

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

HYMAN BRAND HEBREW ACADEMY'S
TENTH ANNUAL CIVIC SERVICE AWARD DINNER
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
MAY 1, 1983

IT'S CUSTOMARY TO BEGIN EVENTS SUCH AS THIS BY ACKNOWLEDGING A HOST OF DISTINGUISHED GUESTS. AND AS ANY OF YOU WHO HAVE LISTENED TO ME OVER THE YEARS CAN ATTEST, THIS IS ALSO A GOOD TIME FOR A JOKE OR TWO, MAYBE THREE OR FOUR. BUT THIS EVENING, I'D LIKE TO DISPENSE WITH THE JOKES. I WON'T EVEN MENTION THE U.S. TAX CODE - WHICH IF IT ISN'T A JOKE MIGHT AT LEAST BE CONSIDERED THE 18TH REASON FOR CONSULTING H & R BLOCK. INSTEAD, I'D LIKE TO ACKNOWLEDGE ONE WHO IS NOT IN OUR PRESENCE - AT LEAST, NOT PHYSICALLY. SPIRITUALLY, OF COURSE, HE IS VERY MUCH WITH US, AND WILL BE AS LONG AS MEMORY AND EXAMPLE EXTEND A MAN'S INFLUENCE BEYOND THE DAYS OF HIS LIFE ON THIS EARTH.

VREM LEVENS: A RARE FRIEND

VREM LEVENS WAS A DEAR FRIEND OF MINE. HE WAS THAT RARITY IN THE POLITICAL WORLD - A FRIEND WHO WANTED NOTHING FOR HIMSELF,

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AN ALLY WHO CARED FAR MORE ABOUT PRINCIPLES THAN PERSONALITIES. WHAT HE DID WANT WAS A BETTER LIFE FOR THOSE AROUND HIM. HE WANTED A SECURE JEWISH HOMELAND, AND A MIDDLE EAST CLEANSED OF ANCIENT RIVALRIES. HE WANTED HIS OWN COUNTRY'S PUBLIC LIFE TO STRESS THE NEED FOR INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENT IF ANY OF OUR SOCIAL DREAMS WERE TO BE REALIZED. HE WANTED OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TO HAVE A CHANCE TO BETTER THEMSELVES, IN THE CLASSROOM AND ON THE PLAYING FIELDS. HE WANTED PRIVATE EDUCATION TO BE STRENGTHENED, INTO THE BULWARK OF EXCELLENCE THAT THIS ACADEMY HAS REPRESENTED THROUGHOUT ITS DISTINGUISHED CAREER OF SERVICE.

MOST OF ALL, VREM LEVENS WANTED TO SHARE WHAT HE HAD EARNED, AND TO CELEBRATE A SYSTEM OF OPPORTUNITY THAT REWARDED HIS AMBITIONS AT THE SAME TIME IT INSPIRED HIS GENEROSITY. WHEN HE DIED SIX WEEKS AGO, OUR SHOCK WAS PRONOUNCED. OUR SENSE OF LOSS WAS PROFOUND. BUT SO WAS OUR GRATITUDE FOR HAVING KNOWN SUCH A MAN, AND FOR HAVING HAD A CHANCE IN SOME SMALL WAY TO SHARE IN HIS SENSE OF MISSION.

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VREM LIVED LIFE RESTLESSLY. FOR HE WAS RESTLESS WITH THE URGE TO DO GOOD. BUT WE CAN TRUTHFULLY PAY HIM THE ULTIMATE TRIBUTE, WHEN WE SAY THAT HE LEFT THE WORLD A BETTER PLACE FOR HIS LIFE IN IT. ALONG THE WAY, HE TAUGHT US MANY THINGS. ABOVE ALL, HE TAUGHT WHAT THIS ACADEMY AND ITS SUPPORTERS EMBODY, NAMELY, RESPONSIBILITY. SO LET THIS BE AN EVENING, NOT SIMPLY TO REMEMBER ONE GOOD AND FAITHFUL FRIEND, BUT AN INVITATION TO SHARE IN RESPONSIBILITY TO ONE ANOTHER, TO OUR COMMON IDEALS, TO THE UNCOMMON INSTITUTIONS THAT RAISE A COMMUNITY'S SIGHTS, AND TO THE VALUES THAT HAVE ALWAYS ENDOWED AMERICA WITH HER OWN IDENTITY AS THE CHAMPION OF CHOICE AND THE OBLIGATION OF SERVICE.

