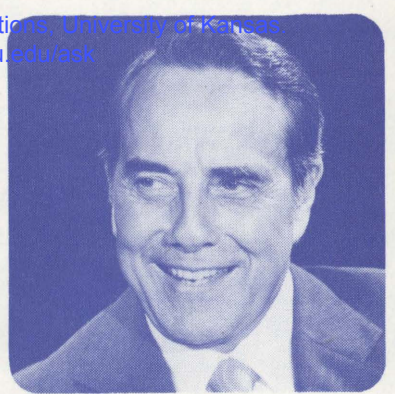


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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE "FLEXIBLE" FUNDRAISING TARGETS

WASHINGTON - DURING THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS, THE CAMPAIGN FINANCE BATTLE-LINES HAVE BEEN CLEARLY DRAWN.

DEMOCRATS HAVE TOUTED INFLEXIBLE, AGGREGATE SPENDING LIMITS AS THE CENTERPIECE OF THEIR OWN REFORM PROPOSAL.

REPUBLICANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE ARGUED THAT THE REAL CULPRIT IN THE CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM DEBATE IS NOT SPENDING, BUT THE SOURCES OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

BOTH POSITIONS ARE STRONGLY HELD. BOTH POSITIONS HAVE FORCEFUL ADVOCATES. AND BOTH POSITIONS SERVE TO HIGHLIGHT THE WIDE GAP THAT SEPARATES THE TWO PARTIES ON AN ISSUE THAT IS OF IMMENSE IMPORTANCE, NOT ONLY TO THE SENATE AS AN INSTITUTION, BUT TO THE VERY WELL-BEING OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

THE BIPARTISAN PANEL

LAST WEEK, I ATTEMPTED TO BRIDGE THE PARTISAN GAP BY EMBRACING THE 'FLEXIBLE' APPROACH DEVELOPED BY THE BIPARTISAN PANEL OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE EXPERTS, WHO WERE APPOINTED EARLIER THIS YEAR BY SENATOR MITCHELL AND MYSELF.

IN ITS REPORT, THE BIPARTISAN PANEL DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN "POTENTIALLY CORRUPTING" SOURCES OF CAMPAIGN FINANCING -- POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND BIG-MONEY OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTORS -- AND THOSE "DESIRABLE SOURCES," SUCH AS A CANDIDATE'S OWN INDIVIDUAL CONSTITUENTS, THE HOME-STATE VOTERS.

USING THIS "GOOD MONEY/BAD MONEY" DISTINCTION, THE PANEL THEN PROPOSED A COMPROMISE SOLUTION -- "FLEXIBLE" SPENDING LIMITS -- WHICH PLACED AN AGGREGATE CAP ON CAMPAIGN SPENDING, BUT RETAINED ENOUGH FLEXIBILITY TO ENCOURAGE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE "GOOD MONEY" SOURCES.

LAST WEEK'S REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL ADOPTED THE BIPARTISAN PANEL'S FLEXIBLE APPROACH. THE PROPOSAL RETAINED THE COMPLETE BAN ON PAC CONTRIBUTIONS, WHICH HAS BEEN A KEY ELEMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN REFORM PLAN FROM THE BEGINNING.

IT PROVIDED FOR A REDUCTION IN THE OUT-OF-STATE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FROM \$1,000 TO \$500.

AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE PROPOSAL CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF "FLEXIBLE" FUNDRAISING TARGETS ESTABLISHING AN AGGREGATE CAP ON THOSE "BAD MONEY" SOURCES RECOGNIZED BY THE BIPARTISAN PANEL -- PERSONAL FUNDS, CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OUT-OF-STATE INDIVIDUALS IN EXCESS OF \$250, AND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PACS, IN THE EVENT THAT THE REPUBLICAN PAC-BAN WAS EVER DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY THE COURTS.

"GOOD MONEY" SOURCES

THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL DID NOT PLACE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS RESIDING IN A CANDIDATE'S HOME STATE.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUAL CONSTITUENTS ARE, VERY SIMPLY, THE BEST DOLLARS IN POLITICS. AND I CHALLENGE ANYONE TO SAY THAT THE VOTERS OF THIS COUNTRY SHOULD BE SHUT-OUT FROM CONTRIBUTING TO A CANDIDATE FROM THEIR OWN STATE.

THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL ALSO DID NOT CAP OUT-OF STATE INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF \$250 OR LESS.

EXPERIENCE TELLS US THAT SMALL OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NOT MADE TO GAIN 'ACCESS' TO THE DECISION-MAKERS HERE IN CONGRESS. THEY ARE NOT MADE TO CURRY FAVOR WITH CONGRESSIONAL INCUMBENTS.

