

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

KANSAS STATE ASSOCIATION OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS  
1970 CONVENTION  
RADISSON HOTEL  
WICHITA, KANSAS  
SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1970

IT IS A PLEASURE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 1970 CONVENTION OF THE  
KANSAS STATE ASSOCIATION OF LIFE UNDERWRITERS.

TONIGHT I WANT TO DISCUSS A SUBJECT ABOUT WHICH ALL AMERICANS  
ARE CONCERNED DAILY: THE QUALITY OF OUR LIVES.

ENVIRONMENT

THE QUALITY OF OUR PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME THE MOST  
POPULAR CONNOTATION OF THAT PHRASE. WE HAVE REACHED THE POINT IN THE  
DEGRADATION OF OUR WORLD WHEN ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS MUST BECOME  
CENTRAL COMPONENTS OF EVERY DECISION WE MAKE --- PUBLIC, PRIVATE, COL-  
LECTIVE, OR INDIVIDUAL.

THE PRESIDENT, IN HIS FIRST STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS,  
EXPRESSED THIS CONCERN:

"THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE SEVENTIES IS SHALL WE  
SURRENDER TO OUR SURROUNDINGS, OR SHALL WE MAKE  
OUR PEACE WITH NATURE AND BEGIN TO MAKE REPARATIONS  
FOR THE DAMAGE WE HAVE DONE TO OUR AIR, TO OUR  
LAND, AND TO OUR WATER."

WHAT CAN WE DO?

WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THE PROBLEM AND THE NEXT QUESTION IS:  
WHAT CAN WE AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS A SOCIETY DO ABOUT IT? I COULD  
ANSWER THAT QUESTION BY DISCUSSING PRESIDENT NIXON'S ENVIRONMENTAL  
PACKAGE WHICH IS PRESENTLY THE SUBJECT OF CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS.  
BUT THAT IS NOT MY INTENTION TONIGHT. INSTEAD I WOULD RATHER MAKE  
SOME MORE GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND POSE FURTHER QUESTIONS --- TO  
STIMULATE, AND I HOPE, TO PROVOKE.

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SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

MY FIRST OBSERVATION IS CENTRAL TO ALL THE REST: THE PROBLEM IS TOO BIG FOR ANY ONE COMPONENT OF OUR SOCIETY TO SOLVE ALONE. WE ARE ALL POLLUTORS, AND THE BETTER WE LIVE THE MORE WE POLLUTE. ALL OF OUR ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS ARE INTERRELATED ---- BEGINNING WITH PEOPLE, IN BOTH NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION, AND INCLUDING AIR AND WATER AND WASTE, FOODS AND DRUGS, URBAN CONCENTRATION AND SUBURBAN SPRAWL IN THE SEVENTIES.

IT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THERE IS NOT ONE PROBLEM OF AUTOMOTIVE AIR POLLUTION AND ONE PROBLEM OF STATIONARY SOURCE AIR POLLUTION ---- THERE IS A COMPREHENSIVE PROBLEM OF AIR QUALITY.

UNLESS INDUSTRY BEGINS TO CALCULATE THE SOCIAL COSTS OF POLLUTION -- THE BY-PRODUCTS OF THE TECHNIQUES OF PRODUCTION -- AND REFLECTS THEM IN THE PRICE OF THE PRODUCT, THERE WILL BE NO ACCURATE WAY TO MEASURE THESE COSTS.

UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT BECOMES MORE CONSCIOUS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF ITS TAX, LAND-USE, SUBSIDIES, AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, IT WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY "CATCH-UP" WITH A HIGHER AND HIGHER PRICE-TAG.

UNLESS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO PAY THE COSTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESTORATION -- COSTS THAT MAY RANGE FROM LESS POWERFUL AUTOS TO LESS FREQUENTLY OCCUPIED BASSINETS -- NO POLITICAL AUTHORITY CAN COMPLETELY PREVENT ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION.

#### COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEM

MY SECOND OBSERVATION IS TO RATE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM. COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING, A MOON SHOT IS EASY. ALL IT TAKES IS THE TECHNOLOGY AND DOLLARS AND THE COMMAND DECISION TO HARNESS THEM INTO ONE MASSIVE EFFORT. AND THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS, WHICH WAS JEOPARDIZED IN

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APOLLO 13 BECAUSE OF A MECHANICAL FAILURE, IS LAUNCH TOUCH DOWN, AND  
SAFE RETURN.

IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL ARENA, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL  
FACTORS ARE ALL INTERMESHED -- AS ARE HUMAN CHOICES AND COMPETING INTER-  
ESTS.

THE COMPLEXITY RANGES FAR BEYOND STREETS AND CITIES CLEAR OF  
DEBRIS OR TAKING THE LEAD OUT OF GASOLINE. IT EMBRACES COMMITMENT TO  
COLLECTIVE ACTION. IT INVOLVES THE NECESSITY TO DEVELOP ABILITY TO  
PREDICT THE ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, WHO COULD HAVE PREDICTED THAT THE  
INVENTION OF THE INTERNAL COMBUSTION ENGINE WOULD LEAD TO THE RADICAL  
SHIFTS IN LIFE-STYLE SYMBOLIZED BY THE SUBURB AND THE SHOPPING CENTER --  
let alone threaten the life-SUSTAINING CARBON-OXYGEN CYCLE OF THE UPPER

ATMOSPHERE? OR, IF THERE HAD BEEN SUCH PREDICTIONS, WHO WOULD HAVE BELIEVED THEM?

NEED FOR PERMANENT MACHINERY

MY THIRD GENERAL OBSERVATION IS THAT WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO TRANSLATE OUR PRESENT CONCERN INTO PERMANENT MACHINERY. THIS MEANS NEW LAWS, ALTERATIONS IN THE MARKET MECHANISM, INSTITUTIONAL RESTRUCTURING AND TRANSFORMED DECISION MAKING PROCESSES. IT MEANS, IN SHORT, THE CREATION OF A FRAMEWORK THAT WILL CONTINUE TO EXIST DESPITE THE VAGARIES OF PUBLIC ATTENTION.

WE ALL ARE TO BLAME

ONE FINAL OBSERVATION ABOUT THE QUEST FOR ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY: THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE THAT WE CAN AFFORD TO LET FALL PREY TO DEMONOLOGIES, OR CONSPIRACY THEORIES. AS THE PRESIDENT SAID IN HIS ENVIRONMENTAL MESSAGE:

"THE DAMAGE DONE TO OUR ENVIRONMENT HAS NOT BEEN THE WORK OF EVIL MEN, NOR HAS IT BEEN THE INEVITABLE BY-PRODUCT EITHER OF ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY OR OF GROWING POPULATION. IT RESULTS NOT FROM CHOICES MADE, OR FROM CHOICES NEGLECTED; NOT FROM MALIGN INTENTION, BUT FROM FAILURE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE FULL CONSEQUENCES OF OUR ACTIONS"

ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION IS A PRODUCT OF OUR CULTURE. IT ARISES OUT OF ATTITUDES SHARED BY NEARLY EVERYONE AND IS BEST ILLUSTRATED BY THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT: CONSUME. EXHAUST AVAILABLE RESOURCES AND MOVE ON TO VIRGIN LAND. BUT TODAY WE CANNOT GO WEST AND FIND VIRGIN LAND. WHAT IS REQUIRED IS NOT GOING TO BE CHEAP -- NOT IN TERMS OF DOLLARS -- NOT IN TERMS OF INTERESTS THAT MUST BE SACRIFICED. THERE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE TRADE-OFFS. INTERESTS AND CONVENIENCES MUST BE BALANCED ONE AGAINST ANOTHER -- AND ALL OF THEM AGAINST THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE ON THIS PLANET.

CRIME

NOW, I WOULD LIKE TO TURN TO ANOTHER FACTOR WHICH HAS A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE QUALITY OF OUR LIVES. IT IS NOT AIR OR WATER POLLUTION, BUT CRIMINAL POLLUTION, AND IT ERODES OUR COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATE LIVES JUST AS RAW SEWAGE AND BELCHING SMOKESTACKS DO OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

MANY BELIEVE THAT CRIME IS ONLY THE MAFIA OR HOODLUM GANGS. THIS IS NOT SO.

