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REMARKS OF SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BOB DOLE THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ALAMEDA PLAZA HOTEL, KANSAS CITY OCTOBER 27, 1985

THANK YOU STEVE. I AM PLEASED TO ACCEPT THIS YEAR'S HUMAN RELATIONS MEDALLION AND WANT TO THANK THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE FOR THIS EXCEPTIONAL HONOR. THANKS ALSO TO MIKE LOEB, PRESIDENT OF THE KANSAS CITY AJC, WHO HAS BEEN THE MOVING FORCE BEHIND TONIGHT'S DINNER AND TO MY FRIENDS STAN AND SHIRLEY ROSE, AND THEIR SON STEVE, ESTHER LEVENS AND HARVEY FRIED -- ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN PUTTING THIS EVENT TOGETHER.

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IN TRUTH, IT IS VERY RARE THAT ONE MAN'S ACTIONS CAN CHANGE THE FATE OF A COUNTRY, THE COURSE OF MANKIND. BUT WE EACH HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO WHAT WE BELIEVE IS RIGHT FOR OUR FAMILY, OUR - 2 -

FRIENDS, OUR NEIGHBORS. AND IF, WE ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH AS I FEEL I AM, TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW THROUGH, AND AFFECT THE WELL-BEING OF A LARGER COMMUNITY, THAN I BELIEVE WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO USE THAT OPPORTUNITY, AND AS WISELY AS WE CAN.

IF YOU ARE AT ALL LIKE I AM WHEN YOU PICK UP THE NEWSPAPER, OR WATCH THE EVENING NEWS, AND ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE DEVASTATION OF A CITY LIKE BEIRUT, A COUNTRY LIKE AFGHANISTAN, THE STARVATION IN AFRICA, THE EARTHQUAKE IN MEXICO, YOUR HEART GOES OUT, YOU WONDER HOW AND WHY. BUT IT ALL SEEMS SO REMOTE. THESE ARE THINGS THAT HAPPEN TO SOMEONE ELSE....NOT IN AMERICA.

THE FACT IS THAT WE TAKE SO MUCH, PERHAPS TOO MUCH, FOR GRANTED IN OUR COUNTRY. THE FREEDOMS THAT ARE FOR US A GIVEN --THE FREEDOM TO SPEAK OUR MINDS, TO MOVE ABOUT, TO BETTER OURSELVES ECONOMICALLY, TO PRACTICE WHATEVER PHILOSOPHY OR RELIGION, WE TAKE FOR GRANTED. BUT LIFE IS NOT LIKE THAT, NOT BY A LONG SHOT, IN MANY CORNERS OF THE WORLD.

THAT IS WHY I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU BRIEFLY ABOUT ISSUES THAT I'VE BEEN INVOLVED WITH -- EFFORTS TO HELP SECURE THESE FREEDOMS FOR OUR BRETHREN OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES. BECAUSE BY REACHING OUTSIDE OUR BORDERS, WE REAFFIRM AND STRENGTHEN THE COMMITMENT THE FOUNDING FATHERS MADE TO CREATE A COUNTRY WHERE ANY MAN HAS THE RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. - 3 -

TWO OF THESE ISSUES ARE SUBSTANTIVE -- IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS FOR SOVIET JEWS, AND FINAL RATIFICATION OF THE GENOCIDE TREATY. THE THIRD, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM, IS SYMBOLIC. BUT IN ITS SYMBOLISM RESTS THE DETERMINATION TO NEVER FORGET MAN'S PAST INHUMANITIES. AND BY DOING SO HELP TO GUARANTEE "NEVER AGAIN."

#### THE SUMMIT MEETING -- A SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY

IN A MATTER OF WEEKS PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL SIT DOWN WITH SOVIET GENERAL SECRETARY MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. CLEARLY, THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTER ON THEIR AGENDA IS THE CONTINUING NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. NO GLOBAL ISSUE IS OF GREATER SIGNIFICANCE, TO OURS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS. AND I BELIEVE WE ALL SHARE A SENSE OF HOPE THAT THIS "SUMMIT" MEETING WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA OF COMMUNICATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

BUT IN ADDITION TO THE OVERRIDING CONCERN OF WAR AND PEACE, I HOPE THE QUESTION OF SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, ESPECIALLY THOSE AGAINST SOVIET JEWS WILL BE BROACHED, AND THAT SOME RESOLUTION OFFERED.

