

**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 SAY THAT BECAUSE, 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.**

**-- 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**

**REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
THE FARM BUREAU OF NORTH DAKOTA**

**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.

-- 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

## **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.



**WILL LIKELY BE CONSIDERED IN THE 103rd CONGRESS --  
REMAINS TO BE SEEN.**

**-- 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.**



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 ONCE AND FOR ALL.

-- 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.

-- 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.

-- BUT THIS GOES WAY BEYOND THE OILSEEDS DISPUTE THAT SEEMS TO BE RESOLVED -- UNLESS THE FRENCH WANT TO TAKE ON THE WORLD. IT'S IMPORTANT TO EVERY WHEAT

## **NAFTA/SUGAR**

-- OF COURSE, 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 OTHER 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.



## **NAFTA**

-- OVERALL, THE NAFTA THAT WAS NEGOTIATED BY PRESIDENT BUSH IS A SHOT IN THE ARM FOR AMERICAN AGRICULTURE, ESPECIALLY IN THE LONG RUN.

-- I KNOW THAT WHEAT GROWERS IN KANSAS AND, I'M SURE, IN NORTH DAKOTA ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE RULES OF TRADE IN WHEAT BETWEEN CANADA AND MEXICO. WHILE WE WON'T SEE THE REAL EFFECT OF THOSE TERMS UNTIL A NAFTA GOES INTO EFFECT, WE'VE GOT TO REMEMBER THAT THE NAFTA CONSISTS OF TWO BILATERAL AGREEMENTS -- ONE WITH THE U.S. AND MEXICO AND ANOTHER WITH CANADA AND MEXICO.

-- IN THAT SENSE, WE NEED TO KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON HOW THE CANADIAN/MEXICAN AGREEMENT AFFECTS OUR WHEAT GROWERS, AND POSSIBLY ADDRESS THOSE CONCERNS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE U.S./CANADA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT.

-- 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.

#### OTHER FARM BUREAU ISSUES

-- I KNOW THAT FARM BUREAU MEMBERS HAVE LONG BEEN LEADERS IN ISSUES AFFECTING NOT JUST AGRICULTURAL AND TRADE POLICY, BUT IN ISSUES THAT MATTER TO EVERYONE IN RURAL AMERICA.

-- MOST NOTABLY, I HOPE TO SEE SOME REAL ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON HEALTH CARE REFORM, AND ESPECIALLY IN GETTING FULL 100% DEDUCTIBILITY OF HEALTH PREMIUMS FOR THE SELF-EMPLOYED.

## **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. THE TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF CREDITS DUE TO THEIR LATE PAYMENTS LAST WEEK MADE THINGS A BIT TOUCHY FOR A WHILE.

-- RIGHT NOW, 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.



-- YOU ALSO UNDERSTAND THE SEVERITY OF THE FEDERAL DEFICIT THAT IS LOOMING OVER NOT JUST US, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY IS MORTGAGING THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR CHILDREN. HARD CHOICES LIE AHEAD, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR RECOGNITION OF THE WORK THAT WILL BE REQUIRED TO BALANCE THE BOOKS AND GIVE OUR CHILDREN SOMETHING TO LOOK FORWARD TO.

### CONRAD'S CLAIMS REGARDING THE 1989 DISASTER ACT

SENATOR CONRAD HAS BEEN TELLING FARM AUDIENCES THAT HE SUCCESSFULLY STOOD UP TO YOU DURING SENATE DEBATE ON THE 1989 DISASTER ASSISTANCE ACT. HE CLAIMS THAT HE WON A MAJOR VICTORY FOR NORTH DAKOTA PRODUCERS, MOST SPECIFICALLY PRODUCERS OF NON-PROGRAM CROPS SUCH AS HAY AND, AT THAT TIME, OILSEEDS SUCH AS SUNFLOWERS AND CANOLA.

IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO LOOK BACK AT THE SITUATION FACING KANSAS WHEAT PRODUCERS IN BOTH 1988 AND 1989. PRODUCERS OF WINTER WHEAT IN KANSAS DID NOT GAIN ANY APPRECIABLE BENEFITS FROM THE 1988 DROUGHT BILL, AS THE 1988 CROP WAS HARVESTED PRIOR TO THE ONSET OF THE DROUGHT. THAT DRY SPELL, HOWEVER, PROVED DISASTROUS FOR THE 1989 CROP THAT FARMERS WERE ATTEMPTING TO PLANT IN BONE-DRY FIELDS IN THE FALL OF 1988.

WHILE PRODUCERS OF FALL-HARVESTED CROPS RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE ASSISTANCE FOR THEIR 1988 LOSS, WINTER WHEAT PRODUCERS WHO SUFFERED THE SAME OR EVEN MORE EXTENSIVE DAMAGE FROM THE SAME DROUGHT PERIOD WERE INELIGIBLE FOR ASSISTANCE DUE TO THE FACT THAT THEIR CROP WAS PLANTED FOR HARVEST IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR.

RECOGNIZING THAT, YOU MOVED FORWARD WITH DISASTER LEGISLATION IN 1989 THAT PROVIDED FOR WINTER WHEAT LOSSES. YOUR EFFORTS TO DIRECT THAT ASSISTANCE TO PERHAPS THE HARDEST HIT AREA IN THE COUNTRY WERE STYMIED, HOWEVER, BY CONRAD AND OTHERS WHO INSISTED UPON OPENING UP ASSISTANCE TO ALL CROPS -- PROGRAM AND NON-PROGRAM ALIKE. YOU AMENDED YOUR PROPOSAL TO INCLUDE OTHER PROGRAM CROPS AND SOYBEANS, BUT A PARTY-LINE VOTE WAS CAST IN COMMITTEE TO OPEN UP ASSISTANCE TO ALL COMMODITIES. CONRAD'S EFFORTS SLASHED BENEFITS TO PROGRAM CROP PRODUCERS IN KANSAS AND NORTH DAKOTA IN ORDER TO PROVIDE EQUAL COVERAGE FOR COMMODITIES THAT ARE NOT SUBJECTED TO THE SACRIFICES OF ACREAGE REDUCTION PROGRAMS, CONSERVATION COMPLIANCE, AND OTHER BUREAUCRATIC PROGRAM COMPLIANCE REQUIREMENTS.

#### BOTTOM LINE

- RATHER THAN FOCUSING MONEY TOWARD THE HARDEST HIT COMMODITIES WHICH MUST MEET ANNUAL PROGRAM COMPLIANCE PROVISIONS, CONRAD TOOK MONEY OUT OF NORTH DAKOTA AND SPREAD IT ELSEWHERE.
- LETTUCE GROWERS IN CALIFORNIA, TOMATO GROWERS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND ORANGE GROWERS IN FLORIDA ALL OWE CONRAD A DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS LEADERSHIP IN CUTTING BENEFITS TO THE PRODUCERS OF NORTH DAKOTA.



NOVEMBER 30, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: DAN STANLEY  
SUBJECT: NORTH DAKOTA -- AIR FORCE BASE

North Dakota is home to former Strategic Air Command Bases, one at Minot and the other at Grand Forks. Given the Air Force reorganization, these bases are under the command of "Air Combat Command (the B-52's) and Strategic Command (the Minuteman missiles). Conrad is a guy who likes to have it both ways. He pounds on the Air Force to keep his bases, but votes to slash defense spending nearly every chance he gets. Although, got concerned enough this year to vote to support the B-2 in the '93 Defense Bill (although the B-2 would not go to ND).

Of particular interest is SDI. Under the Missile Defense Act, North Dakota would be the first site for a ground based system (located at Concrete, ND). Billions in military construction would begin flowing to ND there if things were to stay on track. But Conrad has consistently supported Bumpers efforts to slash SDI.

In short, Conrad has pretty consistently played ball with the Democratic Leadership in their efforts to slash defense spending. The fallout will put North Dakota bases at risk -- not in retribution, but economics.

Should you wish to comment, you might say,

IF YOU WANT TO RID NORTH DAKOTA OF ITS MILITARY BASES, THEN VOTE FOR KENT CONRAD.

THE COMBINATION OF BILL CLINTON AND KENT CONRAD PUTS NORTH DAKOTA MILITARY BASES ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK.



November 30, 1992

Senator Dole --

There is a problem with one of the Dalrymple campaign ads that has been running in North Dakota recently.

The ConAgra people told me today that the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee has been running an ad that criticizes Mike Harper and ConAgra. The theme is a sort of populist diatribe against big business and ag processors getting too much money with not enough going to the farmer.

Harper and ConAgra are not happy since they have been fairly heavy contributors to the Committee and some of their money probably helped produce the ad. The ConAgra people told me the Senatorial Committee sent over a researcher and they gave him brochures and information on the company, some of which was used to create the ad. The ad criticizes Ralston-Purina as well.

John Z.

Wednesday  
October 14  
1992

# Los Angeles Times

COLUMN RIGHT/  
HALEY BARBOUR

## Like Taxes? Want More? Vote Clinton

■ The so-called top 2% tax bracket would stretch down to incomes of \$36,600.

Bill Clinton and his minions have worked themselves into a lather over Bush-Quayle ads that show how Clinton's economic plan will raise taxes on working Americans. True to form, Clinton has dodged the arguments and accused Republicans of dirty tricks. But as the governor loves to say, that dog won't hunt. The truth is, he will raise your taxes.

Check the fine print of his economic plan. Clinton proposes to raise taxes by \$150 billion. He says he can raise \$82.9 billion by increasing to 36% the income tax rate on the wealthiest taxpayers, hiking the Alternative Minimum Tax and imposing a surtax on millionaires. He claims he can get the money by taxing only those who make more than \$200,000 a year, "the top 2%," in his words.

That's not true, and he knows it. According to figures from the departments of Treasury and commerce, the top 2% includes any individual who earns more than \$84,800. And Clinton knows that he can grab up only about \$59 billion of the \$83 billion he needs out of that top 2%, according to Treasury Department figures.

So Clinton must dig deeper into middle-class pockets, and raise the top rate on every individual who earns more than \$52,400.

But there's more. Clinton pretends he can collect \$45 billion in revenue by taxing the earnings of foreign corporations. That's a joke. In the last year for which we have figures, foreign corporations in America produced a total of only \$2 billion in taxable income. Congress' Joint Tax Committee charitably assumes that Clinton may be able to raise \$1 billion over four years—leaving Clinton a mere \$44 billion short.

As Clinton well knows, he can cover this shortfall only by raiding even more middle-class pocketbooks. Treasury statistics show that Clinton can get his money only by throwing individuals with taxable incomes of \$36,600 and up into his roster of the rich-and-taxable.

The deeper you look into Clinton's plan, the more appalling the deception becomes. He does not fund his health-care plan, for instance. The Congressional Budget Office and the Urban Institute estimate that the governor's health-care proposals would cost about \$200 billion a year. Even if he slaps on a 7% payroll tax, he still would run a deficit of \$120 billion a year.

Clinton also has advocated imposing a 1.5% tax hike on businesses for worker retraining. That would cost billions more.

Looking at this, you can only conclude

**'Look into the details of Bill Clinton's plan, and you'll find that he plans to slam virtually every American who does not qualify for welfare.'**

that Bill Clinton thinks of the economy as a kind of board game, where you can always get money from the taxpayer. But while Clinton has made no bones about his intention to raise taxes, he has not been forthright about who would pay.

As Sam Nunn said recently: "Anybody who thinks you can raise taxes only on the rich and get the budget under control is wrong. They haven't looked at the arithmetic. Anybody who says they can do that is misleading you." Look into the details of Bill Clinton's plan, and you'll find that he plans to slam virtually every American who does not qualify for welfare. To make things worse, he would weigh down our economy at a time when we need all the steam we can get to beat our industrial competitors.

Yet that's just part of the Clinton charade. Bill Clinton also wants to raise federal spending by \$220 billion. I have no doubt that the Democrat-controlled Congress will rush to spend that money and more. The real problem arises when Clinton says he'll offset the spending by cutting \$145 billion in other spending.

While his spending hikes are real, his cuts are not. He provides specific cuts totaling only \$4.4 billion—or only 3% of the total he needs. The other "cuts" come from faint wishes—\$10 billion from the nonexistent line-item veto, \$16 billion in "administrative reforms" and so on.

Finally comes the crucial matter of his "middle-class tax cut." Once upon a time, Clinton promised a middle-class tax cut, but it has disappeared from his plan. Look at the tables at the back of his plan. The middle-class tax cut just isn't there.

When you get down to the basics, Clintonomics amounts to higher taxes, more federal spending and increased government regulation of the economy.

I can't imagine an approach more at odds with the times or the needs and mood of the American people. I haven't had anybody ever tell me, "What's wrong with America is that the federal government is not spending enough money and my taxes are too low." But Clinton seems to believe that people think that way.

So if you believe we need more spending and taxes, vote for Bill Clinton. He won't disappoint you.

*Haley Barbour was political director in the Reagan White House.*



November 30, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: BRET FOX  
SUBJECT: DALRYMPLE'S POSITION ON MARKETING LOANS

IT HAS COME TO OUR ATTENTION THAT THE CORNERSTONE OF DALRYMPLE'S AG PLATFORM IS A \$5.00 MARKETING LOAN FOR WHEAT. CONRAD HAS RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT THAT IS AN UNREALISTIC AND UNATTAINABLE GOAL -- AND HE IS CORRECT. DALRYMPLE IS TAKING A VERY POPULIST LINE THAT EVEN CONRAD CANNOT SWALLOW.

THE ATTACHED LETTER WAS SENT BY YOU AND OTHERS TO MADIGAN IN REGARD TO THE MARKETING LOANS THAT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED FOR 1993 CROPS. IN SHORT, IT POINTS OUT THAT MARKETING LOANS WERE NOT INTENDED TO BE A MEANS OF INCOME TRANSFER TO PRODUCERS -- AS DALRYMPLE WANTS TO MAKE THEM -- BUT ARE INTENDED TO FACILITATE MARKETING AND MOVING GRAIN COMPETETIVELY INTO THE WORLD MARKET.

CONRAD MAY RECOGNIZE THAT A \$5 MARKETING LOAN IS UNREALISTIC, BUT HE STILL ADVOCATES HIGH NON-RECOURSE LOAN RATES THAT IMPOSE ARTIFICIAL PRICE FLOORS AND PRICE OUR GRAIN OUT OF THE WORLD MARKET.

THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS ARE PROBABLY THE BEST ANSWER TO DALRYMPLE'S CALL FOR SUCH A HIGH MARKETING LOAN:

- MARKETING LOANS DO NOT ARTIFICIALLY INFLUENCE THE MARKET, ALLOWING OUR GRAIN TO REMAIN COMPETETIVELY PRICED FOR THE WORLD MARKET. THAT IS VITAL TO THE LONG-TERM INTERESTS OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE, WHICH IS INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT UPON FOREIGN MARKETS.
- BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS WILL ALWAYS BE THE DRIVING FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE LEVEL OF EITHER MARKETING LOANS OR TARGET PRICES, BUT THE POLICY CONSIDERATIONS UNDERLYING MARKETING LOANS ARE SOUND.
- DALRYMPLE'S KEY OVERALL FOCUS FOR RURAL AMERICA IS JOBS. BEING FROM KANSAS, I KNOW FULL WELL THE NEED TO MAINTAIN AND EXPAND THE JOB BASE IN RURAL AMERICA. AND WE CAN DO THAT BY RESTORING OUR LEADERSHIP IN WORLD AGRICULTURAL TRADE BY NOT WITHDRAWING FROM THE MARKET, BUT BY PRODUCING FOR THE MARKET AND SEEKING FAIRER AND FREER RULES OF TRADE THAT OPEN UP NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR U.S. FARMERS.



**PAT ROBERTS**

1ST DISTRICT, KANSAS

AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION  
COMMITTEE

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515**

1110 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
AREA CODE 202: 225-2715  
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LEROY TOWNS  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

MERRY M. TOBIN  
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

October 12, 1992

The Honorable Ed Madigan  
Secretary of Agriculture  
200A Administration Building  
Washington, D.C. 20250

Dear Ed:

One of the key agricultural provisions included in Title I of the 1990 OBRA mandated wheat and feed grains marketing loans for the 1993 through 1995 crop years in the event a GATT treaty was not signed by June 30, 1992. We appreciate your commitment to provide this option to producers for the coming crop year.

As originally conceived, the marketing loan concept sought to simplify farm programs by combining target price/deficiency payment and support loan mechanisms to encourage aggressive marketing by producers while providing an income safety net. It is our understanding the marketing loan implemented for wheat and feed grains will, in essence, replace the current non-recourse loan mechanism while maintaining the target price/deficiency payment regime as the primary income support mechanism.

