

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

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

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

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I thank my colleagues.

CLOTURE MOTION

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

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

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

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

CALL OF THE ROLL

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

VOTE

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

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

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

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

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

[Rollcall Vote No. 315 Leg.]

YEAS—58

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

NAYS—40

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

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

Pell, for

NOT VOTING—1

Inouye

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