

|               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Mink          | Rodriguez     | Stupak        |
| Mollohan      | Roemer        | Sununu        |
| Moore         | Rogers (KY)   | Sweeney       |
| Moran (KS)    | Rogers (MI)   | Tancredó      |
| Moran (VA)    | Rohrabacher   | Tanner        |
| Morella       | Ros-Lehtinen  | Tauscher      |
| Murtha        | Ross          | Tauzin        |
| Myrick        | Rothman       | Taylor (MS)   |
| Nadler        | Roukema       | Taylor (NC)   |
| Napolitano    | Roybal-Allard | Terry         |
| Neal          | Royce         | Thomas        |
| Nethercutt    | Rush          | Thompson (CA) |
| Ney           | Ryan (WI)     | Thompson (MS) |
| Northup       | Ryun (KS)     | Thornberry    |
| Norwood       | Sabo          | Thune         |
| Nussle        | Sanchez       | Thurman       |
| Oberstar      | Sanders       | Tiahrt        |
| Obey          | Sandlin       | Tiberi        |
| Olver         | Sawyer        | Tierney       |
| Ortiz         | Saxton        | Toomey        |
| Osborne       | Scarborough   | Towns         |
| Ose           | Schaffer      | Trafigant     |
| Otter         | Schakowsky    | Turner        |
| Oxley         | Schiff        | Udall (CO)    |
| Pallone       | Schroek       | Udall (NM)    |
| Pascrell      | Scott         | Upton         |
| Pastor        | Sensenbrenner | Velazquez     |
| Payne         | Serrano       | Visclosky     |
| Pelosi        | Sessions      | Vitter        |
| Pence         | Shadegg       | Walden        |
| Peterson (MN) | Shaw          | Walsh         |
| Peterson (PA) | Shays         | Wamp          |
| Petri         | Sherman       | Waters        |
| Phelps        | Sherwood      | Watkins (OK)  |
| Pickering     | Shimkus       | Watson (CA)   |
| Pitts         | Shows         | Watt (NC)     |
| Platts        | Shuster       | Watts (OK)    |
| Pombo         | Simmons       | Waxman        |
| Pomeroy       | Simpson       | Weiner        |
| Portman       | Skeen         | Weldon (FL)   |
| Price (NC)    | Skelton       | Weldon (PA)   |
| Pryce (OH)    | Slaughter     | Weller        |
| Putnam        | Smith (MI)    | Wexler        |
| Quinn         | Smith (NJ)    | Whitfield     |
| Radanovich    | Smith (TX)    | Wicker        |
| Rahall        | Smith (WA)    | Wilson        |
| Ramstad       | Snyder        | Wolf          |
| Rangel        | Solis         | Woolsey       |
| Regula        | Souder        | Wu            |
| Rehberg       | Spratt        | Wynn          |
| Reyes         | Stearns       | Young (AK)    |
| Reynolds      | Stenholm      | Young (FL)    |
| Riley         | Strickland    |               |
| Rivers        | Stump         |               |

□ 1713

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LATOURETTE). On this rollcall, 422 Members have recorded their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

Under the rule, further proceedings under the call are dispensed with.

#### PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2356, BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2001

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York (Mr. REYNOLDS) has 1 minute remaining on debate on the rule.

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

Mr. Speaker, the time is here. We are going to have a vote on this rule. This is a fair rule. It allows for full debate on Shays-Meehan, along with the 14 changes the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN) want to make to their own bill. It provides an opportunity for an amendment of the Ney-Wynn bill, the Doolittle bill and the Linder bill, along with numerous other amendments of Members who appeared before the Committee on Rules.

It is a fair rule, one that allows for a full, balanced debate on this very important legislation. This will bring

about, once and for all, a great debate, a debate that the entire House can participate in. The rule that is provided before us, if it is voted up, we have the debate; if it is voted down, it is for those who opposed it to live for another day to demagogue it, rather than vote on it.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, the 2000 presidential election may well be remembered for "hanging chads" and other evidence of the imperfections in our electoral system. The right to vote is our most precious freedom. We cannot afford to have a repeat of last fall's problems.

The 2000 presidential election, therefore, should direct our attention once again to the need for campaign and electoral reform. Both political parties are motivated to address the issue in this 107th session of the Congress. I have already cosponsored legislation to provide states with the tools they need to ensure uniformity and improve voter accuracy and access. We must be careful, however, not to let our efforts to achieve voting reform mask the critical problem with our electoral process—the uncontrolled and pernicious influence of big money on the outcome of our elections. So, today, I rise in strong support of the Shays-Meehan legislation, which will help fix many of our system's problems.

