

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION
OTTAWA, KANSAS

AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA'S PROBLEMS, AMERICA'S SHORTCOMINGS,
DOMINATE OUR NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, I'D LIKE TO PAUSE FOR A MOMENT
AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF HER STRONG POINTS.

WHILE WE'RE JUSTIFIABLY PUZZLED AND DISTURBED OVER WATERGATE,
INFLATION, AND OTHER ILLS AFFECTING KANSAS IN PARTICULAR, LET'S LOOK
AT OURSELVES IN PERSPECTIVE.

LET'S LOOK AT WHAT IS RIGHT WITH AMERICA.

WHETHER IT BE UNETHICAL BEHAVIOR AT HIGH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT,
OR IN A FEW LOCAL BOY SCOUT COUNCILS, SOME VIEW THE EVENTS OF OUR DAY
AS EVIDENCE THAT AMERICA IS POSSESSED OF A PERVASIVE MORAL CANCER.

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WHILE SELF-CRITICISM IS HEALTHY, I'D LIKE TO RESTORE THAT BALANCE
OF SELF-CRITICISM AND SELF-CONFIDENCE WHICH HAS ENABLED AMERICA TO PROGRESS.

THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO THROW IN THE TOWEL ON AMERICA!

JUST STOP TO REFLECT ON THE CONDITION OF ALL OF US COMPARED TO
THE REST OF THE WORLD.

BASIC FREEDOMS

WHO DO YOU KNOW WHO CAN'T READ AND WRITE?

WE HAVE A LITERACY RATE OF 99 PERCENT AMONG ALL AMERICANS OVER
14 YEARS OLD.

SCHOOLING IS AVAILABLE TO ALL CHILDREN. IN FACT, IT'S AGAINST
THE LAW FOR THEM NOT TO RECEIVE SCHOOLING IF THEY'RE PHYSICALLY ABLE.
AND IF THEY'RE NOT, WE'LL BRING SCHOOL TO THEM OFTEN FREE OF CHARGE.

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WE HAVE 12,500 PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

OVER 300,000 CHURCHES, BECAUSE WE'RE FREE TO EXERCISE THE FAITH
OF OUR CHOICE -- OR NONE AT ALL.

WE'VE GOT THE RIGHT TO DISSENT!

IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE GOVERNMENT, OR YOUR LANDLORD, YOU CAN SAY
IT OUT LOUD. YOU CAN CRITICIZE THE PRESIDENT AND YOU ARE PROTECTED BY
LAW. TRY THAT IN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES AND YOU WILL FIND YOURSELF IN A JAIL.

UNDER OUR SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, FALSE ARREST IS ALMOST UNHEARD OF.
FALSE IMPRISONMENT IS EVEN MORE RARE. IF YOU ARE ACCUSED OF A CRIME,
AND YOU CANNOT AFFORD A LAWYER, YOUR COURTS WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH ONE.

IF YOU DON'T LIKE YOUR JOB, YOU CAN QUIT AND YOU CAN TAKE ANOTHER.

IF YOU WANT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, YOU MAY --NOBODY WILL TRY TO
STOP YOU. AND IF YOU WANT TO COME BACK, YOU KNOW, YOU SURE ENOUGH CAN.

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IF YOU DON'T LIKE WHERE YOU LIVE, YOU CAN MOVE.

MORE THAN ANY OTHER PEOPLE, WE ARE A NATION OF LANDOWNERS. WE MAY HAVE A CONDOMINIUM, OR A SUBURBAN SPLIT-LEVEL, OR AN APARTMENT, OR A LOT WITH NOTHING ON IT BUT A MORTGAGE -- BUT IT'S ALL OURS.

WE HOUSE OUR FAMILIES, AND FEED OUR FAMILIES, AND CARE FOR OUR FAMILIES BETTER THAN ANYBODY ON EARTH. WE HAVE POVERTY, BUT OUR MORAL FIBER IS SUCH THAT BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MEANS, WE ARE THE MOST "GIVING" PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. OUR PRIVATE DONATIONS TO CHARITY ARE MORE THAN THE TOTAL NATIONAL BUDGET OF MOST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD.

