

November 13, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAVE SPEARS
SUBJECT: FARM BROADCASTERS COMMENTS

TIME: 5:00 P.M.

PLACE: WESTIN CROWN CENTER

CONVENTION DESK: BALLROOM LEVEL

THERE ARE APPROX. 725 PEOPLE REGISTERED WITH THE CONVENTION. A LIST OF THOSE ATTENDING FROM KANSAS IS ATTACHED.

THE CONVENTION CHAIR IS KEN TANNER. HE IS WITH THE TOBACCO RADIO NETWORK, RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA. HE IS ALSO PRESIDENT-ELECT OF THE ORGANIZATION.

THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE GROUP IS TAYLOR BROWN. HE IS FROM BILLINGS, MONTANA AND IS A FORMER PARTNER, AND GOOD FRIEND OF SENATOR BURNS.

ISSUES: THERE ARE REALLY THREE - FOUR PRIMARY ISSUES.

- GATT
- NAFTA
- RUSSIA CREDITS (CONCERN RE: DEFAULTING)
- FUTURE - NEW ADMINISTRATION
 - USDA REORGANIZATION
 - ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES
 - CLEAN WATER
 - FOOD SAFETY

NOV-13-92 FRI 14:34 BUSINESS

AFB VOTING MEMBERS
IONS

| NAT'L REP FIRM | FARM BROADCASTER |
|--|--|
| Roslin v McGavren/Guild | Jerry Gehman Gene Ragan |
| Katz | James Guthrie Gordon Barnes |
| Katz | Wall Shaw |
| | Bob Burlenshaw |
| McGavren/Guild Christal | Art Sechrest Orion Samuelson Max Armstrong Dave Russell Gary Kinnell Bill Austin |
| HNWH Torbet Eastman | Bob Brown Eddie Gale |
| Katz | Bill Mason Mike Adams Dawn Jackson |
| Roslin Banner Katz McGavren/Guild McGavren/Guild McGavren/Guild | Marla Behrends Rita Frazer Colleen Callahan Ron Hendren Max Mollerton Peggy Kaye Fish |
| Christal Christal | Cyndi Young |
| Christal McGavren/Guild | Charles Blake Ron Powers Jim Riggs |
| DUPretti | Dave Rudal Koffee |

| STATE/CITY | STATION | FREQ | POWER | NAT'L REP FIRM | FARM BROADCASTER |
|------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|--|
| Lafayette | WASK | 1450/ 105.3 | 1,000W 50,000W | Banner | Skip Davis |
| IOWA | | | | | |
| Burlington | KBUR | 1490 | 1,000W | McGavren/Guild | John Weir |
| Carroll | KCIM/KKRL | 1380/ 83.7 | 1,000W/ 100,000W | Katz | Nell Trobak |
| Cedar Rapids | WMT | 600 | 5,000W | Katz | Rich Balvanz |
| Davenport | WLLR | 101.3 | 50,000W | HNWH | Neal Anderson |
| Davenport | WOC | 1420 | 5,000W | Christal | Lynn Watts |
| Des Moines | WHO | 1040 | 50,000W | Christal | Lee Kline Bob Quinn |
| Dubuque | KDTH | 1370 | 5,000W | Eastman | John Everly |
| Fort Dodge | KWMT | 540 | 5,000W | McGavren/Guild | Gary DiGiuseppe |
| Mason City | KGLO | 1300 | 5,000W | Katz | Al Heinz |
| Oelwein | KOEL | 950 | 5,000W | Banner | Von Ketelsen |
| Ottumwa | KBIZ | 1240 | 1,000W | Torbet | Mike Buchanan |
| Shenandoah | KMA | 960 | 5,000W | Katz | Tom Beavers Randy Rasmussen |
| Sioux City | KMNS | 620 | 1,000W | Christal | Emory Kleven |
| Spencer | KICD | 1240/ 107.7 | 1,000W/ 100,000W | Katz | Dennis Morrice John Wirkler |
| Waterloo | KXEL | 1540 | 50,000W | Eastman | Hal Hanna |
| KANSAS | | | | | |
| Colby | KXXX/KOLS | 790/ 100.3 | 5,000W/ 100,000W | McGavren/Guild | Steve Bugbee |
| Dodge City | KQNO | 1370 | 5,000W | Katz | Chuck Stark |
| Garden City | KBUF | 1030 | 25,000W | | Hap Larson |
| Hutchinson | KFRM | 1590 | 5,000W | | Curt Shoemaker |
| Pittsburg | KKOW | 880 | 10,000W | McGavren/Guild | Jim Yeary |
| Topeka | WIBW | 580 | 5,000W | Katz | Gary Hinck Kelly Lenz Kathy Patton Rex Childs |
| Wichita | KFDI | 1070/ 101.3 | 10,000W/ 100,000W | Torbet | |
| KENTUCKY | | | | | |
| Hopkinsville | WHOP | 98.7 | 100,000W | | Dink Embry |
| Owensboro | WOMI/WBKR | 1490/ 92.5 | 1,000W/ 100,000W | Katz | Jeff Nalley |
| LOUISIANA | | | | | |
| Monroe | KNOE | 540 | 5,000W | McGavren/Guild | Chris Kimbell |
| Shreveport | KWKH | 1130/ 94.5 | 50,000W/ 100,000W | Christal | Ray Forcier |
| MICHIGAN | | | | | |
| Ann Arbor | WPZA | 1050 | 10,000W | Farmakia | Robert Driscoll |
| Saginaw | WSGW | 790 | 5,000W | Katz | Terry Henne |

MBERS**M DIRECTOR**

Gary Cooper
Everett Griner
Dix Harper
Ken Tanner
Ray Wilkinson

George Gatley

Stewart Doan
Glen James
Robert Wade
Jim Yancey
Derry Brownfield
Dick Marshall
Zimmerman
Ron Hays
John Kostroun
Bill Ray

George Gatley

Bill Ray

Evan Slack

George Gatley

Mike Dain
Larry Steckline

Bill Ray

Gary Cooper
Everett Griner

| STATE/CITY | NETWORK | DELIV. | # OF STATIONS | R&P FIRM | FARM DIRECTOR |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------------------|--|
| (Raleigh, NC) | Tobacco Radio Network | Satellite | 8 | TN Spot Sales | Dix Harper Ken Tanner Ray Wilkinson |
| GEORGIA | | | | | |
| (Ocala, FL) | Southeast Agrinet | Satellite | 22 | | Gary Cooper Everett Griner |
| (Raleigh, NC) | Tobacco Radio Network | Satellite | 41 | TN Spot Sales | Dix Harper Ken Tanner Ray Wilkinson |
| IDAH0 | | | | | |
| (Denver, CO) | Evan Slack Network | Telcom/ Satellite | 25 | | J. Evan Slack |
| (Newberg, OR) | Northwest Ag News Network | Satellite | 11 | Katz | Gary Stewart Bob Hoff |
| ILLINOIS | | | | | |
| Chicago | Tribune Radio Network Agri-Voice | Satellite | 33 | Christal | Orion Samuelson Max Armstrong Dave Russell |
| (Jefferson City, MO) | Brownfield Network | Satellite | 28 | | Derry Brownfield Dick Marshall Cindy Zimmerman |
| (Elizabeth City, NC) | Agrinet Farm Radio Network | Satellite | 1 | | Bill Ray |
| INDIANA | | | | | |
| (Chicago, IL) | Tribune Radio Network Agri-Voice | Satellite | 26 | Christal | Orion Samuelson Max Armstrong Dave Russell |
| (Louisville, KY) | Farm Service Network | MOI/WATS | 4 | Jack Crownier & Assoc. | Jack Crownier |
| IOWA | | | | | |
| (Chicago, IL) | Tribune Radio Network Agri-Voice | Satellite | 9 | Christal | Orion Samuelson Max Armstrong Dave Russell |
| (Jefferson City, MO) | Brownfield Network | Satellite | 38 | | Derry Brownfield Dick Marshall Cindy Zimmerman |
| KANSAS | | | | | |
| Topeka | Kansas Ag Network | Satellite | 38 | Katz | Kathy Patton Gary Hinck Kelly Lenz |
| Wichita | Mid Am Ag Network | Satellite | 20 | Torbet | Mike Dain Larry Steckline |
| KENTUCKY | | | | | |
| Louisville | Kentucky Agrinet | Satellite | 32 | | Allen Aldridge |
| Louisville | Farm Service Network | MOI/WATS | 32 | Jack Crownier & Assoc. | Jack Crownier |

GATT

November 12, 1992

Senator Dole --

Some background on GATT as you requested.

By hanging tough on the oilseeds case and threatening retaliation on EC products, the Administration got the EC back to the negotiating table. This year USDA projects nearly \$43 billion in US agriculture exports -- the highest in a decade -- so it is clear that negotiations are preferable to a trade war.

The fact that GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel is trying to mediate is also an Administration victory. Dunkel evidently is convinced that the oilseed case must be solved in order to get a GATT agreement on agriculture and that agreement, in turn, is the key to ending the Uruguay Round successfully.

There is some danger that US oilseed producers won't like the eventual settlement with the EC. They are worried that it will still allow high levels of EC production. The Administration is aware of this but getting a clear message from the American Soybean Association has been difficult. ASA has had financial and organization problems. It has laid off much of its staff and is closing its Washington office. John Gordley has been hired to represent ASA's interests here.

However, in the long term, anything that gets the EC turned around from its present system of huge subsidies and puts them on the road to reform will benefit US agriculture. Our farmers are competitive in most products and EC farmers are not. Our wheat and feed grains producers will begin to win back foreign markets and do it without having to spend tax money on our own export subsidies.

John Ziolkowski

Europeans are coming to talk next Wed. & Thurs.
they will meet with Madigan & Hills.

TALKING POINTS -- GATT/Oilseeds/EC Trade Dispute

-- As you know, our trade negotiators have held tough on the trade dispute with the European Community and now the EC negotiators are coming back to the table.

-- It appears the Administration hit the French right where they are most vulnerable -- in the wine bottle.

-- At the bottom of this problem is the oilseeds case. As two GATT panels have agreed, EC oilseed subsidies hurt American farmers. The Administration has announced it will impose prohibitive tariffs on white wines and other products next month if the matter isn't settled.

-- But this goes way beyond oilseeds. It's important to every wheat farmer, every cattle and hog producer, everybody in American agriculture because we are a productive and efficient nation. This year we're going to export about \$43 billion in farm products for a trade surplus of more than \$20 billion.

-- But we can't put our efficiency to work if unfair subsidies and trade barriers keep our goods out. Many in the realize this but the French and some others have been holding back. Now it appears we have a chance to settle the dispute.

-- And it's not just for agriculture that George Bush and Carla Hills have been taking the tough line. When a country can ignore two GATT panels with impunity then the whole international trading system is at risk. That's why GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel has gotten into the act. He knows the entire round of trade talks won't see a successful conclusion if individual nations feel free to ignore the rules.

-- With anywhere from a quarter to a third of our acreage going to produce goods for export, every rancher and farmer in this country has a stake in these trade talks. And that goes to the railroads, the shipping lines, the truckers, the dockworkers, the banks, the food processors and everyone else in agribusiness.

-- You folks do a great job of communicating what's important in agriculture to America. Maybe that's what they need more of in Europe -- some good reporting -- some hard facts and hard figures on the true cost of those huge agriculture subsidies to their consumers, their taxpayers and to their environment.

-- But if you're thinking about getting your bosses to send you to Paris for six months, just keep my name out of it.

Brutt Fox

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

November 9, 1992

Senator Dole --

The Mexican Government will announce -- as early as tomorrow morning -- that it is increasing the import tariff on US and other countries' beef.

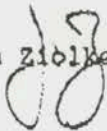
USDA says the tariffs will range from 15 percent for live cattle to 25 percent for frozen beef. The current tariff is zero.

This will obviously annoy the cattlemen and beef exporters but there's not much we can do as the Mexicans are within their rights. When they joined GATT they were bound to keep tariffs below 50 percent which they are doing.

The only good news is that they have promised to revert to zero tariffs for US beef when NAFTA comes into being but the higher tariffs will remain for other competitors like Australia and New Zealand.

This is all happening because we are producing beef at a lower cost than Mexico and their producers are hurting.

John Ziblkowski



**REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FARM BROADCASTERS**

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

-- THERE'S WAS A LOT OF SPECULATION THROUGHOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN THIS YEAR REGARDING JUST HOW GOVERNOR CLINTON WOULD HANDLE AGRICULTURAL ISSUES.

-- I THINK IT'S SAFE TO SAY THAT A LOT OF THOSE QUESTIONS ARE STILL UP IN THE AIR, ALTHOUGH WE KNOW THAT HE HAS -- ON THE BALANCE -- MADE SOME POSITIVE REMARKS ABOUT BOTH THE GATT AND THE NAFTA.

-- IT'S STILL TOO SOON TO SEE HOW HE WILL BALANCE THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE AGAINST THOSE OF THE LABOR, CONSUMER AND ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS, BUT I'M SURE THAT EVERYBODY IN THIS ROOM WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY AS WE MAKE THE TRANSITION.

-- OF COURSE, WHEN TALKING TO ALMOST ANYBODY WHO

HAS AN INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE, IT IS CLEAR THAT GOVERNOR CLINTON'S AND SENATOR GORE'S VIEWS ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES HAS A LOT OF PEOPLE ON EDGE.

-- IT WAS SOMETHING OF A MIXED TICKET DURING THE CAMPAIGN, WITH SOME QUESTIONING CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT DURING HIS TENURE AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS -- WHILE OTHERS WARNED OF THE EXTREMISM OF HIS RUNNING MATE. TO MOST, THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATTER IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS OF GREATEST CONCERN.

-- THERE ARE A LOT OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, BUT WE DO HAVE A PRETTY GOOD IDEA ABOUT WHERE SENATOR GORE IS COMING FROM. HOW MUCH OF A ROLE HE WILL HAVE IN SHAPING ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON THE CLEAN WATER ACT, THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT, WETLANDS POLICY, PESTICIDE AND FOOD SAFETY LEGISLATION -- ALL OF WHICH WILL LIKELY BE CONSIDERED IN THE 103rd CONGRESS -- REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

-- BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE WON'T SEE MANY
CHANGES IN HOW GENERAL FARM POLICY WILL BE OPERATED -
- WHETHER IT BE COMMODITY PROGRAMS, EXPORT
PROGRAMS, CONSERVATION, CREDIT OR OTHERS.

-- THE SAME BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS REMAIN, AND I
THINK GOVERNOR CLINTON IS SMART ENOUGH NOT TO
FOLLOW THE ISOLATIONIST DOCTRINE OF SUPPLY
MANAGEMENT AND RAISING LOAN RATES.

-- INSTEAD, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE SINGLE MOST
IMPORTANT PRIORITY FOR FARMERS AND RANCHERS AND THE
ORGANIZATIONS THAT REPRESENT THEM IN WASHINGTON WILL
BE UNITY.

-- I'VE ALWAYS THOUGHT OF FARMERS AS THE PIONEER
ENVIRONMENTALISTS -- THOSE WHO MAKE A LIVING FROM THE
LAND AND THE WATER AND WHO HAVE THE MOST TO LOSE IF
THEY DISREGARD THE PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF
THOSE RESOURCES.

-- BUT NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THERE COULD VERY WELL BE A LOT OF ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION COMING THROUGH THE BACK DOOR THAT DOESN'T GIVE AGRICULTURE THE CREDIT THAT IT DESERVES -- AND THAT COULD ALSO PLACE BOTH PERSONAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AT GREAT RISK.

-- SO I THINK THAT THE TURF BATTLES THAT WE'VE SEEN IN THE PAST AMONG AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS NEED TO TAKE A BACK SEAT TO THESE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD -- MUCH IS AT STAKE.

ASCS REFORM

-- ALTHOUGH WE HAVEN'T HEARD MUCH ABOUT IT LATELY, THE URGE TO OVERHAUL THE WAY IN WHICH USDA DOES BUSINESS ON THE COUNTY LEVEL IS VERY MUCH ALIVE AND WELL.

-- LIKE I'VE SAID BEFORE, I'LL BE THE FIRST TO SUPPORT

CHANGES -- WHETHER IT BE OFFICE CONSOLIDATION OR OTHER COST-CUTTING MEASURES -- WHERE IT MAKES SENSE AND DOES NOT SACRIFICE FARMER SERVICE. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS CLEAR THAT MOST OF THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH PROGRAM DELIVERY STEM DIRECTLY FROM THE LAWS THAT CONGRESS WRITES -- MOST NOTABLY THE 719-PAGE 1990 FARM BILL.

-- IN OTHER WORDS, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO WORK WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IN MAKING THE KINDS OF CHANGES THAT ELIMINATE WASTE AND RED-TAPE.

-- WE ARE ONLY A FEW YEARS AWAY FROM WRITING ANOTHER FARM BILL, AND I HOPE THAT THIS ISSUE WILL TAKE CENTER STAGE. AND I MIGHT ADD THAT THE UNDERLYING GOAL SHOULD BE ADOPTING A PROGRAM THAT STREAMLINES THE BUREAUCRACY AND ACTUALLY REDUCES THE NUMBER OF ONEROUS RULES AND REGULATIONS THAT FARMERS MUST DEAL WITH ON A DAILY BASIS.

GATT

-- AS YOU KNOW, OUR TRADE NEGOTIATORS HAVE HELD TOUGH ON THE TRADE DISPUTE WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND NOW THE EC NEGOTIATORS ARE COMING BACK TO THE TABLE.

-- IT APPEARS THE ADMINISTRATION HIT THE FRENCH RIGHT WHERE THEY ARE MOST VULNERABLE -- IN THE WINE BOTTLE.

-- AT THE BOTTOM OF THIS PROBLEM IS THE OILSEEDS CASE. AS TWO GATT PANELS HAVE AGREED, EC OILSEED SUBSIDIES HURT AMERICAN FARMERS. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS ANNOUNCED IT WILL IMPOSE PROHIBITIVE TARIFFS ON WHITE WINES AND OTHER PRODUCTS NEXT MONTH IF THE MATTER ISN'T SETTLED.

-- BUT THIS GOES WAY BEYOND OILSEEDS. IT'S IMPORTANT TO EVERY WHEAT FARMER, EVERY CATTLE AND HOG PRODUCER, EVERYBODY IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE BECAUSE

**WE ARE A PRODUCTIVE AND EFFICIENT NATION. THIS YEAR
WE'RE GOING TO EXPORT ABOUT \$43 BILLION IN FARM
PRODUCTS FOR A TRADE SURPLUS OF MORE THAN \$20
BILLION.**

**-- BUT WE CAN'T PUT OUR EFFICIENCY TO WORK IF UNFAIR
SUBSIDIES AND TRADE BARRIERS KEEP OUR GOODS OUT.
MANY IN THE EC REALIZE THIS BUT THE FRENCH AND SOME
OTHERS HAVE BEEN HOLDING BACK. NOW IT APPEARS WE
HAVE A CHANCE TO SETTLE THE DISPUTE.**

**-- AND BELIEVE ME, THE RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE IS
CRITICAL TO THE ENTIRE PREMISE OF THE GATT -- THAT
COUNTRIES WHO ARE FOUND GUILTY OF A GATT VIOLATION
MAKE THE CONCESSIONS NECESSARY TO BRING THEIR
TRADING REGIME INTO COMPLIANCE. THE ENTIRE TALKS ARE
IN JEOPARDY IF INDIVIDUAL NATIONS FEEL FREE TO IGNORE
THE RULES THAT ARE ALREADY IN PLACE.**

NAFTA

-- MEXICO'S ANNOUNCEMENT THIS WEEK THAT IT INTENDS TO LEVY IMPORT TARIFFS ON BEEF WAS A DISAPPOINTMENT AND MIGHT CAUSE SOME TROUBLE FOR THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IN CONGRESS.

-- RAISING TARIFFS TO PROTECT DOMESTIC PRODUCERS IN A LIMITED SITUATION IS NOT NEW. IT'S CALLED A "SNAPBACK" BY THE TRADE PEOPLE AND MANY COUNTRIES USE THIS INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. THE MAIN IDEA IS THAT SUCH TARIFFS DON'T REMAIN PERMANENT.

-- WHEN MEXICO JOINED THE GATT IT BOUND ITS TARIFFS AT A MAXIMUM OF 50 PERCENT SO THIS NEW PLAN -- WHERE THE HIGHEST TARIFF IS 25 PERCENT -- IS LEGAL.

-- MEXICAN REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON HAVE ASSURED US THE TARIFFS ON BEEF WILL REVERT TO ZERO WHEN A NAFTA GOES INTO EFFECT SO IN THE LONG RUN, OUR

PRODUCERS WILL HAVE A DEFINITE ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH WILL STILL BE FACING THE TARIFFS.

NAFTA/SUGAR

-- THE NEXT STEP IN THE NAFTA PROCESS IS TO DRAFT THE IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION WHICH IS WHAT CONGRESS WILL ACTUALLY VOTE ON WHEN IT'S TIME TO CONSIDER THE AGREEMENT.

-- AS YOU KNOW, IT'S WHAT WE CALL AN UP OR DOWN VOTE -- NO AMENDMENTS. THAT'S THE PROCESS REQUIRED BY THE TRADE LAW.

-- THERE ARE SOME AGRICULTURE GROUPS CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF NAFTA -- SUGAR, FOR EXAMPLE -- EVEN THOUGH IT'S STILL NOT CLEAR WHAT MEXICO'S SUGAR INDUSTRY WILL LOOK LIKE -- WHETHER OR NOT THEY WILL BE COMPETITIVE PRODUCERS AT ALL. AT ANY RATE, THE SUGAR PROVISIONS WOULDN'T TAKE EFFECT FOR SIX YEARS AFTER

THE NAFTA BEGINS -- WHICH MEANS THE YEAR 2000 SO WE
HAVE SOME TIME TO THINK THIS OVER.

SOVIET GRAIN PURCHASES

-- THE RUSSIANS ARE UP TO DATE IN PAYMENTS ON
PRINCIPLE AND INTEREST IN THE CREDIT GUARANTEE
PROGRAM, BUT EVERYONE IS HOLDING THEIR BREATH
BECAUSE OF THEIR SHAKY FINANCIAL SITUATION.

-- IT APPEARS THE U.S. MAY BE THE ONLY COUNTRY
GETTING PAYMENTS FROM THE RUSSIANS NOW BECAUSE THEY
ANTICIPATE A DEBT RESCHEDULING AND BETTER PAYMENT
TERMS FROM THEIR OTHER CREDITORS.

-- RUSSIA AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER
SOVIET UNION CAN BE GOOD CUSTOMERS IN THE LONG TERM
SO WE NEED TO BE AS FLEXIBLE AS POSSIBLE IN MAKING
GRAIN SALES. MAYBE WE CAN ARRANGE SOME BARTER DEALS
OR FINANCING BY THIRD COUNTRIES SUCH AS JAPAN.

-- WE'VE BEEN SENDING A NUMBER OF FARMERS AND AGRICULTURAL ADVISORS TO THE FORMER SOVIET UNION FOR ABOUT A YEAR NOW AND WE'LL BE SENDING MORE UNDER THE VARIOUS PROGRAMS AUTHORIZED IN THE 1990 FARM BILL AND THE RUSSIAN AID BILL. THIS PROGRAMS SHOULD BRING US SOME FIRST HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THE SITUATION THERE AND SOME DIRECT CONTACTS THAT WILL PAY OFF IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| TOTAL GSM Credits Available | \$ 5.85 Billion |
| Used to Date | 5.15 Billion |
| Prin. PD back to date | <u>.850</u> |
| Prin. Balance outstanding | <u><u>\$ 4.30 Billion</u></u> |
| Current on all Prin. + Int. Payments | |

FINAL
11/13/92

CONTACT:
Jo-Anne Coe
202/408-5105 (O)
202/408-5117 (FAX)
703/845-1714 (H)

SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1992

9:25 AM Lv. Capitol

9:40 AM Ar. Washington National Airport
Signature Flight Support
703/549-8340

9:45 AM Lv. Washington

AIRCRAFT: ADM Falcon 10
TAIL NO.: N 244 AD

PILOT:
CO-PILOT:

FLIGHT TIME: 2 hours
TIME CHANGE: -1 hour

MANIFEST: Senator Dole
Mike Glassner

CONTACT: Claudia Madding
217/424-5515 (O)
217/424-5581 (FAX)
217/428-1559 (H)

Linda Williams, ADM Flt. Dept.
217/424-5521
217/424-2494 (FAX)

10:45 AM Ar. Janesville, Wisconsin
Rock County Airport
General Aviation
608/756-1234

MET BY: Brian Kelly, RGA staff and State Trooper
414/275-1992
414/275-3478 (FAX)

DRIVE TIME: 35-45 minutes

PAGE TWO

11:30 AM Ar. The Abbey on Lake Geneva
Fontana, Wisconsin
414/275-6811

Proceed to Holding Room - Room #174

11:40 AM- PRIVATE MEETING WITH FORMER GOVERNOR PETE DUPONT
11:55 AM

CONTACT: Eileen Leach
302/651-7728

11:55 AM Proceed to Grand Ballroom

12:00 PM- ATTEND/SPEAK - ANNUAL CONFERENCE - LUNCHEON -
1:15 PM REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

CONTACT: Chris Henick
Executive Director
202/863-8587
202/863-8659 (FAX)

Wisconsin:
414/275-1992
414/275-3478 (FAX)

CROWD SIZE: 400

Republican Governors and Spouses
Sponsors
RGA Club Members
(Major Donors, list attached)
Governors' Chiefs of Staff

HOSTED BY: Dwayne Andreas, ADM
(Will NOT attend)

PRESS: OPEN (C-SPAN LIVE OR TAPED COVERAGE)

PRESS LIST ATTACHED

HEAD TABLE: NO (Rounds of 10) (See below)

PROGRAM:

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| 12:00-12:30 | Lunch is served |
| 12:30 | Intro of Sen. Dole - Gov. Thompson |
| 12:35-12:55 | KEYNOTE ADDRESS - SENATOR DOLE |
| 12:55-1:15 | Q & A |
| 1:15 | 2nd Plenary Session Begins |

PAGE THREE

SENATOR DOLE'S TABLE:

Governor Tommy Thompson - Wisconsin - RGA Chair
Governor George Voinovich - Ohio - Vice Chair
(1993 Chairman)
Governor William Weld - Massachusetts
Governor Pete Wilson - California
Governor Kirk Fordice - Mississippi
Governor-Elect Steve Merrill - New Hampshire
Governor-Elect Mike Leavitt - Utah
Martin Andreas - ADM
Howard Buffet - ADM

1:15 PM Proceed to Room 174

1:15 PM- PRIVATE MEETING WITH GOVERNOR TOMMY THOMPSON
1:30 PM

CONTACT: Donna Sarow
608/266-1212

1:30 PM Lv. The Abbey

2:15 PM Ar. Rock County Airport
General Aviation
608/756-1234

2:15 PM Lv. Janesville

MANIFEST: Senator Dole
Congressman Michel
Mike Glassner

FLIGHT TIME: 1 hr 40 mins
TIME CHANGE: +1 hour

4:55 PM Ar. Washington National
Signature Flight Support
703/549-8340

MET BY: Wilbert Jones

5:15 PM Ar. Republican Leader's Office

5:40 PM Lv. Capitol

5:45 PM Ar. NRSC Ronald Reagan Center

PAGE FOUR

5:45 PM- ATTEND PRIVATE RECEPTION --
6:15 PM PAUL COVERDELL FOR SENATE
(Event runs 5:30-6:15)

CROWD SIZE: 15-20 @ \$5,000 each

6:15 PM ATTEND GENERAL RECEPTION
PAUL COVERDELL FOR SENATE
(Event runs 6:15-7:00)

CROWD SIZE: 50-60 @ \$1,000 each

7:00 PM Lv. Ronald Reagan Center

7:15 PM Ar. Residence

NOVEMBER 12, 1992

TO; SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: GAYS IN THE MILITARY

You may consider the following in response to questions regarding Clinton's pledge to repeal the ban on gays in the military:

-- I appreciate the fact that President-Elect Clinton has made this commitment to the gay activists during the campaign. But this is a very serious issue to our military people. Those who have served in the military would understand that.

