

Those organizations that did so would be shedding light on campaign finance not because they have to, but because it furthers the cause of an informed democracy.

An article in the *Investor's Business Daily* quoted John Ferejohn of Stanford University as writing that "nothing strikes the student of public opinion and democracy more forcefully than the paucity of information most people possess about politics."

The article goes on to suggest that "But many reforms, far from helping, would cut the flow of political information to an already ill-informed public." Citing a study by Stephen Ansolabehere of MIT and Shanto Iyengar of UCLA, which demonstrates that political advertising "enlightens voters," the IBD concludes that "well-informed voters are the key to a well-functioning democracy." [*Investor's Business Daily*; 9/20/99]

Morton Kondracke editorializes in the July 30, 1999, *Washington Times*, "Full disclosure would be valuable on its merits—letting voters know exactly who is paying for what in election campaigns. Right now, campaign money is going increasingly underground."

This is precisely the issue my amendment addresses. My amendment, rather than prohibit the American people from having certain information produced by political parties, it would open up information about campaign finance. Knowledge is power. My proposal is predicted on giving the people more power.

Additionally, my legislation will raise the limits on individual participation in elections. Special interest PACs sprung up as a response to the limitations on individual participation in elections. The contribution limit for individuals is \$1000 and it has not been adjusted since it was enacted in 1974.

Why are these limits problematic? The answer is that if a candidate can raise \$5000 in one phone call to a PAC, why make 5 phone calls hoping to raise the same amount from individuals? My legislation proposes to make individuals at least as important as PACs.

My bill also raises the 25-year-old limits on donations to parties and PACs. It raises the current limits on what both individuals and PACs can give to political parties. As the League of Women Voters has correctly pointed out, the activities of political parties are already regulated, whereas the political activities of other organizations are not. If we are concerned about the influence of "soft" money—that is, money in campaigns that is not regulated and not disclosed—and cannot be regulated or subject to disclosure under our Constitution—then we ought to encourage—not punish—greater political participation through our party structures.

We need to put individuals back as equal players in the campaign finance arena. Special interests—both PACs and soft money—have become important in large part because current law

limits are not only a quarter century old, but are also higher for special interests than individuals.

Some people have argued that raising the limits on donations to political candidates and parties exacerbates the problem. Their concern is that there is too much money in politics, not that there is too little.

I will respond by saying that, first, all individual donations would have to be disclosed. The philosophy of the "Citizens' Right to Know Act" is that people have a right to make their own determinations about whether a contribution is tainted or not.

Second, the higher contribution limits for hard money donations make individual citizens more important relative to special interests in campaign finance. If one goal of campaign finance reform is to reduce the influence of special interests, then raising the limits on individual contributions is a way to do it.

Third, most of the increases in the bill are merely an adjustment for 25 years of inflation. While the contribution limits have remained unchanged, the costs of running a campaign have increased. The higher levels reflect reality.

Most importantly, while money is an essential ingredient in a campaign, and is necessary to get one's message to the voters, the real influence in campaigns is the public. Even if wealthy John Smith gives thousands of dollars to a party or candidate, the fact is that he only gets one vote on election day. Candidates and parties have to persuade people to their way of thinking. All the money in the world cannot compensate for a dearth of principles or unpopular ideas.

The McCain-Feingold approach represents a constitutionally specious barrier on free speech. It would, by law, prohibit political parties from using soft money to communicate with voters. Prohibitions are restrictions on freedom.

My bill, in contrast, does not prohibit anything. It does not restrict the flow of information to citizens. On the contrary, my proposal recognizes that citizens are the ultimate arbiters in elections. They should have access to as much information as possible about the candidates and the positions they represent.

Thus far, the information that is available to voters about campaign finance has been difficult to obtain and untimely. My bill, by empowering voters with this information, will put the role of special interests where it rightfully belongs—in the eye of the beholder, not the federal government.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 58

At the request of Ms. COLLINS, the name of the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. FEINGOLD) was added as a cosponsor of S. 58, a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to improve

protections against telephone service "slamming" and provide protections against telephone billing "cramming", to provide the Federal Trade Commission jurisdiction over unfair and deceptive trade practices of telecommunications carriers, and for other purposes.

S. 484

At the request of Mrs. MURRAY, her name was added as a cosponsor of S. 484, a bill to provide for the granting of refugee status in the United States to nationals of certain foreign countries in which American Vietnam War POW/MIA or American Korean War POW/MIA may be present, if those nationals assist in the return to the United States of those POW/MIAs alive.

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from Nevada (Mr. REID) was added as a cosponsor of S. 484, supra.

S. 655

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the name of the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON) was added as a cosponsor of S. 655, a bill to establish nationally uniform requirements regarding the titling and registration of salvage, non-repairable, and rebuilt vehicles.

S. 1109

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the name of the Senator from Utah (Mr. HATCH) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1109, a bill to conserve global bear populations by prohibiting the importation, exportation, and interstate trade of bear viscera and items, products, or substances containing, or labeled or advertised as containing, bear viscera, and for other purposes.

S. 1139

At the request of Mr. REID, the name of the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. BINGAMAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1139, a bill to amend title 49, United States Code, relating to civil penalties for unruly passengers of air carriers and to provide for the protection of employees providing air safety information, and for other purposes.

S. 1155

At the request of Mr. ROBERTS, the names of the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. GREGG) and the Senator from Kansas (Mr. BROWNBACK) were added as cosponsors of S. 1155, a bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to provide for uniform food safety warning notification requirements, and for other purposes.

