

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
SOLIDARITY SUNDAY RALLY

NEW YORK, NEW YORK
APRIL 27, 1980

THIS IS A DAY TO MAKE HISTORY. THIS IS A DAY TO SEND A MESSAGE. THIS IS A DAY TO RAISE OUR VOICES, AND ROUSE THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND. THIS IS A DAY OF SOLIDARITY. THIS IS A DAY FOR SHCHARANSKY AND ORLOV AND SAKHAROV AND THOUSANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE PERSECUTED AND HOUNDED AND EXILED FOR THE FACT OF THEIR FAITH.

THIS IS A DAY TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE AND REJOICE IN THE UNITY OF STRONG HEARTS IN A NOBLE CAUSE. YET IT IS ALSO A DAY TO GRIEVE FOR THE SUFFERINGS OF THE OPRESSED. IT IS A DAY TO INSIST THAT NO FOREIGN GOVERNMENT CAN CONTINUE TO WOUND THE SPIRIT OF MAN AND DENY HIS RIGHT TO WORSHIP HIS GOD - AND EXPECT THE REST OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD TO LOOK ON IMPASSIVELY, TO TRADE AND BARTER AS IF COMMERCE WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE BUSINESS OF HUMANITY.

WE WILL NOT RELENT

THIS IS A DAY WHEN WE SAY TO THE REST OF THE WORLD - ENOUGH, ENOUGH TORTURE, ENOUGH DENIAL, ENOUGH HARASSMENT. WE WILL NOT RELAX. WE WILL NOT RELENT. WE WILL NOT PLAY BALL AS USUAL WITH A SOVIET GOVERNMENT THAT TREATS ITS OWN PEOPLE AS A FOREIGN ENEMY.

THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL HAVE KNOWN CENTURIES OF BITTERNESS, OF PERSECUTION, OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL OPRESSION. BUT THAT BLEAK HISTORY HAS TAUGHT US IF NOTHING ELSE THAT WISHFUL THINKING AND SUBTLE DIPLOMACY WILL NOT OF THEMSELVES BRING JUSTICE TO AN UNJUST SOCIETY.

THE FACT IS SIMPLE, AND BRUTAL: ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH TODAY, THERE IS BUT ONE IMPERIALIST AGRESSOR. AND THAT IS THE SOVIET UNION. WE OVERLOOK THAT FACT AT OUR PERIL, AND AT THE PERIL OF OUR HISTORIC ALLY, ISRAEL. WE OVERLOOK THAT FACT AT EVEN GREATER PERIL TO THE JEWS OF THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. AND YET WE HAVE OVERLOOKED THAT FACT FOR THE LAST DECADE. NOT YOU AND I - WE KNEW THE SOVIETS WERE NOT THE PEACELOVING ADVOCATES OF DETENTE THEY CLAIMED TO BE. WE KNEW EVERYTIME A JEWISH FAMILY WAS DENIED PASSAGE TO ISRAEL. WE KNEW EVERY TIME A SOVIET ARMY OR CLIENT STATE BROUGHT WAR AND DEATH AND SUFFERING TO AFRICA OR THE MIDDLE EAST OR ASIA.

A NATION THAT CAN'T BE TRUSTED

MOST OF ALL, WE KNEW THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT BE TRUSTED WHEN IT CONDEMNED VLADIMIR SLEPAK TO FIVE YEARS OF INTERNAL EXILE FOR HANGING OUT THE WINDOW OF HIS APARTMENT A BANNER PROCLAIMING "LET US JOIN OUR SON IN ISRAEL." WE KNEW WHEN MEN AND WOMEN WERE CONDEMNED TO LIVE ON 900 CALORIES A DAY, IN PRISON CAMPS INFESTED WITH WORMS AND DEVOID OF HOPE.

ALL OF THIS WE KNEW THEN, AND WE KNOW NOW. HAVE OUR LEADERS IN WASHINGTON? IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE THEY COULD NOT KNOW WHAT WAS AVAILABLE TO US. BUT THEY HAVE CHOSEN TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY. UNTIL THE LAST FEW WEEKS, THEY HAVE PREFERRED TO SEE THE SOVIETS THROUGH ROSE COLORED GLASSES - OR MAYBE EVERYTHING LOOKS BETTER FROM THE ROSE GARDEN.

TWO YEARS AGO, AT THE SOVIET MOCKERY OF PEACE

TWO YEARS AGO, AFTER THE OUTRAGEOUS TRIAL OF ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, I SUGGESTED THAT THE UNITED STATES CURTAIL ANY SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES WITH THE SOVIETS, AS ONE IMPORTANT STEP BEYOND MERE VERBAL PROTEST. AND YET WE HAVE CONTINUED TO VACILLATE LOOKING THE OTHER WAY AS THE HELSINKI ACCORDS ARE MADE A MOCKERY OF PEACEFUL INTENT. TODAY, AS ADMINISTRATIVE OBSTACLES ARE BEING PLACED IN THE WAY OF EMIGRATION, AND DISSIDENTS ARE BEING PURSUED AS NEVER BEFORE, THE TIME HAS COME ANEW TO MAKE THE SOVIETS PAY A PRICE FOR THEIR CRIMES AGAINST HUMAN DIGNITY.

THEY WANT THE WORLD TO COME TO MOSCOW, TO PLAY GAMES AND LEGITIMIZE THE HORROR OF THE SOVIET SYSTEM. WELL, WE WON'T GO TO PLAY THEIR GAME. THEY WANT OUR TECHNOLOGY, THE TECHNOLOGY THAT HAS ENABLED THEM TO DIVERT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS A YEAR TOWARD A MILITARY MACHINE THAT NOW THREATENS THE VERY PEACE OF THE WORLD. WELL, WE WON'T SUPPLY THAT TECHNOLOGY - AND WE SHOULDN'T HAVE BEEN SUPPLYING IT ONE SINGLE DAY AS LONG AS PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE WERE BEING INCARCERATED IN SOVIET LABOR CAMPS.

THE SOVIETS WOULD LIKE US TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE PHANTOM OF DETENTE - JUST AS LONG AS THEY CAN CONSOLIDATE THEIR MILITARY GAINS. WE SHOULD ASSERT HERE AND NOW THAT THE REST OF THIS CENTURY IS GOING TO BE DIFFERENT FROM THE LAST DECADE, AND THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF ALL FAITHS ARE PREPARED TO SHOULDER THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR DEFENDING FREEDOM THAT HISTORY AND OUR GOD HAVE GIVEN TO US.

WE MUST STAND UP

WE KNOW THAT WE MUST SPEND DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE, OR WE WILL SURELY SPILL BLOOD IN BATTLE. WE KNOW THAT WE MUST STAND UP TO THE STREET MOB AS TO THE TOUGH TALKING DIPLOMAT. WHEN ISSUES OF MORALITY AND INDIVIDUAL EXPRESSION ARE CONCERNED, WE MUST STAND UP. WHEN PEOPLE LIKE YOSIF MENDELEVICH AND IDA NUDEL ARE TREATED LIKE CRIMINALS INSTEAD OF HEROES, WE MUST STAND UP. WHEN TWO AND A HALF MILLION SOVIET JEWS HANG IN THE BALANCE, THEIR VERY LIVELIHOOD WITHIN OUR CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE, THEN WE MUST STAND UP.

WHEN PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS THREATEN THE PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WE MUST STAND UP. WHEN DIPLOMATS DESPERATE FOR ANY SOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE EAST DEADLOCK, EVEN A BAD ONE, TALK ABOUT INTERNATIONALIZING JERUSALEM AND CREATING A PALESTINIAN STATE, THEN TOO WE MUST STAND UP.

FOR IF WE DO NOT STAND UP, THEN WHO ELSE WILL?

SHIMON GRILIUS WILL - HE FASHIONED A SKULL-CAP FROM THE CUFFS OF HIS PRISON UNIFORM. YOSEF MENDELIVICH WILL - HE COPIED THE BIBLE ONTO TINY SLIPS OF PAPER HIDDEN IN HIS PRISON CELL.

THEY HAVE STOOD UP, IN THE FACE OF TORTURE AND LONELINESS AND IMPRISONMENT. WILL WE?

WILL WE HEED THE WORDS OF IDA NUDEL, WHO WROTE TO HER SISTER IN ISRAEL...
"I IMPLORE YOU, DON'T CRY OVER MY LETTERS, DO SOMETHING!"

A DAY TO HOPE

WE ARE DOING SOMETHING TODAY. WE ARE TAKING TO THE STREETS OF NEW YORK. WE ARE TELLING OUR GOVERNMENT AND THE WORLD THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE STATUS QUO WHEN IT COMES TO SOVIET JEWRY. WE ARE TELLING OUR GOVERNMENT THAT WE WANT STRENGTH, NOT COMPROMISE, DETERMINATION, NOT WEAKNESS. WE ARE TELLING OUR GOVERNMENT THAT WE ARE WILLING TO SACRIFICE A FEW RUBLES IN THE NAME OF HUMAN DIGNITY, THAT LIVES ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN BUSINESS DEALS.

AND WE ARE TELLING LEONID BREZNEV THAT THE AGING COLD WARRIORS OF SUCH COLD-BLOODED PERSECUTION, WE, WHO ARE GOD'S CHILDREN, TAKE ORDERS ULTIMATELY FROM HIM ALONE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BOMBARD THE SOVIET UNION WITH PLEAS AND DIPLOMACY. BUT WE MUST BE PREPARED ALSO TO ENGAGE IN A GREAT IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL CONTEST FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN. THIS WILL BE NO EASY STRUGGLE. IT WILL CONSUME OUR LIFETIMES, AND PERHAPS OUR CHILDREN'S LIFETIMES.

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

BUT TO THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN LANGUISHING TODAY IN PRISON CELLS OR LONELY EXILE, WE REACH OUT TO SAY - YOU ARE NOT ALONE. WE SHARE YOUR ANGUISH, AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO BRING IT TO AN HONORABLE END. THE UNITED STATES STILL STANDS FOR SOMETHING. WE STILL HOLD HIGH THE TORCH OF FREEDOM. THAT IS THE PRINCIPLE THAT HAS GUIDED US TO GREATNESS IN THE PAST - AND MUST GUIDE THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION THAT TAKES OFFICE IN JANUARY, 1981.

MAY GOD HELP US TO CHOOSE WISELY IN THIS FATEFUL YEAR, AND INSTILL ONCE MORE IN THE WHITE HOUSE A CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS THAT GOES BEYOND MERE WORDS, AND A CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM THAT IS BACKED UP WITH MILITARY STRENGTH AND MORAL ELOQUENCE.

MIGHT WE, TOO, BECOME PRISONERS OF OUR OWN CONSCIENCES - UNTIL THE DAY WHEN NO JEW IS HELD HOSTAGE TO A GODLESS AND INHUMAN STATE.