(MORE)

THEY ARE MADE OUT OF A PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO A POLITICAL CAUSE, AND THEY ARE GIVEN TO THOSE WHO SUPPORT THIS CAUSE IN CONGRESS.

IN MY OPINION, THAT'S 'GOOD POLITICAL MONEY,' AND IT SHOULD NOT BE HAMSTRUNG BY MINDLESS RESTRICTIONS.

WALK THE 'EXTRA MILE'

WITH THIS PROPOSAL, SENATE REPUBLICANS WALKED THE EXTRA MILE. WE MADE A SINCERE EFFORT TO CLOSE THE PARTISAN GAP HERE IN THE SENATE.

AND IT HAD BEEN MY HOPE THAT THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSAL WOULD BE WELL-RECEIVED BY MY COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE, AND PERHAPS COULD BE USED AS THE BASIS FOR A RESUMPTION OF BIPARTISAN NEGOTIATIONS.

WELL, I WAS WRONG.

WITHIN 24 HOURS, SENATE DEMOCRATS HAD REJECTED THE PROPOSAL. SOME EVEN SAID THAT THE PROPOSAL "DIDN'T AMOUNT TO MUCH," A RESPONSE WHICH DIDN'T BODE WELL FOR BIPARTISANSHIP.

MAJOR FLAWS REMAIN

LATE LAST FRIDAY, MY COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE FINALLY ENDORSED A COMPLETE BAN ON PAC CONTRIBUTIONS.

THAT'S ALL-WELL-AND-GOOD, AND I CONGRATULATE THE DEMOCRATS FOR FOLLOWING THE REPUBLICAN LEAD ON THIS ISSUE.

BUT DEMOCRATIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN PAC-BAN CHANGES ONLY ONE PIECE OF THE PUZZLE.

WE ARE STILL FACED WITH A SO-CALLED 'REFORM' BILL WHOSE SPENDING LIMITS WILL STIFLE CHALLENGERS, PROMOTE INCUMBENCY GRIDLOCK, AND GUARANTEE A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE SENATE FOR YEARS TO COME.

WE ARE FACED WITH A PARTISAN BILL THAT DOES NOTHING TO STOP THE SOFT-MONEY ABUSES OF CORPORATIONS, LABOR UNIONS, AND SO-CALLED TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS WHO HIDE THEIR PARTISAN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BEHIND TAX-EXEMPT STATUS.

WE ARE FACED WITH A BILL THAT WOULD PLACE YET ANOTHER BURDEN ON THE TAXPAYERS BY FORCING THEM TO PARTIALLY FINANCE POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS WITH SOMETHING-CALLED "BROADCAST VOUCHERS."

AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE ARE FACED WITH A BILL THAT EVERYONE KNOWS ISN'T GOING ANYWHERE, SINCE IT'S A SPENDING-LIMITS BILL THAT PRESIDENT BUSH SIMPLY WILL NOT SIGN.

NO REPUBLICAN FILIBUSTER

REPUBLICANS HAVE NO INTENTION OF FILIBUSTERING S. 137. THAT'S NOT PART OF THE REPUBLICAN STRATEGY.

BUT REPUBLICANS WILL BE OFFERING AMENDMENTS. AND MANY OF THESE AMENDMENTS WILL BE BASED ON THE REPUBLICAN 34-POINT REFORM PROPOSAL, WHICH WE INTRODUCED THIS PAST MAY.

THESE AMENDMENTS WILL ELIMINATE THE TAXPAYER-FINANCING PROVISIONS THAT REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC BILL.

THEY WILL PROMOTE COMPETITION IN POLITICS BY ALLOWING THE PARTIES TO GIVE "SEED MONEY" TO VIABLE SENATE AND HOUSE CHALLENGERS.

THEY WILL CLOSE THE MILLIONAIRE'S LOOPHOLE THAT ALLOWS WEALTHY CANDIDATES TO "BUY" CONGRESSIONAL SEATS.

THEY WILL PROHIBIT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FROM SENDING OUT FRANKED MAIL DURING AN ELECTION YEAR.

AND THEY WILL BAN NON-PARTY SOFT-MONEY -- A PROVISION THAT IS NOTICEABLY ABSENT FROM THE PARTISAN DEMOCRATIC BILL.

AS WE DEBATE THIS ISSUE OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO GIVE THE REPUBLICAN AMENDMENTS THEIR SERIOUS ATTENTION.

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