

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE  
VETERANS OF WW I  
12 NOON  
SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 1968  
LAWRENCE, KANSAS

THERE IS HARDLY A GROUP I MORE ENJOY VISITING WITH THAN  
VETERANS.

FIRST, YOU DEFENDED YOUR COUNTRY WELL.

SECOND, YOU STOOD UP AND WERE COUNTED FOR A NATION AND PEOPLE,  
COMMITTED TO THE HIGHEST HUMAN VALUES.

THIRD, YOU TASTED THE BITTER FLAVOR OF AN ALIEN POLITICAL  
PHILOSOPHY AND CAME HOME DETERMINED TO SAFEGUARD FREEDOM AND  
JUSTICE UNDER LAW.

FOURTH, YOU KNOW THE AMERICAN HERITAGE CAN'T BE TAKEN FOR  
GRANTED ... THAT THE SAME FREEDOMS WE ENJOY IMPOSE RESPONSIBILITY  
ON THE INDIVIDUAL.

TODAY IN 1968 IF ONLY THE BEATNIKS, THE PEACENIKS, THE BLACK  
POWER ADVOCATES AND OTHERS COULD HAVE MARCHED WITH YOU, COULD  
HAVE SEEN WHAT YOU SAW, FELT WHAT YOU FELT.

NO LONGER WOULD THE BEATNIKS RETREAT, BELIEVING THEY CAN MAKE  
THE WORLD BEAUTIFUL BY SMOKING MARIHUANA, ENGAGING IN FREE LOVE  
AND DREAMING DREAMY THOUGHTS.

NO LONGER WOULD THE PEACENIKS MARCH ON THE PENTAGON AND  
SEND SUPPLIES TO THE ENEMY.

NO LONGER WOULD THE BLACK POWER ADVOCATES SEEK TO DESTROY  
THROUGH RIOTS, BURNINGS AND OTHER VIOLENCE.

-THE BATTLE TODAY-

TODAY I ASK THE BENEFIT OF YOUR EXPERIENCE IN HELPING AMERICA  
WIN ANOTHER BATTLE.

RIGHT NOW THE WORD "BATTLE" HAS ONLY ONE MEANING FOR US --  
VIETNAM.

BUT VIETNAM IS NOT THE ONLY BATTLEFIELD ON WHICH OUR COUNTRY  
IS BEING TESTED.

THE REAL BATTLEGROUND FOR AMERICA IS RIGHT HERE AT HOME.

AS ONE OF OUR COUNTRY'S LEADERS SAID RECENTLY:

"THE ULTIMATE TESTING-PLACE OF AMERICA IS  
AMERICA ITSELF. ALL OF OUR POWER AND  
PRESTIGE AND ABILITY TO KEEP THE PROMISES  
TO KEEP THE PEACE -- EVERYTHING WE STAND  
FOR AND DREAM OF -- REST IN THE END ON THE  
UNITY AND STRENGTH OF AMERICA."

AND IT IS THIS FOUNDATION OF UNITY AND STRENGTH WHICH IS  
BEING CHIPPED AWAY BY LAWLESSNESS AND A GROWING DISRESPECT FOR  
ORDER. AND WHAT IS AT STAKE, IN THE WORDS OF A GREAT REPUBLICAN  
PRESIDENT IS "WHETHER GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE AND  
FOR THE PEOPLE CAN ENDURE".

ON THE ONE HAND, AMERICA HAS A BUSINESS SYSTEM, THE ENVY  
OF THE WORLD ... AND MATERIAL PROGRESS, BEYOND THE DREAM OF  
KINGS.

ON THE OTHER, WE HAVE EXPERIENCED CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND  
CRIME ON A SCALE UNPRECEDENTED IN OUR HISTORY.

CONSIDER WHAT IS HAPPENING.



-CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE-

FIRST, IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE . . .

IN THE LAST THREE YEARS, 76 MAJOR RIOTS HAVE SWEEPED THE NATION, KILLING MORE THAN 100 PERSONS AND WOUNDING NEARLY 2500. THESE SAME CIVIL EXPLOSIONS PRODUCED 7,985 CASES OF ARSON . . . 28,939 ARRESTS . . . 5,434 CONVICTIONS . . . 210 MILLION DOLLARS IN PROPERTY DAMAGE AND . . . 504 MILLION DOLLARS IN ESTIMATED ECONOMIC LOSSES.

NATURALLY, THOSE COLD STATISTICS DON'T BEGIN TO MEASURE THE UNTOLD SUFFERING AND HEARTBREAK.

RIGHT NOW, OUR NATION'S CAPITAL -- WASHINGTON, D.C. -- IS GIRDING ITSELF FOR A SIEGE OF SEVERAL THOUSAND IN A SO-CALLED "POOR PEOPLE'S MARCH".

