

4-19-74

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS  
INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL  
DRAKE HOTEL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE THIS AFTERNOON AND TO HAVE  
THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS BRIEFLY WITH YOU SOME OF THE  
MATTERS OF CURRENT GENERAL POLITICAL AND PUBLIC POLICY  
INTEREST TO THE NATION.

THE INSTITUTE OF SCRAP IRON AND STEEL, THOUGH MANY  
OF YOUR MEMBERS I AM SURE HAVE BEEN AROUND A LONG TIME, SEEMS  
TO BE IN THE VANGUARD OF A NEW INDUSTRY. THE RECLAMATION OF  
SCRAP IRON AND STEEL IS NOT A NEW BUSINESS, OF COURSE. BUT  
WITH THE NEW EMPHASIS ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, ON ENERGY  
CONSERVATION, ON JUDICIOUS USE AND PRESERVATION OF OUR NATURAL

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RESOURCES AND ON THE POTENTIAL OF RESOURCE RECYCLING, YOUR  
INDUSTRY HAS TAKEN ON THE ASPECT OF AN ALTOGETHER NEW  
ENTERPRISE.

OLD AND NEW

BECAUSE OF NEW DEMANDS ON OUR TECHNOLOGY, AND BECAUSE  
OF OUR NEW-FOUND AWARENESS OF OUR LIMITATIONS, SCRAP METAL  
RECYCLING, ONCE TAKEN FOR GRANTED AND LARGELY IGNORED BY THE  
PUBLIC, HAS BECOME PART OF A POPULAR CAUSE, ALONG WITH  
CONSERVATION, ANTI-POLLUTION EFFORTS AND A WHOLE RANGE OF  
ACTIVITIES GENERALLY FALLING UNDER THE UMBRELLA CATEGORY,  
ENVIRONMENTALISM.

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THE OLD HAS BECOME THE NEW -- IN THE SCRAP METAL  
INDUSTRY -- AND IN MANY OTHER FIELDS OF ENDEAVOR AND ASPECTS  
OF OUR SOCIETY.

SENSE OF VALUE LOST

THIS IS SO OFTEN THE CASE, AS SO MUCH OF OUR LIFE AND  
HISTORY SEEMS TO RUN IN CYCLES. FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE GONE  
FULL CIRCLE IN THIS COUNTRY ON THE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES.  
AT THE BEGINNING, WE HUSBANDED OUR LAND AND MINERAL RESOURCES  
WITH THE SUPREME CARE THAT WAS BORN OF OUR APPRECIATION OF  
THEIR TRUE VALUE. BUT AS IT GOT EASIER AND LESS LABORIOUS TO  
UTILIZE THEM, AND AS FEWER AND FEWER OF OUR PEOPLE WERE  
DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE WORK OF DEVELOPING THESE RAW MATERIALS,

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WE LOST THAT SENSE OF THEIR TRUE WORTH. WE BEGAN TO TAKE  
THEM FOR GRANTED AND TO USE THEM LIKE THERE WAS NO TOMORROW.

RESTORED

BUT THAT TOMORROW HAS ARRIVED -- AND WITH IT OUR NEW  
APPRECIATION OF THE FINITE SUPPLIES AT OUR DISPOSAL AND THE  
LIMITS OF OUR OWN ABILITIES.

WITH THIS NEW APPRECIATION HAS COME A NEW SENSE OF  
URGENCY ABOUT MAXIMIZING OUR UTILIZATION OF THESE VALUABLE  
COMMODITIES.

OUR OLD ATTITUDES ABOUT THEM HAVE BEEN RESTORED. THE  
OLD HAS BECOME THE NEW.

AND IT IS MY HOPE -- SUPPORTED BY MANY OF MY RECENT  
OBSERVATIONS -- THAT WE WILL ENJOY A RESTORATION OF SOME OF  
OUR AMERICAN LIFE AND PRACTICES.

