

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES  
ST. LEO COLLEGE, FLORIDA  
MAY 1, 1977

MR. FOGARTY, DR. SOUTHARD, MR. WELLSTEAD, IT IS A  
CHERISHED PRIVILEGE AND HONOR FOR MRS. DOLE AND ME TO SHARE  
THIS IMPORTANT OCCASION WITH YOU THIS AFTERNOON. IN A NATION  
OF ASSEMBLY-LINE EDUCATION AND MORAL AMBIGUITY, IT IS REASSURING  
TO KNOW THAT THE GOOD WORK BEGUN HERE BY THE BENEDICTINE MONKS  
IN THE LAST CENTURY IS STILL BEING CARRIED ON SO SUCCESSFULLY.  
EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IS PROPERLY AN EXERCISE OF THE SPIRIT AS  
WELL AS THE MIND. UNDERSTANDING AND APPLYING AGELESS MORAL  
STANDARDS, IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY'S CHANGING WORLD, IS AS  
IMPORTANT AS ALL THE LESSONS IN ALL THE TEXTBOOKS. THERE IS,  
DESPITE ALL THE CONSTITUTIONAL INHIBITIONS, A VITAL CONTINUING  
ROLE FOR THE SMALL CHURCH-AFFILIATED INSTITUTION OF HIGHER  
LEARNING IN OUR SOCIETY -- AND I HOPE IT IS EVER SO.

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THE TRADITIONAL THEME OF COMMENCEMENT IS THE RHETORIC OF CHALLENGE -- THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PERSONAL GROWTH THAT LIES AHEAD. COUNTLESS SPEAKERS HAVE REMINDED COUNTLESS AUDIENCES OF SQUIRMING, IMPATIENT GRADUATES, IN SETTINGS SUCH AS THIS, THAT YOU ARE ONLY AT THE BEGINNING... THERE ARE STUBBORN PROBLEMS TO BE MASTERED... THE WORLD IS OUT THERE WAITING TO BE CONQUERED... WE ALL KNOW YOUR GENERATION IS UP TO THE TASK. SO GET OUT THERE AND GO TO IT!

### THE TASTE OF THE OYSTER?

BUT ALL OF YOU OUGHT TO BE ASKING YOURSELVES: WHAT KIND OF LIFE ARE YOU NOW ENTERING? THE WORLD MAY BE YOUR OYSTER, BUT WHAT'S THE OYSTER GOING TO TASTE LIKE? WILL YOU HAVE THE FREEDOM TO BE YOUR OWN BOSS, TO DETERMINE YOUR OWN LIFESTYLE, OR WILL OUTSIDE FORCES SHAPE AND EVEN DESTROY YOUR DREAMS? WITH THE WORLD CHANGING SO RAPIDLY, I CAN'T ANSWER THOSE QUESTIONS ANY BETTER THAN YOU BUT WE CAN TAKE NOTE OF SOME OF THE MAJOR LANDMARKS IN THE AMERICA THAT YOU ARE INHERITING.

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IN THIS PASTORAL SCENE, IT IS NOT EASY FOR A VISITOR -- ESPECIALLY ONE FROM KANSAS -- TO REALIZE THAT THE POPULATION OF FLORIDA HAS DOUBLED IN ONLY A FEW YEARS; THAT GROWTH ITSELF IS A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN MANY OF THE MORE DENSELY SETTLED COMMUNITIES OF THIS STATE; THAT HUMAN LIFE ITSELF IS A POLITICAL ISSUE IN THE NATION AT LARGE; THAT A CAUTIOUS RETRENCHMENT, A BATTENING DOWN OF THE HATCHES, IS PREFERRED BY MANY OF OUR FOREMOST CITIZENS.

IN THE EYES OF MANY, THE HORIZON IS FOGGED OVER.

A MIST OF PESSIMISM CLOUDS THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND TECHNOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE.

"GO TO IT!" IS NO LONGER THE AUTOMATIC STARTING SIGNAL IT ONCE WAS.

WE HAVE BEEN LIVING IN AN UNSETTLED PERIOD. CERTAIN PROBLEMS SEEM OVERWHELMING. THE MORE VENTURESOME AMONG US ARE CONSIDERED ODDBALLS. TRADITIONAL VALUES ARE SUSPECT. ACCORDING TO THIS POINT OF VIEW, IF THE FAMILY INTERFERES WITH OUR ENJOYMENT OF THE GOOD LIFE -- THE COMFORTABLE LIFE -- THEN THE FAMILY MUST BE SECONDARY.



