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March 12, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR DOLE

FROM: DENNIS SHEA

SUBECT: SPEECH TO THE SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

Rep. Dingell's office refused to send us an advance copy of Dingell's speech. Dingell's press secretary did say that the speech would cover the following topics:

1. Dingell has introduced two "market reform" bills that are the subject of a mark-up tomorrow by the House Energy and Commerce Committee. One bill would give the SEC certain emergency powers in the event of a market breakdown. The second bill would revise the SEC's "settlement and clearance" procedures.

2. Glass-Steagall Reform.

3. "EC'92."

4. The internationalization of the securities markets.

Addition to Speech

After talking to Carolyn, I have added a brief section on the Excessive Churning and Speculation Act, which you introduced last year with Sen. Kassebaum. This section appears on pages 16-18.

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March 11, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: SENATOR DOLE

FROM: DENNIS SHEA

SUBJECT: SPEECH TO THE SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

As you know, you are scheduled to speak to the Securities Industry Association ("SIA") on Monday, March 12, at 6:30 p.m. You have been asked to speak for approximately 30 minutes. Your speech will be followed by a formal dinner.

There will be approximately 100 brokerage executives r attendance. An attendance list is attached.

Topics of Interest to the SIA

You have been asked to provide a general overview of the legislative session. As a result, your speech covers the following topics: 1) the budget process (including the so-called Rostenkowski plan), 2) capital gains, 3) family savings accounts, 4) clean air, 5) campaign finance reform, and 6) the clean-up of the savings and loan industry.

Other issues that are important to the SIA are listed below: 7.

1. SIA Plan for Taxpayer Protection and International Competitiveness. Late last year, the SIA endorsed a proposal for the first time that would modify Glass-Steagall by allowing commercial banks and investment banks to engage in some of the same activities.

2. Market Reform Act. The Market Reform Act, introduced by Senators Heinz and Dodd, has been reported out of the Senate Banking Committee. The bill would shift regulation of stock-index futures away from the Commodities Futures Trading Commission to the Securities Exchange Commission. This shift in regulatory jurisdiction would also result in the Senate Banking Committee sharing oversight authority over stock-index futures with the Senate Agriculture Committee.

3. Program Trading. Program trading is a computerized investment strategy that involves the purchase (or sale) of an <u>entire</u> portfolio of stocks <u>at the same time</u>. On several occasions, large financial institutions have executed program trading strategies <u>simultaneously</u>, which has led to temporary disruptions in the stock market.

Program trading will be the principal topic of an SIA Board meeting on Wednesday.

-2-

The Brady Commission listed program trading as one of the reasons for the stock market crash in October 1987.

4. SEC and CFTC Fees. The President's budget proposed an increase in SEC filing fees and the imposition of a new CFTC filing fee. Although the fees are theoretically designed to offset the costs of the regulatory agencies, the proceeds from the fees go to general revenues. Last year's receipts from existing SEC fees, for example, exceeded the SEC's total budget.

5. Junk Bonds and Leveraged Buyouts. As you know, the "junk bond" market has skidded as result of a) the indictment of Michael Millken, the former Drexel Burnham bond trader who single-handedly created the junk bond market, and b) Campeau Corp.'s default on the junk bond obligations used to finance the takeover of Federated Department Stores.

Last year, the Finance Commitee held hearings on leveraged buyouts and junk bond financing. As you know, no substantive legislation resulted from the hearings.

During the hearings, Alan Greenspan testified that a substantial increase in LBO debt was not a major concern, since most LBO companies are in "mature and non-cyclical industries." In light of the apparent collapse of the junk bond market and the recent bankruptcies of several LBO companies (Campeau, for example), perhaps this viewpoint should be reconsidered.

6. Short-term Trading Tax. Last year, you joined with Sen. Kassebaum in introducing legislation that would tax pension funds on short-term trades. The legislation, entitled the "Excessive Churning and Speculation Act," would impose a tax of 10% on gains of assets held less than 30 days, and a 5% tax on assets held more than 30 but less than 180 days.

7. Drexel Burnham. As you know, Drexel Burnham -- once one of the powerhouses on Wall Street -- has been completely liquidated. <u>Time</u> magazine described the collapse of Drexel as the "Predator's Fall," a take-off from a book about the rise of Drexel called Predator's Ball.

