

SENATOR BOB DOLE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

APRIL 4, 1995

THANK YOU, RICHARD, FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION.

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY. AND IT'S GOOD TO SEE OLD FRIENDS LIKE DAVID BRODY, AND OF COURSE, ABE FOXMAN.

I HEAR THAT ABE HAS TAKEN UP A NEW HOBBY: EXERCISE. JESS HORDES (HOR DES) TELLS ME THAT ABE HAS EVEN HIRED A PERSONAL FITNESS TRAINER...WHICH-MUST-MEAN THIS HOBBY'S GETTING-PRETTY SERIOUS.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

ONE SERIOUS ISSUE THAT HAS MOVED FRONT-AND-CENTER HERE IN WASHINGTON IS THE ISSUE OF "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION."

THE BALL GOT ROLLING LAST DECEMBER, WHEN I ASKED THE CONGRESSIONAL RESEARCH SERVICE TO PROVIDE ME WITH A LIST OF EVERY FEDERAL LAW AND REGULATION THAT GRANTS A PREFERENCE TO INDIVIDUALS ON THE BASIS OF RACE, SEX, NATIONAL ORIGIN, OR ETHNIC BACKGROUND. FRANKLY, I WAS SURPRISED TO LEARN THAT SUCH A LIST HAD NEVER BEEN COMPILED BEFORE, WHICH, I SUPPOSE, SPEAKS VOLUMES ABOUT HOW DELICATE THIS ISSUE CAN BE.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE C.R.S. RESPONDED TO MY REQUEST WITH A LIST OF MORE THAN 160 PREFERENCE LAWS, RANGING FROM FEDERAL PROCUREMENT REGULATIONS, TO THE R.T.C.'S BANK-OWNERSHIP POLICIES, TO THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION CONTRACTING RULES. EVEN N.A.S.A. HAS GOTTEN INTO THE ACT, EARMARKING EIGHT PERCENT

OF THE TOTAL VALUE OF ITS CONTRACTS TO MINORITY-OWNED AND WOMEN-OWNED FIRMS ON THE THEORY THAT THESE FIRMS ARE "PRESUMPTIVELY" DISADVANTAGED.

WE COULD SPEND DAYS, IF NOT WEEKS, ATTEMPTING TO ANSWER ALL THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE AFFIRMATIVE-ACTION DEBATE: WHAT WERE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION'S ORIGINAL GOALS? HAVE THESE GOALS BEEN ACHIEVED? DOES AFFIRMATIVE ACTION CAUSE REVERSE DISCRIMINATION? WHAT'S ITS IMPACT ON RACE RELATIONS? AND HAS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION HAD A POSITIVE, OR A DETRIMENTAL, EFFECT ON ITS INTENDED BENEFICIARIES? HAS IT WORKED, IN OTHER WORDS?

BUT THERE'S ALSO A MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION WE NEED TO ANSWER, AND THAT'S SIMPLY THIS: WHAT IS AFFIRMATIVE ACTION? HOW DO WE DEFINE IT?

YOU KNOW, I'VE BEEN ACCUSED RECENTLY OF WANTING TO "BAN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION." THAT'S A PRETTY STRONG STATEMENT...IT MAKES FOR A CATCHY HEADLINE...BUT, IN MY VIEW, IT'S A BIT OFF THE MARK. AFTER ALL, WHAT DO WE MEAN WHEN WE SAY, "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION?"

SO, I HAVE TRIED TO FRAME THE ISSUE THIS WAY: "IF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MEANS REMEDYING PROVEN PAST DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS, THEN I'M ALL FOR IT. IF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MEANS RECRUITMENT OF QUALIFIED MINORITIES AND WOMEN TO GIVE THEM THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMPETE, WITHOUT GUARANTEEING THE RESULTS OF THE COMPETITION, THEN I'M FOR THAT TOO. BUT IF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MEANS QUOTAS, SET-ASIDES, AND OTHER PREFERENCES THAT FAVOR INDIVIDUALS SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY HAPPEN TO BELONG TO CERTAIN GROUPS, THEN THAT'S WHERE I DRAW THE

LINE."