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IF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IS UNCONDUCTIVE WITH MAXIMUM INDIVIDUAL COMFORT, OR OUR AESTHETIC TASTE, THEN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY MUST BE CURBED, EVEN AT THE COST OF JOBS AND INCOME FOR THOSE WHO LINGER ON THE ECONOMIC OUTER FRINGES.

MANY BELIEVE IT'S PROBABLY A GOOD IDEA TO CURB BUSINESS ANYWAY. THEY WOULD SAY THE CORPORATE ENTREPRENEURS WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE PHENOMINAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS COUNTRY'S FIRST 200 YEARS ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED ANY LONGER.

STANDARDS FOR MEASURING GROWTH, PROGRESS, ACCOMPLISHMENT CONTENTMENT -- BOTH PERSONAL AND AS A COMMUNITY -- ARE CONSTANTLY BEING REVISED.

WE SNEER AT OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS -- AND AT THE SAME TIME, WE ENLARGE THE REGULATORY RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN EVERY CORNER OF OUR LIVES. MORE REGULATION IS OFFERED AS THE PRIME RESPONSE TO THE ENERGY PROBLEM. AND, AS SURELY AS WE ARE GATHERED TODAY, IT WILL SOON BE OFFERED AS THE ANSWER TO THE COST OF HEALTH CARE PROBLEMS, EVEN THOUGH THE ENORMOUS EXPENSE OF COMPLYING WITH THE RED TAPE REQUIREMENTS OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS IS ONE OF THE GROWING COSTS OF HEALTH CARE FACILITIES.

### TECHNOLOGICAL PESSIMISM

ONE OF THE NOTABLE FEATURES OF THE PRESIDENT'S ENERGY PROGRAM WAS THE DISMISSAL OF THE PROSPECT FOR DRAMATIC TECHNOLOGICAL AND SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES WHICH COULD DRASTICALLY ALTER THE PICTURE. WE CANNOT RELY ON THAT TO HAPPEN, OF COURSE. BUT IT IS SYMPTOMATIC OF OUR AGE THAT WE APPEAR TO ACCEPT THE STATUS QUO -- EVEN THOUGH SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY AND CAPITALISM HAVE COMBINED UNIQUELY TO PRODUCE STARTLING BREAKTHROUGHS TIME AND AGAIN THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY AS A NATION.

THERE IS A TENDENCY TO DETAIN OURSELVES IN WHAT THE HISTORIAN DANIEL BOORSTIN CALLS "THE PRISON OF THE PRESENT." IT IS HARD FOR US TO ACCURATELY ESTIMATE THE FUTURE CREATIVITY OF MANKIND, AND OUR ALMOST MIRACULOUS ABILITY TO ADAPT TO CHANGING CONDITIONS AND EMERGING PROBLEMS.

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A HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE CIVIL WAR PRACTICALLY DESTROYED THE WHALING FLEET IN THE UNITED STATES AND BROUGHT ON AN ACUTE SHORTAGE OF WHALE OIL -- THEN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FUELS USED FOR LIGHTING. PRICES OF WHALE OIL QUICKLY DOUBLED. SOME OF THE MORE FAINT-HEARTED THREW UP THEIR HANDS AND CRIED THAT THE SKY WAS FALLING. BUT MOST PEOPLE BACK THEN STILL HAD FAITH IN AMERICAN INGENUITY, AND WITHIN A FEW YEARS, STARTLING PROGRSS WAS MADE IN A NEW TECHNOLOGY: KEROSENE. NOT LONG THEREAFTER, THE FIRST ELECTRIC GENERATOR WAS INVENTED. WHALE OIL PRICES PLUMMETED. THE CRISIS WAS FORGOTTEN. AND WHALE OIL LAMPS SOON BEGAN GATHERING DUST IN MUSEUMS.

I CAN'T HELP WONDERING WHETHER THEY WOULD HAVE SOLVED THAT ENERGY CRISIS IF THERE HAD BEEN PRODUCT SAFETY STANDARDS OR FEDERAL ENERGY EFFICIENCY STANDARDS FOR EITHER WHALE OIL OR KEROSENE LAMPS.



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SUPPOSE THERE HAD BEEN REGULATORY COMMISSIONS AND ARMIES OF FEDERAL INSPECTORS TO OVERSEE FACTORY NOISE, RESTROOM FACILITIES, ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT, AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS TO OVERCOME VARIOUS FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION.

OR SUPPOSE THERE HAD BEEN A FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION TO POLICE THE CREDIT TERMS, ADVERTISING CLAIMS, AND SALES CONTRACTS OF THE LAMP DEALERS.

