

The PUBLIC *i*

Presidential Frequent Fliers

Bill Clinton and Bob Dole hit the air running in the 1996 campaign, but both of them flew on the cheap, thanks to huge — and mostly hidden — subsidies from corporate America and the nation's taxpayers.

BY MEREDITH O'BRIEN

The 1996 presidential campaign has already earned a place in the record books as the most expensive in history. But 1996 also seems likely to go down as the year in which the two major presidential candidates, their parties, and their big contributors finally reduced the Federal Election Campaign Act to so much Swiss cheese — more loophole than law.

Indeed, it was an almost-everything-goes campaign of soft money, "issues" advertising, independent expenditures by the national parties, and assorted other efforts to sidestep or thwart federal election law. Some of the loopholes have been around so long that virtually no one pays attention to them anymore.

Consider, for example, a long-standing provision in federal election laws that allows politicians to fly around the country on corporate or government aircraft, at cut-rate prices.

In 1995 and 1996, for example, more than 50 U.S. corporations — including

campaign by shuttling Dole, his wife, and others around the country on their corporate aircraft at rates that represented only a fraction of the actual cost.

Dole relied on corporate aircraft more than any presidential candidate in history: His campaign spent \$657,908 for at least 173 trips on corporate jets from January 1995 through mid-October 1996.

At the same time, President Clinton used Air Force One for more re-election-related travel than any President in history. His campaign also paid just a fraction of the real cost of flying the presidential plane (about \$36,000 an hour). In this case, of course, the difference was made up by the nation's taxpayers. His campaign made 154 payments to "White House Airlift

that both campaigns filed with the Federal Election Commission. Corporations aren't required to disclose how much they spend to shuttle politicians around on such flights. And in the case of Air Force One, the Air Force says that it has "no records" pertaining to President Clinton's use of the plane for politically related trips and that all relevant records are controlled by the White House.

This report is the first comprehensive study of the use of corporate and

government aircraft in a presidential campaign. It is based chiefly on the Center for Public Integrity's examination of thousands of pages of campaign spending reports and dozens of interviews.

The Clinton and Dole campaigns declined to answer any questions from the Center regarding their air travel. The Democratic National Committee, which spent nearly \$950,000 (including substantial amounts from its soft-money accounts) to help pay the White House for the Clinton/Gore campaign's use of military aircraft, said, through a

'This is a loophole which allows corporate America to play a major role in presidential politics.'

ANGELA (BAY) BUCHANAN,
DECEMBER 1995

S P E C I A L I S S U E

the likes of Exxon, Federal Express, and Philip Morris — collectively poured hundreds of thousands of invisible dollars into Robert Dole's presidential cam-

Operations," totaling \$554,796, for its use of military aircraft.

The subsidies that make these flights possible appear nowhere in the reports

spokesman, that it could provide no details about the payments. The counsel of the Republican National Committee told the Center that the RNC “merely paid these air transportation bills for the Dole campaign . . . under its party expenditure authority” and referred all questions to the Dole campaign.

The Friendly Skies

On the evening of February 12, 1996, after he’d narrowly won the Iowa caucuses, Bob Dole briefly celebrated his victory and then quickly left for the next venue in the presidential nominating contest: New Hampshire. Dole boarded a red-eye flight from Iowa to the Granite State, where he was planning, among other campaign events, to address the state legislature the following day.

On the same day, according to reports filed with the FEC, Dole’s presidential campaign recorded payments of \$8,535 to two companies — The Limited Corporation, the Columbus (Ohio)-based apparel company, and Ruan Company, a Des Moines (Iowa)-based trucking firm — for three flights on their corporate jets. The records do not show which of the flights took Dole from Iowa to New Hampshire. But all told, they show that Dole was simply doing what he’d learned to do so well as a U.S. Senator: hopping cut-rate flights on corporate aircraft.

FEC regulations stipulate that candidates may fly on corporate aircraft as long as their campaigns pay the companies, in advance, the price of a first-class ticket for every passenger affiliated with the campaign. The regulations read as follows:

“A candidate, candidate’s agent, or person traveling on behalf of a candidate who uses an airplane which is owned or leased by a corporation or labor organization . . . must, in advance, reimburse the corporation or labor union:

“(i) In the case of travel to a city

served by regularly scheduled commercial service, the first-class air fare;

“(ii) In the case of travel to a city not served by a — regularly scheduled commercial service, the usual charter rate.”