It is time for Congress to enact campaign finance reform because quite frankly, Mr. Speaker, our federal campaign finance system is broken. Last year, both parties spent unprecedented amounts in soft money for a new record in the campaigns for control of the White House and Congress.

New Mexicans—like all Americans—are justifiably appalled by the fact that the amount of money spent in elections has increased exponentially with no end in sight. The Democratic and Republican national party committees raised a record \$463 million in soft money from January 1, 1999 through December 31, 2000, according to a Common Cause analysis released in February. The amount raised during this past election cycle was nearly double the \$235.9 million raised during the 1995–1996 election cycle. We must take action now.

In the 106th Congress, and again in the 107th, I was elected by my colleagues to take a leadership role on the issue of campaign finance reform in the House of Representatives. In September 1999, I helped floor manage the House's passage of the Shays-Meehan legislation which would have closed some of the worst loopholes in the campaign finance laws. However, this bill never became law because of the opposition of a single Senator.

In spite of this setback, a bipartisan group, led by JOHN MCCAIN and RUSSELL FEINGOLD, have passed their legislation in the other body. It is my hope that, this year, the House will follow suit, and pass meaningful campaign finance reform legislation and that the President will sign it into law.

Current law authorizes contributions by individuals of up to \$1,000 per candidate per election and up to \$5,000 per Political Action Committee (PAC) per election. Corporations and unions are prohibited from making any contributions to candidates or their campaigns.

Nevertheless, individuals, unions, and corporations give contributions of hundreds of thousands of dollars, indeed, millions to campaigns as so-called "soft" money to the political parties themselves. The soft money loop-

hole is based on the fiction that a contribution to the Democratic party or the Republican party is different in reality from a contribution to the party's candidates. It is fiction because parties spend most of the contributions on television campaigns and those campaigns have one goal—electing candidates. Banning unregulated, unlimited contributions to parties is the core of campaign finance reform.

Campaign finance reform is vital to every other piece of legislation that Congress considers. From the very real need for a patients bill of rights to the acute need for a comprehensive national energy policy, to the need for a Medicare prescription drug benefit to education reform, the people's voices should be heard and not drowned out by big money. Vested interests have too often been able to exert influence in Congress and White House through the soft money loophole.

Mr. Speaker, campaign finance reform is the most important step Congress can take to restore citizens' belief in our democratic process. What better motivation for reform than the egregious excesses of the 2000 election—both in voter access and in campaign contributions? We must act before the 2002 election, before the abuses of the electoral process have so distorted the democratic ideal that we are no longer truly a "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

I urge my colleagues to vote for this bill. The time is now for real campaign finance reform. Passage of the Shays-Meehan legislation is the only true way to achieve that goal.

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, I am outraged by the unprecedented rule that has been developed for consideration of the Shays-Meehan campaign finance reform legislation. I have never before seen a rule that divides a Manager's Amendment into 14 separate provisions and requires each of them to be passed individually. The Republican Leadership has really outdone themselves this time in finding new and creative ways to thwart the will of the American people.

Since first being elected to office, I have strongly supported meaningful campaign finance reform. I was so hopeful last year when the House passed Shays-Meehan by an overwhelming vote—only to see it die in the Senate.

This year, we were hopeful again. The Senate has passed McCain-Feingold. The House Leadership committed to allowing a vote on Shays-Meehan.

But the Republican Leadership is still trying to pull the rug from under reform again. The Republican Leadership's rule is designed to make it as difficult as possible for Shays-Meehan to pass in the form its sponsors recommend.

If the Rule is defeated, as I believe it should be, the Leadership should rest assured that supporters of campaign finance reform will not go quietly. The American people have said time and again that they want to see our campaign finance system cleaned up in a meaningful way. Defeating this rule will not defeat this issue. We will be back, and Shays-Meehan will ultimately pass this body.

Americans have lost all confidence in the campaign finance system. Rules like this may cause them to lose all confidence in the U.S. Congress. I urge my colleagues to defeat this rule and to demand that Shays-Meehan be brought back under a fair rule so that we can do the will of the American people and start

the process of restoring the faith of the American people in their government.

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

The previous question was ordered.

