

SENATOR BOB DOLE'S

PREPARED TEXT OF SPEECH TO ANNUAL TRUCKERS CONVENTION, INDEPENDENT
TRUCKERS ASSOCIATION, CROWN CENTER, KANSAS CITY, FRIDAY, JULY 22, 1977

IN THIS ERA WHEN MORE AND MORE AMERICANS ARE TURNING TO BIG GOVERNMENT FOR GUARANTEES OF COMPLETE SECURITY IN ALMOST EVERY PHASE OF THEIR LIVES, IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE IN THE COMPANY OF THE INDEPENDENT OWNER-OPERATORS OF THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY. I SALUTE YOUR FAITH IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM. I ADMIRE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE THE BIG INVESTMENTS--OF MONEY AND HARD WORK--THAT ARE NECESSARY TO GET INTO THE TRUCKING BUSINESS, AND THEN TO TAKE CHANCES--BETTING YOUR FUTURE ON THE PROPOSITION THAT BETTER SERVICE WILL STILL PAY A JUST REWARD IN THIS COUNTRY.

YOU, MORE THAN MOST, ARE AWARE OF THE PRICE WE PAY FOR THE REGULATORY GLUT--THE INEFFICIENCY, THE INEQUITIES, AND, MOST IMPORTANT, THE DRAINING AWAY OF OUR FREEDOMS.

Bob Dole

HUMAN RIGHTS INCONSISTENCIES

BEFORE DISCUSSING THE OUTLOOK FOR REGULATORY REFORM, I WOULD LIKE TO TOUCH BRIEFLY ON SOME OF THE CONCERNS THAT WE ALL SHARE AS AMERICANS.

YESTERDAY THE PRESIDENT SPOKE IN GENERAL TERMS OF HIS DESIRE TO MAINTAIN A FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME STANDING UP FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE SUFFERED UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. WE CAN ALL JOIN IN THAT COMMENDABLE OBJECTIVE.

BUT I AM TROUBLED BY THE SELECTIVE NATURE OF MR. CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN.

THE ADMINISTRATION CANNOT USE HUMAN RIGHTS AS A BARGAINING CHIP IN THE SALT TALKS--AND THEN TURN AROUND AND IGNORE THE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN DIGNITY IN CUBA, CHINA, VIETNAM, AND CAMBODIA.

JUST THIS WEEK THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM SCORED A MAJOR SYMBOLIC VICTORY BY GAINING THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S APPROVAL FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS--WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE U.S. DELEGATION--THE LATEST UNFORTUNATE STEP IN OUR PREMATURE EFFORT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH HANOI.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THESE STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN UNTIL THE VIETNAMESE HAVE BEEN MORE RESPONSIVE IN ACCOUNTING FOR THE AMERICANS MISSING-IN-ACTION.

AND IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT WE SHOULD BE MAKING FRIENDLY OVERTURES TO CASTRO WHILE HIS TROOPS ARE STIRRING UP TROUBLE ON THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA.

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REGULATORY REFORM

RETURNING CLOSER TO HOME, I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FINALLY BEGINNING TO NOTICE THE EXCESS OF REGULATION IN EVERYTHING WE DO -- INCLUDING TRANSPORTATION.

IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THOMAS JEFFERSON TALKED OF "A WISE AND FRUGAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SHALL RESTRAIN MEN FROM INJURING ONE ANOTHER, BUT WHICH SHALL LEAVE THEM OTHERWISE FREE TO REGULATE THEIR OWN PURSUITS OF INDUSTRY AND IMPROVEMENT."

IT HASN'T WORKED OUT THAT WAY.

YOU'RE PROBABLY FAMILIAR WITH SOME OF THE ABSURDITIES.

OSHA --THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION-- REQUIRES BACKUP ALARMS ON TRUCKS -- AND THEY ALSO REQUIRE THAT WORKERS WEAR NOISE MUFFLING PROTECTORS OVER THEIR EARS SO THEY CAN'T HEAR THE ALARM!

OSHA ISSUED 21 PAGES OF FINE-PRINT REGULATIONS ON LADDER DESIGN.

DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY ALONE SPENT \$147 MILLION IN 1975 TRYING TO COMPLY WITH ALL THE FEDERAL REGULATIONS.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY MUST COMPLY WITH 5,600 REGULATIONS FROM 27 DIFFERENT AGENCIES -- 4,000 OF THEM FROM OSHA.

THE SENATE, I AM PLEASED TO REPORT, ADOPTED MY AMENDMENT TO THE LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATION BILL WHICH WOULD PROVIDE THAT BEFORE PENALTIES CAN BE IMPOSED FOR A FIRST VIOLATION, OSHA MUST CONSULT WITH THE EMPLOYER ON POSSIBLE WAYS OF BRINGING THE PLANT INTO COMPLIANCE. THIS WOULD HELP ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS SAFE WORKING CONDITIONS, WITHOUT ALL THE HASSLE. THE BILL WITH MY AMENDMENT IS BEFORE A CONFERENCE COMMITTEE THAT WILL MEET ON TUESDAY TO SETTLE THE ISSUE. I HOPE WE CAN KEEP IT

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IN THE LEGISLATION THAT IS FINALLY SENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE PREPARATION OF ALL THE REPORTS REQUIRED BY THE
FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS IS A SPECIAL BURDEN ON THE
TRUCKING INDUSTRY. I AM FAMILIAR WITH A REVIEW BY ONE TRUCKING
COMPANY WHICH SHOWED THAT IT WAS REQUIRED TO FILE 2,323
STATE FORMS AND 66 FEDERAL DOCUMENTS--NOT COUNTING ANY ACCIDENT
REPORTS--IN ONE 12-MONTH PERIOD.

I AM ALSO FAMILIAR WITH THE PROBLEMS CAUSED BY
DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL AND STATE WEIGHT LIMITS.

~~IN THE LEGISLATION THAT IS FINALLY SENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE.~~

TRANSPORTATION REGULATIONS

WHILE WE MAY DIFFER ON DETAILS, I THINK MOST ALL OF US DO AGREE ON THE NEED FOR REGULATORY REFORM OF TRUCK TRANSPORTATION. WHETHER THE MOTOR CARRIER REFORM ACT, WHICH THE FORD ADMINISTRATION PROPOSED, IS THE RIGHT ANSWER IS A MATTER OF DISPUTE. THERE IS LITTLE MOVEMENT IN EITHER THE APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS OR AT THE WHITE HOUSE FOR MOTOR CARRIER DEREGULATION.

THE SENATE COMMERCE COMMITTEE -- OF WHICH I AM NOT A MEMBER-- IS PLANNING TO HOLD HEARINGS LATER IN THE YEAR OR IN 1978 ON ECONOMIC REGULATION OF THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY. BUT THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION, BROCK ADAMS, SAID THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONCENTRATING FIRST ON AVIATION DEREGULATION AND EXPECTS TO COME UP WITH SOME TRUCK PROPOSALS EARLY NEXT YEAR.

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IN THE MEANTIME, THE PRESIDENT WANTS THE ICC TO PRESIDE OVER SOME PIECEMEAL REFORMS--CLEANING UP ITS OWN ACT WILL PROBABLY BE WITH DELIBERATE SPEED. AS YOU KNOW, THE ICC ISSUED A REPORT RECOMMENDING A NUMBER OF REFORMS THAT ARE POSSIBLE WITHOUT LEGISLATION, WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE SOME OF THE REGULATORY RED TAPE AND PAPERWORK. I HAVE MY DOUBTS ABOUT WHETHER THE COMMISSION CAN CARRY OUT THIS ASSIGNMENT EFFECTIVELY, BUT WE WILL SEE.

