days with respect to a cancer on the political system of American government. We need that debate on this floor. We need a wide open debate.

Our beloved former Speaker, Tip O'Neill, when asked by people, what is the greatest power that the Speaker of the House of Representatives had, he said, the power of recognition, because the Speaker controlled the agenda. If the Speaker does not recognize you, you cannot come forth on the floor.

The Speaker of this House owes it to the House and to the American people to use his power to call forth the debate on campaign finance reform and let the chips fall where they may. The investigations will continue and, as the investigations like to point out, they are investigating matters that they believe are already illegal under the law.

That is not the problem in terms of representational government, and that is not the problem in terms of this institution. The problem is the volume of money that is now foreclosing the voices of millions of Americans who would like to weigh in in the decisions that we make in the people's House.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. CUNNINGHAM].

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I will do something unique and speak about the issue at hand, the tuna dolphin bill, and stay away from what some of my colleagues want to get into, political maneuvering.

I stand before my colleagues as an original cosponsor of a bill that would save dolphins. When I was on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, we had a pretty monumental problem. All over the world, dolphin were being killed in thousands and thousands of numbers. Both the United States and other fishing environments and fishing fleets reacted and tried to devise methods that would actually save dolphin and allow us to fish and feed the populations of the world.

One of the things they did was to establish a system to where they could back down the net because, where you have tuna being caught, the dolphins swim above it. And the dolphin were being caught up in these nets. So the fishing fleets devised a system where you would actually back down the nets and, where the dolphin swim above, the tuna would swim out of the back side of the nets. We have had two fishermen from the United States killed by sharks actually trying to help the dolphin out of the nets.

Now, dolphin-safe means that there is no dolphin within that particular catch that was killed. And for some of my colleagues, that is not good enough. One of the problems is there are 11 other nations out there that fish tuna and catch dolphin. They do not adhere to our rules. So there are still dolphin being killed in many of these catches.

There was an agreement that was set forth, called the Panama agreement, to bring in these other nations to ask them to adhere to our requirements to not kill dolphin. And they did so under the dolphin-safe label and under the Panama agreement. Some of my colleagues will say the State Department was not involved. I have got letters from here, and I have got the actual Panama agreement itself signed by the State Department. It was negotiated with five environmental groups that support this legislation.

I have got a letter here from the President of the United States; I have one here from AL GORE. It says: The Vice President says the administration strongly supports this legislation, which is essential to the protection of dolphins and other marine life in the eastern tropical Pacific. Then the President, our shared goals are to further reduce, eliminate dolphin mortality, to minimize incidental catch for other species, and he strongly supports this legislation.

Greenpeace believes, and I quote: Greenpeace believes that the Greenpeace bill offers the best foundation for the United States and other nations to resolve the tuna-dolphin.

It goes on and on. Here is one from Barry McCaffrey. Some of my colleagues will claim that we are shipping drugs through fishing fleets. Give me a break. Most of the drugs come through cargo containers and across our borders. And, yes, there is a drug problem. The boat that they refer to is out of Ecuador, which is a dolphin-safe country already. And guess what, there was no fishing paraphernalia on the boat that was caught. It was one of their boats. It was not even fishing, and it had no observer.

Every single boat that goes out to fish will have an internationally trained observer to monitor, to make sure that there are no slip-ups. If there is a dolphin killed in that set, Mr. Speaker, that set cannot be used in dolphin-safe fishing.

But yet some of my colleagues will still fight it. The real answer, here it is right here, Earth Island makes millions of dollars managing the tuna-safe dolphin. Here is their fundraising list after they blast all the negatives. Here is the President, the Vice President, the White House, we had 316 votes last year on this. It went through two different full committees. The subcommittee, the committees with amendments and changes and all these changes went through in conjunction with the Panama agreement. And now they are supported by Republicans and Democrats, and this is going to pass overwhelmingly. That is why my colleagues across the aisle here want to use this as a political stymie in campaign finance reform. The issue before us is protecting dolphin.

I would say that there is another reason. There are actually, believe it or not, pro-reform people in the Mexican Government that are working with us.

I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TURNER].

Mr. TURNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to urge a no vote on the previous question because of my strong belief that it is time for this Congress to act and to act quickly on campaign finance reform.

