

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
SHAWNEE MISSION EAST HIGH SCHOOL P.T.A.
SHWANEE MISSION, KANSAS
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Bob Dole

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE THIS EVENING WITH THE FACULTY, STUDENTS AND PARENTS OF EAST HIGH. THIS IS ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING HIGH SCHOOLS IN OUR STATE. AND YOUR RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT -- IN ATHLETICS, SCHOLARSHIP AND QUALITY OF GRADUATES -- IS EXCEPTIONAL.

AND I THINK SUCH A RECORD -- IN THIS OR ANY OTHER SCHOOL -- IS IN LARGE PART A REFLECTION OF THE CLOSE INVOLVEMENT OF STUDENTS, FACULTY AND PARENTS IN A BROAD RANGE OF MUTUAL CONCERNS. THESE AREAS OF INTEREST LIE WITHIN THE SCHOOL, IN THE COMMUNITY AND REACH OUT TO THE BROAD RANGE OF AFFAIRS AND EVENTS WHICH SHAPE OUR SOCIETY.

GOOD
GOOD CITIZENSHIP

THERE ARE MANY TERMS TO DESCRIBE SUCH A PROCESS. BUT PERHAPS THE MOST DIRECT AND BASIC IS SIMPLY "GOOD CITIZENSHIP." AND SEEING THIS VITAL

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REQUIREMENT FOR THE HEALTH OF OUR SOCIETY BEING PUT INTO PRACTICE HERE TONIGHT IS ~~TONIGHT~~ IS MOST ENCOURAGING AND HOPEFUL SIGN THAT CITIZENS OF ALL AGES DO CARE ABOUT WHAT KIND OF A COUNTRY WE HAVE AND ARE WILLING TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING IT AND MAKING IT STRONGER.

I MAKE NO CLAIMS FOR HAVING ANY SPECIAL INSIGHTS OR INSTANT SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS AND DILEMMAS CONFRONTING AMERICA TODAY. BUT I DO APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST IN THESE MATTERS AND HAVING THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS WITH YOU TONIGHT.

IN THEIR LETTERS OF INVITATION MRS. HARMON, MR. SANDFORT AND KURT KUEMMERLEIN ALL MENTIONED THAT INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT WAS A TOPIC OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THIS GROUP. SO I WOULD LIKE TO TOUCH ON THIS AREA AND ATTEMPT TO PLACE A FEW PERSPECTIVES ON SOME OF THE ISSUES WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED TO RECEIVE SPECIAL EMPHASIS IN THE COMING DAYS.

REDUCED CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT

PERHAPS IT WOULD BE WELL TO BEGIN WITH TWO IMPORTANT POINTS. FIRST, THERE IS A REAL AND WIDESPREAD LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT TODAY. AND SECOND, THE MATTER OF INTEGRITY IS ONE ELEMENT WHICH HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS LOSS OF CONFIDENCE.

BUT IN UNDERSTANDING THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS TREND, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT TO IDENTIFY OTHER CONTRIBUTING FACTORS AND TO UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT WE MEAN IN DISCUSSING "INTEGRITY."

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT

THE LAST FOUR DECADES IN AMERICA HAVE BEEN A TREMENDOUS GROWTH IN THE SIZE AND SCOPE OF GOVERNMENT. GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN ON MORE JOBS IN A GREATER NUMBER OF AREAS THAN ANY OF OUR EARLY LEADERS COULD HAVE EVER IMAGINED. AND ALONG WITH THIS GREATER INVOLVEMENT IN THE LIVES OF ITS

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CITIZENS HAS COME AN INCREASE IN THEIR EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO FOR THEM.

OF COURSE GOVERNMENT HAS ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL. IT HAS PUT A MAN ON THE MOON, IT HAS BUILT THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM, IT HAS PROVIDED FLOOD PROTECTION ON OUR MAJOR RIVERS AND IT HAS SPLIT THE ATOM.

SHORTCOMINGS IN PERFORMANCE

BUT AT THE SAME TIME GOVERNMENT HAS FALLEN SHORT IN MANY AREAS. IT HAS NOT ELIMINATED UNEMPLOYMENT, OR RECESSION OR BIGOTRY. IT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE MAIL DELIVERY MUCH BETTER THAN IT WAS TEN OR TWENTY YEARS AGO. IT HAS NOT SUCCEEDED IN SECURING ADEQUATE ENERGY SOURCES FOR OUR SOCIETY OR BEING ABLE TO AVOID STUPIDITY, ERROR OR ~~WRONG~~WROGHEADEDNESS IN ITS PROGRAMS AND POLICIES.