NOVEMBER 12, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: GAYS IN THE MILITARY

I am not sure how much fuel you should be adding to this fire as I believe the gay activists will hold Clinton's feet to the fire to make good on his commitment. To buy some time, Clinton will probably appoint a commission to study the idea much as the Congress sought cover on the Women in Combat issue, yet Clinton has the burden of a very precise campaign promise of signing an executive order removing the ban on gays and lesbians in the military.

Clinton's spin is that just being gay in and of itself should not be disqualifying for people who wish to serve their country. That sounds moderate, however there are far deeper implications here. Gay rights activists correctly argue that the military has been the model institution (and often the lead) for social change -- witness the military's successful anti-race discrimination/integration policies, anti drug efforts, and now sexual harassment training in the wake of "Tail Hook". The activists intend to use the military to gain access, and more important gain acceptability from a traditional American institution.

If the policy banning gays and lesbians in the military is repealed, the next step must necessarily be to formulate regulations to protect gays from discrimination and harassment (which will most certainly occur), and change certain military laws which prohibits their behavior. Traditionally, the military has accomplished social change through formal "sensitivity training". Such training would necessarily include legitimizing homosexuality -- teaching that gay and lesbian preference is both normal and acceptable and therefore must not be discriminated against.

When asked about this issue, you might note that the military will be unable to take the neutral ground that Clinton is trying to stake out. Not only would the military be required to accept gays and lesbians who wish to serve, but they would be required teach the acceptability of this behavior in order to protect this group from harassment and discrimination.

So, to be successful, Clinton's policy must do more than allow gays access, it must ultimately teach that homosexuality as a legitimate life style which should be formally integrated into society. While the American people seem to be more tolerant towards homosexuality I am not sure they are ready to make the leap in judgment that both condones and legitimizes the behavior.

NOVEMBER 12, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: DAN STANLEY
SUBJECT: CLINTON'S ILLUSION OF COMMAND

One of the reported raps on Clinton is that he handles every tough decision through a lot of consultation and then agonizes for a long period of time before making a decision. When challenged, Clinton equivocates on the substance while telling both sides what they want to hear. Case in point, gays in the military. While I think that this issue is better left to the media (with the ultimate showdown coming between military officers and gay rights activists) I think it is a classic example of Clinton waffling. He seems to be seeking cover through a commission on the subject. Of course, Cheney and the Congress went the same route on the Women in Combat issue.

This is the same course Clinton has taken on the economy -- an economic summit (mini commission) to provide cover for any policy action (or in action).

I think you should make the point early on that summits and commissions are not a substitute for action -- the next several months will prove whether Clinton is just buying time from his many campaign promises or whether he can make the tough calls.

BOB DOLE
KANSAS
141 SENATE HART BUILDING
(202) 224-6521

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
FINANCE
RULES

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1601

November 13, 1992

The Honorable Andrew H. Card
Secretary of Transportation
400 7th Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20590

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I ask your careful consideration for the proposed investment by British Airways in USAir. In my view, the infusion of capital in USAir will strengthen domestic airlines competition and will greatly benefit air service and airline workers in Kansas City, my state of Kansas, and throughout the country.

Further, this investment may have significant ramifications for the 28,000 employees of Trans World Airlines. Expanded USAir operations resulting from this investment could provide employment opportunities for many of the TWA workers who might be laid off in the event that TWA shuts down or significantly reduces its own operations. I see this investment as strengthening our domestic airline service at a critical time when unfavorable market conditions threaten to reduce service and competition.

It is my understanding that this proposed investment conforms to U.S. law and is consistent with the stated policy goals of the Administration. Ensuring jobs for our airline workers and reducing fares through competition are benefits worth your most careful consideration.

I encourage you to conduct an expeditious and thorough review of this matter and I am confident that as you examine the issues, you will agree that the proposed investment by British Airways in USAir makes good sense.

Sincerely,



BOB DOLE
United States Senate

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER

YOUR PRODUCT COULDN'T BE IN BETTER HANDS

YOUR PRODUCT COULDN'T BE IN BETTER HANDS because when you contract with MFP you get a production team of some of the best trained, most motivated people in the business. Before they ever sew on your product they must first go through a process of training and evaluation that gives them the skills to produce with the **highest possible quality**. Before they ever sew on your product they're taught that **quality and accuracy** are the most important elements of their job. Before they ever sew on your product they must prove that they can make it **exactly the way you want it**.

YOUR PRODUCT COULDN'T BE IN BETTER HANDS because MFP has a big advantage over most manufacturers. We employ a group of people to whom work is more than just a paycheck. They look at their work as an opportunity to really be noticed, to show people how able and how capable they really are. For them, work isn't just work, it's a symbol of their talent and ability. They demand the best from themselves so that **you get the best from your product**.

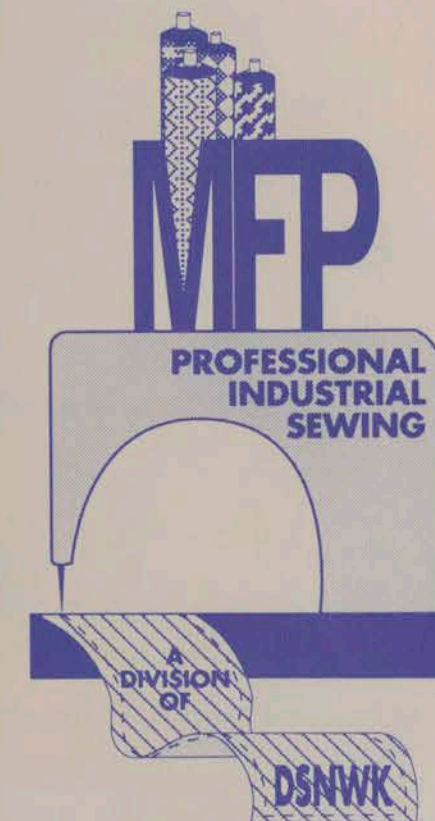
YOUR PRODUCT COULDN'T BE IN BETTER HANDS because MFP employs adults with developmental disabilities from Developmental Services of Northwest Kansas, Inc. And some people don't realize yet how talented and dedicated they really are. That's why, when they get the chance to prove themselves, **they deliver total satisfaction**.

YOUR PRODUCT COULDN'T BE IN BETTER HANDS because success becomes a habit - and so does quality. And that is exactly what has happened at MFP. After more than 15 years of experience in sewing manufacturing and making **quality and accuracy our number one priority - we don't know any other way of doing it**.

MFP
Professional Industrial Sewing
317 W. 13th Street
Hays, KS 67601

THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH IS OUR PRIDE.

THE SOURCE OF OUR PRIDE IS YOUR TOTAL SATISFACTION.



WHATEVER YOUR SEWING NEEDS ARE WE CAN MEET THEM

We've been sewing for over fifteen years and in that time we've helped a lot of people with their sewing needs. Industrial manufacturers, fashion designers, inventors and entrepreneurs, even the U.S. Department of Defense have all benefitted from our experience and knowledge of sewing manufacture. Whatever your sewing needs are, we have the facilities and skills to help you. We offer:

- Expert cutting
- Silk-screening
- Complete assembly
- Drop shipping
- Pattern making
- Consultation on design
- Manufacture of prototypes
- Location of Raw Materials
- Warehousing of raw materials and finished goods

SERVICE WARRANTY

We expressly guarantee that any and all work we do for you will be done exactly to your specifications. If any product we manufacture is not 100% accurate according to your specifications, we will do it over at our cost, including material costs.

DON'T JUST TAKE OUR WORD FOR IT. . . .

"MFP Professional Sewing has been our prime contractor for a large number of garments for a period of four years. We have found MFP to be very reliable in putting together for us a quality garment. We have also found the people at MFP to be timely in deliveries. The people at MFP are courteous, friendly and honest. We hope to continue our relationship with this outstanding organization."

Myrna Dreiling
Myrna Fashions
Victoria, KS

Designer of women's fashion and sportswear. Features contemporary denim designs. Distributed throughout the Midwestern U.S. in fine boutiques.

"Our experience with MFP Professional Industrial Sewing was most gratifying. Their commitment to quality control extended to all aspects of their production. Deliveries were always on or ahead of schedule. We have never dealt with a firm where team efforts were more noticeably effective."

In addition to the professionalism and excellent results, I must add that the goals and benefits that MFP strives for in the training of their clients provided the greatest measure of satisfaction."

Darrell M. Hills
DMH Enterprises, Inc.
Salina, KS

Referring to the manufacture of an infant accessory item distributed throughout the United States in specialty stores and department stores including Child World and J.C. Penney.

"Our experience with MFP Professional Industrial Sewing has been of the highest quality. The staff is both professional and easy to work with; the quality of the sewing is excellent and deliveries are on-time. Another bonus is that our company is able to support employment for handicapped citizens who have learned a trade and want to work to support themselves. Everybody wins when sewing needs are met by MFP Professional Industrial Sewing."

Karen Sheckman
President
Interact Toys
Topeka, KS

Interact Toys markets learning and developmental toys for young infants through institutional markets such as hospitals and universities.

We can give you expert service for all types of sewing and any size of order. If you want the best for your sewing needs and demand **guaranteed quality and reliability**, **please call us**. We'll make sure you'll be glad you did!

1 (800) 637-2229
(Ask for the marketing manager)
(913) 625-2521

MFP Professional Industrial Sewing
317 West 13th Street
Hays, KS 67601

11/13/92

15:17

002

MEMORANDUM

November 13, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: JIM MCMILLAN
RE: STATUS OF CLINTON ETHICS RULES/GUIDELINES

TRANSITION TEAM

In a Friday afternoon press conference in Little Rock, Warren Christopher announced the new code of ethics for the transition team (and any other person who participates in a significant way):

1. For the term of the transition and six months thereafter, staff of the transition are prohibited from lobbying federal agencies on any issue for which they had substantial responsibility during the transition. Transition directors would be banned from all lobbying for such period.

2. A lifetime ban on using any nonpublic information for private gain.

3. A prohibition from participating in any transition matter that would conflict or appear to conflict with the individual's or his family's finances or that of a client or business.

4. A requirement that transition team participants complete financial and information disclosure forms.

A waiver from these restrictions would be available in the presumably rare situation where the public interest would otherwise be best served.

NEW ADMINISTRATION

While earlier in the week, Christopher indicated that the ethics restrictions on the new Administration might be released within a few days, Clinton said yesterday that they will not be coming for several days (probably some time next week).

No details yet except that Stephanopoulos said that the package would be consistent with the campaign pledge to impose a five-year ban on former top appointees from lobbying their old agencies and a lifetime ban on lobbying for foreign governments.

Clinton intends to impose the guidelines in an executive order after taking office in January. He also indicated his hope for passing a legislative package of lobbying reforms and campaign finance reform.

It is unclear how deep into the ranks of appointees the lobbying restrictions would go and what exceptions, if any, they would contain.

M E M O R A N D U M

November 13, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: JIM
RE: WALSH

UPDATE

As you know, on Monday you wrote to Attorney General Barr urging that DOJ investigate the Walsh operation for improper, unethical or illegal activities in connection with the Weinberger indictment. On Wednesday, four Judiciary Committee republicans officially requested under the independent counsel statute that DOJ take all steps necessary for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Walsh. DOJ is required to respond within 30 days.

As of this morning, while DOJ had no official press release on the matter, press reports indicate that they have said that they are reviewing both requests. While no one can say for sure, I suspect that DOJ will determine that there is insufficient evidence to undertake an investigation and seek the appointment of an independent counsel in connection with the request by Judiciary Committee republicans. The same may be true of your separate request which is independent of the statute's requirements.

I spoke to the employee of Brosnahan's law firm who called the press office. Bottom line is that while she considers the firm to be very liberal, she has no evidence of wrongdoing in connection with the Walsh operation or otherwise. She is basically upset over the election and supports your efforts.

At this point, until there is concrete evidence or a response from DOJ, pressure should continue to be brought on Walsh to clear the name of his office. Perhaps, just as the State Department immediately conducted an internal investigation to expose wrongdoing or misconduct, Walsh should be held to the same standard. Seems there is a lot of talk about ethics in government and influence peddling. It would be nice to hear Walsh exhibit the same level of interest and concern.

TALKING POINTS

- WHILE I HAVEN'T HEARD FROM THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT YET AND DON'T EXPECT TO FOR A FEW WEEKS, THE SOONER THE ATTORNEY GENERAL INITIATES AN INVESTIGATION THE BETTER.
- PRESIDENT-ELECT CLINTON INSISTED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO POLITICAL GAMES IN HIS STATE DEPARTMENT AND THAT IS COMMENDABLE.

- LIKEWISE, THERE SHOULD BE NO POLITICS IN THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL'S OFFICE WHICH FILES ELECTION-EVE INDICTMENTS AND WHERE AN IMPROPER TIP-OFF TO THE CLINTON-GORE CAMPAIGN MAY HAVE OCCURRED.
- I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DESERVE TO KNOW WHAT HAPPENED HERE AND THE ONLY WAY THEY WILL FIND OUT IS THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL INVESTIGATION.
- I SHOULD THINK THAT INDEPENDENT COUNSEL WALSH WOULD BE EAGER TO CLEAR THE TARNISHED REPUTATION OF HIS OFFICE AND ASK FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF POSSIBLE WRONGDOING HIMSELF.
- AT THIS POINT IN TIME, HE SHOULD BE DOING HIS OWN INTERNAL INVESTIGATION AND MAKE THE RESULTS PUBLIC.
- ALL MR. WALSH SEEMS TO HAVE SAID TO DATE IS THAT HE DOES NOT CONSIDER A \$500 CLINTON-GORE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION BY THE ATTORNEY HANDLING THE WEINBERGER INDICTMENT TO BE SIGNIFICANT.

COFFEYVILLE NEWS

0 THE RED CROSS RECEPTION PRIOR TO DINNER IS BEING HELD AT THE HISTORIC BROWN MANSION ON THE HILL WITH THE ANTIQUE FURNISHINGS.

0 WORD THAT YOU ARE BOTH COMING HAS BEEN IN THE PRESS AND ON INVITATIONS FOR THIS 75TH ANNIVERSARY FUND RAISER.

0 THE DALTON RAID CENTENNIAL BROUGHT 50,000 TO TOWN DURING THE WEEK-LONG CELEBRATION. INCLUDED 500 CAMPER TRAILERS.

THE CHAMBER ADVERTISED IN NATIONAL PUBLICATIONS AND RECEIVED TELEPHONE CALLS FROM THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

THE DALTON FAMILY CAME FROM SCATTERED SITES TO HOLD A REUNION.

A 1892 FLAG FLIES OUTSIDE THE REFURBISHED CONDON NATIONAL BANK, WHICH IS ONE OF 3 BANKS IN TOWN.

4 GANG MEMBERS AND 4 TOWNSPEOPLE WERE KILLED.

0 FARMLAND REFINERY, 350 EMPLOYEES, IS AMIDST A \$43 MILLION IMPROVEMENT. ARE UPDATING AND MEETING EPA STANDARDS.

0 OTHER PLANTS ARE EXPECTED TO BE ENLARGED. PLANS REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL.

0 FUNK MANUFACTURING (DEERE DIVISION) EMPLOYS 425.

0 WESTERN PUBLISHING COMPANY, A DISTRIBUTOR HEADQUARTERED OUT OF RACINE, WISCONSIN, HAS A 13 ACRE WAREHOUSE. HAS INCREASED FROM 250 TO 500 EMPLOYEES FOR THE CHRISTMAS SEASON. RECENTLY TOOK OVER THE OLD WALMART BUILDING (63,000 SQ. FT.).

0 "APTUS," A DIVISION OF WESTINGHOUSE EMPLOYS 350 AND IS GROWING. DESTRUCTION OF HAZARDOUS WASTE, INCLUDING PCB'S.

0 WALMART JUST MOVED FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST SIDE OF TOWN INTO A NEW 100,000 SQ. FT. FACILITY, THE MAJOR TENANT IN A MALL.

0 DOWNTOWN STORES ARE TURNING TOWARD SPECIALTY SHOPS, PLUS PROFESSIONAL AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

0 MAYOR AL LIEBERT, IN HIS 3RD TERM, OWNS LIEBERT BROTHERS ELECTRIC CO. CONTRACTS AND RETAIL. HE GETS GOOD MARKS.

0 REGIONAL MEDICAL CENTER HAS 150 BEDS, 30 PHYSICIANS.

0 UNEMPLOYMENT: 5.5 - 7%. THE GOOD ASPECT IS THAT WORKERS ARE AVAILABLE.

**SCHEDULE FOR ELIZABETH DOLE
COFFEYVILLE, KANSAS
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1992**

4:00 pm Tour/Reception with paid and volunteer staff of
the Pioneer Chapter
* Meet and greet staff

5:00 pm Event concludes--depart for Brown Mansion
Driver: TBD

5:30 pm Community/Chapter reception prior to 75th
Anniversary Banquet
Location: Brown Mansion

REMARKS: None, mix and mingle
ATTEND: TBD, Chapter board, paid and
volunteer staff, members of Red
Cross Chapters in four-state area
(Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and
Arkansas), and the general public
who have paid \$10 to attend

6:30 pm Reception concludes--depart for Coffeyville
Community College

7:00 pm 75th Anniversary Banquet of the Pioneer Chapter
Location: Student Union Building, Coffeyville
Community College

REMARKS: 20 mins., Keynote address
INTRO: TBD
ATTEND: TBD, Chapter paid and volunteer
staff, members of Red Cross
Chapters in four-state area, and
the general public who have paid
\$35 to attend
PRESS: TBD

BD

9:00 pm Banquet concludes--depart for XXX

plan to KC/Russell

RUSSELL NEWS

FARMLAND INDUSTRIES

ENGINEERS REPRESENTING FARMLAND AND RUSSELL (WILSON & COMPANY) MET THIS WEEK AND AGREED TO A TENTATIVE SITE PLAN AND SCHEDULE.

RAIL SPUR - ENGINEERS BEGIN AN 8 DAY SURVEY NEXT WEEK. UNION PACIFIC ENGINEERS WILL BE IN TOWN ON NOVEMBER 17TH. THEY ARE MAKING ONE MORE ATTEMPT TO SEE IF THE SPUR COULD BE TAKEN FROM THE CURVE, WHICH WOULD SAVE FUNDS AND SPACE.

AGCO BOARD MEETING - 200 MEMBERS ARE EXPECTED TO ATTEND THE ANNUAL BOARD MEETING TOMORROW (FRIDAY) EVENING AT THE VFW WHEN THE FIRST INVESTMENT PROGRAM WILL BE PRESENTED. AGCO HAS PLEDGED \$1 MILLION. THE PRESENTATION WILL BE TAKEN TO OTHER CO-OPS IN ORDER TO RAISE AN ADDITIONAL \$6.5 MILLION.

VINTAGE HOMES

THE WERTH FAMILY OF WICHITA, WHICH HAS A GOOD TRACK RECORD IN RESIDENCES AND HEALTH CARE FOR THE ELDERLY IS READY TO MOVE FORWARD TO CONSTRUCT A \$800,000 24 TENANT COMPLEX PROVIDING ASSISTED LIVING. VIA A PUBLIC PRESENTATION AT THE ELKS CLUB, THEY WILL BE LOOKING FOR INVESTORS FOR 20% WORKING CAPITAL @ \$10,000.

BECAUSE JERRY DRISCOLL HAS A HIGH PRICE ON ACREAGE SOUTH OF THE HOSPITAL, THEY ARE LOOKING AT 2 PLOTS WHICH ARE TIED UP IN A TAX SALE, IF THEY CAN BE EXCISED: BEHIND THE FORMER GUITERREZ RESTAURANT, OR THE KRUG PROPERTY NORTH OF THE GOLF COURSE AND NEAR THE NEW PLANT SITE.

A RUSSELL DELEGATION VISITED A SIMILAR, IMPRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT IN ELDORADO AND CALLED IT A "COUNTRY CLUB."

PHASES II & III CALL FOR \$120,000 DUPLEXES AND TOWNHOUSE CONDOMINIUMS.

LOCKWOOD

A TOPEKA DEVELOPER HAS AN OPTION ON LAND TO BUILD 24 LOW-MIDDLE INCOME HOMES WITH FmHA FINANCING. CITY COUNCIL HAS APPROVED IT. THE COMPANY HAS A GOOD TRACK RECORD AND IMPRESSIVE STAFF.

SUPER 8 MOTEL

GENE SEXTON, SOUTH DAKOTA DEVELOPER OF THE TRIPLET TRUCK STOP, HAS COMMITTED TO BUILDING A MOTEL NORTH OF THE NEW AMOCO/TRIPLET SERVICE STATION. THEY MAY NEED SOIL TESTS FOR EPA APPROVAL WHERE TANKS WERE BURIED BUT REMOVED. I TOLD THEM THAT

RUSSELL NEWS
PAGE 2

WE WILL PUT THEM IN TOUCH WITH EPA OFFICIALS IN ORDER TO DETERMINE THE REQUIRED TESTS, IF ANY, AND ADVISED THAT WE SHOULD MOVE FORWARD TO GET THIS TAKEN CARE OF IMMEDIATELY. ENGINEERS ARE MEETING TONIGHT AND WILL GET BACK TO ME.

SEXTON HAS ALSO COMMITTED TO BUILDING AN "ARBY'S."

OTHER

- 0 A CHINESE RESTAURANT INQUIRY FROM NEW YORK CALLED, AS A RESULT OF WORD OF THE PLANT.
- 0 THE NEW CHAMBER EXECUTIVE IS CAROL KEIL. SHE WILL HANDLE RETAIL AND CONVENTION & VISITORS BUREAU.
- 0 ARE ADVERTISING FOR AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR, \$40-50,000 SALARY RANGE. HAVE APPROACHED ALL TOWNS IN THE COUNTY, ASKING FOR A 1 MILL LEVY. WALDO OFFERED TO WRITE A CHECK FOR THEIR \$110 SHARE ON THE SPOT.
- 0 ONE NEW JUNIOR HIGH TEACHER WAS RELEASED FOR MAKING INAPPROPRIATE TOUCHING AND TALK.
- 0 A FORMER POLICE OFFICER IS THREATENING TO FILE A \$13+ MILLION SUIT AGAINST THE CITY FOR WRONGFUL TERMINATION. IS REPRESENTED BY A WICHITA ATTORNEY WITH A SINGLE PRACTICE, WILLIAM FRY. WHILE JUDY SARGENT FEELS CONFIDENT THAT ALL RULES WERE OBSERVED, THERE IS ALWAYS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN OUT OF COURT SETTLEMENT.
- 0 GLORIA & LARRY REPORT THAT HIS BROTHER, QUENTIN, HAD ADDITIONAL SURGERY. HIS COUNT WAS 100. I HAVE DRAFTED A NOTE FOR YOU TO SEND HIM.

LARRY'S SISTER IN ARVADA, COLORADO, ALSO HAD SURGERY FOR BREAST CANCER.

SHE ALSO MENTIONED AN EXCELLENT FEATURE ON THE FOX TV NETWORK THE EVENING OF VETERANS DAY ON YOU AND PRESIDENT BUSH HOSTED BY RUSH LIMBAUGH. I ADVISED OUR PRESS OFFICE. THEY ARE TRYING TO GET A TAPE.

M E M O R A N D U M

November 13, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE
FROM: JIM MCMILLAN
RE: UPDATE ON TELEPHONE CALL WITH MR. PONCET DAVIS

I spoke to Poncet Davis and relayed to him the fact that 1) the White House had decided to back away from any renomination of John Raudabaugh to a new term as a board member of the NLRB (and no chance of a recess appointment), and 2) Mr. Raudabaugh's term has been marked by controversy and some Labor Committee republicans were not eager (to say the least) to support the nomination (Hatch said no). In addition, Democrats would go to the mat on opposing the nomination and in trying to embarrass the President on this one.

Mr. Davis expressed surprise that there had been some controversy during his term so I faxed him some newspaper articles at his request. I told Mr. Davis to feel free to call me back if he had any questions or needed any additional information.

November 5, 1992

TRANSMITTED VIA FACSIMILE (202)224-3163

Senator Robert Dole
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Joan Lynn

Re: National Labor Relations Board

Dear Bob:

Tuesday's Presidential election outcome portends grave short-term and long-term consequences for employers affected by decisions of the National Labor Relations Board. Currently only four of the five Board positions are filled with Member John Raudabaugh's term expiring in mid-December 1992. It would be most helpful if President Bush would extend Raudabaugh's term with a recess appointment. Not only would Raudabaugh's recess appointment enable the Board to avoid building up a backlog of pending cases, but his experience and background as a labor-management lawyer will be most beneficial to cases presently pending.