We have been contacted by commodity organizations which strongly support marketing loan rate and repayment provisions that result in the maximum income transfer to producers. We are supportive of efforts to maximize farm income. But we are concerned that some may view implementation of the marketing loan as a means to enhance farm income via the Treasury -- while traditional concerns regarding competitiveness and the underlying purpose of such a loan are not fully considered. Your input on these considerations would be helpful as we review the available marketing loan options.

With these priorities in mind, we seek to provide our comments on the details and implementation of wheat and feed grain marketing loans. To ensure our suggestions provide reasonable guidance, we would appreciate information on the following additional considerations:

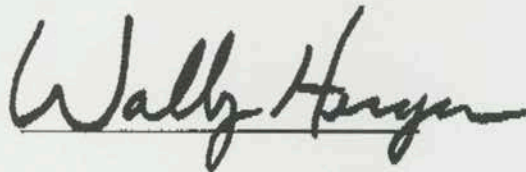
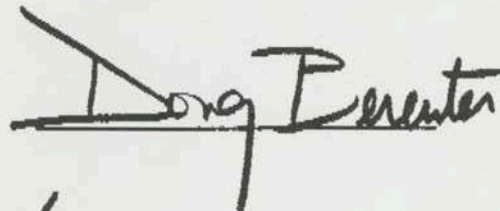

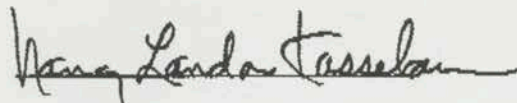
Secretary Madigan  
October 12, 1992  
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- o The per bushel range of marketing loan and repayment levels authorized by statute;
- o For each of the above, the projected impact on exports, imports, market prices, and ending stocks;
- o For each of the above, the projected budgetary exposure for each of the options and each of the crop years;
- o And, are the projected budget costs included in FY 93-95 baselines, or will these costs be subject to OBRA's pay-go requirements?

Finally, we urge consideration of implementing the loan deficiency payments. This option would provide a strong incentive to producers to commercially market their grain and potentially minimize stock-building loan forfeitures.

We look forward to receiving the requested information and the opportunity to work with you in the coming weeks to ensure speedy implementation of the wheat and feed grain marketing loans.

Sincerely,





MEMORANDUM

To: Senator Dole  
From: Jim Arnold  
Re: Jack Dalrymple/North Dakota  
Date: November 30, 1992

1. PERSONAL

Dalrymple is a fourth generation farmer who manages a 3,500 farm near Fargo. His family was one of the original "bonanza" farmers who settled the area around Fargo where they found the soil to be some of the most fertile in the nation. He grows soybean, barley, wheat and sunflowers. Dalrymple's family has been involved with agricultural research for a number of years through the Dalrymple Laboratory at North Dakota State University.

He and his wife Betsy have four daughters, two of whom attend boarding school in Connecticut, while the other two live with their parents.

He has been elected to the state legislature for four terms where during the last two sessions he has served on the Appropriations Committee. In the November election, he won election to his fifth term.

Dalrymple recently organized 1000 farmers and currently serves as chairman of the Dakota Growers Pasta Company, a \$41 million cooperative formed to process durum wheat into pasta. The plant will provide over 100 jobs to the area.

He also serves as a member of the Fargo Dome Authority, which is currently completing construction on a modern enclosed arena. Dalrymple has served as a bank director in his hometown and more recently as a bank director for the largest bank in Fargo.

2. POLITICAL UPDATE

The special election to fill the late Quentin Burdick's seat will be held on Friday, December 4. Both Dalrymple and Conrad were nominated by their respective parties in early October to run for the vacant seat.

The perception among many people is that this race is a sure winner for Conrad. Recent polls showed a 30 to 35 percent lead in ballot



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tests, and the most recent NRSC polls indicates that Conrad has broad-based support and that most people don't think his broken promises matter.

Bush carried North Dakota by 12 percent, 44% to 32% and a Republican, Ed Schafer, won the Governor's race by a 57% to 43% margin. In addition, the Republicans picked up several other statewide offices and hold two-thirds of the seats in the House and are one short of controlling the Senate. Republicans seem to be motivated by these victories and many see an opportunity to capitalize on this momentum.

Conrad, in March, announced he would not run for re-election because of his pledge during the 1986 campaign to reduce the deficit, trade balance and real interest rates. He followed that up with an announcement that he would return his general election contributions. He managed to return about \$300,000 before Quentin Burdick became ill. After that the returns stopped. He also spent about \$30,000 on TV telling people why he was resigning his seat. Once Burdick died in early September, Conrad made a perfunctory tour of the state and announced that the people wanted him to run.

Conrad started the race with about \$500,000 in his war chest and has been on the air since early October. His first spot explained why he had chosen to run for Burdick's seat and he had a spot bemoaning negative campaigning and expressing a desire to run an issues oriented campaign. Most of his current spots are soft, talking about casework, health care costs or jobs.

Dalrymple has been on TV since early October also. His spots have emphasized his agricultural and entrepreneurial background, noting the building of the pasta plant and creation of jobs. The campaign has credibility on agricultural issues since Jack is a farmer. And, the media has been receptive to Jack's ideas for agricultural marketing programs and other farm related ideas. The campaign also has tried to remind voters of the series of promises Conrad has broken.

The recent polls have caused the campaign to shift the focus almost entirely to the economic issue. What the numbers showed were that people had absolved Conrad of all of his broken promises and that they generally held him in high esteem. The poll indicated that negative attacks on Conrad were driving up Dalrymple's negatives. The campaign has begun airing spots which talk about the farm marketing program which will bring more money to North Dakota, creating jobs and improving the economy.

Dalrymple has been criticized for his \$5 marketing loan program for wheat, which many feel is not realistic. But the campaign has continued to stress the enormous economic impact of the proposal



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and to implicitly criticize Conrad for not being able to get it through Congress.

Dalrymple and Conrad have had only one televised debate-the Friday after Thanksgiving. Conrad made several statements that the campaign is now attempting to capitalize on. The first was a call for an oil import fee, the second, an increase in income taxes for high incomes and finally a cut in Medicare and Medicaid. Dalrymple plans to air new spots talking about Conrad's proposals on Monday.

The campaign originally had a budget of approximately \$500,000, but realistically will be able to raise between \$350,000 and \$400,000. However, combined with the NRSC coordinated, over half of the budget will be spent on media.

Since time is short the priorities will remain focused on raising money, doing earned media and setting up a GOTV effort.

We are identifying through a paid phone vendor Republicans and Independents who support Jack and then will send favorables an absentee ballot application. We are also sending those who voted absentee for the November election an absentee ballot application. Undecideds off the phone bank will be sent a voter contact piece, too, and many will be recalled to see if they have made a decision. We are planning a paid phone call for GOTV and a volunteer effort to do poll watching, driving and phoning on election day. In addition, other mail pieces will go to Republicans/Independents and Cass County (Fargo) residents.

#### TALKING POINTS FOR SENATOR DOLE

Note: Senator Dole will be having press conferences in Fargo, Bismarck, and Minot and will wind up in Fargo for a "Live at 5:00" interview. Minot has an air force base with ICBMs. Removal of the ICBMs from Minot is a possibility. Conrad has gotten temporary "injunctions" against removal each of the last two years, and the people of Minot appreciate it. Dalrymple feels more can be done but was excoriated in an editorial earlier this month for implying that Conrad had not done enough in support of Minot.

Senator Dole will be asked about Dalrymple's \$5 marketing loan proposal since that has been a major focus of the race. In addition, he will be asked about his and Senator Conrad's role in drought relief legislation for North Dakota.

The message of the campaign is jobs and the economy and that's what the campaign would like Senator Dole to stress. Points to stress:



page 4

\*Dalrymple will be another conservative voice in the Senate since the Democrats control both the White House and Congress/Conrad and Clinton will vote to raise taxes and increase government spending-two things that would be disastrous for the economy of North Dakota. Conrad, in the debate said he would support an oil import fee and would raise income taxes on the rich-but as we know in order to raise enough revenue to help reduce the deficit, he will have to raise taxes on the middle class. He also said in the debate he will cut entitlements like Medicaid and Medicare.

\*Dalrymple is a farmer-the only other farmer in the Senate is Grassley and the Senate needs another voice on farm policy/Conrad has failed to influence farm policy even though he sits on the Agriculture Committee, and the farm economy has deteriorated since he's been in office.

\*Dalrymple is a builder-he started from scratch and built a pasta plant that will employ 100 people-he knows how to make the pie bigger/Conrad has been a government bureaucrat his entire adult life, serving as tax commissioner before being elected to the Senate.

\*Dalrymple is a legislator-he has served four terms representing North Dakotans at the grassroots level and he has developed an understanding of the whole state through his work with fellow legislators/Conrad has been ineffective in fighting for North Dakota interests.

\*Dalrymple's farm proposals will stimulate the economy and pump billions into North Dakota. The multiplier effect will create more jobs so people will stay in the state and college graduates will not have to leave the state to find jobs.

### 3. FINANCIAL

#### NRSC

Coordinated:	\$110,480	(none remaining-media bought through election day)
Polling:	\$ 14,500	
Cash:	\$ 17,500	
Total	\$142,480	

4. POLLING/ Public Opinion Strategies, November 22 and November 10-11, 1992



page 5

<u>Ballot</u>	<u>11/11</u>	<u>11/22</u>
Conrad	58%	54%
Dalrymple	22%	22%

<u>Reelect</u>	<u>11/11</u>
Reelect	64%
New person	23%

<u>Name ID</u>	<u>11/11</u>		
	Aware	Fav	Unfav
Conrad	96%	73%	16%
Dalrymple	75%	32%	21%

	<u>11/22</u>		
	Aware	Fav	Unfav
Conrad	98%	70%	16%
Dalrymple	86%	35%	29%

<u>Job Approval</u>	<u>11/22</u>
Approve	75%
Disapprove	13%

A North Dakota poll taken from November 5-16 for nine community newspapers and released last week showed a 54% to 36% race with Conrad leading, and 56% saying that Conrad did not fulfill his pledge. The poll, however, surveyed only people living in those nine communities.

##### 5. CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION

Media/General Consultant:	Paul Wilson, Wilson Communications
Polling:	Public Opinion Strategies



**JACK DALRYMPLE**  
**U. S. SENATE CANDIDATE, NORTH DAKOTA**

Jack Dalrymple was born in Minneapolis on October 16, 1948. He attended school in Casselton, later graduated from St. Paul's School, Cum Laude, in 1966 and from Yale University with Honors in 1970. He majored in American Studies with an emphasis on history of the America West. Currently, Jack operates a family farm near Casselton, where he lives with his wife, Betsy, and four daughters, Jennifer, Lisa, Jane, and Mary Katherine. He raises wheat, durum, barley, sunflowers and soybeans.

Jack's involvements with agriculture have included: Director, U.S. Durum Growers Association; President, NDSU President's Agriculture Club; and Chairman of the Board, Dakota Growers Pasta Company. He was also awarded the U.S. Jaycees "Outstanding Young Farmer" award in 1983.

First elected to the North Dakota House of Representatives in 1984, Jack sponsored and passed many measures over four legislative sessions, primarily in educational reform, agriculture, water management and tort reform. Jack's legislative background also includes service on several North Dakota House of Representatives committees including: Judiciary; Industry; Business and Labor; and Human Services and Veterans Affairs. He served as Chairman of the 1991 session, Human Resources Section of Appropriations.

Other public service includes Past Chairman of the Board of Prairie Public Television; Past President and Co-Founder of Share House, Inc., a halfway house for recovering alcoholics and drug dependents; Director, Cass Rural Water Users; Director, Casselton Economic Development Commission; Chairman, Management Committee, Fargo Dome Authority; Special Panel Member to recommend final disposition of the ARC lawsuit to Honorable Judge Bruce Van Sickle.

Among other involvements, Jack's wife Betsy is a local school board member and a Director of the Rural Cass School Consortium.

Campaign Address: Friends For Jack Dalrymple  
550 6th Avenue, North  
Fargo, North Dakota 58012  
(701) 298-0949



November 30, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: BRET FOX/DAVE SPEARS  
SUBJECT: AGRICULTURE BRIEFING POINTS FOR NORTH DAKOTA TRIP

FOLLOWING ARE KEY POINTS THAT SENATOR CONRAD HAS BEEN TOUTING ABOUT HIS RECORD THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN:

###

ISSUE #1: SENATOR CONRAD IS PERHAPS BEST KNOWN FOR HIS EFFORTS TO FORGIVE THE REPAYMENT OF ADVANCE DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS FOR THE 1988 CROP YEAR. FOR ALL OF HIS TIRADES ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE, HOWEVER, HE FAILED TO DELIVER.

EACH SPRING, USDA PAYS PRODUCERS 40% OF THE ESTIMATED DEFICIENCY PAYMENT FOR A CROP IN ADVANCE, AND THE BALANCE IS PAID OUT LATER IN THE FALL.

IN 1988, THESE ADVANCE PAYMENTS ENDED UP BEING GREATER THAN THE FINAL PAYMENT. THE DROUGHT OF THAT YEAR HAD A DEVASTATING IMPACT ON YIELDS AND PRODUCTION, AND CAUSED MARKET PRICES TO RISE SO HIGH THAT THE FINAL DEFICIENCY PAYMENTS WERE SMALLER THAN WHAT WAS ORIGINALLY PAID OUT IN THE FORM OF ADVANCE PAYMENTS. USDA SAID, CORRECTLY, THAT UNDER THE LAW, PRODUCERS WERE REQUIRED TO REPAY USDA THE AMOUNT THAT HAD BEEN OVERPAID.

CONRAD DID GET THESE REPAYMENTS DELAYED FOR TWO YEARS. WHEN HE ATTEMPTED TO WIN OUTRIGHT FORGIVENESS OF THESE UNEARNED PAYMENTS, HE ATTEMPTED TO PAY FOR IT BY TAKING MONEY OUT OF THE EXPORT ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM -- PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND EFFECTIVE PROGRAM THAT EXISTS FOR NORTH DAKOTA WHEAT PRODUCERS. AGAIN, HIS EFFORTS FAILED.

###

ISSUE #2: CONRAD'S ONLY REAL AREA OF EFFECTIVENESS HAS BEEN ON THE AG CREDIT SUBCOMMITTEE, WHERE HE HAS DEVOTED ALL OF HIS EFFORTS TO INSTITUTIONALIZE SUBSIDIZED CREDIT AND THE MAINTENANCE OF A SORT OF CLASS WARFARE BETWEEN COMMERCIAL BORROWERS AND THOSE WHO RELY UPON SUBSIDIZED CREDIT AND OUTRIGHT DEBT FORGIVENESS TO SURVIVE.

ALTHOUGH WE ALL WISH TO ENSURE ACCESS TO CREDIT FOR BEGINNING FARMERS AND THOSE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED SEVERE CASH FLOW PROBLEMS DUE TO CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND THEIR CONTROL, THERE IS A POINT WHERE COMMON SENSE MUST COME INTO PLAY. CONRAD'S EFFORTS HAVE BEEN TO DRIVE COMMERCIAL BANKS OUT OF THE EQUATION, PRESSING INSTEAD FOR MORE GOVERNMENT IN THE CREDIT MARKET AND BIGGER DEBT FORGIVENESS/INTEREST RATE WRITE-DOWNS FOR DELINQUENT BORROWERS.

###



###

ISSUE #3: CONRAD WILL TELL FARMERS AND RANCHERS THAT HE, AS A DEMOCRAT, IS THE OBVIOUS CHOICE TO WORK WITH THE NEW CLINTON/GORE ADMINISTRATION AND FURTHER THEIR CAUSE.

THIS SHOULD FRIGHTEN ANY PRODUCER IN NORTH DAKOTA. ASSUMING THAT BUDGET CONSTRAINTS ARE GOING TO KEEP EXISTING FARM POLICY PRETTY MUCH IN PLACE, THE BIG ITEMS ON THE AG AGENDA IN THE 103rd CONGRESS ARE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

WITH A PRESIDENT WHO HAS PANDERED TO THE FAR-LEFT ENVIRONMENTAL CROWD THROUGHOUT THE CAMPAIGN -- AND A VICE-PRESIDENT WHO IS THE PATRON-SAINT OF THAT SAME CROWD -- FARMERS HAD BETTER ELECT SOMEBODY WHO WILL MAKE SURE THEIR RIGHTS AS PROPERTY OWNERS WILL BE UPHELD AS GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CLINTON/GORE CROWD BELIEVES THE GOVERNMENT KNOWS BEST ON CONSERVATION AND ENVIRONMENT ISSUES, AND WILL FIGHT EFFORTS TO COMPENSATE PROPERTY OWNERS FOR PROPERTY RIGHTS "TAKINGS" THAT COULD RESULT FROM THE PROPOSALS THEY WILL LIKELY ADVANCE ON BEHALF OF THE SIERRA CLUB.