THE MORE GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED TO DO, THE MORE HAS BEEN EXPECTED OF IT. AND THE SNOWBALLING EFFECT OF ALL THIS HAS BEEN A GROWING INCAPACITY FOR GOVERNMENT TO LIVE UP TO EXPECTATIONS. AND THE UPSHOT HAS BEEN A FUNDAMENTAL FRUSTRATION ON THE PART OF ALL AMERICANS AT EVERY LEVEL OF SOCIETY. FROM THE POOR IN URBAN GHETTOS WHO FAIL TO SEE ANY IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR LIVES OR OPPORTUNITIES; TO THE AVERAGE WAGE EARNER WHO SEES PRICES RISING DRAMATICALLY WHILE HIS PAYCHECK IS EATEN AWAY BY TAXES; TO THE LEADERS OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY WHO ARE FRUSTRATED BY CONTROLS, ALLOCATIONS AND REGULATIONS -- THERE HAS GROWN UP IN AMERICA AN ALMOST UNIVERSAL DISENCHANTMENT WITH GOVERNMENT, ITS CAPABILITIES, ITS RELIABILITY, AND ITS TRUSTWORTHINESS.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING THEN THAT RECENT PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE IN THEIR PRESIDENT AT AN UNPRECEDENTED LOW LEVEL AND THEIR REGARD FOR CONGRESS TO BE LOWER STILL.

CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE RECEIVED THE MOST ATTENTION IN THIS REGARD, BUT I BELIEVE A BROADER SAMPLING WOULD DISCLOSE THAT THE BUREAUCRACY AND STATE AND LOCAL ELECTIVE OFFICIALS HAVE NOT ESCAPED THE EFFECTS OF THIS MOOD EITHER.

TOO MANY PEOPLE SIMPLY FEEL THAT GOVERNMENT IS NOT CUTTING THE MUSTARD, AND THEY ARE MAKING THEIR FEELINGS KNOWN.

BUT WHERE DOES "INTEGRITY" ENTER INTO THIS PRACTICE? AND WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THE TERM?

ELEMENTS OF INTEGRITY

PERSONALLY, I BELIEVE INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT COVERS A LOT OF GROUND. BASICALLY, IT OF COURSE MEANS ADHERENCE TO THE PUBLIC TRUST WHICH CONSTITUTES PUBLIC OFFICE.

THIS BOILS DOWN TO BASIC HONESTY WHICH ELIMINATES EMBEZZLEMENT, BRIBERY, KICKBACKS AND OTHER TYPES OF GRAFT, AND CORRUPTION. IT ALSO TAKES IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF UNLAWFUL MEANS TO ACHIEVE ANY PUBLIC OR PRIVATE -

PURPOSE -- SUCH AS THE WATERGATE BREAK IN, SO-CALLED DIRTY TRICKS OR THE LIBEL AND SLANDER OF THOSE WITH OPPOSING VIEWS.

APPROACH TO ISSUES

BUT INTEGRITY IS MORE THAN THIS. IT ALSO EXTENDS TO THE WAY IN WHICH ISSUES ARE APPROACHED.

IT MEANS REFRAINING FROM THE TEMPTATION OF APPEALING TO THE POPULAR EMOTION OF THE MOMENT WITH EMPTY PROMISES AND SIMPLISTIC SOLUTIONS WHICH SOUND GOOD BUT HOLD NO REAL HOPE OF PROVIDING ANY LASTING ACHIEVEMENT. IT SEEMS THAT THE MORE COMPLEX AND FRUSTRATING THE ISSUE, THE GREATER THE TEMPTATION FOR SOME TO SEEK PUBLICITY RATHER THAN PROGRESS.

EXAMPLE IN ENERGY CRISIS

THE ENERGY CRISIS IS PROBABLY THE MOST VIVID RECENT EXAMPLE OF THIS UNFORTUNATE PRACTICE.

WITH LONG LINES AT THE SERVICE STATIONS, PROPANE PRICES SKYROCKETING AND FERTILIZER SHORTAGES EVERYWHERE, THERE HAS BEEN A PERFECTLY UNDERSTANDABLE UPROAR AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THIS WHOLE SITUATION COULD COME UPON US SO QUICKLY AND -- ABOVE ALL -- THEY HOPE THERE WILL BE A QUICK END TO IT.

EMPTY POSTURING

THIS HAS SET THE STAGE FOR THOSE WHO ARE MORE INTERESTED IN THE LIMELIGHT AND HEADLINES THAN IN THE LONG TERM REALITIES OF THE SITUATION TO HAVE A FIELD DAY. THERE HAS BEEN A WHOLE STRING OF PROPOSALS FOR REFUNDS ON EXCESSIVE CHARGES FOR PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, A PRICE ROLLBACK ON AN INSIGNIFICANT PORTION OF OUR CRUDE OIL CONSUMPTION, TO NAME JUST TWO.