Other Speakers

You will be introduced by SIA President Ed O'Brien. Robert Downey, the SIA Chairman and a partner at Goldman Sachs, may also offer a few introductory remarks.

John Dingell will speak immediately preceding your remarks.

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Cak.

SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

\$50 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 296-9410

January 17, 1990

30 Speak &

they are deal onorable Robert Dole Minority Leader of the U.S. Senate 141 Hart Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator-Dole:

Over 100 senior executives of stock brokerage and investment banking firms who serve on SIA's Board of Directors and policy committees will meet in Washington, March 12-14. I am writing to invite you to deliver the opening address to this conference on the evening of Monday, March 12.

Your observations on the forthcoming year would be of particular interest to this group, and would provide a context for the entire meeting. During the remainder of the conference, they will hear from other members of Congress on the specific tax, securities and banking issues of direct concern to them.

The meeting will be held at the Willard Inter-Continental hotel. Your remarks would follow dinner which is tentatively scheduled for 7:00 p.i. At this time, that schedule could be shifted, or you could speak immediately prior to dinner. An honorarium of \$2,000.00 is offered for this event.

We hope you will find this forum attractive and convenient for your schedule. I guarantee a warm reception from this group. If you or you staff have any questions, on need additional information, please call me at 296-9410.

I hope you will be able to join us.

Sincerely,

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Stephan K. Small Vice President and Director

NEW YORK OFFICE: 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y 10271 (212) 608-1500

March 12 Mox. eve.

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SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

1990 Government Relations Meeting Willard Inter-Continental Hotel 1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC

March 12 - 14, 1990

TENTATIVE AGENDA

MONDAY, March 12

TECHNICAL TAX COMMITTEE LUNCH 12:30 - 4:00 p.m. AND MEETING - Pierce Room (Lower Level) IRS Officials: Arthur Altman (Director, Tax Forms and Publications Division) Hugh Hatcher (Assistant to the Commissioner) Thomas J. Tiffany (Executive Assistant to the Ombudsman) John M. Coulter Jr. (Office of the Chief Counsel) Terry Hughes (Office of the Chief Counsel) Norlyn D. Miller (Office of the Chief Counsel) REGISTRATION - Ballroom Lobby (Lower Level) 1:00 p.m. - 5:00 p.m. OPENING SESSION - Ballroom (Lower Level) 5:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. ISSUES BRIEFING 5:00 p.m. Robert N. Downey Edward I. O'Brien CONGRESSIONAL OVERVIEW 5:45 p.m. Honorable John Dingell (D/MI-16) Chairman, House Committee on Energy & Commerce CONGRESSIONAL OVERVIEW 6:30 p.m. Honorable Bob Dole (R/SEN-KS) Senate Minority Leader COCKTAILS/DINNER - Crystal Room (Lobby Level) 7:00 p.m. TUESDAY, March 13 REGISTRATION - Ballroom Lobby (Lower Level) 7:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m. GENERAL BREAKFAST - Crystal Room (Lobby Level) 7:00 a.m. - 8:00 a.m. CONGRESSIONAL PANEL - Ballroom (Lower Level) 8:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m. Tax Issues Honorable Bill Gradison (R/OH-2) Honorable Bill Archer (R/TX-7) Honorable Sam Gibbons (D/FL-7) Honorable Thomas Downey (D/NY-2) Moderator: Stephan K. Small

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SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

1990 Government Relations Meeting Willard Inter-Continental Hotel 1401 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.

March 12 - 14, 1990

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SECURITIES INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION

MARCH 12, 1990

THANK YOU FOR THOSE KIND WORDS OF

INTRODUCTION.

I MUST SAY THAT JOHN DINGELL IS A TOUGH ACT TO FOLLOW. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE ENERGY AND COMMERCE COMMITTEE, JOHN HAS BEEN A LEADER IN CONGRESS ON THE SECURITIES FRONT AND ON MANY OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES. RTC CLEAN-UP

NOW, I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU ARE INTENSELY INTERESTED IN THE CONTINUING SAGA OF OUR SAVINGS AND LOAN INDUSTRY. IT'S BEEN A <u>BIG HEADACHE</u> FOR THE PRESIDENT, A <u>BIG HEADACHE</u> FOR CONGRESS, AND PROBABLY EVEN A <u>BIGGER HEADACHE</u> FOR PEOPLE LIKE YOURSELF WHO WORK IN THE FINANCIAL SERVICES BUSINESS.