The first-class fares don’t even begin to cover the substantial costs that corporations rack up when they use their aircraft to fly politicians, their spouses, and their aides around the country — the salaries’ of the flight crew and other company employees on the plane, airport fees, fuel, food, and in some cases lodging, to name just a few. (What’s more, corporations incur even greater costs in connection with ‘dead-end’ trips — when a company, for example, must dispatch an empty plane to meet a politician elsewhere, fly the politician to his or her destination of choice, and then bring the empty plane back to its home base.)

These hidden subsidies, in short, amount to campaign contributions that don’t count as campaign contributions.

“There is no justification for these guys getting these planes for anything less than charter rates,” Fred Wertheimer, the former president of Common Cause, told the Los Angeles Times in 1991. “The difference between first-class fare and the actual value of the flight on a corporate jet is a gift.”

Ian Stirton, a spokesman for the FEC, concedes that the cost of first-class airfare doesn’t come close to covering the costs associated with using a corporate jet or Air Force One. “Obviously it costs a lot more to operate an airplane than first-class airfare,” Stirton told the Center. “[But] I don’t think that’s a loophole. It’s corporate money that’s involved, not corporate PAC money.”

Under federal election law, corporations cannot contribute directly to a presidential campaign. But by putting one or more of its planes at the disposal of a presidential campaign, a corporation can channel tens — even hundreds — of thousands of dollars in subsidies to

‘Obviously it costs a lot more to operate an airplane than first-class airfare. [But] I don’t think that’s a loophole.’

IAN STIRTON, SPOKESMAN,
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

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The Center for Public Integrity was established in 1989 to create a mechanism through which important national issues can be investigated and analyzed by talented, responsible journalists over a period of months and the written material can be presented in full form without the traditional time and space limitations. Published Center studies then become resources for journalists, academics, and other researchers.

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the presidential campaign of its choice.

Gary Schuster, the vice president of corporate communications for Union Pacific Corporation, rode aboard one of the company's jets with Dole in November 1995 to a campaign event in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where Dole was to be endorsed by Governor Tom Ridge. Although Schuster told the Boston Globe that Union Pacific loses money on such flights, he told the Center for Public Integrity that there aren't "a whole lot of extra costs" because most of the trips are relatively short. "The planes aren't going across country," he said. "You're not burning a lot of fuel."

Drew Lewis, Union Pacific's chairman, served as a national finance co-chairman of Dole's campaign at the same time that the company was in the midst of a merger with Southern Pacific Rail Corporation that required the approval of the federal regulators. The \$5.4 billion merger became official in August 1996, making it the nation's biggest railroad. According to a September 1996 account in The New York Times, Dole helped to "smooth the way for the merger by voting to kill an amendment that would have delayed or even derailed the deal by subjecting it to stricter antitrust scrutiny."

Schuster told the Times that Lewis and Dole had had two discussions, one of them by telephone, about the deal. He told the Center that Union Pacific generally has a company representative on board the plane to accompany the politician as "an ambassador of goodwill."

For Dole's presidential campaign, the use of corporate aircraft seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. It used corporate aircraft at least 173 times from January 1995 to mid-October 1996, according to the reports it filed with the FEC. The Dole campaign paid just \$657,908 for flights that presumably took the candidate and others wherever they wanted, whenever they wanted. Dole also got help from the RNC, which in 1996 spent \$130,000 from its "coordinated expenditures" allowance to pay for his campaign's flights aboard corporate aircraft.

How much were all these flights really worth? No one knows.

Dole made the most trips on corpo-

rate planes owned by American Financial Corporation (18), Federal Express Corporation (15), and AFLAC Inc. (14).

Well over half of the 53 companies that absorbed air-travel costs of the Dole campaign in 1995 and 1996 also have contributed to Dole's various campaigns or causes over the years. And executives of at least five of the companies were directly involved in Dole's presidential campaign as national finance co-chairmen or as hosts of major fund-raising events.

This year's presidential campaign wasn't the first time that Dole has heavily relied on corporate aircraft for his political travel. During Dole's short-lived 1988 presidential bid, his campaign took 160 trips on corporate aircraft, for which it paid \$416,525. Dole's political action committee, Campaign America (which he handed over to former Vice President Dan Quayle in 1995), paid corporations \$233,264 for 109 trips taken in 1993 and 1994.

Over the years, aides to Dole admitted that he used corporate jets as his primary means of transportation. In 1987, Tim Archie, then a spokesman for Dole, told The New York Times: "We chose this method [of flying on corporate aircraft] because it's the most convenient to the Senator. The Senator's schedule is very precarious and this offers him the most flexibility."