MANY AMERICANS ALSO THINK OF CRIME AS A VERY NARROW RANGE OF BEHAVIOR. IT IS NOT. AN ENORMOUS VARIETY OF ACTIVITIES MAKE UP OUR "CRIME PROBLEM". CRIME IS NOT JUST A TOUGH TEENAGER SNATCHING A LADY'S PURSE; IT IS A PROFESSIONAL THIEF STEALING CARS "TO ORDER". IT IS NOT ONLY A WELL-HEELED LOAN SHARK TAKING OVER A LEGITIMATE BUSINESS FOR ORGANIZED CRIME; IT IS A CORPORATION EXECUTIVE CONSPIRING WITH COMPETITORS TO FIX PRICES. THERE IS NO SINGLE FORMULA -- NO SINGLE THEORY OR GENERALIZATION THAT CAN DESCRIBE THE VAST RANGE OF BEHAVIOR CALLED CRIME, OR THOSE WHO COMMIT IT.

THE TASK OF CONTROLLING CRIME -- WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

MANY AMERICANS BELIEVE THAT CONTROLLING CRIME IS SOLELY  
THE TASK OF THE POLICE, THE COURTS, AND THE CORRECTION AGENCIES.  
THE FACT IS THAT CRIME CANNOT BE CONTROLLED WITHOUT PUBLIC INTEREST  
AND INVOLVEMENT. STATES AND COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY MUST  
JOIN WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN COMBATING CRIME.

SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN CRIME POSSIBLE

DESPITE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM TODAY, I BELIEVE THAT A SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN CRIME IS POSSIBLE IF THE FOLLOWING OBJECTIVES ARE VIGOROUSLY PURSUED.

FIRST, SOCIETY MUST SEEK TO PREVENT CRIME BEFORE IT HAPPENS BY ASSURING ALL AMERICANS A STAKE IN THE BENEFITS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE, BY STRENGTHENING LAW ENFORCEMENT, AND BY REDUCING CRIMINAL OPPORTUNITIES. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS UNDERTAKEN DEFINITE ACTION IN THIS DIRECTION, INCLUDING AN EFFORT TO DISCOVER HOW OUR COURTS CAN BEST SPEED THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

SECOND, SOCIETY'S DESIRE TO REDUCE CRIME WOULD BE BETTER SERVED IF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM DEVELOPED A FAR BROADER RANGE OF TECHNIQUES WITH WHICH TO DEAL WITH INDIVIDUAL OFFENDERS. FOR INSTANCE, EVERY COMMUNITY SHOULD CONSIDER ESTABLISHING A YOUTH SERVICES BUREAU -- A COMMUNITY-BASED CENTER TO WHICH JUVENILES THEMSELVES COULD TURN OR BE REFERRED BY THE POLICE, THE COURTS, PARENTS, SCHOOLS, AND SOCIAL AGENCIES FOR COUNSELING, EDUCATION, WORK OR RECREATION PROGRAMS, AND JOB PLACEMENT.

THIRD, OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM MUST ATTRACT MORE AND BETTER PEOPLE -- POLICE, PROSECUTORS, JUDGES, DEFENSE ATTORNEYS, PROBATION AND PAROLE OFFICERS, AND CORRECTIONS OFFICIALS WITH INCREASED KNOWLEDGE, EXPERTISE, INITIATIVE, AND UNQUESTIONED INTEGRITY. AS WITH THE ENVIRONMENT, INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE IS THE SUREST CATALYST FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS AT HAND. THE ATTRACTION OF QUALITY PERSONNEL TO THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM IS VITAL TO FUTURE PROGRESS.

FOURTH, LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, COURTS, AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS SHOULD BE PROVIDED WITH EXPANDED FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT AND PERSONNEL.

FINALLY, INDIVIDUALS, CIVIC AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, AND ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT MUST SUPPORT AND EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR PROGRESSIVE AND FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ROLE OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.