SOME OF YOU HERE ARE IN THE FARM PRODUCE HAULING BUSINESS, WHICH IS EXEMPT FROM ICC REGULATION. WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED THERE SHOULD GIVE US PAUSE BEFORE WE ELIMINATE REGULATION ALTOGETHER. RATES GO UP AND DOWN RAPIDLY, AS YOU KNOW, AND SO DOES THE NUMBER OF TRUCKS THAT ARE AVAILABLE IN CERTAIN AREAS AT HARVEST TIME. WHEN THERE IS A SHORTAGE OF SERVICE, THE RATES GO UP AND YOU CAN GET BY. BUT WHEN THERE ARE

MORE TRUCKS AVAILABLE, RATES SLIDE AND YOU ARE SQUEEZED TIGHTER ON BOTH SIDES BY BROKERS AND SHIPPERS. I REALLY WONDER WHETHER THE LESS PROFITABLE ROUTES IN SPARSELY SETTLED AREAS OF STATES LIKE KANSAS WOULD BE ADEQUATELY SERVED IF THERE WAS NO FEDERAL REGULATION OF ROUTES OR RATES. BEYOND ANY QUESTION, STABILITY IS AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION IN DECIDING WHETHER GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF TRANSPORTATION IS USEFUL.

RESTRICTED ENTRY

NEVERTHELESS, THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT JUSTIFY UNDUE RESTRICTIONS OF ENTRY INTO TRUCKING. THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR PREVENTING COMPETITION BY MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR SMALL TRUCKERS TO COMPETE ON AN EQUAL BASIS AGAINST THE BIG CARRIERS.

IF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IS ANYTHING MORE THAN AN OUTMODED SLOGAN IN AMERICA, WE'VE GOT TO GIVE THE SMALL BUSINESSMAN IN THE CAB OF THE BIG TRUCK AN EVEN OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE

THAT HE CAN PROVIDE SUPERIOR SERVICE.

MY CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS THAT NATIONAL POLICY SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE LESS DENSELY SETTLED SECTIONS OF THE NATION AS WELL AS THE CONGESTED METROPOLITAN AREAS.

IT IS REASSURING TO KNOW THAT THE COMMERCE COMMITTEE STAFF IS NOW CONDUCTING A STUDY OF IMPACT OF DEREGULATION ON SMALL COMMUNITIES. PRESUMABLY, WHEN THAT INQUIRY HAS BEEN COMPLETED, WE'LL HAVE MORE FACTUAL INFORMATION UPON WHICH TO BASE A JUDGMENT.

EMPTY BACK-HAUL PROBLEM

BY THE SAME TOKEN, IT STANDS TO REASON, IN VIEW OF THE RISING COSTS OF MOTOR FUEL, THAT THE SO-CALLED EMPTY BACK-HAUL MUST BE REDUCED. TO DO SO IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE TRUCKER WHO HAS TO PAY FOR FUEL; AND THE PURCHASER OF FREIGHT SERVICES WHO HAS TO ABSORB THE COSTS OF AN EMPTY RETURN.

MORE COMPETITIVE CONDITIONS, EASIER ENTRY, THE ELIMINATION OF AS MANY EMPTY RETURN TRIPS AS POSSIBLE, AND THE MORE EFFICIENT USE OF ENERGY ARE COMMENDABLE OBJECTIVES--ALL OF THEM--BUT I SENSE A FEELING IN CONGRESS THAT COMPLETE AND ABRUPT DISMANTLING OF THE ENTIRE REGULATORY FRAMEWORK IS NOT THE BEST WAY TO GO ABOUT IT.

I KNOW THAT MANY INDEPENDENT OWNER-OPERATORS HAVE GONE OUT OF BUSINESS IN THE LAST YEAR OR SO. THE NATION RELIES ON TRUCK TRANSPORTATION--AND THE TRUCKING INDUSTRY RELIES ON YOU THE INDEPENDENT OPERATOR.

ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES FACED BY TRUCKERS IS THE RISING COST OF MOTOR FUEL AND OF OTHER PRICES THAT YOU ARE FORCED TO PAY.

TAXES AND INFLATION

INFLATION IS A PROBLEM THAT STRIKES EVERY AMERICAN, IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, IN EVERY SOCIAL CLASS.

IT'S A PROBLEM THAT I KNOW YOU ARE ALL INTIMATELY FAMILIAR WITH. DIESEL FUEL THAT COST 33 AND 34 CENTS A GALLON IN 1973 IS NOW AVERAGING 57 CENTS A GALLON. A TRACTOR THAT SOLD NEW IN 1973 FOR \$23,500 IS NOW LISTED AT \$42,000.