AMERICA: THE RESPONSIBLE LAND

FOR THIRTY-FIVE YEARS NOW, ONE OF OUR FOREMOST RESPONSIBILITIES HAS BEEN ONE OF OUR DEEPEST-FELT ALLEGIANCES. I SPEAK, OF COURSE, OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, A NATION OF FREEDOM LOVING MEN AND WOMEN, A TRUE FRIEND OF THE UNITED STATES, AND IN MANY WAYS AN EXAMPLE OF INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US WHO HAVE GROWN WEARY OF BIG POWER POLITICS

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AND THE CYNICAL POSTURING THAT PASSES FOR MODERN DAY DIPLOMACY. IT TOOK PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN LESS THAN AN HOUR TO RECOGNIZE THE INFANT NATION ON ITS BIRTHDAY, MAY 14, 1948. OVER THE YEARS, OUR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP HAS GROWN, NURTURED BY PERSONAL BONDS AND POLITICAL AGREEMENT. ISRAEL, ALMOST ALONE IN A VITAL CORNER OF THE GLOBE, HAS STOOD UP FOR DEMOCRATIC VALUES, STOOD UP FOR HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES, STOOD UP AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD CONVERT THE MIDDLE EAST INTO A SOVIET BACKWATER OR PLUNGE THE REGION INTO A FANATICAL RETURN TO THE MIDDLE AGES.

ISRAEL HAS NEVER WAVERED IN ITS FRIENDSHIP - AND NEITHER CAN WE. FOR TOO LONG IN THE RECENT PAST, AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS TOOK THEIR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES LIGHTLY. WE TREATED FRIENDS LIKE ENEMIES, AND MISTOOK ENEMIES FOR FRIENDS. WE BELIEVED THAT A LOWERED AMERICAN PROFILE MIGHT SOMEHOW REDUCE INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. WE STRUCK AN ALMOST APOLOGETIC NOTE, AS IF THERE WERE SOMETHING UNCLEAR ABOUT A GREAT NATION STANDING UP TO PROCLAIM THE VIRTUES

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ON WHICH IT ACHIEVED GREATNESS.

THOSE WHO POINT A FINGER AT JERUSALEM FOR THE BLOODSHED THAT HAS MARRED SOUTH LEBANON FORGET THE NATIONAL SECURITY IMPERATIVES THAT PROMPTED ISRAEL TO ACT. IT IS TO ISRAEL'S CREDIT THAT EVEN IN THAT TRYING TIME OF NATIONAL CRISIS, A FAIR-MINDED COMMISSION OF RESPECTED JURISTS EXAMINED ISRAEL'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN LEBANON. THESE PROCEDURES WOULD HAVE DONE CREDIT TO ANY DEMOCRACY. THEY AGAIN SHOW THAT OUR ALLIANCE WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS BASED NOT JUST ON GEOGRAPHY OR NATIONAL SECURITY, BUT ON SHARED MORAL VALUES AND TRADITIONS.

THIS EVENING, EVEN AS WE MEET, SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ IS CONDUCTING A SERIES OF DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT DEFUSING THE TENSIONS THAT STILL FILL THE AIR OF LEBANON, SYRIA - AND ISRAEL. WE WISH HIM GODSPEED AND GOOD LUCK AS HE TRIES TO FIND WAYS TO INDUCE KING HUSSEIN AND OTHERS TO JOIN THE PEACE PROCESS INAUGURATED AT CAMP DAVID FIVE YEARS AGO, AND TO RE-INVIGORATE THE PRESIDENT'S

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OWN PROPOSALS FOR A PERMANENT ACCORD SET FORTH LAST SEPTEMBER 1. IT IS A TIME FOR HOLDING OUR BREATH - AND ALSO FOR HOLDING OUR TONGUES. YET THIS MUCH CAN AND SHOULD BE SAID. ISRAELI ARMS HAVE ONCE AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THEIR SUPERIORITY. BUT WE ALL LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN PEACE WILL REST ON A SECURED, PERMANENT BASIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND NOT BY RELIANCE ON ARMS ALONE.

THE PRICE PAID BY ISRAEL HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN HIGH. BUT IN A WORLD OF RELATIVE VALUES, THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAVE DEMONSTRATED ANEW THEIR COMMITMENT TO PERMANENT TRUTHS. ONCE AGAIN, THEY HAVE SHOWN AN ABILITY TO GRASP AND THEN ACCEPT THEIR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES. AND THIS TOO IS SOMETHING THAT WE AS AMERICANS CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE AND ADMIRE.