In 1991, Walt Riker, Dole's press secretary, bragged to The Kansas City Star about how Dole saved taxpayers money by flying almost exclusively on corporate aircraft. He said that Dole relied on about 10 corporations to provide him with air transportation.

In 1993, Riker told The St. Louis Dispatch that Dole used corporate aircraft whenever it was "necessary for his schedule," adding: "When you are the Senate Republican leader and under

time pressure, it sometimes make sense to get a jet that allows three or four stops in one day."

In Dole's 1996 presidential campaign, Elizabeth Hanford Dole was sometimes the VIP passenger aboard corporate air-

craft. Jim McCarthy, the general manager of government affairs for CITGO Petroleum, Inc., told the Center for Public Integrity that the two trips it provided to the campaign took Mrs. Dole on a whirlwind tour of the East Coast and the Midwest in March and July.

McCarthy told the Center that CITGO was "contacted by the campaign with specific dates and locations" for trips, only two of which the company was able to accommodate. McCarthy was unable to provide specific details but said that no

company employees, aside from crew members, accompanied Mrs. Dole on the trips:

McCarthy said that CITGO believes it has a "corporate responsibility to make sure that more people have a chance to see the candidates."

Air Force One, At Your Service

In 1991 and 1992, Bill Clinton's presidential campaign spent \$78,157 for 25 trips aboard corporate aircraft. The list of corporations that put their aircraft at Clinton's disposal was smaller than Dole's but, like Dole's, included some long-standing benefactors. Ten of Clinton's trips, for example, were provided by Stephens, Inc., the investment banking firm based in Little Rock, Arkansas. Its executives were among Clinton's top political patrons, and the company had been represented by Rose Law Firm, where Hillary Rodham Clinton was a partner.

The situation this time around, however, was much different.

Air Force One took President Clinton

'There is no justification for these guys getting these planes for 'anything less than charter rates. The difference between first-class fare and the actual value of the flight on a corporate jet is a gift.'

FRED WERTHEIMER,
THEN-PRESIDENT OF COMMON CAUSE,
1991

on at least 123 trips in the United States from January 1995 to mid-October 1996, according to news media daybooks reviewed by the Center for Public Integrity. Without the cooperation of the Clinton/Gore campaign, the White House, or the Air Force, however, it is impossible to determine how many of these trips were paid for, in full or in part, with campaign funds. From January 1995 to mid-October 1996, the Clinton/Gore campaign made 154 payments to the White House Airlift Operations Office, totaling \$554,796, for its use of Air Force One, Air Force Two, and other military aircraft, according to reports filed with the FEC.

That's far more than either the Reagan or Bush re-election campaigns paid for their use of military aircraft during their respective two-year cycles. Reagan's campaign made 51 payments to the Treasury, totaling \$271,054, from January 1983 to December 1984; Bush's campaign made nine payments to the Treasury totaling \$309,094, from January 1991 to December 1992.

Clinton also got a big boost from the DNC for his re-election campaign: nearly \$950,000 in payments to the White House Airlift Operations Office from January 1995 through mid-October 1996. The payments range from 44 cents to \$76,208, with no other details provided in the disclosure reports. (On a single day in January 1995, the DNC made 22 such payments in amounts ranging from \$48 to \$9,482.)

With Air Force One at its disposal, a President's campaign can go anywhere, at any time, at the drop of the hat. Under FEC regulations, it is required to pay only the cost of "the lowest unrestricted and non-discounted first-class commercial air fare available" for every campaign-related person on Air Force One, including the President, when the military jet flies to and from a campaign or "political" event. (In the event it flies to a location not served by commercial

aircraft, the campaign pays the comparable charter rate.)

If the President goes to an event that the White House counsel determines is "political," his campaign organization must pay some of the costs of using Air Force One. But if the White House counsel finds a trip to be "presidential" — flying to the site of a natural disaster, for example — the campaign doesn't have to pay a dime.

"He is the President, and there are certain expenses that go along with [travel on Air Force One]," FEC spokesman Stirton told the Center. "Twenty-four hours a day he's President, even if he may campaign for 18 . . . The President is always the President."

How much does it actually cost to operate Air Force One?

In 1995, the Air Force said that the Boeing 747, with its 26-member crew, costs \$36,000 per flying hour to operate, according to Cox News Service. The Washington Post recently pegged the per-hour rate at \$35,300. The White House, citing security reasons, has traditionally, declined to provide specific dollar amounts for operating or flying Air Force One.

