

Mr. MCCONNELL. I object. I will be happy to give the Senator what little time I have remaining.

Mr. WYDEN. That is very gracious.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, we now have a seemingly permanent political campaign in America. We have an election the first Tuesday in November, people sleep in on Wednesday, and it starts all over again on Thursday. The money chase simply does not stop. I came to the Senate after a hard-fought and, frankly, less than pleasant campaign against an individual I am proud to call both a friend and a colleague, Senator GORDON SMITH. In the final weeks of that campaign, we made a decision to unilaterally take off the air all television commercials about Senator SMITH. I thought it was time to talk about issues, time to focus, with the voters, on the real questions that were important to their future.

I am of the view that the American people need to know that today is the day when reform will be passed or defeated. The cloture vote on McCain-Feingold is the vote on campaign finance reform. It is the vote for a Senator who wants to address this problem of independent expenditures. It is the vote on the proposition that we need to have more time spent with voters, less time with raising money.

Mr. President, I urge passage of the bill. I thank the Senator from Kentucky for the additional time.

PAYCHECK PROTECTION ACT

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the clerk will report the motion to invoke cloture.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the McCain-Feingold amendment.

Russell D. Feingold, Paul Wellstone, J. Lieberman, Richard J. Durbin, Tim Johnson, Edward M. Kennedy, Byron L. Dorgan, Barbara A. Mikulski, Daniel K. Akaka, Jay Rockefeller, Dale Bumpers, Wendell H. Ford, John Breaux, J. Robert Kerrey, Ernest F. Hollings, Daniel Moynihan, Patty Murray, Carol Moseley-Braun, and Max Cleland.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the quorum call has been waived.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on amendment No. 1646 to S. 1663, a bill to protect individuals from having their money involuntarily collected and used for politics by a corporation or labor organization, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are required under the rule. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HARKIN) is necessarily absent.

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

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 51, nays 48, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 16 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Akaka	Feingold	Lieberman
Baucus	Feinstein	McCain
Biden	Ford	Mikulski
Bingaman	Glenn	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Graham	Moynihan
Breaux	Hollings	Murray
Bryan	Inouye	Reed
Bumpers	Jeffords	Reid
Byrd	Johnson	Robb
Chafee	Kennedy	Rockefeller
Cleland	Kerrey	Sarbanes
Collins	Kerry	Snowe
Conrad	Kohl	Specter
Daschle	Landrieu	Thompson
Dodd	Lautenberg	Torricelli
Dorgan	Leahy	Wellstone
Durbin	Levin	Wyden

NAYS—48

Abraham	Faircloth	Lugar
Allard	Frist	Mack
Ashcroft	Gorton	McConnell
Bennett	Gramm	Murkowski
Bond	Grams	Nickles
Brownback	Grassley	Roberts
Burns	Gregg	Roth
Coats	Hagel	Santorum
Cochran	Hatch	Sessions
Coverdell	Helms	Shelby
Craig	Hutchinson	Smith (NH)
D'Amato	Hutchison	Smith (OR)
DeWine	Inhofe	Stevens
Domenici	Kempthorne	Thomas
Enzi	Kyl	Thurmond
	Lott	Warner

NOT VOTING—1

Harkin

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). On this vote the ayes are 51, the nays are 48. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is not agreed to.

CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, under the previous order, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on S. 1663, the Paycheck Protection Act:

Trent Lott, Mitch McConnell, Wayne Allard, Paul Coverdell, Robert F. Bennett, Larry E. Craig, Rick Santorum, Michael B. Enzi, Jeff Sessions, Slade Gorton, Chuck Hagel, Don Nickles, Gordon H. Smith, Jesse Helms, Conrad Burns, and Lauch Faircloth.

CALL OF THE ROLL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the quorum call has been waived.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on S. 1663, a bill to protect individuals from having their money involuntarily collected and used for politics by a corporation or labor

organization, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are required under the rule. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Iowa (Mr. HARKIN) is necessarily absent.

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 45, nays 54, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 17 Leg.]

YEAS—45

Abraham	Frist	Lugar
Allard	Gorton	Mack
Ashcroft	Gramm	McConnell
Bennett	Grams	Murkowski
Bond	Grassley	Nickles
Brownback	Gregg	Roberts
Burns	Hagel	Roth
Coats	Hatch	Santorum
Cochran	Helms	Sessions
Coverdell	Hutchinson	Shelby
Craig	Hutchison	Smith (NH)
DeWine	Inhofe	Smith (OR)
Domenici	Kempthorne	Thomas
Enzi	Kyl	Thurmond
Faircloth	Lott	Warner

NAYS—54

Akaka	Durbin	Lieberman
Baucus	Feingold	McCain
Biden	Feinstein	Mikulski
Bingaman	Ford	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Glenn	Moynihan
Breaux	Graham	Murray
Bryan	Hollings	Reed
Bumpers	Inouye	Reid
Byrd	Jeffords	Robb
Campbell	Johnson	Rockefeller
Chafee	Kennedy	Sarbanes
Cleland	Kerrey	Snowe
Collins	Kerry	Specter
Conrad	Kohl	Stevens
D'Amato	Landrieu	Thompson
Daschle	Lautenberg	Torricelli
Dodd	Leahy	Wellstone
Dorgan	Levin	Wyden

NOT VOTING—1

Harkin

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). On this vote, the yeas are 45, the nays are 54. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn not having voted in the affirmative, the motion is rejected.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LOTT addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there now be a period for the transaction of routine morning business until the hour of 2 p.m. with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE HIGHWAY BILL

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, at approximately 2 p.m. today it will be my intention to move to proceed to the highway bill. If a rollcall vote is requested

on that motion, then Senators should be prepared to vote on the motion by early afternoon. Regardless of that, Senators should expect votes with respect to the highway bill throughout the afternoon and into the evening. There is still the possibility of votes on Friday, and I hope there will be votes Monday.

