

State lands you can fence. State lands you can—they are better quality lands. Generally they are small, isolated tracts that are enclosed. It is not comparable.

The Senator was talking about \$1.35. Our bill does not talk about \$1.35, it talks about \$1.85. It talks about going up from where we were. It has a formula based on the price and the value of cattle. It does not treat different people differently.

The Senator keeps mentioning the Rock Springs Grazing Association, that it is a great corporation. It is not a great corporation. It is a combination of relatively small ranches.

I keep hearing about it every year, the same thing. I just do not understand it. It is interesting, of course, that all those who talk about this come from nonpublic-land States. I guess that might have something to do with it.

In any event, I oppose these propositions. I think the formula has nothing to do with the price of cattle. It has nothing to do with the idea of what it is you are buying. Anyone who thinks there is a comparative value between private leasing and public lands just has not taken a look at it. They just have not taken a look at it.

Madam President, I am sure we will talk about this some more tomorrow, and should. But I want to tell you that this whole idea of trying to establish two classes of users is not even supported by the Secretary of the Interior over time. It has never been used before. The idea that the whole thing is subsidized simply is not the case. It is a matter of utilizing the resources on a multiple-use basis.

Tell me how many private land leases are also shared with hunters and fishermen and leased to oil? They are not that way. That is not the way it is. So, it is interesting to me that we continue to have this same discussion every time this comes up. Fortunately, that position does not generally prevail.

Madam President, we will pursue it some more tomorrow. For tonight, I yield the floor.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Just for a minute I want to speak on the bill before us, and then I want to ask permission to speak as in morning business for about 7 or 8 minutes.

Before I speak in morning business, most of the time I only speak on agricultural issues as they relate to the Midwest—the cattle, the pork, the production of corn, production of soybeans, and some wheat. But I think a lot of things that could be said on that issue can be said on this bill as well.

Part of the problem that the Senators from the West are having comes from a lot of constituents who are legitimately expressing concern about the environment, legitimately expressing concern about the good management and a good economic return for the Federal Government on land that the taxpayers own, who do all this legitimately. But they forget, in the

process, they are not appreciating what the consumer of America has in the way of production of food in America.

I think too often the 98 percent of the people in this country who are not producing food—remember, that is 2 percent of the people in this country producing the food that the other 98 percent eat, or another way to put it, one farmer in America will produce enough food not only for Americans but for people outside of America to feed another 124 people—the 98 percent do not really appreciate the fact that food grows on farms, it does not grow in supermarkets.

They are so used to going to the supermarket, getting anything they want anytime they want it and just pay for it. Every time you pay for it, you think you are paying for a very expensive item. But, in fact, food in the United States, not only being of the highest quality, is also a cheaper product in America than any other country in the world.

The consumers of America spend about 9 or 10 percent of their disposable income on food. Look at any other country, and the percentage is in the high teens and low twenties, and in some of the countries of Eastern Europe, it could be 40 percent of income spent just on food.

I know none of you is going to buy the argument when I say we are talking about subsidies for farmers. Just think of the subsidy that the consumers of America get from the efficient production of food in America that consumers in other places in the world do not get from production of food by their farmers.

I do not expect anybody to buy the argument that the farmers of America are subsidizing the food bill of consumers of America by 40 percent, but that is a fact, because we produce so efficiently, we produce such a high-quality product that it is just a little irksome for those of us who are involved in agriculture to sit around here and listen to this lack of appreciation of what the farmers do for the consumers of America, what 2 percent of the people do for the other 98 percent, what we not only do in the way of production of food and fiber, but what we do to create jobs in America, because whatever starts out at the natural resources of America, whether it be on the row-crop farms of the Midwest or the grazing lands of the West, the start of that product there, when you trace that product from the farm through the consumer of America, you are talking about a food and fiber chain that is 20 percent of the gross national product of America.

That is jobs for a lot of people other than the 2 percent of the people who are farmers. Quite frankly, a lot of income returned on labor is much greater than the return that the farmer gets for labor.

So you can go ahead in this debate over the next day or two and have all the fun you want to about doing what you think is right for the environment or what you think is right for a return

on investment for the taxpayers who have money invested in public land and give the farmers of America a bad time. We probably have to take it because we are such a small segment of the population, but I would like to see, once in a while, an appreciation from the people in the Congress of the United States, not only this body but the other body as well, for the 2 percent of the people who provide a good product and a cheap product for the consumers of America.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 7 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### THE VOID IN MORAL LEADERSHIP—PART II

Mr. GRASSLEY. Madam President, yesterday, I spoke about the void in moral leadership in the White House.