-2-

AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, LAST YEAR, CONGRESS

CREATED A NEW FEDERAL AGENCY CALLED THE

RESOLUTION TRUST CORPORATION. THE RTC WAS

CHARGED WITH TAKING OVER AND THEN SELLING THE

ASSETS OF HUNDREDS OF FAILED THRIFTS.

-3-

ON THE TAKEOVER FRONT, THE RTC HAS

RESPONDED WELL -- PERHAPS TOO WELL -- WITH MORE THAN 380 THRIFTS NOW UNDER RTC CONSERVATORSHIP. ACCORDING TO ONE ESTIMATE, THE RTC OWNS 26,800 HOMES, 773 OFFICE BUILDINGS, 158 HOTELS, 205 **RESORTS, 51 RESTAURANTS, 236 INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES** AND 43 MINES. THE RTC ALSO HOLDS 37 PROPERTIES IN MY OWN HOMETOWN OF RUSSELL, KANSAS, SO I CAN CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND THOSE WHO SAY THAT THE RTC IS FAST BECOMING THE NATION'S LANDLORD.

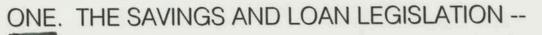
-4-

HOWEVER, ON THE ASSET DISPOSITION FRONT, THE

RTC IS NOT LIVING UP TO EXPECTATIONS, HAVING SOLD ONLY 50 OF THE THRIFTS THAT IT HAS CLOSED OR TAKEN OVER. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE RTC'S TARDINESS IN DISPOSING OF ASSETS HAS BEEN VERY WELL-PUBLICIZED AND ROUNDLY CRITICIZED, BUT THE UNDERLYING REASONS FOR THE DELAY IN ASSET DISPOSITIONS HAVE NOT BEEN ADEQUATELY FLESHED OUT.

SO, LET ME TAKE THE TIME NOW TO OFFER SEVERAL POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS.

-5-



FIRREA -- CAUSES DELAYS BY PROVIDING CONFLICTING GOALS FOR THE RTC. THE RTC, FOR EXAMPLE, IS SUPPOSED TO ACT QUICKLY, BUT IT IS ALSO PROHIBITED FROM "DUMPING" ASSETS INTO SOFT REAL ESTATE MARKETS. THE RTC IS ALSO SUPPOSED TO GET THE BEST POSSIBLE RETURN ON ASSETS, YET CERTAIN PROPERTIES MUST BE OFFERED TO LOW-INCOME GROUPS FOR UP TO 90 DAYS. AND THE RTC IS SUPPOSED TO UTILILIZE THE PRIVATE SECTOR, YET MANY OF THE CONFLICT-OF-INTEREST PROVISIONS MAKE PRIVATE SECTOR PARTICIPATION DIFFICULT.

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SO, THE RTC'S MANDATE -- A MANDATE GIVEN BY

CONGRESS -- IS CONFUSING, TO SAY THE LEAST.

-7-

This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu TWO. WHEN THE BANK BOARD CUT SEVERAL "RESOLUTION DEALS" IN 1988, IT BECAME THE SUBJECT OF PUBLIC RIDICULE, EVEN THOUGH SOME OF THESE DEALS DON'T LOOK ALL THAT BAD IN RETROSPECT. AS A RESULT OF THE BANK BOARD EXPERIENCE, THE RTC IS TIMID -- IT'S AFRAID TO DO ANYTHING INNOVATIVE THAT MIGHT SHOCK SOMEONE ON A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE. SO, THE RTC IS PLAYING IT ABSOLUTELY SAFE WHEN IT COMES TO THE ASSET DISPOSITION GAME, WHICH HAS THE EFFECT OF SLOWING DOWN THE PROCESS AND PERHAPS ADDING TO THE OVERALL COST OF THE THRIFT CLEAN-UP.

