

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

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RUSSELL, KANSAS
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TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT A SUBJECT THAT IS PRACTICALLY UNHEARD-OF IN THESE TIMES. I AM GOING TO TALK ABOUT THE POSITIVE SIDE OF LIFE IN THIS GREAT COUNTRY -- ABOUT PROGRESS -- ABOUT WHAT'S RIGHT WITH AMERICA.

EVERY DAY AND EVERY EVENING AND EVERY WEEK WE ARE BOMBARDED WITH A HIGH-PITCHED INTERPRETATION OF WHAT IS WRONG. IT IS LIKE TAKING A PICTURE OF A ROSE AND SHOWING ONLY THE THORNS. TAKEN AS PRESENTED, THIS EXTREME CONCENTRATION ON THE NEGATIVE COULD LEAD ONLY TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THIS GREAT COUNTRY IS IN THE GRIP OF ANARCHY, PANIC, REPRESSION AND DESPAIR.

FORTUNATELY, YOU KNOW AND I KNOW THAT IT JUST IS NOT SO. AND LET EVERY AMERICAN BE ASSURED THAT IT IS NOT GOING TO BE SO.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRESS

FIRST, LET US LOOK AT JUST A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE PROGRESS THAT THIS GREAT COUNTRY HAS MADE IN THE PAST 50 YEARS -- SINCE 1920.

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IN 1920, THE POPULATION OF THIS COUNTRY WAS 106 MILLION -- HALF
WAHT IT IS TODAY.

LIFE EXPECTANCY IN THE UNITED STATES WAS 54 YEARS; NOW IT IS
MORE THAN 70.

THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT WAS 89 BILLION DOLLARS; TODAY IT IS
MORE THAN 900 BILLION DOLLARS AND WITHIN THIS DECADE IT WILL RISE TO A
TRILLION DOLLARS.

IN 1920 THERE WERE 311,266 YOUNG PEOPLE GRADUATED FROM HIGH
SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS YEAR THE NUMBER -- IN A POPULATION
THAT MERELY DOUBLED -- WAS TEN TIMES GREATER.

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THIS COUNTRY CONFERRED
53,516 DEGREES IN 1920; THIS YEAR THEY CONFERRED MORE THAN ONE MILLION.

IN 1920 SIX PERCENT OF OUR POPULATION WAS ILLITERATE. TODAY
ILLITERACY HAS ALMOST DISAPPEARED.

FIFTY YEARS AGO TODAY AMERICAN WOMEN HAD JUST WON THE RIGHT TO
VOTE.

AND FIFTY YEARS AGO TODAY THERE WAS NO REGULARLY SCHEDULED
RADIO BROADCASTING IN THE UNITED STATES.

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THESE EXAMPLES -- AND THERE ARE MANY, MANY MORE -- SERVE TO REMIND US OF HOW MUCH HAS CHANGED, OF HOW MUCH PROGRESS THERE HAS BEEN IN HEALTH, WEALTH, EDUCATION, COMMUNICATION, SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IN EVERY ASPECT OF LIFE IN THIS LAND IN THE LAST HALF CENTURY. THAT PROGRESS HAS MADE THIS THE GREATEST NATION ON EARTH -- AND I SAY WE SHOULD NEVER ALLOW OURSELVES TO FORGET THAT BASIC TRUTH.

DOOM AND GLOOM PROPHETS

DESPITE THESE FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM GAINS IN LIFE IN THESE UNITED STATES, THERE IS A TENDENCY ABROAD IN THE LAND TO CRY DOOM. THIS TENDENCY EMERGES IN DIFFERENT FORMS AT DIFFERENT TIMES -- WITHOUT THE REGULARITY BUT WITH THE SAME RASPIING EFFECT AS THE 17-YEAR LOCUST.