Currently before the Board is a case long overdue for issuance dealing with an employer's right to permanently replace strikers. That issue, as you know, is a subject of legislation which will be introduced before Congress at the next term and which Clinton has indicated he would sign. I believe Raudabaugh's continued presence on the Board will be helpful to employers in this and many other regards.

Our counsel has known John Raudabaugh for many years as a labor-management lawyer in Atlanta. He is a quality individual and very capable.

I would very much appreciate your doing what you can in this important matter.

Astra and I look forward to seeing you and Elizabeth at the Seaview soon.

With best regards,

Ponca

Poncet Davis, Jr.
The Seaview Hotel
9909 Collins Avenue
Bal Harbour
Miami Beach, Florida 33154
(305) 866-8342

November 13, 1992
#1 ylh

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of November 16 - 21, 1992 Pg. 1

Sunday, November 15

8:00 a.m. (TENTATIVE) Meet the Press in Russell

in Russell

1:30 p.m. lv. Russell for Hays

2:00 p.m. lv. Hays

5:30 p.m. ar. Washington Nat'l, Signature, met by Wilbert

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of November 15 - 21, 1992 Pg. 2

Monday, November 16

9:00 Russell appt. w/Tony
Barber Shop

10:15 lv. Washington Nat'l, Signature Flight Support

11:15 ar. Janesville, Wisconsin

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS CONFERENCE -- see separate schedule

2:00 lv. Janesville, Wisconsin

4:40 ar. Washington Nat'l, Signature Flight Support, met by
Wilbert

5:00 ar. Republican Leader's Office

5:30 lv. The Capitol

5:35- Ronald private reception - Paul Coverdell for Senate
6:15 Reagan Center

6:15 attend general reception - Paul Coverdell for Senate

7:00 lv. Ronald Reagan Center

7:15 ar. residence

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of November 15 - 21, 1992 Pg. 3

Tuesday, November 17

10:00 S-230 mtg. w/Dean Thornton, President of Boeing
Commercial, & Brian Rowe, President of
General Electric Aircraft Engineers (Dan)

11:00 S-230 mtg. w/Tony Fabrizio & Floyd Brown (John D.)

6:00 White dinner with President Bush & others
House, Private Residence, SW Gate

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of November 15 - 21, 1992 Pg. 4

Wednesday, November 18

Thursday, November 19

12:00 H-324 Senate/House bipartisan leadership luncheon
hosted by Speaker Foley for Gov. Clinton and
Senator Gore

to Georgia -- see separate schedule

RON: Georgia

SENATOR DOLE'S SCHEDULE - Week of November 15 - 21, 1992 Pg. 5

Friday, November 20

in Georgia -- see separate schedule

RON: Washington, D.C.

Saturday, November 21

1

CONTACT: JUDY BROWN
913/295-2745 (O)
913/836-2319 (H)

KANSAS SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE - NOV. 13 - NOV.
15

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13

10:20 A.M. DEPART NATIONAL AIRPORT FOR KANSAS CITY
US AIR FLIGHT #1429

12:04 P.M. AR. KANSAS CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
MET BY: GALE GROSCH AND MIKE GLASSNER

12:15 P.M. LV. KCI FOR THE PLAZA
DRIVE TIME: 30-35 MINS.

1:00 P.M. AR. AT THE BRISTOL

1:00 P.M. LUNCH - SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE
TO **HAVE MADE RESERVATIONS FOR SIX
2:15 P.M. SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE
Roy Clason
Gale Grosch
Jordan White
Kim Wells

2:15 P.M. JORDAN WHITE, MRS. DOLE AND ROY CLASON
LEAVE THE BRISTOL FOR DOWNTOWN
MUNICIPAL AIRPORT - EXECUTIVE BEECHCRAFT
826/842-8484

DRIVER: JORDAN WHITE
DRIVE TIME: 10 MINS.

2:30 P.M. - WHEELS UP FOR COFFEYVILLE

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED

2

FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 MINS.

MANIFEST: MRS. DOLE
ROY CLASON

3:10 P.M. - MRS. DOLE ARRIVES IN
COFFEYVILLE

3:30 P.M. - PRESS CONFERENCE

AIRCRAFT WILL DROP MRS. DOLE IN COFFEYVILLE
AND RETURN TO DOWNTOWN MUNICIPAL AIRPORT,
EXECUTIVE BEEHCRAFT, TO WAIT FOR SENATOR
AND MIKE GLASSNER

SENATOR

2:15 P.M. LEAVE THE BRISTOL FOR THE KANSAS CITY
OFFICE

2:30 P.M. KANSAS CITY OFFICE

3:30 P.M. PRESS CONFERENCE - KANSAS CITY, KANSAS
~~COURTHOUSE~~ - City Hall

4:15 P.M. KANSAS CITY OFFICE

6:15 P.M. LV. KANSAS CITY OFFICE FOR DOWNTOWN
MUNICIPAL - EXECUTIVE BEEHCRAFT
816/842-8484

DRIVER: GALE
DRIVE TIME: 15 MINS.

6:30 P.M. WHEELS UP FOR COFFEYVILLE

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED
FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 MINS.

7:05 P.M. AR. COFFEYVILLE AIRPORT

3

COFFEYVILLE AIRCRAFT CO.
316/251-4310

MET BY: JILL

7:00 P.M. COFFEYVILLE - RED CROSS DINNER
TO STUDENT UNION - COMMUNITY COLLEGE
8:30 P.M. 316/251-7700 - EXT. 2055

8:30 P.M. LV. DINNER FOR AIRPORT

DRIVER: JILL

8:45 P.M. WHEELS UP FOR RUSSELL

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED
FLIGHT TIME: 45 MINS.

MANIFEST: SENATOR DOLE
MRS. DOLE
MIKE GLASSNER

9:30 P.M. AR. RUSSELL AIRPORT
AIRPORT MANAGER - 913/48030-6173

RON - RUSSELL
MIKE GLASSNER - WINCHESTER INN
913/483-6660

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

OPEN - RUSSELL

THE CITY VAN WILL BE AVAILABLE ALL DAY

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

8:00 A.M. **TENTATIVE - MEET THE PRESS
WALT AND CLARKSON WORKING ON
DETAILS

10:45 A.M. RUSSELL - CHRISTENING CEREMONY

4

NOON
TO
1:30 P.M.

EARLY THANKSGIVING DINNER WITH THE
FAMILY

1:30 P.M.

LV. RUSSELL FOR HAYS

DRIVER:

2:00 P.M.

WHEELS UP FOR WASHINGTON

AIRCRAFT: FALCON 10

TAIL NO.: N 244 AD

SEATS:

PILOT:

CO-PILOT:

FLIGHT TIME: 2 HRS. 30 MINS.

MANIFEST:

SENATOR DOLE

MRS. DOLE

MIKE GLASSNER

5:30 P.M.

AR. WASHINGTON NATIONAL

MET BY: WILBERT

November 12, 1992

Senator Dole --

Some background on GATT as you requested.

By hanging tough on the oilseeds case and threatening retaliation on EC products, the Administration got the EC back to the negotiating table. This year USDA projects nearly \$43 billion in US agriculture exports -- the highest in a decade -- so it is clear that negotiations are preferable to a trade war.

The fact that GATT Director General Arthur Dunkel is trying to mediate is also an Administration victory. Dunkel evidently is convinced that the oilseed case must be solved in order to get a GATT agreement on agriculture and that agreement, in turn, is the key to ending the Uruguay Round successfully.

There is some danger that US oilseed producers won't like the eventual settlement with the EC. They are worried that it will still allow high levels of EC production. The Administration is aware of this but getting a clear message from the American Soybean Association has been difficult. ASA has had financial and organization problems. It has laid off much of its staff and is closing its Washington office. John Gordley has been hired to represent ASA's interests here.

However, in the long term, anything that gets the EC turned around from its present system of huge subsidies and puts them on the road to reform will benefit US agriculture. Our farmers are competitive in most products and EC farmers are not. Our wheat and feed grains producers will begin to win back foreign markets and do it without having to spend tax money on our own export subsidies.

John Ziolkowski

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11-12-92

NOVEMBER 1992

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|--|--|---|--------------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 in DC to KS RON: KANSAS | 2 in KS 1:55p.m. LV K.C. 5:12p.m. AAA Wash. Nat'l. | 3 ELECTION DAY in Wash. | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 8 | 9 5:00p orientation newly elected Senators floor Congress 9:00 press 9:15-10:30 Welcoming Remarks 11:30-12:30 appt w/ Dr Barsky ?? luncheon w/new members | 10 10:30 5-21(?) election of Senate Leadership Mtg. w/ Republican Leadership After Leadership Election (lasts 1 hour) 6:00 Columbus Club - reception 7:00 East Hall - President's Hall | 11 VETERANS DAY | 12 9:00 lv DC us Air 10:33 ar Boston 2:00 lv Boston 3:32 ar DC | 13 10:20 lv DC us Air Died ar KS City RON: Russell | 14 in Kansas RON: Russell |
| 15 10:45 christening in Russell 1:30 lv. Russell 2:00 lv Hays 5:30 ar DC | 16 10:15 lv DC 11:15 ar Wisconsin Republican Governor's Conference 2:00 lv Wisconsin 4:40 ar DC 5:30 Paul Coverdell fundraiser in DC | 17 | 18 | 19 Georgia | 20 Georgia | 21 |
| 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 THANKSGIVING DAY | 27 | 28 |
| 29 | 30 | | | | | |

| OCTOBER | | | | | | |
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| NOVEMBER | | | | | | |
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| JANUARY 1993 | | | | | | |
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| FEBRUARY 1993 | | | | | | |
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DECEMBER 1992

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| 20 FIRST DAY OF HANUKKAH | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 CHRISTMAS DAY | 26 BOXING DAY (CANADA) |
| 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | | |

| 1992 | | DECEMBER | | | | | 1992 |
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| 1993 | | FEBRUARY | | | | | | 1993 |
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| 28 | | | | | | | | |

SATURDAY

9

16

23

30

FIRST QUARTER

DO NOT RELEASE--OFFICE USE ONLY

November 2, 1992

REPUBLICAN LEADER'S OFFICE
HOME ADDRESS LIST

BARATTA, Mira R. (07/05) (Robert Baratta)
1501 N. Patrick Henry Drive
Arlington, Virginia 22205
(703) 532-3729.....4-8955

BURKE, Sheila (01/10) (David Chew)
1323 Merrie Ridge Road
McLean, Virginia 22101
(703) 243-8811.....4-2105

DIAMANTAKIOU, John (08/03)
3109 Macomb Street
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 362-0020.....4-4502

DOVE, Bob (10/18) (Linda Dove)
503 East Columbia Street
Falls Church, Virginia 22046
(703) 533-0765.....4-5132
Beeper (inside)...*89-639-1
(outside)..224-7889-639-1

HINE, Clarkson (04/26) (Laura Hine)
4740 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., #717
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 244-5595.....4-3093

JONES, Wilbert (06/23)
(301) 772-5142
(301) 772-5928.....4-1181
Beeper (inside)...*89-416-1
(outside)..224-7889-416-1
Car Phone.....202-228-4129
Portable Phone....228-7946

KERCHNER, Jon Lynn (11/4)
5200 Daventry Court
Burke, Virginia 22015
(703) 425-8712.....4-3135

McCLUNEY, Joyce A. (07/09)
6019 Bingley Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22310
(703) 313-8557.....4-2106

McMILLAN, James (Jim) (09/02) (Ann McMillan)
4541 Warren Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 364-3097.....4-4489

ORMISTON, Kathy A. (08/02)
4540 MacArthur Boulevard, #314
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 337-6585.....4-2675

OVIEDO, T. Nina (07/18) (Bryan Collins)
4815 Alton Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
(202) 966-6298.....4-4638

REDIFER, Paul (09/11)
1338 Martha Custis Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22302
(703) 671-7261.....4-3135
Beeper (inside)...*89-640-1
(outside)..224-7889-640-1

RIKER, Walt (08/22) (Christine Riker)
7731 Gromwell Court
Springfield, Virginia 22152
(703) 644-8472.....4-7772

RUCKER, Pamela (06/03)
10921 Bucknell Drive
Wheaton, Maryland 20901
(301) 681-5832.....4-5359

RYAN, Elli (06/14)
1732 W. Abingdon Drive, #201
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 519-8071.....4-2674

SAYLER, Marilyn J. (08/20)
3800 Powell Lane, #908
Falls Church, Virginia 22041
(703) 578-0961.....4-5024

STACK, Vicki (07/15)
116 5th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-2724.....4-4503

TYMCHUK, Kerry (01/12)
108 E. Bellefonte Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia 22301
(703) 683-0582.....4-4961

WADE, Pat (09/03)
1300 Army Navy Drive, #413
Arlington, Virginia 22202
(703) 521-4368.....4-3135

WHITTINGHILL, James R. (02/23) (Nancy Dorn)
1521 N. Abingdon Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207
(703) 276-0369.....4-4639

WISECARVER, William (Bill) (4/3)
1530 N. Key Boulevard, #1232
Rosslyn, Virginia 22209
(703) 276-7572.....4-8950

ZIOLKOWSKI, John J. (07/25)
2939 Van Ness Street, N.W., #1103
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 363-3481.....4-5312
Universal Beeper..1-800-443-7243, Code 033160

BEEPERS:

(inside)...*89-CODE-1
(outside)..224-7889-CODE-1

UNIVERSAL BEEPER:

1. 1-800-443-7243
2. Code: 033160 -- Al Lehn
053903 -- Paul Redifer
3. Enter numeric message up to 12 digits.
4. Hang up.

IMPORTANT PHONE NUMBERS

COE, Jo-Anne (07/19)
3511 Paul Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22311
(703) 845-1714

DAVIDSON, Michael
362-4885

GREENE, JR., Howard (Elizabeth Greene)
9105 Volunteer Drive
Alexandria, Virginia 22309
(703) 799-4140

HOPKINS, Yvonne
12224 Fort Buffalo Circle
Fairfax, Virginia 22033
(703) 591-1328 -- UNLISTED NUMBER

STANLEY, Dan (9/29) (Kay Stanley)
7413 Reservation Drive
Springfield, Virginia 22153
(703) 455-3314 -- UNLISTED NUMBER
4-6524

Beeper (inside)...*89-638-1
(outside)..224-7889-638-1

TONGOUR, Mike
212 F Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-6063

November 1, 1992

SENATOR DOLE'S
WASHINGTON PERSONAL STAFF

ADLER, Marcie
1600 N. Oak Street, Apt.525
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 527-5020 46805
(February 28) David

BECHTEL, Mariam
3801 Latrobe Ct.
Fairfax, VA 22031
(703) 273-0510 48951
(July 9) Charlie

BELDEN, Sara
19705 Midas Court
Gaithersburg, MD 20879
(301) 330-1487 48953
(September 23)

BROWN, Sarah
11 6th Street, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 544-5337 41142
(June 17)

CABBAGE, Janeal
4008 Denfeld Avenue
Kensington, MD 20895
(301) 949-8826 48954
(February 15)

CULP, Bryan
4600 Connecticut Ave.,NW, #804
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 686-0522 48941
(July 5)

DICK, Darren
9335 Lee Highway
Tower #1, Apt. 712
Fairfax, VA 22031
(703) 385-1778 46826
(April 3)

FRICK, Lisa
532 3rd Street, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-1088 48958
(June 20)

FOX, Bret
3119 No. 9th Road
Arlington, VA 22201
(703) 524-9880 48949
(November 24)

HIKSON, Heidi
717 South 25th Street
Arlington, VA 22202
(703) 836-6233
(April 2)

HOFFHAUS, Stacy
2701 Connecticut Ave.,NW #605
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 986-1365 47563
(October 30)

HOPKINS, Yvonne
12224 Fort Buffalo Circle
Fairfax, VA 22033
(703) 591-1328 48943
(October 30)

Senator Dole
Page 2

HUNZIKER, Cecelia
1505 Crystal Drive, #1116
Arlington, VA 22202
(703) 415-4370 48944
(April 22)

KOMAREK, Ruth Ann
1108 Belle View Blvd. #B1
Alexandria, VA 22307
(703) 768-9128 47321
(January 28)

LEWIS, Tom
2115 North Lexington St.
Arlington, VA 22205
(703) 534-7047 40448
(August 28)

LUTHER, Kay
1510 South 23rd Street
Arlington, VA 22202
(703) 521-4024 48936
(April 6)

MACHIDA, Ado
821 Summit Avenue
Alexandria, VA 22302
(703) 548-2792 48960
(January 22)

MUGLER, John
1103 E. Capital, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202) 544-3689 44177
(December 1)

PARKER, Marquia
719 D Street, NE #305
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-6361 49091
(September 15)

SCHNACKE, Greg
317 South Pickett
Alexandria, VA 22304
(703) 461-3926 48948
(September 28) Layla

STANLEY, Dan
7413 Reservation Drive
Springfield, Virginia 22153
(703) 455-3314 46524
(September 29) Kay
Beeper...(Inside) *89-638-7
(Outside) 224-7889-7

WEST, Maureen
2908 Q Street, NW #206
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 337-2582 48959
(August 19)

WIKLUND, Robert
1117 "D" Street. NE #2
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 544-1151 40448
(October 30)

WILSON, David
821 Summit Avenue
Alexandria, VA 22302
(703) 548-2792 46597
(June 3)

November 1, 1992

KANSAS FIELD OFFICES AND STAFF ADDRESSES

TOPEKA

444 South East Quincy
Suite 392
Topeka, Kansas 66603
(913) 295-2745
FAX (913) 295-2748

Hoffmann, Susan D.
3434 Arrowhead Road
Topeka, Kansas 66614
(913) 273-8450
(April 14)

Rose Mary Mong
3059 Maupin Lane #203
Topeka, Kansas 66614
(913) 273-7026
(July 7)

Judy Brown
8924 SE Berryton Road
Berryton, Kansas 66409
(913) 836-2319
(May 15)

KANSAS CITY

636 Minnesota Avenue
Kansas City, Kansas 66101
(913) 371-6108
FAX (913) 371-2403

Ramona Corbin
2100 North 43
Kansas City, KS 66104
(913) 287-1019
(September 6)

Carla Staton
2016 W. 73rd
Prairie Village, KS 66208
(913) 677-2610
(September 13)

Gale Grosch
4160 Carriage Lane
Independence, MO 64055
(816) 373-8468
(December 17)

H. Jordan Whyte
750 North 75th Terrace
Kansas City, KS 66112
(913) 788-5218
(August 24)

WICHITA

Fourth Financial Center
100 North Broadway
Wichita, Kansas 67202
(316) 263-4956
FAX (316) 264-8446

Diana M. Doms
2252 George Washington Dr
Wichita, Kansas 67218
(316) 683-8724
(October 23)

Cathie Yager
341 South Crestway
Wichita, Kansas 67218
(316) 681-3804
(February 8)

Dave Spears
2009 Ventoso Road
Wichita, Kansas 67204
(316) 755-3010
(February 15)

PITTSBURG

P.O. Box 359
310 North Pine Street
Pittsburg, Kansas 66762
(316) 232-2030
FAX (316) 232-2032

Jill Maycumber
719 W 8th
Fort Scott, Kansas 66701
(316) 223-2442
(November 17)

Bush slow to use pardon privilege, granting just 38

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush, urged during his final days in office to pardon former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and others implicated in the Iran-Contra affair, has been stingy with his pardons.

He has used executive clemency only 39 times during his presidency, granting 38 pardons and one commutation out of 1,296 applications received through Sept. 30. He hasn't issued a pardon since July, 1991, U.S. Department of Justice spokesman Matthew Jeanneret said yesterday.

In contrast, Jimmy Carter granted 534 pardons and 32 commutations in his single term, and Gerald Ford issued 382 pardons and 27 commutations in his 2½ years as president.

Mr. Bush does not have to wait for applicants to ask for a pardon.

"The president under Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution has the right to grant clemency without going through normal Justice Department procedures," Mr. Jeanneret said.

Mr. Weinberger, twice indicted by special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh's office, has not sought clemency through the department.

Records show the bulk of Mr. Bush's pardons were extended to individuals convicted of white-collar crimes.

The biggest "name" President Bush pardoned was the late oilman Armand Hammer, in 1989, when he was 91. Mr. Hammer had been convicted of making illegal campaign contributions in a sidelight to the Watergate scandal.

Political analysts thought Gerald Ford's blanket pardon of Richard Nixon after the Watergate scandal cost him the 1976 election.

Former President Ronald Reagan, who granted 393 pardons and 13 commutations, resisted pressure to pardon Iran-Contra figures Oliver

North and Robert Poindexter.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Republican, said at the time it "would take a lot of guts" for Mr. Reagan to absolve his former aides, because pardons in Iran-Contra could be perceived by voters as the final act of a White House cover-up.

During his first term, Mr. Reagan denied pardons to two Watergate principals, Jeb Stuart Magruder and E. Howard Hunt Jr. He pardoned Eugenio Martinez, one of the men who took part in the 1972 burglary of the Democratic Party's offices, described as "perhaps the least culpable" of the Watergate participants.

But before leaving office, Mr. Reagan pardoned New York Yankees baseball owner George M. Steinbrenner III. Mr. Steinbrenner had been convicted and fined \$15,000 in 1974 for an illegal contribution to the 1972 re-election campaign of President Nixon.

Mr. Reagan commuted the prison sentence of former Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel in December 1981. Mandel began serving a three-year sentence in May 1980 after his conviction in a mail fraud and racketeering case.

One of the most controversial pardons in the history of the presidency occurred on Christmas Eve 1921, when Warren Harding pardoned Eugene Debs, three-time Socialist candidate for president, jailed for wartime seditious activity in 1918. He had four more years to serve when he was pardoned, despite the opposition of Harding's Cabinet members. President Woodrow Wilson had refused to pardon Debs.

Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, stepped up pardons of "political prisoners" after the country's controversial participation in World War I. Harding pardoned 27 "Wobblies," members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World.

The Constitution grants the president broad authority to issue par-

A PRESIDENTIAL PARDON SAMPLER

Some of the more notable presidential pardons in U.S. history:

■ George Washington in 1794 pardoned the Pennsylvania corn farmers who tarred and feathered federal revenueurs during the Whiskey Rebellion.

■ Thomas Jefferson pardoned those convicted of violating the Alien and Sedition Acts enacted under John Adams.

■ Abraham Lincoln in 1863 and Andrew Johnson in 1868 proclaimed amnesty for Confederate soldiers and their Northern sympathizers.

■ Andrew Johnson in 1869 pardoned Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who set the broken leg of John Wilkes Booth after he assassinated Abraham Lincoln.

■ Warren Harding in 1921 pardoned Eugene V. Debs, perennial Socialist candidate for president, who was jailed for seditious activity in 1918. Harding pardoned dozens who were jailed under the World War I sedition and espionage laws, including 27 "Wobblies," members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World.

■ Calvin Coolidge freed the few political prisoners Harding didn't pardon.

■ Lyndon Johnson in 1966 pardoned former D.C. drug czar Sterling Tucker, indicted for filing inaccurate income tax returns in the 1950s.

■ Richard Nixon in 1971 pardoned Teamsters union leader Jimmy Hoffa, convicted of jury tampering and fraud, with the condition that he would never again become involved in union activities.

■ Gerald Ford in 1974 granted a "full, free and absolute pardon" to Richard Nixon, forced to resign in the wake of the Watergate scandal.

■ Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter signed amnesties for draft evaders of the Vietnam War.

■ Ronald Reagan in 1989 pardoned New York Yankees baseball owner George Steinbrenner. He had been convicted and fined \$15,000 in 1974 for an illegal contribution to the 1972 re-election campaign of President Nixon.

■ George Bush in 1989 pardoned oil man Armand Hammer, then 91, who was convicted of making illegal campaign contributions in a sidelight to the Watergate scandal.

The Washington Times

dons. The scope of the law was defined in an 1867 Supreme Court decision that involved Augustus Garland, a member of the Confederate Congress from Arkansas who had been granted a full pardon by President Andrew Johnson and was seeking restoration of his right to practice law.

"When a pardon is full," the majority opinion said, "it releases the punishment, and blots out of existence the guilt."

Then one of the nation's leading lawyers, Mr. Garland later served as Arkansas governor and as U.S. attorney general under President Cleveland.

Franklin D. Roosevelt granted 2,721 pardons and 966 commutations in three full terms and a few weeks in office. President Truman

granted 1,911 pardons and 133 commutations. Dwight Eisenhower followed with 1,110 pardons and 4 commutations, and John F. Kennedy gave 471 pardons and 104 commutations before he was assassinated.

Lyndon B. Johnson granted 96 pardons and 227 commutations; Richard Nixon 863 pardons and 6 commutations.

In one of the most renowned commutations, President Nixon commuted the prison sentence of Jimmy Hoffa, former Teamster leader who had been convicted of jury tampering and fraud, in 1971 for what he called humanitarian reasons and Mr. Hoffa's "excellent" prison record.

In 1979 President Carter commuted Patty Hearst's sentence after she served 23 months of a seven-year prison term.

BOB DOLE
KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

November 9, 1992

Mr. Lawrence E. Walsh
Columbia Square
555 Thirteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 701 West
Washington, D.C. 20004

Dear Mr. Walsh:

A number of activities of Mr. James Brosnahan, an employee of your office, have been brought to my attention which cast doubt on the ability of this individual to impartially and fairly conduct the business of your office. I also suspect that there may be additional activities of which I am unaware. Accordingly, it is my opinion that the credibility of your office is severely compromised by the employment of Mr. Brosnahan.

1. It is my understanding that in connection with the nomination hearings of William Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the United States, Mr. Brosnahan testified against the nomination on August 1, 1986 before the Senate Judiciary Committee. It is worth noting that his testimony received bipartisan criticism with one democrat senator stating that "he merely put on a show without contributing any substantive . . . evidence."

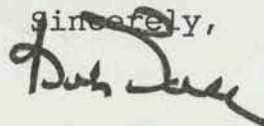
It is also my understanding that in connection with such hearing on August 1, 1986, Mr. Brosnahan testified in response to a question that he has been involved in the democrat party and politics. It is worth noting, among other things, that Mr. Brosnahan was chairman of the Youth for Kennedy in Arizona in 1960 and that he has had lots of involvement in campaigns. It is also worth noting that Mr. Brosnahan was appointed an assistant United States attorney under the Administration of Robert Kennedy.