THIS IS THE STANDARD I'VE SET FOR MYSELF, AND IT'S THE ONE I INTEND TO FOLLOW WHEN I INTRODUCE LEGISLATION LATER THIS YEAR TO GET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OUT OF THE BUSINESS OF GRANTING GROUP PREFERENCES.

BY THE WAY, I HAVE REVIEWED THE ADL'S OWN POSITION PAPER ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION...AND WHILE WE MAY HAVE SOME MINOR DIFFERENCES, OUR APPROACHES APPEAR TO BE VERY, VERY SIMILAR.

OF COURSE, I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE AMERICA OF 1995 IS A COLOR-BLIND SOCIETY. IT IS NOT. DISCRIMINATION CONTINUES TO BE AN UNDENIABLE PART OF AMERICAN LIFE. AND I AM PREPARED TO WORK WITH THE ADL AND WITH OTHERS TO FIND SENSIBLE WAYS TO BEEF-UP THE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION EFFORT.

BUT FIGHTING DISCRIMINATION, IT SEEMS TO ME, SHOULD NEVER BECOME AN EXCUSE FOR ABANDONING THE COLOR-BLIND IDEAL. EXPANDING OPPORTUNITY SHOULD NEVER BE USED TO JUSTIFY DIVIDING AMERICANS BY RACE, BY GENDER, BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND. AND, AFTER ALL, ARE PROGRAMS CREATED TEN, OR TWENTY, OR EVEN THIRTY YEARS AGO, SOMEHOW IMMUNE FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL MICROSCOPE? OF COURSE, NOT.

HOPEFULLY, REASON WILL PREVAIL IN THIS DEBATE...IN FACT, REASON MUST PREVAIL. IF WE KEEP OUR VOICES LOW AND OUR INTENTIONS GOOD, I'M CONVINCED THIS COULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY NOT TO DIVIDE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, BUT TO UNITE US.

#### AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

AND TODAY, IN 1995, NEVER HAS THIS SENSE OF UNITY AND



COMMON PURPOSE BEEN MORE IMPORTANT, YET MORE THREATENED. TOO OFTEN THESE DAYS, WE SEEM TO SPEAK IN TERMS OF A HYPHENATED IDENTITY: IT'S ITALIAN-AMERICANS, IRISH-AMERICANS, AFRICAN-AMERICANS, AND NOT JUST "AMERICANS."

HISTORIAN ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. PROBABLY PUT IT BEST WHEN HE WARNED, AND I QUOTE: "INSTEAD OF A NATION COMPOSED OF INDIVIDUALS MAKING THEIR OWN UNHAMPERED CHOICES, AMERICA INCREASINGLY SEES ITSELF AS COMPOSED OF GROUPS MORE OR LESS INERADICABLE IN THEIR ETHNIC CHARACTER. THE MULTIETHNIC DOGMA ABANDONS HISTORIC PURPOSES, REPLACING ASSIMILATION BY FRAGMENTATION, INTEGRATION BY SEPARATISM. IT BELITTLES UNUM AND GLORIFIES PLURIBUS."

PROFESSOR SCHLESINGER USES A LOT OF SYLLABLES, BUT HE ALSO MAKES A LOT OF SENSE. AND THAT'S WHY PEOPLE LIKE LOUIS FARRAKHAN ARE SO DANGEROUS. THEIR MESSAGE OF RACIAL SEPARATISM-- OF "US VERSUS THEM"--STRIKES AT THE VERY HEART OF OUR OWN CITIZENSHIP.

WE ARE NOT SEVERAL NATIONS, AS FARRAKHAN WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE. WE ARE ONE NATION...ONE COUNTRY...ONE PEOPLE...THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE RELENTLESS IN REINFORCING THIS PRINCIPLE OF UNITY.

