

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BOB DOLE
AT THE
ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING
PET INDUSTRY JOINT ADVISORY COUNCIL
FEBRUARY 19, 1975

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO BE HERE AT THIS ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING OF THE PET INDUSTRY JOINT ADVISORY COUNCIL. IT IS GOOD TO SEE ALL OF YOU AND OF COURSE, I AM ESPECIALLY GLAD TO SEE THE MANY KANSANS WHO ARE HERE, REPRESENTING THE INDUSTRY FOR OUR STATE OF KANSAS, WHICH IS THE LARGEST DOG PRODUCING STATE IN THE NATION.

IN HIS INVITATION, YOUR EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, MR. BERGMAN, ASKED ME TO DISCUSS THE "GENERAL LEGISLATIVE CLIMATE" IN WASHINGTON.

THAT'S EASY. FOR NOW, THE CLIMATE IS HOT AND HEATING UP. THE LEGISLATIVE CLIMATE, OF COURSE, CAN'T BE SEPARATED FROM THE POLITICAL CLIMATE. AND, WHAT WE HAVE POLITICALLY, IS A PRESIDENT OF ONE PARTY WITH A CONGRESS OVERWHELMINGLY DOMINATED BY THE OTHER PARTY. THE PARTY IN POWER IN THE CONGRESS IS PRODUCING NOT ONLY A GREAT AMOUNT OF HEAT BY ITS OPPOSITION TO THE PROPOSALS OF THE PRESIDENT, BUT IT IS ALSO PRODUCING IN NEAR UNPRECEDENTED NUMBERS FOR THIS EARLY IN THE SEASON A LONG LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S JOB.

POLITICAL TENSIONS CAN BE HEALTHY

THE TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL TENSION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE, EVEN WHEN IT IS EXAGGERATED BY THE PARTISAN SPLIT SUCH AS WE HAVE NOW AND HAVE HAD FOR THE PAST 6 YEARS, CAN BE VERY DYNAMIC AND PRODUCTIVE. IT CAN CREATE A VERY HEALTHY CLIMATE.

IN NORMAL TIMES, THE FACT THAT SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY DECLARE THEIR PRESIDENTIAL INTENT CAN SPEAK WELL BOTH FOR THE VITALITY OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY AND FOR THE POLITICAL WELL-BEING OF THE NATION AS A WHOLE. THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS, BY OFFERING THEIR ALTERNATIVES TO EXECUTIVE POLICY, BY LETTING THE PUBLIC KNOW WHAT THEY WOULD HAVE DONE HAD THE POLICY CHOICES BEEN THEIRS, CAN PREPARE THE ELECTORATE FOR INFORMED DECISION MAKING WHEN THE TIME FOR VOTING COMES AROUND.

EXCEPTIONAL SITUATION

I SAY THIS IS TRUE IN NORMAL TIMES, AND MY IMPLICATION SHOULD BE CLEAR. THESE ARE NOT EXACTLY NORMAL TIMES.

THE ECONOMY IS IN ABNORMALLY BAD SHAPE. INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE BOTH RUNNING HIGHER THAN MOST OF THE POPULATION CAN RECALL. REMEMBER, HALF OF THE POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY WAS BORN DURING OR AFTER WORLD WAR II AND IN ECONOMIC TERMS, KNOWS NO EXPERIENCE BUT THE POST WAR AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF STEADILY RISING PROSPERITY. RECESSION OF THE SORT WE NOW EXPERIENCE IS FOREIGN TO MOST OF THESE PEOPLE.

DON'T SHARE THE PESSIMISM

I DON'T ACCEPT THE FORECASTS OF SOME WHO SEE THE ECONOMY IN WORSE SHAPE THAN IT REALLY IS. I DON'T ACCEPT THE PREDICTIONS OF THOSE WHO FORESEE CONTINUING DECLINE AND EVEN COLLAPSE. BUT I DO ACCEPT THE REALISTIC APPRAISAL THAT WE

ARE IN A WORSE ECONOMIC SITUATION NOW THAN WE HAVE BEEN AT ANY TIME DURING THIS POST WAR PERIOD AND I DON'T THINK THAT MERE POLITICS AS USUAL IS APPROPRIATE TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

ON THE SUBJECT OF ENERGY, FOR EXAMPLE, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT SINCE THE PRESIDENT MADE PUBLIC HIS COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSALS TO THE CONGRESS, WE HAVE BEEN MOVING INEXORABLY TOWARD AN INSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE CONGRESS.

