

John King's contributions to the quality of life in San Francisco are too numerous to list. Mr. King has worked tirelessly as an advocate for San Francisco's seniors, to ensure that they have access to affordable housing and services. The John W. King Senior Community is the latest addition to John's lifelong work. This innovative project will provide 91 one-bedroom apartments to serve low-income seniors in the City's Visitacion Valley. It will provide easy access to on-site support services, a transportation center and a nutrition center. The project also includes a child-care center, which helps to meet community needs and will provide opportunities for the senior residents to develop relationships with the youngest generation.

We can all be proud of the role of the federal government, particularly the Department of Housing and Urban Development, as well as the role of the City of San Francisco, and Catholic Healthcare West, in helping to finance the John W. King Senior Community, which is a joint project of the John W. King Senior Center, Mercy Charities Housing California, and Housing Conservation & Development Corporation.

We can be particularly proud of John King, whose vision, strength, determination and hard work are examples for us all. Happy Birthday, Mr. King. May you continue your good works for the next eighty years.

#### TRIBUTE TO EARLINE McCLAIN

### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1999

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, Earline McClain, one of my constituents who has had a very distinguished career in education, has written a poem that I hope will be read by a great many people. It expresses some very important ideas about our Nation and how each of us has a responsibility to treat each other with respect and humility.

I have enclosed a copy of the poem, entitled "Think," and would like to call it to the attention of my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD.

#### THINK

Take a look at yourself. What's made you so bereft Of human concern? Why have you not learned That all people have worth and no one on this earth Has the right to heap scorn on any person ever born!

Label them as you may; call them black, trash, foreign, migrant or gay You have no right to say they are inferior, to feel superior; You are human, and so are they!

What's a migrant worker? Surely not a shirker But strangers in this land, doing all that they can To eke out a living. Others should be giving All that they can afford. Things are not ours to hoard!

Never should one deny others the chance to try To better their condition. When you are in a position to offer a helping hand, When you're called American, you must fully understand What makes up this "free" land. America's a melt-

ing pot And if you heat it up too hot, so anyone is scorched or burned, A painful lesson you'll learn, all people are God's concern!

When you don't give, but hoard, think of one born in a manger When your neighbor's ox is gored, your ass is in danger! You are your brothers' keeper and involved with him much deeper Than you may want to be. When another's plight you see,

Think: But for God's grace, that's me or His Grace may yet let me be, For He controls our destiny and how I treat others, He may treat me.

#### KENTUCKY SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### HON. ED WHITFIELD

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 15, 1999

Mr. WHITFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in recognition of the efforts of the 4,279 women of the Kentucky Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Kentucky organization was founded 104 years ago to serve as an instrument of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and to further the DAR's dedication to the promotion of education among our nation's citizens, preservation of our historical treasures, and encouragement and recognition of patriotic endeavors among citizens of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, the State Board of Management of the Kentucky Society will meet in my hometown of Hopkinsville, Kentucky on Saturday September 18, 1999. This meeting will honor in remembrance the life and the Bicentennial of the death of our nation's Founding Father and First President, George Washington.

The Kentucky Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution provides innumerable patriotic services, including but not limited to caring for our veterans; providing citizenship manuals to prospective U.S. citizens; the creation of a DAR-supported school in Hindman, Kentucky to teach Dyslexic students to read and write; and the recognition of students in our Commonwealth's schools who have demonstrated good citizenship and service to country.

Mr. Speaker, Constitution Week, September 13-17 marks the Two Hundred Twelfth Anniversary of the signing of the Constitution.

The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Kentucky Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution promote vigilance among all U.S. citizens to understand and protect the freedoms guaranteed to them by the Constitution. They deserve our respect and our gratitude for their efforts and I offer this statement in recognition of their superb and continuing patriotism.

#### BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ACT OF 1999

SPEECH OF

### HON. DENNIS MOORE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 14, 1999

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 417) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of campaigns for elections for Federal office, and for other purposes:

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Chairman, during the 1996 election cycle a Virginia-based organization called Triad Management spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in my home state of Kansas, as well as in Oklahoma and Louisiana, among other states. The money was spent on sham issue ads of dubious accuracy. I am including in the RECORD with my statement a copy of a New York Times article that recounts Triad's activities in this regard.

Rigorous debate is part of democracy in America, and free speech is a right and freedom that all of us cherish. When you and I stand up to exercise that right, not only to conduct the business of the people but also to run in partisan elections, we show our face. But there are those who enter the public debate anonymously, however, backed by funds, the source of which is unknown.

Mr. Chairman, this type of activity has two effects on American voters. The first is to cause outrage—and rightly so. After all, how can one expect justice and fair play from a system that has the appearance of being up for sale?