NATURALLY, SUCH SCHEMES STRIKE AN UNDERSTANDABLE AND RESPONSIVE CHORD WITH MANY CITIZENS WHEN COUPLED WITH GLOWING PREDICTIONS OF ENDING THE CRISIS AND THE DISRUPTION. BUT REGARDLESS OF WHERE THE FAULT LIES FOR OUR ENERGY DIFFICULTIES AND WHO IS TO BLAME, PROPOSALS LIKE THESE ARE FAULTY, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO MAKING MORE ENERGY AVAILABLE FOR AMERICA'S NEEDS. THEY SOUND GOOD, AND THEY MAKE FOR GOOD POSTURING ON THE EVENING NEWSCASTS. BUT WHEN YOU GET RIGHT DOWN TO THE BASICS, THEY REALLY MEAN NOTHING OR ACTUALLY GO CONTRARY TO THE BROADEST PUBLIC INTEREST OF SECURING MORE ENERGY FROM OUR OWN SECURE AND RELIABLE SOURCES.

UNFORTUNATE EFFECTS

OF COURSE IT IS A FACT AND NECESSITY FOR SURVIVAL THAT POLITICIANS MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR CONSTITUENTS AND TO THEIR CONCERNS. BUT IT IS

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UNFORTUNATE THAT SOMETIMES THE NECESSARY STEPS TO BE RESPONSIVE ARE NOT SO SENSATIONAL OR WIDELY ACCLAIMED AS THE SUPERFICIAL AND EMPTY GRAND-STANDING WHICH IS SOMETIMES INDULGED.

NOT ONLY IS IT UNFORTUNATE IN TERMS OF THE POSITIONS SUCH SCHEMES PLACE THEIR OPPONENTS, BUT BY AGAIN RAISING FALSE EXPECTATIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE THEY SET THE STAGE FOR FURTHER FRUSTRATION AND DISENCHANTMENT WITH GOVERNMENT.

BUT ENOUGH OF THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF THIS INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT QUESTION.

POSITIVE STEPS REQUIRED

WHAT ABOUT STEPS TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENTS, REVERSE THE EROSION IN CONFIDENCE AND RESTORE PUBLIC TRUST IN GOVERNMENT?

ENFORCEMENT AND PUNISHMENT

CLEARLY, THE FIRST STEP IS TO ENFORCE THE EXISTING LAWS AGAINST CRIMINAL CONDUCT. PUNISHMENT OF OFFENDERS THROUGH FAIR AND ORDERLY JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD SHORING UP THE PUBLIC'S CONFIDENCE IN THE WORKINGS OF GOVERNMENT.

BEYOND THIS AREA, I FEEL THE MOST VALUABLE STEPS THAT CAN BE TAKEN TO ENSURE AND PROMOTE INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT MUST BE TAKEN AT THE LEVEL OF BASIC POLITICS.

BASIC POLITICAL PROCESS

BY THIS I AM NOT SUGGESTING ANYTHING THAT IS ALL THAT SENSATIONAL. BUT I FEEL IT IS A PROFOUND AND DEEPLY IMPORTANT STEP WHICH MUST BE TAKEN.

I AM VERY MUCH CONCERNED THAT SCANDALS AND DISCLOSURES OF WRONGDOING AT HIGH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT WILL RESULT IN A WITHDRAWAL FROM POLITICS BY THE AVERAGE CITIZEN.

RATHER THAN SAYING "I WANT TO PITCH IN TO IMPROVE THE SYSTEM, THERE IS A GREAT DANGER THAT MANY WILL SIMPLY THROW UP THEIR HANDS IN DISGUST OR DISPAIR. AND BY THIS I DO NOT MEAN ONLY THE POLLWORKERS AND ENVELOP STUFFERS AND PRECINCT CHAIRMEN. I ALSO MEAN GOOD, FRESH, NEW CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE AT EVERY LEVEL.

NEW TALENT NEEDED

AND THIS IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR AMERICAN SYSTEM. POLITICIANS ARE NOT SOME SPECIAL CREATURES HATCHED FULL-GROWN INTO PUBLIC LIFE. IN THEIR BEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE INCARNATION THEY ARE ORDINARY CITIZENS WHO HAVE A SPECIAL DESIRE TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SERVING THE PUBLIC, MAKING IMPROVEMENTS ON THE SYSTEM AND CONTRIBUTING THEIR ENERGIES TO THE PUBLIC GOOD.

THIS IS THE WAY OUR LEADERS DEVELOP. AND IF LOSS OF FAITH IN GOVERNMENT DENIES THE POLITICAL WORLD THIS FLOW OF DEDICATED, QUALIFIED AND CONCERNED NEWCOMERS WE WILL ALL PAY THE PRICE AT SOME POINT NOT FAR DOWN THE ROAD.

SO THE BEST MEANS OF ASSURING THAT WE WILL NOT BE DENIED THE PARTICIPATION OF THESE NEWCOMERS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA IS TWOFOLD.