###

ISSUE #4: BECAUSE GRAIN PRODUCERS IN NORTH DAKOTA ARE VERY MUCH OPPOSED TO GRAIN BEING IMPORTED FROM CANADA, CONRAD HAS LED EFFORTS IN THE SENATE TO IMPOSE END USE CERTIFICATES ON ALL GRAIN IMPORTED TO THE U.S. FROM ALL SOURCES. IN SHORT, THESE END USE CERTS WOULD REQUIRE CANADIAN GRAIN TO REMAIN LABELLED AS SUCH THROUGHOUT THE MARKETING CHAIN IN THE U.S. -- ADDING TREMENDOUS MARKETING COSTS THAT WILL BE PASSED ON TO PRODUCERS IN THE FORM OF LOWER PRICES.

THE BEST ANSWER TO THIS PROBLEM IS THAT THE CURRENT RULES OF TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CANADA ARE LEGAL UNDER THE U.S./CANADA FREE TRADE AGREEMENT (FTA). IF THIS PROBLEM IS INDEED SERIOUS, IT MUST BE NEGOTIATED AND RESOLVED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FTA, AND NOT UNILATERALLY BY LEGISLATIVE MANDATE. THERE ARE LIKELY A NUMBER OF PROVISIONS OF THE FTA THAT WE WOULD ALL LIKE TO SEE ADDRESSED, BUT VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT AND RISKING CANADIAN RETALIATION IS AN IRRESPONSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS BEEN A TIRELESS LEADER IN SEEKING FREER AND FAIRER RULES OF TRADE AROUND THE GLOBE, AND HAS ACHIEVED SIGNIFICANT GAINS BOTH WITH A NAFTA AND IN THE GATT. HOPEFULLY, GOVERNOR CLINTON WILL PROVE HIS SUPPORT FOR THE SAME GOALS AND ADDRESS THIS ISSUE IN THE PROPER CONTEXT -- AND NOT BY THE KIND OF LEGISLATION PUSHED BY SENATOR CONRAD.

###



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ISSUE #5: CONRAD IS ONLY TOO EAGER TO TELL HIS SUGARBEET-GROWING CONSTITUENCY OF HIS UNDYING SUPPORT FOR THEIR CAUSE AND FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE CURRENT SUGAR PROGRAM.

TRUE. HOWEVER, IT IS EMPTY RHETORIC WHEN CONSIDERING THAT ANYBODY ELECTED FROM NORTH DAKOTA IS GOING TO REPRESENT THAT CONSTITUENCY.

###

SEPARATE ISSUES

SUNFLOWERS AND THE GATT

UNDER THE PROPOSED GATT AGREEMENT, THE VOLUME OF SUBSIDIZED U.S. VEGETABLE OIL EXPORTS WILL BE SLASHED BY 77% FROM 1991-92 CROP YEAR LEVELS. FOR EXAMPLE, IF CUTS ARE EQUAL FOR ALL VEGETABLE OILS, THE REDUCTION IN SUNFLOWER OIL EXPORTS -- FROM 220,000 TONS LAST YEAR TO 50,400 TONS NEXT YEAR -- WILL BE EQUAL TO 30% OF THE TOTAL ANNUAL U.S. SUNFLOWER CROP. THAT LOSS IN DEMAND WOULD DEVASTATE THE SUNFLOWER INDUSTRY IN KANSAS AND NORTH DAKOTA.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE GATT WOULD MAKE CUTS IN SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS FROM 1986-90 LEVELS. WE DID NOT SUBSIDIZE OILSEED EXPORTS DURING THAT PERIOD -- NOT UNTIL THE "SOAP" AND "COAP" PROGRAMS OF THE 1990 FARM BILL. IN SHORT, EXPORT ASSISTANCE FOR ALL OILSEEDS IN THE U.S. WOULD BE ELIMINATED. CONVERSELY, EC OILSEED EXPORTS ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THESE CUTS, AS THEIR EXPORTS ARE SUBSIDIZED INDIRECTLY VIA LARGE PAYMENTS TO PRODUCERS. AND, THE OILSEED DEAL WORKED OUT RECENTLY ACTUALLY DOES VERY LITTLE TO LIMIT THE VOLUME OF EC EXPORTS.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION WOULD BE TO REQUIRE THAT USDA PROVIDE MARKET OFFSETS FOR THE VOLUME OF LOST OIL EXPORTS (ABOUT 550,000 TONS PER YEAR). OFFSETS COULD BE INCREASED SALES UNDER BOTH PL-480 AND U.S. FOOD ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND MAKING OIL AVAILABLE AS FEEDSTOCK FOR ESTABLISHING A DOMESTIC BIODIESEL INDUSTRY. ALSO, PERSUADING MEXICO TO ELIMINATE IMMEDIATELY THEIR 10% IMPORT TARIFF ON SUNFLOWER OIL WOULD PROVIDE ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE OUTLET.

###





## TELECOPIER TRANSMITTAL

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

TO: Senator Dole - ATTN Clarkson AINE  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_FROM: DAN Stanley  
\_\_\_\_\_

Office of Senator Bob Dole  
141 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

(202) 224-6521

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: 4  
\_\_\_\_\_

SUBJ: \_\_\_\_\_

DECEMBER 1, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: DAN STANLEY  
SUBJECT: CONRAD VOTES ON DEFENSE

Conrad has played it both ways on key defense programs over the past three years:

- a rating of 10 by the American Security Counsel '88, and 40 in 89
- a rating of 18 on SDI by the ACU, 101st Cong (1st session)
- he voted against final passage of the FY'91 Defense Appropriations Bill (passed 79-16)
- he voted for an unspecified cut of \$600 million in SDI ('91 Defense Bill)
- he voted for an unspecified cut of \$400 million in SDI ('91 Defense Bill)
- voted against an amendment designed to minimize the adverse effects of base closure on local communities ('91 Defense Bill)
- Voted to terminate the B-2 bomber until the '93 Defense Bill, then changed his mind and supported the program.
- voted to fund an overseas bases in Italy ('91 Defense Bill)
- voted to cap the ground based interceptor program ('91 Defense Bill)-- also cut Brilliant Pebbles.
- voted cuts in B-2 (\$3.2B), MX (\$225M), and SDI (\$1.1B). ('92 Defense Bill)
- voted to cut \$1 billion from SDI, and voted for lower funding of the ground based Limited Defense System. ('92 Defense Bill)
- joined Liberals in voting to cut \$500 from our Intelligence Budget

Conrad's recent record on SDI is mixed. He supported cuts in Brilliant Pebbles, supported some general unspecified cuts in the program, but avoided direct attacks on ground based interceptors. However, some of the Bumpers/Sasser amendments, which Conrad supported, provided funding caps and other measures that would slow or limit our ability to deploy defenses at his North Dakota site. As a result of his voting record, Conrad is, by no means, viewed as a friend of the defense department.



## SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

102nd Congress  
1st Session

Vote No. 207

September 25, 1991, 7:13 p.m.  
Page S-13687 (Temp. Record)

## DOD APPROPRIATIONS/\$1.1 Billion SDI Reduction

**SUBJECT:** Department of Defense appropriations for fiscal year 1992 . . . H.R. 2521. Senator Inouye motion to table Division III of the Sasser modified amendment No. 1193.

## ACTION: MOTION TO TABLE AGREED TO, 50-49

**SYNOPSIS:** Pertinent votes on this legislation include Nos. 206 and 208-211.

As reported, H.R. 2521, the Department of Defense appropriations bill for fiscal year 1992, will provide \$270.40 billion in budget authority and \$275.22 billion in outlays for military functions of the Department of Defense, including pay, allowances, support of military personnel, operation and maintenance, procurement of equipment and systems, and research and development.

The Sasser modified amendment to the committee amendment on page 4, line 5, would, in effect, decrease appropriations for the B-2 Bomber Program by \$3.2 billion, for the MX Rail Garrison Program by \$225 million, and for the Strategic Defense Initiative and Theater Missile Defense Initiative by \$1.1 billion.

Division III of the Sasser modified amendment would strike \$1.1 billion from the headings under title IV of the bill entitled "Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Army" and "Research, Development, Test and Evaluation, Defense Agencies". Funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative and the Theater Missile Defense Program would be specifically reduced from the authorized level of \$4.1 billion to \$3.5 billion.

Following debate, Senator Inouye moved to table Division III of the amendment. Generally, those favoring the motion to table opposed the amendment; those opposing the motion to table favored the amendment.

**NOTE:** Originally, Senator Sasser offered one undivided amendment to reduce the amount of funds for three Department of Defense programs, which he subsequently modified. Under Senate Rule XV, an amendment containing more than one proposition will be divided at a Senator's request. Following the modification, Senator Leahy requested that the amendment be divided. The pending question then became Division I of the Sasser modified amendment. Following the vote on Division I, Division II was further divided at the request of Senator Inouye. By unanimous consent, Division III was considered prior to Division II. See vote Nos. 206 and 208.

(See other side)

YEAS (50)			NAYS (49)			NOT VOTING (1)	
Republicans (38 or 88%)	Democrats (12 or 21%)		Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (44 or 79%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (1)
Bond	Lugar	Bentsen	Chafee	Adams	Kerry		
Brown	Mack	Bingaman	Grassley	Akaka	Kohl		Kerrey-1
Burns	McCain	Burdick	Hatfield	Baucus	Lautenberg		
Coats	McConnell	Dixon	Jeffords	Biden	Leahy		
Cochran	Murkowski	Dodd	Kassebaum	Boren	Levin		
Cohen	Nickles	Eron		Bradley	Lieberman		
Craig	Packwood	Heflin		Breaux	Metzenbaum		
D'Amato	Pressler	Hollings		Bryan	Mikulski		
Danforth	Roth	Inouye		Bumpers	Mitchell		
Dole	Rudman	Nunn		Byrd	Moynihan		
Domenici	Seymour	Robb		Conrad	Pell		
Durenberger	Simpson	Shelby		Cranston	Pryor		
Garn	Smith			Daschle	Reid		
Gorton	Specter			DeConcini	Riegle		
Gramm	Stevens			Ford	Rockefeller		
Hatch	Symms			Fowler	Sanford		
Helms	Thurmond			Glenn	Sarbanes		
Kasten	Waliop			Gore	Sasser		
Lott	Warner			Graham	Simon		
				Harkin	Wellstone		
				Johnston	Wirth		
				Kennedy	Wofford		

## EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

1—Official Business  
2—Necessarily Absent  
3—Illness  
4—Other

## SYMBOLS:

AY—Announced Yea  
AN—Announced Nay  
PY—Paired Yea  
PN—Paired Nay



## SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS—TEMPORARY

cc: SB, JW, DA

102nd Congress  
2d Session

Vote No. 215

September 17, 1992, 9:55 p.m.  
Page S-13850 (Temp. Record)

## DOD AUTHORIZATION/SDI Compromise Cut

**SUBJECT:** Department of Defense Authorization for fiscal years 1993-1997 . . . S. 3114. Nunn/Warner substitute amendment No. 3036 to the Sasser/Bumpers/Jeffords modified amendment No. 2918.

## ACTION: AMENDMENT AGREED TO, 52-46

**SYNOPSIS:** As reported, S. 3114, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1993, will authorize \$274.5 billion in budget authority for the Department of Defense, the national security programs of the Department of Energy, military construction and civil defense. This amount is \$7 billion below the Administration's request, and is \$3.5 billion higher than the House-passed authorization bill.

The Sasser/Bumpers modified amendment would prohibit the obligation of more than \$3.300 billion of fiscal year 1993 Department of Defense funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Procurement spending would be limited to \$62.5 million. The balance would be spent on research, development, testing, and evaluation, with the following limits: \$1.490 billion for the Limited Defense System program element; \$997.5 million for the Theater Missile Defense program element; \$100 million for the Space-Based Interceptors program element; \$325 million for the Other Follow-On Systems program element, and \$325 million for the Research and Support Activities program element. (Note that these limits, in the aggregate, exceed the \$3.3 billion total limit.)

The Nunn/Warner substitute amendment to the Sasser/Bumpers modified amendment would prohibit the obligation of more than \$3.8 billion of fiscal year 1993 Department of Defense funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Procurement spending would be limited to \$62.5 million. The balance would be spent on research, development, testing, and evaluation, with the following limits: \$2.090 billion for the Limited Defense System program element; \$997.5 million for the Theater Missile Defenses program element; \$350 million for the Space-Based Interceptors program element; \$400 million for the Other Follow-On Systems program element; and \$400 million for the Research and Support Activities program element. (Note that these limits, in the aggregate, exceed the total limit of \$3.8 billion.)

**NOTE:** Following the vote on the Nunn/Warner substitute amendment, the Sasser/Bumpers amendment, as amended, was adopted by voice vote.

(See other side)

YEAS (52)			NAYS (46)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Republicans (39 or 91%)		Democrats (13 or 24%)	Republicans (4 or 9%)	Democrats (42 or 76%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (2)
Bond	Lugar	Bentsen	Chafee	Adams	Kerry		Gore-2
Brown	Mack	Bingaman	Grassley	Akaka	Kohl		Wirth-2
Burns	McCain	Boren	Hatfield	Baucus	Lautenberg		
Coats	McConnell	Dixon	Jeffords	Biden	Leahy		
Cochran	Murkowski	Exon		Bradley	Levin		
Cohen	Nickles	Glenn		Breaux	Lieberman		
Craig	Packwood	Graham		Bryan	Metzenbaum		
D'Amato	Pressler	Heflin		Bumpers	Mikulski		
Danforth	Roth	Hollings		Burdick	Jocely Mitchell		
Dole	Rudman	Inouye		Byrd	Moynihan		
Domenici	Seymour	Nunn		Conrad	Pell		
Durenberger	Simpson	Robb		Cranston	Pryor		
Garn	Smith	Shelby		Daschle	Reid		
Gorton	Specter			DeConcini	Riegle		
Gramm	Stevens			Dodd	Rockefeller		
Hatch	Symms			Ford	Sanford		
Helms	Thurmond			Fowler	Sarbanes		
Kassebaum	Wallop			Harkin	Sasser		
Kasten	Warner			Johnston	Simon		
Lott				Kennedy	Wellstone		
				Kerrey	Wofford		

## EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business  
2—Necessarily Absent  
3—Illness  
4—Other

## SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea  
AN—Announced Nay  
PY—Paired Yea  
PN—Paired Nay



## SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS—TEMPORARY

cc: SP, J, DA

102nd Congress  
2d Session

Vote No. 214

September 17, 1992, 9:22 p.m.  
Page S-13843 (Temp. Record)

## DOD AUTHORIZATION/SDI \$1 billion Cut

**SUBJECT:** Department of Defense Authorization for fiscal years 1993-1997 . . . S. 3114. Bumpers modified amendment No. 2919 to the Sasser/Bumpers/Jeffords modified amendment No. 2918.

## ACTION: AMENDMENT REJECTED, 48-50

**SYNOPSIS:** As reported, S. 3114, the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1993, will authorize \$274.5 billion in budget authority for the Department of Defense, the national security programs of the Department of Energy, military construction and civil defense. This amount is \$7 billion below the Administration's request, and is \$3.5 billion higher than the House-passed authorization bill.

The Sasser/Bumpers modified amendment would prohibit the obligation of more than \$3.300 billion of fiscal year 1993 Department of Defense funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). Procurement spending would be limited to \$62.5 million. The balance would be spent on research, development, testing, and evaluation, with the following spending authority limits: \$1.490 billion for the Limited Defense System program element; \$997.5 million for the Theater Missile Defense program element; \$100 million for the Space-Based Interceptors program element; and \$325 million for the Research and Support Activities program element. (Note that these limits, in the aggregate, exceed the total limit of \$3.3 billion.)

The Bumpers modified perfecting amendment to the Sasser amendment would increase the amount that could be obligated for SDI to \$3.301 billion.

**NOTE:** Following the rejection of the Bumpers amendment, the Senate considered and passed a Nunn/Warner substitute amendment to the Sasser/Bumpers amendment (see vote No. 215). The Senate earlier rejected a Warner motion to table the Sasser/Bumpers amendment on August 7, 1992 (see vote No. 182).

