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Well thank you. I'm very glad to come even for some hours to Philadelphia to participate in this extremely powerful and impressive meeting. Well, I first have immediately to correct as a former Spokesman of dissidents—I have to correct misinformation. It was just now said that I made a draw with Kasparov and I have won Kasparov. You see; now still I have to recognize that I have won him in simultaneous game and he is the greatest chess player ever lived and today as you know he is the leader of the Democratic Opposition in Russia so recently—so recently when he came to our Conference in Prague where we invited many Democratic dissidents from all over the world, I could give him my book with inscription—to dissident Kasparov from Chess Player Sharansky. [*Laughs*]

Now to our stuff. You know in my room in where I'm working now as the Chairman of the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies in the Shalem Center, in that room I have three portraits, the portrait of my late mother, the portrait of my great teacher Andrei Sakharov and the portrait of Theodore Herzl. And in a way it symbolizes those forces which were always supporting me and building me and which were the meaning of—of my—which gave meaning to my struggle; of course my primary connection—my connection with my mother and my father and my family and through them my people—the great ideas of Zionism and the great ideas of liberty and freedom.

And in fact more than once, already from the days that I was an activist of two movements at the same time, being spokesman of the human rights movement and spokesman—unofficial, of course, spokesman of the Zionist Movement, more than once I was told from both sides—isn't there a kind of contradiction of this? Can you be a real human rights activist if you're a nationalist? What, you're putting—your national interest above human rights? Or, on the other side, I could hear very often that if you're a real Zionist you have to fight for your rights, of the right of your people to leave and not to deal with the question of human rights. In fact, I had to say I, myself, and I'm sure that many of you felt always that these two forces are very naturally connected. In fact, not only there is no contradiction, but there is no way to separate it—our desire to be free and our desire to have a better strong identity—very strong connection with our people, with our country. What really gives meaning to our lives? What makes us feel that there are things that are bigger than physical life?

And this question but what—how—if you are—Are you a Jew or you're an American? Whether you have to concentrate first of all on fighting for the interest of Zionists or whether you should concentrate on fighting for freedom? I think the 20th Century gave a very powerful answer to this. What is happening when you're ignoring one of these parts? In fact it will take the generation of my parents and their parents—it will take the beginning of the 20th Century in Russia. You'll find out how many Jews felt that here is a very powerful idea of Communism, here we finally can work not for our small shtetl, not for our tribe, not for limited restricted interests of Jews—we have all that sympathy but let's work for the great future of the world. Let's make everybody equal. And many Jews felt that that is the time when we finally can go beyond these restrictions of thousands of years, beyond all these injustices and to bring justice to all the world.

Those who helped Communism to come to power, those who were a part of this ideology, they helped to create one of the most awful dictatorships in the world which killed millions and millions and millions of—tens of millions of its own citizens and of course Jews were among the first victims, and all the world was suffering. That's what's happening when you're abandoning your identity for the sake of global values which is not connected to your roots, to your family, to your memory, to your history, and to the principles which are built in all these centuries of your history.

And then... [applause] Well, let's rather keep applause for the next chapter of our history for when we—what we did in fact. We went back to our shtetl, we went back to our people, we went back to our religion, we who brought up all the time of the proud Soviet citizens who are bringing happy future to all the mankind and felt ourselves desperate because we are deprived of freedom. And all our dreams in fact were at that moment, how as we learn from our parents how to become the best in physics and mathematics, in chess, in ballet, in something—how to run away to escape from that reality into this Ivory Tower of science, of arts, where we Jews can display our talents and maybe we will be protected then from anything. And that's how we were trying to find our freedom and we couldn't. And I remember that powerful letter of Andrei Sakharov, when you suddenly realize that the one who is at the top of that Ivory Tower cannot be silent anymore from all these injustices. How can you hope to escape it? And then came the message from Israel.

Har habayit b'yadeinu. And I have to say frankly I had no idea what *Har Habayit*, Temple Mount, means; we had no idea what Jerusalem means—we knew nothing. We were absolutely assimilated but we found out through goyim, through anti-Semites—the people who hated us and who didn't hate us; we found out that they connect

us with Jerusalem, with Israel, and when Israel is fighting for its right to exist they start respecting you more. That's how we understood there is this connection. And then we started looking for ways back to our identity—back to our shtetl, back to our tribe—and that's how this great movement started—great movement which included then all the Jews in the world—great movement, which you know KGB kept telling me it's only a bunch of students and housewives, but yes; that is the moment of some housewives from Miami and students from New York and teachers from London and all these people who not for one year, not for two years, for 25 years were fighting—we all were fighting together—we in the Soviet Union, you in America—people in Israel, we were fighting together for the right – our right to be free and as a result of this struggle, the Iron Curtain fell down; the Soviet Union ceased to exist; Communism ceased to exist; millions of Jews were released and all the humanity benefited from this fight for freedom.

Well if I say but that was an easy case; after all it was so easy to be identified with the struggle for Soviet Jewry because it was a very popular struggle. I want to remind as the one who appreciates greatly the heroism of every student and housewife here in America, I want to remind that it wasn't so obvious—that in the beginning of the '60s there were many voices that it is not good for American Jewry to raise its voice. It was near the book of Elie Wiesel *The Jews of Silence*; it was near the courage of students who went on the first demonstrations to break the silence. And then when the struggle was already for so many years such a powerful struggle, in the very end of this struggle, you remember that great demonstration which just now we could see clear from it, which on this Hanukah we will all be celebrating 20 years of march in Washington when 250,000 Jews went to Washington and that was a final and great act in that struggle after which Gorbachev was told by Reagan: You see; my people will never permit me—you'll have to open the gates of the Soviet Union.