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GREAT EFFORTS

I RECITE THESE FACTS BECAUSE THEY'RE PART OF OUR BASIC -- YET PRECIOUS -- FREEDOMS. IF IT'S TRITE TO RECALL THEM, REMEMBER THAT THEY ARE THE RESULTS OF EVERYTHING WE'VE DONE IN THE PAST. THINGS WE'VE DONE WHICH OFTEN TOOK PLACE IN TROUBLED TIMES. THINGS WE'VE DONE AGAINST GREAT ODDS. BUT THEY WERE THINGS WE'VE DONE WHICH TRIUMPHED, AND TRIUMPHED TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT WE NOW TAKE THE RESULTS FOR GRANTED.

WE'RE STILL DOING THESE THINGS TODAY. AND THEY'RE STILL SUCCEEDING. OUR SELF-CONFIDENCE IS BASED NOT ON SUCCESSES OF HISTORY ALONE, BUT ON SUCCESSES OF THE PAST DECADE, THE PAST YEAR, THE PAST MONTH, ON LAST WEEK, DON'T YOU SEE.

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SO THIS IS ONE AMERICAN WHO IS FED UP WIHT WOULD-BE INTELLECTUALS EXHORTING THE UNITED STATES TO MASS BREAST-BEATING. DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, ASSISTANT TO PRESIDENTS NIXON AND KENNEDY, SAYS, "AMERICA HAS BECOME A SELF-ACCUSATORY, EVEN A SELF-FLAGELLATING SOCIETY."

HE'S RIGHT, AND I DON'T LIKE IT. I AM SICK AND TIRED OF CRITICS WHO SEEM BENT ON MAKING ME ATONE FOR SINS I HAVE NOT COMMITTED. REMEMBER IN THE WAKE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S TRAGIC ASSASSINATION, WHEN TELEVISION COMMENTATIORS AND NEWSPAPER COLUMNISTS BEGAN SAYING, "WE ARE ALL TO BLAME."

NUTS.

A TURNCOAT AMERICAN WHO MOVED TO RUSSIA, WHO TRIED TO GIVE UP HIS AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, WHO TRIED TO BECOME A RUSSIAN CITIZEN, WHO MARRIED A RUSSIAN BRIDE, AND WHO RETURNED TO AMERICA TO WORK FOR THE LEFT_ WING FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE KILLED JOHN KENNEDY. NOT ME, NOT A SCHOOLTEACHER IN MANHATTAN, NOT A HOUSEWIFE IN TOPEKA, BUT A NEUROTIC YOUNG MAN NAMED LEE HARVEY OSWALD.

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NO, AMERICA ISN'T SO BAD. OUR FREEDOMS, OUR CULTURE, OUR STANDARD OF LIVING, OUR SPIRIT OF GIVING WILL STAND UP TO COMPARISON WITH ANY NATION ON EARTH.

OUR BIG TV NETWORK CORPORATIONS AND NEWSMEN SEE THREATS OF CENSORSHIP EVERYWHERE, BUT WE HAVE NO "D NOTICES" AS IN ENGLAND, WHERE A COMMITTEE HEADED BY A GOVERNMENT APPOINTEE SENDS NOTICES ___ SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVED BY BRITISH NEWSPAPERS -- REQUESTING CERTAIN NEWS STORIES NOT BE PUBLISHED, IN THE INTEREST OF "NATIONAL SECURITY."

NOR DO WE HAVE A TELEVISION MONOPOLY CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND REQUIRED "UNOFFICIALLY" TO TOE THE GOVERNMENT LINE, AS IN FRANCE.

WE HAVE A DOCTRINE OF LAW CALLED HABEAS CORPUS, WHICH PREVENTS AMERICANS FROM BEING DETAINED IN PRISON FOR MONTHS, EVEN YEARS, BEFORE CHARGES ARE FILED: UNLIKE HALF-A-HUNDRED SO CALLED "DEMOCRACIES" IN EUROPE,

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AFRICA, ASIA, AND SOUTH AMERICA WHERE POLITICAL PRISONERS LANGUISH IN JAIL AT THE WHIM OF AUTHORITIES.

