

and television advertising, to disclose that to the House of Representatives so the citizens would be fully informed about where that money came from and where that money would go.

But banning soft money to the national parties is not all that we should do. I believe that we also have to look at where the source of soft money comes from, independent of the parties; and that is why I am also a cosponsor of the Paycheck Protection Act.

The Paycheck Protection Act, Mr. Speaker, would prohibit employee wages or dues from being withheld or used for political purposes without the written consent of the wage earner.

Why is that important? Today, literally millions of wage earners are having their paychecks reduced, with the money going to political purposes over which they exercise no control. And what the Paycheck Protection Act would say is that that money cannot be taken from their paycheck without first getting their written consent to use it for political purposes. It can be used for other purposes, collective-bargaining purposes, for information purposes, but, Mr. Speaker, it could not be used for political purposes.

This is one of the largest areas of soft money abuse that is occurring today.

So, Mr. Speaker, for those who have taken the floor and have said, let us take up campaign finance reform, I would say to them join with the bipartisan group that are sponsoring the Campaign Integrity Act and who is sponsoring the Paycheck Protection Act.

#### RECLAIMING OF SPECIAL ORDER TIME

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to reclaim my time.

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

There was no objection.

#### BOTH PARTIES SHOULD WORK TOGETHER TO MOVE AHEAD ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM LEGISLATION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize my friend, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. HILL], for his leadership on this very important issue. He has worked very diligently and hard on the campaign finance reform task force that has produced the bipartisan Campaign Integrity Act of 1997, and I want to congratulate him and thank him for his comments and associate myself with those comments on this key area of reform.

I also want to compliment my colleagues on the other side of the aisle who have joined together in a bipartisan fashion to formulate this very im-

portant step forward in an incremental fashion to accomplishing significant campaign finance reform legislation. I hope that as a result of all of our efforts we can do something good for the American people.

As I sit here in Congress now and think about some of the objections that are raised and also some of the urgencies to bring this legislation to the floor, I cannot help but think that as we fight this battle together, there are supporters and detractors of campaign finance reform legislation on both sides of the aisle. We have got good friends on the other side that support this, we have opponents on the other side; and the same thing on the Republican side of the aisle.

We have to forget pointing fingers at each other and move toward working together to accomplish this. I think that we can do that.

There are other people who say, well, let us just have campaign finance reform legislation, but let us do not ban soft money. I do not believe that we can have legitimate campaign finance reform legislation that will be accepted by the American public unless there is a ban on soft money.

Now, there are certain objections that are raised, people who say, well, in our system, and I hear this particularly from our side of the aisle, that if we close the loophole in this area, the money will continue to flow in campaigns. And I will acknowledge that whenever we have campaigns and we have politics that center around power we will have money flow to those centers of power. That is the nature of it.

But there are two ways we can address campaigns in America. We can take all the limits off. We can take all the rules off and just let the money flow. I personally believe that that is a step in the wrong direction. We should have campaign limits, spending, contribution limits. I think that is appropriate as long as it is within the first amendment. So we have to have some rules.

And any time we have a system of rules, from time to time, we will have to adjust those rules. We are in that phase right now.

The last time we had significant reform was after Watergate. The freshmen rose up and accomplished reform during that time. I believe the freshmen can do that same thing today and move this bill forward and accomplish this, and it has to start with banning soft money.

Yes; there will be other loopholes down the road, but we have to address the most significant problem now, and that is soft money and we can do that.

□ 1830

There are some people who raise an objection to banning soft money by saying, "Well, you're going to give an advantage to the other side." I believe that that is incorrect. We look at the statistics and this comes from the Center for Responsive Politics, based on

the Federal Election Commission reports. It found in the 1996 election cycle that the Democrats raised \$122 million in soft money, the Republicans raised \$141 million. Yes, the Republican side is a little bit more, but we were in the majority at that point. So it is roughly equivalent what each party raised in soft money, whether it is labor money or corporate money.