The second is apathy. Sadly, we know this to be true based upon recent voter turnout statistics. Average voters feel like they can't make a difference in our system of big bucks and anonymous contributions, and their response is to refuse to participate.

Mr. Chairman, you and I have both seen this outrage and apathy. Isn't it time we do something about it?

Triad is one of the many examples of this abuse of the system; abuses enactment of Shays-Meehan will end. By passing this bill, no one is telling the anonymous donors to Triad that they can't be a part of the public debate. Instead, it simply requires them to reveal themselves to the public and show their face, just like everyone else has to do.

Mr. Chairman, passing H.R. 417 is the one step Congress can take that will most contribute to restoring the public's loss of confidence in our political process. People have an absolute right to know who is trying to influence their vote and the vote of their elected representatives.

I urge my colleagues to pass H.R. 417 immediately so we can shine the light of day on this problem.

[From the New York Times]

A BACK DOOR FOR THE CONSERVATIVE DONOR CONSULTANT USED PAC'S AND NONPROFITS TO OFFER MAXIMUM IMPACT

(By Leslie Wayne)

WASHINGTON, May 21—When Floyd Coates, an Indiana businessman and one-time candidate for Congress, decided to make some

big campaign donations in the last election, he wanted to be sure that the \$100,000 or so he planned to give would end up supporting his brand of conservative, free-market, pro-military, anti-abortion candidates.

"I wanted to do all I could," Mr. Coates said. "But I didn't want my money to go to the 5 to 10 percent of the Republican candidates who were too liberal, or to the 5 to 10 percent who didn't have a chance."

So, for guidance, Mr. Coates turned to Triad Management Services, a Washington political consulting concern headed by a former fund-raiser for Oliver L. North. Tapping into a network of conservative donors across the country, Triad funneled their money through nonprofit groups and political action committees to support conservative candidates in important races. By finding donors and advising them where to put their money, Triad pumped more than \$5 million into last-minute negative television advertisements that benefited Republican candidates and, in some cases, swayed elections.

A Democratic candidate for Congress in Kansas was described in an advertisement produced by Triad with money from conservative donors as supporting "special preferences for gays and lesbians." She lost. A Democratic Congressional candidate in Montana lost his slim lead, and the election, after a Triad advertisement portrayed him as a wife-beater.

In the hotly contested race for Bob Dole's Senate seat in Kansas, the Democratic challenger, who had been running neck-and-neck, lost after a last-minute \$200,000 advertising blitz from Triad characterized her as a "liberal" from Massachusetts, the state she left 20 years ago.

Few people, least of all the Congressional candidates under attack, knew where the money for these advertisements came from: a little-known group taking advantage of loopholes in campaign finance laws on behalf of Republican candidates.

"Triad played the role of an orchestra leader," said Bill Hogan of the Center for Public Integrity, a nonprofit research group. "They had an ocean of money, and where it comes from and where it goes doesn't have to be disclosed. These organizations skirt the very fine print of the Federal regulations. It's secret money, and the level of it is worse today than during Watergate."

Working outside the confines of the Republican Party, Triad, a profit-making consulting group, came up with ways for conservative donors—including corporations, which are prohibited from giving directly to Congressional candidates—to get money to tight races where conservative Republicans stood a chance of victory. The money was often channeled into television advertisements through nonprofit organizations—including one headed by Lyn Nofziger, a former aide to President Ronald Reagan who was convicted of three felony ethics violations—in ways that make it impossible to trace the sources or the amounts of the donations.

In a year in which one new loophole after another in campaign finance law was being exploited, Triad carved out a unique role as a middleman and showed how nonprofits could be used to steer money into Congressional races. Triad did not collect campaign dollars itself. Rather, it advised individual donors on which candidates and political action committees to support. And it found donors, whose names were never disclosed, to contribute to nonprofit groups that used Triad to design attack advertisements.

In exchange for this, Triad collected a fee from the individual donors and took a portion of the money raised for the television advertisements. While there are many Washington consulting firms that advise candidates and parties, Triad is the rare one that advises donors.

For a fee, Triad would advise donors like Mr. Coates on which Congressional candidates and conservative political action committees to support. In doing so, Triad enabled conservative donors to maximize the impact of their dollars by coming up with back-door, but legal, ways for them to get money to Republican candidates in amounts above the \$2,000 Federal contribution limits.

This happened when Triad donors gave to candidates and to political action committees that would, in all likelihood, make donations to the same candidates. Using Mr. Coates as an example, he and his wife, Anne, gave \$5,000 to the Eagle Forum, a PAC headed by the anti-abortion leader Phyllis Schlafly, which gave money to candidates to whom the Coateses had already given.