The Center for Public Integrity filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the 89th

Airlift Wing at Andrews Air Force Base seeking details about President Clinton's political trips aboard Air Force One. The Air Force replied in a letter that it could find "no records" responsive to the Center's request. The letter went on to say that "the most likely repository for records within the scope of your request is the White House." (The Center has filed an appeal.)

Haley Barbour, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, took aim at the Clinton Administration this year for its political use of government aircraft. "Clinton and his Cabinet secretaries have made scores of campaign appearances on trips paid for sometimes exclusively, always primarily, by the tax-

payers," Barbour told the Columbus Dispatch.

President Bush was the target of similar criticism from Capitol Hill Democrats for his use of Air Force One. After Bush attended two fund-raisers in Miami that yielded \$1 million for a Republican candidate and the party, his campaign paid the Treasury \$316 for flights that actually cost \$120,000, according a July 1996 report in the Columbus Dispatch.

The Clinton White House — continuing the tradition of at least two previous administrations — often combined political events and official trips, making the line between them extremely murky. In June 1995, for example, Clinton traveled to New Jersey, where he toured an automotive plant. On the same trip, he also attended a \$1,000-a-plate fund-raiser for his re-election campaign.

When White House Press Secretary Michael McCurry was asked about such apparent coordination of political and official trips, he told reporters, "The costs are apportioned according to the law, and we follow the letter of the law religiously."

Deep Discounts

How deep are the air-fare discounts that a presidential campaign can get from either a cooperating corporation or, in the case of Air Force One and Air Force Two, from the U.S. government (and, consequently, the nation's taxpayers)?

A typical one-way, first-class airline ticket from Washington National Airport to Los Angeles International Airport costs \$1,882. But it would cost roughly-\$45,000-\$53,000 to charter a private plane for that trip, according to estimates from two air charter operations that work out of Washington National Airport.

If President Clinton made the same trip on Air Force One, the six-hour flight would cost the U.S. government about \$210,000.

Bob Hawthorne of Martinair, a Richmond (Va.)-based charter operation that in the past has worked for the Dole campaign, said that his company often loses business when corporations fly candidates around. "A lot of times,"

'The costs are apportioned according to the law, and we follow the letter of the law religiously.'

MICHAEL MCCURRY,
WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

Hawthorne told the Center for Public Integrity, "we're beat out by the corporations."

The \$64,000 Question

Why do corporations choose to lose money by flying politicians around the country?

James A. Thurber, a political scientist at the American University, says that lobbyists can put in some quality time with lawmakers aboard the corporate plane. "It is much easier for somebody to lobby Senator Dole and Liddy Dole if they are sitting there in a corporate jet and having a nice meal," he told the Boston Globe.

Patrick Buchanan, one of Dole's GOP rivals in this year's presidential race, condemned the Kansas Senator's use of corporate aircraft during the primaries. "I've been hitting big corporations for firing all those workers and having their profits go up," Buchanan said on March 8 in Memphis, Tennessee. "And I saw Bob Dole, he just came out the other day and he said, 'I'm against corporate greed.' You've got to tell him, 'Bob, when you do that, you got to get away from that corporate jet of Chiquita bananas you're flying on, Bob.'" Buchanan was referring to Dole's flights on aircraft of American Financial Corporation, which owns Chiquita bananas.

Buchanan's sister and campaign manager, Angela (Bay) Buchanan, was even harsher. "This is a loophole which allows corporate America to play a major role in presidential politics," she told the Associated Press in December 1995. "These corporate interests are not only buying influence, but advancing the candidacy of a friend who they hope will sit in the White House and return the favors."

Even Dole's running mate, Jack Kemp, criticized Dole's use of corporate jets in the 1988 presidential race. John Buckley, a spokesman for Kemp in 1987, told The San Diego Union-Tribune that Kemp chartered his own plane to campaign to avoid any conflict-of-interest charges. "If it is not against the election law, that's fine," Buckley said. "But nonetheless, it gives the appearance of

accepting favors from a corporate entity."

Along For the Ride

Kathelen Spencer, the senior vice president of corporate communications for AFLAC, Inc., an insurer based in Columbus, Georgia, said that the company likes to make its planes available to politicians with whom it has "federal relationships," adding, "We accommodate the requests as they come in if they're [the planes] not being used by AFLAC people," Spencer said.

In 1995 and 1996, many of the requests came from Dole's presidential campaign. Both Senator and Mrs. Dole, along with various campaign aides, made frequent use of AFLAC's aircraft throughout the presidential campaign. The plane they took on most trips was a nine-seater Falcon 50 jet, which Spencer called "real comfortable." She added: "You don't feel like you're in something itty-bitty. . . . It certainly beats having to change planes in airports."