So if you ban soft money, you keep the playing field level. As a former State party chairman, I think that is the first criteria of election reform, of campaign finance reform, that you keep a level playing field so everyone can compete fairly and honestly within the system. The Bipartisan Campaign Integrity Act of 1997 does this. It meets those objectives. It restores confidence in the system. It increases disclosure, increases information to the American voter. It empowers them by making their contributions once again more meaningful.

That is why this is good legislation. I have urged my Republican leaders to move this legislation forward. I congratulate the gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS], the chairman, who has taken a strong position. He is going to conduct a hearing on this legislation. I hope it will come this fall. I think the time is right right now for this legislation to move forward in the U.S. Congress.

#### CAMPAIN FINANCE REFORM, SECRETARY ALBRIGHT'S REMARKS, AND NAFTA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PAPPAS). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FOLEY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, let me first and foremost commend the gentleman from Arkansas for his good words on campaign finance reform. I join him in that pledge to ban soft money. We did a lot of campaign finance reform in the State of Florida. We reduced the size of the donation from PAC's and individuals. We cleaned up the process, and we made a difference. The American public needs to see real campaign finance reform.

I am particularly impressed the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] has been so aggressive in this pursuit as a freshman in this Congress looking to change the way we do business, and I think it is vital. I think the American public distrusts politics, they do not like the way the system operates and clearly revelations that have been going on in the news media have embarrassed us further. I join him in the pursuit of that reform, soft money bans and other things that will lend some credibility to the U.S. Congress and what we do here.

I also want to commend Secretary Madeleine Albright for her diligent pursuit of peace in the Middle East for the concerns that we all share in this country for peace and stability in the

Middle East. I am particularly impressed how President Clinton has dealt with the situation in Northern Ireland, the new Prime Minister of England, Tony Blair, and others who have been so aggressive in working on peace, peace in the northern portion of Ireland. It is as a result of all parties being brought forward at the table to talk seriously about peace in those regions. That will be the only way we will see peace in the Middle East, is if the parties join together in a pursuit of peace. That includes Yasser Arafat, that includes the Israelis, that includes everyone who is in the region, to start absolutely sitting down to negotiate peace so we can end the bloodshed, end the terror, end the endless killings that are taking place against innocent citizens who just want to live life and are being and having their lives destroyed.

I want to commend Secretary Albright for her engagement there and for her stern words today to end terrorism. I urge her to continue that profile, and I urge the White House to do the same so that we can hopefully eliminate the scourge of terrorism in that region of the world.

The President is going to be requesting fast track authority to our Latin American neighbors. The Florida delegation met today. We had some very serious concerns of granting additional fast track authority to any other nation. Let me speak for myself and not the delegation, because I have significant concerns about what has happened as a result of NAFTA. I can go down the litany of problems we have experienced since NAFTA was passed. We can talk about the increase of drugs coming across our borders, unchecked because of this new policy of bringing all goods in in an expedited fashion.

Immigration was supposed to benefit from NAFTA. We have not seen that. We have seen increased illegal immigration occurring on our border States, increased problems with immigration, and the conditions really not being lifted, if you will, in Mexico itself.

Labor standards are another problem. I visited Mexico and I witnessed children working in the fields, children working in the packaging plants, the spraying of pesticides that are banned in the United States. Again our labor standards, our child labor laws that we hold dear in this country are being violated in Mexico and the bottom line of all that was supposed to be a benefit for the consumers. Somehow through international trade we were going to bring about some benefits to the consumers, that they would save money. The price of a Mexican tomato and an American grown tomato in Florida is equal at the grocery store. So we have shifted jobs out of the United States, we have given a preferential advantage to the growers in Mexico, they violate what would be considered decent American standards on labor, and ultimately the consumer pays the same amount of money. Then we are having fear of food safety as a result of problems that are

being incurred in the system of salmonella and other kinds of problems, the problems in the berries we have recently witnessed, in the strawberries with our school children. Clearly we have a concern.

