

of business will be votes on amendments to repudiate two of the initiatives most central to the Gipper's foreign and defense policy success: the maintenance of a credible and safe nuclear deterrent, and protection of Americans against missile attack.

The first effort to reduce last week's Reagan endorsements to empty words will be led by some of the Senate's most liberal Democrats, notably Sens. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Dianne Feinstein of California. They seek to preclude the United States from even researching new nuclear weapons, let alone testing or deploying them.

Ronald Reagan hated nuclear weapons as much as anybody. What is more, he seriously worked to rid the world of them. Yet, unlike these legislators, President Reagan understood—until that day—this country must have effective nuclear forces. He was convinced there was no better way to discourage the hostile use of nuclear weapons against us than by ensuring a ready and credible deterrent.

Toward that end, Mr. Reagan comprehensively modernized America's strategic forces, involving both new weapons and an array of delivery systems. He built two types of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and deployed them to five Western European countries. And, not least, he recognized our deterrent posture depended critically upon a human and physical infrastructure that could design, test, build and maintain the nation's nuclear arsenal. Without such support, America would inexorably be disarmed.

In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for Mr. Reagan's nuclear modernization efforts—most of them over the strenuous objections of senators like Mr. Kennedy and John Kerry—we may well not have a viable nuclear deterrent today. Even with his legacy, 15 years of policies more in keeping with the anti-nuclear "freeze" movement's nostrums than Mr. Reagan's philosophy of "peace through strength" have undermined the deterrent by creeping obsolescence, growing uncertainty about its reliability and safety and loss of infrastructure to ensure its future effectiveness.

This is especially worrisome since some of the research in question would explore whether a Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrator (RNEP) could be developed to penetrate deep underground before detonating. Such a capability would allow us to hold at risk some of the 10,000 concealed and hardened command-and-control bunkers, weapons of mass destruction (WMD) production and storage facilities and other buried high-value targets built by potential adversaries.

If anything, the absence of a credible American capability to attack such targets may have contributed to rogue states' massive investment in these facilities over the past 15 years. One thing is clear: Our restraint in taking even modest steps to modernize our nuclear deterrent—for example, by designing an RNEP or new, low-yield weapons—has certainly not prevented others from trying to "get the Bomb."

There is no more reason—Sens. Kennedy, Kerry and Feinstein's arguments to the contrary notwithstanding—to believe continuing our unilateral restraint will discourage our prospective enemies' proliferation in the future.

Last September, the Senate recognized this reality, rejecting an earlier Feinstein-Kennedy amendment by a vote of 53-41. Five Democrats—Sens. Evan Bayh of Indiana, Fritz Hollings of South Carolina, Zell Miller of Georgia, Ben Nelson of Nebraska and Bill Nelson of Florida—joined virtually every Republican in permitting nuclear weapons research, with the proviso further congressional approval would be required prior to

development and production. The prudence of this is even more evident today in light of revelations of covert Iranian and North Korean nuclear activity since last fall.

The other assault on the Reagan legacy will be led by Democratic Sens. Carl Levin of Michigan and Jack Reed of Rhode Island. They hope to strip more than \$500 million from defense authorization legislation that would buy anti-missile interceptors, the direct descendant of Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Just last week, former Gorbachev spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov, reminded the world how mistaken those like Sen. Carl Levin, Michigan Democrat, were when they ridiculed and tried to undermine the Reagan missile defense program: "I see President Reagan as a gravedigger of the Soviet Union and the spade that he used to prepare this grave was SDI."

Today, there are published reports the U.N. Security Council has been briefed by its inspectors that ballistic missiles and WMD components were slipped out of Iraq before Saddam Hussein was toppled. Such weapons, like some of the thousands of other short-range missiles in arsenals around the world, could find their way into terrorists' hands and be launched at this country from ships off our shores.

Can there be any doubt but that Ronald Reagan—faced with today's threat of missile attack and the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction—would have been any less resolute in building missile defenses and maintaining our nuclear deterrent than he was in the 1980s? If last week's praise for his visionary leadership two decades ago was not dishonest rhetoric, it should inspire, and guide us all now.

#### BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2002

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, since the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, BCRA, became law, many of its detractors have mistakenly argued that it is ineffective and unworkable. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two articles from the Washington Post, an article from the Wall Street Journal, and an article by Anthony Corrado, a visiting Fellow at The Brookings Institution, be printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks. As these articles describe, BCRA is having exactly the effect intended. Furthermore, as Mr. Corrado points out, BCRA did not serve as the death knell for America's political parties; their fundraising remains strong.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, June 8, 2004]

#### REPUBLICAN 'SOFT MONEY' GROUPS FIND BUSINESS RELUCTANT TO GIVE

(By Thomas B. Edsall)

Republican operatives attempting to compete with Democratic groups for large sums of unregulated presidential campaign funds have run into a number of roadblocks, including reluctance on the part of many corporations to contribute to new independent groups.

The Federal Election Commission last month cleared the way for liberal groups to continue raising millions of dollars of unrestricted contributions, and now GOP groups that have held back are joining in. But in a sign of the problems GOP leaders are encoun-

tering, one of the key Republican groups, Progress for America, failed in its bid to recruit James Francis Jr. to become chairman.

Francis ran the Bush 2000 campaign's "Pioneer" program, which produced 246 men and women who each raised at least \$100,000. PFA organizers sought out Francis because his close ties to the administration would have lent enormous clout and prestige.

"It gets down to, 'What does it look like?' And it might not look like I was independent," Francis said, adding that he could have complied with laws requiring total separation from the Bush campaign, but critics would still have raised questions.

Meanwhile, election law lawyers said corporations are showing significant reluctance to get back into making "soft money" donations after passage of the McCain-Feingold law that went into effect on Nov. 6, 2002.

Unlike political committees regulated by the FEC, "527s"—named for the section of the tax code that governs their activities—have no restrictions on the sources or amount of contributions, and some have received gifts of \$5 million or more. Republicans, encountering corporate unwillingness to give to GOP 527s and seeking to capitalize on the Bush campaign's unprecedented fundraising success, urged the FEC to clamp down on the these groups' activities.

"I would say that on the whole the corporate business community has been very reluctant to support 527s," said GOP lawyer Jan W. Baran.

Kenneth A. Gross, an election lawyer, said he has told his corporate clients "to proceed with caution." Prospective donors of soft money should be sure to get affirmative statements that the organization asking for money will not coordinate activities with federal candidates in violation of the law, and that the organization will abide by the rules governing political communications, he said.

Overall, pro-Democratic 527 organizations have raised at least \$106.6 million, according to PoliticalMoneyLine, three times the \$33.6 million raised by pro-Republican groups in this election cycle.

The Democratic advantage disappears, however, when these figures are added to the amounts raised by the national party committees and the presidential campaigns. Then the GOP pulls far ahead, \$557.6 million to \$393.6 million.

Lobbyist and former House member Bill Paxon, who is vice president of the Leadership Forum, a Republican 527, acknowledged that the GOP 527 effort will not be able to match the Democrats'.

Paxon said donations in the \$25,000 to \$50,000 range have started to come in from at least a dozen corporations, including Pfizer Inc., Union Pacific Corp., Bell South Corp. and International Paper Inc. In 2002, those four companies gave far more to Republican Party committees, more than \$2.6 million.

"We don't expect to be posting huge numbers at the end of this filing," covering the period through the end of June, Paxon said, "but we have laid the groundwork."

Democrats have set up at least seven new 527 organizations. These groups are on track to raise \$175 million to \$300 million for "independent" issue ads and get-out-the-vote activities.

Financier George Soros, Progressive Corp. Chairman Peter B. Lewis and Hollywood writer-producer Stephen L. Bing have each given more than \$7 million to such groups as the Media Fund, America Coming Together and MoveOn.org, which are working to defeat President Bush.

Privately, organizers of the Republican 527s said they have been banking on an outpouring of corporate support to defray start-up costs and to get their programs up and

running. Corporate and union money cannot be spent on television ads mentioning federal candidates for 60 days before the general election, although it can be used for voter mobilization.

Signs of corporate wariness toward making soft money contributions could be found in a number of places.

After Francis rejected the chairmanship of PFA, a key leadership role has fallen to co-chairman James W. Cicconi, general counsel and executive vice president at AT&T, but the company has declined to say whether it will give any money to the 527s. "We have not made a comment about that at all," said Claudia B. Jones, director of media relations for AT&T.

