



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 143

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1997

No. 59

## Senate

The Senate met at 9:15 a.m., and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Today's prayer will be offered by the former national chaplain of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Rev. Lyle N. Kell. He was invited by Senator PATTY MURRAY.

We are pleased to have you with us.

### PRAYER

The guest Chaplain, Rev. Lyle N. Kell, offered the following prayer:

Heavenly Father, Almighty God, Creator and Sovereign Ruler of all Creation, I pray that Your mighty controlling and sovereign power will be felt here today in this great Hall of our U.S. Senate so that the laws enacted will cause peace and justice in our great Nation and throughout the world. Help us to understand that You are a loving and compassionate God and Your power can be felt as we understand Your great love for people.

I pray You will keep us from the sin of forgetting that You are the one who sets up kingdoms and puts down kingdoms, and You cause that to happen through the minds and prayers of men and women. You have challenged us through Your Word that we who are ruled should pray for those who rule and those who rule should always seek God's will in their decisions. For those who rule in America watch over the souls of all Americans, knowing that they must give account to You, O God, and let them govern with joy and not grief, for that is unprofitable.

By Christ, therefore, let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually; that is the fruit of our lips giving thanks to His name. But to do good and to communicate, forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. And even now, Heavenly Father, help these men and women to learn the art of extending grace and understanding to those of a contrary mind, a different mindset than one's own, even as You

have extended Your sovereign grace and compassion to each of us. I pray in the name of our wonderful and holy God. Amen.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is now recognized.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Thank you very much, Mr. President. I would like to yield the floor for a minute. The guest Chaplain is the guest of the Senator from Washington. I would like to yield the floor to the Senator from Washington for an introduction.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Washington is recognized.

Mrs. MURRAY. I thank the Chair.

### CHAPLAIN LYLE KELL

Mrs. MURRAY. I want to take this opportunity to thank Chaplain Kell for his inspired prayer. And I also want to thank our Senate Chaplain for working to ensure Chaplain Kell, a resident of our State of Washington, the opportunity to provide spiritual inspiration today to the Senate.

From the shores of Europe to the community of Arlington, WA, Chaplain Kell's record of service to our Nation is impressive. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II from June 1943 to November 1946 as a gunner with the armed guard, the unit that protected merchant marine ships from enemy attack. He received many service decorations, including medals for the European African Middle Eastern campaign and the Asiatic Pacific campaign.

Chaplain Kell was ordained as a minister in 1965 and served as the national chaplain to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States from 1995 to 1996. Born and raised in Skagit Valley, WA, Chaplain Kell is now a resident of Arlington and has been a member of

VFW Post 1561 since 1985. Prior to becoming VFW national chaplain, he served as the VFW post, district, department, and western conference chaplain.

As a member of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, I am proud that Chaplain Kell has been able to continue his dedicated service to our Nation today as the Senate guest Chaplain. I wish to honor Chaplain Kell's wife, Dorothy, and his daughter, Brenda, who have accompanied him here to Washington, DC. And I would also like to extend my most heartfelt good wishes to them and to you, Chaplain Kell, as you celebrate your birthday today.

Thank you, Lyle Kell, for all of your dedicated service to American veterans and to our Nation. Your work to promote our country's freedoms has benefited countless individuals across this Nation and around the world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I appreciate very much the comments of the Senator from Washington. It certainly is appropriate we open with a prayer in the Senate.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, on behalf of the majority leader, I announce that today, following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of the supplemental appropriations bill. At 10 a.m., Senator WARNER will be recognized to offer his amendment. It is the intention of the manager that a motion to table the Warner amendment occur at approximately 10:30. Therefore, Senators should be prepared to vote on the Warner amendment at 10:30.

Following disposition of the Warner amendment, it is the expectation of the leader that the Senate continue to debate the Byrd amendment. Subsequently, Senators should anticipate additional votes throughout today's session. It is the intention of the majority

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S4133

leader to complete action on this important legislation as early as possible today.

I certainly thank my colleagues for their attention.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I thank the Chair.

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. FEINGOLD. I rise today, with my friend and colleague, Senator WELLSTONE, and others to start up the conversation again about the need to clean up our election system and pass meaningful, bipartisan campaign finance reform. I am pleased to announce that as of yesterday the so-called McCain-Feingold legislation now has reached a milestone of having 30 cosponsors in the Senate, with the addition of the distinguished senior Senator from West Virginia, Senator ROBERT BYRD, as a cosponsor.

The senior Senator from Minnesota, of course, was a leader on this issue long before I got here and continues to be, not only in our legislation but on other aspects and ideas about how we can clean up this system.

One of the things that really highlights the importance of this issue is the type of work that was recently done by Public Citizen in releasing a report that lays out the fact that the McCain-Feingold bill, and I am sure other alternatives as well, really would make a difference, that had we done the job last July the elections of 1996 would have looked very different.

