

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

INDIAN RIVER JUNIOR COLLEGE  
FORT PIERCE, FLORIDA  
THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1971

IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE AT INDIAN RIVER JUNIOR COLLEGE, ESPECIALLY SINCE I AM A DEEP BELIEVER IN THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES. AMERICA IS A LAND OF CONSTANT, RAPID CHANGE, AND BECAUSE WE MOVE SO FAST, WE SOMETIMES GO OVERBOARD IN A GIVEN DIRECTION BEFORE WE REALIZE HOW FAR THINGS HAVE GONE.

THIS HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY TRUE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION SINCE WORLD WAR II. THE G. I. BILL, THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY, AND THE "BABY BOOM" ALL COMBINED TO CREATE A TREMENDOUS, SUSTAINED DEMAND FOR POST-HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION. LITERALLY MILLIONS OF YOUNG AMERICANS WHO COULD NOT HAVE CONSIDERED COLLEGE IN THE PAST NOW HAD THE OPPORTUNITY AND THE DESIRE TO ATTEND IT.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN WAS THAT THE JOB MARKET BECAME INCREASINGLY COMPETITIVE, AND PLACED HIGHER EDUCATIONAL DEMANDS ON APPLICANTS. POSITIONS THAT ONCE REQUIRED A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA NOW REQUIRE A COLLEGE DEGREE, OR AT LEAST SEVERAL YEARS OF UNIVERSITY WORK.

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THE IMPACT ON THE EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS BEEN INEVITABLE. THE MAMMOTH INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF INCOMING STUDENTS HAS LED TO AN EMPHASIS ON SIZE AND GROWTH IN OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES THAT IS STILL WITH US.

PROBLEMS OF MASS EDUCATION

AND LIKE MANY TRENDS, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE IT BEGAN TO GET OUT OF HAND. WHEN WE LOOK AROUND THE COUNTRY TODAY AND EXAMINE THE CAMPUS TROUBLE SPOTS WHERE VIOLENCE HAS FLARED, WE OFTEN SEE INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTIONS THAT GREW TOO MUCH, TOO FAST.

THIS IS NOT TO IGNORE THE GREATER SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS BEHIND MUCH OF TODAY'S STUDENT UNREST. UNDENIABLY, A SIGNIFICANT PART CAN BE LAID AT THE DOOR OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND INEQUITIES OF SOCIETY AS A WHOLE ---- PROBLEMS OF WAR, POVERTY AND POLLUTION.

BUT, WHERE VIOLENCE HAS TRIUMPHED OVER REASON, AND WHERE DESTRUCTION HAS PREVAILED OVER POSITIVE ACTION, I BELIEVE THAT SOMETHING ELSE IS INVOLVED, TOO. EACH OF US, AFTER ALL, REACTS AND FORMS HIS JUDGMENTS LARGELY



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ON THE BASIS OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. WHEN, IN OUR OWN DAILY LIVES, WE SEE THE SYSTEM MEETING HUMAN NEEDS, AND RESPONDING TO LEGITIMATE DEMANDS, THIS AFFECTS OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD NOT JUST OUR IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS, BUT SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.

IN A NEGATIVE SENSE, THE SAME THING IS TRUE OF THE STUDENT WHO ATTENDS A VAST, IMPERSONAL UNIVERSITY THAT SEEMS TO HAVE NO INTEREST IN CHANGE AND NO CONCERN FOR THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT.

#### DANGEROUS GENERALITIES

IF THIS IS HOW IT IS IN THE UNIVERSITY, THE TEMPTATION FOR HIM IS TO DRAW THE SAME CONCLUSION ABOUT SOCIETY AS A WHOLE -- AND THERE IS NO DENYING THAT SOME OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE DONE JUST THAT.

WHETHER THEIR REACTION TAKES THE FORM OF APATHETIC "DROPPING OUT", OR THE MORE SINISTER, DESTRUCTIVE OUTLET OF LAWLESS VIOLENCE, EACH OF THEM REPRESENTS A LOSS TO THE REST OF US, AND A BLOW TO PROGRESS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS.

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YET, IT IS A NATURAL SIDE EFFECT OF BIG, IMPERSONAL EDUCATION, JUST AS IT IS A NATURAL SIDE EFFECT OF BIG, IMPERSONAL GOVERNMENT.