I felt obliged, as Teddy Roosevelt said, to speak the truth about the President.

Let me quote him once more.

Some of my colleagues may not have heard me yesterday.

He said it is absolutely necessary that we have full liberty to tell the truth about the President and his acts.

Any other attitude in an American citizen is both base and servile.

To announce that there must be no criticism of the President . . . is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is morally treasonable to the American public . . .

It is even more important to tell the truth, pleasant or unpleasant, about him than about anyone else.

I quoted yesterday from another great President, also named Roosevelt. Franklin D. Roosevelt. He said,

The Presidency is not merely an administrative office . . .

It is more than an engineering job . . .

It is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership.

That is why it is important to reflect on this issue.

I speak about the moral leadership issue because I believe it is critical.

Because it is lacking.

I make a distinction between leadership and moral leadership.

Leadership means the capacity for exercising responsible authority.

There are many in this body who are outstanding leaders.

This is reflected in the many important laws we write for the Nation.

Moral leadership is different.

Moral leadership means we do not just pass laws for the rest of the Nation, and exempt ourselves.

It means we pass laws and we apply them to ourselves, as well.

We set the example.

We say one thing, and we do it, too.

That is what I mean by moral leadership.

This Congress, for example, in one of its very first deeds, passed the Congressional Accountability Act.

In doing so, for the very first time we applied the laws to ourselves that we passed for the rest of the country.

That is moral leadership, Madam President.

That is setting an example.

It says, "Watch what we do, not just what we say."

It is not often that Congress is able to exhibit moral leadership.

We do things more by consensus and compromise.

The reality of Congress is, we usually do things ugly.

Foreigners always have the best observations about our form of government. de Tocqueville, of course, is the most famous example.

But a Russian visitor, Boris Marshalov, once observed, "Congress is so strange. A man gets up to speak and says nothing. Nobody listens—and then everybody disagrees."

Madam President, that's precisely why leadership from the White House is so important.

The individuality of the President is required to provide the moral leadership for the Nation that Congress, as a body, cannot.

The country desperately needs it.

That is what Franklin Roosevelt was talking about.

Yesterday, I talked about why the White House has covered up all its non-legal activities, on both Whitewater and Travelgate.

It is because the activity of those in the White House conflicts with their projected image.

In the words of syndicated columnist Charles Krauthammer, it is "political duplicity \* \* \* The offense is hypocrisy of a high order. Having posed as our moral betters, they *had* to cover up. At stake is their image."

Yesterday, I referred to and quoted from the new book by James B. Stewart, "Blood Sport."

The book reveals much about the Clintons to which Mr. Krauthammer alluded. Mr. Stewart raises several questions about the Clintons.

One is about their willingness to abide by the same standards that everyone else has to meet. A second is about whether they abide by financial requirements in obtaining mortgage loans. A third is whether they should have accepted favors from people who were regulated by the State of Arkansas.

Last week, Mr. Stewart was interviewed by Ted Koppel on "Nightline." In that interview, Mr. Stewart calls this a story about: "the Arrogance of Power, what people think they can do and get away with/as an elected official, then how candid and honest they are when questioned about it."

He offers an illustration. It is a quote from the First Lady. She was advised by White House staff to disclose everything rather than stonewall. Let the Sun shine in, they said. But the First Lady rejected that advice. She said, according to Mr. Stewart, "Well, you know, I'm not going to have people

poring over our documents. After all, we're the President."

Madam President, I will put the entire interview of Mr. Stewart by Mr. Koppel into the RECORD.

That way, the RECORD will reflect the full context of Mr. Stewart's words, so that I am not accused of misleading the American people.

But Mr. Stewart's observations, as well as those of Mr. Krauthammer, heighten the public's awareness of a moral leadership void in the White House.

So I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the interview of Mr. Stewart by Mr. Koppel.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From "Nightline" Mar. 11, 1996]

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. The Whitewater controversy, accusations made and denied.

JAMES STEWART [Author, "Blood Sport"]. Mrs. Clinton, essentially, took singlehandedly the control of this investment.

HILLARY CLINTON. We saw no records, we saw no documents.

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. New questions about the Clintons' credibility.

JAMES STEWART. I think the death of Vincent Foster is the pivotal event in this story.

HILLARY CLINTON. There were no documents taken out of Vince Foster's office on the night he died.

President BILL CLINTON. An allegation comes up, and we answer it, and then people say, "Well, here's another allegation. Answer this."