THAT'S WHY I WAS SO ASTOUNDED WHEN CONGRESSMAN PETE KING TOLD ME THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT, H.U.D., HAD ACTUALLY AWARDED SEVERAL MILLION-DOLLAR CONTRACTS TO GROUPS LINKED WITH THE NATION OF ISLAM.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SERVE AS A UNIFYING

FORCE...BRINGING AMERICANS TOGETHER...AND NOT AS THE PIGGY-BANK FOR THOSE WHO WOULD DIVIDE US WITH THEIR MESSAGE OF HATE. THIS IS WRONG, AND IT OUGHT TO STOP.

**THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS**

ON THE FOREIGN POLICY FRONT, THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF TALK LATELY ABOUT "REPUBLICAN ISOLATIONISM." SOME OF THAT TALK IS PRETTY IRONIC BECAUSE IT COMES FROM A WHITE HOUSE WHICH USED TO BOAST ABOUT ITS DOMESTIC FOCUS. REPUBLICANS PROVIDED THE VOTES TO PASS NAFTA AND GATT AND REPUBLICANS PROVIDED THE VOTES TO AUTHORIZE FORCE TO LIBERATE KUWAIT FROM SADDAM HUSSEIN.

SO-DESPITE THE NAME-CALLING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE, REPUBLICANS ARE NOT SPONSORING A RETREAT FROM THE WORLD. IN FACT, WE ARE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR CONTINUED INVOLVEMENT -- INVOLVEMENT BASED ON OUR INTERESTS. INVOLVEMENT BASED ON OUR ALLIES WITH SHARED VALUES -- DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, ECONOMIC FREEDOM, STABILITY, AND SECURITY. AND AS I LOOK AROUND THE WORLD, I SEE NO CLOSER ALLY THAN ISRAEL. AND THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL HAS ADVANCED OUR SHARED INTERESTS AND VALUES IN A REGION UNFORTUNATELY NOT NOTED FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

THE HISTORIC PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ONLY BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HAVE STOOD TOGETHER, AND ONLY BECAUSE ISRAEL HAS REMAINED STRONG AND SECURE.

THE FIRST OF THE ARAB LEADERS TO UNDERSTAND THAT REAL PEACE WITH ISRAEL WAS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST WAS ANWAR SADAT. IT

TOOK MORE THAN A DECADE FOR OTHERS TO REACH THE SAME UNDERSTANDING, BUT RECENT EVENTS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGING, AS THE TUNISIANS, MOROCCANS, THE OMANIS AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE JORDANIANS HAVE TAKEN STEPS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

NO COUNTRY LIVES IN A TOUGHER NEIGHBORHOOD THAN ISRAEL: SYRIA AND LEBANON TO THE NORTH. RADICAL RULERS IN LIBYA AND SUDAN IN NORTH AFRICA. EVEN CLOSER ARE IRAQ AND IRAN. BOTH OF THESE ROGUE STATES HAVE DIRECTLY THREATENED THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. EACH HAS SUPPORTED TERRORIST ATTACKS UPON ISRAEL AND HAS REJECTED THE PROSPECT OF PEACE. OF GREATEST CONCERN, HOWEVER, ARE THE ATTEMPTS BY THESE STATES TO ATTAIN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. AS THE GULF WAR ILLUSTRATED, ISRAEL IS CLEARLY WITHIN THE RANGE OF HOSTILE MISSILES. ISRAEL CAN NEVER BE SECURE SO LONG AS THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ALLOWS IRAQ AND IRAN TO CONTINUE TO ACQUIRE MORE AND MORE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONRY.

THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IS RAGING ACROSS NORTH AFRICA. VIOLENT EXTREMISTS -- WHICH HAVE FAR MORE TO DO WITH POLITICAL POWER THAN WITH RELIGION -- THREATEN GOVERNMENTS, AND EXPORT SUBVERSION. BOMBS IN ISRAEL, ASSASSINATIONS IN EGYPT, OPEN WARFARE IN ALGERIA -- ALL ARE LINKED BY A NEW RADICAL ISLAMIC "TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL" WHICH HAS PROVEN ITS ABILITY TO STRIKE IN THE UNITED STATES. PART OF THE ANSWER TO THE TERRORIST THREAT IS TO TIGHTEN U.S. LAWS AND PRACTICES -- AND WE ARE WORKING WITH THE ADMINISTRATION ON LEGISLATION TO STRENGTHEN COUNTER-TERRORIST EFFORTS. PART OF THE ANSWER IS ALSO TO SUPPORT STATES WHICH ARE EVEN MORE ON THE FRONT-LINE FIGHTING



TERRORISM. THE THREAT OF TERRORISM, LIKE THE OTHER QUESTIONS AND CHALLENGES I HAVE LISTED, LEAD TO ONLY ONE CONCLUSION--NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO REDUCE U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL. AS ISRAEL CONTINUES TO NEGOTIATE WITH SYRIA AND WITH THE PALESTINIANS, NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT FOR A MOMENT THE FULL COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

IT IS TOO SOON TO TELL WHERE THE PEACE PROCESS WILL END UP. BUT THERE WILL BE SETBACKS AND THERE WILL BE MOVES FORWARD. THROUGHOUT THE INEVITABLE EBB AND FLOW OF NEGOTIATIONS, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. THAT IS THE BEST WAY TO A JUST AND LASTING PEACE WITH SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

#### **BOSNIA**

AS A VETERAN OF WORLD WAR II WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE BRUTAL AGGRESSION OF THE NAZI'S, I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD AGAIN SEE CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE MIDST OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT. OF COURSE, THE SLAUGHTER OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IS NOWHERE NEAR THE SCALE OF THE HOLOCAUST. HOWEVER, THE OBJECTIVES BEHIND "ETHNIC CLEANSING," THE HOLOCAUST, AND OTHER GENOCIDES ARE THE SAME: TO ANNIHILATE HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE OF A DIFFERENT RACE OR RELIGION.

LAST JUNE, I WAS IN SARAJEVO AND I WITNESSED THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE LIVING THERE: MUSLIMS, CROATS, JEWS, AND SERBS--WHOSE ONLY CRIME HAS BEEN THAT THEY REFUSE TO SURRENDER TO THE IDEA THAT THEY CANNOT LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE. AND THEIR COURAGE AFTER OVER 1,000 DAYS OF SIEGE IS A LIVING TESTAMENT TO

THE STRENGTH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT--A PRESENT DAY ECHO OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST.

TRAGICALLY, LIKE THE JEWS IN THE WARSAW GHETTO, THE PEOPLE OF SARAJEVO AND THE BOSNIANS IN OTHER SO-CALLED U.N. SAFE AREAS, ARE TRAPPED AND UNABLE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES. TO DENY THESE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDAL AGGRESSION THE ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES IS MORALLY REPREHENSIBLE. MOREOVER, IT VIOLATES THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE WHICH IS RECOGNIZED UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW AND IN THE U.N. CHARTER.

THIS ARMS EMBARGO MUST BE TERMINATED, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE TO LEAD THE WAY.

AMERICA, AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, CANNOT CONTINUE TO BE AN ACCOMPLICE IN SUCH AN ILLEGAL, IMMORAL, AND UNJUST POLICY.

NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO CONFRONT GENOCIDAL NATIONALISM IN BOSNIA, WE HAVE TO PREVENT FUTURE BOSNIAS. AS AMERICANS, WE HAVE TO FIGHT FOR THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS EVERY DAY OF OUR LIVES.

AND THAT'S WHERE THE A.D.L. COMES IN--FIGHTING AGAINST BIGOTRY. STANDING UP FOR THOSE WHO ARE THE VICTIMS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC HATRED.

SO, I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR GIVING ME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE THE LUNCH HOUR WITH YOU. BUT, MORE IMPORTANTLY, I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE WORK YOU DO EACH AND EVERY DAY TO MAKE AMERICA A BETTER PLACE FOR US ALL.

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