Recently the New York Times quoted a woman by the name of Pam Elliott in Tennessee who said, "The special interest groups are spending millions to get their point across and people like me aren't heard at all. "Money talks," says Ms. Elliott.

Unfortunately, Ms. Elliott is right. Money does talk. In fact, it not only talks but it shouts. So loud that it is drowning out the voices of ordinary Americans who want to participate and be heard in the political process.

As the tide of special interest money has increased, voter turnout and confidence in Government has fallen to a dangerously low level. Voters have concluded that their votes mean far less than a wealthy contributor's dollars, and they believe that our Government is for sale to the highest bidder. Experienced lawmakers from this Chamber have left this House, because they are weary of spending their time panderhandling for dollars. And qualified citizens have declined all across this country to run for office because they are unable and are unwilling to stoop to the level necessary to raise the millions of dollars needed to run for office today.

Less than half of the voters in this country even bother to participate in casting a vote for a candidate for President because they are turned off by the political process as we know it. What kind of company in this country today would pay for an advertising campaign that drove half the consumers to boycott the product? That is what we are doing with our current system of campaign finance.

A democracy cannot survive, much less succeed, with such a widespread loss of faith in the democratic process.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SAXTON], subcommittee chairman on this legislation.

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, one would hardly know what this bill was about listening to the debate. This rule is about a bill which has been long in coming.

We have been working on this bill for 3 years, and it came as a result of a law actually that was passed in 1993, because in 1993, we recognized that we were killing too many dolphins in the eastern tropical Pacific by way of tuna fish fishermen.

What was happening back then, Mr. Speaker, is very simply that the way of catching tuna was to find a school of dolphin and recognizing that tuna fish school up under dolphin, we would surround, or the fishermen would sur-

round the dolphin with large nets called purse seine nets and scoop up the tuna fish along with the dolphins. We found that we were killing something in excess of 100,000 dolphins a year. That is what this issue is about.

I find it regrettable that the other side has seen fit to take this time and steal it away from the environmental community who have been waiting for 3 years at least to discuss this issue today seriously and take the time and use it for something else.

But the bill that is coming today I think is a very important one and it really has taken a long time to get here. What we will do today is to turn back the bill that was passed in 1993, which did in effect make American fishermen stop fishing on dolphins, as the terminology goes, stop fishing on dolphins so that we would not kill 100,000. And we have reduced the kill of dolphins to a very, very low level.

Unfortunately, 12 other countries that fish in the same fishery chose not to abide by American law because they had other markets for the fish and they were off doing other things. So we set upon international negotiations through our State Department to bring an end to the international catch of dolphins.

As we have proceeded, this bill will be the final chapter, we hope, in bringing about a resolution to that problem. Not only will we have an international agreement that solves the dolphin problem, we will also have an international agreement that provides for a habitat management plan in effect which preserves the lives of sea turtles, billfish, sharks and young juvenile, some people call them baby tuna fish, all of which are victims of the present regime of activities that goes on in this fishery which is a very, very bad management plan.

So we have heard a lot of hyperbole today about what the other side would like us to hear about. It is no wonder, Mr. Speaker, it is no wonder the American people get confused. It is no wonder the American people get disgusted because we bring a rule to the floor that has to do with dolphins and tuna fish and sea turtles, and the other side sees fit to try to publicize and politicize the debate.

I think it is most unfortunate, Mr. Speaker.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MEEHAN].

Mr. MEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, we are going to have an opportunity to vote on the underlying bill, but I rise in support of a "no" vote on the previous question to require a vote on campaign finance reform by July 4. That is because the leadership of the Republican Party has refused to bring this issue up.

Let me also rise to highlight the Republican majority's abuse of the legislative process to block campaign finance reform.

Mr. Speaker, back in January, President Clinton challenged the Congress

to enact bipartisan campaign finance reform by July 4. The following week the Republican leadership responded by not including campaign finance reform on its list of legislative priorities for the 105th Congress. Soon after the co-sponsors of the bipartisan campaign finance reform act sent a letter to Speaker GINGRICH, asking him to work with us to set a schedule for House consideration of bipartisan campaign finance reform. We received no response.