COMPROMISE NEEDED

I DON'T PUT THE BLAME FOR THIS SOLELY ON THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS, NOR EVEN ENTIRELY ON THE CONGRESS ALONE. THERE IS ENOUGH BLAME TO BE SHARED BY CO-EQUAL BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. CLEARLY WHAT IS NEEDED IS A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE. WE HAVE HAD REPEATED DECLARATIONS OF INTENT, FROM MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND FROM THE ADMINISTRATION, THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT COMPROMISE. WE HAVE HAD ALL THE RIGHT WORDS AND ALL THE GOOD INTENTIONS. BUT SO FAR, JUDGING FROM

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MY OWN EXPERIENCE, THERE HAS BEEN PRECIOUS LITTLE OF THE REALITY OF COMPROMISE. THE GOOD INTENTIONS HAVE BEEN PUT TO THE TEST ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. I OFFERED A COMPROMISE ON THE OIL IMPORT TARIFF CONTROVERSY, FOR EXAMPLE, AND IT GATHERED VERY LITTLE SUPPORT.

THE PRESIDENT, AS YOU KNOW, HAS PROPOSED TO RAISE THE IMPORT TARIFF ON FOREIGN CRUDE OIL BY THREE DOLLARS A BARREL. HE HAS, IN FACT, ALREADY BEGUN TO IMPLEMENT THIS INCREASE BY ACTION HE TOOK ON FEBRUARY 1ST. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, REFLECTING THE MOOD OF THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS IF NOT THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE, HAS ALREADY VOTED TO SUSPEND HIS AUTHORITY TO RAISE OIL IMPORT DUTIES FOR 90 DAYS. THE SENATE LOOKS DETERMINED TO DO THE SAME.

7.

THE PEOPLE, OF COURSE, HAVE A RIGHT TO ASK WHERE THIS LEAVES THEM. AND THEY ARE SUSPICIOUS, AS I AM, THAT IN ACTUAL FACT IT LEAVES THEM IN THE MIDST OF A SERIOUS ENERGY PROBLEM WITH NO NATIONAL POLICY TO DEAL WITH IT, AND THE PERCEPTION THAT THEIR GOVERNMENT IS TOO DIVIDED TO FORMULATE ONE.

I AM NOT A PESSIMIST IN THIS, BUT IT'S BEEN OVER 500 DAYS SINCE THE EMBARGO WITH NO APPARENT PROGRESS TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION TO THE ENERGY PROBLEM, AND I FIND LESS TO SUPPORT MY OPTIMISM. FURTHER DELAY IN THE FACT OF THE TREMENDOUS PROBLEM WE HAVE BORDERS ON BEING IRRESPONSIBLE.

NO SOLUTION PAINLESS

BUT NO SOLUTION TO OUR OVER-DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL
IS GOING TO BE PAINLESS.

THAT'S THE CONCLUSION THAT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE
APPARENT FROM TESTIMONY IN THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE. AND
WE HAVE HEARD FROM TOP ECONOMISTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE
ADMINISTRATION.

AT LEAST, THE TARIFF ORDER DOES NOT PUT YOU IN THE
POSITION OF HAVING A FEDERAL EMPLOYEE TELLING YOU HOW MUCH
FUEL YOU CAN HAVE, AS A RATIONING OR ALLOCATION PROGRAM
WOULD. AND IT'S NOT THAT MANY FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS DO NOT
WORK HARD. IT'S JUST THAT YOU -- AND EVERY OTHER BUSINESSMAN --
CAN MAKE THE BEST DECISION ABOUT HOW MUCH FUEL YOU NEED.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE IS ROOT PROBLEM