A Wall Street Journal survey of the 20 top businesses giving soft money before the new law went into effect showed that more than half of the 20 companies are resisting pressure to give, and only one, Bell South, would say affirmatively that it plans to make corporate contributions.

Baran said that in addition to corporate wariness toward making soft money contributions, the success of the Bush campaign and the Republican National Committee has worked as a disincentive to giving to the 527s:

"A lot of folks on the business side are looking at the \$200 million the Bush campaign has raised, and the millions the RNC has raised, and they aren't sure the funding [of the 527s] is all that necessary."

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 7, 2004]

COMPANIES PARE POLITICAL DONATIONS  
REPUBLICANS FEEL THE BRUNT AS NEW 'SOFT  
MONEY' RULES UPEND TRADITIONAL GIVING  
(By Jeanne Cummings)

WASHINGTON.—Republicans are getting a cold shoulder from some of their traditional corporate benefactors, putting them at a fund-raising disadvantage against new, well-financed political organizations touting the Democratic message.

A Wall Street Journal survey of the top 20 corporate donors to national political party committees during the 2002 election cycle found that more than half—including the likes of Citigroup Inc., Pfizer Inc. and Microsoft Corp.—are resisting giving big-dollar donations to the new, independent organizations that were created after a 2002 campaign-finance reform law restricted such contributions to the political parties.

The reticence illustrates an uneasiness on the part of some of the corporations to get sucked back into the world of unlimited political contributions that they thought campaign reform had left behind. They also seem reluctant to give to untested organizations that are dedicated to partisan political activity, rather than to policy or legislative issues.

Their attitude sends a signal that a major source of the "soft money"—the large and unlimited donations to the national parties that long fed the political system—may have dried up, at least in the short term.

"It reflects what many advocates of reform said: that much of this money was not natural to the political process," said Anthony Corrado, a campaign-finance expert at the Brookings Institution.

The corporate coyness could be an unexpected fund-raising boon to Democratic presumptive nominee John Kerry, who is enjoying an extraordinary year of fund raising.

The big-dollar soft-money contributions were the financial hallmark of past elections, and the flood of such contributions included unregulated and unlimited checks from corporations, labor unions and wealthy individuals. Political parties are barred from accepting soft money under the 2002 law.

However, several new political groups, formed outside the parties in the wake of the law, now are seeking those same checks to conduct political projects, such as voter-mobilization efforts and advertising campaigns.

The Democrats' soft-money base, largely comprising labor unions and wealthy liberals, has responded readily, depositing \$40.5 million in new organizations, which are playing a significant role in the presidential campaign.

For instance, the Media Fund, an advertising organization founded by former Clinton aide Harold Ickes, has spent \$15 million attacking President Bush or defending Mr. Kerry. America Coming Together, a voter-mobilization group headed by labor turnout guru Steve Rosenthal, has spent nearly \$20 million enrolling new voters that could neutralize or best the grass-roots work of the Bush-Cheney operation in swing states.

Republicans had hoped the Federal Election Commission would shut down these groups. But the commissioners didn't, and that has Republicans playing catch-up on tough terrain.

The corporations contacted by The Wall Street Journal that aren't giving in this cycle made about \$21.2 million in contributions to the national parties during the 2002 cycle. More than half of that money went to Republican committees—a sum that would have given the new Republican groups a boost in catching the Democrats.

The reluctance of some big companies to give could give cover to other corporations, which collectively contributed \$267 million to both parties in the last election cycle—or more than half the \$496 million of soft money raised in 2002, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.

"To the extent the big companies use their muscle to reject entreaties by political organization to give money, the medium-size firms will feel that they have a more credible position when they reject them," says Nathaniel Persily, a campaign-finance expert at the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

#### OLD RELIABLES

Among the companies not giving to these new organizations, whether they have Democrat or Republican ties, are some of the biggest and most reliable corporate donors to the parties, including Fannie Mae, Verizon Communications Inc. and FedEx Corp. Pfizer's decision to bow out of the process means that another 2002 big giver, Pharmacia Co., is also out of the game, since it has since been sold to Pfizer.

Other companies, such as Altria Group Inc. and Freddie Mac, have refused solicitation so far this cycle, but haven't adopted a blanket no-giving policy.

Only BellSouth Corp. said it has decided to donate to the groups. AT&T Corp. and American International Group Inc. refused to say what they plan to do.

