effort rather than simply negotiating agreements that are not enforced and that no one remembers.

Mr. BENNETT addressed the Chair.

Mr. LEVIN. Will the Senator from Utah yield for a unanimous-consent request? I ask unanimous consent that immediately following the remarks of the Senator from Utah, that I be recognized for up to 15 minutes in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, may I inquire as to the parliamentary circumstance? Are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). The Senator is correct. The Senate is in morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes.

Mr. BENNETT. May I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to continue for up to 20 minutes, if that becomes necessary?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Utah is recognized.

Mr. BENNETT. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BENNETT pertaining to the introduction of S. 1518 are located in today's RECORD under ''Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.'')

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak in morning business immediately following the remarks of the Senator from Michigan.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THOMAS) Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the chair.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Gail Perkins be granted privileges of the floor for the balance of morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MISSING HEARINGS FROM THE SENATE CAMPAIGN FINANCE INVESTIGATION.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, on the last day in October, Senator THOMPSON announced that the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee was suspending its campaign finance hearings in part because the committee did not have the caliber of witnesses and information to justify continuing the hearings.

Mr. President, the Democrats on the Governmental Affairs Committee were promised 3 days of hearings during September or October on a number of unexamined issues involving important events during the 1996 elections. Had that commitment been kept, one of the days would have been spent looking at the largest single transfer from a political party to a tax-exempt organization in the history of American politics—$4.6 million, which the Republican National Committee gave to Americans for Tax Reform in October 1996, the final month before the 1996 elections.

As this chart shows, over two-thirds of the money which ATR received in 1996, this tax-exempt organization, over two-thirds of that money came from the Republican National Committee. The size of this transfer is unprecedented. There is no record of an American political party giving even $1 million to a tax-exempt organization, much less four times that amount.

If the Democratic National Committee had given $4.6 million to a labor union or environmental group in the month before the 1996 elections, I have no doubt that there would have been a searching investigation of the facts, if not full scale public hearings—and it would have been totally appropriate. But here—where the money was paid by the RNC to a tax-exempt group whose efforts were aimed at attacking Democrats—not a single hearing witness was called. Worse, the Governmental Affairs Committee failed to interview a single person from either the Republican National Committee or Americans for Tax Reform about this transfer. Given its mandate, the Committee's failure to investigate the $4.6 million was a highly partisan act which denied the Senate and the American public important information.

But even without depositions or interviews or testimony, there is enough evidence through publicly available documents and the limited document production by the RNC, ATR, and some banks to piece together the outline of a coordinated campaign effort involving ATR that appears to circumvent hard and soft money restrictions, to duck disclosure, and to misuse ATR's tax-exempt status—all of which calls out for an appropriate investigation by the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department.

Let's begin with what was said at the time about the $4.6 million transfer. In public statements, both RNC Chairman Haley Barbour and ATR President Grover Norquist denied that the money transfer was part of any coordinated effort between the two organizations. Mr. Barbour told the Washington Post on October 29, 1996, that ''he had no understanding with Norquist about how the money would be spent,'' while Mr. Norquist told the press that he had made ''no specific commitment'' to the RNC on how ATR would use the money. In short, the two principals would have the American public believe that in the final weeks before election day 1996, the RNC gave away $4.6 million to a supposedly nonpartisan, independent organization with no understanding or expectation as to how that money would be used.

Not only does common sense tell us that this is unlikely, but the facts and documents behind this transaction indicate that it simply was not so.

Let's look at what was happening around the time the money transfer took place. For months prior to election day, Haley Barbour and the RNC had been complaining about a television ad campaign funded by organized labor and others criticizing the Republican Party on the issue of Medicare. The RNC and Haley Barbour were telling anyone who would listen that the ads were distorting the facts and that Republicans were not out to cut Medicare. And yet, the RNC waited until October, the final month before the election, to start spending funds to respond to those ads. Here is Haley Barbour, at an October 25, 1996, press conference, explaining the RNC's decision to delay spending:

> [W]e made the decision not to borrow money last year or early this year in order to try to compete with the unions and the other liberal special-interest groups' spending. You see, our campaigns do come into the real election season late September and October without having spent all the money that—to match what the unions were doing. And you will see us—you are seeing now, and have been throughout the month of October, you are seeing Republicans using the resources that we've raised in voluntary contributions to finish very strong, to make sure our message is in front of voters when they are making their voting decisions.

What steps was the RNC taking to ensure that its message was in front of voters when they are making their voting decisions in October? One step was to funnel $4.6 million in soft money to ATR which used the money on a massive direct mail and phone bank operation, targeting 150 congressional districts with 19 million pieces of mail and 4 million phone calls.

The subject of the ATR mailings and phone calls was just what Haley Barbour referred to in his statement to the press—Medicare. The title of one ATR mailing says it all: ''Straight Facts About You, Medicare and the November 5 Election.'' This mailing urged senior citizens to ignore political scare tactics and stated ''[t]here's barely a difference between the Republican Medicare Plan and President Clinton's Medicare Proposal.''

Did the RNC know what ATR was going to do with the $4.6 million? Haley Barbour and Grover Norquist told the American public no, but let's look at a document produced by the RNC entitled, ''Memorandum for the Field Dogs.'' I ask unanimous consent that this document and others I will mention in my statement be included in the record after my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 1)

Mr. LEVIN. This ''Memorandum for the Field Dogs'' is a document which, again, came from the files of the Republican National Committee and states the following in its entirety:

> Re: Outside Mail and Phone effort,
>
> Attached is a rotten copy of the 1st of 3 mail piece[s] that will be sent to 150 selected