

DR. JUR - GAI - TIS  
(Lithuanian)

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
AT  
BALTIC HUMAN RIGHTS RALLY

LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1977

IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO BE WITH YOU TO DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH HAVE OCCURED IN THE BALTIC STATES EVER SINCE SOVIET FORCES SWEEPED THROUGH YOUR FORMER HOMELANDS OVER THIRTY YEARS AGO. IN SPITE OF TREATIES SIGNED TO THE CONTRARY, THE SOVIETS INCORPORATED THE BALTIC STATES INTO THE SOVIET UNION. TO OUR CREDIT, THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER RECOGNIZED THIS ILLEGAL INCORPORATION AND WE MUST NOT IN THE FUTURE.

ORIGINS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE

IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO FORGET THE ORIGINS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE. IT WAS THE SOVIET UNION THAT SO EAGERLY PUSHED FOR THE CONFERENCE. THEY WANTED TO GAIN RECOGNITION OF THEIR POSTWAR BOUNDARIES WITHOUT A FORMAL PEACE CONFERENCE AT WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER FOR THEIR ILLEGAL SEIZURE OF THE BALTIC STATES AS AGREED TO IN THE SECRET AND INFAMOUS MOLOTOV-RIBENTROP (MO-LO-TOFF - RIBBON-TROP) PACT IN 1940.

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PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE DISCUSSED

I WOULD LIKE TO READ TO YOU PRINCIPLE VIII IN ARTICLE I OF THE HELSINKI ACT WHICH STATES THAT:

ALL PEOPLES ALWAYS HAVE THE RIGHT, IN FULL FREEDOM TO DETERMINE, WHEN AND AS THEY WISH, THEIR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL STATUS, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INTERFERENCE, AND TO PURSUE AS THEY WISH THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.

THIS PRINCIPLE HAS RECEIVED LITTLE ATTENTION EITHER FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE OFFICIAL DELEGATIONS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, THAT I INTRODUCED S. RES. 224, WHICH CALLS UPON THE U.S. DELEGATION AT BELGRADE TO:

REAFFIRM THE UNIVERSAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RESPECT FOR AN EFFECTIVE EXERCISE OF EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL PEOPLES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG OURSELVES, AS AMONG ALL STATES.

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WITH THE OPENING OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE JUST WEEKS AWAY, I WOULD LIKE TO CALL UPON THE U.S. DELEGATION TO RAISE THIS QUESTION IN CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS. IF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WANTS TO MAKE THIS CONFERENCE A SUBSTITUTE PEACE CONFERENCE, THEN THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION MUST BE DISCUSSED FOR THE BALTIC STATES.

33 YEARS AGO BALTS FLED THEIR HOMELANDS

IT IS ALMOST 33 YEARS TO THE DAY THAT ESTONIANS AND LATVIANS WERE MAKING THEIR LAST DESPERATE ATTEMPTS TO FLEE THEIR HOMELANDS BY SEA IN FACE OF THE EVER ADVANCING SOVIET FORCES. I KNOW THAT YOU COMMEMORATE THIS DATE IN YOUR VARIOUS COMMUNITIES WITH PRAYERS AND VIGILS AND IT IS THEREFORE APPROPRIATE THAT WE HAVE GATHERED HERE TODAY.

AS WE STAND HERE BEFORE THE MAJESTIC STATUE OF LINCOLN, IT IS APPROPRIATE THAT WE REMEMBER HIS WORDS:

WE ALL DECLARE FOR LIBERTY; BUT IN USING  
THE SAME WORD WE DO NOT MEAN THE SAME THING.  
WITH SOME, THE WORD LIBERTY MAY MEAN FOR EACH  
MAN TO DO AS HE PLEASURES WITH HIMSELF, AND THE

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PRODUCT OF HIS LABOR; WHILE WITH OTHERS THE  
SAME WORD MAY MEAN FOR SOME MEN TO DO AS  
THEY PLEASE WITH OTHER MEN AND THE PRODUCT OF  
OTHER MEN'S LABOR.

WHILE THESE THOUGHTS WERE WRITTEN WELL OVER A CENTURY AGO, THEY SUM  
UP VERY CLEARLY THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET  
UNION TODAY.

WHAT LIBERTY MEANS IN THE U.S.

