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REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

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FOR YEARS, THE GIFTS OF THE AMERICAN EARTH SEEMED BOUNDLESS  
AND INEXHAUSTIBLE.

THEY WERE THE SUBSTANCE OF OUR STRENGTH AND THE LANDSCAPE OF  
OUR ASPIRATION. THEIR IMMENSITY AND MYSTERY WERE A CHALLENGE TO US.

WE TESTED OURSELVES AGAINST THEM.

WE CHOPPED AND PLOWED OUR WAY ACROSS THE LAND ----- THREE  
THOUSAND MILES TO THE RIM OF THE PACIFIC.

IN TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS, WE SUBDUED A CONTINENT  
CREATED BY THE AGES.

AS THE FRONTIER WAS CLOSING, WE TURNED BACK ON OURSELVES  
AND PLUNGED HEADLONG INTO THE AGE OF MACHINES.

THE WILDERNESS MADE US TOUGH. NOW WE HAD MACHINES -- TOUGH  
MACHINES -- AND TOUGH MEN WHO KNEW HOW TO USE THEM.

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THE LAND WAS OUR CAPITAL. TO FEED OUR BRAWLING GROWTH, WE  
TORE INTO THE FORESTS -- MINED THE MOUNTAINS -- PLOWED THE WESTERN  
PLAINS -- HARNESSSED THE RIVERS.

WE BELIEVED IN GOOD HARD WORK. A MAN WAS SOMEBODY WHO DID  
A MAN'S WORK.

WE RACED FROM THE AGE OF DEVELOPMENT INTO THE AGE OF ANXIETY.  
OUR CITIES, UNCONTROLLED AND UNPLANNED, BEGAN TO MELT ONE INTO THE  
OTHER.

PEOPLE -- MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE.

MORE PEOPLE -- MORE CONCRETE -- MORE TRAFFIC -- MORE MIRACLES  
OF PROGRESS.

IN PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION WE ACHIEVED A KIND OF GREATNESS.

BUT AT WHAT COST!!!!

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THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

JUST AS THE AMERICAN DREAM SEEMED WITHIN REACH, WE FOUND  
THE LIMITS OF THE AMERICAN EARTH.

NOW EVERY MAJOR AMERICAN CITY IS AFFLICTED WITH AIR POLLU-  
TION. EVERY MAJOR AMERICAN RIVER SYSTEM HAS POISON IN IT.

A THIRD OF OUR FRESH WATER LAKES ARE FILTHY.

SO HEAVY IS THE AIR'S CARGO OF DIRT THAT THE CLEANSING WINDS  
OF NORTH AMERICA ARE CONTAMINATED.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION TRAVEL WITHOUT PASSPORT AROUND THE  
GLOBE.

IN THE BEGINNING, WE HAD SO MUCH NATURAL WEALTH THAT IT  
SEEMED WE COULD NEVER USE IT ALL.

WE GREW CARELESS AND WASTEFUL. WE EMBRACED EVERY TECHNICAL  
ADVANCE AS PROGRESS.

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WE TOOK FOR GRANTED THE ABUNDANCE OF NATURE, AND FAILED TO  
SEE HOW FRAGILE IT REALLY WAS.

WE TURNED OUR BACKS ON OUR RIVERS AND LAKES ---- MADE THEM  
SEWERS AND LET THEM DECAY.

OUR SUPPLY OF FRESH WATER IS ENORMOUS, BUT SO IS OUR NEED.  
FIFTY-SIX MILLION GALLONS OF WATER ARE REQUIRED TO SUSTAIN THE LIFE  
OF EVERY AMERICAN -- AND EVERY EIGHT SECONDS A NEW AMERICAN IS BORN.

AND THIS BRINGS US TO THE PROBLEM -- AND COMMITMENT -- FACING  
US TODAY ---- OUR COMMITMENT TO SAVE THE ENVIRONMENT. THIS EFFORT  
LINKS US WITH THE FUTURE, AND TO THE PEOPLE OF THE FUTURE -- TODAY'S  
YOUNG.