This corporate attitude doesn't mean Republican groups won't generate substantial sums to finance independent operations; the party has a healthy roster of deep-pocketed individual donors.

But executives say it's difficult to justify donations to shareholders because the core missions of these new political groups, at best, are only tangentially connected to the company's legislative and regulatory priorities.

#### TRACK RECORDS

In contrast, the Republican National Committee and Democratic National Committee had platform policy statements on labor, telecommunications, and tax policy.

"In the past we have given to pre-existing organizations that we could look at their track records" and how their work advanced

the company's priorities, said Misty Skipper, a spokeswoman for CSX Corp. The company's former chairman, John Snow, is President Bush's secretary of the Treasury but so far it has refused solicitations for this election cycle.

"The new organizations are still evolving and that makes it harder to make a detailed analysis, so we will take them on a case-by-case basis," said Ms. Skipper.

Since the law governing these groups is unsettled, executives say it also raises the risk a corporate donor could get dragged into a political scandal. "Any time there is a new system put in place there is a lot of uncertainty, and nobody in corporate America likes uncertainty," said John Scruggs, vice president for government affairs for Altria, another company that is holding back for now. "I think everybody would just like to see how all this will work before they make any firm decisions."

Perhaps the biggest reason for the reluctance is many executives felt the soft-money system amounted to extortion of private businesses. "It was bad for the country and bad for the political system. And what's bad for the political system is only bad for business," said Edward A. Kangas, retired chairman of Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu who led the corporate fight for passage of the 2002 reform law.

Businesses may open their wallets in future campaign cycles, and they are still contributing to party conventions and a few party entities exempt from the ban, including the Democratic and Republican governors associations.

The chilly reception the new outside organizations are receiving from corporate donors is prompting one of the leading Republican groups, Progress for America, to concentrate its efforts on soliciting wealthy individuals, says President Brian McCabe.

Former Congressman Bill Paxon, who leads the Leadership Forum, an organization associated with the Republican House caucus, said flatly: "We will not have the total number of resources the Democrats have."

Still, the Leadership Forum has assembled lobbyists and influential Republicans committed to raising \$25,000 apiece. Next month, it will hold a fund-raising event featuring House Speaker Dennis Hastert.

But the House leadership's embrace of the forum caught the eye of watchdog organizations monitoring possible violations of the law's ban on coordination with elected officials. "We will be filing new complaints," said Fred Wertheimer, a leading reformer.

#### CORPORATE RELUCTANCE

Former corporate soft-money donors are declining to give to new independent political groups seeking the big checks that parties cannot accept anymore.

Who's Giving: BellSouth.

Who's not giving: AFLAC; Altria Group; BlueCross and BlueShield; Citigroup; CSX; Eli Lilly; Fannie Mae; Freddie Mac; Lockheed Martin; Microsoft; Pfizer; and Verizon. Source: WSJ research.

[From the Washington Post, June 4, 2004]

A BETTER CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM  
(By E.J. Dionne Jr.)

Pity the poor campaign finance reformers. All their dreams are supposedly going up in smoke.

After all, both President Bush and Sen. John Kerry passed up federal matching funds in the primaries so they could raise record sums of private money. Groups theoretically independent of the parties have run millions of dollars worth of ads, often using huge donations from the very rich. Kerry considered declining to accept the Democratic nomination at his party's convention in July so he

could have an extra month to raise and spend private money.

Critics of reform see these developments as signs of a loopy system. In fact, the 2004 campaign will be remembered as one in which the political money system became more democratic and more open. Small contributors have more influence this year. Big contributors have less. Those new big-money political committees are getting a lot of attention because they are now the exception rather than the rule.

Does this mean that the new system pushed through by John McCain and Russ Feingold in the Senate and Chris Shays and Marty Meehan in the House has brought forth perfection? Of course not. Their law was simply a first but important step.

Thanks to the new law, candidates for the presidency, the House and the Senate are not themselves out soliciting unlimited contributions from rich and well-connected people or from big corporations. A lot of business guys are relieved that politicians considering bills that affect their companies aren't on the phone suggesting that it would be awfully nice to see them and their corporate checkbooks at the next "soft money" fundraiser.

The hope of McCain-Feingold was to create a more broadly based political money system—more people contributing in smaller amounts. Partly because of the law and partly because of the inventiveness of political entrepreneurs such as Zephyr Teachout, Howard Dean's director of online organizing, that is what is happening.