FOR, AS I SAID, THESE ARE NOT EXACTLY NORMAL TIMES. IN THE BACKGROUND OF OUR CURRENT NATIONAL SITUATION, BESET AS WE ARE WITH A TROUBLED ECONOMY AND THE MAJOR CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY THE ENERGY SHORTAGE, IS THE LEGACY OF THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS DURING WHICH PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT HAS FALLEN FAST. A DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE, TO SUBORDINATE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS FOR THE SAKE OF THE NATION, WOULD GO A LONG WAY TOWARD RESTORING CONFIDENCE. AND SUCH A RESTORATION WOULD BE A SELF-REGENERATING THING. FOR MANY OF OUR PROBLEMS, ESPECIALLY OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, ARE BASICALLY PROBLEMS OF CONFIDENCE.

FAA RULING AN EXAMPLE

YOU IN YOUR INDUSTRY KNOW THIS FULL WELL. YOU HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN AN EFFORT, WHICH I HAVE ACTIVELY ENDORSED AND SUPPORTED, TO STAY AN ORDER OF THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION ^{THAT} ~~WHICH~~ WOULD SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE THE FUTURE OF YOUR INDUSTRY. THIS RULING, REQUIRING AIR SHIPPERS TO MEET CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS FOR THE HANDLING OF LIVE ANIMAL FREIGHT, IS BOTH UNTIMELY AND UNNECESSARY, AND I HAVE TOLD FAA ADMINISTRATOR BUTTERFIELD AS MUCH.

AS I UNDERSTAND, IT HAS BEEN DELAYED, IN EFFECT, UNDER THE FAA'S ORDER OF LAST FRIDAY AND IS NOW SCHEDULED TO TO INTO EFFECT NOT SOONER THAN NEXT OCTOBER. BUT WHAT CONCERNS ME IS THAT IT IS NO GREAT CONSOLATION TO FIND THAT A FEDERAL AGENCY WILL DEFER IMPLEMENTATION OF A POLICY THAT WAS ARRIVED AT AND IMPLEMENTED ARBITRARILY IN THE FIRST PLACE.

GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE RULING WAS PUBLISHED, THE EXTENSION WAS CERTAINLY NEEDED. BUT, THE MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION IS AND MUST BE, WHY THE RULING IN THE FIRST PLACE? WE ALL SUPPORT HUMANE TREATMENT OF ANIMALS. THOSE IN THE INDUSTRY MAY BE MORE CONCERNED THAN THOSE OUTSIDE SINCE, AFTER ALL, IT'S YOUR SOURCE OF INCOME. BUT SHOULD THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CREATE REGULATIONS THAT THREATEN TO FORCE AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY OUT OF BUSINESS?

THAT IS THE CONCERN I HAVE EXPRESSED TO THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION. AND I THINK IT APPLIES TO MANY OTHER ACTIONS BY THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES.

HASTY LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

IT NEVER CEASES TO AMAZE ME, THE SPEED WITH WHICH ONE NEWSPAPER ARTICLE OR ONE NETWORK INVESTIGATIVE REPORT DESCRIBING A PROBLEM CAN PRODUCE A HASTILY DRAWN PIECE OF LEGISLATION PURPORTING TO SOLVE IT. CASE IN POINT -- THE MISTREATMENT OF ANIMALS BY A FEW NON-PROFESSIONALS GETS PORTRAYED AS A PROBLEM. THIS PROBLEM GETS PUBLICIZED AND IT QUICKLY BECOMES A "NATIONAL DISGRACE" REQUIRING A "NATIONAL SOLUTION" ON AN URGENT BASIS.

THE RESULT OFTEN IS LEGISLATION OF THE SORT CONSIDERED IN THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE LAST YEAR, THE PET WELFARE BILL WHICH WAS DRAFTED WITH NOTHING BUT THE BEST OF INTENTIONS AND HAD SOME GOOD POINTS. THE PROBLEM WITH THIS PROCESS AND WITH THIS PARTICULAR BILL IS THAT IN MANY WAYS IT IS NOT WHAT IS NEEDED. IN FACT, IN PARTS IT IS SO FAR FROM WHAT IS NEEDED THAT IF PASSED, IT WOULD PUT MANY A REPUTABLE PET PRODUCER OUT OF BUSINESS IN SHORT ORDER.

