



U.S. Department of
Transportation

News:

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Washington, D.C. 20590

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

JUNE 13, 1985

MUCH HAS CHANGED SINCE THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH WAS LAUNCHED IN A LAW OFFICE MORE THAN SEVENTY YEARS AGO. ONE DOES NOT NEED TO BE A LEGAL HISTORIAN TO KNOW THAT FOR MANY YEARS, DOORS TO SOME OF THIS COUNTRY'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS FIRMS WERE CLOSED TO ASPIRING LAWYERS ON THE GROUNDS OF THEIR FAITH, OR THEIR RACE, OR THEIR SEX. EVEN TODAY, ADL RECOGNIZES THAT INSENSITIVITY CAN POSE AS GREAT A BARRIER TO HUMAN UNDERSTANDING AS THE MOST REPRESSIVE LAW OR SOCIAL CUSTOM.

IT WAS BACK IN MY STUDENT DAYS AT HARVARD WHEN I DECIDED UPON A CAREER IN PUBLIC SERVICE. I SENSED, THEN, AS I DO NOW, THAT IT PROVIDES ONE OF THE BEST OPPORTUNITIES TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE FOR PEOPLE. AND PUBLIC SERVICE FINDS ITS GREATEST FULFILLMENT WHEN IT IS JOINED TO CRUCIAL CAUSES SUCH AS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION. IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT ONE CAN JUDGE THE GOODNESS OF A NATION BY HOW FREE ITS MINORITIES ARE FROM BIGOTED TREATMENT. THE ADL'S VIGILANCE HAS HAD A TREMENDOUS EFFECT IN HELPING THE UNITED STATES BECOME THE OPEN AND TOLERANT SOCIETY IT IS TODAY TOWARD ALL ITS RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES. I ESPECIALLY APPLAUD YOUR CONSISTENT SUPPORT OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR MEMBERS OF EVERY MINORITY GROUP, AND YOUR PRINCIPLED BELIEF THAT THE BEST MEANS TO ACHIEVE SUCH OPPORTUNITY IS NOT THROUGH RIGID QUOTA SYSTEMS.

I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED IN OPEN DOORS AND OPEN MINDS. IT WAS A POLICY I FOLLOWED RIGOROUSLY WHILE SERVING AS PRESIDENT REAGAN'S ASSISTANT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON - IN WHICH CAPACITY I HAD THE GREAT PLEASURE OF COMING TO KNOW AND WORK WITH ADL LEADERS SUCH AS KENNETH BIALKIN, NAT PERLMUTTER AND BURTON LEVINSON. MY DUTIES THESE DAYS ARE DIFFERENT. BUT MY INTEREST IN DIALOGUE REMAINS CONSTANT. OURS IS AN ENDURING RELATIONSHIP. AND I AM GRATEFUL FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE MY OWN STRONG, CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO YOUR CAUSE.

1985 IS A YEAR OF ANNIVERSARIES, SOME JOYOUS, OTHERS WRACKED WITH PAIN. WE CELEBRATE FORTY YEARS OF PEACE. WE COMMEMORATE OUR TRIUMPH OVER THE WORLD'S MOST MONSTROUS EVIL, A HORROR WHOSE MEMORIES HAVE NOT AND NEVER WILL LEAVE US. THANK GOD FOR THE HUMAN CAPACITY TO REMEMBER, EVEN WHEN MEMORY IS HARD. FOR ANYTHING LESS WOULD DIMINISH OUR EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITY, AND THE ABILITY TO RECOGNIZE EVIL IN THE MODERN WORLD. THOSE WHO SURVIVED THE HOLOCAUST KNOW THIS PERHAPS BETTER THAN ANYONE ELSE. NO ONE HAS A BETTER CLAIM TO OUR FEELINGS; NO ONE CAN MORE FAIRLY BE LABELED THE CONSCIENCE OF HUMANITY.