This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu THREE. FIRREA IMPOSES MANY RESTRICTIONS ON THRIFTS, AS WELL AS STRINGENT NEW CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS, WITH LITTLE AGENCY FLEXIBILITY TO MODIFY THESE REQUIREMENTS. THE RTC, FOR EXAMPLE, CANNOT MAKE ADJUSTMENTS IN THE MINIMUM CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS, OR IN THE REQUIREMENTS IMPOSED BY THE QUALIFIED-THRIFT-LENDER TEST. IN SOME INSTANCES, HOWEVER, A LITTLE AGENCY FLEXIBILITY TO MODIFY THESE REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE USEFUL AS A WAY OF ASSISTING THE ACQUISITION OF A FAILED THRIFT.

-9-

AND FINALLY, NEWS REPORTS SUGGEST THAT THERE IS FRICTION BETWEEN THE RTC AND THE RTC OVERSIGHT BOARD. WE HAVE ALL READ ABOUT THE RESIGNATION OF DAN KEARNEY FROM THE RTC'S PRESIDENCY, FOR EXAMPLE. ACCORDING TO SOME, THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

-- THROUGH THE OVERSIGHT BOARD -- IS ATTEMPTING TO MICRO-MANAGE THE RTC. OTHERS ARGUE THAT THE RTC IS USING THE OVERSIGHT BOARD AS A SCAPEGOAT, AND THAT IT'S PERSONNEL -- NOT THE ORGANIZATIONAL FLOW-CHART -- THAT IS TO BLAME. AS IN MOST DISPUTES OF THIS NATURE, REALITY PROBABLY LIES SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. I CERTAINLY DON'T HAVE THE ANSWERS, NOR IS IT

USEFUL TO GO AROUND BLAMING PEOPLE. AND IN DEFENSE OF THE RTC, IT DOES TAKE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME TO ENGAGE IN THE MASSIVE HIRING, TRAINING, COMPUTERIZATION OF SYSTEMS, AND OTHER HOUSEKEEPING CHORES THAT MUST FIRST BE DONE BEFORE ANY NEW FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY CAN BUILD UP A HEAD OF STEAM AND ACCOMPLISH ITS MISSION.

-11-

BUT THE PATIENCE OF CONGRESS AND THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL WEAR VERY THIN IF THE RTC

DOESN'T SPEED-UP THE ASSET DISPOSITION PROCESS,

AND SPEED IT UP SOON. IT'S NOT YET "RED ALERT" TIME,

BUT IT WILL BE SOON ENOUGH IF THE RTC DOESN'T

IMPROVE ITS TRACK RECORD WITHIN THE NEXT FEW

MONTHS.

-12-

A RECENT REPORT BY THE FORMER CHIEF

ECONOMIST FOR THE OFFICE OF THRIFT SUPERVISION CONCLUDED THAT INSOLVENT THRIFTS LOST ALMOST \$42 BILLION FROM 1980 TO 1988 BEFORE BEING CLOSED BY FEDERAL REGULATORS. OBVIOUSLY, THIS IS A TERRIBLE TRACK RECORD, AND A TRACK RECORD THAT THE RTC SHOULDN'T REPEAT BY NEEDLESSLY DELAYING THE ASSET DISPOSITION PROCESS.

-13-

SIA PROPOSAL ON GLASS-STEAGALL REFORM

BEFORE I GET OFF THE SUBJECT OF BANKING, I WOULD LIKE JUST TO MENTION THE SIA PROPOSAL TO REFORM GLASS-STEAGALL. ALTHOUGH I HAVE <u>NOT</u> REVIEWED THE PROPOSAL IN ANY GREAT DETAIL, I DO THINK IT IS SIGNIFICANT FOR AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THE SIA TO EMBRACE A PROPOSAL THAT WOULD PUT A FEW SIZABLE CHINKS IN THE HARD-AND-FAST WALL BETWEEN COMMERCIAL BANKING AND SECURITIES UNDERWRITING.

