

REMARKS: SENATOR BOB DOLE

FOUNDERS' DAY DINNER
SOUTHWESTERN COLLEGE
WINFIELD, KANSAS
MARCH 15, 1974

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU THIS EVENING AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR FOUNDERS DAY FESTIVITIES.

YOU HAVE SOMETHING HERE AT SOUTHWESTERN COLLEGE THAT YOU CAN TRULY CELEBRATE ON THIS 89TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDING. THE COLLEGE'S COMMITMENT TO QUALITY IN EDUCATION IS STRONG AND WELL KNOWN.

AND BECAUSE OF THIS, AS AN INSTITUTION IT HAS AN ATTRACTIVENESS TO STUDENTS WHICH IS SELF-EVIDENT. NO COLLEGE IN KANSAS, NONE OF THE 100 OTHER COLLEGES OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA, HAS GROWN MORE IN THE PAST YEAR. YOU SHOULD BE PROUD TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH SOUTHWESTERN COLLEGE AS I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN INVITED HERE TO

PARTICIPATE IN THIS CELEBRATION.

I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE JUST A FEW BRIEF MOMENTS TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SOME OF MY OWN VIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES ON THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING IN WASHINGTON AND IN THE COUNTRY.

BUSINESS AS USUAL?

IN CONGRESS, PRETTY MUCH AS USUAL, I AM AFRAID, WE ARE PROCEEDING SLOWLY, THOUGH NOT ALWAYS DELIBERATELY, TO DEAL WITH SOME OF THE MORE PRESSING PROBLEMS FACING THE UNITED STATES.

THE ENERGY CRISIS -- AND THE ATTEMPT TO PASS LEGISLATION TO DEAL WITH IT -- IS A CASE IN POINT.

YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT THE FIRST TARGET DATE FOR OBTAINING PASSAGE OF WHAT IS CALLED AN EMERGENCY ENERGY ACT, WAS SOMETIME BEFORE CHRISTMAS. IT IS GETTING CLOSER TO EASTER NOW, AND THERE IS STILL NO EMERGENCY ENERGY ACT. NOR IS THERE ANY LEGISLATION TO AUTHORIZE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

OF A FULLY STAFFED AND FULLY OPERATIONAL FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION.

THERE IS NO SPECIFIC STATUTORY AUTHORITY TO INVOKE GAS RATIONING, SHOULD THAT PROVE NECESSARY. RECENT EVENTS HAVE MADE IT SEEM LESS LIKELY THAT RATIONING WILL BE REQUIRED, BUT NONETHELESS, AS LONG AS IT REMAINS A POSSIBILITY, THE AUTHORITY TO ESTABLISH A RATIONING SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE GRANTED.

THE FEDERAL ENERGY OFFICE IN WASHINGTON AND IN KANSAS CITY, AND IN REGIONAL OFFICES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY IS LABORING ALONG, UNDERSTAFFED, BECAUSE THERE ARE NO AUTHORITIES TO HIRE THE PERMANENT EMPLOYEES NEEDED TO MANAGE AND OVERSEE THE VARIOUS FUEL ALLOCATION PROGRAMS.

THERE ARE HOPEFUL SIGNS ON THE ENERGY FRONT. THE FUEL SITUATION IN MUCH OF THE COUNTRY HAS SEEMED TO EASE A LITTLE IN RECENT WEEKS. LOOKING FORWARD TO HARVEST HERE IN KANSAS, WE KNOW AT LEAST THAT THE

FEDERAL ENERGY OFFICE HAS BEGUN TO SHOW SIGNS THAT IT APPRECIATES THE NEEDS OF THE FARMER, EVEN IF IT DOESN'T YET FULLY UNDERSTAND THEM. BUT THEY HAVE GUARANTEED THE FARMER 100 PERCENT OF THE FUEL HE NEEDS TO BRING IN HIS CROP AND ARE TAKING THE STEPS NECESSARY TO INSURE THAT THE FUEL IS THERE TO BACK UP THAT GUARANTEE.

AND OF COURSE, THERE ARE HOPEFUL SIGNS WITH RESPECT TO THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO, AND SOLID INDICATIONS THAT AN END MAY REALLY BE IN SIGHT.

CONGRESSIONAL TALK -- NO ACTION

IT IS DISTRESSING TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT THOUGH WE CAN NOW TALK WITH SOME CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM ABOUT THE ENERGY CRISIS, WE REALLY CAN'T GIVE MUCH OF THE CREDIT TO THE CONGRESS.