IF ANYONE CAN DOUBT THIS, HE ONLY HAS TO VISIT YAD VASHEM, AS BOB AND I DID A FEW YEARS AGO - STUNNED BY THE ENORMITY OF HISTORY'S GREATEST ATROCITY. INDELIBLE AS THE MEMORY IS, I WISH THAT ALL AMERICANS COULD SEE YAD VASHEM FOR THEMSELVES. FOR THEN THEY WOULD JOIN US IN RESOLVING: NEVER TO TOLERATE SUCH EVIL IN THE WORLD. NEVER TO CLOSE OUR MINDS AND HEARTS TO THE TRUTH. NEVER TO PERMIT JEWS OR ANY OTHER RACE TO STAND DEFENSELESS AGAINST PERSECUTION AND STATE-SANCTIONED TERROR.

THE HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS KNOW BY INSTINCT THAT ANTI-SEMITISM DID NOT FIRST APPEAR WITH THE RISE OF HITLER. NOR, TRAGICALLY, DID IT DISAPPEAR WITH HIS IGNOMINIOUS DEMISE. THEIR MORAL RADAR PICKS UP WITH UNERRING ACCURACY TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION IN OUR OWN WORLD, THE WORLD OF 1985. A WORLD STILL STAINED BY HUMAN ENSLAVEMENT AND INHUMAN IDEOLOGIES, A WORLD STILL DEGRADED BY ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA. IN A VIOLENT CENTURY, THE MOST TRAGIC CHAPTERS ARE DIRECTLY TRACEABLE TO THOSE WHO USE LANGUAGE TO INCITE DESTRUCTIVE FORCES. THEIR NATIONALITY DOES NOT MATTER; A HITLER, A QUADDAFI, A KHOMEINI, ALL STAND CONDEMNED IN THE WITNESS BOX OF HISTORY FOR PERVERTING LANGUAGE AND SANCTIONING MASS DEATH. AND CERTAINLY, THE ADL DESERVES GREAT CREDIT FOR MAKING THE PUBLIC AWARE OF THE VIOLENCE AND SUFFERING WHICH ALL TOO OFTEN FOLLOW IN THE WAKE OF FALSE AND HATE-FILLED WORDS.

I AM PROUD TO SERVE IN AN ADMINISTRATION THAT CONTENTS ON THE SIDE OF TRUTH IN THIS WAR OF WORDS. AN ADMINISTRATION THAT SPEAKS UP NOT ONLY FOR OUR OWN VITAL INTERESTS, BUT FOR HUMANITY'S INTEREST. I REMEMBER THE TIME JEANE KIRKPATRICK TOLD ABOUT ARRIVING IN NEW YORK, AND HOW SHE WAS ASKED TO DEFINE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS ADMINISTRATION'S DIPLOMACY AND THAT OF ITS PREDECESSOR. "WE HAVE TAKEN OFF OUR 'KICK ME' SIGN", SHE RESPONDED. "DOES THAT MEAN", SHE WAS ASKED, " THAT IF YOU'RE KICKED, YOU'LL KICK BACK?" "NOT NECESSARILY" SHE SAID, "BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT IF WE'RE KICKED, AT LEAST WE WON'T APOLOGIZE".

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WE WILL NOT LOWER OUR PROFILE WHERE INJUSTICE AND INTOLERANCE HOLD SWAY. WE WILL NOT LOWER OUR FLAG WHERE STREET MOBS OR OFFICIAL DUPLICITY HOLD POWER. WE WILL NOT TURN OUR HEADS WHEN TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA BROADCASTS LIES ABOUT AMERICA - OR HER STAUCHEST ALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ISRAEL. SUCH DESECRATIONS LIVE ON, WHENEVER SOMEONE CALLS ZIONISM A FORM OF RACISM. WHENEVER SOVIET OR THIRD WORLD NATIONS COMMIT ANTI-SEMITIC SLURS--DOWN TO THE APPALLING CHARGE HEARD ON ONE RECENT MOSCOW TELEVISION BROADCAST ACCUSING EUROPEAN JEWS OF ACTUALLY HAVING COLLABORATED WITH THE NAZIS IN HANDING THEIR OWN PEOPLE OVER TO THE DEATH CAMPS.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT AGAINST SUCH OBSCENITIES, AT THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN EVERY INTERNATIONAL ARENA TO EXPOSE ANTI-SEMITISM FOR WHAT IT IS. MAY I ADD THAT WE COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN AS EFFECTIVE WITHOUT YOUR VIGILANCE AND YOUR DETERMINATION TO KEEP BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE BURNING ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREVER ANTI-SEMITIC DOCTRINES ENDANGER THEM. LET ME BE MORE SPECIFIC STILL: WE DEEPLY APPRECIATE THE ADL'S OUTSPOKEN CONDEMNATION OF OFFICIAL ANTI-SEMITISM WHEREVER IT DEFACES MANKIND--WHETHER IN MOSCOW OR MANAGUA.

AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL WIVES FOR SOVIET JEWRY, IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO MEET WITH THE FAMILIES OF MANY PERSECUTED SOVIET JEWS. BOB AND I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY, IN 1982, TO FACILITATE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY AND HIS WIFE. SHCHARANSKY, THE FAMED COMPUTER TECHNOLOGIST AND JEWISH PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE, HAS BEEN IN PRISON SINCE 1977. WE SAW FIRST-HAND WHAT YOU KNOW SO WELL--THAT THOSE WHO PRACTICE THEIR RELIGIOUS FAITH IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY--CHRISTIANS AS WELL AS JEWS--ARE PERSECUTED. DEPRIVED OF ALL OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE AHEAD PROFESSIONALLY, THE SACRIFICES THEY MAKE ARE TRULY INSPIRATIONAL TO ALL AMERICANS.

IT'S NO ACCIDENT OF HISTORY THAT AMONG THE EARLIEST SETTLERS IN THIS LAND WERE REFUGEES FROM RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS. NOW MORE THAN EVER, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES ARE ALLIES OF THE HEART AS WELL AS THE HEAD. OURS IS THE OLDEST SURVIVING DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD. ISRAEL'S IS ONE OF THE NEWEST AND MOST BELEAGUERED. BOTH OUR SOCIETIES ARE GROUNDED IN FAITH IN GOD. BOTH ARE DETERMINED TO REMAIN FREE WHILE PROMOTING FREEDOM FOR OTHERS.

A NATION'S SECURITY IS MEASURED IN ECONOMIC AS WELL AS MILITARY TERMS. RECOGNIZING THIS, THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION HAS, OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS, PROVIDED ALMOST \$9.5 BILLION IN AID TO ISRAEL. I AM HAPPY TO NOTE APPROVAL OF A NEW \$1.5 BILLION SUPPLEMENTAL AID PACKAGE. BUT AS ONE FRIEND OF ISRAEL HERE TONIGHT AMONG SO MANY, I ONLY STATE THE OBVIOUS WHEN I SAY THAT GRANTS OF AID CANNOT BY THEMSELVES SUSTAIN ISRAEL.

-MORE-

HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE PROVEN THE ECONOMIC PESSIMISTS WRONG. THROUGH SACRIFICE, HARD WORK, AND ABOVE ALL THROUGH REDISCOVERY OF THE VALUES OF FREE ENTERPRISE, WE HAVE REPLENISHED HOPE AND REIGNITED OPPORTUNITY. AND WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN'S HISTORIC PROPOSAL FOR TAX REFORM, I BELIEVE WE STAND AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA OF FAIRNESS AND SIMPLICITY IN OUR TAX SYSTEM--WITH RESULTING INCENTIVES FOR FAMILY STRENGTH AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. WILL ROGERS USED TO SAY THAT THE INCOME TAX HAD MADE MORE LIARS OUT OF AMERICANS THAN ANYTHING, EXCEPT THE GAME OF GOLF. IF WE ADOPT THE PRESIDENT'S REFORM PACKAGE -- WE CAN SAVE OUR IMAGINATIVE POWERS FOR THE FISH THAT GOT AWAY--OR THE THIRTY FOOT PUTT ON THE 18TH HOLE.

MEANWHILE, I FIND MYSELF CAUGHT UP IN ANOTHER KIND OF REFORM--RENEWAL OF WHAT HAD BEEN ONE OF THE MOST HEAVILY REGULATED GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES. WE ARE GETTING AMERICA ON THE MOVE AGAIN THROUGH GREATER FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE IN TRANSPORTATION. IN COMMERCIAL AVIATION, AS ONE EXAMPLE, WE'VE SEEN DEREGULATION PERMIT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREATIVE, FLEXIBLE NEW SERVICES FOR CONSUMERS. AND TO THINK IT WAS ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO THAT THIS INDUSTRY WAS BURDENED BY A REGIME OF REGULATORY NAYSAYERS WHO DENIED EVEN THE EXISTENCE OF A MARKET FOR SUCH SERVICES.

