

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

CONVOCATION DAY  
JOHNSON COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGE  
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS  
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1970

I AM PLEASED TO JOIN YOU TODAY IN YOUR CONVOCATION OPENING THE SECOND YEAR OF THE JOHNSON COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGE. AS STUDENTS, YOU ARE EMBARKING ON A NEW EXPERIENCE THAT WILL PREPARE YOU FOR THE RAPID SOCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN OUR NATION. AS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, YOU ARE PART OF THE EXPLOSIVE GROWTH OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES THAT PROMISES TO BE THE CHIEF MEANS OF APPROACHING UNIVERSAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES

COMMUNITY COLLEGES NOW NUMBER OVER A THOUSAND, ALMOST DOUBLE THE 1960 COUNT. ENROLLMENT HAS BEEN GROWING EVEN MORE RAPIDLY. TODAY, TWO-YEAR COLLEGES SERVE APPROXIMATELY TWO MILLION STUDENTS -- THREE TIMES THAT IN 1960. IN FACT, LAST YEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME, MORE FRESHMEN ENTERED JUNIOR COLLEGES THAN ENTERED FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS. YOUR COLLEGE

*12/11/70  
B. Dole  
G. W. T. J. T.*

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EXEMPLIFIES THIS TREND. JOHNSON COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGE GREW FROM  
1400 STUDENTS LAST YEAR TO AN ANTICIPATED ENROLLMENT OF 2500 THIS  
SCHOOL YEAR.

ATTACKS ON THE SYSTEM

YOU ARE ENTERING A NEW SCHOOL TERM AT A DIFFICULT TIME IN OUR HISTORY. FROM THE LEFT, WE HEAR THAT THE SYSTEM IS CORRUPT AND IT MUST BE DESTROYED. FROM THE RIGHT, IT IS "TROUBLE-MAKERS" AND "OUTSIDE AGITATORS" WHO ARE TO BLAME. NEITHER EXTREME HELPS TO UNDERSTAND EVENTS. THEY SIMPLY PERPETUATE HALF-TRUTHS. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT IN VIETNAM BECAUSE THE SOCIETY IS CORRUPT. NOR ARE "OUTSIDE AGITATORS" THE SOLE CAUSE OF STUDENT UNREST. INDEED, THE STUDENTS' REAL COMPLAINT IS WITH THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT WE AS ADULTS PREACH AND WHAT WE DO. WHAT THE STUDENT FINDS IS A GULF BETWEEN THE IDEAL AND THE REAL, BETWEEN THE UNSOLVED PROBLEMS OF THE PRESENT AND THE HISTORICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST.



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BUT STUDENTS HAVE NO MONOPOLY ON WISDOM. WAR, HUNGER, POVERTY, DISCRIMINATION, ARE NOT NEW TO MANKIND. IT IS ONLY THAT YOUNG PEOPLE THROUGHOUT HISTORY HAVE BEEN LESS LIKELY TO COMPROMISE WITH INJUSTICE. THEY HAVE NO PATIENCE WITH THE INABILITY OF SOCIETY TO REMEDY ITS DEFICIENCIES.

#### COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES THEMSELVES HAVE BECOME THE VICTIM OF STUDENT RESENTMENT, AS IF THE PROBLEMS OF OUR SOCIETY WERE SOMEHOW CAUSED BY THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY AND AS IF THAT COMMUNITY SHOULD BE PUNISHED FOR HAVING FAILED TO SOLVE THEM. EARLIER THIS YEAR AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY, A BUILDING WAS BURNED, CONTAINING THE LIFE WORKS OF A GROUP OF VISITING SCHOLARS, INCLUDING THE MAN REPUTED TO BE INDIA'S GREATEST ANTHROPOLOGIST. THIS AUGUST, AN EXPLOSION DESTROYED THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN'S MATHEMATICS CENTER AND KILLED A PROFESSOR WHO WAS WORKING IN A LABORATORY.

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THIS TYPE OF MINDLESS DESTRUCTION HAS NO PLACE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY. THOSE WHO SEEK CHANGE THROUGH SUCH METHODS OPENLY INVITE REPRESSION. A FREE SOCIETY IS, AFTER ALL, BASED ON THE TENET THAT ITS CITIZENS WORK THEIR WILL THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. AS THE 17TH CENTURY'S JOHN LOCKE, THE PHILOSOPHICAL FATHER OF THE "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE", WROTE: "WHENEVER LAW ENDS, TYRANNY BEGINS....."