COMMON WISDOM ON POLITICS, GOVERNMENT

FOR A LONG TIME -- THROUGH MOST OF OUR HISTORY AS A  
NATION, IN FACT -- WE HAD AN ESSENTIAL ATTITUDE ABOUT  
GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO SEE RESTORED.

ABOUT GOVERNMENT -- FOR MOST OF OUR HISTORY -- IT WAS  
THE COMMON WISDOM THAT SMALLER WAS BETTER. GOVERNMENT WAS  
BEST WHICH GOVERNED LEAST, AS THE OLD ADAGE WENT.

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ABOUT POLITICS -- WE HAD A COROLLARY BELIEF. POLITICS WAS BEST WHEN IT WAS POPULAR POLITICS -- THAT IS POLITICS WHICH MAXIMIZED THE PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, AND IN WHICH ALL WHO WANTED TO PARTICIPATE COULD PARTICIPATE AND WOULD FEEL THAT THEIR INVOLVEMENT COULD BE MEANINGFUL AND EFFECTIVE.

GROWING GOVERNMENT -- SHRINKING POLITICS

THOSE ATTITUDES HAVE CHANGED SOMEWHAT IN THE LAST FEW DECADES. GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ONLY GROWN LARGER BUT THE ATTITUDES OF MANY ABOUT THAT GROWTH HAVE CHANGED. THERE ARE THOSE NOW, IN GOVERNMENT WHO NOT ONLY DEFEND ITS PRESENT OVERGROWN SIZE -- BUT ENCOURAGE ITS ENLARGEMENT AND SEEK EVEN GREATER GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENTAL POWER.

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BUT AS GOVERNMENT GROWS AND POWER CENTRALIZES --  
ATTITUDES ABOUT POLITICS AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT CHANGE  
AND HAVE A TENDENCY TO DETERIORATE.

FOR AS POWER CENTRALIZES -- THE EFFECTIVENESS OF  
INDIVIDUAL ACTION AND ITS ABILITY TO POSITIVELY INFLUENCE  
POLICY SEEMS TO DIMINISH AND BECOME MORE REMOTE.

PEOPLE LOSE THEIR SENSE OF URGENCY ABOUT POLITICAL  
ACTION AND THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE BECOMES "WHAT DIFFERENCE  
DOES IT MAKE" INSTEAD OF "I CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE."

#### FRANCHISE BASIC FREEDOM

ONE VOTE, IN THIS COUNTRY, STILL COUNTS. THE FRANCHISE  
IS STILL OUR BASIC FREEDOM. BUT IT SEEMS TO HAVE LOST ITS  
URGENCY AND EFFICACY. IN THE MINDS OF TOO MANY AMERICANS,

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HOW TO VOTE HAS BECOME A QUESTION OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE.

WHETHER TO VOTE AT ALL, IS THE PRIMARY QUESTION.

BIG GOVERNMENT, REMOTE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN THE LARGEST SINGLE CAUSE OF THIS. BUT I THINK WE HAVE BEGUN, IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, TO CHANGE THE COMMON WISDOM ABOUT THE ABILITY OF GOVERNMENT TO LIVE UP TO THE EXPECTATIONS OF BIG GOVERNMENT CAN INDEED SPEND BIG MONEY ON PROBLEMS, BUT IT MAY NOT BE ABLE TO SOLVE THEM.

#### ROAD TO REDISCOVERY

WE ARE ON THE ROAD TO REDISCOVERY OF THAT BASIC AMERICAN TENET THAT PUBLIC POWER -- GOVERNMENTAL POWER -- IS BEST IF IT IS LIMITED AND DECENTRALIZED.

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WE MUST NOW ALSO REDISCOVER AND REASSERT THAT COROLLARY TRADITION THAT OUR POLITICS IS BEST WHEN IT IS PARTICIPATORY. POLITICS IN AMERICA MUST NEVER BECOME A SPECTATOR SPORT. YET WE NOTE THE UNFORTUNATE TREND AMONG INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS TO OPT OUT OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY OR IN THE MORE POPULAR PHRASE, TO "TURN OFF ON POLITICS".