In July 1995, AFLAC flew Dole and five other persons, including Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, on a quick trip from Washington, D.C., to Charleston, South Carolina, to Charlotte, North Carolina, and then back to Washington, Spencer said. The Dole campaign paid AFLAC \$6,391 for the trip. A representative of Martinair told the Center for Public Integrity that it would have charged \$8,900 for the same trip on a comparable plane, an eight-passenger Lear 55 jet.

In September 1995, Senator and Mrs. Dole and three aides flew aboard the AFLAC jet from Washington, D.C., to Dallas to Wichita to Oklahoma City and then back to Washington. The Dole campaign paid AFLAC \$10,725 for the entire trip. A representative of Martinair said that the company would have charged the campaign \$19,850 to charter a similar jet for the same trip.

Three months later, on New Year's Eve, AFLAC again made its plane available to the Doles and three aides. This time it went from Washington, D.C., to a quick stop in the first primary state, New Hampshire, and then down to Fort

Lauderdale, Florida, where Senator Dole attended a fund-raiser. Dole's campaign paid AFLAC \$4,815 for the entire trip. Martinair said that it would have charged \$18,860 for a comparable flight, including the plane's return trip to Washington.

Over the years, AFLAC has been generous in other ways to Dole's campaigns and causes. Daniel P. Amos, the company's chief

executive officer, gave \$50,000 to Dole's now-defunct think tank, the Better America Foundation.

Early this year, AFLAC apparently succeeded in getting an amendment slipped into the House version of a Medicare bill. "The little-noticed language," The Washington Post reported in May 1996, "would toss out a requirement that salesmen notify Medicare recipients that the policies they are selling 'duplicate' some of the benefits paid for by the government program [Medicare]." AFLAC denied that its insurance policies duplicate Medicare benefits.

Fortney (Pete) Stark of California, a Democratic member of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Health, branded the amendment a "payoff" to AFLAC for campaign contributions.

In a recent study of how much money health insurance companies gave to congressional candidates from July 1985 through June 1995, Common Cause identified AFLAC as the top donor, with \$2.4 million.

Federal Express Delivers

Cindy Conner, a spokeswoman for Federal Express, told the Center that Capitol Hill lawmakers and other politi-

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KATHELENSPENCER,
AFLAC, INC.,
DESCRIBING THE COMPANY'S
FALCON 50 JET