-14-

NONETHELESS, I DOUBT THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL BANKING COMMITTEES WILL TAKE UP GLASS-STEAGALL REFORM LEGISLATION THIS YEAR. UNDERSTANDABLY, THE MEMBERS OF THE BANKING COMMITTEES WERE WORN OUT BY FIRREA LAST YEAR AND THEY HAVE LITTLE APPETITE TO TAKE ON ANOTHER PIECE OF MAJOR BANKING REFORM LEGISLATION. RIGHT NOW, BOTH BANKING COMMITTEES HAVE THEIR HANDS FULL OVERSEEING THE RTC ASSET DISPOSITION PROCESS.

-15-

EXCESSIVE SPECULATION AND CHURNING ACT

LAST YEAR, I JOINED WITH SENATOR KASSEBAUM IN INTRODUCING LEGISLATION -- ENTITLED THE "EXCESSIVE CHURNING AND SPECULATION ACT" -- THAT WOULD TAX PENSION FUNDS ON SHORT-TERM TRADES. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE BILL WOULD IMPOSE A 10% TAX ON GAINS FROM ASSETS HELD LESS THAN 30 DAYS, AND A 5% TAX ON GAINS FROM ASSETS HELD MORE THAN 30 BUT LESS THAN 180 DAYS. THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HAS SCHEDULED A HEARING ON THE BILL FOR MARCH 21.

-16-

I HAVE TALKED TO HUNDREDS OF CORPORATE MANAGERS OVER THE YEARS, AND ONE THEME KEEPS COMING UP: THERE IS TOO MUCH PRESSURE ON CORPORATE MANAGEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY TO PRODUCE SHORT-TERM PROFITS, TO MAKE THE QUICK KILLING, AND TO KEEP THEIR COMPANY'S STOCK PRICE AT AN INFLATED LEVEL. AS A RESULT, MANAGEMENT IS FORCED TO TURN ITS ATTENTION AWAY FROM RESEARCH AND PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT, FROM THE TYPE OF INVESTMENT THAT BUILDS COMPANIES, AND TOWARDS SHORT-TERM SPECULATIVE ACTIVITY THAT MAY LOOK GOOD ON THE BALANCE SHEET BUT DOESN'T DO MUCH FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE.

THE EXCESSIVE CHURNING AND SPECULATION

ACTIVITY ACT IS A SMALL ATTEMPT TO LENGTHEN THE

CORPORATE HORIZON. BUT SINCE I DON'T HAVE ALL THE

ANSWERS, I WOULD CERTAINLY WELCOME ANY

COMMENTS THAT YOU MAY HAVE ABOUT THE BILL.

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THE BUDGET PROCESS

NOW ON TO A PERHAPS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT

SUBJECT -- THE BUDGET PROCESS.

SLOWLY -- WE'RE IN RECESS THIS WEEK, RESTING UP

FROM A WEEK'S DEBATE ON THE CLEAN AIR BILL --

CONGRESS IS BEGINNING ITS ANNUAL RAIN DANCE TO

COME UP WITH A BUDGET THAT MEETS OUR DEFICIT

TARGET OF \$64 BILLION UNDER THE

GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS LAW.

-19-

ON JANUARY 29, THE PRESIDENT SUBMITTED HIS 1991 BUDGET PROPOSAL. IT IS A REASONABLE PLAN, BUT IT IS CERTAINLY NOT A BOLD ONE. IT USES OPTIMISTIC ECONOMIC ASSUMPTIONS, IT IGNORES UP TO \$30 BILLION IN UP-FRONT COSTS TO RESOLVE THE S&L CRISIS, AND IT FALLS BACK ON THE USUSAL ONE-TIME GIMMICKS, SUCH AS ANOTHER PAYROLL TAX SPEED-UP, TO RAISE REVENUE.

-20-

AS YOU KNOW, LAST YEAR WE BASICALLY TOOK A WALK ON THE DEFICIT ALTHOUGH WE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY, GIVEN THE ELECTION MANDATE, TO ENACT SOME TOUGH PROGRAMS LIKE THE FLEXIBLE FREEZE. INSTEAD, WE SPENT 10 MONTHS AND DEVOTED OVER 60% OF OUR ROLL CALL VOTES IN THE SENATE TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT BY ONLY \$16 BILLION. THESE WERE NOT TOUGH VOTES. WE FOUND \$500 MILLION IN LOST FOOD STAMPS, WE ACCELERATED MILITARY PAY DATES, AND WE NEEDED FOUR MONTHS OF SEQUESTER ON TOP OF EVERYTHING ELSE.

