

REMARKS BY SENATOR BOB DOLE  
KAPPA SIGMA INTERNATIONAL FRATERNITY  
NEW ORLEANS MARRIOTT HOTEL  
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

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THERE'S NO FEELING IN THE WORLD TO COMPARE WITH THE FEELING OF COMING HOME. AND THAT'S HOW I FEEL NOW. ALSO, LET ME ASSURE YOU AT THE OUTSET, AS BROTHER TO BROTHER, THAT THE CONSERVATIVE TREND IN WASHINGTON EXTENDS EVEN TO THE LENGTH OF SENATORS' SPEECHES.

SOME OF THE HAPPIEST DAYS OF MY LIFE HAVE BEEN SPENT IN THE COMPANY OF KAPPA SIGS. LIKE MOST OF YOU, I PROBABLY LEARNED MORE ABOUT LIFE WHILE IN COLLEGE THAN I DID ABOUT EARNING A LIVING. WHAT I LEARNED, THEN AND SINCE, MOST OF ALL, WAS THAT THE REAL STRENGTH

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OF THIS COUNTRY LAY, NOT IN WEAPONS OR DIPLOMACY OR EVEN THE LEADERS WHO TEMPORARILY HOLD CENTER STAGE. AMERICA HAS ALWAYS BEEN GREAT BECAUSE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN GOOD. WE NEVER REQUIRED A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO INSTILL COMPASSION FOR OUR NEIGHBORS. WE DIDN'T NEED WASHINGTON RULEMAKERS TO TELL US TO WORK HARD. WE HAD ASPIRATIONS OF OUR OWN, PLANTED AS NATURALLY AS THE CORN AND WHEAT THAT GROW IN THE SOIL OF MY HOMESTATE OF KANSAS.

#### WHAT WE BELIEVE

YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A HISTORIAN TO KNOW THAT THIS COUNTRY'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS TO MANKIND HAVE NOT COME FROM HER WEALTH OR HER WEAPONRY. THEY'VE COME IN HER IDEAS. THEY'VE COME IN THE MORAL SENTIMENTS OF HUMAN LIBERTY AND SOCIAL PROGRESS THAT WE'VE ALWAYS BELIEVED WERE INSEPARABLY LINKED. AND WE

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BELIEVED SOMETHING ELSE. WE BELIEVED THAT GOVERNMENT EXISTED TO PROTECT OUR LIBERTY, AND ENCOURAGE OUR SOCIAL PROGRESS. WE BELIEVED THAT WORK SHOULD BE REWARDED, THAT NO MAN OR WOMAN SHOULD BE DENIED THE OPPORTUNITY TO REALIZE HIS OR HER POTENTIAL, AND THAT THE GREATEST FORM OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS A JOB.

WE LOOKED UPON OUR ECONOMY AS ONE GIGANTIC ESCALATOR, CONSTANTLY CARRYING PEOPLE UPWARD, OUT OF POVERTY, INTO SELF-SUPPORT. BUT SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY, THE ESCALATOR SLOWED DOWN. GOVERNMENT BEGAN CONFUSING ITS FUNCTION OF ENCOURAGEMENT WITH ONE OF DICTATION. SPOUTING GOOD INTENTIONS LIKE AHAH'S MOBY DICK, IT THREATENED LIKE THAT GREAT WHITE WHALE TO TAKE US ALL DOWN INTO THE DEEP. IT CONFUSED HUMANITY WITH INSOLVENCY. IT TRIED TO BE COMPASSIONATE - IT FORGOT TO BE COMPETENT.

SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY, PERHAPS CONFUSED BY THE TRAUMAS OF VIETNAM AND WATERGATE, WE SEEMED TO LOSE OUR CONFIDENCE AS



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A NATION. CERTAIN OF OUR POWER, WE SEEMED HESITANT OF OUR PURPOSE. WE WENT OFF-COURSE, ENTRUSTING TO GOVERNMENT ALONE WHAT WE HAD ALWAYS RESERVED FOR GRASSROOTS AMERICANS. AND WE PAID A HEAVY PRICE: IN HIGHER TAXES, FEWER JOBS, LESS SOCIAL MOBILITY, AND A DEADENING LOSS OF MISSION AMONG YOUNG AMERICANS.