But I want to remind you that even when this demonstration was prepared there were serious voices saying, is it good for American Jewry to put Jewish interests at the top just at the time of a new détente, of a new cooperation with Russia; is it good that we will be looking almost like war mongers? And I remember because I was—who am I—I just now came from prison and I'm calling for this demonstration that might make God forbid—creating problems for American Jewry, so because I believed that it's not so and I heard from many of my friends, from many of my American friends that it's not so, I decided to remove all the doubts. I did the simplest thing; I asked for a meeting with President Reagan and well President Reagan I have to say from the very first day that he came to the office put the course of Soviet Jewry very high. He met with my wife while I was in

prison; he met with me when I was released and was very happy to hear from me the reports—what his evil empire speech meant to us in Soviet gulag. But now I said to him, let's—[applause] okay...

So I was looking for the gimmick; why President Reagan would decide to see us? So I said look; he never saw us together—me and my wife. So I—my wife who was just now in America campaigning for that demonstration, came to meet him and he looked at us as a very happy grandfather who sees the results of his work and he—and you have to understand what he said was the end of '87, he was not already in his best physical form, and maybe his future disease already was already influencing him. So he looked; he was very happy and then he says, Dear Mr. and Mrs. Shevardnadze. I just now spoke to Soviet Foreign Minister Sharansky and I told him you better let Soviet Jews go. So there was a kind of embarrassment. I don't pay any attention to his confusion of Shevardnadze and Sharansky. I myself confuse these names. [laughter] So I go ahead straight to the point and I said to him, Dear Mr. President, you know soon Gorbachev will come for the first meeting and there is an initiative among the American Jews and us, former Refusenik activists, to come with a big rally to Washington when he will be here to demand to open the gates of the Soviet Union. And I want you to know that of course it's not criticism of your policy; I was looking for the right words to say—he stopped. He became almost angry; he said what? You think that I'm interested to build a friendship with him—him when he's keeping his people in prison? You do whatever you can do to open the gates and I'll help you. [applause]

So why I'm saying—you see here is the person who already started confusing the names and—and maybe some other things but when it comes to moral clarity to the struggle between good and bad, to the duties of American Jews to fight, he doesn't hesitate a moment. He doesn't confuse anything. You know how many politicians I know in my country who know thousands and thousands of names of members of central committees of their parties? They will never confuse them; they remember the names of their wives. They remember the dates of the birthdays of their children—everything. But when it comes to moral clarity there is full confusion. [laughter, applause]

So that is—that is the point and by the way, at the end of that demonstration, the next day I am sure that many of you were at that great demonstration—that you were as proud as I was to see this extremely powerful expression of solidarity and support. The next day I was at the Congress and the American Jewish Congressmen—are coming to me and saying, you know what a happy day it is for us? All our colleagues are coming and congratulating us and they're saying that we all have to learn from you; you're such unique people with

your solidarity. We Americans have to learn from—each of us has to be like you. You see not only there is no problem that it can compromise you. That's what gives us real pride.

In fact we just now saw for a second the great American, Christian I think, Senator Jackson, no once—well of course he was one of the great heroes. Whenever I'm asked why Communism was defeated I always say because of three people. It's Andrei Sakharov, Senator Jackson, and President Reagan. So Richard Perle, who was his Chief of Staff, and who was the one who wrote the text of the *Jackson Amendment* told me once a story, a very interesting one. He told that there was a Jewish holiday and he came to the office to work. And Senator Jackson told him—why are you working today? Isn't it your holiday? Well he wanted to show how important his job was. He said well you know my job—work for you is much more important for me. And then he told him, no; my dear friend—my dear boy, he said. If you really want to be a good American, you better be a good Jew. That is the feeling of our real friends.

And when we ask why when we are fighting, well we were fighting for the interest of the Soviet Jews—we were so popular, because in the end the interests of Soviet Jews was the interest of the world because through all our history, history which is all modern civilization is based on the values of Judaism, or the movement of Human Rights is based on the idea of *B'Tzelem Elohim*, in the image of God, and *Al Taaseh...*, don't do to others what you don't want done to you. That is all the principles of human rights, and that's all are the principles of Judaism. So when we are fighting for these principles we are fighting for the world. And that's why today when there are so many equations; can we challenge policy about Iran? Can we put Iran on the top of the agenda? Isn't it problematic for us as American or Jews that again our enemies will say that this is a Jewish cause? I want to remind you that the defending of Israel isn't the end; for those who understand it and for those who don't understand it—that—that is the most important thing which the free world can have. And I'll tell you why—because Israel is at the center three struggles which are happening today. Israel is at the center of struggle of fundamentalism against the world of freedom, because Israel is the only unfaithful territory of the territory with the Muslims around. Israel is the only democracy in a non-democracy world, so that is in the middle of the struggle between totalitarian regimes and Democratic regimes, and Israel is a proud national Jewish democratic state in the middle of the non-democratic world belonging to post-identity world—to—to that world where many so-called liberals believed that is the time to abandon their nationality, to abandon their identity, to abandon your roots, to work for all the world.

Look what's happening in Europe today; Europe which tried so hard in the last 20 or 30 years for the name of peace and justice to abandon their identity, to create post-national multi-cultural societies now is absolutely helpless facing a very dangerous enemy, the one which has very strong identity but no belief in democracy. And the only hope for Europe is to follow the example of the Jewish state— Jewish democratic state which insists on its right to be proudly Jewish and to be absolutely democratic. And that's why today this struggle for the Jewish democratic state—that is the struggle for the future of all the free world. Thank you.