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THIS YEAR, WE NEED \$36 BILLION IN DEFICIT

REDUCTION -- MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH -- UNDER

OMB'S OPTIMISTIC ASSUMPTIONS. AND THE

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE NOW SAYS WE NEED

\$60 BILLION MORE!

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http://dolearchives.ku.edu SO, YOU CAN SEE WHY THE PROCESS IS SO FRUSTRATING AND WHY THE BUDGET COMMITTEE PREFERS TO FOCUS ON REFORMING THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS LAW -- ONCE AGAIN! IN FACT, THE COMMITTEE WILL NOT EVEN BEGIN ITS WORK ON A 1991 BUDGET RESOLUTION UNTIL AFTER THE MARCH RECESS, TWO WEEKS BEFORE ITS APRIL 1 DEADLINE. AND I DON'T EXPECT ANY SERIOUS ACTION **BEFORE JUNE.**

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YESTERDAY, DAN ROSTENKOWSKI RELEASED HIS OWN BUDGET PROPOSAL. I DON'T AGREE WITH EVERYTHING THAT CHAIRMAN ROSTENKOWSI HAS RECOMMENDED, BUT HIS PROPOSAL COULD BE THE WAKE-UP CALL WE'VE BEEN WAITING FOR. AND HE CERTAINLY HAS SCORED SOME HOLES-IN-ONE BY INSISTING THAT WE INVEST THE SO-CALLED PEACE DIVIDEND IN DEFICIT REDUCTION AND BY PROPOSING A ONE-YEAR FREEZE IN FEDERAL SPENDING.

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CAPITAL GAINS

THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET CONTAINS A REVISED CAPITAL GAINS RATE REDUCTION PLAN MODELLED ON THE PACKWOOD-ROTH BILL INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE LAST YEAR. UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S NEW PROPOSAL, A 10% INCOME EXCLUSION WOULD BE EARNED IN EACH OF THE FIRST THREE YEARS THAT A CAPITAL ASSET IS HELD. AND IT HAS BEEN BROADENED TO INCLUDE ALL CAPITAL ASSETS HELD BY INDIVIDIUALS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF COLLECTIBLES.

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PRESIDENT BUSH HAS INDICATED THAT HE IS WILLING TO WORK WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, WHO WANT TO INCLUDE COPRPORATIONS OR INDEXING, TO ENACT A PROGRAM THAT WILL ENCOURAGE LONG-TERM INVESTMENT IN AMERICA. ACCORDINGLY, I BELIEVE THAT SOME FORM OF CAPITAL GAINS RELIEF WILL PASS THE CONGRESS THIS

YEAR -- PROBABLY IN COMBINATION WITH A

MIDDLE-CLASS SAVINGS INITIATIVE.

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FAMILY SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

I KNOW THAT MOST OF YOU HAVE EXPERIENCE WITH TAX-DEFFERED SAVINGS PLANS, SO I WILL BE INTERESTED IN HEARING YOUR VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY SAVINGS ACCOUNTS. SUCH ACCOUNTS -- FIRST TRIED IN POST-WAR JAPAN -- WOULD ENABLE LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME TAXPAYERS TO EARN TAX-FREE INCOME ON FUNDS THAT ARE NOT WITHDRAWN FOR AT LEAST SEVEN YEARS.

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THE OBVIOUS NEED TO INCREASE OUR POOR

NATIONAL SAVINGS RATE SHOULD PRODUCE SOME FORM

OF SAVINGS INCENTIVE LEGISLATION THIS YEAR --

PERHAPS AN IRA EXPANSION OR THE CREATION OF A

NEW ACCOUNT. HOWEVER, I QUESTION THE

EFFECTIVENESS OF THESE PLANS IN GENERATING NEW

NET SAVINGS. IN FACT, THEY COULD RESULT IN A MERE

SHIFTING OF ASSETS.

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CLEAN AIR

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS MADE GOOD ON HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISE TO BECOME THE ENVIRONMENTAL PRESIDENT BY PROPOSING A \$19 BILLION REVISION TO OUR CLEAN AIR LEGISLATION -- THE FIRST MAJOR REVISION IN 12 YEARS.