Dean began the democratizing process during the primary campaign by creating a base of tens of thousands of small donors. Kerry got the Dean message. He started peppering his speeches with references to "JohnKerry.com" and asking for donations. (Bush, in fairness, can be reached at GeorgeWBush.com.)

Kerry then proceeded to break all Democratic Party records, raising more than \$117 million at last count.

The Kerry Web site recently featured Cathy Weigel of North Kansas City, Mo., as its 1 millionth online contributor. For a mere \$50 contribution, Weigel got a call from Kerry and a promise of "a great seat at the Inauguration and a prime visit to the White House." Such calls and promises used to go to big soft-money fundraisers who bagged a million or so in contributions.

Yes, problems persist. They always will in this imperfect world. By failing to regulate the "527" political committees (named after the section of the tax code they are organized under), the Federal Election Commission needlessly opened a loophole that could push the system back toward big money. This loophole won't destroy the entire law. Under McCain-Feingold, outside groups will have to operate on smaller contributions starting two months before the election. But the loophole should still be closed.

The system regulating presidential primaries is entirely antiquated, one reason Bush and Kerry both dropped out of it. It worked well for a long time, but now it needs fixing.

It's absurd that simply by delaying his party's convention into September, Bush gave himself not only an extra month more than Kerry to raise private money but also a leg up afterward. In the general election campaign, Kerry will have to stretch the \$75 million he gets in public money over three months; Bush will have the same amount to spend in just two months.

The system needs stronger incentives to encourage candidates to base their campaigns on small contributions. Tax credits could cover the cost of providing candidates free airtime. And federal candidates should

get the "clean money" option that allows politicians in Arizona and Maine to virtually eschew private fundraising. Those clean-money plans have given new people a chance to enter politics without mortgaging their houses or their souls.

Those who would abandon all efforts to limit money's influence on politics are urging that we live with plutocracy. By indiscriminately pronouncing even successful reform efforts as failures, reform's foes are trying to undermine any attempt to make politics a little more honest, a little less subject to the whims of the wealthy, a little more democratic. The nation's campaign money system is still flawed. But it's better than it used to be.

[May 2004]

#### NATIONAL PARTY FUNDRAISING REMAINS STRONG, DESPITE BAN ON SOFT MONEY

(By Anthony Corrado)

The national party committees continue to outpace the fundraising totals set in the 2000 election cycle, despite the ban on soft money. The latest totals suggest that the national committees are adapting successfully to the new fundraising restrictions imposed by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA), more commonly known as McCain-Feingold, and that they will have the resources needed to mount meaningful campaigns on behalf of their candidates in the fall election. Moreover, the parties have demonstrated financial strength despite the unprecedented fundraising efforts of their presumptive presidential nominees and unrestricted fundraising by so-called 527 committees and other nonparty organizations in the quest for campaign dollars in the hotly contested race for the White House.

After 15 months in the 2004 election cycle, the national parties have raised a total of \$433 million in hard money alone, compared to \$373 million in hard and soft money combined at this point in the 2000 campaign. Every one of the six national committees has substantially increased its hard dollar fundraising in response to the ban on soft money. The Republican committees have replaced all of the \$86 million in soft money they had solicited by March of 2000 with hard dollar contributions subject to federal limits. The Democratic committees, which were much more dependent on soft money than their Republican counterparts, raising more than half of their funds from soft contributions at this point in 2000, have already replaced most of their soft money receipts with new hard dollar contributions.

This surge in national party fundraising is the result of a substantial increase in the number of individual contributors that have been added to party rolls. While the higher contribution limits for national party committees adopted under BCRA (up to \$57,500 per person every two years) have produced millions of additional dollars for these committees, the vast majority of the increase in party hard money receipts is a result of the extraordinary growth in the number of small donors on both sides of the aisle.(1) No longer able to solicit unlimited soft money donations, the parties are investing more resources in direct mail, telemarketing, and Internet fundraising, with notable success in soliciting small contributions of less than \$200. The RNC, which for decades has had the largest donor base of any of the party committees, has added more than a million new donors to its rolls since 2001.(2) The NRCC, in 2003 alone, recruited more than 400,000 new contributors.(3) The DNC has increased its number of direct mail donors from 400,000 in 2001 to more than 1.2 million so far in 2004, and increased its number of email addresses from 70,000 to more than 3 million. In the

first four months of this year, the DNC posted 35 million pieces of fundraising mail, which, according to DNC Chairman Terry McAuliffe, exceeded the amount of fundraising mail posted by the committee "in the entire decade of the 1990s."(4)