A RENEWAL- AND A DEBATE

THEN, SOMETHING HAPPENED. TO ME, IT CAME ABOUT MOST DRA-  
MATICALLY WITH THE IRANIAN SEIZURE OF OUR EMBASSY IN TEHERAN.  
ALL OF A SUDDEN, AMERICANS WERE UP IN ARMS. YOUNG AMERICANS  
LED THE WAY. YOU COULD SEE THEM IN THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON  
AND WICHITA, CARRYING AMERICAN FLAGS AND TELLING OUR LEADERS  
THAT THEY WERE FED UP WITH POLICIES OF DRIFT AND RETREAT.  
SOMETHING HAPPENED, AND SUDDENLY, IT SEEMED AS IF ALL AMERICANS  
WERE FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF THEIR CHILDREN.

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LAST YEAR'S ELECTIONS TURNED INTO A VAST DEBATE ON WHERE THE COUNTRY HAD BEEN, AND WHERE SHE OUGHT TO GO. LEADERSHIP CAME TO THE FORE AS A CAMPAIGN TOPIC - OVERWHELMING EVEN SPECIFIC ISSUES LIKE ECONOMIC RENEWAL AND MILITARY STANDING. WE HAD COME TO REALIZE THAT LEADERSHIP WAS THE SINGLE MOST CRUCIAL ELEMENT IN TURNING HIGH IDEALS INTO SOLID ACHIEVEMENTS.

#### LEADERSHIP - A DEFINITION

WHEREVER A VACUUM EXISTS, WHEREVER PEOPLE ARE HUNGRY OR HOMELESS, WHEREVER AMERICAN PRESTIGE IS UNDERMINED OR AMERICAN INTERESTS THREATENED, THEN THAT IS A FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP. LEADERSHIP CHANGES WITH THE TIMES. NEW NEEDS ARISE; OLD CERTAINTIES ARE CAST OFF. FOR THE LAST HALF CENTURY, MORE AND MORE AMERICANS CAME TO RELY ON THEIR GOVERNMENT FOR MORE AND MORE OF THEIR LIVELIHOOD. IN THE PROCESS, THEY LET GOVERNMENT COME TO DOMINATE THEIR LIVES - AND UNDERCUT THEIR DREAMS. WE TELL OURSELVES, FOR INSTANCE, THAT WE HAVE BUILT A FLOOR UNDER POOR

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AMERICANS. BUT HAS ANYBODY STOPPED TO CONSIDER THAT WE MAY HAVE ALSO LOWERED THE CEILING ON THEIR HOPE TO ESCAPE POVERTY?

PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID IT WELL IN HIS RECENT SPEECH TO THE NAACP CONVENTION. IF OUR ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY HAD NOT LEVELED OFF AND THEN STARTED TO DECLINE AFTER 1965, TODAY'S AMERICANS WOULD BE \$850 BILLION RICHER. THAT'S ENOUGH TO WIPE OUT THE FEDERAL DEFICIT, SLASH INCOME AND SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES IN HALF - AND STILL LEAVE ENOUGH TO GIVE EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY \$2,500 IN CASH. AND ALL OF THIS, AS THE PRESIDENT POINTED OUT, WOULD HAVE COME ABOUT WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

NOW, DON'T GET ME WRONG. BIG GOVERNMENT IS WITH US TO STAY. IT'S UNAVOIDABLE IN AN AGE OF ENORMOUS ECONOMIC COMPLEXITY. IT'S NECESSARY AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM IS GLOBAL.