JAMES STEWART. The President practically screamed over the phone. He said, "I can't take this anymore. I'm here in Europe and they're asking me about Whitewater."

TED KOPPEL [voice-over]. Now, the picture may become a little clearer. Tonight, new details about Whitewater, Vince Foster and damage control.

ANNOUNCER. This is ABC News Nightline. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.

TED KOPPEL. This program may be the first you've heard about "Blood Sport," a new book which becomes available later this week, but it will not be the last. To begin with, you need to know how and why the book came about. The idea appears to have originated with Hillary Clinton. In any event, it was her close friend, Susan Thomases, herself a lawyer, who approached the author, Jim Stewart, and suggested that those closest to the First Family and, indeed, the President and the First Lady themselves, would be willing to cooperate with an objective, outside-the-Beltway writer on a detailed, no-holds-barred Whitewater book.

Stewart, a lawyer and former page one editor of the Wall Street Journal, had impeccable credentials. He had shared in a 1988 Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on insider trading. In 1991, he published the book "Den of Thieves," about financial fraud in the 1980's. Stewart took up the offer and even had one lengthy meeting with Mrs. Clinton at the White House, but the promised co-operation never materialized, although a number of people close to the Clintons did ultimately talk. Stewart went ahead and wrote the book anyway. Jim Stewart is a meticulous writer, which is another way of saying that there are few blaring headlines, but dozens of troubling revelations.

To understand what Jim Stewart has done, you need to refresh your memory on what the Clintons have variously claimed and insisted. The Clintons have insisted, for example, that they were only passive investors in

Whitewater, and had virtually nothing to do with it themselves.

HILLARY CLINTON. We gave whatever money we were requested to give by Jim McDougal. I mean, he was the one who would say, "Here's what you owe on interest, here's what your contributions should be." We did whatever he asked us. We saw no records, we saw no documents.

TED KOPPEL. The Clintons insist that they have fully cooperated with the investigation of Whitewater, but that they have been dogged by one unproved allegation after another.

President BILL CLINTON. That's really the story of this for the last four years. An allegation comes up and we answer it, and the people say, "Well, here's another allegation. Answer this." And then, "Here's another allegation. Answer this." That is the way we are—we're living here in Washington today.

TED KOPPEL. And only a couple of weeks ago, after the FDIC released a report prepared by Jay Stevens, a former Republican U.S. attorney not known to be friendly toward the Clintons, there was this.

MARK FABIANI [Associate White House Counsel]. This report blows out of the water the allegations that have been made about the First Lady and the Rose Law Firm, and it undermines the contention of those who would extend these Whitewater hearings endlessly on into the future.

TED KOPPEL. That may be as good a place as any to introduce Jim Stewart, the author of "Blood Sport," in his first television interview on the book, and let me have you respond right away, because the White House is obviously very proud of the fact that Jay Stevens, Republican, no friend of the Clintons, supervised a report by the FDIC which, in effect, according to the White House, found the Clintons blameless in the—*in* the Whitewater affair. Is that an overstatement?

JAMES STEWART [Author, "Blood Sport"]. Well, I think the White House reaction is misplaced optimism. The report is good news, as far as it goes, but it doesn't go very far. It explicitly says that it's not the definitive report on many of the questions that have arisen here, and there is still an independent counsel investigating all of these and even more allegations. As long as the independent counsel investigation continues, a real threat hovers over this President.

TED KOPPEL. Why or how do you explain the fact that Jay Stevens, who, as I say, has no particular love for the Clintons, why would he end an investigation if, as you say, it's incomplete?

JAMES STEWART. He was retained to investigate the narrow question of whether the government should sue the Clintons or others to regain losses from Madison Guaranty, and he concluded there was no evidence to warrant a suit against the Clintons or the Rose Law Firm to do that, and I think that's the right conclusion. I do not conclude that Madison Guaranty losses flowed to the Clintons.

TED KOPPEL. What then, do you conclude, that—I mean, try and give it to me in a broad sense. What is it that you would say if you were obliged, in 15 or 30 seconds, to summarize what is troublesome about Whitewater and what will still come back to haunt the Clintons?

JAMES STEWART. Well, I think the Whitewater investment and the story of that is important because it shows many things about the Clintons. It shows their willingness to hold themselves to the standards that everyone else has to meet. It shows their willingness to abide by financial requirements in obtaining mortgage loans. But I think, most of all, it shows their willingness, while in Arkansas, to accept the favors of people who were regulated by the state.