For instance, the Coateses had already contributed \$2,000 to Randy Tate, a Republican Congressional candidate in Washington. Eagle Forum's political committee gave him an additional \$7,000. The Coateses gave \$2,000 to Sam Brownback, a Republican running for Mr. Dole's vacant seat in Kansas. Eagle Forum gave \$7,000. The Coateses gave \$3,800 to Jean Leising, a Republican Congressional candidate in Indiana, and the Eagle Forum contributed \$5,000.

Similarly, the Coateses gave \$5,000 to something called the American Free Enterprise PAC, which in turn, gave \$7,000 to Mr. Tate and \$4,500 to Mr. Brownback. In all, the Coateses donated to 14 conservative political action committees and 21 Congressional candidates; 17 of those candidates received money from the PAC's that had received money from Mr. and Mrs. Coates.

"I turned to Triad for research, and I liked their recommendations," Mr. Coates said. "I mailed checks to PAC's and candidates that shared my pro-life Christian values. But what the PAC's did with that money, I had no idea. They got no direction from me."

The role of Triad is under scrutiny by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, headed by Senator Fred Thompson, Republican of Tennessee. Under prodding from the Democratic minority, the committee recently subpoenaed Triad and two nonprofit organizations hired by Triad to find donors and produce last-minute multimillion-dollar advertising blitzes attacking Democrats.

One nonprofit is Citizens for Reform, headed by Peter Flaherty, a one-time campaign manager for President Reagan. Citizens for Reform raised and spent \$2 million from August to October 1996 on races in 10 states, with the most going to Kansas and California. Mr. Flaherty said in an interview that Triad had raised all the money for his group, which was founded last spring, and had spent it for him.

"We played a major role in the 1996 election, and we are quite happy with our results," Mr. Flaherty said. "Triad produced our television ads, drafted scripts and bought television time. They basically managed it and lined up vendors for a television campaign and for our direct mail and phone banks."

Citizens for Reform, as a nonprofit organization, is not required to disclose its donations. Because it engages in some lobbying, however, donations to it are not tax-deductible.

In fact, it is the promise of anonymity—as well as a sky-is-the-limit rule on donations—

that makes these nonprofit groups popular among big donors. Unlike contributions to individual Federal office-seekers and PAC's, there are no limits on how much can be donated to a nonprofit. And corporations, which are barred from donating to Federal candidates, can give to nonprofits.

"Privacy is important to our donors," said Mr. Flaherty, who added that his nonprofit did not take foreign money. "Nondisclosure is something we definitely point out."

The lack of disclosure, however, troubles some. "This is completely invisible money," said Kenneth Gross, former enforcement chief for the Federal Election Commission. "At least soft money is disclosed. This money isn't. It's one thing to have money that is under the radar screen. Money from nonprofits isn't even close to the radar screen."

The second nonprofit Triad advised was Citizens for the Republic Education Fund, where Mr. Nofziger is a director. This group spent \$2 million at the end of the 1996 election on advertisements produced and designed by Triad with money Triad had found for the nonprofit group. These spots focused on United States Senate races in Arkansas, especially against Winston Bryant, a Democrat who lost.

Mr. Nofziger declined to comment beyond saying, "As long as they are fiddling around with Senate hearings, it's best for me not to talk."

Triad's founder and president is Carolyn Malenick, a former fundraiser for Mr. North. She also heads Citizens for the Republic Education Fund. Ms. Malenick's commitment to the conservative cause is well known, as is her fund-raising prowess.

"Carolyn is a terrific fund-raiser," Mr. Flaherty said. "She has a Midas touch. She has a bigger vision than others. People were never asked to contribute at this level before."

Triad collects a management fee based on donations to the two non-profits—in essence, a cut of all the money they raise. In addition, Ms. Malenick charges some donors a fee for her advice, on a sliding scale.

"My clients are typically socially conservative businessmen and women," Ms. Malenick said in an interview. "I provide them with due diligence, or research, in the political environment. If you want to buy stocks, you go to a stockbroker and get research and advice. That's what I do in the political arena, which is heavily regulated."

"We don't dictate or tell my clients what to do. We say, 'Here are the campaign giving limits and here are the laws.' We say, 'Here are the candidates who are viable and who feel the way you do.'"

Mark Braden, former general counsel of the Republican National Committee and Ms. Malenick's lawyer, compared her to a corporate consultant. "Carolyn has taken a Fortune 500 activity, consulting, and moved it to a group of socially conservative rich folks," Mr. Braden said. "And it's worked well."