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BUT GOVERNMENT CAN BE BIG AND EFFECTIVE AT THE SAME TIME. GOVERNMENT CAN BE BIG AND STILL BE A FRIEND TO FREE ENTERPRISE. GOVERNMENT CAN BE CONSCIENTIOUS, WITHOUT SADDLING THE AMERICAN CONSUMER WITH AN ANNUAL REGULATORY BILL OF \$100 BILLION. IN SHORT, GOVERNMENT CAN RETURN TO ITS ORIGINAL FUNCTION - AS A SPUR TO PRIVATE INCENTIVE AND PUBLIC WELL-BEING.

TO MAKE THAT KIND OF U - TURN IN NATIONAL POLICY REQUIRES MORE THAN FRUSTRATION ON THE PART OF THE VOTERS. IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO CRITICIZE THE FAILURES OF THOSE IN POWER. YOU HAVE TO PROVIDE PEOPLE WITH A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE - GIVE THEM REASON TO HOPE AS WELL AS REASON TO THROW OUT THE RASCALS. YOU HAVE TO GIVE THEM LEADERSHIP. AND THAT, I'M CONVINCED, IS THE SECRET OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESS TO DATE.

LEADERSHIP IS MORE THAN CHARISMA - BECAUSE CHARISMA WITHOUT CHARACTER IS DANGEROUS. IT IS MORE THAN POLITICAL

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SKILL. THE HISTORY BOOKS ARE FILLED WITH MEN WHO MANAGED TO HOLD ON TO OFFICE WHILE BARGAINING AWAY THEIR MORAL AUTHORITY. LEADERSHIP IS SUBTLE, BUT NEVER TIMID. IT MOVES PEOPLE TO GREAT DEEDS - AND GIVES DIGNITY TO THEIR SMALLEST ADVANCES. IT IS REASONABLE, BUT IT DARES TO DREAM. IT SPEAKS THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE - AND NEVER HESITATES TO EXTEND THEIR FIELD OF VISION.

#### DIRECTION - AND A DREAM

MOST OF ALL, LEADERSHIP GIVES A SENSE OF DIRECTION TO ALL OUR ACTIONS. YOU CAN FEEL ITS EFFECTS IN THE NATIONAL MOOD. WE HAVE EMBARKED ON A NEW COURSE IN THIS COUNTRY. FOR YEARS, GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED TO REFORM THE PEOPLE. NOW, THE PEOPLE ARE REFORMING THEIR GOVERNMENT. WE'RE TALKING ONCE AGAIN ABOUT RESTORING WORDS LIKE PROFIT AND INCENTIVE TO POLITE CON-



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VERSATION. WE'RE PUTTING MORE MONEY INTO MORE POCKETS, CONFIDENT THAT THOSE DOLLARS WILL FIND THEIR WAY INTO FRESH INVESTMENT AND NEW JOBS.

WE'RE DUSTING OFF THE OLD DREAM THAT WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS LIKED TO THINK OF AS UNIQUELY OURS: THAT WHEN YOU GIVE A MAN A JOB, YOU GIVE HIM A STAKE IN SOCIETY. GIVE HIM REASON TO WORK, TO SAVE, TO DEVELOP HIS OWN TALENTS - AND YOU MOVE THIS COUNTRY ONE STEP CLOSER TOWARD WHAT ITS FOUNDING FATHERS WANTED IT TO BE.

IT IS A TIME FOR NEW BEGINNINGS, A TIME RIPE FOR RETURNING TO THE IDEAS THAT MADE US GREAT. SHRINK GOVERNMENT - AND EXPAND PRIVATE OPPORTUNITY. THAT'S THE MESSAGE OF THE 1980'S-AND THE ESSENCE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP. IT MAKES THIS ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING OF TIMES TO BE YOUNG - TO BE IN THE FRONT-LINES OF CHANGE. TO YOUR GENERATION WILL FALL THE GREAT ADVENTURE

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OF MAKING PERMANENT THE NEW EMPHASIS ON THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS RIGHTS. YOU WILL BE CALLED UPON TO HALT THE SLOW, STEADY EROSION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY. YOU WILL BE CALLED UPON TO PRODUCE SOMETHING BETTER. YOU WILL BE ASKED TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP FOR TOMORROW'S AMERICA.