TO THAT END, ON SEPTEMBER 24 SENATE MINORITY LEADER ROBERT BYRD AND I SENT A LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN, WITH A PETITION SIGNED BY ALL SENATORS -- REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT -- PLEDGING OUR - 4 -

FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S URGING MR. GORBACHEV TO UNDERTAKE JUST AND EXPEDITIOUS CORRECTION TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN THE U.S.S.R.

EARLIER THIS YEAR I INTRODUCED AN RESOLUTION APPEALING TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FOR THE RELEASE OF ANATOLY SCHARANSKY -- ALL PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE AND REFUSENIKS, AND FOR THE RIGHT OF ALL JEWS LIVING WITHIN THE SOVIET BORDERS TO EMIGRATE.

WE APPROVED THE RESOLUTION AND IT HAS BEEN SIGNED INTO LAW BY THE PRESIDENT. THE RESOLUTION DEMONSTRATES, ONCE AGAIN, AMERICA'S STRONG COMMITMENT TO THOSE WHO REMAIN WITHIN SOVIET BORDERS AGAINST THEIR WILL -- IMPRISONED, PERSECUTED, AND HARASSED FOR SIMPLY TRYING TO EXERCISE RIGHTS THAT HAVE BEEN GUARANTEED IN THIS COUNTRY'S CONSTITUTION FOR NEARLY TWO CENTURIES. WE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT ACTIONS LIKE THIS RESOLUTION'S PROMPT, UNANIMOUS APPROVAL WILL HAVE SOME IMPACT ON THE CONSCIENCE OF THOSE WHO HOLD THE KEY TO THEIR FREEDOM.

ALTHOUGH THERE SEEMED A GLIMMER OF HOPE THAT THE NEW SOVIET REGIME MIGHT BE WILLING TO EASE RESTRICTIVE EMIGRATION POLICIES, MEANINGFUL HAVE YET TO MATERIALIZE. IN FACT, THE MONTHLY AVERAGE FOR THIS YEAR IS BELOW 100.

MEANWHILE, LIFE ONLY SEEMS TO BE GETTING WORSE FOR THOSE WHO REMAIN BEHIND. ANATOLY SCHARANSKY IS STILL IMPRISONED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES OF SPYING WHEN HIS ONLY REAL OFFENSES WERE TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE RIGHTS OF HIS JEWISH BRETHREN AND SEEK REFUGE AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WITH HIS FAMILY IN ISRAEL. - 5 -

MOST RECENTLY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT ISSUED A REPORT ON WHAT APPEARS TO BE AN OFFICIAL SOVIET CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CURRENT REVIVAL OF JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION. ACCORDING TO THIS REPORT, SOVIET OFFICIALS HAVE ARRESTED AT LEAST FOURTEEN JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS, TEN OF WHOM HAVE BEEN CONVICTED ON PHONY CRIMINAL CHARGES AND THREE OF WHOM HAVE BEEN SEVERELY BEATEN. HEBREW TEACHERS AND JEWISH CULTURAL ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN FIRED FROM THEIR JOBS, HAD THEIR HOMES SEARCHED AND MAIL SEIZED, AND BEEN BRANDED BY THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA "ZIONIST SUBVERSIVES" -- ALL BECAUSE THEY WANT TO PRESERVE THEIR ETHNIC HERITAGE.

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THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US TODAY IS HOW TO SEIZE THIS PARTICULAR MOMENT IN HISTORY -- NOT MERELY TO STOP THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FROM BACKSLIDING IN ITS TREATMENT OF SOVIET JEWS, BUT TO TURN THAT ATTITUDE AROUND AND BRING ABOUT POSITIVE, MEANINGFUL CHANGE.

WE MUST, OF COURSE, CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST SOVIET TYRANNY TOWARD THE JEWISH MINORITY. SOVIET LEADERS HAVE CONSISTENTLY UNDERESTIMATED THE LEVEL OF AMERICAN AND WORLDWIDE INDIGNATION OVER THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THEY MUST BE REMINDED OF OUR OUTRAGE OVER AND OVER AGAIN. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

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### RATIFICATION OF THE GENOCIDE TREATY

WHILE I AM MORE THAN WILLING TO POINT THE FINGER OF BLAME AT THE SOVIET UNION FOR ITS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, I MUST ALSO ADMIT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FAILED TO TAKE AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD MAKING OUR POSITION AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS UNEQUIVOCAL -- FOR 36 YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS NEGLECTED TO RATIFY THE CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT ON THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE.