ONE OF THE GREAT IRONIES OF OUR TIME IS THAT TODAY'S STUDENTS ARE PROTESTING THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY AND RESPONSIBILITY THAT ARISE FROM MASSIVE, CENTRALLY-RUN EDUCATION SYSTEMS. IT IS IRONIC BECAUSE MANY OF THE POINTS THEY RAISE ARE THE SAME AS THOSE USED BY SO-CALLED CONSERVATIVES AND REPUBLICANS WHO HAVE BEEN OPPOSING OVER-CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT FOR THE SAME REASONS FOR MANY YEARS.

#### COMMON IDEALS

NOW I AM NOT SAYING THAT THIS MAKES IDEOLOGICAL SOUL BROTHERS OUT OF THE GERITOL SET AND THE PEPSI GENERATION, BUT I AM SAYING THAT THE IDEAS THAT BOTH FACTIONS REPRESENT PLACE A PREMIUM ON PERSONAL FREEDOM AND SHARE A HEALTHY SUSPICION OF CENTRALIZED, BUREAUCRATIC POWER. WHEN THIS IS MATCHED BY A STRONG SENSE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY -- THE RECOGNITION THAT SOCIETY AND FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS HAVE RIGHTS AS IMPORTANT AS OUR OWN, AND EQUALLY INVIOABLE -- I BELIEVE THE RESULT IS A GOOD CITIZEN, WHETHER



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IT TAKES THE FORM OF A COLLEGE STUDENT, A MIDDLE-AGED BLUE COLLAR WORKER, OR A LITTLE OLD LADY IN TENNIS SHOES.

FREEDOM REQUIRES RESPONSIBILITY

THE LESSON FOR ALL OF US LIES IN THIS LINKING OF PERSONAL FREEDOM WITH PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER IS MEANINGLESS. AND THE SECOND ANYONE ABUSES HIS FREEDOM BY VIOLATING ANOTHER'S RIGHTS --- SHUTTING DOWN A CLASSROOM, DESTROYING A BUILDING OR DISRUPTING A CITY --- THE SECOND THAT HAPPENS, THEN PERSONAL FREEDOM HAS GIVEN WAY TO PERSONAL TYRANNY.

IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO OVERSIMPLIFY THIS LESSON. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME OVERWHELMINGLY GOOD RESULTS FROM THE MASSIVE GROWTH OF THE POST-WAR ERA. WE HAVE TURNED OUT MORE CREATIVE THINKERS, MORE WRITERS, ENGINEERS, ARTISTS, DOCTORS, EDUCATORS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND LAWYERS THAN EVER BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY.

WE HAVE REALIZED THE DREAM OF OPPORTUNITY THROUGH EDUCATION -- A DREAM CHERISHED BY ALL WHO BELIEVE THAT EACH OF US DESERVES A CHANCE TO GO AS FAR AS OUR ABILITY WILL TAKE US.

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SIDE EFFECTS OF "BIG" EDUCATION

BUT WE HAVE ALSO SEEN SOME OF THE LESS PLEASANT RESULTS OF THE HEAD-LONG RACE FOR GIANT CAMPUSES AND CLASSROOMS -- FOR AN ACADEMIC "GREAT SOCIETY".

THE DE-PERSONALIZATION OF EDUCATION, THE REMOVAL OF THE HUMAN TOUCH THAT IS SO IMPORTANT TO THE LEARNING AND LIVING EXPERIENCE, IS BROUGHT HOME AGAIN AND AGAIN TO ANYONE WHO VISITS THE GIANT EDUCATIONAL COMPLEXES THAT MANY OF OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES HAVE BECOME.

AND, ON A LARGER SCALE, WE SEE THE SAME PROBLEMS REFLECTED IN A SOCIETY THAT HAS COME TO LOOK FOR THE ANSWER TO EVERY PROBLEM FROM A VAST, IMPERSONAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

ISN'T THAT ONE OF THE REAL REASONS BEHIND THE SUDDEN CRIES FOR ACROSS-THE-BOARD FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON HEALTH CARE, POLLUTION CONTROL, ELECTION REFORM, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE?

JUST AS IT IS EASIER FOR A STUDENT TO RAIL AND RANT AT SOME LARGE ILL-DEFINED TARGET LIKE THE "ESTABLISHMENT", INSTEAD OF TRYING TO DO SOMETHING POSITIVE AND MEANINGFUL ON A PERSONAL BASIS, IT IS ALWAYS EASIER



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FOR AN INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN OR AN INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY TO SHRUG OFF ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND LET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STRAIGHTEN THINGS OUT WHEN THE PROBLEM HAS REACHED THE CRISIS POINT.