IN A VICTORY FOR BIPARTISANSHIP, SENATE AND WHITE HOUSE NEGOTIATORS AGREED ON A COMPROMISE PACKAGE THAT DEALS WITH SUCH TOUGH AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS AS TAILPIPE EMISSIONS, ALTERNATIVE FUELS, AND ACID RAIN.

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IN TOOK 22 DAYS OF HARD-NOSED NEGOTIATING TO

GET TO THIS POINT -- AND I BELIEVE THAT THE

COMPROMISE PACKAGE STRIKES A GOOD BALANCE

BETWEEN THE LEGITIMATE COST CONCERNS OF

INDUSTRY AND THE REAL NEED TO CLEAN-UP THE AIR

THAT EACH OF US BREATHE VERY DAY.

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WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO, HOWEVER, BEFORE

THE COMPROMISE PACKAGE IS PASSED BY THE SENATE.

THERE ARE MORE THAN 200 POSSIBLE AMENDMENTS

WAITING IN THE WINGS. AND SENATOR BYRD HAS

OFFERED AN AMENDMENT THAT WOULD GIVE A SILVER

PARACHUTE WORTH \$140,000 TO EVERY COAL MINER IN

THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA.

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

AFTER WE FINISH ACTION ON THE CLEAN AIR BILL, THE SENATE WILL TAKE UP ANOTHER, PERHAPS EQUALLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUE -- CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM. NORMALLY, THE SIMPLE MENTION OF THESE THREE WORDS WOULD SEND SHIVERS DOWN OUR PARTISAN SPINES. CONGRESS HAS A RECORD ON THIS ISSUE, AND IT IS A RECORD STREWN WITH ACCUASATION, WITH BLUSTER, AND WITH HIGH-PITCHED PARTISANSHIP.

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LAST MONTH, SENATOR MITCHELL AND I TRIED TO

IMPROVE THIS RECORD BY COMMISSIONING A SIX-MEMBER BIPARTISAN PANEL OF EXPERTS TO REVIEW OUR CURRENT SYSTEM OF CAMPAIGN FINANCING, AND TO DEVELOP, IF POSSIBLE, SOME "NEW APPROCAHES" THAT COULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR BREAKING THE PARTISAN DEADLOCK IN THE SENATE. LAST WEEK, THE PANEL FORMALLY TRANSMITTED ITS RECOMMENDATIONS TO ME AND THE MAJORITY LEADER, AND TODAY, THESE RECOMMENDATIONS RECEIVED HIGH MARKS FROM THE WASHINGTON POST.

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http://dolearchives.ku.edu ALTHOUGH I AM NOT YET PREPARED TO FULLY EMBRACE THE PANEL'S RECOMMEDATIONS, I AM PLEASED THAT THE PANEL COMPLETELY REJECTED THE IDEA OF DIRECT PUBLIC FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGNS. I AM ALSO PLEASED THAT THE PANEL HAS SHIFTED THE REFORM DEBATE AWAY FROM THE FIXATION **ON ARTIFICIAL -- ARBITRARILY DETERMINED -- SPENDING** LIMITS AND TOWARDS THE REAL CULPRIT IN THE CAMPAIGN FINANCE DEBATE -- THE SOURCES OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

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I'M NOT EXACTLY CERTAIN WHERE THE SENATE WILL

GO NEXT ON THIS ISSUE, BUT WE CAN'T GO DOWN THE PARTISAN ROAD AGAIN. IF THE 8 CLOTURE VOTES ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM LEGISLATION HAVE TAUGHT US ANYTHING, THEY HAVE TAUGHT US THAT PARTISANSHIP JUST WON'T WORK WHEN IT COMES TO CLEANING UP THE CAMPAIGN FINANCE MESS.

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CONCLUSION

I KNOW THAT THERE ARE A LOT OF EMPTY

STOMACHS OUT THERE WHO ARE ANXIOUSLY AWAITING

DINNER, SO I WON'T WASTE ANYMORE OF YOUR

PRECIOUS TIME WITH A LONG-WINDED SPEECH.

I WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE A FEW QUESTIONS, THOUGH.

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