FIRST, LET ME EXPLAIN WHAT THE CONVENTION IS ALL ABOUT. THIS CONVENTION RECOGNIZES THAT GENOCIDE IS A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN BY MAKING IT A CRIME UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. THE CONVENTION IMPOSES ON THE CONTRACTING PARTIES AN OBLIGATION TO PREVENT AND PUNISH THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE.

THE CONVENTION DOES SPECIFY THAT PERSONS COMMITTING GENOCIDE SHALL BE PUNISHED. PERSONS CHARGED WITH GENOCIDE ARE TO BE TRIED BY A COMPETENT TRIBUNAL IN THE NATION WHERE THE ACT WAS COMMITTED OR BY AN INTERNATIONAL PANEL WITH JURISDICTION. AND THE TREATY PROVIDES THE CONTRACTING PARTIES PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO GRANT EXTRADITION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR LAWS AND TREATIES, FOR THOSE WHO COMMIT GENOCIDE.

THIS -- THE FIRST HUMAN RIGHTS TREATY DRAFTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SEEKS, IN THE WORLD OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS REPORT TO "SET A HIGHER STANDARD OF INTERNATIONAL MORALITY." - 7 -

CONCERN ABOUT GENOCIDE IS ALSO COMPATIBLE, INDEED INTEGRAL TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. WE HAVE GREAT PRINCIPLES TO DEFEND AND A GREAT EXAMPLES TO GIVE THE WORLD. YET, WE CAN NEVER BE THE PRIME DEFENDER NOR THE GREATEST OF EXAMPLES IF WE FAIL TO RATIFY A TREATY THAT WE HELPED CREATE. THE RIGHTS OF ALL REMAIN A MAJOR FOCUS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, ESPECIALLY WHEN WE ARE TODAY BEST BY ISSUES, SUCH AS THE SOVIET ABUSES OF JEWS, OF HOW TO STEM THE ADVANCE OF THE ENEMIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

ABSTENTION AND WITHDRAWAL FROM THE RATIFICATION PROCESS WOULD BE UNWORTHY OF US. THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT FOR AN INDIVIDUAL TO LIVE REQUIRES US TO GRAPPLE WITH THE COMPLEXITY OF THIS ISSUE. WE MUST BE WILLING TO MAKE AN EFFORT, ONE THAT IS PATIENT AND DETERMINED. WELL WE HAVE BEEN PATIENT AND NOW WE ARE DETERMINED TO RATIFY THIS TREATY. NOW IS THE TIME TO ACT. AND WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION I INTEND TO BRING THE TREATY TO A VOTE BEFORE CONGRESS ADJOURNS THIS DECEMBER.

#### HOLOCAUST MUSEUM GROUNDBREAKING

PROBABLY THE MOST FLAGRANT EXAMPLE OF GENOCIDE WAS THE NAZI HOLOCAUST. BEFORE I CLOSE, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE A VERY SPECIAL OCCASION WITH YOU. ON OCTOBER 16 I JOINED INTERIOR SECRETARY DONALD HODEL, AND ELIE WIESEL, TO BREAK GROUND FOR HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM IN WASHINGTON. - 8 -

I WAS A MEMBER OF THE ORIGINAL U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL, SO IT WAS A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO STAND THERE AND SEE THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL COMING TO FRUITION.

THOUGH THE MASSIVE TRAGEDY OF THE HOLOCAUST FELL UPON THE JEWS OF EUROPE, THIS WILL NOT BE A JEWISH MUSEUM. THOUGH IT WILL SIT ON THIS IMPRESSIVE SITE IN OUR NATION'S CAPITAL, IT WILL NOT BE AN AMERICAN MUSEUM.

IT WILL BE A MUSEUM ABOUT, AND FOR, ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD. IT WILL SPEAK WITH EQUAL MEANING AND IMPORTANCE TO ALL. IF ANY OF US ARE FACED WITH PERSECUTION, NONE OF US WILL BE REALLY SECURE. IF ANY OF US BEGIN TO FORGET WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE HOLOCAUST, ALL OF US WILL FACE A GREATER RISK THAT IT COULD HAPPEN AGAIN.

IT MUST NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN. WE MUST BE VIGILANT, HERE AT HOME AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, WATCHING TO PROTECT THE CHERISHED FREEDOMS WE HOLD SO DEAR, AND WATCHING FOR ANY AND EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO WREST THESE FREEDOMS FOR THOSE LESS FORTUNATE.

THANK YOU.

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