THE CAMPAIGN, TO BEGIN IN A FEW SHORT WEEKS, HAS BEEN PLOTTED FOR MONTHS. DEMONSTRATORS HAVE BEEN TRAINED TO ACT, THEY SAY, IN A SPIRIT OF "VIOLENT NONAGGRESSION".

VIOLENT NONAGGRESSION . . . WELL, WITH LAST SUMMER'S TURBULENCE IN DETROIT, NEWARK AND OTHER SPOTS STILL FRESH IN THEIR MINDS, LOCAL WASHINGTON OFFICIALS ARE PLANNING A STRATEGY OF RETALIATION IN THE EVENT OF VIOLENT AGGRESSION: OVER 2,500 POLICEMEN PLUS SUPPORT FROM THE ARMY AND NATIONAL GUARD WILL BE ON STAND-BY.

WHEN HARLEM AND WATTS ERUPTED SEVERAL YEARS AGO, THE NATION FELT SHOCK BORN OF SURPRISE. NOW WE ALL KNOW -- AT WORST -- WHAT TO EXPECT.

AND NOW, MONTHS IN ADVANCE, WE MUST GRANT HUGE SUMS OF MONEY AND DEPLOY HUNDREDS OF TRAINED PEOPLE TO CANVASS POTENTIAL HOT SPOTS AND THEN MAP OUT SEVERAL TYPES OF ACTION -- LOW KEY, MIDDLE KEY AND HIGH KEY -- TO FIT ANY OUTBURST OF VIOLENCE IN ANY CITY OR HAMLET AT ANY TIME.

-MAJOR CRIMES-

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS FAR FROM THE ONLY KIND OF LAWLESSNESS IN THIS COUNTRY.

THREE DAYS AGO, THE F.B.I. SAID INCIDENCE OF MAJOR CRIMES ROSE 16 PERCENT IN 1967 OVER 1966.

THIS MEANS 1967 MARKS THE HIGHEST CRIME LEVEL AND THE GREATEST ONE-YEAR INCREASE IN OUR HISTORY.

AND WHAT THIS MEANS TO YOU AND ME IS JUST THIS:

- \* A MURDER IS COMMITTED EVERY 41 MINUTES;
- \* A RAPE OCCURS EVERY 19 MINUTES;
- \* A ROBBERY OCCURS EVERY 3 MINUTES;
- \* AN AUTO THEFT OCCURS EVERY 49 SECONDS;
- \* A BURGLARY OCCURS EVERY 20 SECONDS.

HERE IN KANSAS WE TEND TO THINK WE ARE INSULATED FROM DISORDER AND LAWLESSNESS . . . THAT CRIME IS THE PROBLEM OF OTHER PEOPLE IN OTHER PLACES.

CONSIDER THIS.



LESS THAN THREE MONTHS AGO, THE KANSAS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REPORTED THE RATE OF CRIME IN KANSAS DURING 1958 TO 1963 INCREASED AT LEAST 20 PERCENT FOR EVERY OFFENSE EXCEPT MURDER.

F.B.I. STATISTICS <sup>for 1967</sup> SAY MAJOR CRIME HAS INCREASED IN KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI, BY 22.7 PERCENT; IN TOPEKA, BY 37.2 PERCENT; AND IN WICHITA, BY 26.5 PERCENT.

-WHY, WHY, WHY-

WHY, YOU ASK, ARE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND LAWLESSNESS ON THE UPSWING? A LOT OF PEOPLE ARE DOING SOME REAL, HARD SOUL-SEARCHING.

SOME PATRIOTIC AND COMPASSIONATE PEOPLE POINT THE FINGER AT YOU AND ME AND OTHERS LIKE US. THEY SAY OUR SOCIAL CONSCIENCE FALLS SHORT . . . THAT ONLY THROUGH HUGE FEDERAL INFUSIONS OF MONEY AND MANPOWER INTO DEPRESSED AREAS CAN WE STRIKE AT THE CAUSES OF VIOLENT UNREST AND CRIME.

NOW, NEITHER YOU NOR I NOR THE CONGRESS NOR EVEN THE PRESIDENT IS NAIVE.

ALL OF US ARE CONCERNED THAT DISCRIMINATION EXISTS IN SOME PARTS OF OUR SOCIETY, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THE NEGRO RACE.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT STIFLING SLUMS IN MANY URBAN AREAS, THAT EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES ARE NOT ALL OF EQUAL QUALITY, THAT JOBS AND JOB ADVANCEMENTS ARE NOT EQUALLY AVAILABLE TO EVERYONE.

AND FEDERAL PROGRAMS WHICH DEMONSTRATE THEY CAN ROOT OUT THESE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CAN BE OF HELP, ESPECIALLY THOSE STRESSING EDUCATION.