I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT IN OUR SYSTEM, THOSE WHO TURN OFF DON'T REALLY TERMINATE THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS. MORE ACCURATELY, THEY ABDICATE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY AND TURN OVER TO OTHERS EFFECTIVE POWER TO INFLUENCE POLICY. AND AS MORE PEOPLE ABDICATE, THEN THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER NARROWS AND CONSOLIDATES IN THE HANDS OF A SMALLER MINORITY.

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THE CREATIVE DYNAMIC OF DEBATE AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BECOMES DILUTED AS ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT DECREASES. AND FROM DEMOCRACY, WE RUN THE RISK OF DEGENERATING INTO A NATION AND A GOVERNMENT DOMINATED ONLY BY THE FEW WHO "GO TO THE TROUBLE" TO BECOME INVOLVED.

#### INTEREST OF MAJORITY

IN SUCH A SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES, THE INTERESTS OF THE MANY MAY GO UNREPRESENTED OR AT LEAST UNDERREPRESENTED IN THE COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENT.

LET ME CITE AN EXAMPLE, ONE THAT MAY HIT CLOSE TO HOME IN A GROUP LIKE THIS ONE, COMPOSED OF BUSINESSMEN, WHO AFTER ALL ARE IN BUSINESS TO MAKE A PROFIT.

YOU -- AND THOSE WHOSE INTERESTS LIE WITH YOU -- ARE  
CLEARLY NO MINORITY IN THIS COUNTRY. ADD TOGETHER THE  
THOUSANDS OF BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN IN COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES  
ACROSS THIS COUNTRY AND THE MILLIONS MORE WHOSE LIVELIHOOD  
DEPENDS ON THEIR EMPLOYMENT IN BUSINESS -- AND THEREFORE  
DIRECTLY ON THE SUCCESS OF THOSE PRIVATE BUSINESSES THEMSELVES --  
AND YOU HAVE A HEALTHY MAJORITY OF ALL AMERICANS.

PROFIT MOTIVE QUESTIONED

YET, TO LOOK AT PUBLIC ATTITUDES, AS EXPRESSED THROUGH  
THE MEDIA AND BY CERTAIN PUBLIC FIGURES, ONE MIGHT THINK YOU  
WERE IN THE MINORITY. AND AN OPPRESSED MINORITY AT THAT.

FOR THE VERY NOTION -- PROFIT -- HAS TAKEN ON A SORDID,  
ALMOST EVIL CONNOTATION IN THIS COUNTRY.

WHY?

NOT BECAUSE PROFIT IS AN ALIEN CONCEPT IN AMERICA. TOO  
MANY AMERICANS LIVE AND PROSPER BY THE PROFIT MOTIVE UNDER OUR  
FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM FOR THAT TO BE THE CASE.

NOT BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN ANY POPULAR TURN AWAY FROM  
THIS FREE ENTERPRISE TRADITION, OR WIDESPREAD REVOLT AGAINST  
OUR SYSTEM.

NOT EVEN BECAUSE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE MARKET-  
PLACE -- AND IT HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE -- HAS CHANGED THE  
BASIC STRUCTURE OF OUR ECONOMY. WE HAVEN'T GONE THAT FAR  
AND AREN'T LIKELY TO.

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RESULT OF ABDICATION

THEN WHY HAS THE PROFIT INCENTIVE -- AND THE NOTION OF  
PROFIT ITSELF -- FALLEN INTO SUCH DISREPUTE?

THE REASON, FROM MY POINT OF VIEW, IS SIMPLE. THOSE  
WHO HAVE THE MOST TO SAY IN DEFENSE OF OUR PROFIT SYSTEM,--  
AND THAT, I SAID, IS THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS -- HAVE SAID  
THE LEAST.

JUST AS WE ONCE TOOK OUR SUPPLY OF NATURAL RESOURCES,  
FOR GRANTED FOR SO LONG, SO HAVE WE SEEMED TO TAKE OUR SYSTEM  
AND ITS BENEFITS FOR GRANTED FOR TOO LONG.