In February, the Committee on the Judiciary held hearings on campaign finance reform and on the first amendment. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SHAYS] and I asked for the chance to testify on the bipartisan campaign finance reform bill. We were denied that opportunity.

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Mr. Speaker, over the last 4 months, the gentleman from California, Mr. GEORGE MILLER, has asked time and time again for a vote on campaign finance reform, for a vote to be scheduled. Time and time again his requests have fallen on deaf ears.

Mr. Speaker, we have focused long enough on the problems of our campaign finance system. The question the American people ask is when will we do something about it? Why is it when the President challenges Democrats and Republicans to come up with a bipartisan bill that we see day in and day out this legislative calendar with everything but campaign finance reform on the agenda?

We need to vote on campaign finance reform because this system is broken and needs to be fixed. And as long as the Republican leadership drags its feet, we will be on the floor of this House demanding a vote on this issue.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOGGETT].

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, the underlying legislation that we are considering this afternoon is indeed very important. Anyone who has ever been at sea and seen a school of dolphin leap into the air knows that this mammal is something that is very precious, another gift of God to this world.

And as beautiful as that sight is, as seeing a dolphin leap through the air, what a contrast it is to see the ugly side of politics as candidates and elected officials leap through one hoop after another in the search for campaign dollars in a campaign system that each year requires hundreds of millions of dollars in order to have a chance to see how this Congress and how this democracy will run.

Unless we find a better way to deal with the netting of elected officials that is occurring from special interests across this country, then the fishy smell will pervade more than just this Chamber, it will pervade this country.

The American people know how critical it is to reform our campaign finance system. They have spoken out

again and again expressing their concern not just about one party, but both, and the way our democracy is threatened by special interest money, and yet again and again we have come to this floor and asked to be heard on this issue. It is not a question of a lack of time or a lack of interest in this body; it is, rather, a lack of commitment on the part of the leadership to bring this issue to the floor.

And it is easy to understand why. Speaker GINGRICH has said again and again that he thinks there is not enough money in the political system. He wants even more money flowing into this system. And we heard him say only last week, at a gathering of contributors who gave as much as a quarter of a million dollars apiece to the Republican Party, that whatever they have donated, worked for, or given to avoid that alternative; that is, not having Republicans in power, is a tiny token of what it has saved them. It is this quid pro quo system that has to be changed.

We do not claim to have a monopoly on the solutions. The Blue Dogs have a solution. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. MEEHAN] has come forward with a solution. There are many alternatives that can be considered. But why not allow the time on this floor for a full and open debate on the need to reform our campaign finance system?

What can be more fundamental than the way this democracy works, than the way our Members of Congress and all of our Federal officials are financed? This is vote No. 5 today for reform. Let us make it a positive vote.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. BARR].

Mr. BARR of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Washington for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I come from the 7th District of Georgia, and I do not think we have any dolphins there, but this is important legislation to many districts around the country that have problems with tuna fishing and dolphins.

We heard about, I do not know whether it was lords a leaping or dolphins leaping through the air in the sunset or something. And then we segued from that through a series of platitudes about let us let the chips fall where they may and money talks, all of which has nothing to do with either the issues of ethics in Government, honesty in Government, and selling our national security, nor does it have anything to do with the legislation at hand.

But let us pick up the gauntlet that has been thrown down today, Mr. Speaker, and let us reflect on a couple of things here that are factually and historically accurate and deserve to be considered as part of this so-called debate on the other side.

The campaign finance laws about which the other side is ranting and raving and railing today, Mr. Speaker,

have been around actually for quite a while. As a matter of fact, they were enacted by Democrat Congresses. And as a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, just two Congresses ago both Houses of the Congress; that is, the House and the Senate, were in the hands of the Democrat Party. And come to think of it, Mr. Speaker, so was the White House.

Now, they were not out here talking about lords a leaping and we need to let the chips fall where they may and money talks and we need to do something about it. No, all those folks were lining their pockets. They were going to the Huangs and the Lippo Group and the Buddhist temples and lining their pockets. And now, when their hand is caught in the cookie jar, oh, now they say, this is a bad system and it is awful what it has forced us to do and we must change this system. We must change this system. We have never had the chance before to change the system, but now we must change this system so that what it has forced us to do does not ever happen again.