LAST FALL AND INTO THE EARLY WINTER MONTHS, MY COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS WERE LONG ON PROPHECY BUT SHORT ON PERFORMANCE. ONE CONGRESSMAN

PREDICTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF TEN PERCENT BECAUSE OF THE ENERGY SITUATION. ONE SENATOR SAID THAT A "CRUEL SHORTAGE" OF PETROLEUM WOULD HIT US THIS WINTER IF WE DIDN'T PUT A PROGRAM INTO EFFECT.

WE HAD THOSE PROPHECIES, BUT THEY DIDN'T FINALLY COME TO PASS. AND NEITHER DID AN EMERGENCY ENERGY ACT, OR FEDERAL ENERGY ADMINISTRATION BILL COME TO FINAL PASSAGE. YET WE MADE IT THROUGH THE WINTER.

PARTIALLY, WE MADE IT THROUGH BECAUSE OF NATURE'S CONTRIBUTION -- A MILD WINTER. PARTIALLY WE MADE IT THROUGH BECAUSE OF THE GENEROUS, VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO THE CONSERVATION EFFORT.

STRENUOUS EFFORTS

PARTIALLY, WE MADE IT THROUGH BECAUSE OF THE EFFORTS OF A FEW GOOD, IF MUCH MALIGNED MEN AT THE FEDERAL ENERGY OFFICE WHO HAVE WORKED LONG AND HARD TO DO AN ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TASK. I DON'T AGREE WITH EVERY POLICY DECISION THEY HAVE MADE -- FAR FROM IT -- BUT THERE IS NO DENYING AT LEAST,

THAT THEY HAVE BEEN WORKING CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND RELATIVELY EFFECTIVELY TO MEET THEIR CHALLENGE.

BUT WHAT WAS THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESS IN HELPING US GET THROUGH THE WINTER RELATIVELY COMFORTABLY. HOW DID THE CONGRESS HELP US TO AVOID THE DIRE CONSEQUENCES WHICH SOME OF ITS MEMBERS HAD SO CONFIDENTLY PREDICTED WOULD OCCUR IF WE DIDN'T ACT AND ACT QUICKLY.

CONGRESS KEEPS US IN THE DARK

THEY GAVE US THE YEAR-ROUND, DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME BILL, AND THAT WAS THE NEAREST CONGRESS GOT TO COPING WITH THE ENERGY CRISIS. THAT BILL WAS PASSED IN NEAR RECORD TIME, THOUGH THERE WAS NO PROOF IT WOULD HELP AT ALL. THAT BILL WAS PASSED WITHOUT ANY REAL REGARD FOR THE CONSEQUENCES. IT WAS PASSED ALMOST, IT SEEMED IN A DESPERATE EFFORT TO PROVE THAT CONGRESS COULD ACT QUICKLY TO MEET AN EMERGENCY.

THE ACTION WAS QUICK, BUT NO EMERGENCY WAS MET. RATHER SOME NEW ONES WERE CREATED -- AS CHILDREN FOUND THEMSELVES SUDDENLY GOING TO SCHOOL IN FULL, NIGHT-TIME DARKNESS, ARMED WITH FLASHLIGHTS PROVIDED BY WORRIED PARENTS.

CONGRESS ACTED, CHILDREN WENT TO SCHOOL IN THE DARK, PARENTS WORRIED, COMMUTERS COMPLAINED AND FARMERS STARTED THEIR CHORES PRACTICALLY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT -- BUT AS FOR ENERGY, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE WE DIDN'T SAVE ANY, AT LEAST NOT ENOUGH TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

THE REAL SUBJECT OF MY CONCERN HERE TONIGHT, HOWEVER, IS NOT THE ENERGY CRISIS AS SUCH. RATHER IT IS THE QUALITY OF POLITICAL AND PUBLIC POLICY LEADERSHIP WE CAN FIND IN THE CONGRESS TODAY.

THE WINTER DAYLIGHT SAVINGS BILL ALONE, IS CERTAINLY NOT MY MAJOR CONCERN TONIGHT. I DIDN'T SUPPORT IT THE FIRST TIME AROUND, AND NOW I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO REPEAL IT AND I EXPECT THAT LEGISLATION TO PASS IN TIME FOR NEXT WINTER.