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YOUTH

AMERICA'S YOUTH IS A NATURAL RESOURCE THE NATION CAN NO MORE WASTE AND IGNORE THAN IT CAN SQUANDER ITS RIVERS, ITS MINERALS AND ITS AIR.

I RESPECT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE -- FOR THEIR CAPACITY TO REEXAMINE EVERYTHING AND TO TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT LIFE AND ITS VALUES.

THIS, TO ME, IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT.

THE TEST OF SOCIETY IS HOW IT RESPONDS TO THIS REEXAMINATION BY ITS YOUTH.

I DO NOT AGREE WITH SOME OF THE VIEWS BEING EXPRESSED BY THE YOUNGER GENERATION TODAY, BUT I TAKE THEM VERY SERIOUSLY, AND HONOR THEIR MOTIVES.

IT IS NOT JUST A QUESTION OF DEFENDING THEIR RIGHT -- YOUR RIGHT -- OF DISSENT. IT IS A QUESTION OF WHETHER WE RESPECT YOU ENOUGH TO WEIGH YOUR OPINIONS, DISSENTING AND OTHERWISE, AND TO TAKE THE TIME TO LISTEN AND TO BE READY TO LEARN AND TO CHANGE.

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ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF DISSENT IS THAT IT IS ESSENTIALLY  
NEGATIVE. THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE WILL VERY RARELY RALLY TO A NEG-  
ATIVE IDEA. THEY LOOK FOR A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE.

THIS IS THE REASON THAT MUCH OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IS  
MOVING INTO THE POLITICAL PROCESS. I WELCOME IT AND BELIEVE IT  
CAN BE HELPFUL.

YOU CANNOT EXPECT OVERNIGHT SUCCESS IN RESHAPING THE WORLD  
TO YOUR LIKING. WITH SOME VICTORY WILL COME A GOOD MEASURE OF SET-  
BACKS AND REVERSES.

BUT BEFORE THE END OF THIS DECADE, MORE THAN HALF OUR POPU-  
LATION WILL BE UNDER 25 YEARS OF AGE. YOUR GENERATION WILL WIELD  
INFLUENCE, POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY UNKNOWN IN PREVIOUS ERAS OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY.

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THE MOOD OF THE YOUNG

IN RECENT WEEKS THERE HAS BEEN A MAJOR SHIFT IN THE MOOD OF AMERICA'S YOUTH.

SINCE THE KENT STATE, [REDACTED], AND JACKSON TRAGEDIES, A NEW SOMBERNESS HAS ENTERED THE CAMPUS SCENE, AS WELL AS THE LIVES OF MANY NON-STUDENTS.

MANY STUDENTS FIND THE COURSES THEY ARE TAKING NO LONGER INTERESTING BECAUSE THEY ARE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE ISSUES FACING THE COUNTRY. MANY YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE JUST BEGINNING THEIR LIVES IN THE COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND PROFESSIONAL WORLD HAVE BECOME DISTURBED AND CONCERNED WITH PRESSING TRENDS AND EVENTS.

WHICH WAY WILL THEY TURN?

WHICH WAY CAN THEY TURN?



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THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS AND CONCERNED YOUNG PEOPLE CAME IN FORCE TO WASHINGTON, AND THE FACT THAT VIOLENCE WAS NEITHER THE PURPOSE NOR THE RESULT OF THEIR DEMONSTRATIONS WAS ONE MORE INDICATION OF THE MATURITY AND SERIOUSNESS OF OUR YOUTH.

BUT I DO NOT WISH TO DWELL EXCESSIVELY ON THE GOOD BEHAVIOR OF MOST OF THOSE STUDENTS. ALEXANDER DUMAS ONCE REMARKED THAT THERE IS NO GREATER INSULT THAN TO PRAISE A MAN FOR DOING HIS DUTY. SO I SHALL NOT TAKE THE RISK, AS HAVE SOME, OF INSULTING THE DEMONSTRATORS WHO DID THEIR DUTY BY MAINTAINING THE PEACE.