As anticipated by most observers, the Republicans have proved to be more successful in raising hard dollars than the Democrats, out-raising the Democrats by a margin of two-to-one and increasing the fundraising gap between the parties. Overall, the Republican committees collected \$288 million during the course of the first 15 months of this cycle, as compared to \$216 million in hard and soft money combined four years ago. The Democratic committees took in \$145 million, as compared to \$157 million in hard and soft money combined four years ago. The Republicans have more than doubled last cycle's hard money total, while the Democrats have almost doubled their hard money receipts, increasing their take by 89 percent. The most recent quarter, however, suggests that the Democrats' investments in small donor fundraising are paying off and that the party may be beginning to narrow the gap. In the first quarter of this election year, the Democrats received \$50 million as opposed to \$82 million by the Republicans, and recent reports suggest that fundraising on the Democratic side continues to strengthen.(5)

Even so, the Republicans have increased their financial advantage as compared to four years ago, when the Democrats controlled the White House. The gap has grown from about \$59 million to \$143 million. The Republicans are therefore likely to have an even greater financial advantage over the Democrats than they did four years ago. In 2000, the Republican national party committees received approximately \$346 million in hard money, as opposed to \$204 million for their Democratic opponents.

The gap between Republicans and Democrats is much narrower in terms of cash available to spend in the months ahead. As of the end of March, the Republican committees had almost \$86 million of net cash available to spend, led by the RNC, which has a cash balance of \$54 million. The Democrats had \$43 million available to spend, led by the DNC, which had \$27 million in cash. The expenditure-to-cash ratios for each party are now roughly equivalent, with the Republicans raising twice as much as the Democrats and generating twice as much net cash.

When BCRA was adopted, many observers expressed concern that the law would weaken the parties by depriving them of the resources needed to mount viable campaigns on behalf of their candidates. Yet, to date, the parties have proven that they can effectively adjust to a hard money world. They have altered their strategies and ended their reliance on soft money, replacing large soft money donations with thousands of small individual gifts.

The rise of a number of federal-election-related 527 organizations, which are not wholly subject to federal contribution limits and may raise funds from unlimited sources in unlimited amounts, has not dimmed the resources available to the parties. So far, the monies raised and spent by these committees represents only a portion of the monies the party committees have received, and a relatively small share of the total resources spent so far in this year's federal elections. In the first 15 months of this cycle, the national parties raised \$433 million. State and local party committees collected more than \$94 million for federal election activity, including \$59 million by Republican committees and \$35 million by Democratic committees. The presidential contenders, George Bush and John Kerry, took in more than \$270 million. Congressional candidates garnered

\$583 million, or 35 percent more than they raised at this point two years ago.<sup>(6)</sup> The major new 527 organizations active in federal elections in the aftermath of BCRA (Joint Victory Committee 2004, Media Fund, Americans Coming Together, MoveOn.org, and America Votes) raised slightly more than \$47 million, while Club for Growth, a conservative group, generated more than \$5 million.<sup>(7)</sup>

To what extent this will change in the aftermath of the FEC's May 13 decision to defer immediate action on proposed regulations for 527 groups remains to be seen. But it now appears that the parties are benefiting from the deep partisan divide within the country and the high level of competition in the presidential race, which is spurring tens of thousands of individuals to contribute to their preferred party for the first time. This suggests that the funds spent by nonparty groups will supplement, rather than overshadow, the role of the parties in 2004.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### TRIBUTE TO BETTY STRONG

• Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, earlier this month, Sioux City, IA, lost one of its most passionate and beloved community leaders, Betty Strong.

Betty was an adopted daughter of Iowa—she was born and raised in Missouri—but she became a true Iowan, through and through. She moved to Sioux City in 1953, and for the next half century she worked tirelessly for her community and as an activist in the Democratic Party. She was one of those people who always strove to make a positive difference in the lives of those around her, and Betty succeeded magnificently.