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

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

Mr. FROST. 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.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 203, nays 228, not voting 3, as follows:

[Roll No. 228]

YEAS—203

|               |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Aderholt      | Gillmor       | Osborne       |
| Akin          | Gilman        | Ose           |
| Armey         | Goode         | Otter         |
| Bachus        | Goodlatte     | Oxley         |
| Baker         | Goss          | Pence         |
| Ballenger     | Granger       | Peterson (PA) |
| Barr          | Graves        | Pickering     |
| Bartlett      | Green (WI)    | Pitts         |
| Barton        | Greenwood     | Platts        |
| Bereuter      | Grucci        | Pombo         |
| Biggert       | Gutknecht     | Portman       |
| Bilirakis     | Hansen        | Pryce (OH)    |
| Blunt         | Hart          | Putnam        |
| Boehner       | Hastert       | Quinn         |
| Bonilla       | Hastings (WA) | Radanovich    |
| Bono          | Hayes         | Ramstad       |
| Brady (TX)    | Hayworth      | Regula        |
| Brown (SC)    | Hefley        | Rehberg       |
| Bryant        | Herger        | Reynolds      |
| Burr          | Hilleary      | Riley         |
| Burton        | Hobson        | Rogers (KY)   |
| Buyer         | Hoekstra      | Rogers (MI)   |
| Callahan      | Horn          | Rohrabacher   |
| Calvert       | Hostettler    | Ros-Lehtinen  |
| Camp          | Hulshof       | Royce         |
| Cannon        | Hunter        | Ryan (WI)     |
| Cantor        | Hutchinson    | Ryun (KS)     |
| Capito        | Hyde          | Saxton        |
| Chabot        | Isakson       | Schaffer      |
| Chambliss     | Issa          | Schrock       |
| Coble         | Istook        | Sensenbrenner |
| Collins       | Jenkins       | Sessions      |
| Combest       | Johnson (IL)  | Shadegg       |
| Cooksey       | Johnson, Sam  | Shaw          |
| Cox           | Jones (NC)    | Sherwood      |
| Crane         | Keller        | Shimkus       |
| Crenshaw      | Kelly         | Shuster       |
| Cubin         | Kennedy (MN)  | Simpson       |
| Culberson     | Kerns         | Skeen         |
| Cunningham    | King (NY)     | Smith (MI)    |
| Davis, Jo Ann | Kingston      | Smith (NJ)    |
| Davis, Tom    | Kirk          | Smith (TX)    |
| Deal          | Knollenberg   | Spence        |
| DeLay         | Kolbe         | Stearns       |
| DeMint        | LaHood        | Stump         |
| Diaz-Balart   | Largent       | Sununu        |
| Doolittle     | Latham        | Sweeney       |
| Dreier        | LaTourette    | Tancredo      |
| Duncan        | Lewis (KY)    | Tauzin        |
| Dunn          | Linder        | Taylor (NC)   |
| Ehlers        | Lucas (OK)    | Terry         |
| Ehrlich       | Manzullo      | Thomas        |
| Emerson       | McCrery       | Thornberry    |
| English       | McHugh        | Thune         |
| Everett       | McInnis       | Tiahrt        |
| Ferguson      | McKeon        | Tiberi        |
| Flake         | Mica          | Toomey        |
| Fletcher      | Miller (FL)   | Traficant     |
| Foley         | Miller, Gary  | Vitter        |
| Forbes        | Moran (KS)    | Walden        |
| Fossella      | Myrick        | Walsh         |
| Frelinghuysen | Nethercutt    | Watkins (OK)  |
| Gallely       | Ney           | Watts (OK)    |
| Gekas         | Northup       | Weldon (FL)   |
| Gibbons       | Norwood       | Weldon (PA)   |
| Gilchrest     | Nussle        |               |

Weller  
Whitfield

Wicker  
Wilson

Young (AK)  
Young (FL)