Those favoring the amendment contended:

We rejected a motion to table the Sasser/Bumpers amendment, which is for all intents and purposes identical to the

(See other side)

YEAS (48)			NAYS (50)			NOT VOTING (2)	
Republicans (5 or 12%)	Democrats (43 or 78%)		Republicans (38 or 88%)	Democrats (12 or 22%)		Republicans (0)	Democrats (2)
Chafee	Adams	Kerry	Bond	Lott	Bentsen		Gore-2
Grassley	Akaka	Kohl	Brown	Lugar	Bingaman		Wirth-1
Hatfield	Baucus	Lautenberg	Burns	Mack	Boren		
Jeffords	Biden	Leahy	Coats	McCain	Dixon		
Pressler	Bradley	Levin	Cochran	McConnell	Exon		
	Breaux	Lieberman	Cohen	Murkowski	Graham		
	Bryan	Metzenbaum	Craig	Nickles	Heflin		
	Bumpers	Mikulski	D'Amato	Packwood	Hollings		
	Burdick Jocely	Mitchell	Danforth	Roth	Inouye		
	Byrd	Moynihan	Dole	Rudman	Nunn		
	Conrad	Pell	Domenici	Seymour	Robb		
	Cranston	Pryor	Durenberger	Simpson	Shelby		
	Daschle	Reid	Garn	Smith			
	DeConcini	Riegle	Gorton	Specter			
	Dodd	Rockefeller	Gramm	Stevens			
	Ford	Sanford	Hatch	Symms			
	Fowler	Sarbanes	Helms	Thurmond			
	Glenn	Sasser	Kassebaum	Wallop			
	Harkin	Simon	Kasten	Warner			
	Johnston	Wellstone					
	Kennedy	Wofford					
	Kerrey						

## EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business  
2—Necessarily Absent  
3—Illness  
4—Other

## SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea  
AN—Announced Nay  
PY—Paired Yea  
PN—Paired Nay

DRAFT #2  
11/30/92

CONTACTS:  
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202/408-5105 (O)  
202/408-5117 FAX  
703/845-1714 (H)

Kevin Cramer or  
Jim Arnold  
701/298-0949  
701/234-0479 FAX

SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULE -- TUESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1992

7:45 AM           Lv. Residence

8:00 AM           Ar. Washington National Airport  
                  Signature Flight Support  
                  703/549-8340

*8:00 A.M.*  
8:15 AM           Lv. Washington

AIRCRAFT:   Coastal Corp. Sabreliner 40  
TAIL NO.:   N 408 CC

PILOT:       Mark Assaid  
CO-PILOT:   Ken Calhoun

MANIFEST:   Senator Dole  
             Clarkson Hine

FLIGHT TIME:  3 hrs 30 mins  
TIME CHANGE:  -1 hour

CONTACT:   Lucy Harris  
            713/877-6760  
            713/877-7260 (FAX)

10:30 AM       Ar. Fargo, North Dakota  
                Valley Aviation  
                701/237-6882

10:30 AM-  
11:00 AM       AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE WITH JACK DALRYMPLE

11:05 AM       Lv. Fargo

FLIGHT TIME:  45 mins

11:50 AM       Ar. Bismarck, N.D.  
                Executive Air Taxi  
                800/932-8924



PAGE TWO

12:00 PM- AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE  
12:30 PM

12:45 PM- LUNCHEON EVENT WITH JACK DALRYMPLE  
1:45 PM

2:00 PM Lv. Bismarck

MANIFEST: Senator Dole  
Jack Dalrymple  
Staff

FLIGHT TIME: 30 mins

2:30 PM Ar. Minot, N.D.  
International Airport  
701/852-1388

2:35 PM- AIRPORT PRESS CONFERENCE  
3:05 PM

3:10 PM Lv. Minot

FLIGHT TIME: 45 mins

3:55 PM Ar. Fargo, N.D.  
Valley Aviation  
701/237-6882

4:15 PM VISIT NATIONAL FARM BUREAU MEETING  
Holiday Inn

5:00 PM Live TV Interview

5:30 PM Lv. Fargo

FLIGHT TIME: 2 hrs 45 mins

9:15 PM Ar. Washington National Airport  
703/549-8340

## **NORTH DAKOTA**

### **1992 PARTY STRUCTURE**

#### **Committee Members:**

##### **Chairman KEVIN CRAMER**

Elected: June 1991

Next election: June 1993

**CRAMER** is the former Executive Director of the North Dakota party. Cramer is an effective spokesperson for the party and its candidates.

##### **National Committeeman BERNIE DARDIS**

Elected: April 1992

Next Election: April 1996

**DARDIS** is Vice-Chair of the state party. He was elected in April of this year, defeating Jack Bernabucci, who resigned following his defeat. He owns a sign company in Fargo.

##### **National Committeewoman CONNIE NICHOLAS**

Elected: April 1992

Next Election: April 1996

**NICHOLAS** is a member of the executive committee for the state party and a regional chairperson. Her husband has served in the state legislature for the past ten years. They reside on a farm in Cando.

#### **Bush/Quayle '92 Leadership:**

Chairman: **MIKE UNJEM**

Co-Chairman: **JIM SCHLOSSER**

#### **Victory '92 Leadership:**

Chairman: **KEVIN CRAMER**

#### **State Party Overview:**

The North Dakota Party runs a very good operation. They have a full-time staff of six people in addition to a full-time, paid Chairman.



ND

**Financial Status:**

The State Party has approximately \$50,000 on hand. The Party has established a very successful low-dollar fundraising program that enables it to assist legislative candidates as well as the three statewide candidates.

The Victory '92 account opened with nearly \$20,000 raised from two stops by **MARILYN QUAYLE** on July 23 & 24. The Victory '92 account was further assisted by an August 3rd roundtable event with Secretary **MADIGAN**.

**1992 GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS  
NORTH DAKOTA**

11/04/92 05:53 PM

	<u>Number of Votes</u>	<u>% of Vote</u>	
<b><u>PRESIDENT (3 Electors)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) George Bush-R	135,498	44	
Bill Clinton-D	98,950	32	
Ross Perot-I	70,706	23	
Other	1,790	1	
 <b><u>U. S. SENATE (OPEN-D)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
Byron Dorgan-D	178,423	59	
Steve Sydnese-R	117,832	39	
Other	6,436	2	
 <b><u>U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</u></b>			
 <b><u>At-Large CD (OPEN-D)</u></b>			<b>94 % reporting</b>
J. T. Korsmo-R	113,049	41	
Earl Pomeroy-D	162,087	59	
Other			
 <b><u>MAJOR STATEWIDE OFFICES</u></b>			
 <b><u>GOVERNOR/LT. GOVERNOR (OPEN-D)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
Edward Schafer/Rosemarie Myrdal-R	175,588	58	
Nick Spaeth/Julie Hill-D	123,242	41	
Other			
 <b><u>SECRETARY OF STATE</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) Jim Kusler-D	139,291	48	
Al Jaeger-R	151,311	52	
 <b><u>ATTORNEY GENERAL (OPEN-D)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
Warren "Duke" Albrecht-R	112,103	38	
Heidi Heitkamp-D	185,464	62	



	<u>Number of Votes</u>	<u>% of Vote</u>	
<b><u>PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) Leo M. Reinbold-R	174,468	61	
Julie Erjavec-D	113,356	39	
<b><u>AGRICULTURE COMMISSIONER</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) Sarah Vogel-D	169,436	57	
Bill Bowman-R	114,365	39	
Other	12,526	4	
<b><u>TREASURER (OPEN-D)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
Claus H. Lembke-R	139,748	48	
Kathi Gilmore-D	148,228	52	
<b><u>TAX COMMISSIONER (OPEN)</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
Robert E. Hanson-D	146,314	50.2	
Rod Backman-R	145,333	49.8	
<b><u>AUDITOR</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) Mike Puklich-D	106,601	37	
Robert W. Peterson-R	179,995	63	
<b><u>INSURANCE COMMISSIONER</u></b>			<b>100 % reporting</b>
(I) Glenn Pomeroy-D	160,580	54	
Kent A. Olson-R	119,743	40	
Other	16,441	6	

## **LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS**

### **State Senate**

TOTAL SEATS	# SEATS UP	NET CHANGE	NEW COUNT
27D	12D	- 2D	25D
26R	13R	- 2R	24R

### **State House of Representatives**

TOTAL SEATS	# SEATS UP	NET CHANGE	NEW COUNT
58R	58R		64R * 2 seats
48D	48D		32D still undecided.

ND - p.3

NORTH DAKOTA

OFFICE	NAME	AMOUNT	WON/LOST
CD-At Large	J.T. Korsmo	1,000	Lost
Governor	Ed Schafer	10,000 Primary 15,000 General	Won
Atty Gen	Duke Albrecht	5,000	Lost
St Treasurer	Claus Lembke	5,000	Lost
Senate Caucus		2,500	Lost



December 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO THE LEADER

FROM: JOHN DIAMANTAKIOU

SUBJECT: POLITICAL BRIEFING

Below is an outline of your briefing materials for North Dakota.

Enclosed are the following:

1. Campaign briefing:
  - talking points - issues
  - biographical materials
2. Republican National Committee Briefing
3. Clips (courtesy of campaign & wire services)
4. State Statistical Summary
5. North Dakota State Committee/DFP Supporters
6. State Map

Good luck!

November 30, 1992

TO: SENATOR DOLE  
FROM: BRET FOX  
SUBJECT: JOHN GORDLEY MEETING REQUEST -- OILSEEDS

JOHN GORDLEY HAS MADE A PERSONAL REQUEST TO MEET WITH YOU AT YOUR EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONVENIENCE IN REGARD TO THE RECENT U.S./EC OILSEED AGREEMENT AND THE OILSEED PROVISIONS OF THE PENDING GATT AGREEMENT. AS YOU KNOW, JOHN HAS RECENTLY TAKEN OVER WASHINGTON AFFAIRS FOR THE SOYBEAN ASSOCIATION, AND NOW REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF ALL OILSEED PRODUCERS -- WHO WERE THE ONLY INDUSTRY FIGHTING THIS OILSEED BATTLE FOR 5 YEARS AND ENDED UP GETTING TREATED THE WORST.

UNDER THE PROPOSED GATT AGREEMENT, THE VOLUME OF SUBSIDIZED U.S. VEGETABLE OIL EXPORTS WILL BE SLASHED BY 77% FROM 1991-92 CROP YEAR LEVELS. IF CUTS ARE EQUAL FOR ALL VEGETABLE OILS, THE REDUCTION IN SUNFLOWER OIL EXPORTS WILL BE EQUAL TO 30% OF THE TOTAL ANNUAL U.S. SUNFLOWER CROP. THAT LOSS IN DEMAND WOULD DEVASTATE THE SUNFLOWER INDUSTRY IN KANSAS AND NORTH DAKOTA.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE GATT WOULD MAKE CUTS IN SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS FROM 1986-90 LEVELS. WE DID NOT SUBSIDIZE OILSEED EXPORTS DURING THAT PERIOD -- NOT UNTIL THE "SOAP" AND "COAP" PROGRAMS OF THE 1990 FARM BILL. IN SHORT, EXPORT ASSISTANCE FOR ALL OILSEEDS IN THE U.S. WOULD BE ELIMINATED. CONVERSELY, EC OILSEED EXPORTS ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THESE CUTS, AS THEIR EXPORTS ARE SUBSIDIZED INDIRECTLY VIA LARGE PAYMENTS TO PRODUCERS. AND, THE OILSEED DEAL WORKED OUT RECENTLY ACTUALLY DOES VERY LITTLE TO LIMIT THE VOLUME OF EC EXPORTS.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION WOULD BE TO REQUIRE THAT USDA PROVIDE MARKET OFFSETS FOR THE VOLUME OF LOST OIL EXPORTS (ABOUT 550,000 TONS PER YEAR). OFFSETS COULD BE INCREASED SALES UNDER BOTH PL-480 AND U.S. FOOD ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND MAKING OIL AVAILABLE AS FEEDSTOCK FOR ESTABLISHING A DOMESTIC BIODIESEL INDUSTRY. ALSO, PERSUADING MEXICO TO ELIMINATE IMMEDIATELY THEIR 10% IMPORT TARIFF ON SUNFLOWER OIL WOULD PROVIDE ANOTHER ALTERNATIVE OUTLET.

THIS IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO JOHN AND ALL OILSEED PRODUCERS. JOHN IS AVAILABLE FOR A MEETING ON WEDNESDAY, BUT WILL BE OUT OF TOWN ON THURSDAY AND FRIDAY.

OPTION:

SCHEDULE MEETING

YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_



# ROLL CALL



THE NEWSPAPER OF CAPITOL HILL

VOL. 38, NO. 41

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1992

\$2.50

## Democrats' North Dakota Worries Rise After Coverdell Nips Fowler in Georgia

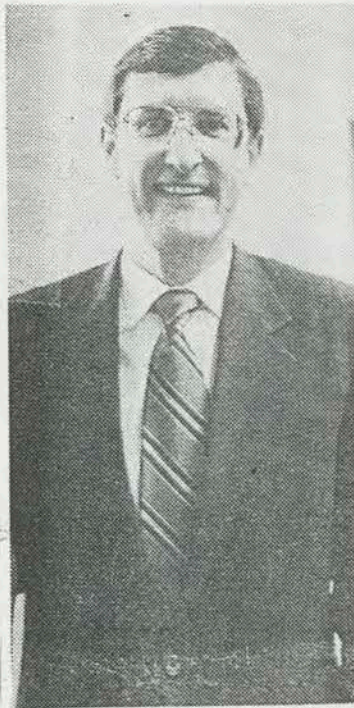


Photo by Laura Patterson

**Sen. Conrad is favored Friday in the last race of the year, but no one is taking it for granted.**

By Tim Curran  
and Karen Foerstel

After last week's defeat of Sen. Wyche Fowler (D-Ga) by former Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell (R), Democrats fear the GOP may use its post-Georgia momentum to make inroads into the commanding lead Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad is carrying into the North Dakota special election this Friday.

Coverdell beat Fowler in an unprecedented runoff after neither candidate received a majority on Nov. 3 — even though Fowler led in that initial balloting. But in the runoff, Coverdell prevailed by 15,000 votes out of 1.2 million cast, a margin of barely one percent.

"My fear all along has been that if [Fowler] went down to defeat, the Republicans might feel emboldened in North Dakota and make a stronger run at Kent Conrad," Democratic Senatorial Campaign

Continued on page 38



AP Photo

**In Atlanta, improbable Republican victor Paul Coverdell holds aloft an Energizer rabbit, symbol of a race in which he kept going and going and going and, finally, on Tuesday, defeated Sen. Wyche Fowler, erasing the Democrats' one-seat gain. Now both parties are looking west.**



# After Fowler's Loss, Democrats Fret a Bit

Continued from page 1

Committee political director Don Foley said Wednesday.

Coverdell's improbable march erased what had earlier appeared to be a one-seat Democratic gain in the Senate, leaving the current balance for the 103rd Congress at 56 Democrats and 43 Republicans, pending the outcome of the North Dakota special.

*The Democrats are now back where they started, with no more than 57 seats, failing to win a filibuster proof edge.*

cial, which was called to fill out the remaining two years of the term of Sen. Quentin Burdick (D), who died in September.

Even if Conrad wins, Democrats will have little over which to rejoice. This year marks the first time since 1960 that an opposition party, in gaining the White House, was unable to pick up seats in either the House or Senate.

In fact, Democrats could still suffer a net loss of one seat in a year in which, as recently as late October, they believed they could pick up three or four seats and create a filibuster-free Senate majority for the party.

Conrad earlier this year announced his retirement after one term but then changed his mind to run for Burdick's seat. Before the Georgia race, he appeared in a seemingly untouchable position, holding a 57 to 30 percent advantage in early November polling.

And while the prospect of actually losing a seat this year has made Democrats nervous, the GOP has little time to rev up a real race in North Dakota.

Until last week, Republicans had unquestionably put the higher priority on beating Fowler. NRSC Chairman Phil Gramm (Texas) even canceled a planned appearance with the North Dakota GOP candidate, state Rep. Jack Dalrymple, Monday to campaign with Coverdell instead.