2. It is also my understanding that Mr. Brosnahan was involved in the defense of a California newspaper -- the Sacramento Bee -- against the libel charge of Senator Paul Laxalt, General Chairman of the Republican Party and National Chairman of the Reagan-Bush re-election campaign at the time of the suit.

3. It is my understanding that Mr. Brosnahan was involved in connection with the preparation of the October 30, 1992 indictment of Caspar Weinberger. As you may know, press reports indicate that Mr. Brosnahan contributed \$500 to the Clinton-Gore campaign and that his law firm contributed \$20,000 to the campaign. Needless to say, the timing of the indictment -- just four days before the November 3rd election -- again raises the issue of whether politics was a factor of the decisionmaking process. In addition, press reports further indicate that the Clinton-Gore campaign released a press release dated October 29, 1992 -- the day before the indictment -- commenting in detail on the indictment raising questions of possible improper disclosure of the indictment to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

As I am sure you will agree, the ability of your office to function is intimately tied to its ability to remain free of political influence or even the appearance of political influence. While I do not know Mr. Brosnahan personally, I have strong reservations over the ability of such an individual to function independently of what would appear to be a strong political bias.

Sincerely,



BOB DOLE

Mr. Dole and Mr. Michel

The aggressive posture of Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole in the days following the election has been a tonic to the Republican opposition who will need such leadership in the months to come if the Republicans are to be an effective force during the Clinton administration.

Mr. Dole sounded just the right note on election night, with the observation that Mr. Clinton had neither a mandate nor coattails as a result of the balloting. Then, on Sunday, Mr. Dole ignited a firestorm by calling for a probe of the office of Iran-Contra special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh. "One thing we ought to do, we ought to investigate and determine whether or not politics played any part in the second Weinberger indictment," which was made public four days before the election. "I would also hope that President Bush would consider pardons for some of these people, including Cap Weinberger."

Such a willingness to confront difficult issues will be required early in the next Senate session — especially should the Democrats move ahead with a plan being discussed in the cloakroom to change the rules on the use of the filibuster. The Democrats may propose to reduce the number of votes required to invoke cloture. The current requirement is 60 votes, but there will be at most 58 Democrats in the new Senate, and the filibuster (or the threat of its use), long the Senate's ultimate guarantor of respect for the minority, is the most important weapon in the Republican arsenal. If there is a way to maneuver, parliamentarily, around this proposal, Mr. Dole should find and execute it. For example, the president of the Senate (Vice President Quayle) might recognize Mr. Dole before Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell when the session opens

in early January, thus enabling Mr. Dole to introduce a rules package consistent with past practice and therefore one that fair-minded Democrats would be loath to oppose.

Mr. Dole's strong performance stands in contrast to that of the other Bob, House Minority Leader Bob Michel. While Mr. Dole made headlines following his Sunday talk show appearance, Mr. Michel, who also appeared on a popular Sunday morning show, did not rate a mention in most of the news dispatches.

For some time now, there has been dissatisfaction within GOP ranks in the House with Mr. Michel's leadership skills. It's also a sentiment being voiced by a number of the large crop of new GOP members. Some of this reflects the long-standing clash between House GOP moderates and more conservative members — but not all of it. Among those new members voicing doubts about Mr. Michel are some who can hardly be classified as bomb-throwers or firebrands.

In any case, strong leadership from the minority leader will be even more in demand with a Democrat in the White House. One might go so far as to argue that Mr. Michel's position is more crucial to GOP fortunes than Mr. Dole's, since Mr. Michel is presiding over a chamber that saw GOP gains despite Bill Clinton's victory.

Mr. Michel struck a deal with House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich in which Mr. Gingrich pledged not to challenge Mr. Michel this time around for the top post. Mr. Michel will get no such deal for 1994, and if his "go along to get along" posture does not change in the interim, he could face a stiff challenge for his post — a challenge that many Republicans will rightly, if reluctantly, back.

Publisher Plans To Step Down

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Nov. 12 — After 43 years in the newspaper business, The Kansas City Star's publisher, James H. Hale, will retire Dec. 31.

Mr. Hale, 65 years old, has headed the Kansas City Star Company for almost 10 years. He will remain chairman but will relinquish day-to-day control. Capital Cities/ABC Inc., which owns the paper, is expected to name his successor by Dec. 1.

During his tenure, the paper spent millions of dollars modernizing its presses and adopting computer systems. Also under him the morning Times and the evening Star merged into a single paper.

The papers also won three Pulitzer Prizes, including one last spring on the United States Department of Agriculture, and one in 1981 for coverage of the Hyatt Regency skywalk disaster, in which 114 people died.

Mr. Hale, a native of Troup, Tex., said he had always wanted a career in newspapers. As a youngster he delivered newspapers and frequented newspaper offices. He later earned a journalism degree at Baylor University in Waco, Tex.

He earned \$45 a week at his first job as a wire editor at a paper in Texarkana, Tex. Eventually he bought a weekly paper in Woodville, Tex.

In 1975, Capital Cities Communications Inc. asked Mr. Hale to direct The Fort Worth Star-Telegram, and 22 months later, he was asked to head The Kansas City Star and The Kansas City Times.

Barr considering Walsh investigation

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Attorney General William P. Barr is considering a request that he appoint an independent counsel to investigate allegations that Iran-Contra prosecutor Lawrence Walsh used his office to embarrass President Bush in the waning days of the 1992 campaign.

Mr. Barr has until Dec. 11 to respond to a request by four GOP members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. In a formal letter, the senators asked whether Mr. Walsh had done anything "illegal, improper or unethical" in bringing the indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger four days before the presidential election.

The attorney general, according to Justice Department officials, also will respond to a separate request for an investigation, made by Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole. The Kansas Republican said Mr. Walsh and his staff may have been involved in "partisanship and election-year manipulation."

Justice spokesman Dean St. Dennis said the formal, written request by Sens. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Alan Simpson of Wyoming, Charles Grassley of Iowa and Hank Brown of Colorado fell under the government's Independent Counsel Act and a response is due by law in 30 days.

"The attorney general also will respond to Mr. Dole's request in due course," Mr. St. Dennis said without elaboration.

The senators say the indictment — alleging that then-Vice President Bush was not "out of the loop" as he has claimed in an alleged arms deal involving efforts to obtain U.S. hostages being held in Lebanon — was a politically motivated act, aimed at hurting the president's re-election bid.

"We have questions whether or not improper political considerations went into the timing of the indictment, and whether improper disclosure of the indictment was made to the Clinton/Gore campaign," the four Judiciary Committee members said in their letter.

Of concern to the senators is an Oct. 30 Clinton-Gore press release attacking Mr. Bush and his alleged Iran-Contra connection. The detailed release was issued less than two hours after the indictment was announced but was dated Oct. 29.

Clinton campaign officials have denied they had prior knowledge of the indictment, and say the Oct. 29 date was an error.

The indictment prompted a new round of charges from Mr. Clinton and denials from Mr. Bush and, according to political insiders, derailed what appeared to be a gain in momentum for Mr. Bush's candidacy.

The indictment was the second of Mr. Weinberger and was based on his notes that place Mr. Bush in a January 1986 meeting in which the alleged arrangement was discussed. It was sought by Mr. Walsh to replace a similar indictment dismissed last month by a federal judge.

Mr. Walsh has denied that politics were involved in his decision to release the indictment.

Critics have said the indictment may have been intended to help move a Democrat into the White House to salvage the independent counsel law, which expires Dec. 15.

According to legislative officials, the law was expected to face a strong challenge but may survive now that Mr. Clinton has won the election.

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FROM The Iola Register

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Idled press corps finds Bob Dole to pick on

Bill Clinton isn't talking. George Bush went fishing. With the White House empty, headlines are hard to come by. That's where Bob Dole came in handy to the Washington press corps this week.

Why not help the senator with some serious advice on how to be a political leader?

Sure. Unless one would rather teach Ross Perot how to make money or lead the Pope into deeper religious faith.

Sen. Dole, the pundits pontificated, shouldn't be so partisan. Really? What kind of party leader is non-partisan?

Dole is now the highest elected Republican public official in the country. Partisanship is his job.

Still the advice spills out: If Dole is too abrasive, too insistent on having his own way, then he won't be an effective leader in the Senate and will be ignored by the Democrats.

The operative words in these complaints are the superlatives. Dole won't be "too" anything. He'll turn in a balanced performance, as he always has in the House and Senate, and continue to be effective with the Democrats while he keeps Republican ranks focused.

No, he isn't perfect. Yes, he takes politics very seriously

and doesn't try to hide the pain and frustration he feels when his party suffers defeat. Passion fuels Bob Dole's engine. Perhaps no one becomes a world-class competitor without it.

If he weren't a Republican of passion, a True Believer, he would not have been on Gerald Ford's ticket as vice-president, served as national chairman of the party or been encouraged to run for the presidency in 1984 and '88.

And if he had not mastered the subtle art of working with the opposition party while offering strong leadership to his own, then those best able to judge his skills and personality would not keep electing him to be their leader.

EDITORIALISTS do no harm by telling Dole how to be a better politician. He'll read their stuff and might even agree with a little of it. But it is instructive to observe that he's a lap ahead of these volunteer advisors.

By the time they told him to cool it, he already had.

"As the leading Republican," he said on Tuesday, "I want President Clinton to succeed and will work with him when his programs are in the best interests of the nation. Where we can't agree, I will offer construc-

tive alternatives to help solve our nation's challenges."

Class A political statesmanship.

Republicans across the nation can rest easy. Bob Dole will give them intelligent, spirited leadership in the U. S. Senate for these next four years.

Angry Republicans tear into leadership for its 'arrogance'

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The first sign of open revolt has broken out among normally docile and loyal Republican state officials fed up with their national party leadership.

"The GOP has controlled the executive branch for the last 12 years.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Unfortunately, today we have little to show for it," six Republican National Committee members said in the bitterly worded Nov. 6 letter to other RNC members.

The letter was signed by three state GOP chairmen — Fred Meyer of Texas, Evelyn McPhail of Mississippi and Craig Berkman of Oregon; and three national committeemen — Ted Welch of Tennessee, Perry Hooper Sr. of Alabama and Ernest Angelo Jr. of Texas.

The insurrection erupted less than 10 weeks before the Jan. 29 election of a new RNC chairman.

Behind the insurrection are long-smoldering resentments among RNC members toward what they see as self-serving, overpaid and out-of-touch GOP leaders and consultants in Washington.

Slamming the "arrogance and disrespect displayed by our own national organization," the signers said RNC members outside the Beltway are intent on heading off the election of any of several Washington insiders competing for the RNC chairmanship.

Mr. Meyer, in an interview yesterday, singled out RNC Chairman Rich Bond as typical of the arrogance of Washington insiders. "He never called me once to ask what we think about anything," Mr. Meyer said.

"If we are to build our party, the individual we select should not have national political ambitions, nor should [he] be committed to a national candidate," the letter said.

The only active campaigners for the RNC chairmanship so far are: Haley Barbour, a veteran RNC member from Mississippi and Washing-



Haley Barbour

ton consultant; Spencer Abraham, executive director of the National Republican Congressional Committee and a former Michigan state GOP chairman and senior adviser to Vice President Dan Quayle; Labor Secretary Lynn Martin, a former congresswoman from Illinois; and former Army Secretary Howard "Bo" Callaway, a former Georgia congressman who served as Colorado GOP chairman after moving to that state.

Mr. Abraham, Mr. Callaway and Mrs. Martin have sent letters to RNC members soliciting support, but the



Rich Bond

angry ones would rule them out as Washington insiders.

Also excluded would be Charles Black, a senior adviser to President Bush's campaign, and retiring Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber, who was co-chairman of Bush-Quayle '92.

Mr. Bond responded angrily to the letter with a letter of his own to Mr. Welch, dated Nov. 10.

"Your letter is loaded with inaccuracies, myths and old truths," Mr. Bond wrote.

Many Republicans interviewed last week seemed intent on rebuilding the party and on avoiding



Lynn Martin

recriminations over the loss of the presidency and setbacks in the Senate, House and gubernatorial elections. The emerging RNC rebellion caught some, especially in Washington, by surprise.

"While we can all point fingers or assign blame after losing the White House, it serves no purpose," Mr. Bond said in his letter. "Frankly, letters such as yours accomplish little, especially when based on little fact and less compassion."

The RNC will hold its annual winter meeting in St. Louis Jan. 28-29 to pick the successor to Mr. Bond.

WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.

The Walsh mess — the central figures of which are Lawrence Walsh and, at this point, the Democratic high command — needs deep moral excavation, the purpose of which is to inquire into just how "wrong" were the alleged crimes.

There is confusion over Irangate and Iraqgate. Here is a rudimentary description of each.

Irangate has to do with two issues. Ronald Reagan told us that he did not know that the Boland Amendment was being circumvented by the effort to funnel funds from the sale of military equipment via Israel to El Salvador for the aid of the contras.

Question: Mr. Reagan is not going to be prosecuted, and his aides Oliver North and John Poindexter have been excused by appeal courts. The opinion is unsettled whether Col. North and Adm. Poindexter were primarily bound by executive loyalty or by congressional fact-finding authority.

It is not going to be settled who is

William F. Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of National Review and a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Walsh mess, getting messier

right on this matter by any further investigation into Irangate. Nor is it absolutely plain whether a commander in chief should be bound in matters of strategic importance by a Congress that operates by fits and starts on the matter of aid to an ally.

We know that there was a division of opinion in Mr. Reagan's Cabinet on whether to make arms available to Iran. George Bush has sworn that he was not privy to the hostage aspect of the Reagan plan except in the vaguest sense: i.e., in return for giving the Iranians much-needed missiles, Mr. Reagan intended to appeal to a more moderate element under the Ayatollah Khomeini, which element, were it to take effective control, would almost certainly release the hostages. Whether Mr. Bush's knowledge was 45 percent of the whole or 55 percent of the whole does not deserve the scrutiny of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Iraqgate has to do with the extent to which we dealt warmly with Saddam Hussein in the months before he invaded Kuwait. It is plain from tons of evidence that we dealt very warmly with him, on the flip side of our dealings with Iran. They call such policy "the balance of forces." One learns about the balance of forces sometime during sophomore year at college. Under the umbrella of balance of forces, terrible mistakes can be made.

We need to turn the historical memory back no further than to our heavy subsidy of Josef Stalin to make this point. But our interest at the time was to defeat Adolf Hitler, and after he was defeated, we were too slow in turning around against Stalin. After the Iran-Iraq War ended, we were too slow to turn around against Saddam Hussein.

But that was bad tactics, not an evil morality play. There may have been some hanky-panky involving

the Italian bank and its branch in Atlanta, but this is small potatoes. By all means, prosecute those who committed crimes. But do not expect that that harvest is going to discredit the Bush administration merely because investigation established that the Bush administration was courting Saddam right up until the last moment. It was. It turned out to be a misjudgment.

So we are going to declare misjudgments illegal? Unconstitutional? That would certainly serve to accelerate term limitations to overnight speed.

What is in fact happening is an effort by Lawrence Walsh, who needs to inform the public now every two or three days that he is a registered Republican, to vindicate the most monumental failure since the last five-year plan of the Soviet Union. One doubts that all the Iraqgate noise of the past few weeks was responsible for the defeat of George Bush. But it certainly had a deleterious effect, primarily because it was projected as scandalous in its implications, even though there simply isn't any scandal in having failed in trying to make balance-of-forces policy.

People would go around whispering: Can it be true that George Bush

was making arms available to Saddam Hussein right up to the last minute? To which the appropriate answer would have been: So what? It was a misjudgment. But who expected Saddam to make war on Kuwait? Who was expecting the economic recession to last so long? Some people don't want presidents, they want clairvoyants.

And then, of course, to re-indict former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger four days before the election can't reasonably be thought to have been an entirely innocent act. And then to hire as prosecutor a California lawyer who is a Jane Fonda-type Democrat, a man who tells us that when driving by the White House during the Gulf war, he felt like getting out of his car and joining the protesters.

James Brosnahan is out to prove that Caspar Weinberger, who opposed the aid to the Contras, lied at a particular meeting in the White House about the presence there of Mr. Bush and the position he took. Zounds. Should we really care?

There are those who hope Mr. Bush will have the courage to grant amnesty to everyone involved in Irangate-Iraqgate and tell Mr. Walsh et al. to go home and mule someone other than the taxpayer.

Gay Rights

Top Military Officers Object To Lifting Homosexual Ban

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13 — President-elect Bill Clinton's commitment this week to lift the ban on homosexuals in the military has drawn strenuous objections from Gen. Colin L. Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other top military officers.

Moreover, their public and private responses to the President-elect's statements suggest that a major confrontation is brewing between Mr. Clinton and the military leadership, one that could sour the new Commander in Chief's relationship with his top officers.

As a result, advisers to Mr. Clinton say he plans to consult extensively with the military commanders before he acts.

Clearly signaling that the military leadership would resist the change, General Powell gave little quarter to Mr. Clinton this week after the President-elect said he would carry out his campaign promise to permit homosexuals to serve in the military.

Judgment by Political Leaders

"This is a judgment that will have to be made by political leaders," General Powell told reporters on Thursday in Argentina, where he was traveling. "The military leaders in the armed forces of the United States — the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the senior commanders — continue to believe strongly that the presence of homosexuals within the armed forces would be prejudicial to good order and discipline. And we continue to hold that view."

The military has dismissed more than 15,000 homosexuals in the last decade to enforce the ban. Senior military commanders acknowledge that tens of thousands of homosexuals already serve in the 1.8-million-member armed forces but that they keep their

sexual orientation secret. The officers say the problem is not that homosexuals are there but that in the absence of the ban they would openly display their homosexuality, possibly undermining morale and discipline.

The issue of allowing homosexuals in the military came up this week when a Federal district judge in California issued a temporary ruling to reinstate Keith Meinhold, a 30-year-old petty officer who was discharged by the Navy in August after he declared his homosexuality on national television.

With the well-known views of the military commanders in mind, William J. Crowe Jr., a retired admiral who is General Powell's predecessor as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and who is now advising Mr. Clinton on military issues, has made it clear to the President-elect that any change in the policy on homosexuals must be done very carefully.

Statement at News Conference

That message was reflected in a statement on Thursday by Mr. Clinton during a news conference. Mr. Clinton said that while he would not change his basic position, he would act "in a way that is most appropriate for the management of the whole national security and military interests of the country."

"I want to consult with a lot of people about what our options are, including people who may disagree with me about the ultimate merits," he said.

The advice Mr. Clinton is getting, calling for careful consultations, is based on the assumption that he will not reverse course no matter what top officers say. There are two reasons: first, his campaign promises on the issue were categorical; second, the courts are moving to ban discrimination against homosexuals in the military.

What Admiral Crowe and others with close ties to the military have told Mr. Clinton, according to people who are watching the developments, is that he faces entrenched resistance among the uppermost ranks and that it would be senseless to offend them by rushing through a policy that some would never embrace.

The position of the generals and admirals was carefully conveyed by General Powell, whose words reflected due deference to Mr. Clinton's ultimate authority but were a clear commitment to maintaining traditional military mores.

Regardless of the debate over the relevance of homosexuality to military performance, many generals and admirals refer to the need to maintain "good order and discipline" in discussing their fears of a change in policy toward homosexuals.

A Marine Corps general who declined to be named said changing the policy "could upset the good order and discipline of the unit." He illustrated his anxiety by describing the scene in a shower after a field exercise.

"We were standing in this shower tent, naked, waiting in line for 35 minutes for a 5-minute shower," he said. "Would I be comfortable knowing gays were there standing in line with us? No. It just introduces a tension you don't need."



Paul Conklin

Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who said military leaders believe "the presence of homosexuals within the armed forces would be prejudicial to good order and discipline."

Ethics

Experts Find Holes in Interpretation of a Clinton Ethics Rule

By JASON DePARLE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13 — With one terse paragraph, Warren M. Christopher, director of the Democratic transition team, seemed to move the group's ethics standards far beyond past practice into a new and stricter realm.

All transition staff members, he said, will be disqualified from "any transition matter that conflicts or appears to conflict" with personal financial interests or those of their families, clients and businesses.

The rule was part of a broader ethics code meant to prevent insiders from trading on their contacts with the Clinton people. It captured the attention of public interest groups because it went beyond past efforts to rein in lobbying.

But no sooner was that rule announced than its interpretation by a Clinton spokesman drew immediate criticism from legal scholars who study ethics codes. They argued that the interpretation rendered the rule virtually meaningless.

For instance: Thomas McLarty, a member of the transition board, is chairman and chief executive of Arkla Inc., a company involved in the exploration, production and transmission of natural gas. Does that mean he should avoid discussions about the next Secretary of Energy?

Not necessarily, said George Stephanopoulos, chief spokesman for the

transition. "It would depend on the level of discussion," he said.

Mr. Christopher's law firm, O'Melveny & Myers, represents such corporate giants as Lockheed, I.B.M., United Airlines and Occidental Petroleum. Does that mean Mr. Christopher should excuse himself from discussing policies of interest to those companies?

Not at all, said Mr. Stephanopoulos, who contended that the connection was too tenuous because Mr. Christopher has announced that he is now uninvolved in his firm's daily affairs.

Only an Advisory Role

And what about Vernon E. Jordan, the transition team's chairman, who is on the board of about a dozen major corporations, including the RJR Nabisco Holdings Corporation, whose subsidiary, the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, makes cigarettes.

Should Mr. Jordan decline to participate in selecting the next Surgeon General, as some anti-smoking groups have suggested?

No, Mr. Stephanopoulos said, adding that Mr. Jordan had resolved any conflict by agreeing not to attend board meetings during the transition. And Mr. Stephanopoulos stressed that Mr. Jordan's transition role was only advisory. "The Governor's making the decisions," he said.

But three legal scholars from divergent viewpoints were not convinced, arguing that the transition team ap-

Curbs on the transition team that don't seem to curb anyone.

peared to be ripping loopholes into its own policy.

Tobacco companies have an interest in increasing cigarette consumption, they say, at the same time that the Surgeon General and other health officials are trying to reduce it.

"It's hard to imagine a clearer potential conflict than the one between his corporate loyalties and his responsibility to the public," said Deborah Rhode, a law professor at Stanford University who has called previous ethics codes lax. "The fact that so many people have perceived a conflict suggests that at the very least there's an appearance of one," she said, a circumstance that is supposed to be covered by the code.

Her comments were echoed by Geoffrey Hazard, an ethics specialist at Yale law school who has argued against the proliferation of formal ethics rules.

"If he's not prepared to say that the selection of the next Surgeon General is of great interest to the tobacco indus-

try, I don't know where he's been," he said.

Stephen Gillers, a law professor at New York University who favors ethics codes, said that if the rule did not disqualify Mr. Jordan from consulting on health matters, "then the rule has no force whatsoever."

The rules do not have the force of law and can only be enforced by the transition team.

The confusion over what the rules mean threw a note of discordance into what was otherwise mostly a chorus of praise by the kind of public interest groups that had supported Mr. Clinton.

Fred Wertheimer, president of the citizens group Common Cause, offered strong praise for the general thrust of the President-elect's ethical concerns, including his stated intention to pass new campaign finance laws and to prevent Government officials from lobbying their former agencies for five years.

"We believe that the initial Government ethics steps taken by Governor Clinton sends an important message to the country about changing the way business is done in Washington," Mr. Wertheimer said.

Mr. Stephanopoulos said that in general the rules would be interpreted most strictly where the potential for financial gain was most clear. He called for a "common sense standard" and said the rules were "breaking new ground." As he had in the past, he

stressed that advisors were merely advising, and that Mr. Clinton held final authority for all appointments.

But others in the same public interest community that had pushed for stricter standards were less sanguine. Michael Pertschuk, co-director of the Advocacy Institute, had high praise for the apparent content of the rules but expressed fear about the way Mr. Stephanopoulos was interpreting them.

"We appear to have a disagreement about what they mean," he said.

As it had earlier in the week, much of today's discussion focused on the role of Mr. Jordan, the transition chairman. Among the senior transition staff, he has the most corporate directorships, and therefore a larger number of potential conflicts than many of his colleagues.

Cause of 430,000 Deaths

In addition, many of Mr. Clinton's supporters in the public interest community are disturbed by his directorship at RJR Nabisco arguing that cigarettes are not just another legal product but the cause of 430,000 deaths a year, by the Government's own estimate.

Kiki Moore, a spokeswoman for Mr. Jordan, said today that he had taken a leave of absence from all of his boards, and would not attend their meetings while serving the transition. She said she did not know whether he would continue to get paid his \$50,000 a year director's fee.

Consumer Optimism Up Sharply, Survey Finds

Spending Rose in October, Separate Report Shows

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

With signs the U.S. economy is improving and the uncertainty of the presidential election removed, consumer sentiment improved sharply early this month, scoring the biggest gain since the end of the Persian Gulf War, according to the University of Michigan's monthly survey of consumer attitudes released yesterday.

Even before the Nov. 3 election, Americans were telling the university's telephone surveyors that current economic conditions were looking up, and they were saying the same about their expectations for the future.

Politicians, business executives and economists have agreed in recent months that whatever the actual shape of the economy, conditions were made even more difficult because consumers, worried about their jobs and incomes, were holding back on spending. The same uncertainty affected businesses in their spending plans.

"The fundamental restraint on the economy is the confidence factor," said Federal Reserve Board member John LaWare a few days ago.

One reason for the lack of confidence, LaWare said, "has been the political uncertainty that has hung over the economy during the presidential campaign. I am not sure but that whichever side won, there would have been some improvement."

The month's preliminary figures showed Michigan's index of consumer sentiment rising a strong 10.3 points from October's reading to reach 83.6, the highest the index has been since the summer of last year. The index, which combines the responses about current and future conditions, was as low as 63.9 in October 1990.

Analysts said the brightening mood among American households was another positive signal that the economy is not about to turn down. But they cautioned that there are still too many negatives, such as the supply of empty office buildings and defense spending cuts, to expect strong economic growth soon.

Supporting the thrust of the Michigan survey was the Commerce Department's report yesterday that consumer spending was on the increase prior to the survey.