MOST THOUGHTFUL PEOPLE REALIZE THAT TODAY'S YOUTH, WITH A VERY FEW EXCEPTIONS, DO NOT WANT TO BE PUSHED INTO THE CORNER OF VIOLENCE. PEACE HAS BEEN MORE THAN YOUR MOTTO -- AS IT IS YOUR INSTINCT.



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THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE MOST RECENT WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATION WAS THAT NEW LINES OF COMMUNICATION WERE OPENED.

THE TRAGEDY WILL BE IF THEY DRY UP, THROUGH IMPATIENCE OR STUBBORNNESS.

UNFORTUNATELY, THERE ARE SOME IN OUR SOCIETY WHO HAVE A COMPULSION TO DESTROY AND WHO RELISH VIOLENCE AND ANARCHY. BUT THEY ARE IN A DISTINCT MINORITY, AND THE JERRY RUBINS AND ABBIE HOFFMANS DO NOT -- AND NEVER WILL -- SPEAK FOR A REPRESENTATIVE SEGMENT OF YOUNG AMERICA.

THE MOST DAMAGING ATTACK WHICH COULD BE MADE ON OUR YOUNG WOULD BE TO LABEL THE ENTIRE YOUTH COMMUNITY AS ANTI-PATRIOTIC.

MOST OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE LOVE AMERICA.

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YOU LOVE THE DREAM THIS NATION IS BASED ON AND HONOR THOSE WHO HAVE DIED TO KEEP US FREE.

BUT YOU ARE NOT CONTENT WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE. YOU HAVE NEW VISIONS FOR OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD AND ENTERTAIN IDEALS WHICH YOU REFUSE TO SACRIFICE.

WHILE REVERING THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND GLORIES OF THE PAST, YOUR PATRIOTISM ALSO LOOKS BEYOND THESE TO THE FUTURE.

IN EFFECT, YOU ARE THE VOICE OF THE FUTURE.

THOSE WHO STRETCH OUR OLD CONCEPTS, WHO MAKE US REACH FOR EXCELLENCE, WHO DARE US TO USE OUR IMAGINATIONS -- THOSE ARE, AND ALWAYS HAVE BEEN, SOME OF OUR GREATEST PATRIOTS.

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APPROACHES TO THE ENVIRONMENT

THE USE WHICH YOU MAKE OF YOUR INCREASED IMPORTANCE WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE PROGRESS OF OUR COUNTRY IN THE COMING YEARS. THE DIRECTION YOU TAKE AND THE TONE YOU SET WILL EXERT A PROFOUND INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS AND POLICIES.

THE INTEREST YOUTH HAS SHOWN IN THE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT GIVES SOME IDEA OF THE AFFIRMATIVE AND POSITIVE RESULTS WHICH YOU CAN HELP ACCOMPLISH.

THE MOST URGENT NEED IN THIS AND MANY OTHER ENDEAVORS IS FOR A BIG ENOUGH PERSPECTIVE, AND THE OPTIMISTIC BELIEF THAT SOMETHING CAN BE DONE IF WE DARE TO THINK IN ENTIRELY NEW WAYS. THIS PERSPECTIVE, OPTIMISM, AND A VIVID SENSE OF URGENCY HAS BEEN CONTRIBUTED TO OUR ENVIRONMENTAL EFFORTS BY THE YOUNG.

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THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS DEMANDS A DRASTIC SHIFT IN MAN'S ENTIRE WAY OF DOING THINGS. WHAT IS NEEDED IS NOTHING LESS THAN THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA. THE AGE OF SECURITY MUST GIVE WAY TO THE AGE OF OPPORTUNITY.

WHEN MAN FIRST APPEARED ON THIS PLANET SOME TWO MILLION YEARS AGO, HE WAS NEARLY HELPLESS IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT. THE BEAUTIES OF NATURE WERE OVERSHADOWED BY THE TERRORS OF NATURE. SELF-PROTECTION WAS THE PRIMARY NEED.