"I think right now [Conrad] does maintain a lead," Foley of the DSCC said. "No lead is safe and we're certainly not treating it as safe." He said there has been no evidence of any deterioration in Conrad's lead, and played down the idea that there

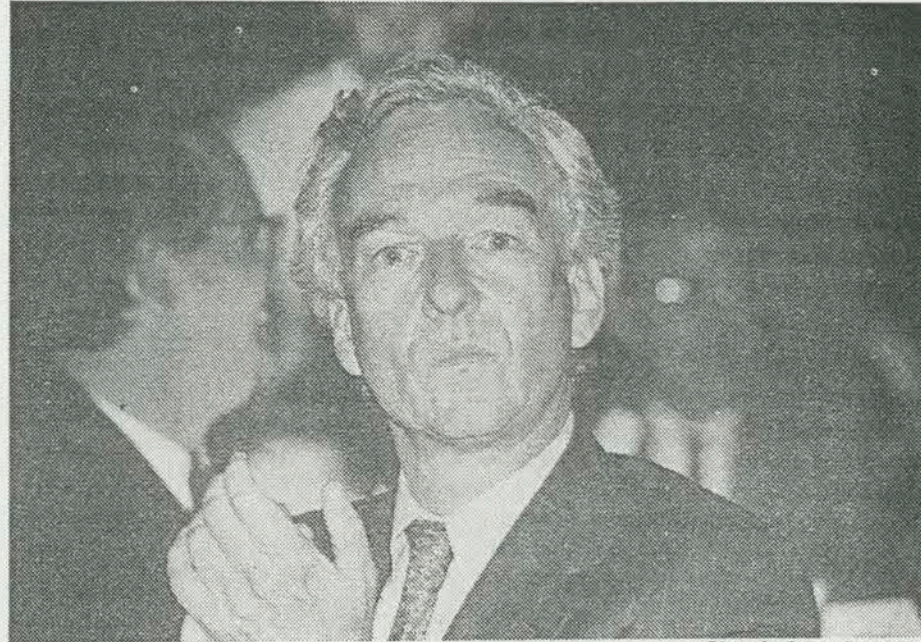


Photo by Laura Patterson

Fowler ran a curiously lackluster race, and, in the end, even an appearance Monday by President-elect Bill Clinton couldn't help him win a second term.

was any kind of national trend going on in the two Senate specials.

"Voters seem to make choices between two people," Foley said. "What occurred in Georgia yesterday will have minimal impact." But, Foley said, the win could lead the GOP to "shoot some more resources in there" for Dalrymple's effort.

As of Nov. 14, the NRSC had given Dalrymple the \$17,500 maximum in direct assistance.

Coverdell's victory helped to boost GOP spirits and make Senate Majority

Leader George Mitchell's (D-Maine) once rosy prospects for a filibuster-proof majority look like an election eve fantasy. If Conrad wins, the balance in the Senate would be the same as it was after Sen. Harris Wofford's (D) victory in 1991 over Republican Dick Thornburgh in the race to succeed the late Sen. John Heinz (R) in Pennsylvania.

The best efforts of the Democratic party, including visits by the President-elect and Vice President-elect, the allocation of staff, money, and the Clinton campaign organization in the state to Fowler, weren't enough to offset Coverdell's increasingly hard-edged campaign.

Coverdell sought to tap the mood for change brewing in the electorate, and appeared to succeed. He hammered at Fowler, who never appeared to hit his full campaign stride, for talking like one kind of Senator in Georgia and voting the liberal "Ted Kennedy-George Mitchell" line in Washington.

In a campaign that saw questionable charges from both campaigns, Coverdell

*In early November polling, Conrad had a 57-30% lead over Dalrymple in the North Dakota special.*

also pounded at Fowler for supporting pay raises and charged that he had bounced checks at the House Bank during his decade there, a charge which Fowler repeatedly denied and which Coverdell had no real evidence to support.

"It was an extension of the national election," Coverdell said last Wednesday. "Change was still on the mind of the people of Georgia."

Continued from page 38

Coverdell, 53, also made effective use of Fowler's support for President-elect Bill Clinton's advocacy of lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military. Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga), the most popular politician in the state, opposes lifting the ban, as does Coverdell.

Coverdell won with surprisingly strong support among rural voters and built up enough votes in the suburbs to blunt Fowler's strong urban support. The turnout was slightly better than predicted but was still little more than half the 2.2 million who voted Nov. 3.

Coverdell has promised to make his office a "command center" for small businesses, and took the "Lead or Leave" pledge, meaning that if the deficit has not been halved by fiscal year 1996, he will not seek re-election in 1998. While he picked up support in the from groups such as the National Rifle Association and National Right to Life, Coverdell is considered to be a moderate on many issues. He says he supports abortion rights but is opposed to the proposed Freedom of Choice Act because it infringes on the power of states.



Coverdell certainly had the toughest

**Coverdell took the 'Lead or Leave' pledge, stressed that he was an agent of change, and capitalized on his opposition to allowing gays in the military.**

route to the Senate of any of the 12 Senate freshmen: An early frontrunner for the GOP nomination, he had to go through a crowded primary and runoff before finally winning the Republican nod, and then faced the two races with Fowler before he finally won.

He served 17 years in the state Senate as one of only a handful of Republicans in that chamber, was chairman of the state party, and performed as George Bush's state campaign chairman in both Bush's unsuccessful 1980 primary bid and his 1988 victory. Bush tapped Coverdell to be his director of the Peace Corps in 1989, a position he held until resigning to make the Senate race last year. Coverdell also runs an insurance company that he founded with his parents.

Fowler's defeat means there will be at least six openings on the Senate Appropriations Committee, three Democratic and three Republican — roughly one-fifth of the committee. Fowler also holds an appointive leadership post as assistant floor leader.

The North Dakota race, forced by Burdick's death in September, has focused on agriculture issues and what Dalrymple calls Conrad's "broken pledge" not to run for re-election if the national deficit was not greatly reduced by 1992.

Conrad has tried to defend himself on the issue by citing requests from senior officials in the state, including Gov. George Sinner (D) and Burdick's widow Jocelyn (who was temporarily appointed to her husband's seat until Friday's special), as well as editorial writers, that he run for the open seat to maintain the state's seniority in the Senate.

Conrad's current Senate seat was filled by Democratic Rep. Byron Dorgan in last month's election.

Bolstered by his status as the prohibitive favorite, Conrad has outspent Dalrymple by \$451,000 to \$150,000, according to Federal Election Commission filings covering the period Oct. 1 to Nov. 14.

The Democrat started the campaign with \$390,000 in cash on hand, while Dalrymple came into October with \$12,500. Dalrymple also took out a \$50,000 bank loan for his campaign in recent weeks. Conrad raised \$300,000 during the period, 90 percent of it from political action committees.

Dalrymple is promoting his experience as a wheat and barley farmer along with his successful efforts during his time in the legislature to bring a cooperative pasta-making company to the state.

Mond:

Conrad, however, has a strong agriculture record in the Senate (he's on the Agriculture Committee and chairs its agricultural credit subcommittee) and has successfully countered Dalrymple's proposal to grant \$5 government loans to farmers for each bushel of wheat they produce.

Conrad has cited agricultural economists as saying the program would cost the government \$7 billion and has compared Dalrymple to a "snake oil salesman" for promoting the plan.

Both candidates have been saturating the airwaves, but pundits say voters appear weary after deciding 13 statewide races in the November elections. Turnout is expected to be low, with only about 25 percent of the voters likely to visit the polls Friday.

Local media outlets have curbed plans for public polling in the face of what they see as tremendous advantages for Conrad.

iy, ..... 30, 1992 ROLL CALL Page 39

rad. But the NRSC, perhaps emboldened by its win last Tuesday in Georgia, will certainly step up efforts to get Dalrymple elected.

And the broken-promises issue could be one that pushes the right buttons with voters in a year focusing on change and an end to business as usual. In a "cheap" media state, Dalrymple should be able to get that message out.

But even state Republicans admit it will be a tough race.

"If we can't beat Conrad, we certainly want to prepare him for '94," state GOP chair Kevin Cramer said last week. "In two years, Conrad can't blame the Bush Administration for the state's problems."

Also on the ballot is Independent candidate Darold Larson, a staunch opponent of abortion who is adding to the mix by running graphic anti-abortion ads and attacking Conrad for his support for fetal tissue research.



# of Campaign '92

## Jack Dalrymple: Ag issue focus

By JILL SCHRAMM  
Staff Writer

Republican Jack Dalrymple looks to ride into the U.S. Senate on a promise of \$5 wheat, \$3 barley and \$12 sunflowers.

The Republican state legislator made few waves in his persistent attacks on Democratic opponent Sen. Kent Conrad in the early campaign. But when he proposed a \$5 marketing loan rate for wheat, people took notice.

Under the program, a farmer puts his wheat crop in the bin, receives a loan of \$5 a bushel from the government and later pays off the loan at the local market price, now about \$3 a bushel.

Economists call it a budget-buster, costing \$5 billion to \$7 billion.

Dalrymple dismissed naysayers, insisting the program will pump a billion dollars into the economy.

"If the state had a dime for every time an economist made an inaccurate prediction, we wouldn't have a budget problem," he said. "Instead of checking with economists about whether my program is viable, let's talk with the farmer or automobile dealer who has seen the economy go into a tailspin under the current program."

"My marketing loan program is the single greatest thing we can do to turn around the economy



JACK DALRYMPLE . . .

. . . looking for change

of North Dakota and stop people from leaving our state," he said. "We will see people staying in the state and we will see people working hard to find employees to fill jobs."

Dalrymple reminds people he also was told a farmer-owned pasta cooperative couldn't be built. Dalrymple serves on the board of Dakota Growers Pasta Co. in Carrington, where a processing plant is under construction.

See DALRYMPLE — Page A5

## □ Dalrymple

(Continued from Page A1)

"We have to get those things going. I know how to do that. I have shown that I can do that. That's the issue people are interested in in 1992," he said.

Dalrymple agrees with Conrad on the need for action on the federal budget deficit, although making no brash promises.

"I am not going to say, as Kent Conrad did in 1988, that as one person I am going to single-handedly go down and solve the federal budget problem by myself," he said. "There are people down there who are dedicated to solving the problem. There are people who are not dedicated to it and their performance shows that."

Dalrymple cites his record on the House Appropriations Committee, balancing the 1981-83 state budget despite a projected \$150 million shortfall.

A four-term legislator, Dal-

rymple operates his family's farm near Casselton. He returned after graduating from Yale University in 1970, with a degree in American Studies.

To boost his name identification for a Senate race, he began television advertising before receiving the Republican endorsement Oct. 4.

Although noted for his family's personal wealth, Dalrymple's campaign treasury is \$50,000 in debt, due to a loan to himself. He pledges to repay it because of a promise not to spend his own money on the race.

Dalrymple not only trails Conrad in fund-raising, but early October polls showed him behind nearly three to one.

Dalrymple takes hope in his election chance when viewing the November election of a new Republican governor.

"What that says," he said, "is that people are interested in seeing a change."

11-29-92

A-1



PORTER FOR GOVERNOR

7018385504

P. 03

# The final battle

## Kent Conrad: Obligation to run

By JILL SCHRAMM  
Staff Writer

Sen. Kent Conrad is running in Friday's special U.S. Senate election due to "circumstance."

After promising six years ago not to seek re-election if the deficit is not under control, Conrad cited a change in circumstances in announcing in September his decision to run again.

### □ More election news: B1, B2

The death of Democratic Sen. Quentin Burdick, which prompted the election, changed the equation, Conrad said.

"I believe very clearly that I kept my word," Conrad said. "My pledge did not extend to other offices. I never said that. My pledge did not extend to other races... This is a new circumstance."

He entered the race, he said, only after urging by many individuals and organizations.

"When Quentin died, I can remember very well some of the letters that I received, and one of them said, 'In North Dakota, we don't walk away from responsibility and you've got work to do,'" he said. "I believe that I would be walking away if I didn't answer this call."

His decision came under attack by his Republican opponent, Jack Dalrymple, who kept up a litany of Conrad broken promises.



KENT CONRAD . . .

. . . answering a call

Conrad spent much of the early campaign countering charges and defending his record, eventually settling on a campaign theme, "The 'Right' Fights for North Dakota."

Conrad boasts of his record in voting against the taxpayer bailout of the failed savings and loan industry and of succeeding with a bill to make Japan pay for U.S. troops stationed there.

He cites his active involvement in economic

See CONRAD — Page A5

## □ Conrad

(Continued from Page A1)

development for North Dakota, helping bring Choice Hotels reservation center to Minot and co-sponsoring Marketplace, a rural development conference.

His campaign focuses on reminding voters of the times he has helped them combat Washington bureaucracy. In Minot, that includes retention of the air base and military impact funding for schools.

"All of them are sort of a textbook case of what part of the job of being a U.S. senator is," Conrad said.

He also emphasizes his efforts to reduce the deficit, despite failing to bring government spending to a level that would have allowed him to keep his pledge. He lists numerous occasions in which he has voted for spending freezes and proposed deficit reduction ideas, a few of which were adopted.

"I believe deeply that if we

don't get our fiscal house in order, we will do long-term damage to this country," Conrad said. "Those who say we haven't fallen off the cliff so it doesn't really matter are missing the point. It is a long slow decline if we fail to get this thing back on track."

Conrad praises independent presidential candidate Ross Perot for bringing the deficit issue to the public's attention.

"Whatever you think of Ross Perot personally — and there's lots of controversy — I would hate to see parts of his message lost," Conrad said. "When he talks about what is happening with our economy, he is talking about a message that should be heard. I have tried to get that message heard over and over."

"If we are going to have a plan that really deals with this problem, everyone has got to be in on the solution," he said. "None of us needs to sacrifice too much. Everyone needs to give a little."

11-29-92

A-1



# EDITORIAL

Grand Forks Herald, Monday, November 30, 1992

■ Our opinion/ Jack Dalrymple's campaign seems to be ill-timed.

## Kent Conrad has broader vision for N.D.

North Dakotans will choose another U.S. senator on Friday, and this time the choice is clear.

Kent Conrad should be returned to the Senate. Conrad, a Democrat, will be able to provide continuity in the North Dakota delegation. Without him, the state will have no seniority at all in either house — the first time that's happened since statehood 103 years ago.

What's more, Conrad has proven his ability. He's distinguished himself by opposing reckless spending while guarding the state's interests. That's what the state expects from a U.S. senator.

Jack Dalrymple, the Republican candidate, has been an outstanding community leader and state legislator, but his campaign hasn't provided compelling arguments to elect him instead of Conrad. Instead, Dalrymple appears to have stumbled badly by promising something he couldn't deliver.

Dalrymple's campaign was ill-timed. His promise of a \$5 marketing loan for wheat (with lesser loans for other commodities) would have had great resonance in the days when administrations of both polit-

ical parties supported farm subsidies. Those days are gone. Subsidies are falling, and proposals that the treasury should assume a greater part of the cost of doing business on the farm fall far short of political reality.

The challenge to today's generation of politicians in North Dakota is to ensure that the state's farmers are treated fairly in comparison to those in other states as the nation moves away from government support for farmers.

Conrad has done that effectively, taking on the most powerful members of the Senate in order to win fair treatment for North Dakota farmers. The best example of this is the faceoff between Conrad and Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, who wanted to deal spring wheat farmers out of a disaster program. Conrad stared him down, and Dole blinked first.

A corollary challenge is to diversify the economy. Here, too, Conrad has performed well. His advertising claims credit for creating new jobs in the state. He guesses the total is about 1,000. These jobs range from scientists studying how to prevent pollution

from the burning of coal to clerks helping travelers make hotel reservations. Every one of these jobs helps stabilize the state's economy.

Dalrymple also has an impressive story to tell about economic development, but his focus is narrower than Conrad's. He has concentrated on agriculture, claiming credit — too much credit, perhaps — for developing a pasta plant that is under construction at Carrington. He argues that there's more to be done in processing farm products. On that point he is undoubtedly right — but it would be an error for North Dakota to depend on farm processing alone for its future.

Conrad has a broader vision. He's been a good senator, and he should continue to be one.

Establishing a statewide reputation seems to have been one of Dalrymple's goals in this campaign, and it may be that he will be a good candidate in the future, but he needs to broaden his appeal.

Mike Jacobs  
for the editorial board

Grand Forks Herald, Monday, November 30, 1992

## Friday's vote turnout may be low

■ Experts predict half of November election's 66 percent turnout

By Dave Clark  
Associated Press

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### Letdown after election

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Page 47 of 75

11-30-92 06:21PM FROM DALRYMPLE US SENATE TO 12022243163

P009/011



11-28-92

A-3

# Conrad is cool to opponent's freeze idea

## Dalrymple assails 'Can't Conrad' on farm plan

FARGO (AP) — Republican U.S. Senate candidate Jack Dalrymple said Friday he favored a partial spending freeze as a first step toward staunching the flow of federal budgetary red ink.

But Dalrymple's rival, incumbent Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad, derided the freeze as inadequate, saying he favored higher taxes on the wealthy, a new federal levy on imported oil and actual cuts in some areas of the federal budget.