SURRENDER OF PERSONAL FREEDOM

BUT, IN THE LONG RUN, THIS MEANS SURRENDERING THE RIGHT TO DECIDE OUR OWN FATE AND TO PLAY A PERSONAL PART IN DETERMINING THE DESTINY OF OUR SOCIETY.

IF I SEEM TO BE PAINTING A BLEAK PICTURE, I DO NOT INTEND TO. I HAVE A DEEP FAITH IN THE INTELLIGENCE AND COMPASSION OF OUR CITIZENS AND OUR STUDENTS.

RIGHT NOW, SOMEWHERE ON A UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, IN A CORPORATION LABORATORY, OR IN A GOVERNMENT RESEARCH FACILITY, SOMEONE IS PROBABLY AT WORK ON A SUCCESSFUL CURE FOR CANCER, OR A SOLUTION TO THE HUNGER PROBLEM AROUND THE WORLD, OR AN ANSWER TO THE HAZARDS OF POLLUTION.

NO, I AM NOT CASTIGATING OUR SCHOOLS OR OUR GOVERNMENT. I AM SIMPLY SAYING THAT, GOOD AS THEY ARE, THERE ARE WAYS TO MAKE THEM BETTER -- WAYS TO HELP THEM MEET THE CHANGES AND CHALLENGES OF THE SEVENTIES AND THE YEARS BEYOND.

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THERE IS AN EXPRESSION MAKING THE ROUNDS IN WASHINGTON. IT GOES SOMETHING LIKE THIS: "IF YOU AREN'T PART OF THE SOLUTION, YOU'RE PART OF THE PROBLEM."

COMMUNITY COLLEGES AN ANSWER

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT INDIAN RIVER JUNIOR COLLEGE, AND THE THOUSANDS OF OTHER COMMUNITY COLLEGES ACROSS THIS COUNTRY, ARE PART OF THE SOLUTION.

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE IS AN ANSWER TO GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY WITHOUT DEHUMANIZATION. INSTEAD OF ADDING ANOTHER SWOLLEN ANNEX TO AN ALREADY OVERCROWDED URBAN CAMPUS, IT CREATES A NEW CENTER OF LEARNING IN THE HEART OF AN INDIVIDUAL COMMUNITY. IT BRINGS CAMPUS AND COMMUNITY TOGETHER, RATHER THAN FURTHER ISOLATING THEM.

A GOOD JUNIOR COLLEGE -- A SCHOOL LIKE INDIAN RIVER -- IS A SOURCE OF QUALITY EDUCATION THAT IS VERSATILE, FLEXIBLE, AND TAILORED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY AND PEOPLE IT SERVES.

IT IS NOT SOME GREAT STONE MONOLITH THAT IS A LAW UNTO ITSELF. IT IS A LIVING, VITAL SOCIAL INSTITUTION.



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A MEANS OF HUMAN BETTERMENT

IT CAN BE A WAY STATION FOR THE YOUNG PERSON EVENTUALLY PLANNING TO GO TO A LARGER UNIVERSITY. IT OFFERS THE HOUSEWIFE AND THE BUSINESS-MAN A CHANCE TO GO BACK TO SCHOOL, TO EXPAND THEIR CULTURAL AND PROFESSIONAL OUTLOOKS, AND TO SHARE THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE WITH THEIR OWN SONS AND DAUGHTERS. IT OFFERS THE YOUNG MAN OR WOMAN IN NEED OF CAREER TRAINING THE MOST DIRECT, EFFECTIVE EDUCATION AVAILABLE. AND, IT OFFERS THE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE OR VETERAN WITH A YOUNG FAMILY TO SUPPORT, THE CHANCE FOR AN ECONOMICAL, PART-TIME EDUCATION THAT WILL BROADEN HIS PERSONAL HORIZONS AND OPEN UP BETTER JOB OPPORTUNITIES.

WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE SAID THAT THE BEST INVESTMENT ANY COMMUNITY CAN MAKE IS PUTTING MILK INTO BABIES. HE CERTAINLY HAD A POINT. BUT PERHAPS THE SECOND BEST INVESTMENT ANY COMMUNITY CAN MAKE IS PUTTING USEFUL, ACCESSIBLE LEARNING WITHIN THE REACH OF ITS PEOPLE --- GIVING THEM THE TOOLS THEY NEED TO REALIZE THEIR FULLEST HUMAN POTENTIAL.