THIS DRIVE HAS REMAINED THE OVERRIDING CONCERN OF THE HUMAN RACE. SELF-DEFENSE HAS ESCALATED FROM THE CLUB TO THE CHINA WALL TO THE MASSIVE MACHINERY WHICH NOW STANDS POISED AND READY TO DESTROY ALL LIFE ON EARTH.



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AS SOCIETIES DEVELOPED, THE SECURITY FUNCTION WAS DELEGATED TO A SMALL FACTION OF THE COMMUNITY. MOST PEOPLE WERE ABLE TO SPEND THEIR TIME CREATING AND PRODUCING.

THE PRICE OF PROTECTION, HOWEVER, WAS HIGH; IN THIS COUNTRY ALONE, WE NOW SPEND BILLIONS UPON BILLIONS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

CLEARLY, SOME REARRANGING OF THIS NATION'S PRIORITIES IS IN ORDER.

IF WE CAN MAKE THE SHIFT FROM SECURITY TO OPPORTUNITY, OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD DEALING WITH THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS WILL CHANGE.

OUR TASK IS GREAT. WE MUST REPAIR THE DAMAGE OF FIFTY YEARS OF SPECTACULAR, BLISSFUL AND SOMETIMES BLIND INDUSTRIAL, MUNICIPAL AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

AFTER WE CATCH UP, WE MUST KEEP UP.

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IF WE APPROACH THE TASK RELUCTANTLY, IT WILL NOT BE DONE WELL.

BUT IF WE TAKE THE CHALLENGE AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW THAT MAN HAS THE CAPACITY AND THE WILL TO BE A RESPONSIBLE STEWARD OF HIS NATURAL HABITAT, WE CAN DO A JOB OF WHICH FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL BE PROUD.

IN THE PAST, OUR VALUES HAVE BEEN STRICTLY MONETARY. NEW CRITERIA ARE NEEDED WHICH CAN PUT AN APPROPRIATE VALUE ON NATURAL BEAUTY AND RECREATION.

IT WOULD ALSO BE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO LEAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARING FOR OUR ENVIRONMENT ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF GOVERNMENT.

FORTUNATELY, THIS IS NOT THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE IN THE COUNTRY, AND THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUALS AND SCORES OF INDUSTRIES ARE BEGINNING TO TAKE SPONTANEOUS INITIATIVE.

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I AM PROUD OF THE IMPETUS THE YOUTH OF OUR COUNTRY HAS GIVEN TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL CAUSE. SOME PEOPLE WRITE IT OFF AS A FAD, OR A PHASE WHICH WILL PASS.

THEY ARE MISTAKEN, FOR THIS IS DEEPER THAN A CAUSE OR A MOVEMENT. IT IS THE STIRRING OF THE SOUL OF A GENERATION.

THE VALUES OF THOSE WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE ARE BEING CHALLENGED; THE REPLY HAS BEEN, "WHAT IS YOUR ALTERNATIVE?"

YOUR ALTERNATIVE, OUR ALTERNATIVE, IS A NEW WAY OF LIFE, BASED ON OPPORTUNITY AND THE APPRECIATION FOR THE RICHES OF THE EARTH WHICH WE HAVE INHERITED.

A NEW LIFE STYLE IS EMERGING THAT CARES FOR NATURE, AS WELL AS FOR MAN, AND THAT CARES FOR MAN IN A WHOLLY NEW WAY.

WE ARE NO LONGER JUST INTERESTED IN MEETING MAN'S MATERIAL NEEDS AND COMFORTS.



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WE ARE COMMITTED TO CREATING A COMMUNITY, A WORLD, IN WHICH THE FINEST SIDES OF MAN'S NATURE, HIS GREATEST TALENTS AND ABILITIES CAN FLOURISH.

I EXPECT AMERICA TO FULFILL THIS COMMITMENT IN THIS DECADE. AND I EXPECT TODAY'S CONCERNED AND COMMITTED YOUNG PEOPLE TO LEAD THE EFFORT BEHIND THIS COMMITMENT, AS YOU WILL LEAD AND VITALIZE OTHER AREAS OF CONCERN AND IMPORTANCE TO YOUR COUNTRY.

