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MEMORANDUM

Date: September 10, 1994

To: Senator Dole

From: Alec Vachon *AV*

Re: Foreword for BY TRUST BETRAYED

- * As you may recall, you agreed to contribute a Foreword to a new edition of Hugh Gallagher's BY TRUST BETRAYED: PATIENTS, PHYSICIANS, AND THE LICENSE TO KILL IN THE THIRD REICH -- a study of the killing of disabled people by the Nazis. A copy of the book is attached; you provided a short comment on the back cover of the first edition. This book is used as a standard reference at the U.S. Holocaust Museum, and your Foreword should receive wide attention.

- * A draft Foreword is attached for your approval: (1) begins with a short summary of the book, (2) makes several points about American leadership in World War II and on human rights, and (3) discusses your interest in the human rights of people with disabilities -- including your bill last year on this issue. The Foreword reprises some key points you made in the floor statement introducing that bill and in your 25th anniversary floor statement.

**BY TRUST BETRAYED:
PATIENTS, PHYSICIANS, AND THE LICENSE TO KILL IN THE THIRD REICH**

FOREWORD

Hugh Gallagher has performed an important public service in documenting the persecution of people with disabilities during the Third Reich. Fifty-five years ago, in September 1939, Adolf Hitler signed a secret order authorizing Aktion T-4, a systematic program of killing of people with disabilities. By the time it ended in 1945, hundreds of thousands of people with disabilities -- in Germany and the occupied nations -- were dead. Aktion T-4's "success" was the predecessor of later mass killings, having chillingly demonstrated to the Nazis the technical feasibility of the holocaust of Jews and others.

Perhaps the ugliest aspects of Aktion T-4 were its moral pretensions, its disregard for the intrinsic worth of people with disabilities, and the essential complicity of physicians and lawyers. The killings were justified by phrases like "final medical assistance" and beliefs about "natural selection," but it was nothing but murder of some of the most vulnerable.

No one can read this account without feelings of outrage and a determination that such behavior must never be allowed to happen again.

Indeed, just as American leadership of the Allies defeated Germany and the other Axis Powers, it was American leadership after the Second World War that led to the first international accords on human rights, including the United Nations Charter in

1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, to help prevent such tragedies from happening again and other violations of human rights.

Although these documents and others provide an essential foundation for respect of the human rights of people with disabilities, nonetheless in my view the human rights of people with disabilities throughout the world have received far too little attention -- and that the United States, a pioneer in promoting the dignity of its own citizens with disabilities, has a special obligation to assume leadership in this area.

To that end, in July 1993 I introduced a bill, the "Disability Rights in American Foreign Policy Act" (S. 1256), that would instruct the Secretary of State to examine discrimination against people with disabilities in the State Department's annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. Since 1977, these Country Reports have become an authoritative survey of human rights worldwide, closely read by other governments and human rights organizations.

Happily, the Secretary of State was listening, and even before any legislative action, the Country Reports for 1993, published in February 1994, included for the first time a short section on the status of people with disabilities in each of 190 countries, from Angola to Zimbabwe. Some accounts are disturbing. In one country, for example, infants born with birth defects are considered sorcerers, and sometimes killed at birth. But others are encouraging. Even in some low-income countries,

there are real efforts at advocacy and opportunity. And the Country Reports are a powerful reminder the manufacture of disability, through war and civil strife, is regrettably one of the world's major industries.

The Country Reports now send the message around the world -- to governments and to people with and without disabilities -- that the United States considers discrimination against people with disabilities a human rights issue and that people with disabilities are included in our human rights agenda.

Although a good beginning, there is much more to be done. The United States needs to look at how well its support for programs of economic development abroad include people with disabilities, and what kinds of assistance we can provide to other nations as they struggle to provide medical and rehabilitation services for their citizens. Americans have never shied away from challenges, and the fight for full participation by the world's 500-million people with disabilities is one we accept willingly and with enthusiasm.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SENATOR BOB DOLE

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September 12, 1994

Mr. Hugh Gallagher
7600 Cabin Road
Cabin John, Maryland 20818

Dear Mr. Gallagher:

Enclosed as promised is the Foreword you requested for a new edition of your book, By Trust Betrayed: Patients, Physicians, and the License to Kill in the Third Reich. Once again, I appreciate the opportunity to contribute this Foreword.

If you have any questions, please contact Dr. Alexander Vachon of my staff at (202) 224-8959.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



BOB DOLE
United States Senate

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