SOLUTION -- OR STRAW MEN

IT IS A MISTAKE THAT HAS BEEN MADE, BUT IT WILL BE RECTIFIED. I AM MORE CONCERNED HOWEVER, WITH THE PATTERN OF MISTAKES THAT ARE BEING MADE IN THE CONGRESS, THE PATTERN OF INACTION ON THE REALLY SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE, AND THE PATTERN OF WILLINGNESS TO ACT MORE FORCEFULLY ON IMAGINED PROBLEMS -- ON STRAW MEN -- THAN ON REAL PROBLEMS.

THE ENERGY CRISIS AGAIN PROVIDES ONE OF THE BEST EXAMPLES. WHAT WAS NEEDED THIS WINTER -- AND WHAT BECAUSE OF INACTION IS STILL NEEDED -- IS BASIC, RATHER UNGLAMOROUS LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH THE FEDERAL ENERGY OFFICE AND TO GRANT IT CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL AUTHORITIES.

BUT RATHER THAN COMING TO GRIPS WITH THIS RATHER SIMPLE TASK, SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS INDULGED THEMSELVES IN FLIGHTS OF FANCY, OR THEY HEADED OFF ON A POLITICALLY INSPIRED SEARCH FOR SCAPEGOATS, COMPLETE WITH CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED INQUISITIONS OF OIL COMPANY EXECUTIVES, ELABORATELY STAGED FOR THE SAKE OF THE MEDIA.

IT COULD BE THAT THE OIL COMPANIES ARE CULPABLE IN THE ENERGY CRISIS --
EITHER THROUGH IGNORANCE OR GUILT. AND IF THERE IS EVIDENCE OF THAT,
IT SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED.

BUT LAST DECEMBER AND JANUARY, WE NEEDED A BILL, NOT HISTORICALS.
WE NEEDED LEGISLATION TO HELP SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS, NOT JUST SOMEONE TO
BLAME FOR THEM.

. NOT ONE EXTRA GALLON

IF YOU TAKE A LOOK AT THE DEBATE ON THE ENERGY BILLS WHICH HAVE
PASSED THE CONGRESS, OR WHICH HAVE RECEIVED THE MOST ATTENTION BY THE
CONGRESS, YOU WILL SEE PRECIOUS LITTLE THERE ABOUT FINDING WAYS TO
INCREASE OUR FUEL SUPPLIES.

THERE IS PLENTY THERE ABOUT CUTTING BACK ON PROFITS. PLENTY FROM
CERTAIN EASTERN SENATORS ABOUT KEEPING NEW REFINERIES OUT OF THEIR STATES.
PLENTY ABOUT THE NEED TO GO SLOW ON DEVELOPMENT OF SOME OF OUR TRULY VAST
OIL AND GAS RESERVES WHICH HAVE SO FAR GONE UNTAPPED AND EVEN UNEXPLORED.

THERE IS PLENTY OF TALK, IN SHORT, BUT ALL OF THAT TALK, AND IT HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MONTHS NOW, HAS YET TO PRODUCE ONE SINGLE ADDITIONAL GALLON OF GASOLINE, OR HEATING OIL, OR DIESEL OR PROPANE.

INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT

IF, AS SOME HAVE TOLD US, INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT IS TODAY'S BASIC ISSUE AND THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL CONTEMPORARY CONCERN OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THEN THE CONGRESS ISN'T DOING MUCH TO MEET OR ALLEVIATE THAT CONCERN.

FOR INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT MEANS MORE THAN JUST THE ABSENCE OF SCANDAL. IT MEANS THAT ELECTED LEADERS TAKE THEIR JOB SERIOUSLY. AND RESPONDING TO PEOPLE'S CONCERNS AND DOING THEIR BEST TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS WHICH GOVERNMENT CAN SOLVE IS THE JOB THEY WERE ELECTED TO DO.

SINCE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION -- THE BUSINESS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN PERCEIVED AS LIMITED. UNLIKE MOST REVOLUTIONS WHICH PROMISED

UTOPIAN ACHIEVEMENT, OURS WAS A REVOLUTION OF SOBER AND REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS.

AS WE GET CLOSER TO THE TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THAT REVOLUTION I AM AFRAID WE ARE GETTING FARTHER FROM THAT CONCEPT. RATHER THAN GIVING THE SERIOUS ISSUES WHICH TROUBLE US THE CAREFUL AND DELIBERATE ATTENTION THEY DESERVE, WE SEEM TOO OFTEN TO JUMP WITHOUT LOOKING, FOR ANY CONVENIENT PALLIATIVE THAT CAN BE PASSEDCOFF AS A SOLUTION.