They have analyzed three components of the legislation. One is the voluntary limits on overall spending that candidates would agree to in order to get the benefits of the bill. They analyzed the fact that the McCain-Feingold bill would ban soft money completely, as any good reform proposal must do. And Public Citizen analyzed the requirement in the bill that if you want the benefits of the bill, you cannot get more than 20 percent of your total campaign contributions from political action committees.

Very briefly, since I want to obviously hear from the Senator from Minnesota, I just want to report what the figures were. Over the last three election cycles, had these provisions been in the law and had all candidates for the U.S. Senate in 1992 and 1994 and 1996 abided by the limits, \$700 million less would have been spent on these campaigns—\$700 million. That is just for Senate races in three cycles; in other words, just one whole series of Senate races for 100 seats—\$700 million of less spending. It would have been \$259 million in less spending overall by

candidates because they would have agreed to an overall limit for their State; \$50 million less in political action committee receipts and \$450 million less in soft money.

I wish to indicate, since some get in the Chamber and say this is a proincumbent bill, the Public Citizen report shows it is just the opposite, absolutely the opposite of a proincumbent bill. This is a prochallenger bill. Ninety percent of the Senate incumbents over the last three election cycles exceeded the limits for the McCain-Feingold bill—90 percent of the incumbents. Only 24 percent of the challengers exceeded these limits. So the challengers in most cases would have been the ones who would have been more likely to get the benefits of the bill; 81 percent of the incumbents exceeded the 20 percent PAC limit and only 13 percent of the challengers exceeded the 20 percent PAC limit.

So there are many arguments that are posed against the bill, most of which do not hold water, including the notion that the bill is unconstitutional. We will address that on another occasion, but today I thought I would just use a few minutes of this time to indicate that this notion that this bill is protection for incumbents is false and just the opposite is the case as is indicated by Public Citizen.

At this point I would like to—

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I wonder whether the Senator will yield for a question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I was listening to my colleague from Wisconsin, and I thank him for leading this reform effort, in fact I thank Senator MCCAIN and other Senators as well. I know the Presiding Officer has done a lot of work and has spoken out about trying to really reduce the role of big money in politics.

The question I ask my colleague has to do with this whole issue of incumbents and challengers. It has been said sometimes that the debate about campaign finance reform is really less a debate between Democrats and Republicans and all too often is more a debate between ins and outs; that, if anything, part of the inertia here and the slowness to embrace reform and the fierce opposition has to do with the fact that right now the system is really wild for those people who are in office.

My question for my colleague is does he feel some sense of urgency and will he consider coming to the floor every week now with other colleagues—the two of us are sort of getting started. There are a number of Senators who feel very strongly that this is a core issue, the influence of money in politics, and the most important thing we could ever do would be to pass a significant reform measure. Is my colleague from Wisconsin beginning to feel as though it is really going to be impor-

tant that every week from now on for Democrats and Republicans who are serious about reform to be out on the floor and beginning to frame the issues, especially focusing on what are going to be the solutions?

Mr. FEINGOLD. I do really thank the Senator from Minnesota. In fact, I would very much like to join with him in coming out here each week, assuming we are permitted the time. This is the time to start this effort in the Chamber. We had great help from the President of the United States in endorsing the legislation and getting us off to the right start at the beginning of the year when there was a great deal of attention paid to this issue.

Obviously, there are other priorities; the whole issue of balancing the budget has taken much of center stage for the last few weeks and obviously is now on a track, whether one likes it or not, that is moving in a direction that will be resolved one way or another.

That is why I think this is the time, as the Senator from Minnesota is suggesting, to have an awful lot of the conversation here on the floor between now and the day we pass campaign finance reform be about this issue. We have to talk to the American people this way and in every other way about what the real facts are about this issue because it has been often distorted.

For example, the point of the Senator from Minnesota about whether or not this is really a Republican-Democrat issue. It is not. The Public Citizen report, for example, points out there is not a lot of difference between the parties in terms of this issue: 54 percent of the Democrats who ran for the Senate in the last three election cycles exceeded the limits; 59 percent of the Republicans exceeded it. It is not a vast kind of difference, and the Members here really know that. The problem is somehow encouraging Members, incumbents here to realize that their lives and their jobs would be better and the opportunities for others who want to run for office would be better if we do this. But I think we do need to be out here talking about this, if not on a daily basis at least on a weekly basis, to let people know this is a serious effort and that we do intend to succeed.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I wonder if my colleague will allow me to share a concern with him and get his response. Let me tell you what my worry is. I do not have any doubt that people in the country know that too much money is spent, that they know there is too much special interest access, that they know all of us spend too much time raising money. I have no doubt that people understand that. As a matter of fact, I think one of the things that is making it more and more difficult for people to get involved at the grassroots level is when they see these huge amounts of money contributed by some folks and some interests and then they get a letter: We would like you to make a \$10 contribution and be involved in our grassroots effort.