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NIXON'S GOALS SIMILAR

THIS IS THE SAME CONCEPT THAT LIES BEHIND SO MUCH OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S DOMESTIC PROGRAM -- THE CONCEPT OF RETURNING POWER TO THE PEOPLE, OF GIVING STATES, CITIES AND COMMUNITIES BACK THE FISCAL RESOURCES THEY NEED TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES. THAT IS THE BASIC, UNDERLYING PURPOSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S VARIOUS REVENUE SHARING PROPOSALS, AND THAT IS WHY SUPPORT FOR THEM HAS BEEN SO STRONG AT THE GRASS ROOTS.

BUT, I REALIZE THAT, ESPECIALLY FOR YOUNG AMERICANS, THERE IS ANOTHER ASPECT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY THAT IS OF PRESSING, IMMEDIATE INTEREST.

I REFER TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM. MORE THAN ANY OTHER SINGLE NATIONAL ISSUE, IT IS THE VIETNAM WAR THAT HAS BEEN USED LIKE A LETHAL CROWBAR BY THOSE WHO WOULD PRY THIS NATION APART.

FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, IT HAS BEEN A BLOODY, CONTROVERSIAL CONFLICT, AND IT HAS EXACTED A STAGGERING TOLL IN AMERICAN MEN, MONEY AND MORALE.

MOST OF YOU HERE TODAY WILL REMEMBER THAT WHEN RICHARD NIXON TOOK HIS OATH OF OFFICE TWO YEARS AGO, THERE WERE 535,000 AMERICAN TROOPS COMMITTED TO SOUTHEAST ASIA AND NO PLAN TO BRING THEM HOME.



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PRESIDENT BRINGS TROOPS HOME

WELL, DESPITE ALL THE RED-HOT RHETORIC ABOUT "WIDENING THE WAR", THE FACT IS THAT THIS PRESIDENT IS WINDING DOWN THE WAR THAT HE INHERITED FROM THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION. AND THIS ACCOMPLISHMENT IS ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE WHEN YOU CONSIDER THE CONSTANT, NEGATIVE ATTACKS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO BY EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES -- INCLUDING MOST OF THE POLITICIANS WHO RUBBER-STAMPED THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION'S STEP-BY-STEP ESCALATION OF THE WAR, BUT ARE NOW FEVERISHLY STRIVING TO OUTDO EACH OTHER AS CRITICS OF PRESIDENT NIXON.

I THINK THAT THE SENATE MINORITY LEADER, SENATOR HUGH SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA, PUT IT IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE A FEW DAYS AGO WHEN HE SAID THAT HE WAS "SICK AND TIRED OF SEEING THIS WAR BEING USED A POLITICAL FOOTBALL BY MANY OF THE SAME DEMOCRATS WHO DURING THE DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS WERE LAUDING OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM".

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MUSKIE A "RIP VAN WINKLE"

PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING EXAMPLE OF THIS KIND OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM WAS DEMONSTRATED RECENTLY BY THE CURRENT DEMOCRAT FRONT RUNNER FOR THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

ACCORDING TO THIS POLITICAL RIP VAN WINKLE, HIS "REAL DOUBTS ABOUT OUR INVOLVEMENT" IN VIETNAM BEGAN IN 1965, BUT HE KEPT ON BLINDLY SUPPORTING THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION ALL THE WAY THROUGH THE 1968 ELECTIONS, EVEN FIGHTING FOR THE ADMINISTRATION-BACKED VIETNAM PLANK AT THE DEMOCRAT CONVENTION IN CHICAGO.

THEN, SUDDENLY, IN 1969, HE AWOKE FROM HIS LONG, POLITICAL NAP AND STARTED ATTACKING PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO HAS DONE MORE TO END THIS WAR IN TWO YEARS THAN HIS PREDECESSORS DID IN TWO TERMS IN OFFICE.

I DO NOT MEAN TO SINGLE OUT EDMUND MUSKIE AS IF HE WERE THE ONLY ONE TO RESORT TO THESE TACTICS. HE IS SIMPLY THE LATEST. THE SAME PATH OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY HAS ALREADY BEEN TROD BY MOST OF HIS ANNOUNCED AND UNANNOUNCED RIVALS FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.



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WHAT REALLY MATTERS IS THAT PRESIDENT NIXON IS ACHIEVING A JUST, HONORABLE END TO AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM, DESPITE THE IRRESPONSIBLE ATTACKS OF THESE MEN, AS WAS MADE EVEN MORE CLEAR LAST NIGHT IN PRESIDENT NIXON'S TELEVISION ADDRESS TO THE NATION.