LIBERTY TO US MEANS BEING ABLE TO PURSUE OUR CHOSEN PROFESSION, OUR PAR-  
TICULAR WAY OF LIFE, CHOOSING THE TOWN, OR CITY OR COUNTRY WE WANT  
TO LIVE IN, STAYING HERE IF WE WANT TO, EMIGRATING ELSEWHERE IF WE  
SO DESIRE. WE VOICE OUR THOUGHTS OPENLY, WHETHER THEY ARE CRITICAL OR  
SUPPORTIVE OF A PARTICULAR POLICY IN OUR COUNTRY. WE VISIT FRIENDS AND  
RELATIVES IN DISTANT LANDS, SEND AND RECEIVE LETTERS, CONVERSE BY  
PHONE, ALL WITH EASE AND WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM ANYONE. WE JOIN  
CHURCH GROUPS AND CHURCH CHOIRS. WE WORSHIP IN THE CHURCHES OF OUR  
CHOOSING AND WE BRING UP OUR CHILDREN IN THE RELIGIOUS WAYS WE DEEM FIT.

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BUT YOU AND I KNOW THAT THIS IS NOT THE WAY IN THE BALTIC STATES, UKRAINE, OR ANY OTHER PART OF THE SOVIET UNION. TO CHANGE YOUR APARTMENT YOU NEED PERMISSION. TO CHANGE YOUR JOB, YOU NEED GOVERNMENT PAPERS. AS FOR PRACTICING YOUR RELIGION AND TEACHING IT TO YOUR CHILDREN, ONE UNDERGOES GRAVE RISKS OF LOSING EVERYTHING, FROM CUSTODY OF ONES CHILDREN TO ONES PERSONAL LIBERTY. AND WE ALL KNOW WHAT HAPPENS TO PERSONS WHO VOICE DISSENTING OPINIONS. THERE ARE THOUSANDS SUFFERING IN SOVIET HARD LABOR CAMPS, PSYCHIATRIC PRISONS, AND THE WASTELANDS OF SIBERIA TODAY.

SOVIETS DO NOT UNDERSTAND OUR HUMAN RIGHTS STAND

ALTHOUGH THE WESTERN PRESS HAS INCREASINGLY PRINTED THE STORIES OF SOVIET VIOLATIONS, I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD WHY WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS NOR THE EXTENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THEM. THEY ARE PUZZLED ABOUT WHY WE SHOULD, ALL OF A SUDDEN, OR SO IT APPEARS TO THEM, BE QUESTIONING ACTIONS WHICH THEY THOUGHT HAD BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO US PREVIOUSLY.

BUT THAT IS WHERE THEY MAKE THEIR MISTAKE. AMERICA WAS ALWAYS CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND NOW MORE AND MORE PEOPLE ACROSS THE FREE WORLD ARE JOINING IN TO VOICE THEIR CONCERN. THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE HAS PROVIDED US WITH A POLITICAL AND

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CONGRESS AMENDMENT CHARGES U.S. DELEGATION TO STAND FIRM

ON JUNE 14, I INTRODUCED AN AMENDMENT WHICH CONGRESS PASSED AND WHICH REITERATED IN PRECISE AND UNEQUIVOCAL TERMS THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND INSTRUCTED THE OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION TO ARTICULATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS COMMITMENT TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

NOR MUST THE DELEGATION IN ANY WAY CONVEY THE IDEA THAT OUR INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS WILL FLAG. THIS CANNOT BE AN ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN STANCE. IT MUST BE A LONG TERM POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIET UNION MUST COME TO UNDERSTAND THAT RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE THINKING OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WHEN I GO TO BELGRADE THIS FALL AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION, I WILL DO ALL IN MY POWER TO STAND FIRM ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE BALTIC STATES. THERE MUST BE A FULL DISCUSSION OF BOTH THESE POINTS. THE EVIDENCE THE HELSINKI COMMISSION HAS COMPILED ON SOVIET VIOLATIONS IS EXTENSIVE. THE EVIDENCE OF THE VIOLATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF- DETERMINATION FOR THE BALTIC

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STATES HAS BEEN HISTORICALLY DOCUMENTED. BOTH QUESTIONS MUST BE REVIEWED  
THOROUGHLY AND I KNOW THAT I CAN COUNT ON YOUR FULL SUPPORT.