Betty's understanding and passion for politics made her an invaluable participant in countless State, local, and national campaigns. She was a delegate for Vice President Walter Mondale at the 1984 Democratic National Convention, and participated in Senator JOSEPH BIDEN's 1988 Presidential campaign in Iowa. In 2000, she coordinated Iowans for Gore.

I met Betty more than 20 years ago and she quickly became a very dear friend and trusted political counselor. She was my chief supporter and organizer in Sioux City during my first campaign for the Senate.

In 1976, Betty became the first woman to be elected chairperson of the Woodbury County Democratic Party, and she also served on a variety of other local Democratic and women's organizations.

Betty's tireless organizing and campaigning in the late 1980s helped to win the vote to build four new high schools and a juvenile detention center in Sioux City. From 1989 until her death, Betty served as the president of the Missouri River Historical Development Inc., a nonprofit group that built the \$4 million Sioux City Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center. Betty was very proud of that center, which, she said, "brings history alive for people of all ages."

The list of Betty's accomplishments runs long, and is a testament to all she has done to better the lives of the people around her. She was involved in politics for all the right reasons. She wasn't seeking fame. She simply wanted a government that worked for all people. Betty Strong embodied the qualities and spirit that people in my State cherish.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to Betty's husband Darrell, their children Sharon, Jackie, and Marvin, and their spouses. Iowans are deeply indebted to Betty for her devotion to public service. We will miss her greatly.●

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### NOTIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTENT TO ENTER INTO A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BAHRAIN—PM 86

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Consistent with section 2105(a)(1)(A) of the Trade Act of 2002, (Public Law 107-210; the "Trade Act"), I am pleased to notify the Congress of my intent to enter into a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the Government of Bahrain.

This agreement will create new opportunities for America's workers, farmers, businesses, and consumers by eliminating barriers in trade with Bahrain. Entering into an FTA with Bahrain will not only strengthen our bilateral ties with this important ally, it will also advance my goal of a U.S.-Middle East Free Trade Area (MEFTA) by 2013.

Consistent with the Trade Act, I am sending this notification at least 90 days in advance of signing the United States-Bahrain FTA. My Administration looks forward to working with the Congress in developing appropriate legislation to approve and implement this free trade agreement.

GEORGE W. BUSH.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, June 15, 2004.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 12:58 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills and joint resolution, in which its requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 2010. An act to protect the voting rights of members of the Armed Services in elections for the Delegate representing American Samoa in the United States House of Representatives, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2055. An act to amend Public Law 89-366 to allow for an adjustment in the number of free roaming horses permitted in Cape Lookout National Seashore.

H.R. 3378. An act to assist in the conservation of marine turtles and the nesting habitats of marine turtles in foreign countries.

H.R. 3504. An act to amend the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act to redesignate the American Indian Education Foundation as the National Fund for Excellence in American Indian Education.

H.R. 3658. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to strengthen education, prevention, and treatment programs relating to stroke, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4061. An act to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide assistance for orphans and other vulnerable children in developing countries.

H.R. 4103. An act to extend and modify the trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act.

H.R. 4278. An act to amend the Assistive Technology Act of 1998 to support programs of grants to States to address the assistive technology needs of individuals with disabilities, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4322. An act to provide for the transfer of the Nebraska Avenue Naval Complex in the District of Columbia to facilitate the establishment of the headquarters for the Department of Homeland Security, to provide for the acquisition by the Department of the Navy of suitable replacement facilities, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4323. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to provide rapid acquisition authority to the Secretary of Defense to respond to combat emergencies.

H.R. 4417. An act to modify certain deadlines pertaining to machine-readable, tamper-resistant entry and exit documents.

H.J. Res. 97. Joint resolution approving the renewal of import restrictions contained in the Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the following concurrent resolutions, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 62. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that Katherine Dunham should be recognized for her groundbreaking achievements in dance, theater, music, and education, as well as for her work as an activist striving for racial equality throughout the world.

H. Con. Res. 63. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that Lionel Hampton should be honored for his contributions to American music.

H. Con. Res. 260. Concurrent resolution recognizing and honoring the service of those who volunteer their time to participate in funeral honor guards at the interment or memorialization of deceased veterans of the uniformed services of the United States at national cemeteries across the country.

H. Con. Res. 439. Concurrent resolution honoring the members of the Army Motor Transport Brigade who during World War II