13.

AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, I AM WORKING WITH YOUR PIJAC STAFF HERE IN WASHINGTON IN AN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY NEEDED REVISIONS IN THAT BILL AND TO INTRODUCE A MORE ACCEPTABLE VERSION THAT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WON'T PUNISH THE RESPONSIBLE PET PRODUCERS FOR THE SINS OF A FEW DISREPUTABLE ONES. AS THE RANKING REPUBLICAN IN THE SENATE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE THIS YEAR, I AM HOPEFUL THAT WE CAN DO SOMETHING PRODUCTIVE WITH THE ANIMAL WELFARE BILL.

BUT THERE IS A GREATER PROBLEM WITH THIS HASTY LEGISLATIVE PROCESS I HAVE DESCRIBED. AND IT IS A MORE GENERAL ONE. IT GETS BACK TO THE PROBLEM OF CONFIDENCE I MENTIONED EARLIER, AND TO THE QUESTION OF LEGISLATIVE CLIMATE WHICH I WAS ASKED TO DISCUSS.

WE HAVE SOME VERY SERIOUS AND URGENT PROBLEMS WHICH NEED DIRECT AND URGENT ATTENTION BY THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT. THE PROBLEM OF JOBLESSNESS, OF INFLATION, THE

CHALLENGE, AS THE PRESIDENT AS PUT IT, OF MAKING THIS COUNTRY INVULNERABLE TO ANY FUTURE ENERGY BLACKMAIL ATTEMPTS, ALL REQUIRE THE SERIOUS AND SINCERE EFFORTS OF A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNIFIED IN ITS DETERMINATION TO MEET THE CHALLENGES AND SOLVE THE PROBLEMS.

ONLY SUCH A DISPLAY OF UNITY CAN GENERATE THE CONFIDENCE NEEDED TO ENGENDER THE PUBLIC SUPPORT ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF ANY NATIONAL POLICY. THE FORMULA OVER MOST OF THIS CENTURY AT LEAST HAS BEEN "THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES, THE CONGRESS DISPOSES." I DON'T DEFEND THE FORD PROPOSALS AS PERFECT, BUT I DO SEE A DANGER IN THE PRESENT SUPERHEATED LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT THE FORMULA, AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS, WILL BE CHANGED TO READ, "THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES AND THE CONGRESS OPPOSES."

SOURCE OF OPTIMISM

WE CAN'T AFFORD THAT. I BELIEVE IT WILL CHANGE BECAUSE IT MUST CHANGE. THE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT MUST COME TOGETHER, ON THE BUDGET, ON TAX CUTS AND TAX CHANGES, ON ENERGY POLICY, ON RESTORING THE ECONOMY TO HEALTH AND VIGOR.

I BELIEVE THEY CAN AND IF AND WHEN THEY DO, PROVIDING THE CONCERTED LEADERSHIP THIS COUNTRY IS THIRSTING FOR, THE PEOPLE WILL JOIN WITH THEM IN RENEWED CONFIDENCE.

THIS COUNTRY, AND ITS SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AFTER ALL, REMAINS THE BEST AND STRONGEST OF ANY IN THE WORLD. AND MUCH OF ITS STRENGTH LIES IN ITS FLEXIBILITY. IF AND WHEN WE CAN PUT ASIDE THE RIGIDITY THAT NOW ARISES FROM PARTISAN CONSIDERATIONS, THAT STRENGTH WILL MANIFEST ITSELF. WHILE I DON'T EXPECT THAT ANY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN GOVERNMENT ARE GOING TO FORGET THEIR PARTY LABELS, I DO BELIEVE THAT IN THE LONG RUN THE CHALLENGES WE FACE IN COMMON WILL TRANSCEND THE PARTISAN CONSIDERATIONS THAT DIVIDE US AND THAT EXPECTATION IS THE SOURCE OF MY OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE.