

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
STUDENT CONVOCATION - HUTCHINSON JUNIOR COLLEGE  
HUTCHINSON, KANSAS  
JANUARY 18, 1974

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE AT HUTCHINSON JUNIOR COLLEGE  
FOR THIS CONVOCATION TODAY. I ALWAYS ENJOY HAVING THE OPPORTUNITY  
TO VISIT THE SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES HERE IN KANSAS, BECAUSE  
IT IS ONE OF THE BEST WAYS I KNOW ~~TO LEARN THE GOOD WAY~~ FOR ANYONE TO  
BECOME EDUCATED ON <sup>THE</sup> LATEST IDEAS AND VIEWS MAKING THE ROUNDS AMONG  
YOUNG PEOPLE.

I FIND MORE AND MORE, SINCE THE VOTING AGE WAS SET AT 18,  
THAT STUDENTS ARE BECOMING MORE CONCERNED AND MORE INFORMED ABOUT  
CURRENT ISSUES.

THE QUESTIONS I AM ASKED BY YOUNG PEOPLE SHOW THAT THEY DO  
FOLLOW THE NEWS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN WASHINGTON AND IN THE WORLD VERY  
CAREFULLY. AND I WOULD HOPE WE WILL HAVE TIME FOR SOME QUESTIONS A  
BIT LATER.

POOR RECORD FOR PREDICTIONS

FOR THE MOMENT THOUGH, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH YOU A  
SUBJECT WITH WHICH WE ALL HAVE A MAJOR CONCERN -- THE FUTURE.

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AT THE OUTSET, THOUGH, IT MIGHT BE GOOD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT NOBODY IS AN EXPERT ON THE FUTURE. AND THE SHATTERED FRAGMENTS OF FAULTY PREDICTIONS LITTER THE TRAILS OF THE ECONOMISTS, POLITICANS AND ASSORTED PALM READERS WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ALARM, GUIDE AND DIRECT US SINCE THOMAS MALTHUS PREDICTED IN THE 19th CENTURY THAT MAN'S GROWING POPULATION WOULD SOON OVERWHELM THE WORLD'S FOOD SUPPLIES.

BUT EVERYONE HAS A STAKE IN THE FUTURE -- ME, YOUR PARENTS, THE PEOPLE OF HUTCHINSON, OF KANSAS, AMERICA AND THE WORLD. AND YOU HAVE THE GREATEST STAKE IN IT, BECAUSE YOU WILL LIVE IN IT LONGER AND WILL HAVE TO CONFRONT IT OVER A GREATER PERIOD THAN THOSE OF US WHO CALL OURSELVES YOUR "ELDERS." SO WITH THE FIRM UNDERSTANDING THAT WE ARE ALL AMATEURS IN THE FUTURE BUSINESS, LET'S TAKE A BRIEF LOOK OVER THE COURSE OF THE NEXT SIX YEARS OR SO -- THROUGH THE DECADE OF THE '70's AND ON INTO 1980. PERHAPS WE CAN AT LEAST SEE SOME FAINT OUTLINES OF THINGS TO COME.

#### TODAY'S FRESHMAN IN 1980

JUST TO PUT THIS TIME FRAME IN A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE, CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING:

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FOR THE TYPICAL FRESHMAN WHO IS HERE TODAY AND AGE 19, IN 1980 YOU WILL BE 25 YEARS OLD. THIS MAY SOUND POSITIVELY ANCIENT NOW, BUT YOU WILL STILL HAVE ALMOST TWO-THIRDS OF YOUR LIFE STILL AHEAD OF YOU. YOU WILL BE FOUR-AND-A-HALF YEARS OUT OF JUNIOR COLLEGE. AND IF YOU DECIDE TO GO ON FOR A BACHELOR'S DEGREE, YOU WILL BE TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS BEYOND THAT. IF YOU CONTINUE ON, SEEKING FURTHER EDUCATION, YOU WILL STILL BE IN LAW, MEDICAL OR GRADUATE SCHOOL.

MOST OF YOU WILL BE MARRIED IN 1980 AND WILL PROBABLY BE MOTHERS AND FATHERS.

<sup>JANUARY OF</sup>  
IN 1980 OUR NEXT PRESIDENT WILL JUST BE COMPLETING HIS THIRD YEAR IN OFFICE, AND THE SECOND SESSION OF THE 96th CONGRESS WILL BE PREPARING TO HEAR HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS. MEANWHILE, IN BOOKSTORES AROUND THE COUNTRY THE MEMOIRS OF RICHARD NIXON AND HENRY KISSINGER WILL BE COMPETING FOR THE TOP SPOT ON THE BEST SELLER LIST.

BUT WHAT KIND OF A COUNTRY WILL WE BE LIVING IN BY THEN? WHAT SORT OF A LIFE WILL A 25 YEAR-OLD CITIZEN WITH A FAMILY BE FACING? WILL AMERICA BE SO VASTLY DIFFERENT THAT AN OBSERVER FROM THE ANCIENT DAYS OF 1974 WILL HARDLY RECOGNIZE IT?

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THESE ARE SOME QUESTIONS ALL OF US, BUT PARTICULARLY THOSE OF YOU IN TODAY'S CONVOCATION HAVE REASON TO THINK ABOUT AND GIVE SOME SERIOUS CONSIDERATION.

I REALIZE THAT CONDITIONS TODAY DO NOT PROVIDE THE MOST SOLID FOOTING FOR BASING PREDICTIONS AND OFFERING FORECASTS. IT SEEMS THAT EVERYTHING IS MOVING VERY RAPIDLY WITH CHANGE COMING IN SO MANY FORMS AND FROM SO MANY DIRECTIONS THAT WE CAN HARDLY MANAGE TO GRASP AT IT.

BUT PERHAPS RECOGNITION THAT CHANGE -- FOR GOOD AND BAD -- IS THE BASIC AND THE MOST RELIABLE ELEMENT IN OUR FUTURE IS THE MOST HOPEFUL AND REASSURING FACT OF ALL. BECAUSE FAITH IN OUR ABILITY TO CHANGE AND ADAPT TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES IS VITAL TO MEETING THE LOOMING UNCERTAINTIES WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL.

#### MANY PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

MANY PROBLEMS CONFRONT US AT HOME AND ABROAD, WITH THE SOLUTIONS APPARENTLY FAR OFF AND DIFFICULT.

TAKE OUR RESOURCES OF BASIC INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS FOR INSTANCE. IT SEEMS THAT EVERY WEEK THE HEADLINES ARE FULL OF GRIM WARNINGS THAT SUPPLIES OF SOMETHING ARE ABOUT TO RUN OUT.

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THIS WEEK, PAPER AND WOOD PRODUCTS ARE IN THE NEWS. FOR SOME TIME NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND OTHER PUBLISHERS HAVE BEEN CONCERNED WITH PAPER SUPPLIES, AND YOU MAY HAVE NOTICED MANY PUBLICATIONS TAKING ON A LEANER AND TRIMMER LOOK. BUT THIS PAST WEEK, SUPERMARKETS IN WASHINGTON HAVE RUN OUT OF PAPER SACKS FOR THEIR GROCERIES. AND A GROWING ARMY OF HOARDERS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN STRIPPING THE SHELVES OF ALMOST ALL THE PAPER TOWELS, TISSUES, NAPKINS AND OTHER PRODUCTS. THERE IS APPARENTLY NO REAL SHORTAGE, BUT THE FRAME OF MIND WHICH THE PAPER HOARDERS DEMONSTRATE, IS AN UNSETTLING INDICATION OF THE MENTALITY WHICH IS DEVELOPING BOTH AMONG PEOPLE AND NATIONS.

#### BASIC METALS SUPPLIES

NOW BEING PUBLICIZED, ARE REPORTS ABOUT THE GROWING CONCERN THAT MANY METALS AND ORES MAY SOON BECOME SCARCE BECAUSE OF PRODUCER-COUNTRY MANIPULATIONS. MANY OF OUR BASIC INDUSTRIAL COMMODITIES ARE PRODUCED BY A HANDFUL OF NATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, FOUR COUNTRIES PRODUCE 80 PER CENT OF THE WORLD'S COPPER. ONLY TWO COUNTRIES ACCOUNT FOR 70 PER CENT OF THE TIN EXPORTS. AND FOUR COUNTRIES PROVIDE HALF THE WORLD'S SUPPLY OF NATURAL RUBBER. AND THE UNITED STATES IS NOT AMONG ANY OF THESE NATIONS.

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AS A MATTER OF FACT, WE NOW DEPEND ON IMPORTS FOR MORE THAN HALF OF OUR SUPPLIES OF SIX OF THE 13 BASIC INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS. BY 1980 WE WILL BE APPROACHING MAJOR DEPENDENCE ON 9 OUT OF 13 AND HEADING FOR RELIANCE ON IMPORTS ON 12 OUT OF THE 13 COMMODITIES BY THE YEAR 2000.

#### ENERGY SITUATION

OF COURSE, ENERGY IS THE LEADING EXAMPLE OF AMERICAN DEPENDENCE ON SOURCES BEYOND ITS OWN BORDERS.

AS THE DEMAND FOR ENERGY IN THE UNITED STATES HAS GROWN BY SOME 5 PER CENT A YEAR, OUR SUPPLIES HAVE ACTUALLY DECLINED. ENERGY EXPLORATION -- PARTICULARLY FOR OIL AND GAS -- REACHED ITS HIGH POINT IN 1956. ACTUAL PRODUCTION OF ENERGY PEAKED IN 1970. WITH THE SUPPLY CURVE GOING DOWN WHILE THE DEMAND CURVE HAS HEADED UP, THE ONLY COURSE OPEN TO US HAS BEEN TO COVER THE DIFFERENCE WITH IMPORTS.

BACK IN 1970, WHEN WE THOUGHT MIDDLE EASTERN OIL WAS CHEAP AT ABOUT \$3.40 PER BARREL, WE NEEDED 2.5 MILLION BARRELS A DAY AT A COST OF \$5 BILLION THAT YEAR. TODAY, WITH AMERICA ONLY 85 PER CENT SELF SUFFICIENT IN ENERGY, NOBODY THINKS THAT ARAB OIL IS CHEAP AT \$10.30 A

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BARREL -- IF WE COULD GET IT AT THAT PRICE WITHOUT THE EMBARGO.  
AND WE NEED 6.5 OR 7 MILLION BARRELS A DAY ADDING UP TO AN ANNUAL  
PRICE TAG OF \$20 BILLION.

AND EVERY YEAR THAT 5 PER CENT OR MORE HAS BEEN TACKED ON  
TO THE DEMAND SIDE OF THE EQUATION WITH DECLINING DOMESTIC SOURCES  
LEAVING IMPORTS AS THE ONLY ANSWER.FOR INCREASED SUPPLIES. GIVEN  
CONTINUATION OF THESE TRENDS, THE EARLY 1980'S COULD SEE THE ANNUAL  
COST EXCEED \$40.BILLION -- WITH MOST OF IT GOING TO THE ARABS WHO  
CONTROL TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S OIL RESERVES.

OF COURSE, ALL THE CURRENT FUROR SHOULD NOT LEAD TO THE  
CONCLUSION THAT THIS SITUATION DEVELOPED OVERNIGHT.

THE PICTURE WAS CLEAR TO SOME OF US FOR QUITE A WHILE. IT  
WAS SIMPLY OBVIOUS THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT CONTINUE TO RELY  
MORE AND MORE HEAVILY ON FOREIGN SUPPLIES WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING OUR  
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE IN A HIGHLY UNPREDICTABLE AND FAST-  
CHANGING WORLD. BUT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS TO  
THE PUBLIC, TO CERTAIN FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES AND TO MANY IN CONGRESS  
WHO THOUGHT THAT ENERGY WAS AN ENDLESS RESOURCE THAT COULD BE BROUGHT  
CHEAPLY AND WASTED FREELY WITH NO ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES.

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THEN CAME LAST YEAR'S WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO AND THE PRICE INCREASE FOR ALL FOREIGN OIL -- WITH THE STAGGERING BOOST OF 100 PER CENT IN DECEMBER ADDED TO AN ALREADY SIZEABLE INCREASE JUST TWO MONTHS EARLIER. AND SUDDENLY THE ENERGY CRISIS MEANT MORE EXPENSIVE GASOLINE, REDUCED SPEED LIMITS, LOWER THERMOSTATS AND SOMETHING NOBODY CAN MISS -- WINTER DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME.

NOW SOME ARE SAYING THE ENERGY CRISIS MEANS A WORLDWIDE, ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN, DISRUPTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, AND PERHAPS A BASIC REALIGNMENT IN THE POWER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MANY OF THE WORLD'S COUNTRIES AND TRADING POWERS. DARK PICTURES ARE BEING PAINTED IN MANY QUARTERS, AND IT WOULD BE EASY TO BECOME ALARMED AND FULL OF DISPAIR FOR THE FUTURE.

A CHALLENGE, LIKE OTHERS IN THE PAST

BUT I CANNOT BRING MYSELF TO SHARE THE GLOOM AND DARKNESS OF THESE PROPHETS.

I DO NOT THINK THE ENERGY CRISIS -- OR ANY OTHER CRISIS -- WILL PROVE THE UNDOING OF THIS NATION OR OF THE BASIC WORLD ORDER IN

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THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. PERHAPS IT IS FALSE OPTIMISM ON MY PART WHICH LEADS TO THIS VIEW, BUT I DO NOT THINK SO. RATHER, I BELIEVE IT IS BASED ON A PERSPECTIVE WHICH PLACES THE ENERGY CRISIS -- JUST LIKE THE GREAT DEPRESSION, PEARL HARBOR, SPUTNICK AND EVEN THE WAR IN VIETNAM -- INTO PROPER FOCUS. AND THAT FOCUS REVEALS THE ENERGY CRISIS AS ONE OF THE GREAT CHALLENGES WHICH HAS CONFRONTED AMERICA AND THE WORLD -- AND WHICH WILL BE SURMOUNTED.

I DO NOT DOUBT THAT SOLUTIONS TO THE ENERGY CRISIS -- JUST AS WITH THESE OTHERS -- WILL BE DIFFICULT, WILL BE COSTLY AND WILL REQUIRE MAJOR SACRIFICES.

WE MAY HAVE TO SAY GOOD-BY TO OUR BIG CARS, OUR 75 DEGREE HOUSES AND TWENTY-FIVE CENT GASOLINE FOREVER. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE WE WILL HAVE TO FORSAKE THE COMPANY OF DISTANT FAMILY AND FRIENDS, GOOD AND AMPLE FOOD SUPPLIES OR A GROWING, HEALTHY ECONOMY IN THE PROCESS. I MAY VERY WELL BE PROVEN WRONG, BUT IF HISTORY IS ANY GUIDE AT ALL I DO NOT BELIEVE THE END OF THE WORLD AS WE KNOW IT IS AT HAND.

#### ENERGY IN 1980

SO GETTING BACK TO OUR ORIGINAL QUESTIONS-- WHAT KIND OF A COUNTRY WILL WE BE LIVING IN AND WHAT KIND OF A LIFE WILL WE BE LEADING IN 1980?

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SINCE WE HAVE LOOKED AT TODAY'S ENERGY CRISIS IN SOME  
DETAIL, LET'S SEE WHAT THE ENERGY PICTURE MIGHT BE BY THEN.

#### NEW HABITS AND DEMAND

FIRST, I THINK WE CAN HAVE SOME CONFIDENCE THAT BY 1980  
THE WORST OF THE ENERGY SUPPLY CRUNCH WILL HAVE BEEN PASSED. AND  
THE HARD DAYS OF STRICT FUEL ALLOCATIONS AND PERHAPS OTHER, STRONGER  
MEASURES TO CHECK DEMAND WILL BE BEHIND US. BUT THAT IS NOT TO SAY  
WE WILL RETURN TO OUR OLD HABITS. PROBABLY BY THAT TIME 55 MILE-PER-  
HOUR SPEED LIMITS WILL BE SECOND NATURE TO US ANYWAY; AND IT WILL BE  
POSITIVELY FRIGHTENING TO THINK OF ANYONE EVER TRAVELING 70 ON A  
PUBLIC HIGHWAY. COOLER HOMES IN WINTER AND WARMER ONES IN SUMMER --  
ALONG WITH UNIVERSAL INSULATION, STORM WINDOWS AND PERHAPS EVEN SOLAR  
ELECTRIC GENERATORS ON THE ROOF -- WILL BE PERFECTLY NATURAL AND COMMON-  
PLACE. BUT I WOULD SUSPECT THAT THERE WILL BE SOME RESTRICTIONS AND  
REGULATIONS LEFT IN PLACE AS GENTLE PERSUADERS TO STAY IN OUR NEWLY-  
FORMED HABITS.

#### NEW SOURCES OF SUPPLY

BUT JUST AS IMPORTANT AS THE REDUCTION IN WASTEFUL ENERGY  
DEMAND, 1980 WILL SEE IMPORTANT IMPROVEMENTS ON THE DOMESTIC SUPPLY

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PICTURE. THE ALASKA PIPELINE WILL BE IN FULL OPERATION AND BRINGING AMERICA 2 MILLION BARRELS OF OIL EACH DAY. FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE NORTH SLOPE, MADE POSSIBLE BY THE PIPELINE'S OPERATION, WILL HAVE ADDED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE ORIGINAL 10 BILLION-BARREL RESERVES.

NEW EXPLORATION ON THE OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF WILL HAVE YIELDED NOTABLE PROGRESS TOWARD TAPPING THE ESTIMATED 40 TO 50 PER CENT OF OUR TOTAL NATIONAL RESERVES WHICH LIE IN THIS AREA. NEW DRILLING PLUS SECONDARY AND TERTIARY RECOVERY METHODS WILL MEAN THAT ONSHORE FIELDS -- INCLUDING THOSE IN KANSAS WHICH TODAY MAY STILL HOLD SOME 3 TO 4 BILLION BARRELS OF CRUDE OIL -- WILL HAVE ADDED FURTHER TO OUR SUPPLIES.

IN ADDITION ATOMIC POWER SHOULD BE SUPPLYING CLOSE TO TEN TIMES THE ENERGY IT IS TODAY, WHILE CLEANER AND MORE ENVIRONMENTALLY ACCEPTABLE METHODS OF MINING AND UTILIZING COAL SHOULD ACCOUNT FOR NEARLY ONE-FOURTH OF ALL OUR ENERGY NEEDS. AND AS A REMINDER OF THE GREAT UNEXPECTED, THERE WILL PROBABLY BE REVOLUTIONARY NEW ENERGY SOURCES -- PERHAPS THE WINDS, THE EARTH'S INTERNAL HEAT OR SOMETHING ENTIRELY UNKNOWN TODAY.

IN OTHER WORDS, OPERATION INDEPENDENCE, THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR EFFORT TO FIND AND DEVELOP OUR DOMESTIC ENERGY RESOURCES AND

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TECHNOLOGIES WILL HAVE BEEN UNDERWAY FOR SIX YEARS. AND BY THEN IT SHOULD BE APPROACHING ITS TARGET DATE FOR RESTORING AMERICA'S SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ENERGY.

AND IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN THIS OUTLOOK FOR OUR ENERGY PICTURE, I WOULD BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT AMERICA IN 1980. BECAUSE NO OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD TODAY CAN LOOK FORWARD TO EVEN BEING CLOSE TO ENERGY INDEPENDENCE AT THAT TIME.

