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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
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DOLE SAYS LETS HAVE REAVE REAL CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

TOMORROW, BY WAY OF ANOTHER CLOTURE VOTE, WE WILL BE REVISITING THE SO-CALLED CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM ISSUE. THIS WILL BE IN THE SIXTH CLOTURE VOTE TO DATE ON A MEASURE INTRODUCED BY SENATORS BYRD AND BOREN.

NOW, SOME PEOPLE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT THE REPUBLICANS ARE OBSTRUCTIONISTS -- THAT WE ARE IN FACT ANTI-REFORM. NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH. THESE CRITICS CONVENIENTLY IGNORE THE FACT THAT WE HAVE INDICATED TIME AND TIME AGAIN THAT WE ARE READY AND WILLING TO DISCUSS REAL REFORM.

THAT IS WHY TODAY I AM INTRODUCING A BILL WHICH WILL RESULT IN TRUE AND FAIR REFORM, NOT UNREASONABLE RESTRICTIONS THAT WILL DISCOURAGE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DAMAGE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN FACT, IT IS A BILL WHICH INCLUDES MANY OF THE FINE SUGGESTIONS WHICH WERE A PART OF SENATOR BOREN'S CAMPAIGN FINANCE BILL LAST YEAR, A PROPOSAL WHICH HE HAS UNFORTUNATELY ABANDONED.

IN A LETTER SENT TO SENATOR PRESSLER, FORMER SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER THE PRINCIPAL CO-SPONSOR OF LAST YEAR'S BOREN-GOLDWATER BILL -- AND A RECOGNIZED PROPONENT OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM -- MAKES CLEAR HIS STRONG OBJECTIONS TO SENATOR BOREN'S NEWEST INITIATIVE, BELIEVING IT WOULD CAUSE "HAVOC" WITH OUR ELECTION SYSTEM.

KEY OBJECTIONS TO BYRD-BOREN

BEFORE DESCRIBING OUR OWN INITIATIVE, I WOULD LIKE TO BRIEFLY HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE KEY OBJECTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED IN REFERENCE TO S. 2 IN ITS CURRENT FORM.

THE SPENDING LIMITS AS PROPOSED ARE TOO LOW AND ARE SIMPLY THE LATEST FORM OF INCUMBENT PROTECTION. THEY RESTRICT THE ABILITY OF BOTH INCUMBENTS AND CHALLENGERS TO TAKE THEIR MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE. IT WOULD BE ESPECIALLY DAMAGING TO CHALLENGERS. INCUMBENTS ALREADY HAVE THE EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF FRANKING PRIVILEGES, FREE MEDIA EXPOSURE ON A DAILY BASIS AND A TRAINED STAFF. AS A RESULT, CHALLENGERS AUTOMATICALLY START WITH A HANDICAP.

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ADDITIONALLY, THE METHOD OF ESTABLISHING SPENDING LIMITS MAKE LITTLE SENSE: AS MY COLLEAGUES WELL KNOW, THE COSTS OF CAMPAIGNING ARE BASED ON FAR MORE THAN JUST THE VOTING AGE POPULATION IN A STATE. WE KNOW FIRSTHAND THAT THE SIZE OF MEDIA MARKETS AND THE RESULTING COSTS OF ADVERTISING TIME, IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE BOTTOM LINE IN CAMPAIGN SPENDING.