RESPONSIBILITIES IN OUR OWN BACKYARD

EARLIER THIS WEEK, PRESIDENT REAGAN ADDRESSED A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS. HIS TOPIC WAS AN UNPOPULAR ONE, DIMLY UNDERSTOOD BY MANY, AND SUBJECT TO EASY MISINTERPRETATION BY SOME IN THE NEWS

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MEDIA. HE WARNED US THAT AMERICA'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN HER OWN HEMISPHERE WERE UNDER SEIGE. HE TOLD US WITH WORDS BOTH MODERATE AND PERSUASIVE THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR EL SALVADOR IS WORTH MAKING - NOT JUST BECAUSE OF ITS POSITION ON THE DIPLOMATIC CHESSBOARD - BUT BECAUSE ITS PEOPLE GENUINELY DESERVE FREEDOM AS WELL AS PEACE, A CHANCE TO RESTORE THEIR WAR-TORN ECONOMY, AND TO GET ON WITH THE DIFFICULT TASK OF CONSTRUCTING NEW INSTITUTIONS TO CHANNEL A GROWING PASSION FOR DEMOCRACY AND SELF-RULE. IN SHORT, HE SUMMONED US TO ASSUME OUR OWN RESPONSIBILITIES HERE, IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERIC BACKYARD.

MONEY IS NOT THE ISSUE. WHEN THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE CUTS A PRESIDENTIAL REQUEST IN HALF, FROM \$60 MILLION TO \$30 MILLION, IT ISN'T WITHHOLDING FUNDS SO MUCH AS IT IS RESERVING AUTHORITY. IT WISHES TO LEAVE ITS OWN STAMP ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. AND THANKS TO THE VIETNAM SYNDROME THAT HAS INFECTED MANY OF OUR POLICYMAKERS FOR THE LAST DECADE, THAT STAMP IS ONE OF CAUTION TO THE POINT OF

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TIMIDITY.

NOW LET ME BE PRECISE IN MY WORDING. YOU ALL KNOW THAT I AM NOT EQUATING ISRAEL WITH CENTRAL AMERICA. I AM NOT CHOOSING NATIONAL PRIORITIES, NOR AM I SUGGESTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR REPRESENTS HEAVEN ON EARTH. I DO NOT ADVOCATE CARTE BLANCHE FOR THAT GOVERNMENT IN ITS DEALINGS WITH OUR OWN. BUT I AM SUGGESTING THAT THE ALTERNATIVE IS FAR WORSE, THAT IT REPRESENTS AN UNDENIABLE EXPANSION OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION INTO CENTRAL AMERICA, THAT IT POSES AN AUTHENTIC DANGER TO OTHER NATIONS, MUCH AS NICARAGUA AND CUBA HOPE TO EXPORT THEIR OWN BRAND OF REVOLUTIONARY TERROR. THE PLAIN TRUTH IS THAT WE MUST CHOOSE OUR ALTERNATIVES OR ELSE HAVE THEM EXPOSED BY OTHERS. THIS IS A LESSON THE ISRAELIS HAVE NEVER FORGOTTEN.

IT'S NO ACCIDENT THAT LIBYA SENDS PLANE LOADS OF WEAPONS TO MANAGUA - AND THAT WHEN BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS HALT THE PLANE AND DEMAND TO SEE ITS CARGO, THEY ARE MET WITH UNCTUOUS CLAIMS ABOUT

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MEDICAL SUPPLIES. WE MUST EXAMINE THE IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH SHIPMENTS CAREFULLY - AS WELL AS THE IMPLICATIONS OF OUR NOT ACTING. FOR IT WOULD BE A TRAGIC ACCIDENT OF HISTORY IF THE UNITED STATES WHOSE DOORS LIKE OUR MINDS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OPEN TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE, SHOULD SUDDENLY DECIDE TO EMBRACE A NEW FORM OF ISOLATIONISM. SUCH A RETREAT WOULD BE MORE FAR-REACHING THAN ANY RESULT IN EL SALVADOR.