This is bogus, Mr. Speaker. Let us get back to the issues and let us move on to the business of this country.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

The debate we have had today, Mr. Speaker, is important to us, and I think it is important to the American people, but we do not have a lot of avenues to try to make our opinions known.

A couple of things have been said that I would really like to comment on. The first is that I share everybody's grief and concern when these laws have been broken. Nobody feels more badly about that than I, and I want to get to the bottom of it. But one of the ways we could have done better in trying to make sure that the laws we have on the books now are conformed with was the \$1.7 million that was taken out of the supplemental last week to the FEC to help them to make sure that all laws are complied with, and I am sorry that that happened as well.

This vote today on whether to order the previous question is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question today is a vote to allow this opposition, for at least a moment, to offer an alternative plan.

I want to make it clear to everyone that defeating the previous question will in no way affect the consideration of H.R. 408, which is important and which we will not in any way try to interfere with, but it is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert extraneous material in the RECORD.

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

There was no objection.

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

As this debate concludes, it seems as if there is a pattern being set here, at least by the other side, that when we are debating a rule we will go off on other issues. And I think that is regrettable because this issue is a very important issue. While the minority obviously has a right to offer dissenting views and other motions, I think we should put those in perspective.

So I will conclude my remarks, Mr. Speaker, by reminding my colleagues that defeating the previous question is an exercise in futility because in case the minority wants to offer an amendment, that will be ruled out of order as nongermane to this rule. So as a matter of fact, the vote will be without substance.

The previous question vote itself is simply a procedural motion to close debate on this rule and proceed to a vote on its adoption. The vote has no substantive or policy implications whatsoever.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would provide for the RECORD an explanation of the previous question.

THE PREVIOUS QUESTION VOTE: WHAT IT MEANS

House Rule XVII ("Previous Question") provides in part that: There shall be a motion for the previous question, which, being ordered by a majority of the Members voting, if a quorum is present, shall have the effect to cut off all debate and bring the House to a direct vote upon the immediate question or questions on which it has been asked or ordered.

In the case of a special rule or order of business resolution reported from the House Rules Committee, providing for the consideration of a specified legislative measure, the previous question is moved following the one hour of debate allowed for under House Rules.

The vote on the previous question is simply a procedural vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution that sets the ground rules for debate and amendment on the legislation it would make in order. Therefore, the vote on the previous question has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever.

H. RES. 153—PREVIOUS QUESTION AMENDMENT TEXT

At the end of the resolution add the following new section:

"Section 2. No later than July 4, 1997, the House shall consider comprehensive campaign finance reform legislation under an open amendment process."

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the opposition, at least for the moment, to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's "Precedents of the House of Representatives," (VI, 308-311) describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that

"the refusal of the House to sustain the demand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

Because the vote today may look bad for the Republican majority they will say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership "Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives," (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual:

"Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down the previous question on the rule . . . When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

Deschler's "Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives," the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues:

"Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

The vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda to offer an alternative plan.

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GUTKNECHT). The question is on ordering the previous question.

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

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule XV, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of agreeing to the resolution.

Without objection, the postponed vote on the motion to suspend the rules will be a 5-minute vote immediately after the disposition of this rule.

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. GUTKNECHT) [during the vote]. Members are advised that the voting machine is apparently not working and that voting will proceed with Members casting their votes in writing in the well.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore [during the vote]. The Chair announces that voting stations are now operative in the Chamber. Those Members who have not yet voted or would like to check whether or not their vote has been recorded should do so because the Chair is informed that they are now operating.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore [during the vote]. The Chair apologizes for the necessary delay in manually recording votes and encourages all Members to verify either on the computer terminals or on the board that they have in fact been recorded. The Chair expects to have the rest of the votes recorded within the next 2 or 3 minutes.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 226, nays 203, not voting 5, as follows:

[Roll No. 149]

