

Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, four rules including a rule entitled "Oriental Fruit Fly; Designation of Quarantined Area" (RIN0579-AA64); to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-2977. A communication from the Administrator of the Agricultural Marketing Service, Marketing and Regulatory Programs, Department of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, three rules including a rule entitled "Milk in the Tennessee Valley Marketing Area" (DA-97-09, FV97-905-1, FV97-998-3); to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-2978. A communication from the President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report relative to a transaction involving U.S. exports to People's Republic of China; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2979. A communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation entitled "The Rural Rental Housing Improvement Act of 1997"; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2980. A communication from the Director of the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Exemptions from the Requirement to Report Large Currency Transactions" (RIN1506-AA11) received on September 3, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2981. A communication from the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report for the calendar year 1996; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2982. A communication from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report relative to the Portfolio Reengineering Demonstration Program for fiscal years 1996 and 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2983. A communication from the Secretary of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule received on September 10, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2984. A communication from the Legislative and Regulatory Activities Division, Comptroller of the Currency (Administrator of National Banks), transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Prohibition Against Use of Interstate Branching Primarily for Deposit Production" (RIN3064-AB97) received on September 5, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2985. A communication from the Acting General Counsel of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Home Investment Partnerships Program" (FR4111) received on September 17, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2986. A communication from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report relative to loan portfolio valuation; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2987. A communication from the Assistant to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Bank Holding Companies and Change in Bank Control" received on August 27, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2988. A communication from the Assistant to the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Collection of Checks

and Other Items" received on September 11, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2989. A communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report relative to the Exchange Stabilization Fund for fiscal year 1996; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2990. A communication from the Attorney-Advisor, Federal Register Certifying Officer, Financial Management Service, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Depositories and Financial Agents of the Federal Government" received on August 21, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2991. A communication from the Chief Counsel of the Bureau of the Public Debt, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule entitled "Regulations Governing Book-Entry Treasury Bonds, Notes and Bills" received on September 3, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2992. A communication from the Chief Counsel of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule received on September 8, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2993. A communication from the Acting Chief Counsel of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, Department of the Treasury, transmitting, pursuant to law, a rule received on August 19, 1997; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-2994. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of the certification of the proposed issuance of an export license; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2995. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report on U.S. exports of defense articles and services, and on imports of military articles to the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, without amendment:

H.R. 1086. A bill to codify without substantive change laws related to transportation and to improve the United States Code.

S. Res. 122. Resolution declaring September 26, 1997, as "Austrian-American Day".

S. 170. A bill to provide for a process to authorize the use of clone paggers, and for other purposes.

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute:

S. 493. A bill to amend section 1029 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to cellular telephone cloning paraphernalia.

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Richard A. Lazzara, of Florida, to be U.S. District Judge for the Middle District of Florida.

Marjorie O. Rendell, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit.

Christina A. Snyder, of California, to be U.S. District Judge for the Central District of California.

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed.)

By Mr. THURMOND, from the Committee on Armed Services:

The following-named officer for appointment in the U.S. Air Force to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, United States Code, section 601 and to be appointed as Chief of Staff, U.S. Air Force under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 8033:

To be general

Gen. Michael E. Ryan, 0000

The following-named officer for appointment in the U.S. Navy to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

To be admiral

Adm. Harold W. Gehman, Jr., 0000

The following-named officer for appointment in the U.S. Marine Corps to the grade indicated while assigned to a position of importance and responsibility under title 10, United States Code, section 601:

To be general

Lt. Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, 0000

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed.)

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. SPECTER:

S. 1191. A bill to reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Ms. SNOWE (for herself, Mr. KERRY, and Mr. KENNEDY):

S. 1192. A bill to limit the size of vessels permitted to fish for Atlantic mackerel or herring, to the size permitted under the appropriate fishery management plan; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. GORTON (for himself, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. HOLLINGS, and Mr. FORD):

S. 1193. A bill to amend chapter 443 of title 49, United States Code, to extend the authorization of the aviation insurance program, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. KYL (for himself, Mr. BOND, Mr. GRAMM, and Mr. NICKLES):

S. 1194. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to clarify the right of Medicare beneficiaries to enter into private contracts with physicians and other health care professionals for the provision of health services for which no payment is sought under the Medicare Program; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. CHAFEE (for himself, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. COATS, Mr. BOND, Ms. LANDRIEU, and Mr. LEVIN):

S. 1195. A bill to promote the adoption of children in foster care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MCCAIN (for himself, Mr. GORTON, Mr. HOLLINGS, and Mr. FORD):

S. 1196. A bill to amend title 49, United States Code, to require the National Transportation Safety Board and individual foreign air carriers to address the needs of families of passengers involved in aircraft accidents involving foreign air carriers; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mrs. FEINSTEIN:

S. 1197. A bill to reform the financing of Federal elections; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

By Mr. ABRAHAM (for himself, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. HATCH, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. DEWINE, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. BIDEN, and Mr. D'AMATO):

S. 1198. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide permanent authority for entry into the United States of certain religious workers; considered and passed.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. SPECTER:

S. 1191. A bill to reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

THE SENATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ACT OF 1997

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, in seeking recognition, I am putting forward legislation on campaign finance reform which builds upon the experience of the Governmental Affairs Committee hearings, which are now in progress, on illegalities and improprieties of campaign finance reform. I have served on that committee for the past 8 months while we have conducted the investigation and the 6 weeks of hearings which we have had. The legislation which I am about to introduce builds on those hearings.