BUT I WOULD LIKE TO RAISE A QUESTION:

WHY HAVE CRIME AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE INCREASED MOST RAPIDLY IN A PERIOD IN WHICH THE GENERAL PER CAPITA INCOME HAS INCREASED MOST RAPIDLY, WHEN THERE HAS NEVER BEEN SO MUCH FREE SCHOOLING AVAILABLE AND WHEN RELIEF IS AVAILABLE TO ALL?

TO THOSE WHO SAY SOCIETY CAUSES CRIME, I SAY INDIVIDUALS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CRIME. TO THOSE WHO SAY HAVING A POOR CHILDHOOD IS AN AUTOMATIC ROAD TO RUIN, I SAY THAT IF THIS WERE TRUE, MANY OF US HERE TODAY WOULD BE IN JAIL.

THERE ARE DEEPER REASONS FOR OUR NATIONAL MALAISE THAN CAN BE CURED BY SIMPLE OUTPOURING OF MORE PUBLIC FUNDS INTO DEPRESSED AREAS.

THE TIME HAS COME TO RECOGNIZE THAT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND CRIME ARISE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE -- FROM PEOPLE OF ALL SKIN COLORS, FROM ALL ECONOMIC LEVELS, FROM ALL EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS.

IN MY JUDGMENT, THE GREATEST SHORTCOMING OF LAST WEEK'S REPORT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS IS THAT IT SAYS AMERICA IS AT A CRISIS OF TWO SOCIETIES: BLACK AND WHILE, PITTED AGAINST EACH OTHER.

THIS IS UNTRUE, UNJUSTIFIED AND A GROSS INDICTMENT, IN MY OPINION.



THE TIME HAS COME TO RECOGNIZE THAT UNLESS THE REWARDS FOR GROSS IRRESPONSIBILITY CAN BE DIMINISHED, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS -- BLACK AND WHITE, MEN AND WOMEN, REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, URBAN AND RURAL -- WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY VICTIMIZED.

TOO OFTEN THE CRIMINAL IS BEING FAVORED BY THE PUBLIC AND THE GOVERNMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE LAW-ABIDING CITIZEN. THE CRIES OF INNOCENT VICTIMS ARE STIFLED BY THE CLAMOR FOR MERCY AND LENIENCY FOR GUILTY LAWBREAKERS WHO SCOFF AT LAW AND ORDER AND THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY.

IN MY OPINION, THE TIME TO ACT IS LONG OVERDUE. WE MUST DO SOME HARD THINKING AND THEN ACT TO RIGHT THESE WRONGS.

-WHAT CAN WE DO?-

WHAT IS NEEDED INITIALLY IS DEVELOPMENT OF MONUMENTAL CITIZEN DEDICATION TO CUTTING THROUGH PUBLIC APATHY ABOUT THE PROBLEM.

LOCAL CITIZENS, IF THEY ARE WILLING TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO PREVENT AND CONTROL CRIME, CAN STRIKE AT THE VERY ROOT OF THE PROBLEM.

FIRST, ALL OF US MUST INSIST UPON JUST LAWS THAT ARE VIGOROUSLY AND FAIRLY ENFORCED.

WE'VE GOT TO TELL THIS STORY: OUR LAWS APPLY EQUALLY TO ALL OF US ALL OF THE TIME. THEY GUARD OUR LIBERTIES AND PROTECT OUR LIVES AND FORTUNES, LARGE AND SMALL. MOST OF ALL, THESE LAWS INSURE ORDER AND PROGRESS WITHOUT SACRIFICING FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES.

IT MAY COME AS NEWS TO A LOT OF PEOPLE, BUT THE LAW PROTECTS THE MINORITIES TOO. IN FACT, THE LAW IS THE ONLY GUARANTEE THEY HAVE AGAINST TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY.

BUT NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO TAKE THE LAW INTO HIS OWN HANDS -- TO DETERMINE WHICH LAWS ARE GOOD, WHICH ARE BAD, WHICH HE WILL OBEY AND WHICH HE WILL IGNORE.

BEFORE THE DEMONSTRATOR DEMEANS AND DESTROYS WHEN HIS DEMANDS ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY MET, WE MUST SAY, "YOU WILL NOT GO FREE IF YOU ENDANGER THE LIVES OR PROPERTY OF OTHERS".

WE MUST SWIFTLY AND SURELY BRING TO TRIAL, AND THEN METE OUT JUSTICE TO THOSE WHO KILL, ROB, BURN, RAPE OR BREAK ANY OTHER LAW.