IT IS ESSENTIAL, I BELIEVE, THAT CONGRESS CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND THAT ALL PUBLIC OFFICIALS PUT A STOP TO THE FASTEST-GROWING COMPONENT OF THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX--WHICH IS RISING TAXES.

THE MAINSPRING OF THE PRESIDENT'S ENERGY PROGRAM--A FURTHER STEEP RISE IN GASOLINE TAXES--MAKES NO SENSE TO ME AT ALL.

BEFORE WE TAKE SUCH DRASTIC ACTION TO FORCE A REDUCTION IN THE CONSUMPTION OF MOTOR FUEL, WHY DON'T WE AT LEAST TRY TO INCREASE THE DOMESTIC SUPPLY OF ENERGY BY GIVING PRODUCERS AN ECONOMIC INCENTIVE TO DEVELOP NEW SOURCES? I FAVOR THE REMOVAL OF SOME OF THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLS ON PETROLEUM PRICES, WITH A REQUIREMENT THAT THE EXCESS PROFITS BE PLOWED BACK INTO NEW EXPLORATION AND NEW PRODUCTION.

AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE, NOT ALL DRIVING IS PLEASURE DRIVING. THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO RAISE TAXES ON MOTOR FUEL WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST MOTORISTS WHO MUST DRIVE LONG DISTANCES--SUCH AS THOSE IN MY STATE OF KANSAS.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE ARRIVE AT A BALANCED ENERGY POLICY--BALANCED BETWEEN CONSERVATION AND INCREASED SUPPLY--BALANCED BETWEEN THE NEEDS OF URBAN AND NON-URBAN RESIDENTS.

NATIONAL SPEED LIMIT

WHEN THE 55 MILE-AN-HOUR NATIONAL SPEED LIMIT WAS ADOPTED, I EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE LAW WOULD DISCRIMINATE AGAINST DRIVERS IN THE LESS DENSELY POPULATED REGIONS. IT HAS TURNED OUT TO BE A MIXED BLESSING. THE LOWER SPEEDS RESULT IN FUEL ECONOMY. HIGHWAY FATALITY RATES ARE DOWN. BUT ENFORCEMENT IS SPOTTY. A DRIVER HAS NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER THE POSTED SPEED LIMITS ARE BEING ENFORCED ON A CERTAIN STRETCH OF HIGHWAY. IT'S LIKE A BIG LOTTERY, WITH EVERYBODY GUESSING WHAT THE REAL SPEED LIMIT REALLY IS. GUESS WRONG AND IT COSTS YOU MONEY.

REGULATION PROMOTES MONOPOLY

UNLESS, I AM MISTAKEN, THERE IS A STRONG TIDE OF OPINION RUNNING AGAINST GOVERNMENT REGULATION IN THE UNITED STATES. REGULATION BEGAN EARLY IN THIS CENTURY AS A REACTION TO MONOPOLY AND THE EXCESSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

BUT IN RECENT YEARS IT HAS CHANGED IN CHARACTER SO THAT NOW IT TENDS TO PROMOTE MONOPOLY, RAISE CONSUMER PRICES, AND DISCOURAGE INNOVATION.

LIBERTY YIELDS, GOVERNMENT GAINS

IN THAT SAME INAUGURAL ADDRESS MANY YEARS AGO, MR. JEFFERSON FORESAW THAT "THE NATURAL PROGRESS OF THINGS IS FOR LIBERTY TO YIELD AND GOVERNMENT TO GAIN GROUND."

AS USUAL, HE WAS RIGHT ON THE MARK.

THERE ARE NO EASY AVENUES TO WISE TRANSPORTATION AND ENERGY POLICY. SOME OF WHAT HAPPENS WILL NOT BE PLEASING TO EVERYONE. BUT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATION IS SURELY NOT THE SOLUTION. SMALL BUSINESSMEN ARE PARTICULARLY DESERVING OF LESS, NOT MORE GOVERNMENT REGULATION, WHETHER THEY WORK BEHIND THE WHEEL OF A TRUCK OR IN SOME OTHER ENTERPRISE. I WISH YOU WELL IN YOUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS.

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Arthur T. Jones

- Let me say to you, however
L. M. Jones - Jones

- H. H. H. - "Hello... Hello".