

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE
45TH ANNUAL STOCKHOLDERS MEETING
CENTRAL LIVESTOCK ASSOCIATION, INC.
SOUTH ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
FEBRUARY 9, 1966

MR. CARNES, OTHER DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, AND STOCKHOLDERS OF THE CENTRAL LIVESTOCK ASSOCIATION, IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE ON YOUR PROGRAM THIS EVENING AND A REAL PRIVILEGE TO BE SUBSTITUTING FOR THE GREAT SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEBRASKA, ROMAN L. HRUSKA. I KNOW THAT MANY OF YOU WERE DISAPPOINTED TO LEARN THAT SENATOR HRUSKA COULD NOT BE HERE. HIS LEADERSHIP IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE, AND IN PROBLEMS WHICH RELATE DIRECTLY TO YOUR ASSOCIATION, HAS BEEN OUTSTANDING AND, OF COURSE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE. AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, SENATOR HRUSKA HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE BATTLE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE TO RETAIN SECTION 14 (b) OF THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT. HE WOULD BE HERE THIS EVENING IF IT WERE NOT FOR HIS OBLIGATION TO REMAIN IN WASHINGTON IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER VOTE TOMORROW ON THIS VERY VITAL ISSUE. UNQUESTIONABLY, 14 (b) WILL BE RETAINED, AND A VICTORY IN THE SENATE ON THIS ISSUE NOT ONLY PROVED THE VALUE OF AGGRESSIVE ACTION BY THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, BUT IT WAS A MANIFESTATION OF STRONG PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST THE REPEAL OF SECTION 14 (b). THE FAILURE BY THE ADMINISTRATION TO INVOKE CLOTURE IS AN INDICATION THAT THE "CONSENSUS" WHICH THE PRESIDENT CONSTANTLY SEEKS WAS, IN FACT, STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF RETAINING 14 (b). EVERY SUBSTANTIAL POLL EVER TAKEN SHOWS THAT AMERICANS FAVOR THE PRINCIPLE OF VOLUNTARY UNION MEMBERSHIP AND ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY, ACCORDING TO A RECENT HARRIS POLL, AMERICANS PUT "LIVING IN A FREE COUNTRY" AT THE TOP OF THEIR LIST OF THE MOST PRECIOUS ASSETS OF BEING IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PRINCIPLE OF THE-RIGHT-TO-WORK EMBODIES THE VERY ESSENCE OF OUR AMERICAN HERITAGE OF FREEDOM.

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COMING FROM KANSAS, I BELIEVE I SHARE THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF MOST OF THOSE IN ATTENDANCE, AND WHILE I SHALL NOT DISCUSS PARTISAN ISSUES, IT DOES SEEM APPROPRIATE TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE CONTROVERSIES THAT WILL AFFECT RURAL AMERICA.

WITHOUT QUESTION, RETENTION OF 14 (b) IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT ISSUE DEALS WITH LEGISLATIVE REAPPORTIONMENT. THE REAPPORTIONMENT ISSUE WILL BE VOTED UPON THIS YEAR IN THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE, AND I CERTAINLY TRUST THAT EVERYONE PRESENT WILL STUDY THIS ISSUE CAREFULLY, UNDERSTAND IT, AND THEN CONTACT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS -- REGARDLESS OF YOUR PARTY -- AND EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS.

"SIMPLY THE ISSUE IS WHETHER THIS CONGRESS WILL REFUSE TO GIVE STATES THE OPPORTUNITY TO RATIFY OR REJECT AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, TO APPORTION ONE LEGISLATIVE BODY OF A BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE ON FACTORS OTHER THAN POPULATION. AS A SAFEGUARD, THE AMENDMENT CLEARLY PROVIDES THAT THE QUALIFIED ELECTORS OF A STATE BY MAJORITY VOTE (AS ON A "ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE" BASIS) MUST APPROVE THE PLAN OF APPORTIONMENT BEFORE IT IS EFFECTIVE.

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I RECOGNIZE THE UTTER FUTILITY OF ARGUING THE MERITS OF ANY OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS BEFORE YOU. THE COURT HAS ACTED AND HAS STRIPPED THE STATES OF THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THE CHARACTER OF ITS REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEMS. THE COURT, ITSELF UNELECTIVE, HAS DEMOLISHED THE REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE STATES WITH COMPUTER-LIKE LOGIC WHICH, IN MY OPINION, REPRESENTS THE CROWNING IRONY IN JUDICIAL LAWMAKING.