RESPONSIBILITIES AROUND THE GLOBE

IT HAS BECOME UNFASHIONABLE IN RECENT YEARS TO SUGGEST THE PRESENCE IN THE WORLD OF THINGS LIKE GOOD AND EVIL. WE ARE WARNED OVER AND OVER TO SHY AWAY FROM SUMMARY JUDGMENTS. DIPLOMACY, WE ARE TOLD, IS A SCIENCE AS WELL AS AN ART; WE SHOULD BE WARY OF ANYTHING APPEARING BLACK AND WHITE. WELL, FORGET THE BLACK AND WHITE. CONSIDER THE BLOOD-RED. FOR THAT IS THE COLOR APPEARING THROUGHOUT MUCH OF THIS ANXIOUS WORLD. IT RAN FREELY IN AN AMERICAN EMBASSY PULVERIZED BY A TERRORIST EXPLOSION LAST WEEK IN BEIRUT. IT STAINS THE JUNGLE FLOOR OF CENTRAL AMERICA EVERY DAY. IT FLOWS

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IN THE BACK COUNTRY OF CAMBODIA AND THE REMOTE FORESTS OF CENTRAL AFRICA. IT IS A COLOR THAT MUST BE BLOTTED OUT IF PEACE IS TO OVERTAKE OUR PLANET.

THERE IS A PARADOX TO PEACE. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO DENOUNCE OUR FOES, FOR WORDS ALONE CARRY LITTLE FORCE AGAINST MODERN WEAPONS. YET AMERICA'S GREATEST WEAPONS HAVE NEVER COME IN THE FORM OF TANKS OR MISSILES, BATTLESHIPS OR EVEN LASER BEAMS. THEY ARE, INSTEAD, OUR IDEALS. AND IT WOULD BE A TRAGIC IRONY IF WE BECAME SO COMMITTED TO REASON AND RESTRAINT THAT WE YIELDED TO DISHONOR OR INJUSTICE. AND A NATION WHOSE WORD CANNOT BE RELIED UPON IN THE UNPOPULAR OR HARD-TO-EXPLAIN STRUGGLES CANNOT LONG BE COUNTED A RELIABLE ALLY EVEN BY HER OLDEST AND CLOSEST FRIENDS.

WHEN I WAS GROWING UP, MUCH OF THE MIDWEST WAS CALLED ISOLATIONIST. WE BEHAVED AS IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE A CHOSEN PEOPLE, ABOVE AND BEYOND THE QUARRELS OF THE OLD WORLD OR THE STRUTTING LUNACY OF DISTANT DICTATORS. WE WANTED TO BELIEVE THAT

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WE COULD LIVE A SECURE EXISTENCE BEHIND THE WALLS OF OUR OWN WISHFUL THINKING, SAFEGUARDED BY A WIDE OCEAN AND THE LIMITS OF AIR POWER AT THE TIME. WHEN WAR CAME, WE LEARNED OTHERWISE - AND I BEAR THE SCARS OF WAR TO THIS DAY.

I DON'T WANT ANOTHER GENERATION OF YOUNG AMERICANS TO CONFRONT SUCH HORRORS - WHICH IS PRECISELY WHY I WANT THIS GENERATION TO ACCEPT ITS GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES NOW.

WE ARE A GREAT NATION, NOT BECAUSE OF OUR DEFENSE BUDGET, NOR BECAUSE OF OUR INDUSTRIAL MIGHT. OUR GREATNESS LIES IN THE GOODNESS OF OUR PEOPLE, IN THE MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO EMULATE VREM LEVENS IN GIVING OF THEIR TIME, THEIR TALENT AND THEIR RESOURCES. THEY SHOULDER THEIR BURDENS BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT FREEDOM DOES NOT COME CHEAPLY.

ISRAEL HAS OFTEN BEEN DESCRIBED AS A MILITANT NATION. IN A SENSE, THE DESCRIPTION FITS: ISRAEL IS MILITANT FOR JUSTICE, MILITANT FOR DECENCY, MILITANT FOR THE FREE EXPRESSION OF IDEAS

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AND THE OPEN CLASH OF DIFFERING PHILOSOPHIES. ABOVE ALL, ISRAEL IS MILITANT IN LIVING UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. HER PEOPLE INHABIT A CROSSROADS OF THE GLOBE, THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATIONS AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF THREE GREAT RELIGIOUS EXPRESSIONS. IN DEFENDING THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS, THE ISRAELIS ADVANCE MANKIND'S AS WELL. THIS IS SOMETHING WE SHOULD REMEMBER IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE JEWISH STATE. IT IS SOMETHING WE SHOULD REMEMBER IN FORMULATING OUR OWN FOREIGN POLICY. AND IT IS SOMETHING THAT VREM LEVENS' MEMORY WILL KEEP FRESH IN OUR MINDS ALWAYS. SHALOM!