YEAS—226

Aderholt	Cunningham	Horn
Archer	Davis (VA)	Hostettler
Armey	Deal	Houghton
Bachus	DeLay	Hulshof
Baker	Diaz-Balart	Hutchinson
Ballenger	Dickey	Hyde
Barr	Doolittle	Inglis
Barrett (NE)	Dreier	Istook
Bartlett	Duncan	Jenkins
Barton	Dunn	Johnson (CT)
Bass	Ehlers	Johnson, Sam
Bateman	Ehrlich	Jones
Bereuter	Emerson	Kasich
Billbray	English	Kelly
Bilirakis	Ensign	Kim
Bliley	Everett	King (NY)
Blunt	Ewing	Kingston
Boehlert	Fawell	Klug
Boehner	Foley	Knollenberg
Bonilla	Fowler	Kolbe
Bono	Fox	LaHood
Brady	Franks (NJ)	Largent
Bryant	Frelinghuysen	Latham
Bunning	Gallegly	LaTourette
Burr	Ganske	Lazio
Burton	Gekas	Leach
Buyer	Gibbons	Lewis (CA)
Callahan	Gilchrest	Lewis (KY)
Calvert	Gillmor	Linder
Camp	Gilman	Livingston
Campbell	Goodlatte	LoBiondo
Canady	Goodling	Lucas
Cannon	Goss	Manzullo
Castle	Graham	McCollum
Chabot	Granger	McCrery
Chambliss	Greenwood	McDade
Chenoweth	Gutknecht	McHugh
Christensen	Hall (TX)	McInnis
Coble	Hansen	McIntosh
Coburn	Hastert	McKeon
Collins	Hastings (WA)	Metcalf
Combest	Hayworth	Mica
Cook	Hefley	Miller (FL)
Cooksey	Herger	Mollinari
Cox	Hill	Moran (KS)
Crane	Hilleary	Morella
Crapo	Hobson	Myrick
Cubin	Hoekstra	Nethercutt

Neumann	Rogan
Ney	Rogers
Northup	Rohrabacher
Norwood	Ros-Lehtinen
Nussle	Roukema
Oxley	Royce
Packard	Ryun
Pappas	Salmon
Parker	Sanford
Paul	Saxton
Paxon	Scarborough
Pease	Schaefer, Dan
Peterson (MN)	Schaffer, Bob
Peterson (PA)	Sensenbrenner
Petri	Sessions
Pickering	Shadeegg
Pitts	Shaw
Pombo	Shays
Porter	Shimkus
Portman	Shuster
Pryce (OH)	Skeen
Quinn	Smith (MI)
Radanovich	Smith (NJ)
Ramstad	Smith (OR)
Redmond	Smith (TX)
Regula	Smith, Linda
Riggs	Solomon
Riley	Souder

NAYS—203

Abercrombie	Goode	Neal
Ackerman	Gordon	Oberstar
Allen	Green	Obey
Baesler	Gutierrez	Olver
Baldacci	Hall (OH)	Ortiz
Barcia	Hamilton	Owens
Barrett (WI)	Harman	Pallone
Becerra	Hastings (FL)	Pascarell
Bentsen	Hefner	Pastor
Berman	Hilliard	Payne
Berry	Hinchey	Pelosi
Bishop	Hinojosa	Pickett
Blagojevich	Holden	Pomeroy
Blumenauer	Hooley	Poshard
Bonior	Hoyer	Price (NC)
Borski	Jackson (IL)	Rahall
Boswell	Jackson-Lee	Rangel
Boucher	(TX)	Reyes
Boyd	Jefferson	Rivers
Brown (CA)	John	Rodriguez
Brown (FL)	Johnson (WI)	Roemer
Brown (OH)	Johnson, E. B.	Rothman
Capps	Kanjorski	Roybal-Allard
Cardin	Kaptur	Rush
Carson	Kennedy (MA)	Sabo
Clay	Kennedy (RI)	Sanchez
Clayton	Kennelly	Sanders
Clement	Kildee	Sandlin
Clyburn	Kilpatrick	Sawyer
Condit	Kind (WI)	Schumer
Conyers	Klecza	Scott
Costello	Klink	Serrano
Coyne	Kucinich	Sherman
Cramer	LaFalce	Sisisky
Cummings	Lampson	Skaggs
Danner	Lantos	Skelton
Davis (FL)	Levin	Slaughter
Davis (IL)	Lipinski	Smith, Adam
DeFazio	Lofgren	Snyder
DeGette	Lowey	Spratt
Delahunt	Luther	Stabenow
DeLauro	Maloney (CT)	Stark
Dellums	Maloney (NY)	Stenholm
Deutsch	Manton	Stokes
Dicks	Markey	Strickland
Dingell	Martinez	Stupak
Dixon	Mascara	Tanner
Doggett	Matsui	Tauscher
Dooley	McCarthy (MO)	Taylor (MS)
Doyle	McCarthy (NY)	Thompson
Edwards	McDermott	Thurman
Engel	McGovern	Tierney
Eshoo	McHale	Torres
Etheridge	McIntyre	Towns
Evans	McKinney	Turner
Farr	McNulty	Velazquez
Fattah	Meehan	Vento
Fazio	Meek	Visclosky
Filner	Menendez	Waters
Flake	Millender	Watt (NC)
Foglietta	McDonald	Waxman
Forbes	Miller (CA)	Wexler
Ford	Minge	Weygand
Frank (MA)	Mink	Wise
Frost	Moakley	Woolsey
Furse	Mollohan	Wynn
Gejdenson	Moran (VA)	Yates
Gephardt	Murtha	
Gonzalez	Nadler	