The Corporate Jet Set

Dole for President, 1995-96

American Financial Corp., Cincinnati (holding company, insurance, bananas)	18	\$110,166
Federal Express Corp., Memphis, Tenn. (package delivery)	15	63,195
AFLAC Inc., Columbus, Georgia (insurance)	14	59,191
American International Group, Inc., New York (insurance)	9	56,659
Exxon Co., U.S.A., Houston (fuel)	1	40,492
Textron Inc., Providence, R.I. (aircraft, automotive, industrial parts)	10	37,454
William M. Keck/Coalinga Corp., Los Angeles (oil)	2	34,450
American Home Products Corp., Madison, N.J. (pharmaceuticals)	9	33,600
Circuit City Stores, Inc., Richmond, Va. (appliances, consumer electronics)	13	28,496
CITGO Petroleum, Inc., Tulsa, Okla. (petroleum)	2	27,137
U.S. Tobacco Co., Greenwich, Conn. (tobacco)	6	23,359
Fisher Scientific International Inc., Hampton, N.H. (scientific instruments, supplies)	2	22,181
Ruan Corp., Des Moines, Iowa (trucking)	14	21,678
Union Pacific Corp., Bethlehem, Pa. (railroad, trucking)	5	13,200
Limited Service Corp., Columbus, Ohio (apparel)	3	8,618
Philip Morris Cos., Inc., New York (tobacco, assorted products)	4	7,411
Torchmark Corp., Birmingham, Alabama (insurance)	4	7,304
GTech Holdings Corp., West Greenwich, R.I. (gaming equipment)	1	6,610
Fruit of the Loom, Inc., Chicago (apparel)	1	5,318
Golden Rule Insurance Co., Indianapolis (insurance)	1	4,323
Schering-Plough Corp., Madison, N. J. (pharmaceuticals)	1	4,190
A.G. Spanos Construction Cos., Stockton, Calif. (construction)	2	3,681
JM Family Enterprises, Inc., Deerfield Beach, Fla. (automobile-related services)	1	3,365
Coastal Corp., Houston (natural gas, oil, coal mining)	3	2,942
Food Lion, Inc., Salisbury, N.C. (grocery stores)	2	2,599
PC Design Inc., Manchester, N.H. (computers)	1	2,100
Gaylord Container Corp., Decatur, Ill. (paper and packaging)	1	1,952
McDonnell Douglas Corp., St. Louis (military aircraft, missiles, commercial aircraft)	1	1,772
Integrated Health Services, Inc., Hunt Valley, Md. (nursing homes, long-term care)	2	1,768
Lauren International, New Philadelphia, Ohio (polymers, product development)	1	1,678
UNIFI Inc., Greensboro, N.C. (textured filament, spun yams producer)	1	1,676
The Haskell Co., Jacksonville, Fla. (real estate developer)	1	1,584
Cable TV, Hazelton, Pa.	1	1,554
Peavey Electronics Corp., Meridan, Miss. (electronics)	1	1,528
CSX Corp., Richmond, Va. (transportation)	1	1,290
Joe Brigham Inc., Pembroke, N.H. (air travel, construction, surveying, other services)	1	1,242
ConAgra, Inc., Omaha, Neb. (international food company)	1	1,143
Pittston Co., Stamford, Conn. (coal mining, air freight)	1	945
PepsiCo, Inc., Marion, Ill. (soft drinks, snack foods, restaurants)	1	930
Hunt Oil Co., Dallas (petroleum and natural gas extraction)	1	920
Midwest Resources, Des Moines; Iowa (utility)	1	787
United Parcel Service, Dallas (package delivery)	1	785
Pilot Oil Corp., Knoxville, Tenn. (fuel)	2	753
Mortgage Investment Trust Co., Prairie Village, Kan. (financial services, insurance)	1	750
FMC Corp., Chicago (chemicals, machinery)	1	748
Stephens Inc., Little Rock, Ark. (investment banking firm)	1	707
CSC Corp., Richmond, Va. (computer services)	1	678
The Heritage Network, Southgate, Mich. (real estate development)	1	592
Raytheon Co., Lexington, Mass. (electronics, appliances, defense-related equipment)	1	564
Paulmont Clothiers, Mobile, Ala. (men's clothes)	1	510
Heartland Inn, Des Moines, Iowa	1	494
Ramada Inn-New Orleans, New Orleans, La. (hotels)	1	459
Ogden Corp., New York (waste disposal and management)	1	380
Total	173	\$657,908

Campaign America, January 1993 to July 1995

U.S. Tobacco Company, Greenwich, Conn. (tobacco)	10	\$49,183
Archer Daniels Midland Co., Decatur, Ill. (agribusiness)	24	37,393
American International Group, New York (insurance)	4	24,069
Federal Express Corp., Memphis, Tenn. (package delivery)	6	22,567
NTC Group Inc., New York (holding company)	7	11,736
William Keck/Coalinga Corp., Los Angeles (oil)	3	9,230
ConAgra, Inc., Omaha, Neb. (international food company)	5	8,089
American Financial Corp., Cincinnati (holding company, insurance, bananas)	3	7,442
Torchmark Corp., Birmingham, Ala. (insurance)	5	7,181
Executive Beechcraft Inc., Kansas City, Mo. (airplane company)	2	6,855
Coastal Corp., Houston (natural gas, oil, coal mining)	6	6,174
Textron, Inc., Providence, R.I. (aircraft, automotives, industrial parts)	4	5,644
Schering-Plough Corp., Madison, N. J. (pharmaceuticals)	2	5,326
AFLAC, Inc., Columbus, Ga. (insurance)	4	4,584
Forstmann Little & Co., New York (financial, investments)	1	3,610
Union Pacific Corp., Bethlehem, Pa. (railroad, trucking)	2	2,586
Philip Morris Cos., Inc., Richmond, Va. (tobacco, assorted products)	2	2,381
Zeneca Group, Wilmington, Del. (pharmaceuticals)	1	2,131
CSX Corp., Richmond, Va. (transportation operation)	1	2,078
American Trucking Association, Alexandria, Va. (trade association)	1	1,972
American Stores Company Inc., Salt Lake City (grocery store chain)	2	1,956
Food Lion, Inc., Salisbury, N.C. (grocery stores)	2	1,764
Kerr-McGee Corp., Oklahoma City (oil, natural gas, petroleum)	1	1,510
Fisher-Scientific International Inc., Hampton, N.H. (scientific instrument/supply manufacturer)	2	1,362
Circuit City Stores Inc., Richmond, Va., (appliance/consumer electronics retailer)	1	1,332
Evlin Corp., Dallas	1	1,282
JM Family Enterprise Inc., Deerfield Beach, Fla. (automobile-related services)	1	1,220
Trans UCU (UtiliCorp United Inc.), Kansas City, MO. (electricity and natural gas)	2	1,080
Menard, Inc., Eau Claire, Wis. (building products)	1	551
Mesa Inc., Irving, Texas (natural gas)	1	382
MBNA, Newark, Del. (finance)	1	304
Valhi, Inc., Dallas (chemicals, petroleum, other products)	1	290
Total	109	\$233,264

Dole for President, 1987-88

Browning-Ferris Industries, Houston (waste disposal)	24	\$65,416
Contran Corp., Dallas (holding company, transportation, sugar, petroleum)	17	44,150
American Financial Corp., Cincinnati (holding company, insurance, bananas)	15	37,153
Warner-Lambert Co., Morris Plains, N. J. (pharmaceuticals)	7	29,577
US Tobacco Co., Greenwich, Conn. (tobacco)	9	29,249
William Keck/Coalinga Corp., Los Angeles (oil)	6	23,945
ConAgra Inc., Omaha, Neb. (international food company)	8	20,987
Philip Morris Cos., Inc., New York (tobacco, assorted products)	2	19,840
Torchmark Corp., Birmingham, Ala. (insurance)	8	14,359
Stephens, Inc., Little Rock, Ark. (holding company and oil)	10	13,062
REFCO International, Chicago (international trading company)	7	12,628
Home Insurance Co., New York (insurance)	2	11,961
Burlington Industries Inc., Greensboro, N.C. (textiles)	2	10,771
Owen & Associates, Overland Park, Kan. (consulting firm)	1	9,905
Coastal Corp., Houston (natural gas, oil, coal mining)	5	9,144
Businessman's Assurance Co. of America, Kansas City, Mo. (insurance)	3	8,217
Limited Inc., Columbus, Ohio (apparel)	4	8,155
American International Group, New York (insurance)	4	7,146
R&T Partnership, Chicago	1	5,446
W.R. Grace & Co., Boca Raton, Fla. (specialty chemicals, packaging materials, etc.)	2	4,626
B&G Investments, Des Moines, Iowa	1	4,398

The Corporate Jet Set (cont.)

Dole for President, 1987-88 (cont.)

Lincoln Service Corp., Owensboro, Kan. (financial services)	1	4,333
General Mills, Minneapolis (breakfast cereal, flour, desserts, other products)	2	3,416
Archer Daniels Midland Co., Decatur, Ill. (agribusiness)	1	3,060
Equitable BankCorp., Baltimore (bank holding company)	1	2,735
AMR, Fort Worth, Texas (holding company)	1	2,626
Pfizer, Inc., New York (pharmaceutical%)	3	1,948
USX Corp., Pittsburgh (energy conglomerate)	1	1,167
Kervick Enterprises, Centerville, Mass. (metal fabricator)	2	1,023
Simaron Corp., Oklahoma City	1	946
Ruan, Inc., Des Moines, Iowa (truck leasing)	1	910
Green Group, Tuscaloosa, Ala.	1	867
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York (insurance)	1	840
Cigna Corp., Philadelphia (holding company and insurance)	1	594
U.S. Counseling Services, Brookfield, Wis.	1	568
Baltimore Gas and Electric, Baltimore (utility)	1	460
United Company, Blountville, Tenn. (financial services)	1	388
Keene, Monk & Associates, Alexandria, Va.	1	278
Winston Network, Inc., New York (advertising)	1	231
Total	160	\$416,525

Clinton for President, 1991-92

TRM Inc., Cincinnati	4	\$29,469
Stephens Inc., Little Rock, Ark. (investment banking firm)	10	22,398
Hospital Investors Management Corp.	5	11,477
Tyson Foods, Springdale, Ark. (poultry)	2	5,612
Crain Industries, Fort Smith, Ark. (foam manufacturer)	1	5,600
Arkansas Power & Light Co., Little Rock, Ark. (utility)	1	1,640
Truman Arnold Cos., Texarkana, Texas (petroleum)	1	1,496
Harold Ives Trucking Co., Stuttgart, Ark. (trucking)	1	466
Total	25	\$78,158

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission

icians routinely ask the company's Washington office for charter flights and that Federal Express complies if planes are available.