Americans spent \$163.3 billion last month at the nation's retail stores, a

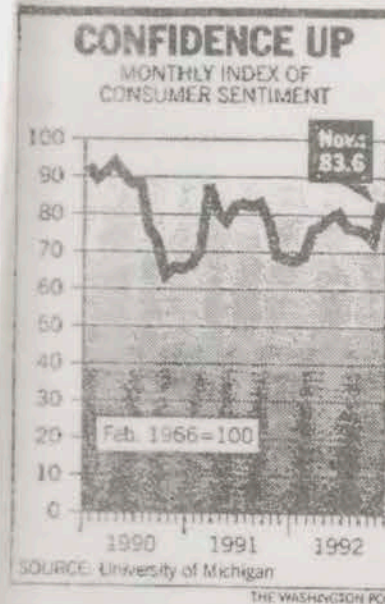
seasonally adjusted increase of 0.9 percent from September, Commerce reported. It was the fourth consecutive monthly gain and left sales 5.7 percent higher than they were a year earlier.

The strongest sales were at automobile dealers and furniture stores. Auto dealers saw their sales rise 3 percent last month on the heels of a 1.2 percent increase the month before.

But in keeping with the repeated ebb and flow of the weak recovery in the U.S. economy, there was also some evidence yesterday that the auto sales upswing may not be continuing.

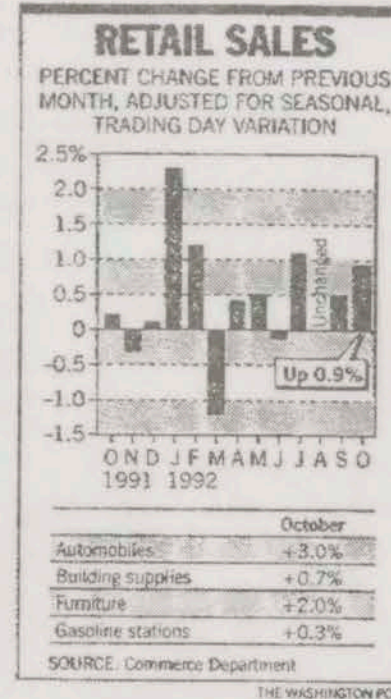
New car sales for the first 10 days of this month dropped from a seasonally adjusted 6.3 million annual rate for last month to only a 5.6 million rate, the weakest 10-day figure since January. However, sales of light trucks, which are a substitute for cars in many households, held up much better, dipping only to a 4.8 million rate from about 5 million last month.

Analysts speculated that one reason consumer attitudes and their willingness to spend may be improving is that they sense job prospects are



brightening. The number of persons filing new claims for unemployment benefits under the two major jobless insurance programs fell to 375,000 late last month, a two-year low, the Labor Department said Thursday.

"There is an improvement in the labor market," said economist Bruce Steinberg at Merrill Lynch & Co. in New York. "That means the economy is moving... and that there are fewer job losses."



"Lending activity has picked up a bit, not a lot, but that is a change," Steinberg said.

He also noted that the money supply, which stubbornly has been increasing less than the Federal Reserve has wished, has started to grow

See SURVEY, C6, Col. 4

SURVEY, From C1

more rapidly in the past two months, a change that may be associated with faster economic growth.

"I think the economy is finally emerging from the doldrums... but we have to be cautious. The outlook is still for an economy that is growing at a subdued pace in '93," Steinberg warned.

Fabian Linden, director of the Consumer Research Center at the Conference Board, a New York-based business research organization that

publishes its own consumer confidence index each month, said, "I am a little bit surprised that the news [from Michigan] is so good, but we have been getting more optimistic readings recently on new claims for unemployment insurance and retailers have been seeing a little bit more life."

He had no November results from the board's survey, which is conducted by mail.

In another recent survey, however, the Conference Board found that

about 43 percent of the respondents have postponed making a major purchase this year.

"Sooner or later some of those postponed purchases must come to the marketplace," Linden said.

Even though the big improvement in consumer attitudes seemed to coincide with the election, Linden said he doubted that was the major reason.

"People respond to their sense of security and insecurity and what is going on in their lives," not election results, he said.

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Dole Says Republicans Will Work With Clinton on Some Issues

KANSAS CITY, Kan. (AP) President-elect Clinton may have more in common with Republicans on some issues than he has with Democrats, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole says.

In an interview with The Kansas City Star on Friday, Dole cited several issues where Republicans agree with Clinton and also said congressional Republicans will not hold up any of Clinton's Cabinet nominations.

For example, Dole said, Clinton supports the line-item veto while Democratic congressional leaders do not. Clinton might have to look for support from Republicans, who support the line-item veto, Dole said.

The Kansas senator said Republicans also would help Clinton enact an investment tax credit for business. Dole said congressional Democrats might go along with that issue as well.

And Dole said Republicans will be reasonable in opposing the Clinton administration.

"We're not out to pick a fight with Clinton, but yet somebody has to speak up and let people know there will be other voices in Congress," he said in an appearance at city hall in Kansas City, Kan.

"They (Democrats) haven't given (President) Bush much of anything the last two years but the back of their hand," Dole said. "We're not going to do that, but you've got to realize that a lot of people didn't vote for Clinton and that 57 percent of the voters voted for somebody else."

Dole said he didn't favor Clinton's plan to reverse several of Bush's executive orders, such as allowing Haitian refugees to stay in the United States and allowing gays to serve in the military.

Dole, who was re-elected last as minority leader, said he and Clinton recently had a long telephone conversation.

Dole said Clinton had asked Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, about him.

"Senator Bentsen said that Bob Dole is tough, he's the Republican leader, a good leader and a man of his word," Dole quoted Clinton as saying.

Foley Offers Clinton a Version of Item Veto

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) yesterday offered separate deals to backers of two major institutional changes he personally opposes: term-limits on lawmakers and a line-item veto for the president.

At a breakfast with reporters, Foley said he would support an early federal court test of the constitutionality of the term limits that have been enacted by 14 states, including his home state. And he offered President-elect Clinton a half-way step toward the line-item veto that Clinton, like President Bush, favors.

The line-item veto would enable a president to single out an individual provision in an omnibus appropriations bill and eliminate it, unless a two-thirds majority in the House and Senate reenacted that provision.

Foley said he would "never" give that much control of the purse to any president.

But he said he would encourage the House to pass an "enhanced rescission authority" for the president, which would enable the president to eliminate an individual spending item unless it was repassed by majority votes—not two-thirds votes—of the

House and Senate. The House passed such a measure in the last Congress but it died in the Senate, Foley said.

As for term limits, which were approved by voters in Washington and 13 other states on Election Day, Foley remained adamant that they are "a bad idea." He said he would offer no encouragement to those trying to get a House vote on a constitutional amendment imposing term limits on every member of the Congress.

But he said he would join proponents of term limits in seeking an early federal court adjudication of the constitutionality of state-imposed limits on congressional tenure. Foley has argued for years that such limits have no force but said he would be willing to help get a ruling on the issue, "so we know the constitutional dimensions of the debate."

This seeming concession on his part was viewed with skepticism by term-limits backers. Jim Coyne, head of Americans to Limit Congressional

Terms, said he thought Foley was "trying to use this constitutional question to delay" a floor debate on a term-limits constitutional amendment.

"I would be happy to move forward with the courts if he'd agree to debate this issue in Congress," Coyne said. "But we're not going to be part of a delaying game."

Coyne said his group and other term-limits backers would seek signatures in January on a discharge petition to bring a constitutional amendment to the floor of the House. "We will put pressure on the 148 representatives from the states that have passed term limits to sign the discharge petition. It would be hypocrisy for them to reject their own voters' instructions. It would be virtual political suicide for them to refuse to let it be debated."

A discharge petition requires signatures from 218 members, a majority of the House, to force a bill out of committee and to the floor for a vote.

What's the Rush on Health Care?

By Henry J. Aaron

Should President-elect Bill Clinton stick to his campaign promise to send Congress a health-care reform plan in the first 100 days of his Administration? Or should he pursue a more measured course? While establishing political momentum is important for a new administration, trying to do so by honoring such a pledge would be ill-advised.

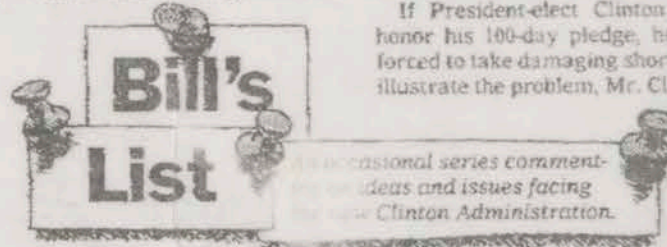
It's a myth that new Presidents must move important legislation fast. Franklin Roosevelt secured passage of the most important law of his Presidency — the Social Security Act of 1935 — more than 800 days after he

took office. Ronald Reagan signed the Tax Reform Act of 1986 halfway through his second term. In contrast, Jimmy Carter's welfare and energy reforms, both fashioned in 100 days, floundered and failed in Congress.

If President-elect Clinton tries to honor his 100-day pledge, he will be forced to take damaging short cuts. To illustrate the problem, Mr. Clinton has

said that those who are not employed and small businesses should be able to purchase insurance from newly created cooperatives that would choose cost-effective insurers and perhaps contract with health-care providers. But such cooperatives don't exist, and designing them will take time.

Mr. Clinton has also embraced the principle of a national cap on health-care spending. Though other countries have imposed such limits, the U.S. has never done so. The Government would have to fashion its own rules, create organizations to enforce the caps and redesign the way providers are paid.



Forget the 100-day promise. An early plan is doomed.

More difficult than the technical problems are the political hurdles. Health care is the largest industry in the U.S. It is crazy to think that a new administration can staff its offices, design a plan, draft legislation and persuade an inexperienced Congress to act fast enough to "blow one by" experienced lobbyists representing clients with huge financial interests.

No health plan, however technically elegant, can succeed politically if it is opposed by a critical mass of large corporations, small businesses, organized labor, physicians, hospitals, pharmaceutical companies, manufacturers of medical devices and insurance companies. Not all of these groups will support any single plan, but any successful program must consider their interests, and they must be part of the negotiating process. Such consultation is essential so that members of Congress can explain to their constituents why they are supporting the President.

Consider small businesses. Most small companies have health insurance for their workers. Yet organizations representing small business oppose Mr. Clinton's reforms, arguing that enforced coverage could bankrupt some businesses or gut profitability.

The concerns are legitimate, but they could be assuaged. Mr. Clinton has said that unduly burdened businesses should be eligible for tax credits. What he hasn't said is how these credits would be constructed and who would be eligible. The process is mostly one of negotiation and political haggling. Doing the job well enough to mute the opposition of small business will take time and patience beyond the constraints of 100 days. The thousands of small companies that populate nearly every Congressional district may never embrace mandatory health insurance. But unless they are dissuaded from all-out opposition, the political prospects of any reform will be clouded.

President Clinton will have to complete the job candidate Clinton started of teaching Americans about the demands of health-care reform. Our physical — and fiscal — health depends on such reforms. To insure that these reforms succeed, the new Administration would do well to remember an old Russian saying, "The more carefully you go, the farther you get." The new variant might well be: "Slow success is better than speedy failure."

Henry J. Aaron is director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution.

SUNDAY
SHOW GUESTS

Meet the Press (CC). Sens. George Mitchell (D-Maine) and Bob Dole (R-Kan.) discuss Clinton and Congress (Channel 4, 10:30 a.m.).

Newsmaker Sunday With Frank Sesno (CC). The Democrats in transition, with DNC Chairman Ron Brown, former Carter press secretary Jody Powell and Bill Moyers, former Johnson official (CNN, 10:30 a.m. and 5:30 p.m.).

This Week With David Brinkley (CC). The topic is gays in the military, with Navy Petty Officer Keith Meinhold, former Navy secretary John Lehman and retired Army National Guard Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer (Channel 7, 11:30 a.m.).

Face the Nation (CC). Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), James Fallows of the Atlantic Monthly and Jim Hoagland of The Washington Post discuss foreign policy (Channel 9, 11:30 a.m.).

11/14/92

13:30

008

North American Free Trade Pact Could Shorten Clinton Honeymoon

Some Democrats in Congress, Labor Oppose Accord as Job Destroyer

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

Whatever honeymoon Bill Clinton enjoys with Congress could turn sour early next year if he chooses to force the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on fractious Democrats who regard the pact as a job destroyer.

The 2,000-page agreement, which envisions a free-trade zone encompassing the United States, Mexico and Canada, lies on President Bush's desk awaiting signature. Bush could sign it at any time beginning Dec. 17, or he could leave it for Clinton's attention. Once signed, the agreement must be submitted to both houses of Congress for approval.

With a confrontation with Europe over agricultural subsidies already simmering, Clinton could find himself embroiled in a full-scale international trade war early next year.

At the same time, he will reacquaint himself with NAFTA and the distaste it inspires in a large number of congressional Democrats who believe the pact will cause a hemorrhage of U.S. jobs to cheaper wages and lax environmental standards south of the border.

Clinton experienced this tension during the fall campaign, temporizing for several weeks before he cautiously endorsed NAFTA while insisting that new "supplemental agreements" on the environment, labor standards and import safeguards be submitted to Congress along with the implementing legislation.

Many Republicans regarded Clinton's position as an attempt to "have it both ways"—reaffirm his stance as a free trader, but without alienating blue-collar supporters and big labor. Clinton was endorsed by the AFL-CIO, NAFTA's most powerful and most vocal opponent.

But a number of Democratic sources said Clinton's stance reflected his desire to retrain the American work force and reorient it toward a competitive future in the international marketplace. In this context, said one knowledgeable congressional source, the free-trade agreement could "serve as a catalyst" for domestic economic development.

By itself, however, this argument is not likely to sway congressional opponents who fear large-scale dislocations could do serious damage to their constituents and to Clinton's position as champion of the recession-ravaged downtrodden.

"We just had a jobs election—that was clearly the overriding issue," said Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.), an outspoken opponent of NAFTA. "Something as... potentially destabilizing as this [agreement] has to be dealt with very carefully."

Bill Cunningham, a lobbyist for the AFL-CIO, predicted "a blood bath" on the floor of Congress. "Bringing this up early [in the Clinton administration] has the ability of attenuating whatever honeymoon there will be."

Others, however, are not so sure. House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.), whose support is



SEN. DONALD W. RIEGLE JR.
... "we just had a jobs election"



REP. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT
... Clinton may answer objections

seen as critical to NAFTA's approval, said that "timing is not as important as substance." What counts, he said, are the additions Clinton makes to the agreement.

Congress last went on record on free trade in early 1991, when both houses voted to extend "fast-track" authority allowing Bush to negotiate the agreement with the assurance that the final product would be approved or disapproved without amendment. Both parties regarded the fast-track vote as a referendum on NAFTA itself.

Republicans generally supported fast-track, while Riegle and other Democratic hard-liners opposed it. A large number of Democratic free-traders, however, led by Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), backed the agreement, as did another Gephardt-led group of more reluctant Democrats. Bush won Gephardt's support by temporarily allaying Democratic misgivings about worker displacement and the environment.

But the agreement that emerged in September was roundly criticized by Bentsen and Gephardt, who demanded that it be renegotiated. Both lawmakers sent emissaries to speak with Clinton before the candidate's Oct. 4 speech in Raleigh, N.C., endorsing the treaty.

In style, Clinton's position hews more closely to the Bentsen line—endorsement of the concept of a North American free-trade zone and no renegotiation of the basic agreement. In substance, however, it encompasses much of what Gephardt charged Bush had ignored.

The Raleigh speech, surprisingly detailed for a campaign stump address, promised unilateral U.S. action to protect its own environment and workers. Clinton also said he would seek three "supplemental agreements" with Mexico and Canada to oversee environmental and worker standards and to develop an enhanced "snap-back" mechanism allowing trading partners to take action if it appeared that whole sectors of one partner's economy could be crippled or destroyed by a sudden surge in imports.

Gephardt said he would still prefer to renegotiate, but believes his objections could be answered "in the way Governor Clinton envisions." It does not appear, however, that the Clinton plan could ever satisfy the hard-liners' major complaint: that in a free-trade zone, jobs and capital must inevitably flow to the partner (Mexico) that has wages substantially lower than the others.

"The bottom line is the economic differential," the AFL-CIO's Cunningham said. "There are things you can do to improve the agreement, but I don't think we can get over that hurdle."

Current thinking holds that Bush, preserving pride of authorship, will sign the agreement, presumably with Clinton's blessing. Clinton will then negotiate the supplementary agreements and other instruments outlined in his Raleigh speech. When these are finished, he will submit the agreement to Congress for approval, a process that could take six to eight months.

Early submission risks antagonism from the congressional hard-liners, but as time elapses, political pressures also increase on Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who has pushed hard for the agreement despite opposition from nationalists reluctant to link their economy to the United States.

Another imponderable is the new Congress. Fast-track passed easily in the Senate in 1991 and, although at least four newly elected senators have expressed opposition to the pact, majority support for an agreement sponsored by a Democratic president seems likely.

The picture is not as rosy in the House, where fast-track passed by a relatively narrow vote of 231 to 192. Next year brings 110 new members, many of whom opposed NAFTA as a bad idea during a recession.

The AFL-CIO endorsed 248 winning House candidates this year, but does not know how many support or oppose the agreement. If there's an early vote next year, it could soon find out.

41 AP 11-13-92 13:40 EST 96 Lines. Copyright 1992. All rights reserved.
PM-Clinton, 5th Id-Writethru, a0548,790<

Clinton Imposes Strict Ethics Rules<

EDS: LEADS with 10 grafs to UPDATE with briefing; picks up 6th graf
pvs, bgng, Later, Clinton...; editing thruout to tighten<

By KAREN BALL=

Associated Press Writer=

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) President-elect Clinton today imposed strict ethics rules upon his transition aides to prevent them from moving into the lobbying world when he takes office or profiting from their transition ties.

"I want to send a signal that we are going to change politics as usual," Clinton told reporters this morning before transition director Warren Christopher outlined the guidelines at a mid-day briefing.

Clinton's ethics rules impose a six-month ban on lobbying for transition aides in any area of government where they had dealings during the transition. Top transition directors will be banned from all lobbying.

In addition, Clinton's transition aides will have to sign financial disclosure reports and pledge they will not engage in any transition activity where they, a family member or a client may have a financial interest.

All transition aides will be under a permanent ban from using non-public information they obtained during the transition for private gain.

"It is designed to ensure that ... (transition aides) will treat their responsibility as a public trust," Christopher said, adding that they should guarantee that "no person trades on his or her work in the transition for private gain."

Any transition aide who violates the rules will be subject to immediate dismissal, Christopher said. Clinton will likely sign an executive order upon taking office to enforce it, Christopher said.

Christopher said the transition team, in setting up the guidelines, tried to balance "the desire to have the best and most knowledgeable" people aboard with the "imperative to ensure that no special interest will have any undue influence" over Clinton's administration.

People with expertise in public health, education, science or technology can seek a "limited waiver" to get around some of the conflict-of-interest guidelines, Christopher said. But he said there wouldn't be many issued and he would give such requests a tough review.

On Thursday, at Clinton's first news conference Thursday since his election, he pledged the strictest code of conduct in history for his administration, and said he hoped it would boost "the credibility of our decision-making."

Later, Clinton is expected to impose a five-year lobbying ban on anyone who takes a job in his administration. Right now, the ban is one year.

Vice President-elect Al Gore, entering the transition headquarters here today, was asked if the new ethics rules would have a significant impact on the way business is conducted in Washington. "Sure," he said. "Because they will be enforced."

Clinton and Gore went from transition headquarters to visit Sen. David Pryor in the hospital where he had heart surgery Thursday. Following a half-hour visit, they shook hands with people in a crowd of several hundred hospital employees and passers-by who gathered outside to greet them.

Clinton's vow of a three-step ethics approach he also plans reform of lobbyist disclosure and campaign finance laws follows a political year in which rivals Ross Perot and Jerry Brown touched a nerve with angry voters by attacking the special interest and lobby circuit of Washington.

Clinton gave the ethics preview during a 40-minute news conference in which he also vowed to quickly reverse President Bush's abortion counseling and Haitian refugee policies, allow homosexuals in the military and create more than a half-million jobs in his first year.

This morning, Clinton and Gore jogged for about 30 minutes from the Arkansas governor's mansion through residential neighborhoods, ending about three miles later at Gore's hotel. They shook hands with some passersby and talked about getting together later for meetings.

Clinton looked rested and confident Thursday, nine days after his Election Day victory as he laid out a crowded agenda for reviving the nation's economy.

Republicans who were his biggest critics during the campaign found little to gripe about in his statements and struck a conciliatory, wait-and-see note.

43 REU 11-13-92 14:07 EST 60 Lines. Copyright 1992. All rights reserved.

BC-CLINTON 1571D (SCHEDULED)

CLINTON ISSUES ETHICS CODE FOR TRANSITION STAFF

By Irwin Arief

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas, Nov 13, Reuter - U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton put his transition staff under a code of ethics on Friday designed to prevent anyone from profiting for private gain by working for him.

"These are by far the strongest, toughest rules ever put forward for a presidential transition," Warren Christopher, the transition director, said in announcing the code.

"Simply put, these standards seek to ensure that no person trades on his or her work in the transition for private gain.

"The American people must be confident that this is their transition and will be carried out in their interest."

Earlier, Clinton spoke following a tour with Vice President-elect Al Gore of the new offices that will house his transition team, telling reporters, "I want to send a signal that we are going to change politics as usual."

Gore said the new ethics rules would make a big difference in Washington "because they will be enforced."

The announcement came a day after the president-elect named Democratic National Committee deputy chairwoman Alexis Herman and Gore campaign manager Mark Gearan as deputy directors of the transition, working under Christopher and transition chairman Vernon Jordan.

Clinton also appointed 16 assistant transition directors including Harvard economist Robert Reich on economic policy, Washington lawyer Samuel Berger on national security matters and longtime Democratic aide Al From on domestic policy.

Christopher said Clinton as president would issue an executive order putting teeth in his ethics rules by guaranteeing enforcement following the transition period.

He said anyone caught violating the rules during the transition would be fired immediately. Those who violated them later would be subject to the presidential order.

He said the code of ethics would have three main rules:

-- During the transition and for six months after, transition members are prohibited from lobbying any federal agency for which "they had substantial responsibility" during the transition of power that ends on Inauguration Day, January 20.

-- Transition members are forbidden from ever using any non-public information for private gain.

-- Transition members are disqualified from involvement in any transition matter that "conflicts or appears to conflict with their personal financial interests or those of their families, clients or businesses."

He said transition members would be required to sign a pledge to abide by these rules.

Christopher said that a transition team member might request a waiver on a given rule under "extraordinary circumstances" and that request would immediately be made public. He said he did not expect many such requests, however.

"The era is over when too many people in Washington sought to gain in some way from their access to power," he said.

Clinton aides said this was the first of a three-part ethics policy which would later include an ethics code for Clinton administration members and a proposal for campaign finance reform.

1

CONTACT: JUDY BROWN
913/295-2745 (O)
913/836-2319 (H)

KANSAS SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE - NOV. 13 - NOV.
15

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13

10:20 A.M. DEPART NATIONAL AIRPORT FOR KANSAS CITY
US AIR FLIGHT #1429

12:04 P.M. AR. KANSAS CITY INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT
MET BY: GALE GROSCH AND MIKE GLASSNER

12:15 P.M. LV. KCI FOR THE PLAZA
DRIVE TIME: 30-35 MINS.

1:00 P.M. AR. AT THE BRISTOL

1:00 P.M. LUNCH - SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE
TO **HAVE MADE RESERVATIONS FOR SIX
2:15 P.M. SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE
Roy Clason
Gale Grosch
Jordan White
Kim Wells

2:15 P.M. JORDAN WHITE, MRS. DOLE AND ROY CLASON
LEAVE THE BRISTOL FOR DOWNTOWN
MUNICIPAL AIRPORT - EXECUTIVE BEEHCRAFT
826/842-8484

DRIVER: JORDAN WHITE
DRIVE TIME: 10 MINS.

2:30 P.M. - WHEELS UP FOR COFFEYVILLE

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED

FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 MINS.

MANIFEST: MRS. DOLE
ROY CLASON

3:10 P.M. - MRS. DOLE ARRIVES IN
COFFEYVILLE

3:30 P.M. - PRESS CONFERENCE

AIRCRAFT WILL DROP MRS. DOLE IN COFFEYVILLE
AND RETURN TO DOWNTOWN MUNICIPAL AIRPORT,
EXECUTIVE BEECHCRAFT, TO WAIT FOR SENATOR
AND MIKE GLASSNER

SENATOR

2:15 P.M. LEAVE THE BRISTOL FOR THE KANSAS CITY
OFFICE

2:30 P.M. KANSAS CITY OFFICE

3:30 P.M. PRESS CONFERENCE - KANSAS CITY, KANSAS
COURTHOUSE -

4:15 P.M. KANSAS CITY OFFICE

6:15 P.M. LV. KANSAS CITY OFFICE FOR DOWNTOWN
MUNICIPAL - EXECUTIVE BEECHCRAFT
816/842-8484

DRIVER: GALE
DRIVE TIME: 15 MINS.

6:30 P.M. WHEELS UP FOR COFFEYVILLE

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED
FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 MINS.

7:05 P.M. AR. COFFEYVILLE AIRPORT

3

COFFEYVILLE AIRCRAFT CO.
316/251-4310

MET BY: JILL

7:00 P.M. COFFEYVILLE - RED CROSS DINNER
TO STUDENT UNION - COMMUNITY COLLEGE
8:30 P.M. 316/251-7700 - EXT. 2055

8:30 P.M. LV. DINNER FOR AIRPORT

DRIVER: JILL

8:45 P.M. WHEELS UP FOR RUSSELL

AIRCRAFT: KING AIR 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: GENE SNYDER
CO-PILOT: TO BE DETERMINED
FLIGHT TIME: 45 MINS.

MANIFEST: SENATOR DOLE
MRS. DOLE
MIKE GLASSNER

9:30 P.M. AR. RUSSELL AIRPORT
AIRPORT MANAGER - 913/48030-6173

RON - RUSSELL
MIKE GLASSNER - WINCHESTER INN
913/483-6660

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

OPEN - RUSSELL

THE CITY VAN WILL BE AVAILABLE ALL DAY

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

8:00 A.M. **TENTATIVE - MEET THE PRESS
WALT AND CLARKSON WORKING ON
DETAILS

10:45 A.M. RUSSELL - CHRISTENING CEREMONY

4

NOON
TO
1:30 P.M.

EARLY THANKSGIVING DINNER WITH THE
FAMILY

1:30 P.M.

LV. RUSSELL FOR HAYS

DRIVER:

2:00 P.M.

WHEELS UP FOR WASHINGTON

AIRCRAFT: FALCON 10

TAIL NO.: N 244 AD

SEATS:

PILOT:

CO-PILOT:

FLIGHT TIME: 2 HRS. 30 MINS.