SIMPLISTIC SOLUTIONS -- NO SOLUTION

THESE ARE TIMES IN WHICH WE MUST BE WARY OF THE EASY ANSWER, AND THE OVERSIMPLIFIED FORMULAS FOR REFORM. IN THE DECADE OF THE SIXTIES, THE EASY ANSWER TO EVERY PROBLEM WAS HIGH-PRICED LEGISLATION. IN ALL TOO MANY INSTANCES, WE CONTENTED OURSELVES WITH BURYING THE PROBLEMS IN STACKS OF DOLLARS, BUT THAT DIDN'T MAKE THEM GO AWAY.

IT TAKES A RELATIVELY SHORT TIME NOW FOR SOME OVERSIMPLIFIED SOLUTION -- NO MATTER HOW UNEXAMINED OR EVEN HOW SILLY -- TO TAKE HOLD IN THE PUBLIC'S MIND AND BECOME THE COMMON WISDOM.

THE SILLY ANSWER TO THE FUEL SHORTAGE -- ONE THAT HAS BEEN PROPOSED -- IS THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE OIL INDUSTRY. RIGHT NOW, IT IS PROPOSED BY ONLY A FEW BUT YOU CAN BET THAT IT WILL CATCH ON, AS SO MANY OTHER SHORT-SIGHTED SOLUTIONS TO FAR-REACHING PROBLEMS HAVE. BEFORE LONG, IF WE AREN'T WATCHFUL, WE WILL HAVE A FEDERAL OIL AND GAS CORPORATION -- FOG AS SOME CALL IT -- AND WITHOUT SO MUCH AS A SECOND THOUGHT, WE WILL BE ON OUR WAY TO NATIONALIZATION. IT WILL COME, IF WE AREN'T CAREFUL IN SPITE OF THE EXPERIENCE OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE HAD WITH NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY AND THE LESSONS WE OUGHT TO BE ABLE TO LEARN FROM THAT EXPERIENCE.

TO EVERY CONTEMPORARY PROBLEM, THERE IS SUCH A SIMPLE SOLUTION. IF WE PURSUE IT, WE CAN KID OURSELVES THAT WE ARE REALLY DOING SOMETHING TO SOLVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS. AND WE CAN DO SO WITHOUT EVER HAVING TO TROUBLE OURSELVES ABOUT LONG RANGE CONSEQUENCE OR DAMAGE TO THE SYSTEM.

DREAMS AND PENALTIES

TO EVERY PROBLEM, THERE IS A SIMPLE SOLUTION THAT SOME SHORT-
SIGHTED DEMAGOGUE OR DREAMER CAN CONJURE UP.

FOR THE ENERGY CRISIS-- IT MAY BE NATIONALIZATION, OR WINTER
DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME.

[FOR CAMPAIGN ABUSE -- IT MAY BE PUBLIC FINANCING, ANOTHER FORM
OF NATIONALIZATION, NO MATTER WHAT THAT MAY DO TO THE INTEGRITY OF THE
TWO PARTY SYSTEM OR THE TRADITION OF GRASS-ROOTS PARTICIPATION IN OUR
POLITICS IN AMERICA.]

THE SIMPLE SOLUTION, ACROSS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS
ALWAYS BOILS DOWN TO THE SAME THING -- LET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DO IT --
IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN ITSELF
INCAPABLE TIME AND AGAIN, OF DOING A BETTER JOB THAN LOWER LEVELS OF
GOVERNMENT OR PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AND ASSOCIATIONS CAN DO.

BUT SIMPLE SOLUTIONS ARE VERY MUCH IN VOGUE THESE DAYS. AND BECAUSE THEY ARE SIMPLE, THEY TEND TO CATCH ON. BUT IF WE ARE REALLY INTERESTED IN INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT, THEN WE HAVE TO DEMAND THAT GOVERNMENT PURSUE SOLUTIONS TO NATIONAL PROBLEMS WITH INTEGRITY, WITH AN OPEN MIND, AND WITH A VIEW TO EFFECTIVE ACTION, NOT JUST THE APPEARANCE OF ACTION.

THAT IS THE ROUTE WE HAVE TO PURSUE IF WE ARE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT GOOD GOVERNMENT, IF WE ARE TRULY CONCERNED ABOUT INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT AND ABOUT MAKING THIS COUNTRY A BETTER AND REALIZING THE FULL PROMISE OF OUR CONTINUING AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF REALISTIC EXPECTATIONS.