WHEN YOU LEAVE YOUR CAMPUSES, YOU'LL TAKE WITH YOU MUCH MORE THAN A SHEEPSKIN AND SOME LOAN VOUCHERS. YOU'LL TAKE ALONG A WEALTH OF HAPPY MEMORIES, AND A STRING OF LIFELONG FRIENDSHIPS. YOU'LL BE ENRICHED BY YOUR CONTACT WITH CLASSMATES AND BROTHERS. AND YOU WILL BE ENTRUSTED TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT ALL THAT YOU HAVE BEEN GIVEN.

#### CUSTODIANS OF TOMORROW

BECAUSE, IN THE END, YOU WILL BE THE CUSTODIANS OF DREAMS THAT HAVE BEEN HANDED DOWN FROM GENERATION TO GENERATION. "THE REPUBLIC IS A DREAM", CARL SANDBURG WROTE, "NOTHING HAPPENS UNLESS

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FIRST A DREAM." WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN AMERICA LEADS THE WORLD WISELY, WHEN NO ONE DRAWS A SWORD AND NO ONE DRAGS A CHAIN. WE DREAM OF AN AMERICA WHERE INDIVIDUALS ARE THE MASTER OF GOVERNMENT, NOT ITS SERVANTS. WE DREAM OF A LAND WHERE PRODUCTIVITY IS REWARDED, AND DIVERSITY IS PROTECTED AGAINST A CONFORMITY THAT IS SWALLOWED LIKE PILLS.

THESE ARE DREAMS NURTURED THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, ON CAMPUSES AND IN FACTORIES, IN FIREHOUSES AND FRATERNITY HOUSES, IN BOSTON AND BIRMINGHAM, IN WHEATFIELDS AND UNION HALLS. THEY ARE DREAMS THAT CAN MOTIVATE A CAREER - AND ELEVATE A LIFE. AND IF LEADERSHIP HAS A SINGLE NOBLE OBJECTIVE, IT MUST BE THE ABILITY TO INSPIRE DREAMS IN OTHERS - AND THEN MAKE THE DREAMS INTO REALITY.

DON'T EVER LOSE YOUR CAPACITY TO DREAM - OR YOUR COMMITMENT TO MAKING THEM REAL. BE ALL THAT YOU CAN BE, AND YOU WILL HAVE



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MADE THIS OLD BROTHER VERY PROUD. YOU WILL HAVE LIVED UP TO THE IDEA OF KAPPA SIGMA - AND GIVEN YOUR BEST TO CARL SANDBURG'S REPUBLIC OF DREAMS. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN YOU PRACTICE IN REAL LIFE THE LEADERSHIP YOU HAVE BEEN PREPARED FOR IN OUR FRATERNITY.

ANTICIPATE EVENTS - DON'T REACT TO THEM. SET THE AGENDA, INSTEAD OF MERELY ECHOING THE MOOD OF THE LAND. REPLACE CONFUSION WITH VISION. SUBSTITUTE A SENSE OF HISTORY FOR POLITICAL PATCHWORK. SEE BEYOND THE HORIZON, AND GRASP THE POTENTIAL OF WHAT LIES AHEAD. DON'T BE CONTENT WITH DAY TO DAY SURVIVAL. LOOK TO A FUTURE ALIVE WITH POTENTIAL, AND EXCITING ENOUGH TO ENLIST THE ENERGIES OF YOUTH.

I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT EACH OF YOU IS WILLING AND ABLE TO LEAD. AND I HAVE NO QUESTION THAT, ONCE YOU DO, SUCCESS WILL FOLLOW. SO I BID YOU TAKE HEART: THE DAYS OF NATIONAL

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DECLINE ARE OVER. NEW LEADERS ARE IN PLACE. NEW IDEAS ARE  
TAKING HOLD. AND BEST OF ALL, OLD DREAMS ARE ONCE MORE AT  
THE HEART OF NATIONAL POLICY.