NOR DO WE SEND OUR DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPONENTS OFF TO LUNATIC ASYLUMS. IN JANUARY 1969, THE 33 YEAR OLD RUSSIAN POETESS NATALIA GORBNAEVSKAYA, MOTHER OF TWO CHILDREN, WAS CHARGED WITH "DEFAMING THE SOVIET STATE AND SOCIAL SYSTEM" AND PACKED OFF TO A PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC. HER CRIME? SHE SIGNED TWO LETTER TO THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WHICH PROTESTED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE GROWING PRACTICE OF DIAGNOSING POLITICAL OPPONENTS AS "INSANE" AND LOCKING THEM UP IN MENTAL HOMES FOR UNLIMITED PERIODS.

WHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD DOES A RICHARD SPECK, KILLER OF EIGHT NURSES IN CHICAGO, OR A SIRHAN SIRHAN -- ASSASSIN OF SENATOR ROBERT KENNEDY -- RECEIVE A QUARTER MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF FREE LEGAL SERVICES, AND THE

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SAFETY VALVE OF LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL REVIEW BOARDS AND APPELLATE COURTS?

I'LL MATCH OUR FREEDOMS WITH ANYONE, ANYWHERE.

NO BARS

"WHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD," ASK EDITOR JENKIN LLOYD JONES, "IS THERE A NATION SO MANY HUMAN BEINGS WOULD LIKE TO GET INTO?" WHERE ELSE INDEED? OVER 100 THOUSAND FOREIGNERS ASK TO, AND BECOME UNITED STATES CITIZENS EACH YEAR, SAYS THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION, COMPARED TO LESS THAN 1,000 AMERICANS WHO VOLUNTARILY GIVE UP THEIR U.S. CITIZENSHIP.

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WE HAVE NO RELIGIOUS BARS TO IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP. NO IMMIGRATION BANS ON RACES OR ETHNIC GROUPS.

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON NAMED JERMIE HOLLAND, THE DISTINGUISHED BLACK PRESIDENT OF THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE OF VIRGINIA, AS U. S. AMBASSADOR TO SWEDEN, THE WASHINGTON POST DESCRIBED SWEDISH REACTION AS "SARCASTIC AND RESERVED." THREE OF FOUR STOCKHOLM NEWSPAPERS PRINTED A 30-YEAR-OLD PICTURE OF HOLLAND PLAYING FOOTBALL AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY WHERE HE WAS ALL-AMERICAN IN 1939. THE PHOTOS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY SNIDE CAPTIONS, YET SWEDEN HAS LONG CLAIMED IT STANDS FOR RACIAL EQUALITY.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, OF COURSE, IS LIBERIA, WHERE WHITE MEN AND WOMEN CAN NEITHER OWN PROPERTY, VOTE NOR BECOME CITIZENS.

NO, WE'RE NOT A PERFECT NATION YET, BUT AS THE WORLD'S ONE AND ONLY FULLY DEMOCRATIC MELTING POT, I'D SAY WE'RE DOING RATHER WELL.

WE LOOK AT WATERGATE AND INFLATION AND SEE THAT OUR NATIONAL TASK IS NOT COMPLETED. BUT WE CAN LOOK AT OUR RECENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND SEE THAT IT IS A JOB NOW IN PROGRESS.

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HEALTH CARE

HEALTH CARE IS ANOTHER THING RIGHT WITH AMERICA. WE HAVE MADE MORE PROGRESS IN PROVIDING IMPROVED HEALTH CARE TO AMERICANS IN THE PAST 15 YEARS THAN DURING ANY OTHER TIME IN OUR HISTORY.

IN 1957, AVERAGE LIFE EXPECTANCY IN THE UNITED STATES WAS 69 AND A HALF YEARS. IT HAD RISEN TO OVER 71 YEARS IN 1971.

MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES DROPPED FROM 37 DEATHS PER 100,000 LIVE BIRTHS IN 1960 TO 20 DEATHS PER 100,000 LIVE BIRTHS IN 1971. THESE STARK FIGURES REPRESENT HUMAN LIVES.

HOW CAN WE MEASURE THE VALUE OF A WIFE AND MOTHER TO HER HUSBAND AND CHILDREN?

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IN 1960 THERE WERE OVER 260,000 PHYSICIANS IN THIS COUNTRY, OR ABOUT ONE PHYSICIAN FOR EVERY 712 AMERICANS. BY 1972, THIS TOTAL HAD RISEN TO 356,000, OR ONE PHYSICIAN FOR EVERY 599 AMERICANS.