"What's needed is far more than a freeze. Frankly, that would have worked six years ago. We're going to need a lot more than that to get the job done today," Conrad said.

Dalrymple said he would not support higher income taxes or an oil import tax, which he said would be "a disaster for North Dakota." Conrad said an import levy could help revive the domestic oil industry.

Conrad and Dalrymple also exchanged the sharpest barbs of their campaign over Dalrymple's proposal to guarantee farmers \$5 for each bushel of wheat they produce. There would be limits on the total payments each farm-

er could receive and limits on his wheat acreage, Dalrymple said.

Conrad argues the program is politically unrealistic and would drastically increase spending on farm programs, while Dalrymple contends it would "immediately" bring \$1 billion in new revenues to the state.

"Kent, I'm going to have to start calling you Can't Conrad here one of these days if you keep talking about all the things we can't get out of Washington, D.C.," Dalrymple said.

"I have heard political candidates overpromise in my time in public life. I have never heard a whopper like this one," Conrad replied. "Jack says it's going to bring a billion new dollars to North Dakota but it's not going to cost any more? How can that be?"

The debate, which was taped Friday night, will be broadcast Tuesday on Prairie Public Television.

The two men said they favored different versions of a presidential line-item veto, which would allow the president to excise individual items from larger

spending bills.

Conrad said he would support a line-item veto that could be overridden by a majority vote, rather than the two-thirds vote that is now necessary to override the president. Dalrymple said he favored a line-item veto with the two-thirds override provision.

Dalrymple did not outline his concept of a "flexible budget freeze," but President Bush once used the term to describe spending caps that applied to most federal programs. However, the "freeze" did not affect Social Security and other entitlement programs.

"If we can set that discipline on the U.S. Congress ... then we can begin over a multiyear period to solve the problem once and for all. Now, what we've had is a disaster," Dalrymple said.

Conrad did not go into detail about the tax increases on income and imported oil that he would favor. Asked for specifics on program cuts, Conrad mentioned federal spending on Medicare and Medicaid, which provide medical care to the el-

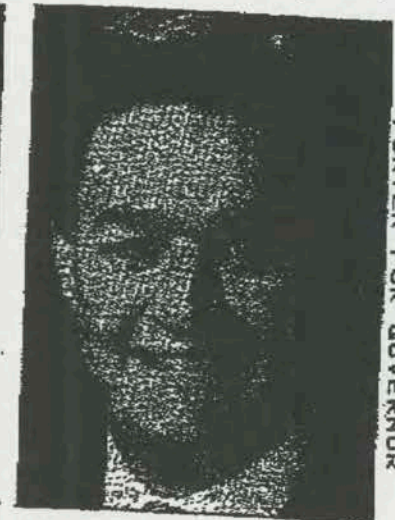


KENT CONRAD ...  
... derides foe's 'whopper'...

derly and low-income Americans.

The Democratic incumbent contends expenditures on those programs can be reduced by going after waste and fraud.

"The federal government simply can't continue to pay bills that are running at three times the rate of inflation. ... In my own judgment we've got to reform the entire health care sys-



JACK DALRYMPLE ...  
... defends \$5 wheat idea ...

tem," Conrad said.

Conrad, Dalrymple and independent candidate Darold Larson are on the Dec. 4 ballot in a special Senate race to succeed the late Sen. Quentin Burdick, who died in office Sept. 8. The winner will serve the two years remaining on Burdick's term.

Larson, who is using his campaign to protest abortion, was not invited to the debate.

PORTER FOR GOVERNOR

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P. 32

P010/011

TO 12022243163

FROM DALRYMPLE US SENATE

11-30-92 06:21PM

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11-30-92 05:10PM

P002 #41

E-94%



## Dalrymple must know his plan is a deception

Does Jack Dalrymple really expect North Dakota citizens to be so naive to believe that he can get \$5 wheat passed through Congress, if only the people will elect him? Does he think he would walk into the Senate as a newcomer and tell the 99 other senators he wants \$5 wheat supports passed immediately? He would also have to convince 435 congressmen and President Bill Clinton to go along with his election promises.

In his campaign commercials he states "it's that simple." It appears he is staking his whole campaign on a promise that he could never keep in a million years. He is not discussing any other issues but his \$5 wheat promise.

I think it would be terrific if North Dakota farmers, and all wheat farmers for that matter, could get \$5 for their wheat but with the huge deficits we are facing there is no way Congress will ever pass the legislation Dalrymple is saying he can get through.

It's not that simple and he should quit trying to deceive the hard working people of North Dakota that if they elect him he can deliver on his promise.

F. Forum 11/30/92

Wayne Terry  
Richville, Minn.

## North Dakota needs a senator like Conrad in Washington

I have had the privilege of serving North Dakota for 20 years as a state legislator. During that time, I had the opportunity to visit Washington, D.C., on numerous occasions. The people of North Dakota should know that Sen. Kent Conrad put together one of the finest senatorial staffs I ever had the privilege of working with.

In a very short time Conrad became an amazingly effective senator for North Dakota, even as a freshman. The Washington scene was soon buzzing about the effectiveness demonstrated by the junior senator from North Dakota. He became known as a very organized, prepared, no-nonsense senator who did not step aside for the power brokers when the fate of North Dakota was concerned.

When Conrad announced his plans not to seek reelection to fulfill a campaign promise, I remember thinking what a loss it would be for North Dakota to lose such a capable senator and a fine staff. But it was also refreshing to know that Conrad had such great respect for his fellow North Dakotans that his word could not be broken.

Now we have a chance to retain that talent and energy for the good of North Dakota. Ask anyone who has visited Washington these last six years, Conrad and his staff are a class act. North Dakota needs a senator like Conrad in Washington.

Charles F. Mertens  
Bismarck, N.D.

F.F. 11-30-92

FARGO-MOORHEAD

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1992

Fargo Forum

50 CENTS

# Burnout factor?

## 30 percent of eligible voters expected in N.D. special Senate election

By Dave Clark

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

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"Psychologically, I think it evens out."



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PM-ND-ELN--Senate-Conrad, 750<

RETRANSMITTING for papers not publishing Sunday<

Conrad Expects Low Turnout in Special Election<

jmstfpm<

By JOHN MacDONALD=

Associated Press Writer=

MINOT, N.D. (AP) Sen. Kent Conrad believes only one thing could weaken his showing in Friday's special U.S. Senate election a low turnout at the polls.

Unfortunately, Conrad says, that's exactly what he expects.

"I think people are just tired of campaigns," he said on a recent campaign swing through Minot. "I don't blame them at all. It's completely understandable."

With the hectic general election just a month behind them, many North Dakota voters don't seem interested in the special election to fill the remaining two years of Sen. Quentin Burdick's term, said Conrad, a Democrat.

"There has been a natural let down since the Nov. 3 election," he said. "I think people just want a rest."

That could be an advantage to Republican Jack Dalrymple, but Conrad doesn't believe it will be a big enough advantage to cost him the election.

"I've always thought I do better when there's a big turnout," Conrad said, "But let's face it, the fact is I'm an incumbent whose record is well-regarded, so I'm going to have an advantage regardless. And certainly a short campaign gives me even more of an advantage."

Conrad and Dalrymple have not had a lot of time to prepare for the special election.

Conrad announced in April he would keep a 1986 campaign promise not to seek re-election to his own seat if the federal budget and trade deficits were not under control.

But following Burdick's death in September, Conrad decided to seek that post.

Dalrymple did not officially kick off his campaign until Nov. 4.

Despite what he says is a clear advantage over Dalrymple, and what others have said will be an easy victory, Conrad is not resting on his laurels.

"I'm going full bore to the very end," he said. "You can't take anything for granted."

One recent day, he attended a Minot Lions Club luncheon and held a brief press conference with Mayor George Christensen, a Republican, who endorsed Conrad.

"I've been to Washington a number of times frequently it's been related to retention of Minot Air Force Base," Christensen said later. "He has been very helpful. He's arranged visits for us at the Pentagon. I've been very appreciative of it."

Conrad received a cordial welcome at the Lions' Club, whose members praised him for drawing businesses to Minot and preventing cuts in federal aid to schools impacted by the base.

Then it was into a rental van for a cross-state journey, stopping in four other communities for brief appearances, and finally ending up in Fargo. The next day, he was on the stump



again.

In the final weeks before the election, only Thanksgiving Day was set aside for rest, Conrad said.

"I really like it. This is the best part," he said of his travels. "I get to meet people, to hear their concerns."

Most people want to know what Conrad plans to do to strengthen the economy a wide-open topic he is eager to discuss.

"I believe deeply that if we don't get our fiscal house in order, we'll do long-term damage to this country," he tells a group of Lions Club members who approached him after his speech.

In each community, Conrad stresses what he already has done for the area, whether it be helping to bring a hotel chain to Minot or making sure wheat farmers aren't excluded from a drought bill.

One topic Conrad said never comes up anymore is his decision to run for Burdick's seat. Dalrymple early on accused Conrad of breaking his promise not to seek re-election and criticized him for not returning all his campaign contributions.

"It's not an issue," Conrad said. "I don't think it ever was an issue ... and most people agree."

Polls have shown the issue doesn't raise hackles among state voters.

"For whatever reason, they have put that to bed," said Phil Harmeson, a political analyst at the University of North Dakota. One reason, he says, might be what he describes as a sort of cynicism.

"They're basically used to politicians massaging words, and so they're not overly bent out of shape about it," Harmeson said.

Although he enjoys being a senator, Conrad said the down side is living in Washington, D.C.

"I don't like living in Washington, that's no big secret," he said.

Conrad's wife, Lucy Calautti, was mugged and assaulted at gunpoint outside the couple's Washington townhouse last December. Conrad said he still thinks about the incident.

"I worry about my wife a lot more," he said. "For people like us who are from places like North Dakota, the crime of Washington is hard to understand."



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PM-ND-ELN--Dalrymple-Senate,800<

RETRANSMITTING for papers not publishing Sunday<

Dalrymple Finds Campaigning Tough Going During Holidays<

dewstfrm<

By DALE WETZEL=

Associated Press Writer=

FARGO, N.D. (AP) When the North Dakota autumn gets chilly and the holidays beckon, finding a crowd for a U.S. Senate campaign can be tough, and drumming up interest in politics even tougher.

"I thought the election was over," one North Dakota State University football fan, his face tightly swathed in a yellow scarf, said as he watched Republican Jack Dalrymple pumping hands in front of NDSU's Dacotah Field.

"Who are you running against?" another man asked Dalrymple. He smiled at the query. "You don't want to vote for him," he replied.

Going into the campaign's final week, Dalrymple is given little chance against incumbent Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad. The Democrat is favored to win the Dec. 4 special election to serve out the two years left on the term of longtime Sen. Quentin Burdick, who died last September.

But Dalrymple, a Casselton farmer and state legislator, is campaigning gamely. On this day, Nov. 21, he has a crowd to work the spectators filing in to watch NDSU's playoff game against Northeast Missouri State.

Dalrymple, arriving an hour before the 1 p.m. game time, tapes a dark-blue-and-red banner to his truck. Few fans have arrived, so Dalrymple joins the nearest group, four men who are toasting the noon hour with beer, crackers, cheese and venison sausage in the stadium's south parking lot.

"Want a beer, Jack?" one asks. Dalrymple declines. A parking lot attendant rushes up. "I see you on TV. I hope you win," he says.

Campaign workers are distributing free team rosters sporting a pro-Dalrymple message from the parking lots, where they have been shooed by university officials worried about lost program sales.

Dalrymple's nephew, Charlie Wilson, stands near his uncle, holding up two blue-and-red campaign signs emblazoned with Dalrymple's name.

Most spectators greet Dalrymple cordially, some pulling off their gloves to offer a handshake.

"You're the guy with the \$5 wheat. You're my man," one says, referring to the centerpiece of Dalrymple's campaign, a \$5 marketing loan to farmers for their wheat production.

Conrad says the plan is politically unrealistic and would be expensive, and a few passersby reflect that skepticism.

"Five-dollar wheat, huh? Where are you going to get the money for that?" one man demands.

Dalrymple, who is an NDSU season-ticket holder, doesn't watch the contest, returning instead to his campaign headquarters to prepare for a Prairie Public Television debate with Conrad.

A tape of a pre-election debate between Democratic Sen.-elect Byron Dorgan and his opponent, Republican Steve Sydness, is flipped



on. Dalrymple watches Dorgan's opening statement with admiration.

``He's going into the top three concerns,'' Dalrymple observed as Dorgan spoke. ``I like that. That's smart.''

The game over, Dalrymple returns to the campus student union, where a campaign worker is stationed at a table, literature at the ready. There he learns an unfortunate truth: Many students, with only two days of classes on Thanksgiving week, have left. Fifteen minutes after the game, the building is almost deserted.

``This looks kind of dead, Charlie,'' Dalrymple remarked to Wilson as he surveyed the wide, carpeted corridor.

The pair then set off on a quick tour of Fraternity Row, where the situation is similar. At the Theta Chi house, the doorbell goes unanswered. ``I'm learning something about life on the modern campus here,'' says the 44-year-old Dalrymple.

At Alpha Gamma Rho, the school's agriculture fraternity, seven students respond to an impromptu call on the intercom: ``Jack Dalrymple is here.''

Ryan Emineth of Center asks if Dalrymple, a Republican, could push his wheat proposal in a Democratic Congress.

``The coalitions you would form to do something good for agriculture, for a rural state like North Dakota, would be a bipartisan group,'' Dalrymple replies. ``It would have more to do with what kind of a state that they're from, rather than what party they belong to.''

Dalrymple tours a nearby bar, The Turf, buying a bottle of non-alcoholic beer and ducking into the kitchen to chat with the cook, before striking out for the university library. On a Saturday night, it's lightly populated.

Rhonda Goehring, a circulation clerk, quizzes Dalrymple for specifics on a campaign flyer that promises ``more money for higher education, more scholarships for college students ... and more jobs waiting for college graduates.''

Goehring explains she has had difficulty obtaining financial aid to pay her rapidly rising tuition. ``It's easy to say you're going to get more money,'' she says. ``How are you going to do that?''

Dalrymple answers by extolling the need for more agriculture processing facilities, and mentions his work for Dakota Growers Pasta Co., a farmer-owned cooperative that is building a \$41 million pasta plant and durum mill at Carrington.

``We are talking about the entire economy ... new activity in the state of North Dakota,'' he says. ``We need to expand our economic base.''

Later, Dalrymple expresses frustration that during the abbreviated campaign, there isn't time to do more personal campaigning. He speaks of Democratic state legislators he knows that manage to keep their seats in Republican districts.

``They do it just by going around, knocking on every door, talking to every person,'' he said. ``That really is the most powerful thing there is.''



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BC-ND--Capitol Dispatch, Bjt,530<

About Third of Those Eligible Expected to Vote in Special Election<  
dcfonfile<

By DAVE CLARK=

Associated Press Writer=

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AM-ND Senate,0527<

Kent Conrad Running for Senate Despite Pledge Not to Seek Another Term<

By DALE WETZEL=

Associated Press Writer=

BISMARCK, N.D. (AP) Sen. Kent Conrad inspired a political insurgency in April when he said the federal budget deficit was too bloated to justify his seeking re-election.

Five months later, with the death of North Dakota's senior senator, Quentin Burdick, Conrad changed his mind. He's heavily favored to claim Burdick's seat in a special election Friday.

Conrad faces Republican state Rep. Jack Dalrymple and an independent candidate in the race to serve the two years left of Burdick's term. Burdick, a Democrat, died Sept. 8 at age 84.

In 1986, Conrad began a long-shot Senate bid against incumbent Mark Andrews. Conrad promised not to seek re-election unless federal budget and trade deficits were drastically reduced. He won the race.

His promise spawned the ``Lead or Leave'' movement that urges members of Congress to make a similar pledge.

But after Burdick's death, Conrad insisted his pledge applied only to his own Senate seat, provoking howls of laughter from Republicans.

``A few months ago, he was wearing a halo,'' said Kevin Cramer, chairman of the state Republican Party. ``Now, what the cynics said has come true.''

Dalrymple has been unable to exploit the ``pledge issue'' despite television commercials that depict Conrad as duplicitous.

Public opinion polls have indicated North Dakota residents either are indifferent to the pledge or accept Conrad's argument that he kept it. The most recent independent statewide poll, taken a month ago, put Conrad ahead of Dalrymple 61 percent to 23 percent, with 14 percent undecided.

``For whatever reason, (voters) have put that to bed,'' said Phil Harmeson, a University of North Dakota political analyst. ``They're basically used to politicians massaging words, and so they're not overly bent out of shape about it.''

Conrad has collected endorsements from farm organizations, energy interests and other groups. Dalrymple has focused on North Dakota farmers, an influential constituency in this largely rural state.

A farmer himself, Dalrymple advocates a \$5 ``marketing loan'' for wheat production, which would guarantee farmers that much for every bushel of wheat they grow.

He also has emphasized his role in founding a farmers' cooperative that's building a \$41 million pasta plant and wheat mill. Increasing farmers' income from wheat and expanding North Dakota's food processing industry are keys to the state's economic health, Dalrymple said.

Conrad contends Dalrymple's marketing loan proposal would cause wheat production and farm program costs to explode at a time when the national deficit tops \$300 billion. It would be laughed out of the Senate, he said.

Neither candidate expects a big turnout for the election.

Dalrymple said he has taken heart from the campaign of Georgia Sen.-elect Paul Coverdell, a Republican who defeated incumbent Democrat Wyche Fowler in a runoff last week.

If Conrad wins, Democrats will maintain their 57-43 majority in the Senate.

Conrad, despite his apparent lead, is campaigning hard. ``I'm going full bore to the very end,'' he said. ``You can't take anything for granted.''



ND REPUBLICANS

TEL No. 7012557513

Nov 20, 92 10:34 No. 001 P.03

## Dalrymple defends \$5 wheat loan idea

600. Triane  
11/20/92

FARGO (AP) - Several farm economists say Senate candidate Jack Dalrymple's proposal for a \$5 marketing loan for wheat is a budget buster that stands little chance of becoming law.

Dalrymple, a Republican and a Cassillon farmer, said Thursday the program would create thousands of jobs. He dismissed the economists as "naysayers."

Dalrymple is running against Sen. Kent Conrad, D-N.D., in the Dec. 4 special election to fill out the two years left on the term of the late Sen. Quentin Burdick.

Terry Franel, senior economist for the American Farm Bureau Federation in Chicago, said the program looks good to farmers because it raises the price of wheat by \$1.50 to \$2 a bushel.

But without acreage controls, the \$5 wheat proposal could increase production to 3 billion bushels of wheat from the current 2.7 billion bushels, Franel said.

"Assuming that's going to increase our supplies and drive prices down, we'll probably see market prices back down to possibly \$2.50 per bushel," Franel said.

Franel said Dalrymple's program would cost a record \$5 billion to \$7 billion. Carryover stocks could double, he said, and land

idling programs could be in the 30-35 percent level.

"Basically, there's no way that the U.S. can override the laws of supply and demand for the world," Franel said. "We are not the major producer of wheat in the world. If we increase our own stocks and get the huge carryovers we have to cut back acres."

Dalrymple said the program would cost no more than the existing program.

"If the state had a dime for every time an economist made an inaccurate prediction, we wouldn't have a budget problem," Dalrymple said in a statement released Thursday.

"Many people have a stake in the status quo," he said. "They are profiting off the current system, but the farmer and the citizens of this state suffer from a deteriorating economy."

Franel and Keith Collins, director of economic analysis for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, also said they don't think Dalrymple's plan could pass Congress.

"I don't think that it's a mainstream-type proposal, and I don't think it would engender much support," Collins said.



Grand Forks Herald

11/20/92

20, 1992

## REGION

3B

# Darold Larson: Abortion not the only issue

■ Independent Senate candidate says other important issues are military cutbacks, bank foreclosures and home schooling

By Carter Wood  
Herald Staff Writer

BISMARCK — Darold Larson says his independent campaign for Senate wants to address issues other than just abortion. Repentance, for one.

"We've tried hard to get involved in sharing some of our views on some of the other issues, and everything that gets printed is strictly around the abortion issue," Larson said in an interview Thursday.

"I guess I'm just going to focus on the fact that people in North Dakota need to repent for their sin, the blood is on the land," he said. "When Cain killed Abel, the blood was on the land."

Party candidates for the Dec. 4 special election are Sen. Kent Conrad, D-N.D., and state Rep. Jack Dalrymple of Casselman. They are seeking the remaining two years of the late Sen. Quentin Burdick's term.

But Larson has attracted just as

*"I would be strongly supportive of retaining and not budging one inch from our bases of North Dakota. They need to be here for the protection of our country, and certainly for the well-being of our nation and the people."*

Darold Larson

much interest and certainly more controversy by running TV commercials showing aborted fetuses. Federal law prohibits stations from rejecting or censoring the ads of official candidates.

This week, the Cass County sheriff's department announced the intended seizure of campaign videotapes from Fargo TV stations because Larson had not paid a \$46,000 judgment to the Fargo Women's Health Organization. KTHI-TV turned over the tapes it had.

The clinic, which performs abortions, won a 1988 false-advertising judgment against Larson for mis-

leading advertising from a counseling center that discouraged abortions.

The videos came from campaign funds, not personal funds, and any seizure violated the law, Larson said.

"The killing industry in Fargo has had such a forceful effect that people in this city just bow down to them, and in matter of fact all over North Dakota," he said.

Larson said he had not paid the judgment because the money would go to people who kill babies.

### Other issues

Asked about other issues he deemed important, Larson spoke at length about the Federal Reserve system, which he regarded as unconstitutional.

When the reserve creates money, he argued, it prints just the interest — not the principal — which forces producers and farmers to inflate their prices to pay off loans.

"When you talk about the economy and the needs of the farmers, we have to start with the premise that Congress needs to take back authority and print the money, and put it into existence where it's accountable," he said.

The media also have ignored the pending foreclosure of hundreds of banks around the country, he said, which he compared to the savings and loan crisis. As of Dec. 19, banks will have to meet new financial reserve requirements, and many will not have the funds, Larson said.

Larson supported home school-



Darold Larson

ing and a voucher system, which would permit parents to choose which school their children attend.

He criticized the rapid cutting of military spending as a major mistake that could bring on one-world government, and he sees no need to close Air Force bases in Grand Forks or Minot.

"I would be strongly supportive of retaining and not budging one inch from our bases of North Dakota," he said. "They need to be here for the protection of our country, and certainly for the well-being of our nation and the people."



# Economists rip Dalrymple's wheat loan program

■ Republican Senate candidate calls economists 'naysayers'

Associated Press

FARGO — Several farm economists say Senate candidate Jack Dalrymple's proposal for a \$5 marketing loan for wheat is a budget buster that stands little chance of becoming law.

Dalrymple, a Republican and a Cassellon farmer, said Thursday the program would create thousands of jobs. He dismissed the economists as "naysayers."

Dalrymple is running against Sen. Kent Conrad, D-N.D., in the Dec. 4 special election to fill out the two years left on the term of the late Sen. Quentin Burdick.

Terry Franel, senior economist for the American Farm Bureau Federation in Chicago, said the program looks good to farmers because it raises the price of wheat by \$1.50 to \$2 a bushel.

But without acreage controls, the \$5 wheat proposal could increase production to 3 billion bushels of wheat from the current 2.7 billion bushels, Franel said.

"Assuming that's going to increase our supplies and drive prices down, we'll probably see market prices back down to possibly \$2.50 per bushel," Franel said.

Franel said Dalrymple's pro-

gram would cost a record \$5 billion to \$7 billion. Carryover stocks could double, he said, and land idling programs could be in the 30 percent to 35 percent level.

"Basically, there's no way that the United States can override the laws of supply and demand for the world," Franel said. "We are not the major producer of wheat in the world. If we increase our own stocks and get the huge carryovers, we have to cut back acres."

Dalrymple said the program would cost no more than the existing program.

"If the state had a dime for every time an economist made an in-

accurate prediction, we wouldn't have a budget problem," Dalrymple said in a statement released Thursday.

"Many people have a stake in the status quo," he said. "They are profiting off the current system, but the farmer and the citizens of this state suffer from a deteriorating economy."

Franel and Keith Collins, director of economic analysis for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, also said they don't think Dalrymple's plan could pass Congress.

"I don't think that it's a mainstream-type proposal, and I don't think it would engender much support," Collins said.

Grand Forks Herald 11/20/92

ND REPUBLICANS

TEL No. 7012557513

Nov 20 92 10:34 No.001 P.01

Biz. Tribune 11/20/92

# 'Come out and play the game'

## Dalrymple says he's being ignored

By JANELLE COLE, Tribune Staff Writer

U.S. Senate candidate Jack Dalrymple has accused Sen. Kent Conrad of conducting a "Rose Garden" campaign because Conrad declined a debate offer and because his press secretary frequently responds to Dalrymple's press conferences.

"I am going to start saying he's not participating in the campaign period," Dalrymple said this week.

But Conrad and his press secretary, Laurie Boeder, say the charges are ridiculous.

"There is no Rose Garden strategy," Boeder said Thursday. "Kent Conrad is right now driving through the slush to Fargo and that is no Rose Garden."

Dalrymple, a Republican legislator from Casselton, is opposing Conrad for the special Senate election Dec. 4 to fill the remaining term of the late Sen. Quentin Burdick.

The phrase "Rose Garden strategy" comes from incumbent presidents staying at the White House during their re-election campaigns, to draw attention to their incum-

bency, to avoid lending legitimacy to their opponents and avoid controversy on the campaign trail.

Dalrymple said Conrad has developed a pattern of being "invisible" during the campaign.

"I invited him (Monday) to two live televised debates on network (affiliate) television ... one in the east and one in the west," Dalrymple said.

Conrad said he's too busy with other campaigning to take time out for such debates, other than one scheduled to be taped for Prairie Public Broadcasting on Nov. 27.

"We have a very heavy schedule of appearances around the state," Conrad said. "I've had many more requests for appearances than I can possibly make."

Dalrymple called Boeder "the (More on RACS, Page 10A)"

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To: Matt Low	From: Natalie	
On:	On:	
Dept:	Phone:	255-0030
Ext: 234-0479	Fax:	



ND REPUBLICANS

TEL No.7012557513

Nov 20.92 10:34 No.001 P.02

Jack Dalrymple says his campaign isn't negative. Well, I don't buy that. But, let's put him under the lens of scrutiny for a minute.

First, I'd like to know what he has done for the district he has been elected to represent in the North Dakota House. Apparently not much, since he barely won the seat in this election.

Next, I'd like to know who really got the pasta plant in Carrington. I'm sure he didn't do it all by himself, even though he may like taking all the credit for it.

Finally, he has been on TV telling viewers about "his" innovative plan for agriculture. I'd like to know what Mr. Dalrymple will do as a freshman senator to get a \$5 marketing loan rate in two short years. If the task were as simple as he portrays it to be, why hasn't it already been done? And, the farm bill won't even be considered again until 1995. Seems to me he's promising farmers the moon, but he's not really saying how he'd get the job done.

*Bis Tribune 11/20/92*



# Conrad makes Dalrymple pay for proposed \$5 wheat plan

By MARLYNN WHEELER  
Associated Press

FARGO — Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad ripped into his rival's plan to increase commodity prices during a debate on Monday, saying a \$5 marketing loan for wheat is too good to be true.

## □ Fighting over Nekoma: \$1

But Republican Jack Dalrymple defended his plan, taking aim instead at the 1990 Farm Bill approved while Conrad was in Washington.

"The program we have right now is rigged against the farmer and in favor of the grain company and the food processor," said Dalrymple, who has farmed near Casselton for 21 years. "It prevents the price of wheat from going beyond a certain level."

Dalrymple has proposed a \$5 per bushel marketing loan for wheat, a \$3 marketing loan for barley, and a \$12 marketing loan for sunflowers.

The two men are running for the unexpired term of the late Sen. Quentin Burdick in a special election set for Dec. 4.

"I think we need to be honest with the people of North Dakota," Conrad said during a debate

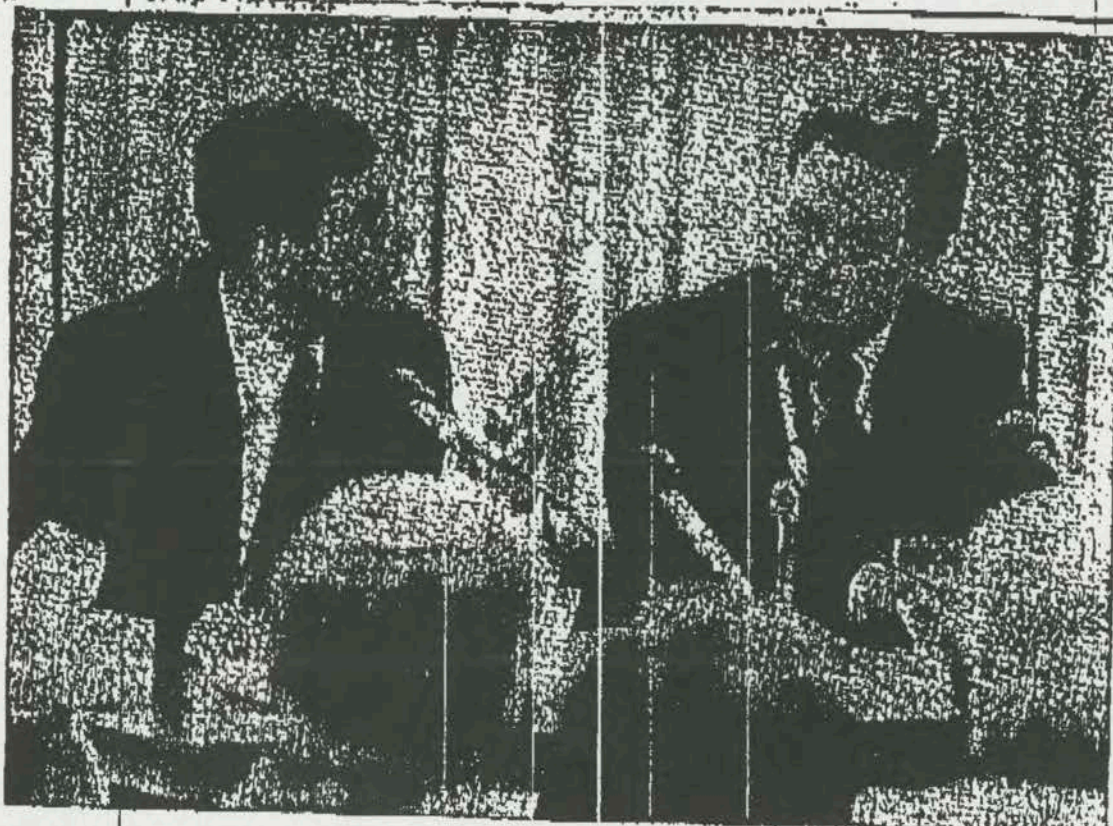
on farm policy at North Dakota State University. "A marketing loan of \$5 under current market conditions would triple the cost of the wheat program. The mathematics are very simple."

Farmers would plant fencerow to fencerow, he said, and higher production would mean lower prices. As Conrad figured it, the current price of \$3.25 would drop to \$3, and the federal government would pay farmers \$2 a bushel for wheat. If production increased to 2.75 billion bushels, he said the nation's \$1.7 billion wheat program would cost \$5.5 billion.

"Let's be honest," said Conrad. "That's not going to have a prayer when you're running a \$400 billion deficit. Especially in light of the fact that every other commodity would want the same."

Dalrymple said his program would work by allowing grain prices to rise.

"The farmer raises his wheat, he places the wheat in storage on the farm," he said. "He goes down to the local ASCS office. He takes out a loan with the CCC for \$5 a bushel. When it comes time to redeem that loan, instead of paying back \$5 he pays back the equivalent of the market price of wheat in his local area. And that is your entire program."



DEBATE — Sen. Kent Conrad, D-N.D. (left), makes a point during an agriculture debate with opponent Jack Dalrymple Monday afternoon.

AP Photo

MINOT DAILY NEWS  
11-17-92 A-1



# Senate candidates

## Dalrymple questions Conrad's support

By JILL SCHWAMM  
Staff Writer

North Dakota's U.S. Senate candidates say they back a strategic defense program. But they disagree over what constitutes support.

U.S. Sen. Kent Conrad said he favors basing anti-ballistic missiles in the former Nekoma radar site while opposing some other aspects of the Strategic Defense Initiative.

"I believe that Nekoma could be a useful part of the defense system for our country, and I

support the deployment there," Conrad said in a letter to the News. "However, the increasing costs and the push for additional sites could doom the project."

Conrad questions whether the proposed site at Nekoma will ever be built because costs estimates have doubled from \$10 billion to \$20 billion and the deployment date has been pushed back from 1995 to 2002.

"The development plays into the hands of those who wish to establish four different ABM sites around the country, instead of using the existing site at Ne-

koma," Conrad said.

Republican Jack Dalrymple said Conrad's votes against SDI call his support for Nekoma into question.

