

News from Senator

# BOB DOLE



(R - Kansas) SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:  
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1983

CONTACT: WALT RIKER  
(202) 224-6521

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR  
THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

OCTOBER 22, 1983

SEVERAL WEEKS AGO AN EDITORIAL APPEARED IN THE WASHINGTON POST ENTITLED "THE CHEERFUL IGNORANCE OF THE YOUNG IN LOS ANGELES." IT WAS NOT A CHEERFUL ARTICLE AND I DOUBT THAT IT SHOULD HAVE SINGLED OUT LOS ANGELES AS A TARGET. WE HAVE ALL HEARD ABOUT THE APPALLING STATE OF EDUCATION IN THIS COUNTRY. PRESIDENT REAGAN AND MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE ARE DETERMINED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THAT. THAT ARTICLE WAS AN ELOQUENT STATEMENT OF WHY IT IS SO FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT TO THIS NATION AND ITS PRESERVATION THAT WE SUCCEED.

IT SPOKE OF THE IGNORANCE OF OUR YOUNG. IT NOTED THAT MANY OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY DO NOT KNOW WHEN WORLD WAR II BEGAN, WHAT BROUGHT THE UNITED STATES INTO THE WAR AND, MORE ALARMINGLY, ON WHICH SIDE THE SOVIET UNION AND GERMANY WERE ON. NONE HAD EVER HEARD OF LENIN AND ONE EVEN IDENTIFIED JOSEPH STALIN AS A U.S. PRESIDENT. THE CONCEPTS OF TOTALITARIANISM AND MARTIAL LAW WERE FOREIGN TO THEM AND, CLOSER TO HOME, COULD NOT NAME THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS TO OUR CONSTITUTION OR CONNECT THEM WITH THE BILL OF RIGHTS. THIS IS AN APPALLING IGNORANCE OF FACTS AND CONCEPTS WITH FUNDAMENTAL IF NOT DEVASTATING IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR COUNTRY. TO QUOTE THE AUTHOR:

"IF A YOUNG MAN OR WOMAN HAS NEVER HEARD OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS, THAT YOUNG PERSON IS UNLIKELY TO UNDERSTAND WHY THIS IS A UNIQUELY PRIVILEGED NATION WITH UNIQUELY PRIVILEGED CITIZENS, YOUNG AND OLD. IF A STUDENT HAS NEVER HEARD OF THE WARSAW PACT AND HAS NO IDEA WHAT THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM IS ALL ABOUT, THAT STUDENT IS UNLIKELY TO UNDERSTAND WHY SACRIFICE IS NECESSARY TO DEFEND THIS SOCIETY."

THE AUTHOR CONCLUDES "THAT IN A STATE OF SUCH ASTONISHING IGNORANCE, YOUNG AMERICANS MAY WELL NOT BE PREPARED FOR EVEN THE MOST BASIC NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY - UNDERSTANDING WHAT THE SOCIETY IS ABOUT AND WHY IT MUST BE PRESERVED." MOREOVER, IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT WE KNOW AND UNDERSTAND OUR OWN SOCIETY AND OUR OWN SYSTEM, WITH ALL ITS IMPERFECTIONS. WE MUST HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING OF OTHERS AND OF OTHER SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT. IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THIS IS NOT JUST IMPORTANT, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR SURVIVAL AS A FREE PEOPLE.

IT HAS BEEN FIFTY YEARS SINCE WE ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. IT HAS NEVER BEEN AN EASY RELATIONSHIP AND OUR EXPECTATIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OVER THE FIFTY YEARS HAVE VARIED CONSIDERABLY. IN WORLD WAR II, FACED WITH A COMMON ENEMY WE BECAME ALLIES. IN THE FIFTIES, A PERIOD WE KNOW AS THE COLD WAR, WE TRIED CONTAINMENT. IN THE SEVENTIES WE TRIED DETENTE. DETENTE HAD ITS OWN SET OF EXPECTATIONS - NONE OF WHICH PROVED REALISTIC. WHATEVER ITS PROMISE, WHATEVER HOPE IT HELD AND HOWEVER MUCH EITHER SIDE PROFESSED ADHERENCE, I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER DETENTE, AS CONCEIVED OF IN THE SEVENTIES, COULD HAVE SUCCEEDED. PROBABLY NOT. THE FISSURES APPEARED EARLY. ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN WAS EXPELLED IN 1974. THE FOLLOWING YEAR WE WITNESSED THE SOVIET AIRLIFT OF CUBAN TROOPS INTO ANGOLA, NORTH VIETNAM'S TRIUMPH IN SAIGON AND EXPANSION INTO KAMPUCHEA, THE END OF THE COALITION GOVERNMENT IN LAOS, THE SOVIET SHIFT TO ETHIOPIA AGAINST SOMALIA, AND AID TO THE RADICAL SANDINISTAS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE KREMLIN LAUNCHED A MASSIVE CRACKDOWN AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AT HOME RESULTING IN THE VIRTUAL DECIMATION OF THE HELSINKI MONITORING GROUPS. THIS WAS ACCOMPANIED BY A DRASTIC DECREASE IN EMIGRATION AUTHORIZATIONS - A POLICY WHICH HAD A DEVASTATING EFFECT ON THE SOVIET JEWS.