TAKE THE CASE OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODY IN MASSACHUSETTS WHICH DEPLORED "THE CALAMITIES OF THE PRESENT UNJUST AND RUINOUS WAR" AND FORESAW "THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL FREE GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REIGN OF TERROR." AND CONSIDER THE ACT OF A STATE LEGISLATURE WHICH TRIED TO RALLY THE PEOPLE TO FORM A NATIONAL "PEACE PARTY."

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IT CALLED UPON OPPONENTS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TO "LET THE SOUND OF YOUR DISAPPROBATION OF THIS WAR BE LOUD AND DEEP." WHILE THERE WAS A MOVE IN THE CONGRESS TO CUT OFF FUNDS FOR THE WAR, THE PRESIDENT WAS SAID TO BE "INSIDIOUS," "DEVIOUS," "PREVARICATING," AND "MACHIAVELLIAN." AND A CONGRESSIONAL ORATOR SHOUTED THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS SUPPORTERS WERE PLUNGING OVER A PRECIPICE AND DRAWING THE COUNTRY AFTER THEM.

DOES ALL THAT SOUND A BIT FAMILIAR? WELL, ALL OF IT WAS SAID DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. AND DESPITE ALL OF THE ALARMS, ALL THE PROTEST, ALL THE DOUBT, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SURVIVED AND WENT ON TO GREATNESS.

IN 1842, CHARLES DICKENS VISITED THE UNITED STATES AND DECIDED THAT "THE NATION IS A BODY WITHOUT A HEAD AND THE ARMS AND LEGS ARE OCCUPIED IN QUARRELLING WITH THE TRUNK AND EACH OTHER...." AND IF YOU THINK THAT SOME AMERICAN WRITERS SOUND THE KNELLS OF DESPAIR TODAY, LISTEN TO WALT WHITMAN ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. HE WROTE: "NEVER WAS THERE, PERHAPS, MORE HOLLOWNESS AT HEART THAN AT PRESENT, AND HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. GENUINE BELIEF SEEMS TO HAVE LEFT US.... THE SPECTACLE IS APPALLING."

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I CITE THESE PIECES OF THE PAST TO MAKE THE POINT THAT TODAY'S OUTCRY FROM THE NEGATIVISTS SHOULD BE HEARD IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY. THEY HAVE SAID IT BEFORE, AND THEY WILL SAY IT AGAIN. AND -- AS IN THE PAST -- THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WHO WANT TO SEE THEIR COUNTRY ADVANCE WILL CONTINUE THEIR POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE WORDS AND DEEDS, AND WILL HELP THE UNITED STATES TO GO ON TO NEW GREATNESS.

THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE IN HOW THAT RHETORIC OF RUIN WAS HEARD THEN. THE ORATOR IN THE CONGRESS TO WHOM I REFERRED WAS DANIEL WEBSTER -- AND HIS SPEECH WAS CONSIDERED SO INFLAMMATORY THAT THE TEXT WAS NOT PUBLISHED FOR NEARLY A HUNDRED YEARS. THE WORDS OF DICKENS AND WHITMAN WERE READ AT THE TIME BY ONLY A FEW. TODAY IT IS ALL THERE ON THE EVENING NEWS IN FULL COLOR -- AND PERHAPS EVEN IN BULLETINS BEFORE THAT. BUT WE CAN TRUST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SEPARATE TRUTH FROM ADVOCACY AND CONTINUE WITH AMERICA'S WORK.

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THE ECONOMY

WE HEAR A CONSTANT CLAMOR TODAY OVER ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. AND LET US ADMIT, THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN IN A SENSITIVE STATE. WE HAVE BEEN BATTLING AN INFLATION THAT HAS BEEN BURNING FOR MORE THAN FOUR YEARS. AND WE ARE TRYING TO BRING ABOUT THE RARE COMBINATION OF STABLE GROWTH AND HIGH EMPLOYMENT. LET ME SAY TO YOU TODAY THAT WE ARE WINNING THAT BATTLE.

ONE OF THE REASONS WE ARE WINNING IT IS THAT THE U. S. ECONOMY IS THE STRONGEST AND SOUNDEST AND FAIREST THAT THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. NEVER IN HISTORY HAS MORE WEALTH BEEN MORE FULLY SHARED BY MORE PEOPLE THAN IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY. LET US LOOK AT A FEW BASIC FACTS:

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES IS NOW THE HIGHEST IN HISTORY -- WITH NEARLY 80 MILLION PEOPLE AT WORK ON PAYING JOBS.

AFTER MAKING FULL ALLOWANCE FOR HIGHER TAXES AND INFLATION, THE AVERAGE REAL INCOME OF AMERICANS IS HIGHER THIS YEAR THAN EVER BEFORE.

THE TYPICAL AMERICAN FAMILY CAN BUY NEARLY TWICE AS MUCH WITH ITS ANNUAL INCOME AS IT COULD IN 1950.

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UNEMPLOYMENT HAS RISEN IN RECENT MONTHS -- AND WE MUST REDUCE IT -- BUT IT IS MORE THAN 20 PERCENT LOWER THAN IT WAS IN 1961.

THE AVERAGE INCOME OF THE INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN IS NEARLY TWICE THAT IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY OF THE WORLD, AND MANY TIMES THE INCOME IN MOST COUNTRIES.

WHILE WE WORRY ABOUT THE POVERTY THAT STILL REMAINS IN THIS COUNTRY -- AS WE SHOULD -- LET US NOT OVERLOOK THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN MADE IN OUR ATTACK ON THIS PROBLEM. SINCE 1950 -- IN AN INCREASING POPULATION -- THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING BELOW THE POVERTY LINE HAS DECREASED ABOUT 35 PERCENT. YES, SOME POVERTY STILL PERSISTS, BUT NEVER HAS ANY NATION DONE SO MUCH, SO SUCCESSFULLY, TO REDUCE THE RAVAGES OF POVERTY. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REDUCE THE RANKS OF THE POOR UNTIL THEY REACH THE IRREDUCIBLE.

I HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE STRENGTH AND POTENTIAL OF THE U. S. ECONOMY. SOME SAY THAT TOO MUCH AFFLUENCE IS AT THE BASE OF MANY OF OUR COUNTRY'S TROUBLES. THIS IS A THEORY THAT REACHES BACK TO JOHN ADAMS' ADAGE THAT "HUMAN NATURE CANNOT BEAR PROSPERITY." I SAY WE WILL LEARN TO BEAR IT -- AND ENJOY IT, TOO.

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HUMAN CONCERNS

THERE IS CONTINUING CONCERN TODAY ABOUT EDUCATION IN AMERICA. EARLIER I MENTIONED THE GREAT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES. LET ME POINT OUT THAT 94 PERCENT OF YOUNG AMERICANS WHO ARE OF HIGH SCHOOL AGE ARE ATTENDING HIGH SCHOOL, NEARLY 20 PERCENT MORE THAN IN 1950. ALTHOUGH SO MUCH OF WHAT WE READ AND HEAR ABOUT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE IS ALL ABOUT THEIR TROUBLES, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THEM ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR THEIR CAREERS IN A MORE DEDICATED WAY THAN ANY GENERATION THAT HAS PRECEDED THEM. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE GRADUATES AMONG OUR PEOPLE IS MORE THAN TWICE AS GREAT AS IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY OF THE WORLD. WE HAVE THE GREATEST SYSTEM OF EDUCATION THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN AND WE INTEND TO PRESERVE IT AND IMPROVE IT.

THAT STATUS OF MINORITY GROUPS IS A MATTER OF CONSTANT CONCERN -- AND RIGHTLY SO. BUT I CAN REPORT TO YOU THAT IN EVERY ONE OF THE CATEGORIES THAT I HAVE LISTED -- REAL INCOME, EDUCATION, STANDARD OF LIVING -- THE GAINS, WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE, HAVE PROPORTIONATELY

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BEEN GREATER FOR BLACKS THAN FOR WHITES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES EARNING MIDDLE INCOMES HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED SINCE 1950 AND THE PROPORTION OF BLACK STUDENTS IN COLLEGES HAS INCREASED MORE THAN 50 PERCENT.

THERE HAS BEEN ANOTHER KIND OF PROGRESS IN AMERICA THAT WE MUST NOT OVERLOOK. IN RECENT YEARS APPRECIATION OF THE ARTS AND INTEREST IN THE HUMANITIES HAVE BROADENED AND DEEPENED ALL ACROSS THE UNITED STATES. ATTENDANCE AT AND PARTICIPATION IN THE PERFORMING ARTS AND THE PROGRAMS OF THE NATION'S MUSEUMS HAVE INCREASED MANYFOLD. THIS IS A HAPPY TREND, BECAUSE IT CARRIES WITH IT BOTH THE REALITY AND THE PROSPECT THAT MORE HELP FOR THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES FROM BOTH THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT THIS HELP WILL BE FORTHCOMING.

THIS COUNTRY'S DRAMATIC ADVANCES IN SCIENCE ARE KNOWN TO ALL THE WORLD. THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF OUR SPACE PROGRAM ARE THE MOST SPECTACULAR EXAMPLE, BUT THERE ARE MANY OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS THAT ARE LESS WIDELY HAILED BUT NEVERTHELESS OF THE HIGHEST SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.

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THERE IS A RELATIVELY NEW ISSUE THAT IS THE CENTER OF INTENSE INTEREST AMONG OUR PEOPLE TODAY: THE ENVIRONMENT. AT BASE IT MUST BE SAID THAT OUR ENORMOUS SUCCESS AS A PRODUCTIVE AND AFFLUENT SOCIETY HAS CREATED MUCH OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM. THERE WAS A TIME WHEN SMOKE POURING FROM A SMOKESTACK WAS A WELCOME SIGHT -- IT MEANT JOBS FOR MEN WHO NEEDED THEM AND PRODUCTS FOR CONSUMERS WHO WANTED THEM. USING THE FACTORY IN A SYMBOLIC WAY, AS IT RELATES TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE ENVIRONMENT, IT CAN BE SAID THAT OUR CHALLENGE NOW IS TO UPGRADE THE JOBS, IMPROVE THE PRODUCTS AND ELIMINATE THE SMOKE. WE ACCEPT THAT CHALLENGE. THE SAME AMERICAN INGENUITY THAT HELPED TO CREATE THE PROBLEM CAN LEAD THE WAY TO OVERCOMING IT.

NO SUBJECT IS ~~MORE~~ IMPORTANT IN 1970 THAN THE WAR AND THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN FOREIGN POLICY ARE PERHAPS THE MOST COMPLEX AND MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL. BUT IN RECOGNIZING THE DIFFICULTIES, LET US NOT DISREGARD ACHIEVEMENT. WE HAVE COMPLETELY REVERSED THE FLOW OF U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM; WE ARE HELPING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO IMPROVE THEIR CAPABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES; AND WE ARE BRINGING OUR FIGHTING MEN HOME. WE WILL END THIS WAR WITH HONOR.

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WORLD TENSIONS REMAIN -- AND WILL REMAIN. THE MIDDLE EAST CONTINUES TO BE A POWDER KEG. BUT THESE ARE CHALLENGES TO BE MET, NOT CAUSES TO DESPAIR. IN THE MIDST OF TENSIONS WE ARE ENGAGED IN MEANINGFUL AND HOPEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

CHANGED PRIORITIES

WE OFTEN HEAR TODAY THE ASSERTION THAT WE MUST CHANGE OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES. THE FACT IS THAT WE HAVE CHANGED OUR PRIORITIES. IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET FOR THIS FISCAL YEAR, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 20 YEARS, WE ARE USING MORE OF OUR RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL NEEDS AT HOME THAN WE WILL FOR MILITARY AND DEFENSE PURPOSES.

WHILE MUCH OF THE PROGRESS I HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING IS OFTEN MEASURED IN QUANTITATIVE TERMS, THERE IS A QUALITATIVE SIDE TO NEARLY ALL ASPECTS OF IT. IN NO OTHER COUNTRY OF THE WORLD AT ANY TIME IN HISTORY HAS THERE BEEN SO MUCH RESPECT FOR LIBERTY, FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE, JUSTICE, HUMAN DIGNITY AND HUMAN FULFILLMENT AS THERE IS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY. THE FACT THAT WE ARE STILL CONCERNED ABOUT PROTECTING THESE ELEMENTS OF FREEDOM SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS A SIGN THAT THEY HAVE

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BEEN DIMINISHED BUT RATHER AS EVIDENCE OF WHAT A HIGH VALUE WE PLACE UPON THEM. YES, SOME INJUSTICE PERSISTS, BUT NEVER HAS ANY PEOPLE HAD SO GREAT A COMMITMENT TO JUSTICE FOR ALL. MORE AMERICANS TODAY ARE DOING MORE TO HELP THEIR NEIGHBORS THAN AT ANY TIME IN HISTORY.

IN SPEAKING OF THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE, I AM BY NO MEANS SUGGESTING THAT WE DO NOT FACE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THIS COUNTRY. IT IS GOOD NEWS THAT WE RECOGNIZE OUR PROBLEMS AND WE ARE MORE SENSITIVE TO THEM THAN ANY PEOPLE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. IT IS GOOD NEWS THAT WE ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE.

CONCLUSION

AS WE GO FORWARD IN OUR ATTACK AGAINST WHAT IS WRONG WITH AMERICA, WE SHOULD NEVER FORGET WHAT IS RIGHT WITH AMERICA. LET US SEE AND TREAT THE BLEMISHES, BUT NEVER LET THEM BLIND US TO THE BEAUTY.

AS WE MAKE PROGRESS ON ALL THESE FRONTS, MANY WILL SAY THIS IS NOT ENOUGH; WE MUST HAVE MORE NOW. SUCH IMPATIENCE, WHEN IT GETS OUT OF CONTROL, PRODUCES ONLY NEGATIVE RESULTS. BUT WHEN IT RUNS IN CONSTRUCTIVE CHANNELS, IT CAN HELP TO ADD THAT EXTRA MEASURE OF SPIRIT WHICH WILL ENABLE US TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME.

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LET US CONFRONT OUR SHORTCOMINGS, NOT WITH ANGER, BUT WITH DETERMINATION.

LET US COMMIT OUR RESOURCES, NOT WITH RECKLESS IMPATIENCE, BUT WITH URGENT CARE.

WORKING FROM THE SOUND AND SOLID BASE THAT IS THE AMERICAN CONDITION TODAY, AND RECOGNIZING THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS THIS NATION FACES, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS MOVING FORWARD ON A COURSE OF REFORM, RESTORATION AND RENEWAL. THE GOAL OF THIS POLICY IS TO MAKE THE AMERICA OF THE 70'S AND BEYOND A LAND IN WHICH WE HAVE ASSESSED BOTH OUR SUCCESSES AND OUR FAILURES WITH SOUND JUDGMENT -- AND HAVE MOVED TO ENHANCE THE GOOD AND ROOT OUT THE BAD.

THIS SHOULD -- AND WILL -- CONTINUE TO BE A SOCIETY OF GREAT EXPECTATIONS. AS WE GO FORWARD INTO THE 70'S, WE MUST -- AND WE WILL -- SEE MORE OF THOSE EXPECTATIONS BECOME REALITIES.

WE WILL PRESERVE AND ENLARGE THE AMERICAN DREAM.

WE WILL NOURISH AND REFRESH THE AMERICAN SPIRIT.

WE WILL ENHANCE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

WE WILL PROVE -- ONCE AGAIN -- THAT IN AMERICA THE VOICES OF DESPAIR ARE ULTIMATELY STILLED BY THE CLEAR FACT OF PROGRESS.