I PLEAD THE CASE FOR A MINORITY GROUP COMPOSED OF ALL RACES, CREEDS, COLORS -- SPECIFICALLY RURAL AMERICANS. CONGRESS PROPERLY DEVOTES MUCH TIME LEGISLATING TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES AND SO IT IS SOMEWHAT PARADOXICAL THAT SO MANY CHAMPIONS OF THIS CAUSE FAIL TO LIFT A FINGER WHEN THE

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RIGHTS AND THE VERY LIFE BLOOD OF RURAL AMERICA IS GOING DOWN THE DRAIN. YES, TO BE CERTAIN, SOME AREAS NEEDED "PRODDING" BY THE COURT TO OVERCOME GROSS MALAPPORTIONMENT, BUT WHY SENTENCE EVERYONE FOR THE MISDEEDS OF A FEW?

WHY IS IT THAT CONGRESS HAS BEEN SO RELUCTANT TO SUBMIT AN AMENDMENT TO THE STATES? I FULLY APPRECIATE THE ALIGNMENT OF FORCES ON THIS ISSUE. BIG CITY POLITICAL BOSSES, LABOR LEADERS, AND OTHER ASSORTED EQUALITARIANS ARE PITTED AGAINST A SINCERE BUT AN UNORGANIZED AND PEACEFUL MINORITY COMPOSED OF FARMERS, SMALL BUSINESSMEN, AND OTHERS WHO BELIEVE THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES STILL SERVE SOME USEFUL PURPOSE EVEN IN THE "GREAT SOCIETY."

I WOULD ALSO DISCUSS A BILL WHICH IS NOW PENDING IN THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND WHICH COULD BE IMPORTANT TO YOUR ASSOCIATION.

HERE IN ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST AGRICULTURAL MARKETING CENTERS IT WOULD SEEM APPROPRIATE TO MAKE MENTION OF SOME NEWLY-INTRODUCED LEGISLATION WHICH COULD HAVE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON EVERYONE CONNECTED WITH THE GRAIN BUSINESS, INCLUDING THE FARMER.

I REFER TO H. R. 11788 WHICH CARRIES THE RATHER INNOCENT SOUNDING TITLE: " A BILL TO AMEND THE COMMODITY EXCHANGE ACT." IT WAS DRAFTED IN THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TRANSMITTED TO THE CONGRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE ORVILLE L. FREEMAN WITH HIS ENDORSEMENT.

IT WOULD GIVE MR. FREEMAN BROAD, UNPRECEDENTED POWERS WHICH NO PREVIOUS SECRETARY EVER SOUGHT OR, IN MY OPINION, SHOULD EVER HAVE. IT WOULD MAKE THE SECRETARY A VIRTUAL CZAR OVER THE NATION'S FUTURES AND CASH MARKETS. IT IS WRITTEN SO AS TO ENCOMPASS ALL AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES, INCLUDING MANY WHICH ARE NOT NOW SUBJECT TO CEA REGULATION. THE BILL WOULD GIVE THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE MORE SWEEPING AUTHORITY THAN EVEN THE COURTS HAVE BY VESTING HIM WITH THE POWER TO CRACK DOWN ON ANY INDIVIDUAL WHOM HE SUSPECTS IS PREPARING TO VIOLATE A CEA ORDER OR REGULATION.

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THIS IS NOT UNLIKE GIVING THE POLICEMEN ON THE CORNER AUTHORITY TO CONFRONT ANY CITIZEN ON THE STREET AND SAY, "MISTER, I DON'T LIKE YOUR LOOKS. I THINK YOU MIGHT HAVE IT IN MIND TO ROB A BANK OR SOMETHING AND I'M TAKING YOU IN."

RIDICULOUS, YOU SAY. BUT IT WAS ONLY A FEW SHORT YEARS AGO THAT MR. FREEMAN CAME CHARGING UP CAPITOL HILL WAVING A SO-CALLED SUPPLY-MANAGEMENT BILL WHICH PROVIDED FINES, JAIL TERMS AND EVEN PRISON SENTENCES FOR FARMERS WHO FAILED TO KEEP PROPER BOOKS AND RECORDS OR WHO REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH CERTAIN DIRECTIVES SET FORTH IN THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

THE BASIC QUESTION RAISED BY HIS BILL TO AMEND THE COMMODITY EXCHANGE ACT IS THIS: CAN THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE AND HIS APPOINTED ADMINISTRATORS DO A BETTER JOB OF RUNNING AND REGULATING THE NATION'S COMMODITY EXCHANGES THAN THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE SPENT A LIFETIME IN THE BUSINESS?

THE BILL WOULD GIVE THE SECRETARY AUTHORITY TO SET MARGIN REQUIREMENTS IN VIRTUALLY EVERY CONCEIVABLE SITUATION. BY WAY OF COMPARISON, IT MIGHT BE NOTED THAT NO SINGLE INDIVIDUAL IS EMPOWERED TO MAKE SUCH A DECISION WITH RESPECT TO STOCK MARGINS. IT REQUIRES BOARD ACTION. MR. FREEMAN SEEKS ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY.

THE SECRETARY ALONG WOULD BE QUTHORIZED TO "PRESCRIBE CONTRACT MARKET RULES".

THE BILL WOULD PLACE ENTIRELY IN HIS HANDS AUTHORITY NOW VESTED IN THE CEA, THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE TO ESTABLISH SPECULATIVE TRADING LIMITS, SUSPEND OR REVOKE THE DESIGNATION OF A CONTRACT MARKET AND TO HOLD HEARINGS ON SUCH MATTERS. IT WOULD BE STRICTLY A ONE-MAN SHOW.

THE BILL WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE ISSUANCE OF INJUNCTIONS, RESTRAINING ORDERS AND COMPLAINTS, IN SOME CASES WHERE THERE WOULD NEED TO BE ONLY A

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SUSPICION IN THE SECRETARY'S MIND THAT A VIOLATION MIGHT OCCUR.

"RECORDKEEPING REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE EXPANDED," IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE BILL, "TO INCLUDE A REQUIREMENT WITH RESPECT TO RECORDS PERTAINING TO SPOT OR CASH TRANSACTIONS AND INVENTORIES." THIS IS A STEP TOWARD FURTHER FEDERAL REGULATION OF THE CASH MARKETS AS WELL AS FUTURES MARKETS.

THESE ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION. BUT THEY WILL GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF WHAT MR. FREEMAN HAS IN STORE FOR THE TRADE.

I DON'T BELIEVE THE NATION'S COMMODITY EXCHANGES COULD CARRY OUT THEIR HISTORIC FUNCTIONS OR EVEN CONTINUE TO EXIST FOR VERY LONG UNDER THE FREEMAN PLAN. FUTURES TRADING WOULD ALL BUT DRY UP. HEDGING WOULD BECOME NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE. THE EFFECTS WOULD BE FELT DOWN TO THE COUNTRY ELEVATOR AND FARM LEVELS. I DON'T SEE HOW THE PRICING MECHANISM COULD FUNCTION WITHOUT BIDDERS -- AND BIDDERS WOULD BE FEW AND TIMID, AT BEST.

I VIEW THE FREEMAN PROPOSAL AS THE GRAVEST THREAT WHICH HAS EVER CONFRONTED THE FREEDOM AND THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY'S PRIVATE AGRICULTURAL MARKETING SYSTEM. IT REPRESENTS A THREAT NOT ONLY TO THE EXCHANGES THEMSELVES, BUT TO THE CENTRAL MARKETS, THE SMALL TOWN MARKETS AND THE 13 MILLION PEOPLE WHO LIVE ON OUR FARMS. I AM SURE THAT IF EVERYONE INVOLVED REALIZED FULLY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE FREEMAN PROPOSAL, THERE WOULD BE AS GREAT AN OUTCRY AGAINST IT AS GREETED HIS SUPPLY-MANAGEMENT PLANS OF A FEW YEARS AGO. WHILE ON THE SUBJECT OF AGRICULTURE, LET ME DISCUSS ANOTHER PHASE OF IT.

PRICE CONTROLS

WITHIN RECENT WEEKS, THE ALUMINUM, COPPER AND STEEL INDUSTRIES HAVE HAD A TASTE OF THE SAME BITTER MEDICINE FARMERS HAVE BEEN GAGGING ON FOR MANY YEARS. INSTANT CONTROLS ARE ENFORCED THROUGH NAKED GOVERNMENT POWER AND RESOURCES. IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY TO CONTROL METAL PRICES, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS RESORTED TO THE DUMPING OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED COPPER STOCKPILES, AT WELL BELOW WORLD PRICES, AND THE THREAT OF FEDERAL CONTRACT AWARD REPRISALS AS A MEANS OF INVOKING PRICE CEILINGS. IN THE CASE OF SUCH AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES AS WHEAT AND FEED GRAINS, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FLOUTED THE EXPRESSED WILL OF CONGRESS BY DUMPING COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION STOCKS FOR THE AVOWED PURPOSE OF DE-

(remainder of speech like that of Jan. 25, 1966)