I hope that there will not be the necessity for a vote on the motion to proceed to the highway bill. Everybody understands it is very important. There are a lot of amendments pending we need to be working on in order to complete action in the Senate in a reasonable period of time so that we can have it done, and hopefully through the conference, well before the May 1 date.

There are negotiations, discussions that have been underway. No agreement has been worked out. Any understanding that is worked out would still have to be, obviously, considered and debated and voted on by the full Senate. But I believe we are making good progress. The time that we have had for the last month has been, I think, beneficial, but it is time we go forward on this.

I encourage Senators to get their amendments ready. There are a lot of amendments, other than funding amendments, that really need to be debated. I hope that they will be prepared to offer them this afternoon and on Friday. Let us get underway.

With that, I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. MCCONNELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. MCCONNELL. I want to thank the distinguished majority leader for his superb leadership and for helping us pick our way through the mine field of campaign finance one more time. He has truly been outstanding. I just wanted to tell him how much I and the rest of the 48 of his party who believe deeply in the first amendment appreciate this, and for his leadership on this subject.

Mr. LOTT. Thank you very much.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I also want to thank Alison McSarrow from the majority staff who has been outstanding. We were sitting over here talking about the stress factor on this issue as it arises. It seems like a bad penny that keeps coming back. We have had a chance to get to know each other well and deal with each other a lot on this issue. Alison, I wanted to tell you what a wonderful job you did.

Mr. CRAIG. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. MCCONNELL. Yes, I will yield.

Mr. CRAIG. I thank the Senator for yielding.

I want to speak only briefly, Mr. President.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, a few weeks ago I had the privilege of being with Senator MCCONNELL when he re-

ceived a "Legislator of the Year" award from a national organization that recognized how critical his leadership on campaign finance reform is. This is an organization that has a large broad-based membership of individual God-fearing, constitutional Americans who recognized, as most of us do, that what we have here and what was debated over the last good number of days was a way of reshaping the Constitution and our basic rights as citizens in this country. You stood up and said: No, it isn't going to happen. It will not happen. We are going to agree with the courts and we are going to keep our citizens free to express, at will, their political thoughts.

So let me thank you for the kind of leadership you brought. Clearly, while it may go unrecognized by many, this was a phenomenally significant vote for the country and for our citizens. And I thank you for that.

Mr. MCCONNELL. I thank my good friend from Idaho for his overly kind observation about my work on this issue. I thank you so very much.

I also want to thank my longtime ally in defense of the first amendment. We have worked together for 10 years now, Tam Somerville and I. She is from the staff, who is also in the stress reduction program, along with Alison McSarrow and myself, as this matter pops up from time to time. Thank you again for your outstanding service to the country in helping us protect our ability to participate in the political process. And Lani Gerst, of my staff, who assisted Tam, has done yeoman's service. I thank her as well.

I yield the floor.

Mr. D'AMATO addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

(The remarks of Mr. D'AMATO and Mr. GRAHAM pertaining to the introduction of S. 1682 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Florida is recognized.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Lory Zastrow and Jeff Pegler of my staff be accorded floor privileges for the duration of my comments.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio is recognized.

Mr. GLENN. I thank the Chair.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I rise today to speak about some of the events on the floor here over the last couple of days. I think perhaps sometimes we need a different yardstick by which to judge some of these votes.

We have now in effect, I guess, unless this campaign finance legislation is hooked onto some other legislation as

we go ahead with our legislative activities of this year, that it is probably dead for this year. I hate to say that. I want to give a speech on some of the outcome of our campaign finance reform hearings that have been taking place in the Governmental Affairs Committee most of last year. I was unable to get over and give this at the appropriate time before the votes that we have had but still want to talk about this a little bit.

I think sometimes on controversial votes, which these are, that there is a different basis that we should be looking at instead of just the party line, just party loyalty and voting down the line with those party leaders who have a particular view. Those views, too often, affect just the political interests of the amendment. How much money are we going to be able to get for this next election? That is the basis on which votes seem to occur. That is a very short-term view of things.

Now, on some of these controversial votes I think there is another way to decide. It is what I call the "grandchild test"—the "grandchild test."

What you should do on some of these votes, I think, is think of what you would like the ideal political system to be when your grandchildren have grown up and long after most of us will have left the Senate of the United States. What kind of law do you want to see in place that deals with them fairly? What kind of law do you want to see in place that makes them feel that their voice is heard in Government as much as those who can contribute millions or at least hundreds of thousands of dollars worth, to get their voices heard? This may be after Democrats have reclaimed the Senate and the House and there is a Republican President. Who knows what the future situation may be.

But a "grandchild test" puts it on a little different basis, it seems to me. Do we want a system that is dominated by interests that may not favor your heirs, your children, your grandchildren? Do we want them to have to contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars to have their voice heard, to be treated fairly?

So the votes we have had over the past few days involve a matter of fairness, plain old fairness. In other words, fairness for all in our political system into the future. That is what the vote on McCain-Feingold was all about. Unfortunately, we cannot muster enough votes to overcome cloture. Although we had a majority of the U.S. Senate, the majority did not prevail because of the cloture that we would have been required to get to break a filibuster.

Mr. President, I welcome the opportunity to discuss the legislation today, the legislation we passed, because over the past year I have had the privilege of serving as the ranking member of the committee on Governmental Affairs' investigation into campaign finance. In the course of the investigation I have come to understand that