CERTAINLY OUR LAWS NEED CHANGE FROM TIME TO TIME. BUT THE MANNER OF CHANGE IS PRESCRIBED BY LAW -- IT IS AN ORDERLY PROCESS, A DEMOCRATIC ONE.

THIS APPLIES TO GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE SUPREME COURT AS WELL AS THE INDIVIDUALS.

AS I UNDERSTAND OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT, NEITHER THE SUPREME COURT NOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHAT RULES WILL BE GIVEN FORCE OF LAW. ONLY THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH -- THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE -- HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE WHAT RULES WILL BE GIVEN FORCE OF LAW.

OUR SUPREME COURT HAS BENT OVER BACKWARDS TO INTERPRET THE CONSTITUTION IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO MAKE SURE NO INNOCENT MAN WILL EVER BE PUNISHED.

I AM IN ACCORD.



HOWEVER, I OBJECT STRENUOUSLY TO THE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LAW WHICH ADD NOTHING TO THE PROTECTION OF THE INNOCENT BUT INSTEAD MAKE IT DIFFICULT OR IMPOSSIBLE TO ARREST AND CONVICT THE GUILTY.

THIS IS NEITHER JUSTICE FOR THE ACCUSED, NOR SAFETY FOR THE MASSES.

CLYDE REED, PUBLISHER OF THE PARSONS SUN, PUT IT WELL:  
"LAW AND ORDER MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET IF IT IS TO SERVE FAITHFULLY THE INDISPENSIBLE ROLE WHICH IT HAS BEEN ASSIGNED."

MY FEAR IS THAT IN OUR PROPER ZEAL TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED, WE HAVE OVERLOOKED THE BASIS AND PURPOSE OF ALL CRIMINAL LAW -- TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC AND SOCIETY FROM LAWLESS ACTS.

MOST ASSUREDLY, WE MUST BE COMPASSIONATE. BUT TO DIRECT COMPASSION SOLELY TOWARD LAWBREAKERS AND TO IGNORE HELPLESS VICTIMS OF CRIME IS UNJUSTIFIED. THE EMINENT ENGLISH JUDGE, SIR PATRICK DEVLIN, SAID IT WELL: "WHEN A CRIMINAL GOES FREE, IT IS AS MUCH A FAILURE OF ABSTRACT JUSTICE AS WHEN AN INNOCENT MAN IS CONVICTED."

SECOND, WE MUST PUBLICLY SUPPORT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS AND OBEY THE LAWS OURSELVES.

LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS DO NOT MAKE THE LAWS; IT IS RATHER THEIR DUTY TO ENFORCE THEM EQUITABLY.

LAW ENFORCEMENT IS AT A PERIOD OF CRISIS. THE INADEQUACY IS NOT ONE OF QUALITY, BUT OF QUANTITY. TOO FEW MEN ... POOR SALARIES ... INSUFFICIENT EQUIPMENT ... PUBLIC SCORN OR WORSE -- INDIFFERENCE.

AGAINST ALL OF THESE ODDS, MOST OF OUR PEACE OFFICERS ARE DOING A CREDITABLE JOB.

BUT THEIR JOB CAN BE EASIER AND YOUR LIVES AND THOSE OF YOUR FAMILY CAN BE MORE SAFE IF YOU IMPRESS UPON YOUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN THE NEED TO OBEY LAWS AND RESPECT AUTHORITY ... IF, WHEN YOU OBSERVE CRIME OR ANY OTHER VIOLATION OF THE LAW, YOU WILL INFORM LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS ... AND, LASTLY, IF YOU YOURSELF OBEY THE LAW FROM THE CORNER TRAFFIC LIGHTS ON UP THE LINE.

THE POLICE IN YOUR COMMUNITY ARE YOUR FRIENDS. TO BE EFFECTIVE, THEY NEED YOUR INTEREST, COOPERATION AND SUPPORT.

-CONCLUSION-

LET ME LEAVE YOU WITH THIS THOUGHT.

NO ONE EVER MAKES HIS RIGHTS SECURE BY IGNORING THE RIGHTS OF HIS NEIGHBOR.

NO ONE EVER INCREASES HIS WEALTH BY DESTROYING THE PROPERTY OF HIS NEIGHBOR OR HIS COMMUNITY.

NO ONE GROUP CAN MERELY BY CALLING IT A "PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION" CHANGE A RIOT INTO A PICNIC.

FINALLY, NEITHER CAN THE SUPREME COURT JUSTIFY LOOTING AND SHOOTING BY CALLING IT AN "EXPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH".

IF YOU AND I ARE TO BE SECURE AND FREE IN OUR FREEDOM, THEN WE MUST KNOW THE LAW, OBEY IT -- ALL OF IT ALL OF THE TIME -- AND WE MUST REQUIRE ALL OTHERS TO FOLLOW SUIT.