AND, CERTAINLY, AS ADULTS, WE CANNOT ASK OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TO SERVE MANY MASTERS -- GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND THE CHURCH, AND PROTECT ITS BASIC INTEGRITY. WE CANNOT ASK OUR CAMPUSES TO BE CENTERS OF INNOVATION, CRITICISM, AND CREATIVITY AND THEN TURN ON THEM WITH FRUSTRATION AND ANGER WHEN THEY BECOME FOCAL POINTS FOR THE CONFLICTS AND TENSION THAT ARE PRESENT IN OUR COUNTRY.



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SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE AND BALANCE

IN A LARGER SENSE, WE MUST ALL CULTIVATE A SENSE OF PERSPECTIVE AND BALANCE. THE PARENT MUST REMEMBER THAT STUDENTS ARE NOT SOME SORT OF ALIENS TRAVELING ON FALSE PASSPORTS -- BUT OUR OWN CHILDREN, THE PRODUCTS OF OUR LAWS, OUR VALUES, AND OUR CUSTOMS. THE STUDENT MUST REALIZE THAT IN MANY IMPORTANT RESPECTS, CONDITIONS HAVE IMPROVED IN OUR SOCIETY. THERE IS LESS POVERTY NOW THAN EVER BEFORE. HOUSING, INCLUDING THAT OF THE POOR, IS IMPROVING RAPIDLY. AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, ONLY ONE CHILD IN FIFTEEN WENT BEYOND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL; NOW MOST CHILDREN FINISH HIGH SCHOOL. THE TREATMENT OF RACIAL AND OTHER MINORITY GROUPS IS CONSPICUOUSLY BETTER.

EDWARD C. BANFIELD OF HARVARD EXPLAINS THAT "THE IMPROVEMENTS IN PERFORMANCE, GREAT AS THEY HAVE BEEN, HAVE NOT KEPT PACE WITH RISING EXPECTATIONS. IN OTHER WORDS, ALTHOUGH THINGS HAVE BEEN GETTING BETTER ABSOLUTELY, THEY HAVE BEEN GETTING WORSE RELATIVE TO WHAT WE THINK THEY SHOULD BE." WE ARE LIKE THE PROVERBIAL MECHANICAL RABBIT AT THE RACE-TRACK, WHICH IS SET TO KEEP JUST AHEAD OF THE DOGS NO MATTER HOW FAST THEY MAY RUN.

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WHILE WE MUST SET OUR SIGHTS HIGH, AT THE SAME TIME, WE MAY MISTAKE FAILURE TO PROGRESS AS FAST AS WE WOULD LIKE FOR FAILURE TO PROGRESS AT ALL. WE MUST NOT PANIC AND MAKE ILL-CONSIDERED JUDGMENTS ON THE BASIC STRENGTH OF OUR SYSTEM OR ITS ABILITY TO FILL IN THE GAP BETWEEN THE REAL AND THE IDEAL.

#### INDOCHINA WAR

AN ISSUE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO STUDENTS AND, IN FACT, ALL AMERICANS, IS THE VIETNAM WAR. AFTER AMERICAN TROOPS WERE SENT INTO CAMBODIA, NUMEROUS ACADEMIC DELEGATIONS -- STUDENT AND FACULTY -- CAME TO WASHINGTON. SCORES OF KANSANS CAME TO MY OFFICE FOR LONG AND SEARCHING CONVERSATIONS. THEY EXPRESSED CONCERN WITH THE FUTURE COURSE OF OUR POLICIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. I JOINED THEM IN THAT CONCERN -- AS I DO NOW. OUR NATION STANDS AT THE END OF ONE ERA AND AT THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. THREE TIMES IN THE LAST THREE DECADES, THIS COUNTRY HAS SENT TROOPS INTO BATTLE ON THE ASIAN MAINLAND. BUT WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION



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OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE, THE UNITED STATES IS ASSUMING A NEW ROLE IN THE PACIFIC. OUR FRIENDS WILL BE ENCOURAGED AND ASSISTED IN BUILDING A PACIFIC COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS NO MORE OR LESS THAN AN EQUAL PARTNER.