FIRST, WE MUST TAKE STEPS TO BROADEN THE BASE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS. AND SECOND, WE SHOULD OPEN THE WORKINGS OF THE PROCESS TO THE WIDEST PUBLIC SCRUTINY POSSIBLE.

BOTH OF THESE STEPS INVOLVE MONEY. AND IN THE SIMPLEST TERMS THEY INVOLVE MAKING MORE MONEY FROM GREATER NUMBERS OF PEOPLE AVAILABLE TO CANDIDATES AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES. AND THEY ALSO INVOLVE MAKING THE

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FLOW OF THAT MONEY VISIBLE TO EVERYONE WHO HAS AN INTEREST IN
IT.

MANY SMALL CONTRIBUTORS

THE IDEA OF RAISING A LOT OF POLITICAL MONEY FROM A GREAT NUMBER OF
PEOPLE IS NOT NEW. BUT ONLY IN ABOUT THE LAST TEN YEARS HAS IT REALLY
BEEN PRESSED ON A WIDESPREAD AND SUCCESSFUL BASIS. AND IF YOU LOOK AT
THE HISTORY OF NATIONAL POLITICS OVER THAT PERIOD I THINK IT IS INTERESTING
TO SEE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL AT IT ARE THE THREE INDIVIDUALS
WHO IN THEIR PERSONAL APPROACHES HAVE MOST EFFECTIVELY AND DEEPLY CAUGHT
THE IMAGINATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT ALL STARTED WITH BARRY
GOLDWATER IN THE 1960's WHEN HE RAN FOR PRESIDENT WITH A FULL-SCALE
NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST GREAT ODDS BUT CAME OUT OF IT ALL WITH HIS BILLS
PAID AND MONEY LEFT OVER.

GEORGE McGOVERN AND GEORGE WALLACE HAVE BUILT ON THE GOLDWATER EXAMPLE AND THEIR FUND-RAISING OPERATIONS HAVE TOPPED THE SMALL CONTRIBUTOR AS NEVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY.

OF COURSE, SOME MAY SAY THAT GOLDWATER, McGOVERN AND WALLACE WERE FRINGE CANDIDATES WHO ATTRACTED FANATIC SUPPORTERS. BUT IT IS HARD TO ARGUE WITH THE RESULTS THEY HAVE PRODUCED OR THE NUMBERS OF PREVIOUSLY INACTIVE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE DRAWN INTO DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY THEIR EFFORTS.

SIGNIFICANCE TO POLITICS

I BELIEVE THE EXAMPLES SET BY THREE CANDIDATES ARE HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT TO THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN POLITICS. IN THE FIRST PLACE THEY SHOW THAT PEOPLE -- NEW PEOPLE -- ARE WILLING TO JOIN IN. AND SECOND, BECAUSE THEY ARE WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE AND AVAILABLE THERE IS NO NEED TO TAP THE

PUBLIC TREASURY -- THAT IS THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER -- TO SUPPORT POLITICS AND POLITICANS.

MORE DISCLOSURE

I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE PUBLIC IS WILLING TO SUPPORT CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE AND ABLE TO DO SO. AND JUST AS FIRMLY I BELIEVE THAT SO-CALLED "PUBLIC FINANCING" IS UNNECESSARY, UNWISE AND UNHEALTHY FOR POLITICS AND GOOD GOVERNMENT.

ON THE OTHER HAND I DO FEEL A PROHIBITION AGAINST SIZEABLE CASH CONTRIBUTIONS, A CEILING ON INDIVIDUAL GIFTS, AND MORE THOROUGH, DETAILED AND SEARCHING FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS WOULD BE ENTIRELY IN KEEPING WITH THE NEED FOR UPGRADING CAMPAIGN PRACTICES.

THIS IS WHY I LOOK FORWARD TO THE SENATE'S FORTHCOMING DEBATE ON A MAJOR PIECE OF CAMPAIGN REFORM LEGISLATION. IT PRESENTLY CONTAINS A PUBLIC

FINANCING PROVISION, BUT THERE WILL BE FULL OPPORTUNITY TO DEBATE ITS WISDOM AND HOPEFULLY COME TO A RESPONSIBLE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUES IT ENTAILS.

IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY

I BELIEVE CONGRESS FACES AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY IN THIS BILL. NOT ONLY CAN WE REMEDY SOME OF THE SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN EXISTING LAW. BUT WE CAN ALSO DO SOMETHING IN A MEANINGFUL WAY TO PUT POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT ON A HIGHER PLANE WHERE IT CAN ATTRACT BETTER TALENT AND FUNCTION IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE INTEGRITY IN GOVERNMENT A MATTER OF PRIDE FOR EVERY OFFICE HOLDER AND CITIZEN.