PROBABLY THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE ONE DAY FOUND A KEROSENE SUBSTITUTE FOR WHALE OIL, BUT WE CAN BE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE PROCESS WOULD HAVE BEEN SLOWER, THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MARKED BY BUREAUCRATIC CONFUSION, THAT CITIZENS WOULD HAVE DEEPLY RESENTED THE GREAT PILES OF PAPERWORK IMPOSED ON THEM BY WASHINGTON, AND THAT THE COST OF KEROSENE WOULD HAVE ULTIMATELY BEEN MUCH HIGHER FOR CONSUMERS.

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NONE OF THIS IS MEANT TO DISCOUNT THE URGENCY OF THE PRESNT ENERGY PROBLEM. OUR SUPPLY OF ENERGY, AND OF MANY OTHER VITAL RESOURCES AS WELL, IS NOT ENDLESS. WHAT THERE IS OF IT WILL COST MORE . DUE PARTLY TO THE OVER-INDULGENCE OF YOUR PARENTS, THIS IS A PROBLEM THAT WILL LEAVE YOUR GENERATION WITH A BAD HANGOVER UNLESS SOMETHING IS DONE ABOUT IT -- INCLUDING CONSERVATION AND NEW FORMS OF PRODUCTION.

### A REGULATORY REVOLUTION

BUT I HIGHLIGHT THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS BECAUSE WE ARE NOW IN THE MIDST OF A REGULATORY REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES, ONE THAT COULD HAVE A PROFOUND IMPACT UPON YOUR GENERATION. YOU HAVE GROWN UP IN AN ERA OF EXPANDING FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMIC AFFAIRS OF THIS COUNTRY -- IN A TIME WHEN THE KNEE-JERK RESPONSE TO A PROBLEM, NO MATTER HOW ILLOGICAL, IS LIKELY TO BE MORE FEDERAL REGULATION.



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WASHINGTON THESE DAYS IS DEVELOPING A NEW MOTTO: IF IT MOVES, REGULATE IT; IF IT DOESN'T MOVE, TAX IT.

WE JUST HAVE FAR TOO MUCH REGULATION. AS WALTER LIPPMAN SAID OVER 30 YEARS AGO, WE ARE SUFFERING FROM THE "DISEASE OF AN OVER-GOVERNED SOCIETY".

THROUGH MY SPECIAL PULL WITH THE FTC --AND, OF COURSE, THE CHARM OF MY PERSONALITY --- I HAVE PERSUADED ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE FTC TO APPEAR WITH ME TODAY. YOU GET ONLY ONE DIPLOMA, BUT TWO COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES. SO WE WILL BE MERCIFULLY BRIEF IN OUR REMARKS. BUT I ASSUME COMMISSIONER DOLE WILL HAVE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND ITS THREAT TO YOUR GENERATION.

AS I SEE IT, THE NATURE OF GOVERNMENTAL REGULATION HAS TAKEN A SERIOUS TURN FOR THE WORSE DURING YOUR LIFETIME. SERIOUS REGULATION BEGAN EARLY IN THIS CENTURY AS A REACTION TO MONOPOLY AND MANY OF THE EXCESSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

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BUT IN RECENT YEARS, IT HAS CHANGED ITS CHARACTER SO THAT IT TENDS TO PROMOTE MONOPOLY, RAISE CONSUMER PRICES, AND DISCOURAGE INNOVATION.

### THE REGULATION EXPLOSION

THE GOVERNMENT IS LITERALLY EXPLODING WITH REGULATIONS. IN 1975 ALONE, IT IS ESTIMATED THAT OVER 10,000 NEW RULES AND REGULATIONS WERE PROPOSED, FILLING OVER 60,000 PAGES IN THE CODE OF FEDERAL REGULATIONS. SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY COULD PROBABLY MAKE A GOOD LIVING JUST TRYING TO KEEP UP WITH NEW REGULATIONS FOR YOUR EMPLOYER -- BUT IT WOULD BE A HARD QUESTION WHETHER THE FIRST THING YOU WOULD LOSE WOULD BE YOUR EYESIGHT OR YOUR SANITY.

MUCH OF THE REGULATION, I AM AFRAID, IS PURE TRIVIA -- LIKE THE 21 PAGES OF FINE PRINT PREPARED BY OSHA -- THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION -- TELLING EMPLOYERS HOW TO DESIGN A LADDER. BACK IN THE MIDDLE AGES, THEY USED TO CALL SUCH NONSENSE TRYING TO COUNT HOW MANY ANGELS THERE WERE ON THE HEAD OF A PIN.