I SPOKE EARLIER OF THE NEED TO SHIFT FROM A NATIONAL EMPHASIS ON SECURITY TO A CONCENTRATION ON OPPORTUNITY. BUT BEFORE WE CAN UNDERTAKE THIS CHANGE, OUR SECURITY MUST BE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED. IT MUST BE THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH OUR OTHER PROGRESS AND RESTRUCTURING TAKES PLACE.



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IN THIS COMPLEX WORLD, SECURITY MEANS MORE THAN MERELY TERRITORIAL SECURITY FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT MEANS THE TERRITORIAL AND GOVERNMENTAL INTEGRITY OF MANY NATIONS AND PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD. IT MEANS A CHANCE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND FREEDOM FROM AGGRESSION IN EUROPE, IN AFRICA, AND IN ASIA -- AS WELL AS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THESE REALITIES HAVE LED THE UNITED STATES INTO A PROMINENT AND AT TIMES DIFFICULT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. BUT THIS IS A NECESSARY ROLE AND ONE UPON WHICH THE WHOLE WORLD'S FUTURE DEPENDS.

IN THE 1950'S, WE ESTABLISHED A STABLE SITUATION IN EUROPE THROUGH NATO AND THE HELP OF OUR ALLIES.

BUT, IN THE 1960'S, AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA LED US INTO DEEPER AND WIDER DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN THE AFFAIRS OF THAT REGION.

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THE WAR IN INDOCHINA IS THE RESULT OF THAT POLICY. WHILE THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ASIA TO OUR INTERESTS AND THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE, THE ERROR OF OUR PAST POLICY HAS BEEN SEEN, AND A NEW AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD ASIA HAS BEEN FORMULATED AND ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE ESSENCE OF THIS POLICY IS THAT WE WILL ASSIST OTHER NATIONS TO DEFEND THEIR FREEDOM. BUT THEY MUST ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF COMBAT, FOR WE WILL NOT FIGHT THEIR WARS FOR THEM.

THE NIXON DOCTRINE, OR THE GUAM DOCTRINE, HAS THREE MAJOR POINTS:

FIRST, WE WILL HONOR OUR TREATY OBLIGATIONS.

SECOND, WE WILL SHIELD A NATION, THE SURVIVAL OF WHICH IS VITAL TO OUR SECURITY, IF IT IS THREATENED BY A NUCLEAR POWER.

THIRD, IN OTHER CASES OF AGGRESSION, WE WILL FURNISH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH IS REQUESTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR TREATY COMMITMENTS, BUT MANPOWER FOR DEFENSE OF THESE COUNTRIES

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IS THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THE THREATENED NATION.

#### 1970'S AND THE REALITIES OF ASIA

THIS POLICY IS THE BASIS UPON WHICH THE PRESIDENT HAS FORMULATED HIS VIETNAMIZATION PROGRAM AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM. THESE PROGRAMS ARE PROVING EFFECTIVE AND, WHEN COMPLETED, THEY WILL INSURE THE SECURITY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AS WELL. AT THAT POINT, EVEN GREATER EMPHASIS CAN BE PLACED ON OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICAN LIFE.

#### CONCLUSION

SO TODAY, AS YOU RECEIVE YOUR DIPLOMAS, YOUR CHARTERS OF CHALLENGE AND RESPONSIBILITY, LET ME REMIND YOU THAT YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS YOU AND THE ENERGY AND THE ENTHUSIASM OF YOUR YOUTHFULNESS.

THE ENVIRONMENT AWAITS YOU -- NOT ONLY THE ENVIRONMENT OF WATER, AIR AND LAND, BUT THE ENVIRONMENT OF OUR GREAT, EXCITING LIFE. THERE IS MUCH WORK TO BE DONE, AND YOU ARE THE ONES TO DO IT.