NAYS—228

|             |                |               |
|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| Abercrombie | Hall (TX)      | Oberstar      |
| Ackerman    | Harman         | Obey          |
| Allen       | Hastings (FL)  | Olver         |
| Andrews     | Hill           | Ortiz         |
| Baca        | Hilliard       | Owens         |
| Baird       | Hinchev        | Pallone       |
| Baldacci    | Hinojosa       | Pascrell      |
| Baldwin     | Hoeffel        | Pastor        |
| Barcia      | Holden         | Payne         |
| Barrett     | Holt           | Pelosi        |
| Bass        | Honda          | Peterson (MN) |
| Becerra     | Hooley         | Petri         |
| Bentsen     | Houghton       | Phelps        |
| Berkley     | Hoyer          | Pomeroy       |
| Berman      | Inslee         | Price (NC)    |
| Berry       | Israel         | Rahall        |
| Bishop      | Jackson (IL)   | Rangel        |
| Blagojevich | Jackson-Lee    | Reyes         |
| Blumenauer  | (TX)           | Rivers        |
| Boehert     | Jefferson      | Rodriguez     |
| Bonior      | John           | Roemer        |
| Borski      | Johnson (CT)   | Ross          |
| Borswell    | Johnson, E. B. | Rothman       |
| Boucher     | Jones (OH)     | Roukema       |
| Boyd        | Kanjorski      | Roybal-Allard |
| Brady (PA)  | Kaptur         | Rush          |
| Brown (FL)  | Kennedy (RI)   | Sabo          |
| Brown (OH)  | Kildee         | Sanchez       |
| Capps       | Kilpatrick     | Sanders       |
| Capuano     | Kind (WI)      | Sandlin       |
| Cardin      | Klecza         | Sawyer        |
| Carson (IN) | Kucinich       | Scarborough   |
| Carson (OK) | LaFalce        | Schakowsky    |
| Castle      | Lampson        | Schiff        |
| Clay        | Langevin       | Scott         |
| Clayton     | Lantos         | Serrano       |
| Clement     | Larsen (WA)    | Shays         |
| Clyburn     | Larson (CT)    | Sherman       |
| Condit      | Leach          | Shows         |
| Conyers     | Lee            | Simmons       |
| Costello    | Levin          | Skelton       |
| Coyne       | Lewis (GA)     | Slaughter     |
| Cramer      | Lipinski       | Smith (WA)    |
| Crowley     | LoBiondo       | Snyder        |
| Cummings    | Lofgren        | Solis         |
| Davis (CA)  | Lowey          | Souder        |
| Davis (FL)  | Lucas (KY)     | Spratt        |
| Davis (IL)  | Luther         | Stark         |
| DeFazio     | Maloney (CT)   | Stenholm      |
| DeGette     | Maloney (NY)   | Strickland    |
| Delahunt    | Markey         | Stupak        |
| DeLauro     | Masara         | Tanner        |
| Deutsch     | Matheson       | Tauscher      |
| Dicks       | Matsui         | Taylor (MS)   |
| Dingell     | McCarthy (MO)  | Thompson (CA) |
| Doggett     | McCarthy (NY)  | Thompson (MS) |
| Dooley      | McCollum       | Thurman       |
| Doyle       | McDermott      | Tierney       |
| Edwards     | McGovern       | Towns         |
| Engel       | McIntyre       | Turner        |
| Eshoo       | McKinney       | Udall (CO)    |
| Etheridge   | McNulty        | Udall (NM)    |
| Evans       | Meehan         | Upton         |
| Farr        | Meek (FL)      | Velazquez     |
| Fattah      | Meeke (NY)     | Visclosky     |
| Filner      | Menendez       | Wamp          |
| Ford        | Millender      | Waters        |
| Frank       | McDonald       | Watson (CA)   |
| Frost       | Miller, George | Watt (NC)     |
| Ganske      | Mink           | Waxman        |
| Gephardt    | Mollohan       | Weiner        |
| Gonzalez    | Moran (VA)     | Wexler        |
| Gordon      | Morella        | Wolf          |
| Graham      | Murtha         | Woolsey       |
| Green (TX)  | Nadler         | Wu            |
| Gutierrez   | Napolitano     | Wynn          |
| Hall (OH)   | Neal           |               |

NOT VOTING—3

□ 1743

Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut changed her vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland changed his vote from "present" to "yea."

So the resolution was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Stated for:

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 228, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present I would have voted "yea."

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. REYNOLDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on House Resolution 188.

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

There was no objection.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. BONIOR asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise to inquire of the gentleman from Missouri the schedule for the remainder of the week and for next week.

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

Mr. BONIOR. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. BLUNT. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend, the gentleman from Michigan, for yielding.

We have now finished the legislative business for this week. We will have a pro forma session on Monday. On Tuesday, the House meets at 10 a.m. We have votes scheduled beginning as early as noon.

The flag-burning constitutional amendment will be on Tuesday; Commerce-State-Justice appropriations on Tuesday; then the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act.

Then the balance of the week we will finish Commerce-State-Justice; Foreign Operations appropriations; charitable choice; and hope to have a patients' bill of rights on the floor the balance of the week next week.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, if I may inquire further of the gentleman, it is a pretty heavy schedule, the Patients' Bill of Rights, charitable choice, as I understand it.

May I ask the gentleman from Missouri when he expects that the campaign finance bill will come back to the floor? We have a majority, a bipartisan majority in this body who wanted a more fair rule. We hope that the Republican majority will bring another rule that is more equitable, more fair, that recollects the vote that we just had.

I would like to inquire when that might happen.

□ 1745

Mr. BLUNT. If the gentleman will continue to yield, we expected, of course, to have the campaign finance bill on the floor tonight. That bill will not be on the floor because of the defeat of the rule, and I think we will just have to look further at the vote