BADLY BLOODIED, DETENTE WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED IN AFGHANISTAN AND POLAND. WHATEVER FLICKER OF LIFE IT MAY STILL HAVE HAD, THAT TOO



MUST HAVE SURELY DIED OVER THE SEA OF JAPAN.

WE HAVE PURSUED POLICIES BASED ON THE QUEST TO ELIMINATE OUR ADVERSARY, A QUEST DOOMED TO PERPETUAL CONFRONTATION AND TO FRUSTRATION AS WE FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THAT SELF-PRESERVATION MAY BE THE STRONGEST MOTIVATING FORCE WITHIN THE KREMLIN. THE PENDULUM THEN SWUNG WIDE TO THE NOTIONS OF SUPERPOWER CONDOMINIUM OR EVENTUAL CONVERGENCE. WE MUST SHARE THIS WORLD WITH THIS BITTER AND DANGEROUS ADVERSARY. BUT WHILE NEVER FORGETTING THE FUNDAMENTAL ADVERSARINESS OF MOSCOW WE NEED, TO QUOTE MY ESTEEMED COLLEAGUE SENATOR MATHIAS, "TO USE A WIDER LENS IN ORDER TO SEE THE SOVIET UNION WHOLE."

IN AN ARTICLE IN LAST SUMMER'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SENATOR MATHIAS STATED THAT "ALONG WITH ITS AGGRESSIVE IMPULSES WE MUST CONSIDER ITS DEFENSIVE REFLEXES, ITS SECURITY OBSESSIONS, ITS SELF-PRESERVATION INSTINCTS AND THE LESS THAN UNIFORM RECORD OF ITS EXPANSIONISTIC CONDUCT...THE 'EVIL EMPIRE' IS ALSO DIVERSE, SUBJECT TO INTERNAL STRAINS, ECONOMICALLY STAGNANT AND TECHNOLOGICALLY BACKWARD." WE NEED UNDERSTANDING OF THE STRESSES AND THE LIMITATIONS AND DETERMINANTS THEY PLACE ON THE KREMLIN LEADERSHIP.

OUR POLICIES MUST BE BASED ON REALISM, NOT ON OLD MYTHS, POSTURINGS OR NAIVETE. A REALISM BASED ON A FIRM UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET UNION, ITS PEOPLES, ITS CULTURES, ITS HISTORY, LANGUAGES AND ITS NEIGHBORS. THESE ARE OUR WINDOWS TO THE SOVIET UNION. THESE ARE THE KEYS TO OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR MOTIVATIONS, THEIR FEARS, THEIR ASPIRATIONS AND THEIR OBJECTIVES.

TO CONTAIN THE SOVIET UNION EFFECTIVELY, NEITHER BY BRIBES NOR THREATS NOR A POLLYANNIC INABILITY TO RECOGNIZE OUR DIFFERENCES, WE SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT ISOLATE OURSELVES FROM SOVIET SOCIETY ON ANY FRONT.

YOUR ASSOCIATION, DEDICATED TO FURTHERING THE BROAD RANGE OF DISCIPLINES THAT TOGETHER MAKE UP SLAVIC STUDIES, HAS AN UNIQUELY IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY. THOSE OF YOU GATHERED HERE THIS EVENING - SCHOLARS, STUDENTS AND PRACTITIONERS - AND THOSE YOU REPRESENT THROUGHOUT THE A.A.A.S.S. ARE A PRINCIPAL RESOURCE IN OUR EFFORT TO UNDERSTAND.