At the outset, I compliment my colleagues, Senator JOHN MCCAIN and Senator RUSS FEINGOLD, for the work which they have done with the leadership. I have stated publicly that I applaud their efforts, but I disagree with a key provision of their bill, S. 25, which would give candidates free television advertising time. I have been advised that the McCain-FEINGOLD bill may be modified as to that aspect.

I have talked to my colleague, Senator MCCAIN, today and had previously circulated my bill. Senator MCCAIN advises he is interested in bringing the matter to the floor next week. We discussed the possibility of integrating the legislation or my adding amendments to his proposed bill.

I have circulated this proposed legislation among a number of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle. I think there is an excellent chance we will have a number of cosponsors to this legislation. But I want to proceed now to make this brief statement on the substance of my legislation and to put the bill in so that our colleagues could consider this bill during the course of the next week before the matter comes to the Senate floor.

My bill does six things.

First, it eliminates "soft money." We have seen an avalanche of soft money,

into the hundreds of millions of dollars, influencing the 1996 election.

My bill, second, defines "express advocacy" to enforce the intent of the Federal election laws to prevent coordinated campaigns.

What we have seen on both sides of the aisle from both Democrats and Republicans are advertisements in the 1996 election, by the Republicans extolling the virtues of Senator Dole and criticizing President Clinton, and vice versa for the Democrats, praising President Clinton and criticizing Senator Dole. But for some reason those advertisements have not been defined to be "express advocacy."

The third provision of my bill would make "independent expenditures" truly independent by requiring affidavits from those who are involved in the process.

My proposal would say that if someone is to make an independent expenditure, that person will have to file with the Federal Election Commission, swearing under oath under the penalties of perjury that the expenditure is truly independent.

Then after that affidavit is filed with the FEC, the FEC will notify the candidate and the committee on behalf of whom the independent expenditure was made and require from that candidate and that committee an affidavit subject to the penalties of perjury that there is no coordination. My experience as prosecuting attorney has been that when people are compelled to take affidavits, they pay a lot more attention to what they are doing than some provision of the law which they might not know about, might not understand, or think has been disregarded. My sense is that as a general matter, not in all cases, but in many cases, these so-called independent expenditures are not independent at all.

The fourth provision that I am proposing would be to try to deal with the Buckley versus Valeo decision that anyone may spend as much of his or her own money that he or she chooses.

My bill incorporates the so-called Maine Standby Public Financing provision where, illustratively, if candidate A spends \$10 million of his/her own money, then there would be public financing for the amount by which such expenditure exceeds the relevant spending cap.

I am opposed to public financing generally, and opposed S. 2 which was introduced in this body years ago on that subject, because I think there ought not be public financing. But this "standby" provision I think would act principally to deter somebody from spending \$10 million of their own money. The Government would put up money equal to the amount of the excess. I think that would deter somebody from spending the money knowing that their financial advantage would be matched. And to the extent that the expenditures would have to be made, I think that is worthwhile. It would stop people from buying seats in the U.S. Congress.

The fifth provision would eliminate foreign transactions which funnel money into U.S. campaigns.

Our Governmental Affairs investigation has shown what happened in the so-called Young brothers' transaction which went through the Republican National Committee and ended up placing foreign money in a political committee. This legislation would preclude that from happening again.

The sixth and final provision would impose limitations and require reporting of contributions to the legal defense funds for Federal officeholders and candidates.

The Governmental Affairs hearings have again shown, with the actions of Mr. Charlie Trie, hundreds of thousands of dollars came into the Clinton campaign for the legal defense fund. They were not reported. They were not identified. They were kept secret until after the election had occurred. And they are first cousins to campaign contributions. And this legislation would impose limitations and required reporting.

Mr. President, this legislation is being introduced a little earlier than I had intended because I believe that we will have a number of cosponsors, Senators who are now considering the bill. But I thought it important to make this brief statement and to put the provisions of the bill into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that Senators may have an opportunity to consider this proposal between now and next week when there may be an opportunity in one form or another to discuss campaign finance reform.

As I say, with the modification that Senator MCCAIN has apparently made taking out the provision requiring free television time, it may be possible to integrate these two bills or piecemeal amendments from my legislation into the McCain-Feingold bill. I had been unwilling to cosponsor that legislation because I think that constitutes a taking in violation of the provision against due process against taking without compensation.

Six months of investigation and 5 weeks of hearings by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee have confirmed my conclusion and the view of most Americans that campaign finance reform is necessary. Politics is awash in money—corrupting some, appearing to corrupt others, and making almost everyone in or out of the system uneasy about the way political campaigns are financed.

I believe my colleagues Senator JOHN MCCAIN and Senator RUSS FEINGOLD have done an excellent job in providing leadership for campaign finance reform even though I disagree with the key provisions of their bill (S. 25) which would give candidates free television advertising time. In my judgment, taking such property without compensation is confiscatory and unconstitutional.

Our Government Affairs hearings have highlighted issues not covered by