ONE OF MY PRIME REGULATORY CONCERNS SINCE BECOMING SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION IS SAFETY AND IN THIS PERIOD OF DEREGULATION, SAFETY WILL NOT BE DIMINISHED. I CONGRATULATE NEW YORKERS ON THE TREMENDOUS SUPPORT AND COMPLIANCE THEY ARE GIVING THEIR NEW STATE SAFETY BELT USE LAW. THANKS TO YOUR SAFETY EFFORTS, THE RATE OF TRAFFIC DEATHS IN THIS STATE HAS FALLEN BY 27 PERCENT SINCE THE NEW LAW TOOK EFFECT IN JANUARY. NOR IS THAT ALL. THIS YEAR THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AWARDED THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN TRANSIT AUTHORITY A SPECIAL GRANT OF \$11 MILLION FOR IMPROVED SAFETY AND SECURITY ON THE SUBWAYS. THIS IS ONE CAUSE THAT SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE GONE UNDERGROUND!

IN OSLO LAST YEAR I SPOKE AT A MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF TRANSPORT. I TOLD MY DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE THE STORY OF AMERICA'S SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC RECOVERY, PARTICULARLY IN THE TRANSPORTATION CONTEXT. I TOLD THEM THAT I DIDN'T WANT SIMPLY TO "EXPORT" OUR FREE-MARKET POLICIES, AND I CERTAINLY DID NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE THEM--BUT I DID WANT TO SHARE WITH THEM SOME OF OUR SUCCESS STORY AND THE PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE HELPED US RESTART THE ENGINES OF PROSPERITY.

MANY IN MY AUDIENCE WERE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS, AND SOME OF THEM CONFRONTED ME WITH THE FAMILIAR NOTION THAT GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES, CONTROLS AND MONOPOLIES WERE NECESSARY TO SATISFY THE DEMANDS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE--AS THEY PUT IT, TO "MEET HUMAN NEEDS." I RESPONDED THAT ECONOMIC FREEDOM SERVES HUMAN NEEDS MOST FAIRLY AND MOST EFFICIENTLY. THAT IS NO MERE ABSTRACT DOCTRINE. EXPERIENCE PROVES OUR CONVICTION THAT ECONOMIC FREEDOM NOT ONLY SERVES HUMAN NEEDS, IT IS A HUMAN NEED. THE ULTIMATE FORM OF JUSTICE IS

A JOB--AND THANKS TO DEREGULATION, THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY ALONE CAN POINT TO SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER EMPLOYMENT, WHILE AMERICA'S TRUCKERS HAVE GAINED NEARLY A QUARTER MILLION NEW JOBS UNDER DEREGULATION SINCE 1982. MANY PEOPLE WHO NEVER THOUGHT THEY COULD AFFORD AIR TRAVEL ARE FLYING TODAY. FARES HAVE DROPPED AND THE TRAVELING PUBLIC SAVED \$10 BILLION DOLLARS FROM 1978 TO 1983.

ALL THIS, I BELIEVE, IS NOT WITHOUT RELEVANCE TO THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL. FOR DESPITE THE CONSTANT THREAT TO HER SECURITY, SHE, TOO, CAN ACHIEVE ECONOMIC MIRACLES. THE REASON IS SIMPLE. ISRAEL'S HIGHLY-EDUCATED, DYNAMIC PEOPLE, THE RICHNESS OF HER CULTURE, AND HER IMPRESSIVE CAPACITIES FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES--THESE AND MORE GIVE HER UNBOUNDED POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC SUCCESS.