"At best, it is inconsistent," Dalrymple said of Conrad's voting record. "He is obviously not interested in financially supporting the concept of anti-ballistic missiles."

Dalrymple said he would vote for whatever funding is appropriate to obtain a strategic defense that protects against unstable or terrorist-controlled governments. An anti-ballistic

# Conrad and Dalrymple

## differ over SDI for Nekoma ABM site

missile system at Nekoma is part of that, he said.

Conrad has voted for appropriate strategic defense spending, his press secretary Laurie Boeder said. Conrad has not supported SDI in full because he believes the space-based Brilliant Pebbles system is a waste of taxpayer money, she said.

"It is Kent's position that it is possible to cut SDI funding overall without threatening Nekoma," Boeder said.

Dalrymple said an ABM site at Nekoma would help secure the Minot and Grand Forks Air

Force bases against closure. It would do so, he said, "not just from the standpoint that you are playing ball with the defense experts, but it makes sense just administratively to have those three locations relatively in the same region."

Recently in Minot, Dalrymple said Conrad is jeopardizing Minot AFB by failing to support the Pentagon on SDI. However, he credited Conrad with delaying potential missile movement to Montana.

"He did get that done and he deserves credit for that," Dal-



Conrad



Dalrymple

rymple said. "But I hope people realize that Sen. (Conrad) Burns over in Montana at the same time is getting approval to get funding to prepare to receive missiles."

Tuesday, November 17, 1992, Minot (N.D.) Daily News

**B**

- ☐ Agriculture: 32
- ☐ Obituaries: E13
- ☐ Markets: B4



# North Dakotans to decide nation's final Senate race

By Jeffrey L. Katz  
CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

The year's final Senate race will end Dec. 4 in North Dakota, an election date no more unusual than the circumstances of the race itself.

The central oddity is that Democratic incumbent Kent Conrad is favored to win a second stint in the Senate even though he is not technically running for re-election.

Mr. Conrad announced in April that he was retiring. He said he would honor a 1986 campaign pledge not to seek re-election unless the federal budget deficit had been dramatically reduced.

With Mr. Conrad stepping down, Democratic Rep. Byron Dorgan declared that he would run for the Senate, and on Nov. 3, Mr. Dorgan defeated Republican Steve Sydness.

Meanwhile, North Dakota's other senator, Democrat Quentin Burdick, died Sept. 8 at age 84. Mr. Conrad said that the loss of Mr. Burdick, who had served 32 years in the Senate and was chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, prompted hundreds of North Dakota individuals and organizations to ask him to re-evaluate his decision to retire.

Once Mr. Conrad, 44, did so and shelved his plan to retire, the Democratic nomination was practically his for the asking. The GOP nomination was captured by state Rep. Jack Dalrymple, also 44.

Because of deadlines set forth in state law, the election could not be held on Nov. 3, when voters went to the polls for the 1992 general elections. Instead, it was set for Tuesday.

The winner of the special election will fill the remaining two years of Mr. Burdick's term. He would then have to face the voters again in 1994 to win a full six-year term.

Mr. Dalrymple, a farmer from Casselton, wasted little time in making an issue of Mr. Conrad's original pledge not to seek re-election.

"We don't need a senator who lies to us," he said.

But polls indicate that Mr. Dalrymple's attacks on the issue have yet to sway North Dakotans, who continue to favor Mr. Conrad by a



Kent Conrad

ratio of more than 2-to-1. "That initial salvo did not move the numbers as much as Jack had hoped," said Phil Harmeson, director of the Bureau of Governmental Affairs at the University of North Dakota.

Mr. Dalrymple, chairman of Dakota Growers Pasta Co., a farmer-owned cooperative, also tried to score with his farm proposals.

He says the federal government ought to supply more generous loans to enable farmers to market their wheat. The current system is rigged against the farmer and favors grain companies and food processors, he says.

In a Nov. 16 debate, Mr. Conrad branded Mr. Dalrymple's \$5-per-bushel marketing loan proposal as unrealistic. He claimed that it would triple the cost of the wheat program, a commitment he said that the federal government could not make in light of the budget deficit.

As has been his habit, Mr. Conrad responded quickly to Mr. Dalrymple's attacks. When Mr. Dalrymple accused him of being ineffective on agricultural issues, Mr. Conrad came out with an ad that claimed successes in fighting for such matters as drought aid, the sugar program and crop insurance.

The two candidates also tussled over campaign financing.

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AM-ND--Conrad-Dalrymple Debate,620<  
Conrad, Dalrymple Clash On Taxes, Farm Programs<  
dewstfrm<

FARGO, N.D. (AP) Republican U.S. Senate candidate Jack Dalrymple said Friday he favored a partial spending freeze as a first step toward staunching the flow of federal budgetary red ink.

But Dalrymple's rival, incumbent Democratic Sen. Kent Conrad, derided the freeze as inadequate, saying he favored higher taxes on the wealthy, a new federal levy on imported oil and actual cuts in some areas of the federal budget.

"What's needed is far more than a freeze. Frankly, that would have worked six years ago. We're going to need a lot more than that to get the job done today," Conrad said.

Dalrymple said he would not support higher income taxes or an oil import tax, which he said would be "a disaster for North Dakota." Conrad said an import levy could help revive the domestic oil industry.

Conrad and Dalrymple also exchanged the sharpest barbs of their campaign over Dalrymple's proposal to guarantee farmers \$5 for each bushel of wheat they produce. There would be limits on the total payments each farmer could receive and limits on his wheat acreage, Dalrymple said.

Conrad argues the program is politically unrealistic and would drastically increase spending on farm programs, while Dalrymple contends it would "immediately" bring \$1 billion in new revenues to the state.

"Kent, I'm going to have to start calling you Can't Conrad here one of these days if you keep talking about all the things we can't get out of Washington, D.C.," Dalrymple said.

"I have heard political candidates overpromise in my time in public life. I have never heard a whopper like this one," Conrad replied. "Jack says it's going to bring a billion new dollars to North Dakota but it's not going to cost any more? How can that be?"

The debate, which was taped Friday night, will be broadcast Tuesday on Prairie Public Television.

The two men said they favored different versions of a presidential line-item veto, which would allow the president to excise individual items from larger spending bills.

Conrad said he would support a line-item veto that could be overridden by a majority vote, rather than the two-thirds vote that is now necessary to override the president. Dalrymple said he favored a line-item veto with the two-thirds override provision.

Dalrymple did not outline his concept of a "flexible budget freeze," but President Bush once used the term to describe spending caps that applied to most federal programs. However, the "freeze" did not affect Social Security and other entitlement programs.

"If we can set that discipline on the U.S. Congress ... then we can begin over a multiyear period to solve the problem once and for all. Now, what we've had is a disaster," Dalrymple said.

Conrad did not go into detail about the tax increases on income

and imported oil that he would favor. Asked for specifics on program cuts, Conrad mentioned federal spending on Medicare and Medicaid, which provide medical care to the elderly and low-income Americans.

The Democratic incumbent contends expenditures on those programs can be reduced by going after waste and fraud.

``The federal government simply can't continue to pay bills that are running at three times the rate of inflation. ... In my own judgment we've got to reform the entire health care system,'' Conrad said.

Conrad, Dalrymple and independent candidate Darold Larson are on the Dec. 4 ballot in a special Senate race to succeed the late Sen. Quentin Burdick, who died in office Sept. 8. The winner will serve the two years remaining on Burdick's term.

Larson, who is using his campaign to protest abortion, was not invited to the debate.



The Hotline  
November 20, 1992

HEADLINE: NORTH DAKOTA: DALRYMPLE SAYS CONRAD IS IN THE ROSE GARDEN

State Sen. Jack Dalrymple (R) accused Sen. Kent Conrad (D) of conducting a "Rose Garden" campaign strategy "because he declined a debate offer and because (Conrad's) press secretary often responds to Dalrymple's press secretary." Conrad spokesperson Laurie Boeder called the charges "ridiculous": "Kent Conrad is right now driving through the slush to Fargo and that is no Rose Garden." Dalrymple invited Conrad to 2 live TV debates but Conrad said his "very heavy" schedule makes it impossible to attend. The two are scheduled for a taped PBS debate 11/27 (Cole, BISMARCK TRIBUNE, 11/20).

ABORTION: ND's only abortion clinic sought 11/18 "to force three Fargo (TV) stations to surrender their copies" of anti-abortion activist Darold Larson's (I) graphic abortion ads as part of an attempt to collect a \$46,000 judgment against Larson that a court awarded the clinic four years ago. The clinic asked the sheriff's dept. to "collect the judgment from Larson," prompting the dept. to serve notice to three TV stations that it will collect the taped ads within 10 days. KTHI-TV surrendered its copies 11/18. WDAY-TV is considering its options. KXJB officials "are waiting to speak to their attorneys" but said they will likely turn the tapes over. Larson "acknowledged that he owes money to the clinic, but he said he will not pay for 'moral reasons'" (AP/BISMARCK TRIBUNE, 11/19).

The Hotline  
November 18, 1992

HEADLINE: NORTH DAKOTA SENATE: TRADING COMMODITY BARBS

Not-so-retiring Sen. Kent Conrad (D) "ripped into" state Rep. Jack Dalrymple's (R) plan to increase commodity prices during their first debate 11/16. Conrad called Dalrymple's proposed \$5 marketing loan for wheat "too good to be true" (AP/BISMARCK TRIBUNE, 11/17). Conrad: "Anybody that thinks that's going to happen under current budget conditions, I think, is not telling the folks the truth" (FARGO FORUM, 11/17). But Dalrymple "defended his plan, taking aim instead at the 1990 Farm Bill approved while Conrad was in Washington" (TRIBUNE, 11/17). The issue was the major focus of the debate sponsored by the Farmer's Union, the Farm Bureau and the Nat'l Farmers Organization. The event was broadcast on radio from ND State University before an audience of 200. Abortion activist Darold Larson (I) "was not invited to participate but will be included in at least one other public (TV) debate" (FARGO FORUM, 11/17).

ON AIR ELSEWHERE: A federal judge has refused to stop the airing of Larson's graphic anti-abortion ads, forcing WDAZ-TV and WDAY-TV to air the ads this weekend. "The stations had sought a temporary restraining order against the ads," which feature pictures of aborted fetuses. But U.S. District Judge Rodney Webb "said it is the FCC's responsibility, and not the court's, to clarify its rules governing indecent or obscene ads." Webb, in his ruling, "chastised" the FCC for "shirking its responsibility" by not clearly saying whether ads showing aborted fetuses are indecent or obscene (AP/G.F. HERALD, 11/14).



The Hotline  
November 17, 1992

HEADLINE: NORTH DAKOTA: DOWN AN OUT IN BISMARCK

The relative wealth of Sen. Kent Conrad (D) and farmer Jack Dalrymple (R) "has become a campaign issue. Last week Conrad accused Dalrymple of breaking a campaign promise not to spend any of his own money on his campaign. Dalrymple has personally guaranteed campaign loans, but says he intends to raise enough funds from outside sources to repay them." Dalrymple's family holds assets worth between \$2.6M and \$6.1M, while Conrad's assets are valued between \$749,011 and \$1.71M. But "in terms of campaign cash, Dalrymple is almost a pauper" compared to Conrad whose last FEC report showed him with \$558,485 on hand (Wetzel, AP/BISMARCK TRIBUNE, 11/16). Runoff 12/4.

The Hotline  
November 11, 1992

HEADLINE: N. DAKOTA SENATE: INDEPENDENT'S ADS YANKED FROM AIR

WDAY-TV in Fargo and WDAZ-TV in Grand Forks canceled about 20 graphic abortion ads after anti-abortion activist Darold Larson's (I) checks were returned for non-sufficient funds. KTHI-TV also canceled the ads, saying they were "indecent" under community standards. Larson said "he plans to resume the ads later this week." He is also preparing legal action to defend his right to air the ads. Meanwhile, representatives of the Women's Health Organization, the sole ND clinic that performs abortions, "filed papers last week to garnish Larson's campaign funds in an effort to collect an unpaid judgment against" him. (Bonham, G.F. HERALD, 11/10). Candidates: Sen. Kent Conrad (D), and Dakota Growers Pasta Co. chair Jack Dalrymple (R) and Larson. The special election is 12/4. Conrad has maintained a wide 2-1 lead over Dalrymple in all polls in this race.



HEADLINE: TATE REPORT - NORTH DAKOTA: DALRYMPLE HITS CONRAD ON DEFICIT

State Rep. Jack Dalrymple (R) "is casting" Sen. Kent Conrad (D) "as a failure at fixing the federal budget problem, and is labeling him as part of the problem." At a press conference 11/4, Dalrymple listed 15 "votes over the past six years in which Conrad voted to spend \$19.3 billion more than what the administration had asked for." Dalrymple: "As a result of that, instead of declining from \$150 billion while he was in office, the federal deficit has skyrocketed to \$300 to \$400 billion a year." Conrad spokesperson Laurie Boeder said Conrad "has one of the strongest records in the Senate on budget reduction." Boeder: "Simply toting up the cost of a bill doesn't give you a picture of what a person's done in terms of deficit reduction." Dalrymple, "who in the past promoted his candidacy as a Republican link to a Republican administration" is now promoting himself as "a link between Washington and" gov.-elect Ed Schafer (R), hinting "Schafer might have trouble working with an all-Democrat congressional delegation." Dalrymple: "there is a tendency at times for politicians from opposite parties to not want to make each other look good" (Pates, Fargo FORUM, 11/5). A recent Political/Media Research poll, conducted 10/27-28, showed Conrad's lead at 57-30%.

The Hotline  
November 23, 1992

HEADLINE: NORTH DAKOTA SENATE: NEW PRO-LIFE ADS TARGET CONRAD

Pro-life candidate Darold Larson (I), whose graphic anti-abortion ads continue to dominate news of the race, unveiled a new spot accusing Sen. Kent Conrad (D) "of voting for medical experimentation on the bodies of murdered babies." Conrad "swiftly denounced" the ad which began running 11/21 "branding it an 'outrageous abuse' of the political process": "This is a monstrous and grotesque distortion." Conrad has voted to permit NIH use of fetal tissue for research. Larson defended his ads and challenged Conrad to debate "anytime, anyplace" on the issue of fetal tissue research. Conrad refused Larson's debate challenge: "Someone who has said things as outrageous and dishonest as this does not deserve a forum." State Rep. Jack Dalrymple's (R) spokesperson Rich Mattern: "That ad is just completely out of bounds" (Springer, FARGO FORUM, 11/22). Chris Trove, a 28-year-old mother of 2, is sending petitions to the FCC asking for restricted times in which graphic ads can be shown. She called the Larson camp originally but "I got no real response from him. ... He wanted me to pray with him about it." Larson "has said he airs the ads during times when children are likely to be watching so they will question their parents and make them uncomfortable enough to begin working against abortion" (AP/BISMARCK TRIBUNE, 11/22). Although Larson "says he's a penniless anti-abortion crusader," he also "gets a handsome benefits package" and is "carefully sheltered to avoid paying legal damages" to a ND women's health clinic. He says he has "neither income nor assets" but he "controls a web" of non-profit corporation which own his house, pay his bills and puts his family through college (Wheeler, AP/FARGO FORUM, 11/22).

ELSEWHERE: With Dalrymple calling the 12/4 election "the lost Senate campaign of 1992" because of a lack of interest, he counted "as a bright spot the continued support" of the NRSC. However, NRSC chair Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX) cancelled a ND trip this week to go to GA instead (Wood, FARGO FORUM, 11/21). Dalrymple charged Conrad with "ducking joint appearances" and debates because his opposition to Dalrymple's \$5/bushel wheat marketing loan idea "is indefensible." Conrad spokesperson Laurie Boeder dismissed the charges as a "desperate ploy." A 12/2 debate is planned (Springer, FARGO FORUM, 11/22).



## **NORTH DAKOTA STATE STATISTICS**

<b>POPULATION:</b>	<b>638,800</b>
<b>Largest City:</b>	<b>Fargo (74,111)</b>
<b>Second largest:</b>	<b>Grand Forks (49,425)</b>
<b>Third largest:</b>	<b>Bismarck (49,256)</b>
<b>GOVERNOR:</b>	<b>George Sinner (D) elected 1984</b> <b>Next election 1992</b>
<b>SENATORS:</b>	<b>Quentin (Fargo) and Conrad (Bismarck)</b>
<b>DEMOGRAPHICS:</b>	<b>95% White, 49% Urban, and 51% Rural</b>
<b>MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME:</b>	<b>\$18,023 (34th)</b>
<b>VIOLENT CRIME RATE:</b>	<b>63 per 100,000 (50th)</b>

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