( REMARKS ON TELEVISION ADDRESS )

INSTANT PEACE A MIRAGE

INSTANT PEACE -- A PEACE WITH NO STRINGS ATTACHED AND A "THEY ALL LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER" ENDING ---- IS A NOBLE DREAM. BUT THROUGHOUT HUMAN HISTORY, IT HAS OFTEN PROVED A MIRAGE.

WHEN A DURABLE, LASTING PEACE HAS BEEN ATTAINED, IT HAS USUALLY BEEN THE RESULT OF LONG, CAREFUL PLANNING, AND COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP THAT IGNORED THE TEMPTING SHORT-TERM REWARDS OF DEMAGOGUERY.

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THIS IS THE KIND OF REAL PEACE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON SEEKS. AND, AS HE POINTED OUT LAST NIGHT, THIS IS A GOAL THAT WE ARE CLOSER TO ATTAINING TODAY THAN EVER BEFORE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS TRAGIC WAR.

NIXON POLICY WORKS

THAT IS WHY I SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY FOR VIETNAMIZATION AND AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL. IT IS A DECENT, HONORABLE POLICY, AND THE PRESIDENT HAS PROVEN THAT IT WORKS.

I BELIEVE THAT FAIR-MINDED AMERICANS OF ALL AGES RECOGNIZE THIS, DESPITE THE NATURAL WAR-WEARINESS AND DESPAIR THAT HAVE ARISEN FROM THE LONGEST WAR IN OUR HISTORY.

I ALSO HAVE FAITH THAT YOUNG AMERICANS, WHETHER THEY ARE ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING, RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT PROGRESS IS NOW BEING MADE; THAT FEWER AMERICANS ARE DYING AND MORE AMERICANS ARE COMING HOME; THAT OUR ALLIES ARE NOW DOING THEIR OWN FIGHTING FOR THEMSELVES, AND THAT THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS BY PRESIDENT NIXON'S LEADERSHIP.

PRESIDENT NIXON ONCE REMARKED THAT THIS DAY AND AGE WE LIVE IN, WITH ITS TREMENDOUS FRUSTRATIONS AND EQUALLY TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITITES, IS PROBABLY THE MOST EXCITING TIME FOR A YOUNG AMERICAN TO BE ALIVE.



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FAITH IN YOUNG AMERICANS

I AGREE. AND I HAVE FAITH THAT MOST YOUNG AMERICANS WILL CONTINUE TO RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE DAY. TRYING TIMES BRING OUT THE BEST IN GOOD PEOPLE AND THE WORST IN BAD PEOPLE, WHICH EXPLAINS SOME OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND SOME OF THE DISASTERS OF THE PAST FEW YEARS.

BUT I BELIEVE THERE IS MORE GOOD THAN BAD IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- BE THEY OLD OR YOUNG, WHITE OR BLACK. AND THAT IS WHY I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE THAT YOU AND I SHARE.

MET PAST CHALLENGES

OUR COUNTRY IS PASSING THROUGH A TIME OF TESTING. BUT IT IS NOT THE FIRST TIME, AND IT WILL NOT BE THE LAST.

THE FIRST COLONISTS UNDERWENT AS GREAT AN ORDEAL, WARRING AGAINST HOSTILE WILDERNESS TO CARVE OUT A DECENT LIFE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR CHILDREN.

THE MEN AND WOMEN OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S GENERATION HAD TO RISK EVERYTHING -- THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES AND THEIR SACRED HONOR, AS JEFFERSON WROTE IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE -- IN ORDER THAT THERE

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MIGHT BE AN AMERICAN NATION. HISTORIANS ESTIMATE THAT NO MORE THAN ONE-THIRD OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FELLOW COLONISTS EVER ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE PATRIOT CAUSE, WITH NEARLY AS MANY AMERICANS BACKING THE BRITISH. THERE WERE PROBABLY EVEN A FEW CRITICS WHO ACCUSED GEORGE WASHINGTON OF "WIDENING THE WAR" WHEN HE CROSSED THE DELAWARE THAT CHRISTMAS NIGHT IN 1776.

AGAIN, A LITTLE MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, AMERICA FACED ANOTHER GREAT TEST -- A BLOODY, FRATRICIDAL CIVIL WAR. IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME WHEN AMERICA WAS "POLARIZED" -- IF EVER THERE WAS A TIME TO DESPAIR, AND DECIDE THAT THE SYSTEM HAD FAILED AND THE FUTURE WAS HOPELESS, IT WAS DURING THE EARLY 1860'S, WHEN THE NATION WAS LITERALLY RENT ASUNDER, AND RECONCILIATION SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE.