YOU KNOW AS WELL AS I THAT THE GOAL IS NEITHER ACCOMMODATION NOR CAPITULATION. WHATEVER THE HISTORICAL AS WELL AS IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS SHOWN ITSELF REPEATEDLY TO BE EXPANSIONIST AND RUTHLESS. A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS WILL NOT MAKE THEM MORE SUCCESSFUL NOR ITS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVILIZED NORMS MORE TOLERABLE NOR THE SUBJUGATION OF OTHERS JUSTIFIED. BUT IF WE EVER HOPE TO INFLUENCE THE SOVIET SYSTEM, PERHAPS EVEN CURB ITS WORST ABUSES OF CIVILIZED BEHAVIOR, WE MUST UNDERSTAND IT. YOU CAN AND YOU SHOULD HELP US DO THAT.

WASHINGTON ALSO RECOGNIZES ITS RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS EFFORT. TITLE VI OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT, BEGUN IN RESPONSE TO SPUTNIK IN 1959, WAS PREDICATED ON THE NEED FOR STRENGTH NOT ONLY THROUGH TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY, BUT STRENGTH THROUGH EDUCATION AND REALISM. OUR RECOGNITION THAT WE NEED TO DEVELOP AND ENCOURAGE AREA SPECIALISTS AS WELL AS SCIENTISTS IF WE ARE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE SOVIETS HAS SURVIVED FOR NEARLY TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. THERE HAVE BEEN LEAN YEARS, AS YOU ALL KNOW. THERE HAVE BEEN ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH THE WHOLE PROGRAM. AND, AS THE RANGE OF AREA STUDIES TO BE ASSISTED UNDER THE PROGRAM HAS GROWN, THE SLICE LEFT TO SLAVIC STUDIES HAS, BY NECESSITY, SHRUNK, BUT IT HAS SURVIVED AND, AT THIS CRITICAL TIME IN OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND DESPITE THE ALL TOO MANY DEMANDS ON OUR BUDGET. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR ALL AREA STUDIES PROGRAMS HAS, IN FACT, INCREASED. TITLE VI FUNDING IS, IN FACT, AT ITS HIGHEST LEVEL EVER.

BUT WE UNDERSTAND THAT MORE IS NEEDED IN THE CRITICAL AREA OF SLAVIC STUDIES. JUST THIS WEEK, THE SENATE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED AN AMENDMENT TO THE STATE AUTHORIZATION BILL THAT WOULD DESIGNATE \$5.0 MILLION FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH AND TRAINING. THIS ACT ACKNOWLEDGES IN THE CLEAREST TERMS THAT - AND I QUOTE - "FACTUAL KNOWLEDGE, INDEPENDENTLY VERIFIED, ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IS OF THE UPMOST IMPORTANCE FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND FOR THE PRUDENT MANAGEMENT OF OUR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS." THIS ACT WOULD TARGET GRADUATE TRAINING, ADVANCED RESEARCH, AND PUBLIC DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH DATA, METHODS, AND FINDINGS. IT WOULD FURTHER ENCOURAGE INTERACTION BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SPECIALISTS AND FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE BY AMERICAN SPECIALISTS.

YOUR SURVIVAL IS RECOGNITION THAT IGNORANCE IS A LUXURY WE CAN ILL AFFORD. YOUR ASSOCIATION, YOUR MEMBERS ARE A RESOURCE WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE. INNOCENCE HAS ITS OWN CHARMS, BUT IGNORANCE OF



OURSELVES AND THE WORLD IN WHICH WE MUST LIVE IS AS DANGEROUS TO OUR SURVIVAL AS ANY WEAPON YET INVENTED. IF WE ARE TO DEFEND FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY, THE BASIC RIGHTS TO LIVE AND BELIEVE AS WE CHOOSE, IF WE ARE TO DEFEND THOSE VALUES SO ELOQUENTLY GIVEN TO US IN THE BILL OF RIGHTS BY OUR FOUNDING FATHERS, AND WHICH SO MUCH, WHICH ALL OF THE WORLD HOLDS DEAR AND ASPIRES TO, THEN WE MUST BE ARMED WITH KNOWLEDGE.

I HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO BE INCLUDED IN THIS GATHERING TONIGHT, AS I AM MOST PLEASED TO SEE THE ROLE OF KANSANS IN ORGANIZING THIS CONVENTION AND FURTHERING YOUR GOALS.

THANK YOU, AND GOOD NIGHT.