MANIFEST:

SENATOR DOLE

MRS. DOLE

MIKE GLASSNER

5:30 P.M.

AR. WASHINGTON NATIONAL

MET BY: WILBERT

1

MEMORANDUM
November 12, 1992

TO: SENATOR/JO-ANNE/JOYCE/YVONNE

From: Judy

KANSAS SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE - NOV. 13 - NOV.
15

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13

10:20 a.m. Depart National Airport for Kansas City
US Air Flight #1429

12:04 p.m. Ar. Kansas City International airport
MET BY: Gale Grosch and Mike Glassner

12:15 p.m. Lv. KCI for the Plaza
DRIVE TIME: 30-35 mins.

1:00 p.m. Ar. at the Hyatt - Peppercorn Duck

1:00 p.m. LUNCH - Senator and Mrs. Dole
to **Have made reservations for six

2:15 p.m. Senator and Mrs. Dole
Roy Clason
Mike Glassner
Gale Grosch
Jordan White

2:15 p.m. Jordan White, Mrs. Dole and Roy Clason
leave the Peppercorn Duck for Downtown
Municipal Airport - Executive Beechcraft
826/842-8484

2:30 p.m. - Wheels up for Coffeyville

AIRCRAFT: King Air 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: Gene Snyder
CO-PILOT: To be determined

FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 mins.

MANIFEST: Mrs. Dole
Roy Clason

3:10 p.m. - Mrs. Dole arrives in
Coffeyville

Aircraft will drop Mrs. Dole in Coffeyville
and return to Downtown Municipal Airport,
Executive Beechcraft, to wait for Senator
and Mike Glassner

SENATOR

2:15 p.m. Lv. Peppercorn Duck for the Plaza
Senator, Mike Glassner

DRIVER: Gale

2:30 p.m. Arrive Plaza Area - Shop

Options before or after shopping
would be to stop by the Westin Crown
Center - FFA Convention, or the
American Royal. Gale will have a
schedule of events for both.

5:00 p.m. MEET with Kim Wells at his office
to on the Plaza (per Mike Glassner)

5:45 p.m.

5:45 p.m. Lv. Kim's office for Downtown Municipal
Airport, Executive Beechcraft

DRIVER: Gale
DRIVE TIME: 15 mins.

6:00 p.m. Wheels up for Coffeyville

AIRCRAFT: King Air 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: Gene Snyder
CO-PILOT: To be determined
FLIGHT TIME: 35-40 mins.

3:30
Dinner

Way
Hawkins
Jain
lunch

6:40 p.m. Ar. Coffeyville Airport
Coffeyville Aircraft Co.
316/251-4310

MET BY: Jill

7:00 p.m. COFFEYVILLE - Red Cross Dinner
to Student Union - Community College
8:30 p.m. 316/251-7700 - Ext. 2055

8:30 p.m. Lv. dinner for airport

DRIVER: Jill

8:45 p.m. Wheels up for Russell

AIRCRAFT: King Air 90
TAIL NO.: 7228Y
SEATS: 6
PILOT: Gene Snyder
CO-PILOT: To be determined
FLIGHT TIME: 45 mins.

MANIFEST: Senator Dole
Mrs. Dole
Mike Glassner

9:30 p.m. Ar. Russell Airport
Airport Manager - 913/48030-6173

RON - Russell
Mike Glassner - Winchester Inn
913/483-

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

Senator-

I have checked around Russell, (Hays, Great Bend, and Salina), and the big event in Western Kansas seems to be that pheasant season opens this weekend.

The only options I have found for Saturday, are the ones I sent you earlier in the week, and would all necessitate your using the airplane.

12:30 p.m. LAWRENCE - Pre-game brunch at Chancellor Budig's residence - Lamar Hunt will be there.

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

2:30 p.m. LAWRENCE - KU vs. Colorado - Chancellor would seat you next to Lamar Hunt.

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

OPTIONS

9:00 a.m. KANSAS CITY - Seventh FFA Convention
to
Noon Session

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

2:00 p.m. KANSAS CITY - Closing Session - FFA
to
4:00 p.m. Convention

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

OR

ATTEND AMERICAN ROYAL

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

8:00 A.M. **TENTATIVE - MEET THE PRESS
Walt and Clarkson working on
details

10:45 a.m. RUSSELL - Christening ceremony

NOON Early Thanksgiving dinner with the
to
family

1:30 p.m.

1:30 p.m. Lv. Russell for Hays

DRIVER:

5

2:00 p.m. Wheels up for Washington

AIRCRAFT: Falcon 10

TAIL NO.: N 244 AD

SEATS:

PILOT:

CO-PILOT:

FLIGHT TIME: 2 Hrs. 30 mins.

MANIFEST:

Senator Dole

Mrs. Dole

Mike Glassner

5:30 p.m. Ar. Washington National

MET BY: Wilbert

*Baker
Leavin
Michel
Monday
(3:00 a
3 300 1
400*

MEMORANDUM
November 5, 1992

TO: SENATOR/JO-ANNE/JOYCE/YVONNE

From: Judy

KANSAS SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR AND MRS. DOLE - NOV. 13 - NOV.
15

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13

40 minutes
10:20 a.m. Depart National Airport for Kansas City
US Air Flight #1429

12:04 p.m. Ar. Kansas City International airport
2:30

*Let
fly*
**Since Mrs. Dole doesn't have to be in Coffeyville until
4:00 p.m., she will have some down time as well. If you
wanted, you would probably have time to have lunch on the
plaza before you take her on to Coffeyville.

Also, the American Royal will be going on in Kansas City, as
well as the FFA National Convention. The FFA National
Leadership Dinner is at 5:00 p.m. They have a keynote
speaker, but you could probably stop by and make remarks if
you wanted. I do not have a schedule for the American
Royal, but will get details of whats going on if you are
interested.

FFA CONVENTION

Interested___ Not Interested___

AMERICAN ROYAL

Interested___ Not Interested___

OPEN INVITATIONS

Visit U.S. Sprint - talk to employees
Request from Bill Esrey.

INTERESTED___ NOT INTERESTED___

*1:45 from DC
5:05 direct
flight*

ehd has to be there at 4:00

Request from Daniel Lambert, President
of Baker University, to visit the school
and address student body.

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

Mrs. Dole

4:00 p.m. COFFEYVILLE - Tour of Coffeyville Red Cross
to Chapter
5:00 p.m.

5:30 p.m. - Reception at the Brown Mansion
to
6:30 p.m.

7:00 p.m. Dinner

RON - Russell

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

12:30 p.m. LAWRENCE - Pre-game brunch at Chancellor
Budig's residence - Lamar Hunt will be
there.

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

2:30 p.m. LAWRENCE - KU vs. Colorado - Chancellor
would seat you next to Lamar Hunt.

INTERESTED _____ NOT INTERESTED _____

OPTIONS

9:00 a.m. KANSAS CITY - Seventh FFA Convention
to Session
Noon

INTERESTED____ NOT INTERESTED____

2:00 p.m.
to
4:00 p.m.

KANSAS CITY - Closing Session - FFA
Convention

INTERESTED____ NOT INTERESTED____

OR

ATTEND AMERICAN ROYAL

INTERESTED____ NOT INTERESTED____

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

10:45 a.m. RUSSELL - Christening ceremony

**I received a call from Carl Peterson's office regarding the possibility of you attending the Chief/Redskins game on Sunday, November 15. The game starts at noon -- if you are interested, Mr. Peterson will make all the necessary arrangements.

NOON

KANSAS CITY - Chief/Redskins football game

(?)

Leave Kansas City for Washington (?)

*Return to
D.C. ~ 2 P.M.
Jan 20*

*already
on
2:00 pm
flight*

*Jo Anne getting private
plane*

MEMORANDUM
November 10, 1992

TO: SENATOR/JOYCE

From: Judy

Re: Aircraft costs

Following are the costs for the King Air 90 out of Kansas City, and the Cessna 414 out of Wichita. Since I do not know exactly where you want to go, other than Coffeyville, on Friday, or what you want to do Saturday, I had to sort of manufacture a schedule. The costs quoted are from Kansas City to Coffeyville, Coffeyville to Russell, overnight in Russell; Saturday, Russell to Lawrence (?), Lawrence to Russell; Sunday, Russell to KCI.

King Air - \$4,175 - plus lodging and meals for pilots

Cessna 414 - \$4,914.18

MEMORANDUM
November 10, 1992

TO: SENATOR/JOYCE

From: Judy

Re: National Association of Farm Broadcasters
Convention at the Westin Crown Center November
12, 13, and 14.

The National Association of Farm Broadcasters will be meeting in Kansas City on Friday and Saturday. They expect an attendance of 600-700. There are various meetings and activities going on all day Friday, and Saturday morning. There is nothing Saturday afternoon but a Associate Members Sports Bar, but there is a reception at 6:00 p.m., and the President's banquet at 6:45.

If you are interested, I will try to arrange a convenient time, either Friday or Saturday.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FARM BROADCASTERS

INTERESTED_____

NOT INTERESTED_____

FRIDAY_____

SATURDAY_____

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November 10, 1992

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From: Judy

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If you are interested, I will try to arrange a convenient time, either Friday or Saturday.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF FARM BROADCASTERS

INTERESTED____

NOT INTERESTED____

FRIDAY____

SATURDAY____

MEMORANDUM
November 10, 1992

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King Air - \$4,175 - plus lodging and meals for pilots

Cessna 414 - \$4,914.18

12. 8.

Joyce. as discussed.

Inserts & books
went to Gale -
Win

"GLASS

BREAKTHRU™
UNLIMITED

WITH A CAUSE!"



VISION BEYOND THE GLASS CEILING

We strive for excellence,
Yet, at times we may not see
that invisible barrier to our advancement...
The Glass Ceiling!
It takes belief in ourselves and
A leap of faith.
For then we make a difference and
reach our vision of
Breakthru! . . . Beyond the Glass Ceiling!



Vivian L. Shimoyama

It is our hope that these visual representations will be your vision, special feeling, conversation piece, and encouragement to strive for excellence while breaking through the invisible barriers. After all, the mission of BREAKTHRU UNLIMITED is to encourage people to be aware of those issues that impose barriers, to build communication between people in order to support others in their efforts to breakthrough barriers, and to encourage people to take action -- "A Leap of Faith!" to bring about change.

We offer an expanded line of glass artwork and a national newsletter to encourage people to "BREAKTHRU" barriers. With your BREAKTHRU membership you will receive a 'glass' gift, a premiere issue and quarterly newsletters, advance notice of new products, and a gift certificate for future purchases. A portion of the proceeds will go to organizations that work towards the advancement of women and children.

To you — Much success, a lifetime of accomplishments, and that very special feeling that says, "Breakthru! . . . We are Beyond the Glass Ceiling!"

The glass ceiling n. 1. a euphemism describing the invisible barrier, enabling women and minorities to glimpse, but not obtain, high-level positions in all walks of life (e.g. business, political leadership, arts, sports, medicine, media, education, technology, etc.)

"GLASS WITH A CAUSE!"

It all started with a line of glass jewelry designed to encourage people of the future: to breakthrough the invisible barrier . . . The Glass Ceiling! Wanting to do something positive for the women's movement, Vivian Shimoyama created a collection of "BREAKTHRU!" products -- glass jewelry and desk accessories. This artwork worn and displayed by many prominent women and men across the U.S. is fast becoming a mission in itself.

BREAKTHRU UNLIMITED was founded by Vivian to bring about awareness of the invisible barriers that we all face. This "Glass with a Cause!" is unique, meaningful, handcrafted by women, and made of various types of glass. The technique of glass fusion uses broken pieces of glass that are fused back together again. In addition, for those pieces with trim we use the finest metals -- 22K gold or platinum.

Breakthrough n. \ BREAKTHRU \ 1. an act or instance of breaking through an obstruction 2. a very important advance or discovery!

BREAKTHRU™
UNLIMITED

1219 Morningside Drive, Manhattan Beach, California 90266
(310) 545-5375

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY, STATE, ZIP _____
TEL () _____ FAX () _____

| Style | Cost | Quantity | Total |
|---|---------|---|-------|
| 1 BREAKTHRU!™ (Brooch, clear iridescent) | \$40.00 | | |
| 2 BREAKTHRU!™ (Brooch, black iridescent) | \$40.00 | | |
| The Glass Ceiling ... | | | |
| 3 SHATTER IT!™ (Brooch, clear) | \$40.00 | | |
| 4 YOU'RE A SMASH!™ (Tack Pin, clear irid.) | \$16.00 | | |
| 5 BREAKTHRU!™ (Earrings, triangle/clear irid.) | \$45.00 | CLIP-ON <input type="checkbox"/> POSTS (STERLING SILVER) <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 6 BREAKTHRU!™ (Earrings, square/clear irid.) | \$45.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 7 BREAKTHRU!™ (Earrings, triangle/black irid.) | \$45.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 8 BREAKTHRU!™ (Earrings, square/black irid.) | \$45.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| The Glass Ceiling ... | | | |
| 9 SHATTER IT!™ (Earrings, square/clear) | \$45.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 10 YOU'RE A SMASH!™ (Earring, clear irid.) | \$28.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 11 NECKLACE | \$84.00 | | |
| 12 PAPERWEIGHT | \$45.00 | | |
| 13 PICTURE FRAMES: | | 22K* <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 3 1/2 x 5 | \$38.50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 4 x 6 | \$48.50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 5 x 7 | \$58.50 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| 8 x 10 | \$74.00 | <input type="checkbox"/> | |
| * (Add \$6/frame for 22K trim glass chip) | | | |
| 14 BREAKTHRU Membership | \$15.00 | | |
| Shipping & Handling Charges (Per Address) | | SUB TOTAL: | |
| To \$100 | \$4.00 | CA Shipping Address, | |
| \$100.1 - \$250.00 | \$6.50 | Add 8.25% Sales Tax | |
| \$250.01 - \$450.00 | \$9.50 | Shipping & Handling | |
| ALLOW 3-6 WEEKS FOR DELIVERY | | TOTAL: | |

PLEASE MAKE CHECK OR MONEY ORDER PAYABLE TO: BREAKTHRU UNLIMITED

BREAKTHRU UNLIMITED: 1219 Morningside Drive, Manhattan Beach, Ca 90266

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

Dec. 4, 1992

Senator,

You are scheduled to speak
between 9:45 and 10:00 (for 5
minutes -- or more if you like).
Lots of press coverage is expected.
Call me if you have any questions.

Jim

12/4 GLASS CEILING SITE HEARING WORKING AGENDA
11:00 a.m. TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1992
 KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

8:50 a.m. Secretary Martin's plane arrives Kansas City and
proceeds enroute:

City Council Chambers
City of Kansas City
City Hall
701 North 7th Street
Kansas City, Kansas 66101
913/573-5333 (office of Mr. Maurice Larson,
Director of Facilities Management). His
people can get message to Chamber attendees.

9:00 a.m. Glass Ceiling Commissioner Joanne Collins calls the
hearing to order and introduces Virginia Guzman,
Regional Economist for the two region Bureau of
Labor Statistics

9:02 a.m. Virginia Guzman commences Bureau of Labor Statistics
Overview

A. Regional workforce breakdown

1. total employment
2. # of minorities and women employed
 - a. # and/or % of minorities and women and
in management and decisionmaking positions

B. Overview of Major Employers in Region

1. total employment per company
2. total # of minorities and women employed
per industry
3. # and/or % of minorities and women in management
and decisionmaking positions per industry

C. Regional workforce breakdown for the beginning of the
21st Century

Total employment
Total # and/or % of minorities
Total # and/or % of women

D. Mike Haughton, Lee & Burgess & Associates (Executive
search firm) "Recruiting for Kansas City area"

2.

Tuesday, December 8, 1992

9:30a.m. Secretary Martin arrives City Council Chambers and is introduced by Glass Ceiling Commissioner Joanne Collins

9:32 a.m. The Secretary's welcoming remarks

9:42 a.m. Witnesses commence testimonies

Bob Dole - btw. 9:45 - 10:00; 5 min.

III. TOPIC: Access to Entry-level Positions

Witnesses:

*Shirley Martin-Smith - Adia (Executive Search Firm)

*Mrs. Laura Ruffin, Vice President, Greater Kansas City Urban League (representing Dr. William Clark, President, Greater KC Urban League)

*Mr. Albert Myers, Director of Career Advisement, Planning & Placement, Thompkins Center, Lincoln University, Jefferson City

*Dr. Bob Martin, President, Haskell Institute

*Professor Sam Adams, School of Journalism, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

*Ron Griffin, Professor of Law, Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas

Anecdotal Witnesses:

*Ms. Stacey Galary, lawyer

*Ms. Gloria J. Abercrombie

IV. TOPIC: Minorities and Women on the Job: Advancement Opportunities?

Witnesses:

*Linda G. Cooper, LGC Associates

* = confirmed

3.

Witnesses: con't

*Dr. Jacob Gordon, Executive Director, Institute for Black Leadership, Development and Research, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

*Lynn E. Bertuglia, P.E., Chair, National Society of Professional Engineers Women in Engineering Task Force

*Dr. Sue McDaniel, Executive Director, Women's Council on Economic Development

*Carolyn Elman, Executive Director, American Business Women's Association

*Krista Rogers, President, Kansas City Chapter of Women in Communications, Inc.

*Mrs. Ruth Margolin, Executive Director, Women's Center, University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri

*Ms. Bobbi Herring, Executive Director, Central Exchange

*Mr. Louis Smith, President of Allied-Signal Aerospace Company

*Ms. Connie Swartz, Chairperson, Women in Technology Network of the Silicon Prairie Technology Association

*Mr. M.C. Richardson, Chairman, United Minority Media Association, Kansas City, Missouri

*Glenn Rice, Vice President for Print, K.C. Chapter, Nat'l Assn. of Black Journalists

Anecdotal Witnesses:

*Dr. Michelle Stearn, former assistant professor. Currently at Black & Veath

*Ms. Diane Bliss

*Lowell Pride, Sales & Marketing Manager, The Heartland Review Minority Journal, Omaha World Herald

* = confirmed

4.

Anecdotal Witnesses: con't

*Annalisa Miranda, former employee of Corning Fiberglass.
Currently with K.C. school district

*Angela Bennett, lawyer

*Monica Nightingale-Hawkins, Vice President of Marketing &
Promotions for AA Productions. Former Executive News Producer
for several NBC affiliates and News Anchor. Also worked in
radio.

*Mr. Richard Morris, McDonalds fast-food chain, Kansas City,
Kansas

*Ms. Vicki Bowers, MCB Construction Specialists, Inc.

INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS THAT WORK:

*INROADS/Kansas City, Inc. (Mrs. Twana Hall Combs, Managing
Director)

*IDS Financial Services, Inc. (Ms. Bridget Sperl)

*Kauffman Foundation (Bob Rogers, President)

*Hyatt Regency Hotel (Kim Rose, Director of Human Resources)

* = confirmed

Glass Ceiling Commission

Membership

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Chair | 1. Secretary Lynn Martin | |
| Appointed by the President | 2. Patricia V. Asip 3. J Alphonso Brown 4. Joanne M. Collins 5. Delia M. Reyes 6. Henry Tang 7. Carol Cox Wait | |
| Majority Leader-House | 8. Judith B. Wierciak | (Gephardt) |
| Minority Leader-House | 9. Lynne O'Shea | (Michel) |
| Majority Leader-Senate | 10. Joanne D'Arcangelo | (Mitchell) |
| Minority Leader-Senate | 11. Marilyn Pauly | (Dole) |
| Members of Congress Jointly by House Leaders | 12. Rep. Susan Molinari (R) 13. Rep. Nita Lowey (D) | (Michel) (Gephardt) |
| Senators Jointly by Senate Leaders | 14. Sen. John Seymour (R) 15. Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D) | (Dole) (Mitchell) |
| Individuals Jointly Appointed by Speaker of the House and Majority Leader of the Senate | 16. Marion O. Sandler 17. Maria Contreras Sweet 18. Earl G. Graves 19. Jean Ledwith King 20. Judith Lorraine Lichtman 21. Beverly A. King | (Mitchell) (Mitchell) (Mitchell) (Foley) (Foley) (Foley) |

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
20210

Glass Ceiling Commission Members

The Honorable Lynn Martin, Chair

Dec. 8 -
RSVP
list

yes
Mrs. Patricia V. Asip
National Manager of Special Segment Marketing
J. C. Penney Company, Inc.
P.O. Box 10001
Dallas, Texas 75301-3108

214-431-4146 Fax: 214-431-9481

Ms. Beverly A. King
President
King & Wright Consulting, Inc.
11520 W. Jefferson, Suite 219
P. O. Box 7742
Culver City, California 90230

310-398-9670 Fax: 310-398-7891

yes
Mr. J. Alphonso Brown
Brown Consulting Groups
455 South Fourth Avenue, Suite 1490
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

502-585-5600 Fax: 502-585-2917
800-628-3319

Ms. Jean Ledwith King
255 East Liberty Street, Suite 277
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

313-662-1334 Fax: 313-662-8733

yes
Mrs. Joanne M. Collins
Assistant Vice President
United Missouri Bank of Kansas City
1010 Grand Avenue
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

816-860-7959 Fax: 816-860-4838

Ms. Judith L. Lichtman
President
Women's Legal Defense Fund
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Suite 710
Washington, D. C. 20009

202-986-2600 Fax: 202-986-2539

yes
Ms. Joanne D'Arcangelo
Director of Development
Family Planning Association of Maine
P.O. Box 587
Augusta, Maine 04332-0587

207-622-7524 Fax: 207-622-0836

The Honorable Nita M. Lowey
U. S. House of Representatives
Room 1313, Longworth Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

202-225-6506 Fax: 202-225-0546

no
Mr. Earl G. Graves
President and Chief Executive Officer
Earl G. Graves, Ltd.
130 Fifth Avenue, Tenth Floor
New York, New York 10011-4399

212-242-8000 Fax: 212-886-9615

The Honorable Barbara A. Mikulski
United States Senate
Room 320, Hart Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

202-224-4654 Fax: 202-224-8858

- 2 -

No
The Honorable Susan K. Molinari
U. S. House of Representatives
Room 315, Cannon Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

202-225-3371 Fax: 202-226-1272

No
The Honorable John Seymour
United States Senate
Room 367, Dirksen Building
Washington, D. C. 20510

202-224-3841 Fax: 202-224-9621

yes
Dr. Lynne O'Shea
Vice President for Business/Development
Gannettwork
444 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60611

312-527-0550 Fax: 312-527-9019

yes
Mrs. Maria Contreras Sweet
Vice President of Public Affairs
Seven-Up Royal Crown Bottling Company
3220 East 26th Street
Vernon, California 90023

213-268-7779 Fax: 213-262-1348

yes
Mrs. Marilyn B. Pauly
Executive Vice President for
Wichita Trust Division
Bank IV Kansas
100 North Broadway
Wichita, Kansas 67202

316-261-4433 Fax: 316-261-2111

yes
Mr. Henry Tang
Vice President
Salomon Brothers
7 World Trade Center, 40th Floor
New York, New York 10048

212-783-6600 800-228-8264 Fax: 212-783-2175

yes
Mrs. Delia M. Reyes
Vice President and Co-Owner
Adrian Research and Reyes Consulting Groups
13740 Midway Road, Suite 702
Dallas, Texas 75244

214-980-0242 Fax: 214-385-7745

yes
Mrs. Carol Cox Wait
President and Chief Executive Officer
Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget
220-1/2 "E" Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

202-547-4484 Fax: 202-547-4476

yes
Mrs. Marion O. Sandler
President and Chief Executive Officer
World Savings and Golden West
Financial Corporation
1901 Harrison Street
Oakland, California 94612

510-446-4144 Fax: 510-893-9207

No
Ms. Judith B. Wierciak
Director of Special Programs and Administration
Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.
One Busch Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63118

314-577-4800 Fax: 314-577-4476

Tish Leonard, Executive Director
Glass Ceiling Commission
U. S. Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20210

202-219-8271 Fax: 202-219-6161

Revised 11/24/92

Labor Department Regional News Clips

REGION VII - KANSAS CITY
TUESDAY DECEMBER 1, 1992



KC Star Tuesday 12-1-92 P. A1 + 7

Blocked by 'glass ceiling'

**KCK hearing set
on barriers women
face in workplace.**

By JOYCE E. SMITH
Staff Writer

Diane Bliss said she was paid 30 percent to 50 percent less than men in similar positions by her former Kansas City employer, a Fortune 500 company.

Now she's ready to tell the federal government her story — how she bumped into the "glass ceiling."

"It was a very closed environment. One of the first social activities I attended at the company was an evening of basketball and strip joints," said Bliss, who has been self-employed since leaving the company in 1990.

Bliss will be among those testifying in Kansas City, Kan., next week at the first of six or seven public hearings of the Glass Ceiling Commission nationwide. U.S. Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin will preside at the hearing.

The hearing will begin at 9 a.m. Tuesday in the City Council Chambers at City Hall, 701 N. Seventh St., Kansas City, Kan.

People who are interested
See **WOMEN, A-7, Col. 1**

Women set to describe job barriers

Continued from A-1

in testifying should call the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department at 426-6108.

The 21-member commission was established by the Civil Rights Act of 1991. A report on the initial hearings, at least, will be given to Congress and the nation's new president in February. A final report is expected by early 1994.

Several women, minorities and organizations plan to testify on the invisible and impenetrable barriers to executive positions they say they've encountered at area corporations. Bliss, who still does marketing work for her former employer, plans to identify the Fortune 500 company at the Kansas City, Kan., hearing.

"When I told my boss I was interested in becoming a manager, he said he didn't envision a woman manager in his lifetime," Bliss said. "I wasn't prepared to deal with the things I encountered. The onslaught of these things on a daily basis is a just a real drain on your energy and your enthusiasm for your job."

"The Glass Ceiling Commission selected Kansas for the site of the first hearing because U.S. Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas pushed for passage of the legislation."

"I believe that it is high time for the glass ceiling to meet the same fate as the Berlin Wall," Dole said.

According to the commission, women and minorities make up about half of the nation's work force but only 5 percent have management and decision-making positions.

The Kansas City, Kan., hearing will include an overview of regional work force demographics, discussions of barriers confronting women and minorities, and programs that are combating those barriers.

Rose Kemp, regional administrator of the Women's Bureau, said: "The public hearings will provide an expert point of view, a perspective the commission would not otherwise have from just a study. We're ignoring a majority of our human resources, and that's morally incorrect and could be financially fatal."