S. 1187

At the request of Mr. DORGAN, the names of the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER), the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN), the Senator from New Jersey (Mr. TORRICELLI), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. ROBB), the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER), and the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. WELLSTONE) were added as cosponsors of S. 1187, a bill to require the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and for other purposes.

S. 1196

At the request of Mr. COVERDELL, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1196, a bill to improve the quality, timeliness, and credibility of forensic science services for criminal justice purposes.

S. 1263

At the request of Mr. JEFFORDS, the name of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. DORGAN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1263, a bill to amend the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 to limit the reductions in medicare payments under the prospective payment system for hospital outpatient department services.

S. 1269

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. COVERDELL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1269, a bill to provide that the Federal Government and States shall be subject to the same procedures and substantive laws that would apply to persons on whose behalf certain civil actions may be brought, and for other purposes.

S. 1277

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the names of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) the Senator from Georgia (Mr. CLELAND), and the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU) were added as cosponsors of S. 1277, a bill to amend title XIX of the Social Security Act to establish a new prospective payment system for Federally-qualified health centers and rural health clinics.

At the request of Mr. BAUCUS, the name of the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1277, *supra*.

S. 1419

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the names of the Senator from Florida (Mr. GRAHAM), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. DASCHLE), and the Senator from Maryland (Ms. MIKULSKI) were added as cosponsors of S. 1419, a bill to amend title 36, United States Code, to designate May as "National Military Appreciation Month."

S. 1500

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Georgia (Mr. CLELAND) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1500, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for an additional payment for services provided to certain high-cost individuals under the prospective payment system for skilled nursing facility services, and for other purposes.

S. 1580

At the request of Mr. ROBERTS, the names of the Senator from Florida (Mr. GRAHAM) and the Senator from Florida (Mr. MACK) were added as cosponsors of S. 1580, a bill to amend the Federal Crop Insurance Act to assist agricultural producers in managing risk, and for other purposes.

S. 1619

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the names of the Senator from Missouri

(Mr. BOND) and the Senator from California (Mrs. BOXER) were added as cosponsors of S. 1619, a bill to amend the Trade Act of 1974 to provide for periodic revision of retaliation lists or other remedial action implemented under section 306 of such Act.

S. 1652

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT), the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. DASCHLE), the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HAGEL), the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. BREAU), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. ALLARD), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KERRY), the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. GRAMS), the Senator from Nevada (Mr. BRYAN), and the Senator from Alaska (Mr. STEVENS) were added as cosponsors of S. 1652, a bill to designate the Old Executive Office Building located at 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, in Washington, District of Columbia, as the Dwight D. Eisenhower Executive Office Building.

At the request of Mr. INOUE, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 1652, *supra*.

S. 1673

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the name of the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HAGEL) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1673, a bill to amend titles 10 and 18, United States Code, to protect unborn victims of violence.

S. 1674

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1674, a bill to promote small schools and smaller learning communities.

S. 1704

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1704, a bill to provide for college affordability and high standards.

S. 1723

At the request of Mr. WYDEN, the name of the Senator from Washington (Mrs. MURRAY) was added as a cosponsor of S. 1723, a bill to establish a program to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to plan, design, and construct facilities to mitigate impacts associated with irrigation system water diversions by local governmental entities in the Pacific Ocean drainage of the States of Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Idaho.

S. 1727

At the request of Mr. BINGAMAN, his name was added as a cosponsor of S. 1727, a bill to authorize for the expansion annex of the historic Palace of the Governors, a public history museum located, and relating to the history of Hispanic and Native American culture, in the Southwest and for other purposes.

S. 1732

At the request of Mr. BREAU, the name of the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER) was added as

a cosponsor of S. 1732, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to prohibit certain allocations of S corporation stock held by an employee stock ownership plan.

S. 1738

At the request of Mr. JOHNSON, the names of the Senator from South Dakota (Mr. DASCHLE) and the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. WELLSTONE) were added as cosponsors of S. 1738, a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, to make it unlawful for a packer to own, feed, or control livestock intended for slaughter.

SENATE RESOLUTION 118

At the request of Mr. REID, the names of the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. CONRAD), the Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY), and the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. THURMOND) were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 118, a resolution designating December 12, 1999, as "National Children's Memorial Day."

SENATE RESOLUTION 199

At the request of Mr. REED, the names of the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH) and the Senator from California (Mrs. FEINSTEIN) were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 199, a resolution designating the week 24, 1999, through October 30, 1999, and the week of October 22, 2000, through October 28, 2000, as "National Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention Week."

SENATE RESOLUTION 204

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DURBIN) was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 204, a resolution designating the week beginning November 21, 1999, and the week beginning on November 19, 2000, as "National Family Week," and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 61—EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS REGARDING A CONTINUED UNITED STATES SECURITY PRESENCE IN PANAMA AND A REVIEW OF THE CONTRACT BIDDING PROCESS FOR THE BALBOA AND CRISTOBAL PORT FACILITIES ON EACH END OF THE PANAMA CANAL

Mr. SESSIONS (for himself, Mr. LOTT, Mr. HELMS, Mr. INHOFE, Mr. ALLARD, Mr. KYL, Mr. THURMOND, and Mr. HUTCHINSON): submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 61

Whereas the 50-mile-long Panama Canal, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, is a key strategic choke point in the Western Hemisphere, is vital to United States and international economies, and remains a strategic passage for naval vessels;

Whereas the 1977 Carter-Torrijos Treaty transfers ownership of the Panama Canal to the government of Panama and requires all United States military forces to leave by December 31, 1999;

Whereas under the companion Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal the United States