IN 1960 THERE WERE 6,876 HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES. BY 1972, THIS HAD INCREASED TO 7,061 HOSPITALS.

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN'S ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE HAS VASTLY IMPROVED IN THE PAST 15 YEARS.

INSURANCE COVERAGE, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, X-RAY AND LABORATORY EXAMINATIONS, PRESCRIBED DRUGS AND NURSING CARE FOR ALL AGES HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED SINCE 1962. NURSING HOME COVERAGE INCREASED 9-FOLD OVER THE PAST DECADE, WHILE DENTAL CARE COVERAGE WENT UP BY ALMOST 1800 PERCENT.

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THE INSURANCE EXPLOSION HAS ADDED GREATLY TO OUR FREEDOM FROM THE FEAR THAT MEDICAL COSTS WILL WIPE OUT OUR SAVINGS OR PUSH US DEEPLY INTO DEBT. SINCE 1960, THE PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL MEDICAL BILL PAID DIRECTLY BY THE PATIENT HAS DROPPED FROM 55 TO 35 PERCENT.

SPIRALING COSTS STILL PLAGUE THE CONSUMER OF MEDICAL SERVICES. BUT WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD MORE BEARABLE COST BY THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MEDICAL INSURANCE.

THE FACT IS THAT WHILE SERIOUS CHALLENGES REMAIN, WE ARE MAKING SUBSTANTIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDST OF OUR PROBLEMS. WHAT IS RIGHT ABOUT AMERICA IS HER CONTINUING PROGRESS, NOT HER PERFECTION, IN MATTERS OF HEALTH CARE.

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IRONICALLY, FOREIGNERS SEE THE ADAPTABILITY OF AMERICA THAT MANY AMERICANS MISS. "YOU ARE MORE REVOLUTIONARY THAN RUSSIA," SAYS 29-YEAR-OLD JAIRO VASCO, A LATIN AMERICAN WHO STUDIED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW. "ALL THE TIME AMERICA IS CHANGING, BECOMING MORE FAIR, CORRECTING INJUSTICES. IN RUSSIA THEY CALL THEMSELVES REVOLUTIONARIES BUT THEY ARE WRONG. THEY WANT TO LEVEL PEOPLE DOWN. YOU BUILD PEOPLE UP."

I AM NOT AN EXPERT ON PSYCHOLOGY. BUT I DO KNOW THAT MANY OF US REGARD OUR PAINFULLY CONSTRUCTED -- AND DELICATELY MAINTAINED -- POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS WITH AN UNPRECEDENTED IGNORANCE AND IMPATIENCE.

IT IS SO MUCH EASIER TO TALK THE LANGUAGE OF THE APOCALYPSE, INSTEAD OF KNOWING AND PAYING ATTENTION TO THE THOUSAND AND ONE DETAILED ARRANGEMENTS AND ADJUSTMENTS OF A POLITICAL ORDER.

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AMERICA IS AN EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM WHICH HAS BEEN PAINFULLY
CONSTRUCTED AND DELICATELY MAINTAINED. FROM THE OUTSET OF OUR NATIONAL
EXPERIENCE, WE HAVE BEEN A DISTINCTLY VULNERABLE REPUBLIC.

THIS IS BECAUSE THE EXERCISE OF FREEDOM NECESSITATES THE
MAINTENANCE OF, AND DEPENDENCE UPON, CHARACTER.

WE MUST MAINTAIN CONFIDENCE IN OUR CHARACTER, COLLECTIVELY AND
INDIVIDUALLY, IF WE ARE TO PROGRESS AS A NATION.

IN A TIME OF "WATERGATE" AND ECONOMIC SEVERITY, WE MUST MAINTAIN
A SELF-CONFIDENCE TO MATCH THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR CHALLENGE. WE MUST
RECALL WHAT IS RIGHT WITH AMERICA, IF WE ARE TO CORRECT WHAT IS WRONG
WITH HER.

I HAVE NEITHER GUILT NOR MISGIVINGS THAT I AM AN AMERICAN;
SIMPLY JOY AND GRATITUDE THAT GOD PLACED ME HERE. THERE'S NOWHERE ELSE
I'D RATHER BE.