Jacob Gordon, executive director of the Institute for Black Leadership, Development and Research at the University of Kansas, will speak on the need for blacks to be included in the glass-ceiling initiative.

Ruth Margolin, director of the Women's Center at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, will cover several areas in her testimony, including women in academia and the lack of networking opportunities for working women.

Women and minorities who are reluctant to testify because they fear repercussions at work can provide anonymous written reports to the Women's Bureau.

'Glass Ceiling' Stories?

★ **TOUCH 3135**

If you've had any experience with the "glass ceiling," we'd like to hear about it. Please call (816) 889-7827 and enter 3135 to leave your comments.

Glass ceiling panel starts out in Kansas

If you want to do something right, Kansas is the place to start. We all know that.

But it's nice to see the Washington bureaucracy picking up on it.

Kansas, it turns out, will host the first field hearing of the Glass Ceiling Commission — the special national task force that is looking into barriers to women and minorities in the business world.

It's the 21-member commission that includes Wichita's own Marilyn Pauly, executive vice president and manager of Bank IV's trust division. The 1991 Civil Rights Act mandated the commission, headed by Labor Secretary Lynn Martin. Commission members, who were named in September, met in Washington in October and agreed they wanted to talk to employers and employees around the country. Hence, the field hearings.

The first hearing has been scheduled for Dec. 8 in City Council chambers at 701 N. Seventh on the Kansas side.

It'll be a daylong affair, according to Tish Leonard, who's serving as executive director for the commission in Washington.

"We're still developing the agenda. We'll be inviting certain people we want to hear from — human resources people, executive-search firm people. We'd like to hear from some people in academia and in the media," Leonard said.

The commission wants to hear from any sectors where employers or employees feel there are glass ceilings — you may not be able to see them, but they're solid as steel — that put a lid on women and minorities when it comes to job advancement.

After the Kansas City hearing, there will be others in Atlanta, Boston, Dallas, New York and Los Angeles next year.

Leonard figures the commission should be able to come up with a report by the end of next year. Notwithstanding the field hearings, much of the commission's work calls for new research studies.

If you're interested in the Kansas City hearing, here's the word — you'll probably be limited to five minutes, although you can submit as much written material as you want. Write to Tish Leonard, Executive Director, Glass Ceiling Commission, U.S. Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Ave., Washington, D.C. 20210.

Wichita
Eagles

mon. 11-23-92
P. 3D

**REMARKS OF
SENATOR BOB DOLE
PUBLIC HEARING OF THE
GLASS CEILING COMMISSION
DECEMBER 8, 1992**

- **THANK YOU FOR THAT KIND
INTRODUCTION.**
- **ONE OF THE BEST PARTS
OF MY JOB IS SEEING THE**

**RESULTS OF THE LAWS WE
PASS. ACTUALLY,
SOMETIMES THAT'S GOOD
NEWS AND SOMETIMES
THAT'S BAD NEWS.**

- **IN THIS CASE, IT IS GREAT
NEWS! WE HAVE A VERY
DISTINGUISHED
COMMISSION BEFORE US
AND AN IMPRESSIVE LIST**

**OF WITNESSES WHO WILL
SHARE THEIR PERSPECTIVE
ON THE GLASS CEILING.**

- **TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THIS
TYPE OF HEARING IS THE
FIRST OF ITS KIND, AND I'M
PLEASED TO BE PART OF
THIS "GROUND BREAKING."**
- **I KNOW MY WIFE,
ELIZABETH, WOULD LOVE**

**TO BE HERE FOR THIS IS AN
ISSUE TO WHICH SHE IS
STRONGLY COMMITTED.**

- **AS YOU ALL KNOW, THE
GLASS CEILING
COMMISSION WAS
ENACTED AS PART OF THE
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1991
JUST OVER A YEAR AGO.**
- **THE SENATE VOTE ON THE**

**AMENDMENT CREATING THE
COMMISSION WAS
UNANIMOUS. IN MY BOOK,
THAT SPELLS A REAL
MANDATE FOR THE WORK
OF THIS DISTINGUISHED
GROUP.**

- **WE HAVE LAWS ON THE
BOOKS THAT MAKE
DISCRIMINATION ILLEGAL**

**AND PUNISH THOSE WHO
BREAK THE LAW.**

- **WE NEED TO DO MORE,
HOWEVER. LAWSUITS AND
PENALTIES ARE BUT ONE
WAY TO BRING ABOUT
CHANGE.**
- **WE NEED TO CHANGE HOW
PEOPLE THINK -- SO THAT
THEIR CONSCIOUSNESS**

**AND UNDERSTANDING OF
THIS COMPLICATED ISSUE
ARE SHARP AND FOCUSED.
WE NEED MORE
CORPORATE ROLE-MODELS
SO THAT GOOD "BEHAVIOR"
CAN BE COPIED, IMPROVED
UPON, AND SPREAD
AROUND THE NATION.**

- **AS AUTHOR JANE WHITE,**

**WHO I MET WITH LAST
FRIDAY, WROTE IN HER
BOOK, A FEW GOOD
WOMEN, "THE BOTTOM LINE
IS THAT SOME OF THE
INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE
GOING TO MAKE
CORPORATE AMERICA
GREAT AGAIN AREN'T
EXCLUSIVELY PEOPLE WITH**

**WHITE SKINS, ONE-
SYLLABLE LAST NAMES,
AND WING TIPS."**

- **THE MESSAGE NEEDS TO
BE READ LOUD AND CLEAR
THAT SHATTERING THE
GLASS CEILING IS A
WINNING STRATEGY FOR
EVERYONE.**
- **ALL WORKERS SHOULD BE**

**ABLE TO CLIMB THAT
CORPORATE LADDER AS
FAR AS THEIR AMBITION,
EFFORTS AND TALENTS
WILL TAKE THEM.**

- **IT IS GOOD FOR THE
INDIVIDUAL, IT IS GOOD FOR
THE COMPANY, AND IT IS
GOOD FOR AMERICA.**
- **IN MY OPINION, THAT'S**

**ULTIMATELY HOW WE WILL
BE VICTORIOUS IN
SHATTERING THE GLASS
CEILING AND ENSURING
EQUALITY OF
OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY
WORKER.**

[end]



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

ROD CHANDLER
EIGHTH DISTRICT
WASHINGTON

Dec 7

Dear Bob-

One of my proudest moments was the morning in October when you spoke for me in Seattle. We were full of hope then. I would have chosen you over anyone to be there.

I will never regret supporting you for President. I would be a senator-elect today had you won. But, oh well.

The disappointment of this loss is crushing. But I leave here with wonderful memories. Thank you for your friendship and support. I will be eternally grateful and proud.

Rod

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Senator Dole

FROM: Yvonne

DATE: December 11, 1992

-- NON-STOP flights from Washington National to Ft. Lauderdale:

Sat, December 12:

9:05 a.m. lv. National via US Air
11:42 a.m. ar. Ft. Lauderdale

6:45 p.m. lv. National via US Air
9:22 p.m. ar. Ft. Lauderdale

The 9:05 a.m. flight also runs on Sunday, December 13.

Cost is \$380.00 coach -- \$480.00 first class.

FYI -- The condo was rented late yesterday until Sunday morning. I had reserved it for you Fri through next Mon. but called the Seaview yesterday to let them know you were not coming -- they rented it after I spoke with them yesterday. They had someone walk in yesterday & request a suite, so they rented yours.

The condo will be ready at 12:00 Noon on Sunday if you want to go on Sunday.

Do you want me to book anything?

If yes, _____ coach _____ first class

KAWG ASSOCIATE MEMBER CONTRIBUTORS

State Bank of Conway Springs
Ellis State Bank, Ellis
Case Power & Equipment, Hutchinson
First State Bank, Norton
Sullivan, Inc., Ulysses
Central Bank & Trust Co., Hutchinson
Garden City PCA, Garden City
Bunge Corp., Hutchinson
Russell State Bank, Russell
Kauffman Seeds, Inc., Haven
Zenith Co-op Grain Co., Stafford
Northwest Kansas PCA, Colby
Garvey Grain, Wichita
Cloud County Co-op Elev., Concordia
Co-op Grain & Supply, Hillsboro
Mid-Kansas Co-op, Moundridge
Farmway Co-op, Inc., Beloit
Satanta Co-op Grain Co., Satanta
Agco, Inc., Russell
First National Bank, Dighton
Midwest Grain Products, Atchison
Ulysses Co-op Oil & Supply, Ulysses
Citizens State Bank, Cheney
Consolidated State Bank, Hill City
Scott Co-op Assn., Scott City

GENERAL CONVENTION CONTRIBUTORS

The Dillons Stores
Pueblo Chemical & Supply
Cereal Food Processors
Union Equity Co-op Exchange

KANSAS COMMUNITY BANKERS ASS'N. CONTRIBUTORS

First National Bank, Alma
State Bank of Artell
Haven State Bank
First State Bank, Burlingame
State Bank of Carbondale
First National Bank, Phillipsburg
Lyons State Bank
Citizens State Bank, Cheney
Stockgrowers State Bank, Ashland
Freeport State Bank, Harper
State Bank of Leon
Grant County State Bank, Ulysses
First National Bank, Mt. Hope
Security State Bank, Scott City
First National Bank, Scott City
Citizens State Bank, Hugoton
State Bank of Colwich
Farmers State Bank, Holton
First National Bank, Harveyville

TRADE SHOW EXHIBITORS

Trace of Copper
Miles Inc.
Federal Crop Insurance Corp.
AgriPro Biosciences, Inc.
Kansas Grain Inspection Dept.
Data Transmission Network
HybriTech Seed International Inc.
DowElanco
DuPont
Insecto Products, Inc.
Ciba-Geigy
Gustafson, Inc.
U.S. Custom Harvesters
Monsanto Company
Kennedy and Coe
USDA - Soil Conservation Service
Great Plains Mfg. Inc.
Conoco/Farmaster
American White Wheat Producers Assn.
KSU Foundation
Lett Electronics, Inc.

MOVING TOWARD THE NEXT CENTURY

December 6-8, 1992



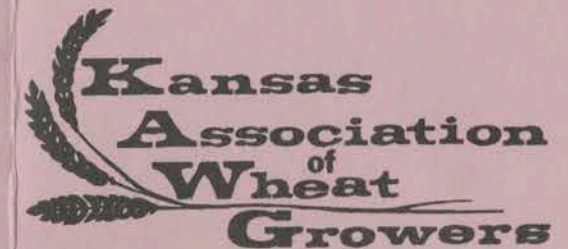
P.O. Box 2349
317 West 2nd St.
Hutchinson, Kansas 67504-2349
Phone: 316-662-2367

ONE STRONG VOICE FOR WHEAT



1992
Annual
Convention

MOVING TOWARD THE NEXT CENTURY



DECEMBER 6-8, 1992

Airport Hilton Hotel
2098 Airport Road
Wichita, Kansas



MOVING TOWARD THE NEXT CENTURY

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6TH

3:00 PM REGISTRATION OPENS Lobby
Executive Board Meeting Consulate I

7:00 PM WELCOME MIXER Salon I & II
Featuring "Reverie"
Sponsored by: Kansas City Board of Trade

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7TH

7:00 AM CENTURY CLUB BREAKFAST Salon I
Century Club Members only
Presiding: Merrill Nielsen, Secretary
Sponsored by: KAWG Associate Members
Speaker: Jeff Lundberg
NAWG Vice President
Sponsored by: Miles Incorporated

8:00 AM TRADE SHOW OPENS Pre Function
CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST Pre Function
Sponsored by: High Plains Journal

REGISTRATION OPENS Lobby

9:00 AM GENERAL SESSION Salon III & IV
Presiding: Keith Nelson, Vice President
President's Report: Milton Giedinghagen
KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Mark Pearson
"What's Ahead for Agriculture?"
Sponsored by: Chicago Board of Trade

10:00 AM RESOLUTIONS WORK SESSIONS
State Affairs Salon III & IV
Grain Storage & Transportation
Natural Resources

Membership Multi Media Theatre
Market Development
National Affairs

MONDAY, DECEMBER 7TH - Continued

10:00 AM TRADE SHOW IS OPEN Pre Function

12 Noon LUNCHEON Salon I & II
Presiding: Bob McClellan, Director - Dist. 2
Sponsored by: Dow/Elanco
Community Bankers Association
Speaker: Bill Helming
Sponsored by: DuPont Agricultural Products

1:30 PM TRADE SHOW IS OPEN Pre Function

2:00 PM RESOLUTIONS WORK SESSIONS
Group I Salon III & IV
Group II Multi Media

TRADE SHOW IS OPEN Pre Function

4:30 PM GENERAL SESSION Salon III & IV
Presiding: Larry Kexley, Director - Dist. 1
Report: North American Free Trade Agreement
Ildefonso Guajardo, Embassy of Mexico
Report: "The Developing World - Opportunities
For U.S. Agriculture"
John Bunck & Mike Brown, KAWG Participants

RESOLUTIONS WORK SESSION
Final Wrap-up (if needed)

6:30 PM TRADE SHOW PARTY Pre Function
Sponsored by: Trade Show Exhibitors
Caricature Artist
Sponsored by: Sunflower Manufacturing Co.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8TH

7:00 AM COUNTY CHAIRMEN'S BREAKFAST Salon I & II
Presiding: John Yost, Chairman - Harvey County
Sponsored by: Federal Land Bank Associations
Production Credit Associations
Farm Credit Services in Kansas
Speaker: Del Wiedeman, KAWG & NAWG Past President

8:00 AM TRADE SHOW OPENS Pre Function

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8TH - Continued

8:00 AM CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST Pre Function
Sponsored by: Kansas Wheat Commission

8:00 AM REGISTRATION OPENS Lobby

8:30 AM WHEATHEART BREAKFAST Consulate I & II
Sponsored by: Stafford County Flour Mills
Speaker: Bonnie Bing - Wichita Eagle
"Let's Talk Fashion"

9:00 AM GENERAL SESSION Salon III & IV
Presiding: Milton Giedinghagen, President
Reports: Agriculture Council of America
Keith Nelson, Chairman
U.S. Wheat Associates
Stan Timmerman, Vice Chairman

Wheat Yield Challenge Awards

RESOLUTIONS - Final Reading

12 Noon LUNCHEON Salon I & II
Presiding: Jack Jenkinson, Director, Dist. 1
Sponsored by: DuPont Agricultural Products
Cargill Inc. (CMD & Milling)
Speaker: George Tyson, President, Xylan, Inc.

1:30 PM TRADE SHOW IS OPEN Pre Function

2:30 PM CONCURRENT SEMINARS
(A) Pesticide Registration & Regulations Salon 3 & 4
Dale Lambley, Bd. of Ag.
(B) Plastics from Wheat Consulate I
Paul Newman, KSU
(C) Touching the 21st Century Consulate II
Vivian Crosby, K-Tech
(D) Agricultural Development & You Multi-Media
Mark Pearson
Sponsored by: Kent Manufacturing Company
Kice Industries, Inc.
Great Plains Manufacturing

3:05 PM All seminars repeated

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 8TH - Continued

3:40 PM CONCURRENT SEMINARS
(E) Do's & Don't's When Farm Accidents Occur Salon 3 & 4
John Kramer, KSU
(F) Marketing Loan & AgriPlan Consulate I
Clyde Wacker, Kennedy & Coe
(G) How to Talk to the News Media Consulate II
Kathy Patton, WIBW Radio/TV

4:15 PM All Seminars Repeated

4:30 PM TRADE SHOW CLOSING

5:00 PM BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING Consulate I

6:30 PM KAWG AWARDS BANQUET Salon I, II & III
Sponsored by:
Smoot Grain Co. Inc.
Collingwood Grain, Inc.
ADM Milling Company
wholly owned subsidiaries of
Archer-Daniels-Midland, Inc.
Speaker: Keith Bjerke
Administrator, USDA/ASCS

Mistress of Ceremonies: Kathy Patton
WIBW Radio & TV & Kansas Ag-Network

Special Awards:
Wheat Man of the Year
Outstanding Marketing Award
Outstanding Young Wheat Grower Award
Sponsored by: Federal Land Bank Associations
Production Credit Associations
Farm Credit Services in Kansas

DOOR PRIZES

SPECIAL SURPRISE ENDING

OUR 40TH ANNIVERSARY

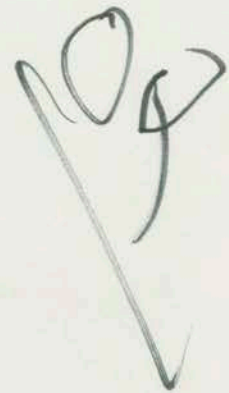
December 4, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE

FROM: BRET FOX

SUBJECT: SPEECH TO KANSAS ASSOCIATION OF WHEAT GROWERS

ATTACHED IS A DRAFT OF A SPEECH TO THE WHEAT GROWERS FOR YOUR REVIEW. I HAVE INCLUDED A GOOD DEAL OF THE MATERIAL THAT YOU REQUESTED FROM THE ARTICLE IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, AND FOCUSED OTHERWISE PRIMARILY ON TRADE ISSUES.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Bret Fox", with a long, sweeping underline.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
KANSAS ASSOCIATION OF WHEAT GROWERS
DECEMBER 8, 1992

INTRODUCTION

-- THERE'S BEEN A LOT HAPPENING IN WASHINGTON IN RECENT MONTHS THAT AFFECTS EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM, AND I'D LIKE TO HIT ON A FEW KEY ISSUES AND SHARE SOME OF MY THOUGHTS WITH YOU.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

-- THERE WAS A LOT OF SPECULATION THROUGHOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN REGARDING JUST HOW GOVERNOR CLINTON WOULD HANDLE AGRICULTURAL ISSUES.

-- I THINK IT'S SAFE TO SAY THAT A LOT OF THOSE QUESTIONS ARE STILL UP IN THE AIR. ALTHOUGH IT'S TOO SOON TO SEE HOW HE WILL BALANCE THE INTERESTS OF AGRICULTURE AGAINST THOSE OF CONSUMER, ENVIRONMENTAL, AND OTHER GROUPS, I'M SURE WE WILL ALL BE WATCHING CLOSELY AS WE MAKE THE TRANSITION.

-- OF COURSE, WHEN TALKING TO ALMOST ANYBODY WHO HAS AN INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE, IT IS CLEAR THAT GOVERNOR CLINTON'S AND SENATOR GORE'S VIEWS ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES HAS A LOT OF PEOPLE ON EDGE.

-- IT WAS SOMETHING OF A MIXED TICKET DURING THE CAMPAIGN, WITH SOME QUESTIONING CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT DURING HIS TENURE AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS -- WHILE OTHERS WARNED OF THE EXTREMISM OF HIS RUNNING MATE. TO MOST, THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATTER IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS OF GREATEST CONCERN.

-- THERE ARE A LOT OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, BUT WE DO HAVE A PRETTY GOOD IDEA ABOUT WHERE SENATOR GORE IS COMING FROM. HOW MUCH OF A ROLE HE WILL HAVE IN SHAPING ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON THE CLEAN WATER ACT, THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT, WETLANDS POLICY, PESTICIDE AND FOOD SAFETY LEGISLATION -- ALL OF WHICH WILL LIKELY BE CONSIDERED IN THE 103rd CONGRESS -- REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

-- BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE WON'T SEE MANY CHANGES IN GENERAL FARM POLICY -- WHETHER IT BE COMMODITY PROGRAMS, EXPORT PROGRAMS, CONSERVATION, CREDIT OR OTHERS.

-- THE SAME BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS REMAIN AND WILL CONTINUE TO DRIVE MOST FARM POLICY DECISION-MAKING -- ALTHOUGH WE COULD RUN INTO SOME PROBLEMS IF THE ADVOCATES OF SUPPLY MANAGEMENT AND HIGH LOAN RATES GET THE GOVERNOR'S EAR.

-- OVERALL, GIVEN ALL OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ON OUR PLATE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY FOR FARMERS AND RANCHERS AND THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT REPRESENT THEM IN WASHINGTON WILL BE UNITY.

-- I'VE ALWAYS THOUGHT OF FARMERS AS THE PIONEER ENVIRONMENTALISTS -- THOSE WHO MAKE A LIVING FROM THE LAND AND THE WATER AND WHO HAVE THE MOST TO LOSE IF THEY DISREGARD THE PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THOSE RESOURCES.

-- BUT NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THERE COULD VERY WELL BE A LOT OF ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION COMING THROUGH THE BACK DOOR THAT DOESN'T GIVE AGRICULTURE THE CREDIT THAT IT DESERVES -- AND THAT COULD ALSO PLACE BOTH PERSONAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AT GREAT RISK.

-- SO I THINK THAT THE TURF BATTLES THAT WE'VE SEEN IN THE PAST AMONG AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS NEED TO TAKE A BACK SEAT TO THESE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD -- MUCH IS AT STAKE.

FARM POLICY -- WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

-- AS AN ASSOCIATION, YOU HAVE AN OBVIOUS INTEREST AND A ROLE IN THE SHAPING OF THE FARM POLICIES THAT AFFECT YOUR BOTTOM LINE. THE UNDERPINNINGS OF THOSE POLICIES -- SPECIFICALLY THE COMMODITY PROGRAMS AND OUR TRADE PROGRAMS -- HAVE REMAINED RELATIVELY UNCHANGED FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. I'D LIKE TO TAKE A STEP BACK AND LOOK AT THE BIG PICTURE WITH YOU, FOCUSING ON HOW WELL OUR CURRENT POLICIES MEET THE NEEDS OF U.S. AGRICULTURE AND WHETHER OR NOT THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE INDUSTRY ARE BEING UPHELD.

-- I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO ANY GREAT DETAIL WITH YOU ON THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE, BUT IT'S A GIVEN THAT FOR YEARS WE WERE THE UNQUESTIONED WORLD LEADER. THE "GREEN REVOLUTION" USHERED IN AN ERA OF TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES THAT, TO THIS DAY, CONTINUE TO BOOST U.S. FARM EFFICIENCY -- BUT THE DISSEMINATION AND APPLICATION OF THAT TECHNOLOGY IS NOW INCREASINGLY GLOBAL.

-- WHEN THE WORLD MARKET EXPLODED IN THE MID-SEVENTIES, WE WERE ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE AND CONTROL THE LION'S SHARE OF WORLD TRADE IN MAJOR COMMODITIES. LESS THAN TWO DECADES LATER, A COMBINATION OF MANY FACTORS -- A NUMBER OF WHICH I WILL TOUCH ON -- HAVE TURNED THE TABLES ON US AND PLACED US AT A RELATIVE DISADVANTAGE TO OUR MAJOR COMPETITORS.

-- THE FACTOR MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR CURRENT STATUS IS CLEARLY GOVERNMENT POLICIES -- BOTH THOSE EMPLOYED HERE AT HOME AND THOSE INITIATED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS WAGED NOTHING SHORT OF AN ALL-OUT WAR IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ARENA AND HAS ESSENTIALLY BEEN VICTORIOUS IN TERMS OF GAINED MARKET SHARE. BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS -- ARE THEY WINNING THAT BATTLE OUTRIGHT OR HAVE WE BEEN QUIETLY AND SLOWLY RAISING A WHITE FLAG WITH OUR OWN SHORT-SIGHTED FEDERAL POLICIES?

FORFEITING MARKET SHARE

-- FOR STARTERS, OUR CONTINUED RELIANCE UPON ANNUAL SET-ASIDES IS BOTH AN OUT-DATED AND INEFFECTIVE MEANS OF SUPPORTING DOMESTIC PRICES AND A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO OUR LOSSES IN THE WORLD TRADING ARENA.

-- NOT TOO LONG AGO, THE MARKET FOR U.S. WHEAT WAS LARGELY DOMESTIC, AND ADJUSTING THE LEVEL OF PRODUCTION ANNUALLY WAS VERY EFFECTIVE AT ELICITING A PRICE RESPONSE THAT RESULTED IN INCREASED FARM INCOMES. TIGHT STOCKS MEANT HIGH PRICES.

-- BUT TODAY, WE TYPICALLY EXPORT MORE THAN HALF OF OUR WHEAT CROP AND ONE-THIRD OF OUR TOTAL CROPLAND IS CULTIVATED FOR EXPORT. WITH THE GLOBALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE, WE SEE VERY LITTLE PRICE REACTION TO ANY ATTEMPT AT SHORTING THE MARKET FOR SHORT-TERM PRICE GAINS. AND THE REASON IS CLEAR -- PRICE IS DETERMINED IN THE WORLD MARKET, NOT WITHIN OUR SHORES.

-- INDEED, IT BORDERS ON IRRESPONSIBLE TO SUGGEST THAT WE CAN BREATHE LIFE INTO THE FARM ECONOMY BY TAKING PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OUT OF PRODUCTION -- TRYING TO "IDLE OUR WAY TO PROSPERITY," YOU MIGHT SAY. BUT, POLITICAL CALLS FOR VARIOUS MEANS OF SUPPLY MANAGEMENT ARE STILL DANGEROUSLY WELL-RECEIVED IN FARM COUNTRY, BE THEY FOR INCREASED SET-ASIDES, A PAID LAND DIVERSION, OR INDIRECTLY BY AN EXPANSION OF THE CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM. PAID LAND DIVERSIONS DO MAKE SENSE IN A RATHER PERVERTED WAY -- AT LEAST OUR FARMERS WILL BE PAID FOR SELLING THEMSELVES OUT TO OUR COMPETITORS.

-- BUT ASIDE FROM THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THESE POLICIES ON DOMESTIC PRICES, THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS ARE EVEN MORE DISTURBING. WITH THE COMBINED EFFECT OF ANNUAL SET-ASIDES AND OTHER DIVERSIONS SUCH AS THE CRP, PLANTED ACREAGE OF WHEAT, CORN AND SOYBEANS IN THE U.S. ACTUALLY FELL DURING THE PAST DECADE -- WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD EXPANDED PRODUCTION BY 30%.

-- WE HAVE TO REMEMBER -- THE WORLD IS NOT LEFT WANTING WHEN WE CUT PRODUCTION. OUR COMPETITORS EXPAND TO FILL THE VOID, AND OUR CUSTOMERS BUY ELSEWHERE.