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WHEN A GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRAT BECOMES IMMERSED IN SUCH MINUTELY DETAILED WORK, IT IS HARDLY SURPRISING THAT HE LACKS THE BREADTH OF VISION THAT IS DESPERATELY NEEDED TODAY. IT IS THIS WIDE SCOPE WHICH IS TYPICAL, AND IN MY OPINION MOST ADMIRABLE, IN MANY OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE -- PEOPLE OF TRULY CATHOLIC TASTES -- WHO ARE COMING AWAY FROM CAMPUSES TODAY.

ALL OF THIS REGULATION MIGHT BE SLIGHTLY AMUSING WERE IT NOT CAUSING SUCH INCREDIBLE PROBLEMS FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE TODAY.

FOR ONE THING, GOVERNMENT REGULATION IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE EXPENSIVE. SOME ESTIMATES PLACE THE TOTAL COST OF ALL GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AT \$140 BILLION A YEAR -- WITH BILLIONS OF THAT SPENT ON PAPERWORK ALONE. THIS MONEY, OF COURSE, DOES NOT COME STRICTLY OUT OF CORPORATE PROFITS; IT IS PASSED ALONG TO CORPORATE CUSTOMERS SO THAT ALL OF US HERE WIND UP PAYING THE GOVERNMENT PIPER.



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BEYOND SIMPLY THE COST OF GOVERNMENTAL REGULATION, IT IS ALSO EXTREMELY BURDENSOME. SOME OF YOU HERE PROBABLY HAVE NOT YET HAD THE PLEASURE OF FILLING OUT AN ITEMIZED FEDERAL TAX RETURN, BUT WHEN YOU DO, YOU MAY WELL JOIN MILLIONS OF OTHER TAXPAYERS WHO ARE PUTTING THEIR FINANCIAL AFFAIRS IN THE HANDS OF H.R. BLOCK OR THE MANY OTHER COMPANIES THAT FIGURE OUR PEOPLE'S LIABILITIES. IT'S A TRAGEDY THAT A COUNTRY WHICH FOR MANY YEARS HAD THE FINEST, MOST RESPECTED TAX SYSTEM IN THE WORLD NOW HAS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLICATED, BUREAUCRATIC NIGHTMARES WITHIN THE IMAGINATION OF MAN. JUST THE OTHER DAY I NOTICED THAT THE HEAD OF A MAJOR WASHINGTON COMMISSION THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE CUTTING BACK ON BUREAUCRATIC PAPERWORK HAD TO FILE AN EXTENSION ON HIS TAX RETURN -- SO THAT HE COULD FIGURE IT OUT, TOO, THE SAME THING HAPPENED TO PRESIDENT CARTER.

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WHAT EACH OF US EXPERIENCES IN OUR DAILY LIVES IN FIGHTING THROUGH THE TAX CODE IS ONLY MAGNIFIED SEVERAL TIMES OVER IN PRIVATE BUSINESS. IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED, FOR INSTANCE, THAT A SMALL FAMILY STORE GROSSING SOME \$30,000 A YEAR MUST NOW FILL OUT ON THE AVERAGE, SOME 52 TAX RETURNS A YEAR. THE STEEL INDUSTRY MUST COMPLY WITH 5,600 REGULATIONS FROM 27 DIFFERENT AGENCIES -- 4,000 OF THOSE REGULATIONS FROM OSHA. AND GENERAL MOTORS REPORTS THAT JUST TO CERTIFY ITS CARS ONE YEAR WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IT HAD TO SUBMIT FORMS THAT WOULD REACH 12 STORIES IN HEIGHT. IF ANY OF YOU READ ABOUT GULLIVER'S TRAVELS AMONG THE LILLIPUTIANS WHILE HERE AT ST. LEO'S, YOU HAVE SOME SENSE OF WHAT A PRIVATE BUSINESS ENCOUNTERS WHEN IT DEALS WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

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THE NATIONAL GOVERNORS CONFERENCE LEVELED A SERIOUS CHARGE RECENTLY BY ASSERTING IN A REPORT THAT THE MANY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION HIRING RULES "SEEMED TO HAVE LITTLE CONNECTION WITH THE DESIRED RESULT -- THE HIRING OF PEOPLE."

"FOR EXAMPLE," THE REPORT SAID, "VOLUMES OF DATA HAVE BEEN REQUIRED FAR IN EXCESS OF THE ABILITY OF THE INSTITUTION TO PROVIDE THEM, AND IN EXCESS OF THE CAPABILITY OF ANY FEDERAL AGENCY TO ANALYZE THEM. HEW'S OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS REQUIRED 14 SEPARATE ANALYSES OF EVERY EMPLOYEE ACTION. THIS AMOUNTED TO MORE THAN 100,000 SEPARATE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSES FOR THE MADISON CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERISTY OF WISCONSIN ALONE. THE FINAL AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN FOR THAT CAMPUS RAN TO 16 VOLUMES AND ROUGHLY 6,000 PAGES."