RESPECT FOR THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

ONE POINT ABOUT OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM DOES NOT CALL FOR CHANGE --  
IN FACT, THE NEED IS TO STRENGTHEN AND FORTIFY FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDES.  
I AM SPEAKING OF RESPECT FOR THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND RECOGNITION OF ITS  
AUTHORITY AS THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. THIS SYSTEM  
HAS RECENTLY BEEN SUBJECTED TO A FRONTAL ASSAULT UNPRECEDENTED IN OUR  
HISTORY.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM

AT THE TRIALS OF THE CHICAGO SEVEN, THE D.C. NINE, AND THE 13  
BLACK PANTHERS IN NEW YORK CITY, ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO DISRUPT THE PRO-  
CEDURES WHICH HAVE BEEN THE FIRMEST BASTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. OUR  
COURTS BECAME NOT SANCTUARIES OF DISPASSIONATE REASON, BUT CENTERS OF  
EMOTIONAL DEMONSTRATION. THE RULE OF PERSUASION WAS ABANDONED FOR A  
STRATEGY OF INTIMIDATION.

MY CONCERN IS NOT WITH THESE PARTICULAR TRIALS -- IT IS RATHER WITH THE EFFECT THAT SUCH DISRUPTION HAS ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

IF WE CONSIDER THE TIME IT HAS TAKEN THE REDRESS OF HUMAN GRIEVANCES TO PROGRESS FROM SAVAGE RETALIATION TO ORDERLY JURISPRUDENCE, THE DANGER BECOMES APPARENT. FIVE MILLION YEARS OF EVOLUTION PRECEDED THE PRESENT STATE OF CIVILIZATION. BARELY 2500 YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE EARLY LAWS OF MOSES AND HAMURABI ESTABLISHED THE FOUNDATIONS OF JUSTICE. ONLY SEVEN CENTURIES AGO, THE MAGNA CARTA SET FORTH THE PRINCIPLE THAT A NATION AND ITS LEADERS WOULD "DENY JUSTICE TO NONE, NOR DELAY IT."

THOSE WHO CONDEMN CIVILIZATION FOR NOT MOVING FAST ENOUGH ARE WRONG. AT THE SAME TIME THOSE WHO WOULD BE COMPLACENT ARE EQUALLY WRONG. NAZI GERMANY, COMMUNIST CHINA OR CASTRO'S CUBA PROVE THAT TEN CENTURIES OF CIVILIZED PROGRESS CAN BE HALTED OVERNIGHT.

THE SUPREME COURT'S UNANIMOUS DECISION LAST MONTH REAFFIRMED THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE TACTICS OF DISRUPTION AND CONFRONTATION HAVE NO PLACE IN THE CHAMBERS OF JUSTICE. MR. JUSTICE BLACK STATED IN HIS OPINION:

"IT WOULD DEGRADE OUR COUNTRY AND OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM TO PERMIT OUR COURTS TO BE BULLIED, INSULTED, AND THEIR ORDERLY PROGRESS THWARTED AND OBSTRUCTED BY DEFENDENTS BROUGHT BEFORE THEM CHARGED WITH CRIMES."

OURS IS A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, NOT MEN. INTERFERENCE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE JEOPARDIZES THE SECURITY OF EACH CITIZEN.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS PROPOSED A POSITIVE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT  
---- THE MOST SUPERB SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN HUMAN HISTORY. TODAY'S RADICAL THOUGHT IS SOLELY NEGATIVE AND NIHILISTIC IN CONTENT.

THOSE WHO ADVOCATE REVOLUTION AND THOSE WHO ENCOURAGE THEM  
PERVERT OUR NATIONAL IDEALS, AND IF WE ROMANTICIZE THESE REVOLUTION-  
ARIES, WE NEGATE THE EFFORTS OF RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS. CAPITULATION  
BEFORE THEIR TERRORISTIC TACTICS WOULD REND THE FABRIC OF OUR FREEDOM.

WE STAND AT AN EXTRAORDINARY MOMENT IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY --  
A MOMENT WHICH DEMANDS NOBILITY FROM ALL MEN.

WE ARE CHALLENGED TO EXERCISE CALM IN THE FACE OF MORAL OUT-  
RAGE. WE MUST ENFORCE THE LAW WITH EQUINAMITY AND DISREGARD THE PROVO-  
CATION OF PASSION.

THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD WILL NOT BE EASY. BUT NO ONE HAS  
EVER SAID THAT FREEDOM WAS EASILY WON OR HELD.