

SENATE—Wednesday, March 21, 2001

The Senate met at 9:30 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable GEORGE ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Virginia.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious Lord, You have told us that if we, as branches, are connected to You, the Vine of virtue, our lives will emulate Your character. We dedicate this day to live as branches for the flow of Your spirit. We admit that apart from You, we can accomplish nothing of lasting significance. We ask that the Senators and all of us who work with them may be distinguished for the fruit of Your spirit, a cluster of divinely inspired, imputed, and induced traits of Your nature reproduced in us.

Your love encourages us and gives us security; Your joy uplifts us and gives us exuberance; Your peace floods our hearts with serenity; Your patience calms our agitation over difficult people and pressured schedules; Your kindness enables us to deal with our own and other people's shortcomings; Your goodness challenges us to make a renewed commitment to absolute integrity; Your faithfulness produces trustworthiness that makes us dependable; Your gentleness reveals the might of true meekness that humbly draws on Your power; Your Lordship gives us self-control because we have accepted Your control of our lives. You are the mighty God of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Jesus Christ. Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The Honorable GEORGE ALLEN led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, March 21, 2001.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, paragraph 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable GEORGE ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, today the Senate will immediately resume consideration of the campaign finance reform legislation. Debate will continue on Senator TORRICELLI's amendment regarding broadcasting. If all debate time is used, a vote may be expected around 12 noon. However, some time may be yielded back, and therefore the vote could occur earlier. Progress is being made on the bill, and further amendments will be offered throughout the day. As a reminder, votes will occur throughout the day approximately every 3 hours.

I thank my colleagues for their attention.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JEFFORDS. I am happy to yield.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, through my friend from Vermont, I ask the Chair, if all time is used on the Torricelli amendment—he spoke for a short time last night—what time would the vote occur?

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Approximately 12:20 p.m.

Mr. REID. I thank the Chair.

BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 2001

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of S. 27, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 27) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide bipartisan campaign reform.

Pending:

Torricelli amendment No. 122, to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to require television broadcast stations, and providers of cable or satellite television service, to provide lowest unit rate to committees of political parties purchasing time on behalf of candidates.

AMENDMENT NO. 122

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the

Senate will now resume consideration of the Torricelli amendment No. 122.

The Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, the Senate now turns its attention to what is the other half of the campaign finance problem. It is, after all, not simply what is raised but why money is raised and where it is going.

This Senate, for 5 years, has had to overcome four filibusters to get us to this moment in considering campaign finance reform. We have voted on 113 occasions to reform the campaign finance laws. We have considered 300 pieces of legislation, heard 3,000 speeches, and filled 6,000 pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. But none of this will mean anything, this legislation will accomplish no more than leading to a less informed public with less political dialog, if we do not complement the reduction in fundraising with more availability of information by reducing the cost.

The McCain-Feingold legislation, as written, will not abate the expense of running for political office. It could, if not amended, simply lead to an American public, as Senator MCCONNELL has said many times, that is less informed with less political speech. I know no one in the country who believes that is the kind of reform we genuinely seek.

The Alliance for Better Campaigns recently stated:

Reform must do more than limit the supply of political money. It must also restrain the demand for political money.

There is a perception in the media and in the public that the entire problem of campaign financing is the amount of money. That is a problem, but it is not the only problem. Members of this institution know that an equal burden that must be addressed is the amount of time Senators and Members of the House of Representatives are taken away from their legislative responsibilities, not meeting with ordinary citizens, to cater to the wealthy to gain access to this money.

On the chart on my left, I have taken a State at random, New Jersey, and given an indication of what it takes in time to run what all future Senate campaigns in New Jersey probably will cost—a minimum of \$15 million. This would require, under current campaign finance laws, raising \$20,833 every day 7 days a week for 2 years, or 150 fundraising events, each raising \$100,000, or 1,500 events at \$10,000 per event, 1,500 fundraisers at \$10,000.

We can make it more difficult to raise the money. We can eliminate soft money. The question remains: Are we simply adding to the burden of how