One group Ms. Malenick said she did not work with closely is the Republican Party, although Republicans like Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma have appeared in her literature. "I'm not an agent of the Republican Party," Ms. Malenick said. "I don't work for them. We choose where to get involved, and there is no need to tell them."

Rich Galen, a spokesman for the National Republican Congressional Committee, confirmed that view but acknowledged social ties between Triad's principals and the party. "Lots of people in this town get seen

in the same places," Mr. Galen said. "So I don't want you to think some of these people don't show up in the same place and have a drink. But we do not do any coordination with them. That would be improper."

As well as illegal. One of the questions Senate Democrats want answered involves the extent of coordination, if any, between Triad, the nonprofits and the Republican Party. If coordination is shown, then Triad's nonprofit organizations could face the same disclosure and spending limits as other political committees.

Those on the receiving end of Triad's advertisements said they had been stunned by the onslaught. Jill Docking, a Democrat, was in a dead heat with Mr. Brownback for the Kansas seat vacated by Mr. Dole. She saw her chances vanish after an advertising blitz.

"We couldn't figure out where the ads were coming from," said Ms. Docking, a Wichita stockbroker. "Even more frustrating was the massive deluge. The ads came at me in every direction in the last weeks. There were five or six of these ads to every one of mine. Our television looked pretty pitiful. It clearly swayed the election."

Those who benefited from Triad's activities, like Senator Brownback, said they did not have a hand in the advertisements.

Still, the spots did not hurt. Said David Kensinger, Mr. Brownback's deputy campaign manager, "Never look a gift horse in the mouth."

#### SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest—designated by the Rules committee—of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Meetings scheduled for Thursday, September 16, 1999 may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

#### MEETINGS SCHEDULED

##### SEPTEMBER 21

9 a.m.  
United States Senate Caucus on International Narcotics Control  
To hold hearings on counterinsurgency vs. counter-narcotics issues in regards to Colombia.

SH-216

9:30 a.m.  
Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions  
To hold hearings on issues relating to hybrid pension plans.

SD-106

##### SEPTEMBER 22

9:30 a.m.  
Indian Affairs  
To hold hearings on Indian trust fund reform.

SR-485

Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions  
Business meeting to consider pending calendar business.

SD-430

10 a.m.  
Armed Services  
Readiness and Management Support Subcommittee  
To hold hearings to receive testimony on the national security requirements and continued training operations at the Vieques Training Range.

SR-222

##### SEPTEMBER 23

9:30 a.m.  
Energy and Natural Resources  
To hold oversight hearings to explore the potential consequences of the year 2000 computer problem to the Nation's supply of electricity.

SD-366

10 a.m.  
Environment and Public Works  
To hold hearings on the nomination of Richard A. Meserve, of Virginia, to be a Member of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission; the nomination of Paul L. Hill, Jr., of West Virginia, to be Chairperson of the Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board; the nomination of Major General Phillip R. Anderson, United States Army, to be a Member and President of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of Section 2 of an Act of Congress, approved June 1879 (21 Stat. 37) (33 USC 642); the nomination of Sam Epstein Angel, of Arkansas, to be a Member of the Mississippi River Commission; and the nomination of Brigadier General Robert H. Griffin, United States Army, to be a Member of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of Section 2 of an Act of Congress, approved June 1879 (21 Stat. 37) (33 USC 642).

dier General Robert H. Griffin, United States Army, to be a Member of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of Section 2 of an Act of Congress, approved June 1879 (21 Stat. 37) (33 USC 642).

SD-406

##### SEPTEMBER 28

9:30 a.m.  
Veterans Affairs  
To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans Affairs to review the legislative recommendations of the American Legion.  
345 Cannon Building

##### SEPTEMBER 29

9:30 a.m.  
Indian Affairs  
To hold hearings on S. 1508, to provide technical and legal assistance for tribal justice systems and members of Indian tribes.

SR-485

Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions  
Business meeting to consider pending calendar business.

SD-430

2:30 p.m.  
Energy and Natural Resources  
Water and Power Subcommittee  
To hold oversight hearings on the practices of the Bureau of Reclamation regarding operations and maintenance costs and contract renewals.

SD-366

##### SEPTEMBER 30

2:30 p.m.  
Energy and Natural Resources  
Forests and Public Land Management Subcommittee  
To hold hearings on S. 1457, to amend the Energy Policy Act of 1992 to assess opportunities to increase carbon storage on national forests derived from the public domain and to facilitate voluntary and accurate reporting of forest projects that reduce atmospheric carbon dioxide concentrations.

SD-366

##### OCTOBER 6

9:30 a.m.  
Indian Affairs  
Business meeting to consider pending calendar business.

SR-485