AND THERE ARE THE SMALLER, HUMAN TRIUMPHS AND TRAGEDIES THAT EVERY IMMIGRANT FAMILY THAT EVER CAME TO OUR SHORES HAS FACED -- AND EVERY POOR FAMILY, AND EVERY BLACK FAMILY AND EVERY INDIAN FAMILY.



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GOING NEVER EASY

THE GOING HAS NEVER BEEN EASY FOR MOST OF OUR PEOPLE, THOUGH WE SOMETIMES FORGET THIS IN AN AGE OF AFFLUENCE. EACH OF THESE GREAT AND LITTLE ORDEALS MIGHT HAVE DESTROYED A WEAKER PEOPLE OR A MORE INADEQUATE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. DURING EACH OF THEM, THERE WERE THOSE WHO ACTUALLY DID GIVE UP HOPE FOR AMERICA. SOME OF THEM RETURNED TO THE OPPRESSION OF THE OLD WORLD. OTHERS SOUGHT ELUSIVE RICHES IN AFRICA AND THE ORIENT. SOME OF THEM, EVEN THEN, CROSSED THE BORDER TO CANADA, ALTHOUGH THIS WAS LONG BEFORE THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT HAD BEEN PASSED. MANY OBSERVERS PREDICTED, AT EACH NEW CRISIS, THAT WE WERE A HOPELESSLY "SICK" SOCIETY RUSHING TOWARD SELF-DESTRUCTION.

AMERICA GOES ON

YET EACH TIME, AFTER THE SMOKE HAD SETTLED AND THE SHOUTING DIED DOWN, THERE WAS AMERICA, AND THERE WERE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, STRONGER, HEALTHIER AND MORE NUMEROUS THAN BEFORE, AND GOING FORWARD, SLOWLY, PAINFULLY, BUT SURELY, WITH THE BUSINESS OF BUILDING A JUSTER, FREER SOCIETY.

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THAT, OF COURSE, IS A GOAL THAT IS NEVER COMPLETELY ACHIEVED. NO SOCIETY MADE UP OF HUMAN BEINGS, WITH ALL OF THEIR VIRTUES AND VICES, WILL EVER BE PERFECT. BUT A SOCIETY BASED ON JUSTICE AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CAN BE IMPROVED, AND THE OPPORTUNITIES AND FREEDOM IT OFFERS CAN BE SPREAD TO EVER GROWING NUMBERS OF PEOPLE.

WHEN YOU LOOK BACK DOWN THE LONG, HARD ROAD WE TOOK TO BECOME A NATION OF FREE MEN, THE CONCLUSION IS INESCAPABLE. WE HAVE NOT COME ALL THAT WAY SIMPLY TO SHRUG OUR SHOULDERS AND TOSS IN THE SPONGE IN THE FACE OF A NEW SET OF CHALLENGES.

YOUNG AND OLD, WE HAVE NOT LOST OUR CAPACITY FOR HARD WORK, COURAGE AND COMPASSION, AND OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT HAS NOT LOST ITS CAPACITY FOR HUMANE REFORM.

THAT CAN ONLY HAPPEN WHEN WE TURN OUT BACKS ON IT; WHEN WE ALLOW OUR MINDS TO BE POISONED AND OUR SPIRITS DRAINED BY THE VOICES OF HATE, DISTRUST AND DESPAIR.



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I KNOW THAT THESE VOICES HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED IN WASHINGTON, DESPITE THE LOUDNESS AND FREQUENCY OF THEIR ATTACKS, AND, LOOKING AROUND ME HERE THIS AFTERNOON, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE TRIUMPHED AT INDIAN RIVER.

WELL, AS SIR JOHN FALSTAFF ONCE PUT IT, "SO ENDS MY CATECHISM". IT IS A CATECHISM OF FAITH IN THE BASIC DECENCY OF AMERICANS OF ALL AGES, AND THE PRESIDENT THEY ELECTED. IT IS A FAITH THAT I AM SURE OF AND PROUD OF.

IN KEEPING WITH THAT, I INTEND TO FOLLOW THE PROPOSED FORMAT AND USE THE REMAINING HALF OF THIS PROGRAM TO ANSWER QUESTIONS. YOU MAY FIRE WHEN READY.