#### BACKGROUND OF ASIAN COMMITMENT

WESTERN INVOLVEMENT IN ASIA BEGAN EARLY IN THE 16TH CENTURY WHEN THE PORTUGUESE WRESTED CONTROL OF THE INDIAN OCEAN FROM THE ARABS. ~~IN~~ *W*  
~~1544~~ COMMODORE PERRY OPENED JAPAN TO WESTERN INFLUENCE. AMERICA MOVED TO THE PACIFIC AS THE PEOPLE OF OUR NATION SETTLED THE WEST. BUT AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE EUROPEAN NATIONS BEGAN WITHDRAWING FROM ASIA. AS THE UNITED STATES EMERGED AS THE LEADING WESTERN NATION, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO FILL THE VACUUM LEFT BY THE DEPARTURE OF THE COLONIAL POWERS.

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WE PREVENTED THE COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF KOREA, BUT ONLY HISTORIANS OF ANOTHER ERA CAN JUDGE WHETHER THE UNITED STATES HAS WON OR LOST THE INDOCHINESE WAR. CLEARLY, DESPITE THE COMMITMENT OF MORE THAN A MILLION TROOPS, A MILITARY VICTORY HAS NOT BEEN ACHIEVED. WHETHER SUFFICIENT TIME HAS BEEN PURCHASED TO PREVENT COMMUNIST COMINATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA REMAINS TO BE SEEN. WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT THE AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL OF ITS FIGHTING UNITS HAS BEGUN AND IT IS IRREVERSIBLE, GIVEN THE PRESENT SENTIMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

#### IMPORTANCE OF ASIA

AS A PEOPLE, WE HAVE NEVER BEEN CAPABLE OF THE SUBTLETIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. WE LIKE OUR VICTORIES TOTAL AND THEIR SURRENDER UNCONDITIONAL. MANY CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY WE JUST DID NOT GET IN AND WIN THE WAR AND GET OUT. THE FRUSTRATION BORN OF OUR CONTINUED PRESENCE IN INDOCHINA HAS LED SOME TO ADVOCATE A NEO-ISOLATIONISM. THE HATFIELD-MC GOVERN AMENDMENT, DEFEATED LAST TUESDAY IN THE SENATE,



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WAS A PROPOSAL TO IMPOSE A UNILATERAL DEADLINE FOR WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA. BUT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT CEASE TO BE AN ASIAN POWER. FIVE OF OUR STATES TOUCH THE WATERS OF THE PACIFIC. WE ARE COMMITTED BY TREATY TO NO LESS THAN 18 ASIAN NATIONS. IN AN ECONOMIC SENSE, WE CANNOT ABDICATE AN INTEREST IN A CONTINENT WHICH CONTAINS 60 PERCENT OF THE HUMAN RACE AND MANY OF THE RAW MATERIALS NEEDED FOR THE CONTINUED HEALTH OF OUR ECONOMY. WE CAN NO MORE TURN OUR BACKS ON ASIA THAN WE CAN ON EUROPE OR THE MIDDLE EAST.

#### MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

PARTICULARLY, AT THIS TIME, WE MUST CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE AN INTEREST IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. AS PRESIDENT NIXON POINTED OUT, "THE MIDDLE EAST IS TERRIBLY DANGEROUS. IT IS LIKE THE BALKANS BEFORE WORLD WAR I, WHERE THE TWO SUPER POWERS COULD BE DRAWN INTO A CONFRONTATION THAT NEITHER OF THEM WANTS....." FOR THIS REASON, THE SECRETARY OF STATE PROPOSED A PLAN THAT WOULD MAINTAIN THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND

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ALLOW THE PARTIES TO BEGIN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER AGONIZING DISCUSSION BY THE CONCERNED PARTIES, A CEASEFIRE WAS AGREED TO AND TALKS ARE GOING ON UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE UNITED STATES MUST RETAIN AN INTEREST IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

FULBRIGHT'S PROPOSAL

HOWEVER, A PROPOSAL BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT WITH A U. S. TREATY GUARANTEEING THE INDEPENDENCE AND INTEGRITY OF ISRAEL, IS UNREALISTIC AND ASSUMES THE PRESENT TALKS WILL FAIL. SUCH A PROPOSAL WOULD NOT WORK. THE ISRAELIS WILL NOT ACCEPT IT AS IT REQUIRES A COMPLETE RESTORATION OF THE PRE-1967 BOUNDARIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IT WILL NOT WORK BECAUSE ISRAEL WILL BE HESITANT TO PUT HER HOPES FOR SURVIVAL ON A UNITED STATES COMMITMENT, A RELUCTANCE DUE IN PART TO THE EFFORTS OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND OTHERS TO EXTRICATE THE UNITED STATES FROM ALL WORLD COMMITMENTS.