-- OF COURSE, MANY THINGS CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASED PRODUCTION OVERSEAS, INCLUDING ADVANCES IN PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND AN INCREASED EMPHASIS HERE AT HOME ON PRESERVING NATURAL RESOURCES SUCH AS HIGHLY-ERODIBLE LAND AND PRECIOUS WATER SUPPLIES. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO CUT PRODUCTION AND ALLOW OUR BUYERS TO SHOP ELSEWHERE. THAT'S NOT A GOOD WAY TO DO BUSINESS AND EXPECT TO REMAIN IN BUSINESS.

TRADE REFORM

-- ALTHOUGH THE POLITICAL CONSENSUS AT HOME MAY STILL STAND BEHIND THESE OUTDATED POLICIES, WE ARE FORGING AHEAD AND MAKING

LIMITED GAINS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE TALKS. THE REDUCTION AND, HOPEFULLY, FULL ELIMINATION OF TRADE-DISTORTING SUBSIDIES IS CRITICAL AND IS THE NUMBER ONE BARRIER TO RESTORING OUR PREEMINENCE IN WORLD TRADE AND GETTING THE FARM ECONOMY AND RURAL AMERICA BACK ON ITS FEET.

-- THE BUDGET CONSTRAINTS THAT LED TO THE TRIPLE-BASE PROVISIONS OF THE 1990 FARM BILL ARE NOT GOING TO GO AWAY. VERY LIKELY, THEY MAY BECOME EVEN TIGHTER IN THE YEARS AHEAD. IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, THAT DICTATES THAT OUR EFFORTS MUST FOCUS ON TRADE REFORM SO THAT WE CAN TAKE BACK WHAT HAS BEEN LOST.

-- IT'S NOT AN EASY TASK. THE EUROPEANS MAY SUBSIDIZE THEIR FARM SECTOR AT A STAGGERING RATE, BUT TAXPAYER AND CONSUMER ATTITUDES THERE ARE MUCH DIFFERENT THAN HERE IN AMERICA. MOST BELIEVE THOSE ATTITUDES ARE SHAPED BY THE FACT THAT THOSE COUNTRIES HAVE EXPERIENCED THE TRAGEDY OF WIDESPREAD HUNGER AND STARVATION -- I'D SAY THE PROSPECTS OF FACING AN ANGRY FRENCH FARMER IS AN EQUALLY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF KEEPING THEIR PLACE IN THE PUBLIC TROUGH.

-- THE DEAL CURRENTLY BEING TALKED ABOUT IN GENEVA CALLS FOR A CUT OF 21% IN THE VOLUME OF SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS, AS WELL AS A 36% DECREASE IN BUDGET OUTLAYS FOR EXPORT SUBSIDIES. WE'VE ALREADY MET THE REDUCTIONS THAT ARE SET OUT FOR INTERNAL SUPPORTS, SO -- ASIDE FROM MARKET ACCESS PROVISIONS, WHICH SHOULDN'T AFFECT WHEAT TRADE -- THE AREA OF EXPORT SUBSIDIES IS REALLY THE PRIMARY ISSUE IN WHEAT COUNTRY.

-- WE'VE ALSO GOT THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, WHICH I KNOW FALLS SHORT OF SOME KEY PROVISIONS THAT YOU AS WHEAT GROWERS ARE CONCERNED WITH. THE TEXT OF THE NAFTA DOES NOT ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF CANADIAN RAIL SUBSIDIES, AND IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY MAY WELL BE ABLE TO COMPETE WITH US IN THE MEXICAN MARKET IF THOSE SUBSIDIES CAN STILL BE UTILIZED IN SHIPMENTS BOUND FOR MEXICO.

-- I'D LIKE TO SEE THOSE SUBSIDIES AND THE OVERALL CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN METHOD OF INTERNAL PRICING ADDRESSED, BUT WE'VE GOT TO REMEMBER THAT THE NAFTA IS NOT A LIKELY PLACE TO GET THAT DONE. THE NAFTA IS TWO BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENTS, ONE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND MEXICO AND THE OTHER BETWEEN CANADA AND MEXICO. THE REALITY IS THAT WE ARE NOT NEGOTIATING WITH THE CANADIANS, AND IT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT IN MEXICO'S INTERESTS TO NEGOTIATE ON OUR BEHALF.

AGREEMENT MAY NOT BE PERFECT

-- IN A PERFECT AGREEMENT, WE'D SEE THE FULL ELIMINATION OF THESE SUBSIDIES, AS HAS BEEN OUR ULTIMATE GOAL SINCE THE START OF THE TALKS. UNFORTUNATELY, WE DO NOT LIVE IN A PERFECT WORLD. AND, IN EVEN A LESS THAN PERFECT AGREEMENT, WE'D SEE A GREATER REDUCTION COMMITMENT FROM THE EUROPEANS AND THE TRANSPORTATION SUBSIDIES AND MONOPOLISTIC GRAIN MARKETING BOARDS OF CANADA AND

AUSTRALIA WOULD BE ADDRESSED.

-- BUT WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THIS ONE STEP AT A TIME. ANY PARTIAL REDUCTION IN THE LEVEL OF GLOBAL SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS IS A WIN FOR US.

-- IT'S A WIN FOR THE FARMER BECAUSE MORE COMMODITIES WILL BE TRADED AT THEIR ACTUAL VALUE, AND NOT AT A PRICE ARTIFICIALLY DEPRESSED BY FEDERAL INCENTIVES TO OVERPRODUCE AND DUMP IN THE WORLD MARKET. IT'S A WIN FOR EVERYONE FROM THE FARM INPUT SUPPLIER TO THOSE INVOLVED IN THE TRANSPORTATION AND MARKETING OF OUR CROPS BECAUSE AN EXPANDING PRESENCE IN GLOBAL TRADE WILL STIMULATE WAVES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HERE AT HOME. AND IF THOSE PLAYERS WIN, THEN OUR SMALL BUSINESSES AND RURAL COMMUNITIES ULTIMATELY BENEFIT AS WELL.

-- AND FROM WHAT I GUESS YOU'D CALL AN "OPERATIONAL" PERSPECTIVE, ANY AGGREGATE REDUCTION IN EXPORT SUBSIDIES LESSENS THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED NATURE OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE. OUR WHEAT EXPORTS ARE, AS YOU KNOW, EXTREMELY RELIANT UPON THE EFFICIENT OPERATION OF THE EEP. WHAT SOME MIGHT CALL "MEDDLING" BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND EVEN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE SERIOUSLY HINDERED OUR ABILITY TO MEET OUR DEMAND IN A TIMELY MANNER. IT RESULTS IN A LOT OF LOST SALES TO OUR COMPETITORS. THE MORE TRADE DECISIONS WE PUT IN PRIVATE HANDS MEANS MORE EFFICIENT MARKETING.

OTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

-- SO, I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT POLICYMAKERS AND THOSE INVOLVED IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS KEEP IN MIND THE BIG PICTURE AND THE FACT THAT OUR WORLD HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS. FARMERS HAVE ALWAYS TOLD ME THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO EARN THEIR INCOME FROM THE MARKET -- NOT FROM THE GOVERNMENT -- AND NEVER BEFORE HAS THE NEED TO DO SO BEEN MORE IMPORTANT TO A FARMER'S BOTTOM LINE.

-- OF COURSE, THERE ARE STILL PEOPLE WHO WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO "GIVE ME A PRICE IN THE MARKET, AND THEN GET OUT OF AGRICULTURE." THAT GENERALLY CONSTITUTES SOME KIND OF INTERVENTIONIST LOAN RATE POLICY THAT PUTS A FLOOR IN THE MARKET. THAT'S NOTHING MORE THAN A CENTRALIZED PRICING SYSTEM THAT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE MARKET AND HAS A PROVEN TRACK RECORD -- A PITIFUL ONE -- IN THE HISTORY BOOKS OF WHAT ONCE WAS THE SOVIET UNION.

CONCLUSION

-- ALTHOUGH THESE "BIG PICTURE" ISSUES ARE PRIORITY ONE FOR THE FUTURE PROSPERITY OF U.S. AGRICULTURE, WE'VE GOT A LOT ON OUR PLATE WITH OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES.

-- CROP INSURANCE, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CROP VARIETIES AND FARM INPUTS, ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE CREDIT AND OUR AGING FARM POPULATION ARE JUST A FEW ON THE FARM-SPECIFIC LIST. BUT ITEMS SUCH AS HEALTH CARE AND DEFICIT REDUCTION ARE ALSO OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO ALL AMERICANS, AND MUST BE A PART OF THE EQUATION WHENEVER WE LOOK AT MEANS OF IMPROVING FARM INCOME AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN RURAL AMERICA.

-- IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, I'M SURE ALL OF THESE ISSUES WILL BE ON THE AGENDA NEXT YEAR IN CONGRESS, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH YOUR ORGANIZATION AS WE WORK TOWARD OUR COMMON GOALS.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
KANSAS ASSOCIATION OF WHEAT GROWERS
DECEMBER 8, 1992

INTRODUCTION

-- THERE'S BEEN A LOT HAPPENING IN WASHINGTON IN RECENT MONTHS THAT AFFECTS EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM, AND I'D LIKE TO HIT ON A FEW KEY ISSUES AND SHARE SOME OF MY THOUGHTS WITH YOU.

THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION

-- THERE'S WAS A LOT OF SPECULATION THROUGHOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN REGARDING JUST HOW GOVERNOR CLINTON WOULD HANDLE AGRICULTURAL ISSUES.

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-- IT WAS SOMETHING OF A MIXED TICKET DURING THE CAMPAIGN, WITH SOME QUESTIONING CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT DURING HIS TENURE AS GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS -- WHILE OTHERS WARNED OF THE EXTREMISM OF HIS RUNNING MATE. TO MOST, THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATTER IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS OF GREATEST CONCERN.

-- THERE ARE A LOT OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS, BUT WE DO HAVE A PRETTY GOOD IDEA ABOUT WHERE SENATOR GORE IS COMING FROM. HOW MUCH OF A ROLE HE WILL HAVE IN SHAPING ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON THE CLEAN WATER ACT, THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT, WETLANDS POLICY, PESTICIDE AND FOOD SAFETY LEGISLATION -- ALL OF WHICH WILL LIKELY BE CONSIDERED IN THE 103rd CONGRESS -- REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

-- BUT IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE WON'T SEE MANY CHANGES IN GENERAL FARM POLICY -- WHETHER IT BE COMMODITY PROGRAMS, EXPORT PROGRAMS, CONSERVATION, CREDIT OR OTHERS.

-- THE SAME BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS REMAIN AND WILL CONTINUE TO DRIVE MOST FARM POLICY DECISION-MAKING -- ALTHOUGH WE COULD RUN INTO SOME PROBLEMS IF THE ADVOCATES OF SUPPLY MANAGEMENT AND HIGH LOAN RATES GET THE GOVERNOR'S EAR.

-- OVERALL, GIVEN ALL OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ON OUR PLATE, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT PRIORITY FOR FARMERS AND RANCHERS AND THE ORGANIZATIONS THAT REPRESENT THEM IN WASHINGTON WILL BE UNITY.

-- I'VE ALWAYS THOUGHT OF FARMERS AS THE PIONEER ENVIRONMENTALISTS -- THOSE WHO MAKE A LIVING FROM THE LAND AND THE WATER AND WHO HAVE THE MOST TO LOSE IF THEY DISREGARD THE PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THOSE RESOURCES.

-- BUT NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THERE COULD VERY WELL BE A LOT OF ENVIRONMENTAL LEGISLATION COMING THROUGH THE BACK DOOR THAT DOESN'T GIVE AGRICULTURE THE CREDIT THAT IT DESERVES -- AND THAT COULD ALSO PLACE BOTH PERSONAL PROPERTY RIGHTS AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE AT GREAT RISK.

-- SO I THINK THAT THE TURF BATTLES THAT WE'VE SEEN IN THE PAST AMONG AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS NEED TO TAKE A BACK SEAT TO THESE ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD -- MUCH IS AT STAKE.

FARM POLICY -- WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

-- AS AN ASSOCIATION, YOU HAVE AN OBVIOUS INTEREST AND A ROLE IN THE SHAPING OF THE FARM POLICIES THAT AFFECT YOUR BOTTOM LINE. THE UNDERPINNINGS OF THOSE POLICIES -- SPECIFICALLY THE COMMODITY PROGRAMS AND OUR TRADE PROGRAMS -- HAVE REMAINED RELATIVELY UNCHANGED FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. I'D LIKE TO TAKE A STEP BACK AND LOOK AT THE BIG PICTURE WITH YOU, FOCUSING ON HOW WELL OUR CURRENT

POLICIES MEET THE NEEDS OF U.S.
AGRICULTURE AND WHETHER OR NOT THE
LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF THE INDUSTRY ARE
BEING UPHELD.

-- I DON'T NEED TO GO INTO ANY GREAT
DETAIL WITH YOU ON THE HISTORY OF
AMERICAN AGRICULTURE, BUT IT'S A GIVEN
THAT FOR YEARS WE WERE THE UNQUESTIONED
WORLD LEADER. THE "GREEN REVOLUTION"
USHERED IN AN ERA OF TECHNOLOGICAL
ADVANCES THAT, TO THIS DAY, CONTINUE TO
BOOST U.S. FARM EFFICIENCY -- BUT THE
DISSEMINATION AND APPLICATION OF THAT
TECHNOLOGY IS NOW INCREASINGLY GLOBAL.

-- WHEN THE WORLD MARKET EXPLODED IN
THE MID-SEVENTIES, WE WERE ABLE TO TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF OUR COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE
AND CONTROL THE LION'S SHARE OF WORLD
TRADE IN MAJOR COMMODITIES. LESS THAN
TWO DECADES LATER, A COMBINATION OF MANY
FACTORS -- A NUMBER OF WHICH I WILL TOUCH
ON -- HAVE TURNED THE TABLES ON US AND
PLACED US AT A RELATIVE DISADVANTAGE TO
OUR MAJOR COMPETITORS.

-- THE FACTOR MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR CURRENT STATUS IS CLEARLY GOVERNMENT POLICIES -- BOTH THOSE EMPLOYED HERE AT HOME AND THOSE INITIATED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY HAS WAGED NOTHING SHORT OF AN ALL-OUT WAR IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ARENA AND HAS ESSENTIALLY BEEN VICTORIOUS IN TERMS OF GAINED MARKET SHARE. BUT THE QUESTION REMAINS -- ARE THEY WINNING THAT BATTLE OUTRIGHT OR HAVE WE BEEN QUIETLY AND SLOWLY RAISING A WHITE FLAG WITH OUR OWN SHORT-SIGHTED FEDERAL POLICIES?

FORFEITING MARKET SHARE

-- FOR STARTERS, OUR CONTINUED RELIANCE UPON ANNUAL SET-ASIDES IS BOTH AN OUTDATED AND INEFFECTIVE MEANS OF SUPPORTING DOMESTIC PRICES AND A MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR TO OUR LOSSES IN THE WORLD TRADING ARENA.

-- NOT TOO LONG AGO, THE MARKET FOR U.S. WHEAT WAS LARGELY DOMESTIC, AND ADJUSTING THE LEVEL OF PRODUCTION ANNUALLY WAS VERY EFFECTIVE AT ELICITING A PRICE RESPONSE THAT RESULTED IN INCREASED

FARM INCOMES. TIGHT STOCKS MEANT HIGH PRICES.

-- BUT TODAY, WE TYPICALLY EXPORT MORE THAN HALF OF OUR WHEAT CROP AND ONE-THIRD OF OUR TOTAL CROPLAND IS CULTIVATED FOR EXPORT. WITH THE GLOBALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE, WE SEE VERY LITTLE PRICE REACTION TO ANY ATTEMPT AT SHORTING THE MARKET FOR SHORT-TERM PRICE GAINS. AND THE REASON IS CLEAR -- PRICE IS DETERMINED IN THE WORLD MARKET, NOT WITHIN OUR SHORES.

-- INDEED, IT BORDERS ON IRRESPONSIBLE TO SUGGEST THAT WE CAN BREATHE LIFE INTO THE FARM ECONOMY BY TAKING PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES OUT OF PRODUCTION -- TRYING TO "IDLE OUR WAY TO PROSPERITY," YOU MIGHT SAY. BUT, POLITICAL CALLS FOR VARIOUS MEANS OF SUPPLY MANAGEMENT ARE STILL DANGEROUSLY WELL-RECEIVED IN FARM COUNTRY, BE THEY FOR INCREASED SET-ASIDES, A PAID LAND DIVERSION, OR INDIRECTLY BY AN EXPANSION OF THE CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM. PAID LAND DIVERSIONS DO MAKE SENSE IN A RATHER PERVERTED WAY -- AT LEAST OUR FARMERS WILL BE PAID FOR SELLING THEMSELVES OUT TO OUR COMPETITORS.

-- BUT ASIDE FROM THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF THESE POLICIES ON DOMESTIC PRICES, THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS ARE EVEN MORE DISTURBING. WITH THE COMBINED EFFECT OF ANNUAL SET-ASIDES AND OTHER DIVERSIONS SUCH AS THE CRP, PLANTED ACREAGE OF WHEAT, CORN AND SOYBEANS IN THE U.S. ACTUALLY FELL DURING THE PAST DECADE -- WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD EXPANDED PRODUCTION BY 30%.

-- WE HAVE TO REMEMBER -- THE WORLD IS NOT LEFT WANTING WHEN WE CUT PRODUCTION. OUR COMPETITORS EXPAND TO FILL THE VOID, AND OUR CUSTOMERS BUY ELSEWHERE.

-- OF COURSE, MANY THINGS CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASED PRODUCTION OVERSEAS, INCLUDING ADVANCES IN PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND AN INCREASED EMPHASIS HERE AT HOME ON PRESERVING NATURAL RESOURCES SUCH AS HIGHLY-ERODIBLE LAND AND PRECIOUS WATER SUPPLIES. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO CUT PRODUCTION AND ALLOW OUR BUYERS TO SHOP ELSEWHERE. THAT'S NOT A GOOD WAY TO DO BUSINESS AND EXPECT TO REMAIN IN BUSINESS.

TRADE REFORM

-- ALTHOUGH THE POLITICAL CONSENSUS AT HOME MAY STILL STAND BEHIND THESE OUTDATED POLICIES, WE ARE FORGING AHEAD AND MAKING LIMITED GAINS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE TALKS. THE REDUCTION AND, HOPEFULLY, FULL ELIMINATION OF TRADE-DISTORTING SUBSIDIES IS CRITICAL AND IS THE NUMBER ONE BARRIER TO RESTORING OUR PREEMINENCE IN WORLD TRADE AND GETTING THE FARM ECONOMY AND RURAL AMERICA BACK ON ITS FEET.

-- THE BUDGET CONSTRAINTS THAT LED TO THE TRIPLE-BASE PROVISIONS OF THE 1990 FARM BILL ARE NOT GOING TO GO AWAY. VERY LIKELY, THEY MAY BECOME EVEN TIGHTER IN THE YEARS AHEAD. IF FOR NO OTHER REASON, THAT DICTATES THAT OUR EFFORTS MUST FOCUS ON TRADE REFORM SO THAT WE CAN TAKE BACK WHAT HAS BEEN LOST.

-- IT'S NOT AN EASY TASK. THE EUROPEANS MAY SUBSIDIZE THEIR FARM SECTOR AT A STAGGERING RATE, BUT TAXPAYER AND CONSUMER ATTITUDES THERE ARE MUCH DIFFERENT THAN HERE IN AMERICA. MOST BELIEVE THOSE ATTITUDES ARE SHAPED BY THE

FACT THAT THOSE COUNTRIES HAVE EXPERIENCED THE TRAGEDY OF WIDESPREAD HUNGER AND STARVATION -- I'D SAY THE PROSPECTS OF FACING AN ANGRY FRENCH FARMER IS AN EQUALLY EFFECTIVE MEANS OF KEEPING THEIR PLACE IN THE PUBLIC TROUGH.

-- THE DEAL CURRENTLY BEING TALKED ABOUT IN GENEVA CALLS FOR A CUT OF 21% IN THE VOLUME OF SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS, AS WELL AS A 36% DECREASE IN BUDGET OUTLAYS FOR EXPORT SUBSIDIES. WE'VE ALREADY MET THE REDUCTIONS THAT ARE SET OUT FOR INTERNAL SUPPORTS, SO -- ASIDE FROM MARKET ACCESS PROVISIONS, WHICH SHOULDN'T AFFECT WHEAT TRADE -- THE AREA OF EXPORT SUBSIDIES IS REALLY THE PRIMARY ISSUE IN WHEAT COUNTRY.

-- WE'VE ALSO GOT THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT, WHICH I KNOW FALLS SHORT OF SOME KEY PROVISIONS THAT YOU AS WHEAT GROWERS ARE CONCERNED WITH. THE TEXT OF THE NAFTA DOES NOT ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF CANADIAN RAIL SUBSIDIES, AND IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY MAY WELL BE ABLE TO COMPETE WITH US IN THE MEXICAN MARKET IF THOSE SUBSIDIES CAN STILL BE UTILIZED IN SHIPMENTS BOUND FOR MEXICO.

-- I'D LIKE TO SEE THOSE SUBSIDIES AND THE OVERALL CANADIAN AND AUSTRALIAN METHOD OF INTERNAL PRICING ADDRESSED, BUT WE'VE GOT TO REMEMBER THAT THE NAFTA IS NOT A LIKELY PLACE TO GET THAT DONE. THE NAFTA IS TWO BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENTS, ONE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND MEXICO AND THE OTHER BETWEEN CANADA AND MEXICO. THE REALITY IS THAT WE ARE NOT NEGOTIATING WITH THE CANADIANS, AND IT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT IN MEXICO'S INTERESTS TO NEGOTIATE ON OUR BEHALF.

AGREEMENT MAY NOT BE PERFECT

-- IN A PERFECT AGREEMENT, WE'D SEE THE FULL ELIMINATION OF THESE SUBSIDIES, AS HAS BEEN OUR ULTIMATE GOAL SINCE THE START OF THE TALKS. UNFORTUNATELY, WE DO NOT LIVE IN A PERFECT WORLD. AND, IN EVEN A LESS THAN PERFECT AGREEMENT, WE'D SEE A GREATER REDUCTION COMMITMENT FROM THE EUROPEANS AND THE TRANSPORTATION SUBSIDIES AND MONOPOLISTIC GRAIN MARKETING BOARDS OF CANADA AND AUSTRALIA WOULD BE ADDRESSED.

-- BUT WE'VE GOT TO TAKE THIS ONE STEP AT A TIME. ANY PARTIAL REDUCTION IN THE LEVEL OF GLOBAL SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS IS A WIN FOR US.

-- IT'S A WIN FOR THE FARMER BECAUSE MORE COMMODITIES WILL BE TRADED AT THEIR ACTUAL VALUE, AND NOT AT A PRICE ARTIFICIALLY DEPRESSED BY FEDERAL INCENTIVES TO OVERPRODUCE AND DUMP IN THE WORLD MARKET. IT'S A WIN FOR EVERYONE FROM THE FARM INPUT SUPPLIER TO THOSE INVOLVED IN THE TRANSPORTATION AND MARKETING OF OUR CROPS BECAUSE AN EXPANDING PRESENCE IN GLOBAL TRADE WILL STIMULATE WAVES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HERE AT HOME. AND IF THOSE PLAYERS WIN, THEN OUR SMALL BUSINESSES AND RURAL COMMUNITIES ULTIMATELY BENEFIT AS WELL.

-- AND FROM WHAT I GUESS YOU'D CALL AN "OPERATIONAL" PERSPECTIVE, ANY AGGREGATE REDUCTION IN EXPORT SUBSIDIES LESSENS THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED NATURE OF AGRICULTURAL TRADE. OUR WHEAT EXPORTS ARE, AS YOU KNOW, EXTREMELY RELIANT UPON THE EFFICIENT OPERATION OF THE EEP. WHAT SOME MIGHT CALL "MEDDLING" BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, THE STATE

DEPARTMENT, AND EVEN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE SERIOUSLY HINDERED OUR ABILITY TO MEET OUR DEMAND IN A TIMELY MANNER. IT RESULTS IN A LOT OF LOST SALES TO OUR COMPETITORS. THE MORE TRADE DECISIONS WE PUT IN PRIVATE HANDS MEANS MORE EFFICIENT MARKETING.

OTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

-- SO, I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT POLICYMAKERS AND THOSE INVOLVED IN THE POLICY-MAKING PROCESS KEEP IN MIND THE BIG PICTURE AND THE FACT THAT OUR WORLD HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE PAST TWENTY YEARS. FARMERS HAVE ALWAYS TOLD ME THAT THEY WOULD PREFER TO EARN THEIR INCOME FROM THE MARKET -- NOT FROM THE GOVERNMENT -- AND NEVER BEFORE HAS THE NEED TO DO SO BEEN MORE IMPORTANT TO A FARMER'S BOTTOM LINE.

-- OF COURSE, THERE ARE STILL PEOPLE WHO WANT THE GOVERNMENT TO "GIVE ME A PRICE IN THE MARKET, AND THEN GET OUT OF AGRICULTURE." THAT GENERALLY CONSTITUTES SOME KIND OF INTERVENTIONIST LOAN RATE POLICY THAT PUTS A FLOOR IN THE MARKET.

THAT'S NOTHING MORE THAN A CENTRALIZED PRICING SYSTEM THAT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE MARKET AND HAS A PROVEN TRACK RECORD -- A PITIFUL ONE -- IN THE HISTORY BOOKS OF WHAT ONCE WAS THE SOVIET UNION.

CONCLUSION

-- ALTHOUGH THESE "BIG PICTURE" ISSUES ARE PRIORITY ONE FOR THE FUTURE PROSPERITY OF U.S. AGRICULTURE, WE'VE GOT A LOT ON OUR PLATE WITH OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES.

-- CROP INSURANCE, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CROP VARIETIES AND FARM INPUTS, ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE CREDIT AND OUR AGING FARM POPULATION ARE JUST A FEW ON THE FARM-SPECIFIC LIST. BUT ITEMS SUCH AS HEALTH CARE AND DEFICIT REDUCTION ARE ALSO OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO ALL AMERICANS, AND MUST BE A PART OF THE EQUATION WHENEVER WE LOOK AT MEANS OF IMPROVING FARM INCOME AND THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN RURAL AMERICA.

-- IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, I'M SURE ALL OF THESE ISSUES WILL BE ON THE AGENDA NEXT YEAR IN CONGRESS, AND I LOOK FORWARD

TO THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH YOUR
ORGANIZATION AS WE WORK TOWARD OUR
COMMON GOALS.