NOT VOTING—5

Andrews
Hunter

Lewis (GA)
Schiff

Snowbarger

□ 1517

Messrs. BOSWELL, RAHALL, and WISE changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

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

So the previous question was ordered.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

REMOVAL OF NAME OF MEMBER AS COSPONSOR OF HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 65

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to remove the name of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BOB SCHAFFER] as a cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 65. The name of gentleman from Colorado was inadvertently added by my staff. The correct name should have been the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. DAN SCHAEFER].

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

There was no objection.

VOLUNTEER PROTECTION ACT OF 1997

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5, rule I, the pending business is the question of suspending the rules and passing the bill, H.R. 911, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. INGLIS] that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 911, as amended, on which the yeas and nays are ordered.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The recording machines are now working. Members will record their vote by electronic device.

This will be a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 390, nays 35, not voting 9, as follows:

[Roll No. 150]

YEAS—390

Abercrombie	Bartlett	Boehner
Ackerman	Barton	Bonilla
Aderholt	Bass	Bonior
Allen	Bateman	Bono
Archer	Bentsen	Borski
Armey	Bereuter	Boswell
Bachus	Berry	Boucher
Baesler	Bilbray	Boyd
Baker	Bilirakis	Brady
Baldacci	Bishop	Brown (FL)
Ballenger	Blagojevich	Brown (OH)
Barcia	Bliley	Bryant
Barr	Blumenauer	Bunning
Barrett (NE)	Blunt	Burr
Barrett (WI)	Boehlert	Burton