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THE COMPLEX AND DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE GIVEN EVERY POSSIBLE CHANCE FOR SURVIVAL. PRIOR TO THE CEASEFIRE, THERE WAS NO HOPE FOR AN END TO THE ESCALATING CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARAB NATIONS AND ISRAEL. WE NOW HAVE HOPE, ALTHOUGH AS THE PRESIDENT SAID, THE ARAB-JEWISH DIFFERENCES GO BACK "FOR THOUSANDS OF YEARS" AND SUCH "DEEP PASSIONS..... ARE NOT SETTLED QUICKLY.....". TO DISCOURAGE THE NEGOTIATIONS BY ASSUMING THEIR FAILURE DOES NO SERVICE FOR THE PARTIES OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THOSE WHO ARE SINCERELY INTERESTED IN A SETTLEMENT WOULD DO WELL TO CONSIDER THE DAMAGING INFLUENCE THEIR PROPOSALS AND STATEMENTS MIGHT HAVE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS.

#### VIETNAM CEASEFIRE

A SIMILAR CEASEFIRE MAY BE POSSIBLE IN VIETNAM. A BIPARTISAN GROUP OF SENATORS, INCLUDING MYSELF, ON TUESDAY OF THIS WEEK, WROTE THE PRESIDENT, SUGGESTING THAT DAVID BRUCE, OUR NEW AMBASSADOR AT THE PARIS PEACE TALKS, PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED STANDSTILL CEASEFIRE THROUGHOUT VIETNAM.

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THIS PROPOSAL WAS MEANT TO BE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION BY THE CONGRESS AND IN NO WAY IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE CONDUCT OF OUR VIETNAM PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. WE FELT IT WAS TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE A NEW PEACE INITIATIVE ---- ONE THAT HAD NOT BEEN CONSIDERED DURING PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. WE PROPOSED THAT THE CEASEFIRE SHOULD INCLUDE:

- (a) INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING MACHINERY TO OVERSEE THE CEASE-FIRE, PROTECTION OF MINORITIES AND WITHDRAWAL OF OUTSIDE FORCES;
- (b) CONDUCT FREE ELECTIONS SUPERVISED BY A MIXED ELECTORAL COMMISSION (GVN, NLF, AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS);
- (c) SAFEGUARDS TO ASSURE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY AND PRESS;
- (d) RELEASE OF POW'S;
- (e) ECONOMIC AND MEDICAL RELIEF.

ALL PARTIES AT THE PARIS PEACE TALKS HAVE PROPOSED ELECTIONS AS THE BASIS FOR SOLUTION OF THE WAR. BUT SUCH ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD AS LONG AS THE FIGHTING CONTINUES. A CEASEFIRE IS NECESSARY TO A POLITICAL SOLUTION, AND WOULD AID IN BREAKING THE IMPASSE ON NEGOTIATIONS.



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OF COURSE, OUR NATION'S PROBLEMS -- BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC -- WILL NEVER BE SOLVED -- ONCE AND FOR ALL -- AND FOR ALL TIME. UTOPIAS ARE HARD TO FIND. AS SOON AS ONE AGENDA IS RESOLVED, ANOTHER WILL EMERGE, AND YET ANOTHER. WITH THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR OR THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, OTHER CRISES WILL CHALLENGE OUR NATION.

BUT THERE IS AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE PLATEAU UPON WHICH WE OPERATE. WE MOVE FROM STRENGTH TO GREATER STRENGTH, FROM JUSTICE TO MORE NEARLY PERFECT JUSTICE. INDEED, THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR EXPECTATIONS AND THE CONTINUAL HEIGHTENING OF THESE EXPECTATIONS HAS BEEN THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE.

WHEN HISTORIANS WRITE OF THIS FANTASTIC AGE, THEY MAY SAY,  
WITH DICKENS:

IT WAS THE BEST OF TIMES, IT WAS THE WORST  
OF TIMES; EVERYTHING WAS OVER, AND YET EVERY-  
THING WAS JUST BEGINNING.

BUT WE MUST SAY:

WE WERE THERE -- AND WE WOULDN'T HAVE MISSED IT.  
OUR LIVES HAD MEANING. AND WE MADE A DIFFERENCE!