

TO: CLARKSON and WALT
FR: JIM
RE: SPEECH TO AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF PUBLISHERS
29 MARCH 1990

A LITTLE BACKGROUND:

The 250 members of the AAP represent approximately 80% of the books sold in the United States. Representatives of 203 are confirmed for attendance tomorrow.

They have titled the Senator's remarks on their program as "Legislative Policy Issues - The Republican Perspective".

Simon & Schuster, the Senator's publishers, will be represented in the audience but Dick Snyder will not be there.

ISSUES:

Aside from the matters of general interest suggested by the title, topics of concern will range from the international copyright questions you have already addressed in your draft to censorship (the NEA funding resolution / Mapplethorpe matter are issues to which this audience might be attuned) to, possibly, postal rates (an obvious bread-and-butter matter for these guys).

In addition, literacy programs are of more than altruistic import to this group - although I'm not sure what the precise question would be.

A last thought, influenced by my overexposure to communications issues: this group is concerned with the Baby Bell legislation - for the simple reason that, if a free-the-Bells bill (such as the one introduced by Dole in 1986) were to pass, the regional Bell companies would be allowed into electronic publishing, possibly in competition with these guys.

The current state of play on that issue is that there's a proposed bill in the House (Markey's), not introduced but under discussion; nothing in the Senate yet (Hollings has a bill in re: manufacturing, but it doesn't address publishing), but lots of as yet unproductive negotiating between the Bells and the newspaper publishers, overseen by Danforth.

SENATOR BOB DOLE
SPEECH TO THE ASSOCIATION OF
AMERICAN PUBLISHERS
MADISON HOTEL
MARCH 29, 1990

THANK YOU AND GOOD
MORNING. I'M PLEASED TO JOIN
YOU FOR YOUR FIRST ANNUAL
MEETING.

YOU MIGHT KNOW THAT I
WROTE A BOOK A COUPLE OF
YEARS AGO — AND THEN
AGAIN, YOU MIGHT NOT. WITH
MY WIFE ELIZABETH, I AM THE
AUTHOR OF 'UNLIMITED PARTNERS'
— I'M STILL WAITING FOR
SIMON AND SCHUSTER TO BRING



IT OUT IN PAPERBACK. IF YOU'D
LIKE A COPY, WE HAVE ONE OR
TWO LEFT. HOWEVER, IT HAS
TOPPED THE RUSSELL KANSAS
DAILY NEWS BESTSELLER LIST FOR
98 STRAIGHT WEEKS.

YOU PICKED A PRETTY
REMARKABLE WEEK FOR YOUR
MEETING. NOT A SINGLE
COMMUNIST REGIME HAS BEEN
TOPPLED ANYWHERE IN THE
WORLD.



OF COURSE, IT'S ONLY
THURSDAY.

YOU'VE COME TO
WASHINGTON AT A TIME WHEN
MOST OF THE ACTION IS
OCCURRING IN OTHER PLACES IN
THE WORLD. STILL, THE
INCREDIBLE CHANGES WE'VE ALL
SEEN HAVE CREATED TREMENDOUS
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITES
FOR US HERE AT HOME —
THAT'S WHAT I'D LIKE TO FOCUS



ON THIS MORNING.

LITHUANIA

JUST LOOK AT WHAT'S GOING
ON IN LITHUANIA. THIS IS
GORBACHEV'S FIRST REAL TEST
SINCE HE ASCENDED TO THE
PRESIDENCY IN THE SOVIET
UNION. LITHUANIA MAY BE A
SMALL COUNTRY — BUT THE
STAKES FOR ITS PEOPLE, FOR THE
SOVIET UNION, AND FOR U.S.—
SOVIET RELATIONS COULDN'T BE

MUCH HIGHER. I MET WITH
PRESIDENT BUSH YESTERDAY, AND
HE RIGHTFULLY SAID THIS IS A
TIME FOR "RESTRAINT." HE AND I
BOTH BELEIVE THAT THE SITUATION
IN LITHUANIA CAN BEST BE
RESOLVED BY PEACEFUL
NEGOTIATION. BUT MAKE NO
MISTAKE ABOUT IT — THE WHITE
HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS
STAND WITH THE LITHUANIAN
PEOPLE.



THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES MUST
UNDERSTAND THE 'BOTTOM LINE': IF
THEY USE FORCE TO DENY THE
LITHUANIAN PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO
CHOOSE THEIR OWN FUTURE, ALL
BETS ARE OFF. UNDER THOSE
TERRIBLE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE
SOVIETS CAN KISS "GOOD-BYE"
TO THE KIND OF POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP THAT
THEY SO CLEARLY WANT, AND
SO BADLY NEED, WITH THE UNITED



STATES. THEY CAN KISS GOOD—
BYE TO U.S. TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE, VASTLY EXPANDED
INVESTMENT AND TRADE, AND THE
FUNDAMENTALLY NEW KIND OF
POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP THAT
HAS DEVELOPED OVER THE LAST
TWO YEARS.

IN ANY EVENT, I FIRMLY
BELEIVE THAT THE CHANGES IN
THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE
COMMUNIST BLOC AND IN THE



WORLD ARE FUNDAMENTAL
CHANGES. THEY ARE NOT
GOING TO BE REVERSED.

GORBACHEV

GAMBLE BACKFIRES

IN MY OWN VIEW --
STARING COMMUNISM'S FAILURE
IN THE FACE, GORBACHEV TOOK
A GAMBLE. BY LAUNCHING
POLICIES WE NOW CODE-WORD
'GLASNOST' AND 'PERESTROIKA,'
HE GAMBLED THAT A LITTLE




FREEDOM —— POLITICAL, SOCIAL
AND ECONOMIC —— COULD
SOMEHOW REVITALIZE A SPENT
SYSTEM.

THE GAMBLE DIDN'T WORK.

THE "GENIE" IS OUT OF THE
BOTTLE; THE COMMUNIST PARTIES
OF EASTERN EUROPE HAVE BEEN
ALMOST TOTALLY DISCREDITED.
THE SOVIET UNION, ITSELF, IS
SUFFERING INCREDIBLE INTERNAL
STRAINS.



GIVEN THESE OBVIOUS
UNCERTAINTIES, I WOULDN'T
PRECLUDE ANY OUTCOME INSIDE
THE KREMLIN — FROM
GORBACHEV'S CONTINUED
CONSOLIDATION OF PERSONAL
AUTHORITY, TO HIS OUSTER. AND
I WOULDN'T ENTIRELY WRITE-OFF
THE POSSIBILITY THAT HIS OUSTER
COULD LEAD TO A REAL
CRACKDOWN INSIDE THE SOVIET
UNION.



REJECT GEPHARDT PLAN

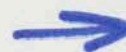
NO CHECKS TO GORBACHEV

IF WE ARE TO HELP
GORBACHEV "SUCCEED," WE
SHOULD DEMAND THE SOVIETS
QUIT POURING BILLIONS OF
DOLLARS OF MILITARY AID INTO
ANACHRONISTIC REGIMES LIKE
CASTRO'S IN CUBA, THE
COMMUNIST THUGS IN ANGOLA,
AND THE PUPPET GOVERNMENT IN
AFGHANISTAN — REGIMES



WHOSE POLICIES ARE 180%
COUNTER TO GORBACHEV'S 'NEW
THINKING,' AND ARE A THREAT
TO IMPORTANT AMERICAN
INTERESTS.

WE SHOULDN'T BE WRITING OUT
"CHECKS" TO GORBACHEV, AS
HOUSE DEMOCRAT LEADER
RICHARD GEPHARDT HAS
SUGGESTED. IF GORBACHEV
NEEDS SOME READY CASH, HE
CAN ASK FOR A REFUND FROM



CASTRO AND HIS OTHER HIGH—
PRICED 'CLIENTS' — NOT A
HAND—OUT FROM UNCLE SAM.

REALLOCATE U.S.

FOREIGN AID

WE DO, HOWEVER, HAVE AN
ENORMOUS STAKE IN EASTERN
EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA.
AND WE MUST RESPOND WITH
SOME 'NEW THINKING' OF OUR
OWN.

I DON'T DETECT A LOT OF



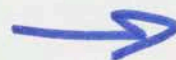
ENTHUSIASM IN MY HOME STATE
OF KANSAS FOR MORE FOREIGN
AID. I JUST DON'T THINK THE
VOTES ARE THERE TO
SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE OUR
FOREIGN AID BUDGET.