BY FAILING TO SPEAK OUT IN DEFENSE OF OUR FREE MARKET  
PLACE WITH ITS COMPETITION IN COMMERCE -- MANY OF US HAVE  
FAILED TO EXERT OUR PROPER ROLE IN OUR INTELLECTUAL MARKET-  
PLACE WITH ITS COMPETITION OF IDEAS.

DISPROPORTIONATE WEIGHT OF OPINION

AS A RESULT OF THIS ABDICATION, THE IDEAS AND BIASES OF A FEW, HAVE ASSUMED A HEAVY WEIGHT OF INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION, AND ON PUBLIC POLICY, FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO THEIR MERITS.

JUST AS WE HAVE ONLY RECENTLY REDISCOVERED THE TRUE VALUE OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, WHICH WITHOUT PROPER CARE AND CONSERVATION WE MIGHT HAVE SIMPLY USED UP, SO WE MUST RE-  
DISCOVER THE VALUE OF OUR SYSTEM AND ITS FREEDOMS, WHICH CAN ALSO BE USED UP AND DRIED UP UNLESS GIVEN THE PROPER CARE AND ATTENTION.

THE ANSWER I WOULD SUGGEST IS SIMPLY THIS. GET INVOLVED IF YOU ARE NOT.

GET MORE INVOLVED IF YOU ALREADY ARE.

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SOME TURNED OFF

IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE SCANDALS WHICH HAVE COME TO LIGHT IN THE PAST YEAR OR SO HAVE DISCOURAGED MANY AMERICANS ABOUT THE INTEGRITY OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. IT IS NO SECRET EITHER THAT THE INVOLVEMENT OF BUSINESSMEN IN POLITICS HAS BEEN CAST UNDER A CLOUD BY THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE GOTTEN SO MUCH RECENT ATTENTION.

AND, IT IS NO SURPRISE AND QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE, AS A RESULT THAT MANY IN BUSINESS HAVE DONE PRECISELY WHAT I HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT IN THESE REMARKS. THEY HAVE TURNED OFF ON POLITICS.

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ABDICATION IN A DEMOCRACY

TO DO SO, I REMIND YOU, IS TO LEAVE YOUR POINT OF  
VIEW UNREPRESENTED AND YOUR OPINIONS UNSTATED.

FOR ANYONE TO DO SO, IN A DEMOCRACY WHERE THE PEOPLE  
ARE THE SOVEREIGN, I INSIST, IS TO ABDICATE.

IT IS MY VIEW, THAT IN THE MIDST OF THESE TROUBLED  
TIMES, WE MAY WELL OVERLOOK THE OBVIOUS. AND IT IS OBVIOUS  
TO ME THAT IN SPITE OF OUR TROUBLES, WITH AN ENERGY CRISIS  
AND A SLUGGISH ECONOMY, THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR REAL PROGRESS  
ON ALMOST ALL FRONTS ARE PROMISING.

THE NEW-FOUND VITALITY OF YOUR INDUSTRY, FOR EXAMPLE  
IS PROOF THAT OUT OF ONE SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES THAT IS PER-  
CEIVED AS A CRISIS -- LIKE THE ENVIRONMENTAL SITUATION --

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THERE MIGHT ARISE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCCESS THAT CAN NOT ONLY MEET THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS BUT OFFER POSSIBILITIES OF NEW ACHIEVEMENTS AND NEW PROSPERITY.

SO I URGE YOU NOT TO BE DISCOURAGED, NOR "TURNED OFF" BY THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT. RATHER SEE IT AS ALL THE MORE COMPELLING PROOF OF THE NEED FOR INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THE ALTERNATIVE, I REPEAT, IS ABDICATION.

THE PRESENT STAKES, HOWEVER, ARE TOO GREAT TO ALLOW US THE LUXURY OF DOING NOTHING.

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