IT IS A SOURCE OF GREAT SATISFACTION TO ME TO KNOW THAT TODAY EXIST THE CLOSEST, DEEPEST BONDS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL SINCE DEMOCRACY PLANTED ITS ROOTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SOME 37 YEARS AGO. UNDER THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, FOR THE FIRST TIME STRATEGIC COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAS BECOME A FORMAL, INSTITUTIONALIZED PROCESS. OUR NEW JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY GROUP MAKES THE U.S. AND ISRAEL FULL-FLEDGED ALLIES IN DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. MOREOVER, WE ARE COMMITTED EXPLICITLY TO MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE MILITARY SUPERIORITY AGAINST ITS ADVERSARIES. FOR WHILE WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRESS TOWARD NEGOTIATED PEACE MADE AT CAMP DAVID CAN BE EXTENDED, IT CAN ONLY HAPPEN SO LONG AS ISRAEL REMAINS STRONG, WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS.

PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS ASKED ME TO REAFFIRM THIS EVENING HIS COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL AND TO THE WELL BEING OF HER BRAVE PEOPLE. WE WILL NEVER DO ANYTHING TO PLACE EITHER IN JEOPARDY.

MORE THAN JUST ALLIES, WE ARE ALLIES OF THE SPIRIT AS WELL. AS DEMOCRACIES, WE HAVE A SPECIAL APTITUDE FOR PROMOTING AND KEEPING PEACE IN THE WORLD. IT HAS BEEN OBSERVED THAT DEMOCRACIES DON'T START WARS. IN MODERN TIMES THE RECORD IS CLEAR THAT WHEN THERE HAS BEEN WAR, THE AGGRESSOR IN VIRTUALLY EVERY INSTANCE HAS BEEN AN AUTHORITARIAN OR TOTALITARIAN REGIME--SOMETHING OTHER THAN A DEMOCRACY. IN OUR VERY DANGEROUS WORLD, WITH SO MANY REAL AND POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS, DEMOCRACIES SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL MUST REMAIN ALL THE STRONGER--IN TERMS NOT ONLY OF MILITARY PREPAREDNESS, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL GOOD OF SOCIETY. THE PROGRESS OF PEOPLE UNDER DEMOCRACY CAN AND MUST SHOW THE WORLD AN EXAMPLE THAT PEACE IS NOT THE MERE ABSENCE OF WAR.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ONCE SAID, "THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK WE ARE UNDERTAKING AS A NATION IS TO SOLVE THE MAGNIFICENT CHALLENGE OF BEING A FREE PEOPLE." TO ME THAT MEANS, AS WE REFLECT TONIGHT ON THE THEME OF PUBLIC SERVICE, THAT PUBLIC SERVICE IN A FREE SOCIETY MUST NOT BE LEFT TO THE EXCLUSIVE PROVINCE OF POLITICIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

WE MUST NEVER THINK THAT IN AN INSTITUTION AS BIG AS GOVERNMENT, THE INDIVIDUAL DOESN'T COUNT. ONE VOICE CAN HAVE AN IMPACT ON PUBLIC POLICY. ONE SUGGESTION OR IDEA CAN START THE WHEELS OF GOVERNMENT TURNING, OR CONVERSELY, ONE WELL-REASONED COMPLAINT CAN CHANGE THE COURSE OF PUBLIC ACTION.

THESE TRUTHS, OF COURSE, ARE NOT NEWS TO MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH. EACH ONE OF YOU IS A SPLENDID EXAMPLE OF ACTIVE, CARING CITIZENSHIP. MEMBERS OF THE ADL HAVE NEVER BEEN TIMID ABOUT SHOWING THEIR COMPASSION, OR EXPRESSING THEIR ANGER AT BIGOTRY AND INJUSTICE, OR PUTTING FORWARD CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR IMPROVING UNDERSTANDING AMONG PEOPLES. YOU HAVE CARRIED A BEACON OF TRUTH FOR NEARLY ALL OF THIS 20TH CENTURY. MAY GOD GIVE YOU EVERY STRENGTH AND BLESSING AS YOU CONTINUE TO BRING FORWARD THE LIGHT OF UNDERSTANDING, REMEMBRANCE AND HOPE. FOR I KNOW THAT YOU AND I ARE UPHELD IN OUR WORK, BY OUR FAITH, IN THE WORDS OF ISAIAH, THAT "THOSE WHO WAIT UPON THE LORD SHALL RENEW THEIR STRENGTH. THEY SHALL MOUNT UP WITH WINGS AS EAGLES. THEY SHALL RUN AND NOT BE WEARY. THEY SHALL WALK AND NOT FAINT."

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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