"It's an appropriate thing for us to do," Conner said. She said that Federal Express has two jets for its own executives that it also uses for political trips: a Citation-5, an eight-seater, and a Canadair Challenger-601, an 18-seater.

Federal Express was at Dole's service 15 times from January 1995 through mid-October 1996, for which the campaign paid it \$63,195. The company also allowed Campaign America, Dole's PAC, the use of its jets six times in 1993

and 1994, for which the PAC paid \$22,567.

Executives of Federal Express and their spouses gave Dole's various campaigns and causes at least \$34,000 from 1979 to 1995, according to figures from the FEC and the Center for Responsive Politics. The company gave \$25,000 to the Better America Foundation, Dole's political think tank, and it has also been listed as a contributor to the Dole Foundation, Dole's charity for the disabled, in recent years. Federal Express has myriad interests in Washington, ranging from federal excise taxes on aviation and transportation to the imple-

mentation of the Railway Labor Act to issues that affect the U.S. Postal Service. Federal Express was successful in getting a provision written into the minimum-wage bill — which President Clinton signed in August — that reinstated an expired excise tax on air cargo. The company's hometown newspaper, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, estimated that the provision gave Federal Express a \$50 million one-year windfall.

Air Chiquita

New York City-based American Financial Corporation has had a particu-

larly close relationship with Dole. From 1995 to June 1996, it allowed Dole's campaign to use its planes 18 times, for which it was paid \$110,166. It also helped Dole during his 1988 presidential campaign with 15 flights — for which the company was paid \$37,153 — and later let his PAC, Campaign America, use its corporate aircraft three times in 1993 and 1994 at a cost of \$7,442.

"We don't give interviews," Sandra Heimann, a spokeswoman for American Financial, told the Center for Public Integrity.

The company's executives and their spouses gave Dole's campaigns and causes at least \$75,000 from 1979 to 1995, according to data from the FEC and the Center for Responsive Politics. The company gave \$100,000 to Dole's political think tank and is listed as a contributor to the Dole Foundation in 1993 and 1994.

Dole contacted U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor several occasions on behalf of Chiquita, according to a January 1996 report in *Newsday*. And he was one of a dozen Senators who pressed Kantor in August 1994 to conduct a review of the European Union's banana policy, which Chiquita had been arguing was unfairly punitive to U.S. companies.

Later that same year, according to *Newsday*, Dole urged the Clinton Administration to take action against the countries cooperating with the European Union on the banana policy. In another letter, he told Kantor that "U.S. banana

companies are on the verge of suffering even greater, irreparable damage as a result of the EU and Latin practices."

The Truck Stop

Ruan Corporation, a Des Moines-based trucking company, has been another popular source for corporate aircraft for Dole. In 1995 and 1996, Dole flew on Ruan planes 14 times, for which the campaign paid \$21,678. From 1979 to 1995, according to data from the FEC and the Center for Responsive Politics, Ruan's executives and their spouses gave Dole's campaigns and PAC at least \$52,800.

The company gave \$50,000 to the Better America Foundation, Dole's political think tank, and also contributed to the Dole Foundation seven years in a row.

John Ruan, the owner of the company, was a finance co-chairman of Dole's 1996 presidential campaign. He got an important bit of help from Dole in 1986, when Congress was preparing to eliminate certain investment tax credits as part of the Tax Reform Act. Ruan's company, according to a recent story in *The New York Times*, was in line to get \$8.5 million in such tax credits for purchases of equipment for a planned trucking plant.

"Mr. Ruan knew Mr. Dole from his long involvement in Republican politics in Iowa, a key primary state," the *Times* account said. "So he turned to him, for help. At the last minute, Mr. Dole was able to insert language protecting the \$8.5 million into a deficit-reduction bill."

The Black Hole

Presidential campaigns don't have to tell the FEC — and therefore the press and the public — much at all about their use of corporate and military aircraft. All a campaign must disclose is how much it paid for a trip, when, and to whom. "It's not going to be in the

reports," the FEC's Ian Stirton told the Center. "That would make them longer than they already are."

There's certainly no harm in asking presidential candidates to detail the extent to which their campaign trips are subsidized by corporate benefactors and, in the case of Air Force One, by taxpayers. The harm comes when candidates choose to leave the public in the dark, as they have done so far in this campaign, by refusing to answer such questions.

Michael Langlais contributed to this story.

'Our elected servants
should go to the
airport, get in line,
lose their luggage,
eat a bad meal,
and get a taste
of reality like
the rest of us.'

ROSS PEROT

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