AND THIS FACTOR IN TURN MEANS THAT AMERICA'S ECONOMY -- NOT EUROPE'S AND NOT JAPAN'S -- WILL STILL BE THE WORLD'S STRONGEST AND MOST PRODUCTIVE AS WE BEGIN THE DECADE OF THE 80'S.

AND A STRONG AMERICAN ECONOMY WILL MEAN A SOUND DOLLAR IN THE WORLD'S MONEY MARKETS. AND IT WILL MEAN LEADERSHIP FROM THE UNITED STATES ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF SOCIAL, DEFENSE, TRADE AND MONETARY AFFAIRS IN THE WORLD. AT HOME IT WILL MEAN MORE THAN 10 MILLION NEW JOBS BY 1980, A GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT UP--NOT DOWN-- FROM \$1.4 TRILLION TO \$1.8 TRILLION. IT WILL MEAN AN AVERAGE FAMILY INCOME OF \$15,000. AND WITH THIS INCREASED AFFLUENCE WILL COME GREATER DEMANDS FOR INSURANCE AGENTS, FINANCIAL ADVISORS, ACCOUNTANTS, LAWYERS AND A HOST OF SERVICE-OCCUPATIONS AND BUSINESSES WHICH THOSE OF YOU HERE TODAY WILL FILL.

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### GOOD OUTLOOK FOR KANSAS

FOR KANSAS IN PARTICULAR, I BELIEVE 1980 WILL BE A TIME OF PROSPERITY, GROWTH AND GOOD LIVING. THE CONTINUING WORLDWIDE DEMAND FOR OUR WHEAT, CATTLE AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS WILL KEEP FARM INCOME RISING -- PERHAPS UP ANOTHER 50 PER CENT OR MORE. OUR STATE'S OIL AND GAS PRODUCTION SHOULD INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY AS A RESULT OF NEW INCENTIVES AND NEW TECHNOLOGY. AND THE PROSPERITY FROM THESE AREAS WILL MULTIPLY AND EXPAND THROUGHOUT THE STATE'S ENTIRE ECONOMY.

AND YOU HERE AT THIS CONVOCATION TODAY, AND YOUR CONTEMPORARIES BETWEEN THE AGES OF 25 AND 30 ELSEWHERE WILL BE IN THE PERFECT POSITION TO PICK YOUR STEPS RIGHT UP THE LADDER THAT THIS NEW AMERICAN PROSPERITY WILL PROVIDE.

### CONCLUSION

SO DO NOT LET A FEW GLOOMY PREDICTIONS, SOME EXPECTED DAYS OF CHALLENGE AND SACRIFICE OR FRUSTRATION WITH THE UNCERTAINTY OF IT ALL DIM YOUR FAITH IN YOURSELVES OR IN OUR NATION.

ANY COUNTRY WHICH COULD SAVE THE WORLD FROM FASCISM, HARNESS THE POWER OF THE ATOM, AND PUT MEN ON THE MOON -- WHILE RAISING ITS

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PEOPLE'S STANDARD OF LIVING, THEIR LEVEL OF NUTRITION AND BROADENING THE AVENUES OF PERSONAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AT THE SAME TIME -- HAS A LOT GOING FOR IT.

AND I DO NOT FEEL THERE IS ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT 1980 WILL NOT SEE AMERICA WITH STILL GREATER ACHIEVEMENTS ADDED TO THIS LONG LIST.

WE DO, INDEED, LIVE IN CHALLENGING TIMES, BUT AS RALPH WALDO EMERSON OBSERVED WHEN AMERICA WAS YOUNG:

"THIS TIME, LIKE ALL OTHER TIMES, IS A VERY GOOD ONE -- IF WE BUT KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH IT."

HISTORY SHOWS THAT AMERICA HAS KNOWN WHAT TO DO WITH ITS TIMES, AND I BELIEVE WE WILL CONTINUE IN THIS KNOWLEDGE.