Buyer	Gutknecht	Millender-
Callahan	Hall (OH)	McDonald
Calvert	Hall (TX)	Miller (CA)
Camp	Hamilton	Miller (FL)
Campbell	Hansen	Minge
Canady	Harman	Mink
Cannon	Hastert	Moakley
Capps	Hastings (WA)	Molinari
Cardin	Hayworth	Moran (KS)
Carson	Hefley	Moran (VA)
Castle	Hefner	Morella
Chabot	Herger	Murtha
Chambliss	Hill	Myrick
Chenoweth	Hilleary	Neal
Christensen	Hinchey	Nethercutt
Clay	Hinojosa	Neumann
Clement	Hobson	Ney
Clyburn	Hoekstra	Northup
Coburn	Holden	Norwood
Collins	Hooley	Nussle
Combest	Horn	Obey
Condit	Hostettler	Olver
Cook	Houghton	Ortiz
Cooksey	Hoyer	Owens
Costello	Hulshof	Oxley
Cox	Hutchinson	Packard
Coyne	Hyde	Pallone
Cramer	Inglis	Pappas
Crane	Istook	Parker
Crapo	Jackson-Lee	Pascarell
Cubin	(TX)	Pastor
Cummings	Jenkins	Paxon
Cunningham	John	Payne
Danner	Johnson (CT)	Pease
Davis (FL)	Johnson (WI)	Pelosi
Davis (VA)	Johnson, E. B.	Peterson (MN)
Deal	Johnson, Sam	Peterson (PA)
DeFazio	Jones	Petri
DeGette	Kanjorski	Pickering
DeLauro	Kaptur	Pickett
DeLay	Kasich	Pitts
Dellums	Kelly	Pomeroy
Diaz-Balart	Kennedy (MA)	Porter
Dickey	Kennedy (RI)	Portman
Dicks	Kennelly	Poshard
Dingell	Kildee	Price (NC)
Dixon	Kilpatrick	Pryce (OH)
Dooley	Kim	Quinn
Doolittle	Kind (WI)	Radanovich
Doyle	King (NY)	Rahall
Dreier	Kingston	Ramstad
Duncan	Kleckza	Redmond
Dunn	Klink	Regula
Edwards	Klug	Reyes
Ehlers	Knollenberg	Riggs
Ehrlich	Kolbe	Riley
Emerson	LaHood	Rivers
Engel	Lampson	Rodriguez
English	Lantos	Roemer
Ensign	Largent	Rogan
Eshoo	Latham	Rogers
Etheridge	LaTourette	Rohrabacher
Evans	Lazio	Ros-Lehtinen
Everett	Leach	Rothman
Ewing	Levin	Roukema
Farr	Lewis (CA)	Royce
Fawell	Lewis (KY)	Rush
Fazio	Linder	Ryun
Flake	Lipinski	Sabo
Foglietta	Livingston	Salmon
Foley	LoBiondo	Sanchez
Forbes	Lowey	Sanders
Ford	Lucas	Sanford
Fowler	Luther	Sawyer
Fox	Maloney (CT)	Saxton
Frank (MA)	Maloney (NY)	Scarborough
Franks (NJ)	Manton	Schaefer, Dan
Frelinghuysen	Martinez	Schaffer, Bob
Frost	Mascara	Schumer
Furse	Matsui	Sensenbrenner
Gallegly	McCarthy (MO)	Serrano
Ganske	McCarthy (NY)	Sessions
Gejdenson	McCollum	Shadegg
Gekas	McCrery	Shaw
Gephardt	McDade	Shays
Gibbons	McDermott	Sherman
Gilchrest	McGovern	Shimkus
Gillmor	McHale	Shuster
Gilman	McHugh	Sisisky
Gonzalez	McInnis	Skaggs
Goode	McIntosh	Skeen
Goodlatte	McKeon	Skelton
Goodling	McKinney	Slaughter
Gordon	McNulty	Smith (MI)
Goss	Meehan	Smith (NJ)
Graham	Menendez	Smith (OR)
Granger	Metcalf	Smith (TX)
Green	Mica	Smith, Adam
Gutierrez		Smith, Linda

Snyder
Solomon
Souder
Spence
Spratt
Stabenow
Stark
Stearns
Stenholm
Stokes
Strickland
Stump
Stupak
Sununu
Talent
Tanner
Tauzin

Taylor (MS)
Taylor (NC)
Thomas
Thompson
Thornberry
Thune
Thurman
Tiahrt
Torres
Towns
Traficant
Turner
Upton
Velazquez
Vento
Visclosky
Walsh

NAYS—35

Becerra
Berman
Brown (CA)
Clayton
Coble
Conyers
Davis (IL)
Delahunt
Deutsch
Doggett
Fattah
Filner

Hastings (FL)
Hilliard
Jackson (IL)
Jefferson
Kucinich
LaFalce
Lofgren
Manzullo
Markey
Meek
Mollohan
Nadler

Oberstar
Paul
Pombo
Rangel
Roybal-Allard
Sandlin
Scott
Tauscher
Tierney
Waters
Watt (NC)

NOT VOTING—9

Andrews
Greenwood
Hunter

Lewis (GA)
McIntyre
Schiff

Snowbarger
Watts (OK)
Weldon (PA)

□ 1526

So (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the Senate bill (S. 543) to provide certain protections to volunteers, nonprofit organizations, and governmental entities in lawsuits based on the activities of volunteers, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

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

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 543

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Volunteer Protection Act of 1997".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) the willingness of volunteers to offer their services is deterred by the potential for liability actions against them;

(2) as a result, many nonprofit public and private organizations and governmental entities, including voluntary associations, social service agencies, educational institutions, and other civic programs, have been adversely affected by the withdrawal of volunteers from boards of directors and service in other capacities;

(3) the contribution of these programs to their communities is thereby diminished, resulting in fewer and higher cost programs than would be obtainable if volunteers were participating;