AND, I'M NOT ONE WHO
THINKS WE SHOULD BE OUT
SPENDING A 'PEACE DIVIDEND'
BEFORE WE'RE EVEN SURE WE
HAVE ONE, AND HOW BIG IT IS.
MOREOVER, IF WE DO GET TO

THE POINT WHEN A REAL 'PEACE
DIVIDEND' MATERIALIZES, THE
FIRST PLACE IT OUGHT TO BE
APPLIED IS REDUCING OUR OWN
DEFICITS.

SO I DON'T THINK THE KNEE—
JERK ANSWER ——"TAKE IT OUT
OF DEFENSE" — IS THE REAL
ANSWER.

THE FACT IS, WE NOW SPEND
\$15 BILLION A YEAR ON FOREIGN
AID. WHERE I COME FROM, THAT



IS STILL REAL MONEY. YOU
OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO DO A
LOT WITH THAT.

ONE REASON WE'RE NOT
DOING AS MUCH AS WE SHOULD
IS WE 'EARMARK' SO MUCH OF
THAT MONEY — THAT MEANS
THE CONGRESS TELLS THE
PRESIDENT WHERE HE MUST SPEND
IT.

WE EARMARK 82% OF OUR
ECONOMIC AID, AND 92% OF



OUR MILITARY AID. THAT LEAVES
THE PRESIDENT PRACTICALLY NO
FLEXIBILITY TO RESPOND TO A
RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD.

IN EASTERN EUROPE, WE'RE
TALKING ABOUT HUNDREDS OF
MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN
AMERICAN AID. IN PANAMA —
— \$500 MILLION. IN
NICARAGUA, 300 MILLION
DOLLARS MORE.

WHERE DO WE GET THAT KIND



OF MONEY — WITH NO
INCREASED 'POT,' AND A 'PEACE
DIVIDEND' THAT SO FAR IS MORE
RHETORICAL THAN REAL?

THE DOLE PLAN

I DON'T HAVE THE ENTIRE
ANSWER, BUT I HAVE SUGGESTED
ONE PLACE TO START: WE
OUGHT TO CUT 5% OFF THE TOP
OF EVERY EARMARK. 5% ISN'T
GOING TO KILL ANYONE. AND
TAKING IT FROM EVERY



EARMARK, IN MY VIEW, IS THE
ONLY WAY TO MAKE IT FAIR,
AND MAKE IT POLITICALLY
PALATABLE.

I ' M P L E A S E D T H E
ADMINISTRATION HAS MORE OR
LESS ENDORSED THAT PROPOSAL
NOW —— AND IN FACT, A WALL
STREET JOURNAL POLL SHOWS A
LARGE MAJORITY OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE IN FAVOR OF
IT, TOO.



WE DO HAVE THE DEBATE
STARTED. AND TALKING ABOUT
THESE THINGS IS THE FIRST STEP
IN DOING SOMETHING ABOUT
THEM.

INTELLECTUAL
PROPERTY RIGHTS

NO DOUBT ABOUT IT — THE
WORLD IS CHANGING QUICKLY,
AND I KNOW THAT CHANGE HAS
CREATED NEW PROBLEMS FOR
YOUR INDUSTRY. THE GROWTH



OF FOREIGN ECONOMIES AND
THE DEMAND FOR AMERICAN
ENTERTAINMENT HAS CREATED THE
WHOLE NEW AREA OF
'INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS'
— THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR
PIRACY OF AMERICAN
COPYRIGHTED BOOKS, MUSIC,
ARTWORK AND OTHER PRODUCTS
OF CREATIVE AMERICANS.

I'M CERTAIN AMBASSADOR
HILLS WILL BE ABLE TO ADDRESS



YOUR CONCERNS IN GREAT
DEPTH, BUT I AM HOPEFUL THAT
PROGRESS WILL BE MADE THIS
YEAR. I AM PLEASED THAT
AMBASSADOR HILLS LAST YEAR
INITIATED ACTION AGAINST
KOREA, UNDER THE 3—0—1 TRADE
PROVISIONS. AND WE MUST
CONTINUE PRESSING THE
K O R E A N S T H R O U G H
NEGOTIATIONS, TO KEEP
AMERICAN AUTHORS AND



PUBLISHERS FROM GETTING RIPPED
OFF, SO THEY CAN ENJOY THE
REWARDS OF THEIR OWN HARD
WORK. THE BERN CONVENTION,
WHICH THE U.S. AGREED TO JOIN
LAST YEAR, SHOULD ALSO HELP,
AND WITH THE ADVENT OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WE MUST
BE EVER VIGILANT IN OUR
EFFORTS TO PROTECT
INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS.