Mr. Speaker, I can just tell my colleagues as a Member of Congress when we had the big debate on most-favored-nation status for China, the White House, the Trade Office and everyone came over to our office pledging some changes in policy as it related to introduction of citrus to China, a major export for the State of Florida and for the United States, California as well. Prior to the vote I was visited by every official saying, "We are going to work strenuously on these problems you have raised," Congressman Foley. We want to help solve these problems and we're going to make it our priority to see that these things are fulfilled."

We have the most-favored-nation status vote, I vote for it hoping that we are going to see a break of the logjam of problems with the most-favored-nation and China will take our citrus to their Nation, we can do some common dialog on business pursuits. Not a word since that vote. No one has called me to suggest we are making some progress now. They do not need my opinion or vote any longer because the vote is already cast.

I can tell my colleagues that the vote is not going to be easy on fast tracking with Latin America. I am not going to take side agreements or snapback provisions. I want it to be in rule of law that we can understand the dynamics by which trade will be negotiated with our Latin American neighbors.

#### CAMPAIN FINANCE REFORM: A DEMOCRATIC PERSPECTIVE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. ALLEN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Speaker, we have heard during some of the 5-minutes a bit earlier about the topic of campaign finance reform. I want to put that on our agenda tonight for a conversation among Members on the Democratic side of the aisle. I want to begin by drawing a contrast. This Congress is spending millions of dollars and months of activity to investigate alleged abuses in the 1996 election. The question that people across this country need to ask is will this Congress not just investigate, but will this Congress legislate, will we start to do something about the problems of our campaign finance system?

I believe those problems are clear and apparent. We know what they are. Those problems are highlighted and I think many of us in this Chamber could come up with a campaign finance reform bill. The problem would be that those bills would differ greatly from one another and in fact they do. We

have over 80 campaign finance reform bills in this legislature, in this House right now.

So the question is, how can we come together? How can we reach a conclusion and get to some success? One of the problems in our campaign finance system, one of the problems, is that soft money goes to the national parties in unlimited amounts, it goes from corporations, it goes from unions, and it goes from wealthy individuals. There are no limits to the soft money that can be contributed to the national parties. I will come back in a moment to the bipartisan freshman bill which addresses soft money and a couple of other matters, because I do believe in that freshman bill. I think that it is the major bipartisan effort in this particular Congress.

I want to say at the beginning, this issue is becoming a partisan issue and Democrats are rising up and demanding that we have a vote on campaign finance reform before we go home in the fall. But it does not have to be a partisan issue. In fact, the freshmen showed on a bipartisan basis with six Republican freshmen and six Democratic freshmen that we could develop a proposal that would cross party lines and represent significant reform.

Let us step back just for a moment and look at what happened in the last cycle: \$240 million in soft money contributions were made to the national parties. The way that money is used now is different from the way it was planned when the law was first introduced. When this law was first introduced, this money, soft money, was to go to party-building activities, the kinds of activities that involve grassroots activities, that encourage the participation of the people across this country. I know that during this last campaign, I had a letter from one of my constituents, he sent me a \$20 check, and he said, "I hope when you get to Washington, you don't forget the people from the grassroots who sent you there." A \$20 check.

I believe that soft money, \$100,000, \$500,000, million-dollar contributions diminish the role of every small contributor and every voter. If we look at what is happening to our campaign system in this country, there is too much money in politics, the amount of money is growing too fast, and this institution is becoming more and more affected by money. We have to change that. We cannot do it all at once, but we need to turn back the clock and start to make a difference. I think that is what we are here for tonight. I am happy to talk about some of the proposed solutions.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. KIND. Just to pick up on a point the gentleman was making a little earlier, is that not really the crux of the issue, and why we are working so hard in the freshman class at least to enact campaign finance reform? It is about the influence of money in the political