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SOMETIMES THE REGULATORS WORK AT CROSS PURPOSES, WITH TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES . THE CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION ORDERED MANUFACTURERS OF CHILDREN'S PAJAMAS TO TREAT THEIR CLOTH WITH A FIREPROOF CHEMICAL CALLED TRIS. LATER, IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT THE CHEMICAL COULD CAUSE KIDNEY CANCER. SO THE GOVERNMENT DIRECTED THE GARMENT MANUFACTURERS NOT JUST TO REMOVE THE PAJAMAS FROM THE MARKET, BUT TO REFUND THE PURCHASE PRICE TO ANYONE WHO BOUGHT THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SLEEPWEAR, WHICH IS LIKELY TO BANKRUPT SOME OF THE PAJAMA MAKERS.

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### POLICY QUESTIONS AHEAD

THE PUBLIC POLICY DIFFICULTIES THAT WAIT ON YOUR DOORSTEP ARE MANY. THEY ARE CHALLENGING INDEED. TO MENTION A FEW OF THEM:

-- WHAT IS THE BEST BALANCE BETWEEN POPULATION GROWTH AND PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT? HOW MUCH ELBOW ROOM IS ENOUGH?

-- HOW TO MAINTAIN STRONG FAMILY VALUES AND GIVE THOSE WOMEN WHO WANT CAREERS OUTSIDE THE HOME EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO?

-- HOW CAN WE MAKE THE RETIREMENT YEARS OF AGING AMERICANS HAPPIER AND MORE SATISFYING?

-- HOW TO PROVIDE USEFUL JOBS FOR ALL WHO WANT TO WORK, WITHOUT EXCESSIVE INFLATION?

-- HOW TO FEED THE HUNGRY? IF THE WEATHER IS GOOD, WE WILL HAVE A RECORD WHEAT CROP IN MY STATE OF KANSAS, MORE THAN CAN POSSIBLE BE SOLD AT HOME. YET THERE ARE STARVING PEOPLE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. HOW TO TRADE OUR WHEAT ABROAD, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME NOT ALLOWING IMPORTS TO COMPETE UNFAIRLY AGAINST U.S.-PRODUCED GOODS THAT MEAN JOBS FOR AMERICANS?

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-- AND, OF COURSE, ENERGY CONSERVATION? WHO AMONG  
YOU MIGHT PERFECT THE NEXT "KEROSENE LAMP"?

AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS?

SURELY NOT UNDER THE BURDEN OF OVER-REGULATION BY THE  
GOVERNMENT.

IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THOMAS JEFFERSON SPOKE OF  
HIS DESIRE FOR A "WISE AND FRUGAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SHALL RESTRAIN  
MEN FROM INJURING ONE ANOTHER, WHICH SHALL LEAVE THEM OTHERWISE  
FREE TO REGULATE THEIR OWN PURSUITS OF INDUSTRY AND IMPROVEMENT."

"THE NATURAL PROGRESS OF THINGS," JEFFERSON THOUGHT WITH  
CONSIDERABLE INSIGHT, "IS FOR LIBERTY TO YIELD AND GOVERNMENT TO  
GAIN GROUND."



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A FEW WEEKS AGO, I WAS IN MIAMI TO TAKE PART IN A CEREMONY HONORING THE MEMORY OF JULIA TUTTLE. IT OCCURRED TO ME THEN TO WONDER WHETHER MRS. TUTTLE AND HENRY MORRISON FLAGLER AND THE OTHER DARING SOULS WHO BUILT THAT GREAT CITY OUT OF THE SEMINOLE MARSHLANDS OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA WOULD HAVE HAD THE FORTITUDE TO CARRY ON WITH FEDERAL REGULATORS SUPERVISING THEIR EVERY MOVE.

YOURS IS A GENERATION THAT DOES NOT LIKE TO BE HASSLED -- BY THE GOVERNMENT OR ANYONE ELSE. I HAVE EVERY FAITH THAT YOUR GENERATION WILL "GET AT IT." I HAVE EVERY FAITH THAT YOU WILL BE MORE THAN EQUAL TO THE CHALLENGES AND TASKS THAT CONFRONT US ALL... IN PUBLIC SERVICE, SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, BUSINESS, AND MANY OTHER FIELDS. I WISH EACH OF YOU THE VERY BEST IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD.

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