DOMESTIC CHALLENGES

AND OF COURSE, OUR ONLY CHALLENGES ARE NOT OVERSEAS. WE HAVE A BROAD RANGE OF DOMESTIC ISSUES CONFRONTING CONGRESS — THE FIRST AND FOREMOST BEING THE BUDGET DEFICIT. THE NATIONAL DEBT IS 3.2 TRILLION DOLLARS; OUR INTEREST PAYMENT ON THAT DEBT IS \$160 BILLION A YEAR — AND THAT'S JUST INTEREST! WE'RE



BROKE. THE SAD PART IS, OUR
CREDIT—RACKED ECONOMY IS
BEING HELD TOGETHER BY THE
JAPANESE. IF THEY START
CALLING IN THE CREDIT CARD
BILLS, WE'RE IN TROUBLE.

IN THE SENATE, WE ARE NOW
WITHIN DAYS OF APPROVING A
NEW "CLEAN AIR" BILL, A
SWEEPING PACKAGE THAT IN THE
FINAL ANALYSIS SHOULD
BALANCE THE NEED TO CLEAN-UP



OUR AIR, OCEANS AND STREAMS
WITH THE NEED TO MAINTAIN
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTIVITY.

IN THE COMING WEEKS, WE
WILL ALSO CONFRONT THE
DIFFICULT ISSUES OF CAMPAIGN
FINANCE REFORM, CHILD CARE,
AND A CRIME BILL. BUT, AS
ALWAYS, THE SERIOUS DEBATE ON
THE BUDGET AND THE BUDGET
PROCESS WILL CONTINUE TO
DOMINATE OUR AGENDA UNTIL



BOTH CONGRESS AND THE
PRESIDENT FACE — UP TO THE
TOUGH CHOICES.

YOU MAY WANT TO TALK
ABOUT SOME OF THESE ISSUES,
AND AT THIS TIME, I'D BE HAPPY
TO RESPOND TO YOUR
QUESTIONS.

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March 29
Thurs.

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Jaunce

Nicholas A. Veliotos
President

1/9 Can speak at 8:00 or 8:30 am per Deane

December 11, 1989

The Honorable Robert Dole
United States Senate
141 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

of prefer overview of what's coming up in Senate & what Senator feels may happen

On behalf of the Association of American Publishers, I would like to invite you to be our lead-off speaker at our 20th Annual Meeting on Thursday morning, March 29, at the Madison Hotel in Washington.

This is the first Annual Meeting to be held in Washington, and we expect heavy participation by our 225 members who represent the entire spectrum of book publishing, both commercial and non-profit, and are located throughout the country.

We would appreciate hearing your views on our national priorities--both domestic and international. We would anticipate remarks of approximately 20-25 minutes in length, to be followed by a question-and-answer period. We can ensure your being back on the Hill well before noon.

Given the importance of your responsibilities to the Senate--and to the nation--an address by you to our members would be particularly appropriate.

I do hope your schedule would allow you to be with us. For your information, I am enclosing a partial list of those companies who will be represented by their chief executive officers.

Sincerely,

N. A. Veliotos

Nicholas A. Veliotos

or Deane Rennert

Enclosure

\$1,000

PARTIAL LISTING OF AAP MEMBER COMPANIES

Addison-Wesley	Houghton Mifflin	St. Martin's Press
Aspen Systems	Thomson Publishing	Scholastic
Bantam Doubleday Dell	Macmillan	Simon & Schuster
R.R. Bowker	Maxwell Pergamon	W.H. Smith
Wm. C. Brown Group	McDougal, Littell	Springer-Verlag-NY
Crown	McGraw-Hill	Time Warner Inc.
Elsevier	Merrill	Times Mirror
W.H. Freeman	NAL Penguin	Viking Penguin
Grolier	Putnam Berkley	West Publishing
Harlequin Books	Rand McNally	John Wiley
Harper & Row	Random House	World Book
Hearst Trade Books	Reader's Digest	Zebra Books
Henry Holt	Rodale Press	