HIDDEN COSTS OF S. 2

THERE ARE ALSO THOSE OF US WHO ARE SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL COSTS OF THIS SO-CALLED REFORM MEASURE. PROPONENTS OF S. 2 HAVE ARGUED THAT THE COSTS OF THE BILL ARE SLIGHT. YET A CAREFUL READING OF THE BILL TELLS US OTHERWISE. AMONG THOSE HIDDEN COSTS TO BE PICKED-UP BY THE TAXPAYERS -- ARE (1) THE POSTAL SUBSIDY, WHICH COULD COST UP TO \$68 MILLION PER ELECTION CYCLE; (2) ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS FOR THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION, WHICH COULD EXCEED \$1 MILLION ANNUALLY; (3) DIRECT PUBLIC FINANCING. CBO CONSERVATIVELY ESTIMATES THAT ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ALL CANDIDATES WILL OPT NOT TO COMPLY WITH THE LIMITS TRIGGERING DIRECT-FEDERAL PAYOUTS OF AT LEAST \$20 MILLION EACH ELECTION CYCLE; AND FINALLY, (4) OFFSETTING COMPENSATION FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES WILL ALSO BE COSTLY GIVEN OUR EXPERIENCE. IN 1986, INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES ON SENATE RACES TOTALLED NEARLY \$5 MILLION. GIVEN THAT THE HOUSE IS ALSO LIKELY TO BE COVERED BY THE BILL, THESE COSTS ALONE COULD GO AS HIGH AS \$20 MILLION EACH AND EVERY ELECTION CYCLE. THAT'S A LOT OF MONEY IN MY BOOK.

OTHER CONCERNS

IN ADDITION TO THE DRAIN ON THE TREASURY AND THE TAXPAYERS, THERE ARE OTHER SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH THE BILL, INCLUDING THE POTENTIAL UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE PUBLIC FINANCING PROVISIONS.

NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE OTHER WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN MAKE MEANINGFUL CHANGES TO THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN FINANCE SYSTEM. AND I BELIEVE THE COMPROMISE PACKAGE WE ARE INTRODUCING TODAY, ADDRESSES MANY OF THOSE CONCERNS.

FOR INSTANCE, THE AMENDMENT INCLUDES LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS FOR BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES THAT WERE FEATURED IN THE BOREN-GOLDWATER BILL. THIS ADJUSTMENT DEALS WITH EVERYONE'S CONCERN ABOUT DEPENDENCY ON PAC CONTRIBUTIONS, AND OPENS UP THE OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUALS TO BECOME THE TRADITIONAL SOURCE OF FUNDING.

KEY TO THE SUCCESS OF ANY SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN REFORM, IS DISCLOSURE. COMMON CAUSE CALLS THE FINANCE SYSTEM WE NOW OPERATE UNDER A "NATIONAL SCANDAL"; AND THE WASHINGTON POST SAYS THE SYSTEM IS FUNDAMENTALLY CORRUPT." WELL, MR. PRESIDENT, IF ANY PART OF OUR CURRENT SYSTEM HAS A POTENTIAL FOR MEETING THESE DEFINITIONS, IT IS THE FAILURE OF THE SYSTEM TO REQUIRE FOR FULL REPORTING OF POLITICAL EXPENDITURES -- AND THAT INCLUDES THE DISCLOSURE OF "SOFT MONEY" EXPENDITURES BY CORPORATIONS, LABOR UNIONS, NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES FOR ACTIVITIES SUCH AS "GET OUT THE VOTE" OR "VOTER REGISTRATION".

I'M ALSO WILLING IN THE FUTURE TO CONSIDER LIMITATIONS ON THESE SOFT-MONEY CONTRIBUTIONS AND, IN CONJUNCTION WITH SUCH LIMITATIONS, A FURTHER TIGHTENING OF AMOUNTS PACS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO CANDIDATES.

FINALLY, THE BILL INCORPORATES THE WORK DONE BY SENATOR RUDMAN, AND OTHERS IN ESTABLISHING A BIPARTISAN COMMISSION TO ANALYZE PROBLEMS SUCH AS SOFT MONEY CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS ON ABUSES IN THE CURRENT SYSTEM, CORRECT THOSE ABUSES, AND ELIMINATE THE LOOPHOLES.

WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUAL INVOLVEMENT AND COMMITMENT. WE SHOULD EXPECT THAT THOSE SEEKING OFFICE WILL GO TO THE PUBLIC, NOT THE PUBLIC TROUGH, FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

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