

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

BEFORE THE WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE: ANNUAL AWARDS DINNER

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY AMONG AMERICAN WOMEN"

OUR PURPOSE THIS EVENING IS TO PAY TRIBUTE TO EIGHT WOMEN OF DEMONSTRATED LEADERSHIP AND CAPABILITY, WHOSE OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR SYMBOLIZE THE VAST RESOURCE OF HUMAN TALENT WHICH AMERICAN WOMEN REPRESENT.

TODAY, THERE ARE SOME 600 WOMEN HOLDING TOP EXECUTIVE POSITIONS WITH MAJOR CORPORATIONS. THERE HAS BEEN DRAMATIC GROWTH IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN ENTERING SUCH TRADITIONALLY MALE-DOMINATED FIELDS AS LAW, MEDICINE, ACCOUNTING AND ENGINEERING. FOR WOMEN IN SCIENCE 1983 HAS BEEN A BANNER YEAR. LAST JUNE, ONE OF OUR HONOREES, DR. SALLY RIDE, A PHYSICIST, BECAME THE FIRST AMERICAN WOMEN TO JOURNEY INTO OUTERSPACE. MORE RECENTLY, DR. BARBARA MCCLINTOCK SET ANOTHER MILESTONE BY BECOMING THE FIRST WOMEN TO EARN A COVETED NOBEL PRIZE IN MEDICINE FOR RESEARCH SOLELY HER OWN.

THESE ARE THE SUCCESS STORIES. YET WE CANNOT LET THESE SHINING ACCOMPLISHMENTS BLIND US TO THE HARSH ECONOMIC REALITIES

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FUNDAMENTAL TO IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN WILL BE A SUSTAINED ECONOMIC RECOVERY. TO BE SURE, WOMEN ARE ALREADY BENEFITTING BY THE BROAD BASED RECOVERY CURRENTLY UNDERWAY AND INFLATION HAS BEEN CUT TO 3.9% IN 1983, DOWN DRASTICALLY FROM A FRIGHTENING 12.4% IN 1980.

BUT THREATENING THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THE NATION ARE SKYROCKETING DEFICITS. OUR NATIONAL DEBT NOW STANDS AT A STAGGERING \$1.3 TRILLION DOLLARS. YEARLY PROJECTED DEFICITS FALL IN THE \$180-200 BILLION RANGE.

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SUMMIT INVOLVING THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS, REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, SO THAT A DEFICIT-REDUCING COMPROMISE CAN BE WORKED OUT. I URGE THIS ORGANIZATION, CONCERNED AS IT IS WITH BASIC ISSUES OF FAIRNESS AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE, TO JOIN ME IN THAT CALL. AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF WOMEN -- ONE OF THE FASTEST GROWING POVERTY GROUPS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY -- YOU HAVE A VITAL INTEREST IN CUTTING THE DEFICITS WHICH IMPERIL OUR CONTINUED PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC HEALTH. FOR IT HAS BEEN SADLY DEMONSTRATED THAT WHEN THE ECONOMY FALTERS, IT IS THOSE ON THE BOTTOM RUNGS OF THE ECONOMIC LADDER WHO SUFFER THE MOST.

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WHICH I CONSIDER TO BE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AND WHERE I SEE THE POTENTIAL FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION IN THIS CONGRESS.

1) PENSION REFORM

A TOP PRIORITY FOR ME, AS IT IS, I KNOW, FOR THE WOMEN'S EQUITY ACTION LEAGUE, IS PRIVATE PENSION REFORM. MANY WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS HAVE LONG ARGUED THAT THE LAWS GOVERNING OUR PRIVATE PENSION SYSTEM FAIL TO ADEQUATELY ADDRESS THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF WOMEN, BOTH AS THE WIVES OF WORKERS WHO PARTICIPATE IN PRIVATE PENSION PLANS, AND AS WORKERS WHO SEEK TO BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR PENSIONS OF THEIR OWN.

FOR INSTANCE, RULES RELATING TO THE MINIMUM AGE FOR PENSION PLAN PARTICIPATION, VESTING AND BREAK-IN-SERVICE RULES MAY FAIL TO ADEQUATELY ADDRESS WOMEN'S UNIQUE WORK PATTERNS. AND IN MANY WAYS, THE LAW MAY IGNORE THE IMPORTANCE OF PENSION BENEFITS TO THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF A NON-EMPLOYED SPOUSE.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, I HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, THE PENSION INDUSTRY, AND INTERESTED WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING W.E.A.L., DEVELOPING A CONSENSUS PROPOSAL, WHICH I INTRODUCED YESTERDAY. TO ADDRESS THE SPECIAL NEEDS

OF EMPLOYED WOMEN, THE BILL WOULD LOWER THE MINIMUM AGE FOR PARTICIPATION AND VESTING AND LIBERALIZE CERTAIN BREAK-IN-SERVICE RULES. TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF HOMEMAKERS WHO MUST DEPEND ON THE SPOUSE'S RETIREMENT BENEFIT, THE BILL WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY EXPAND THE AVAILABILITY OF SURVIVOR'S BENEFITS.

THE PROPOSAL IS NOT INTENDED TO ELIMINATE ALL POTENTIAL INEQUITIES IN OUR PRIVATE PENSION SYSTEM. HOWEVER, IT DOES REPRESENT A MEANINGFUL FIRST STEP WHICH WILL PROVIDE REAL, TANGIBLE ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO WOMEN BOTH AS EMPLOYEES AND AS WIVES OF WORKERS.

2) CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM

A SECOND AREA OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE IS THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN OUR CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM. PERHAPS THE MOST SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEM FACING FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IS LACK OF ADEQUATE CHILD SUPPORT. MORE THAN 8.4 MILLION WOMEN ARE RAISING CHILDREN WHOSE FATHERS ARE ABSENT.

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THE CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM WAS ESTABLISHED IN 1975 TO PROVIDE A FEDERAL-STATE PROGRAM OF CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT FOR BOTH WELFARE AND NON-WELFARE RECIPIENTS. BUT CURRENTLY, THERE ARE WIDE VARIATIONS IN THE EFFECTIVENESS OF STATE PROGRAMS AND HEAVY ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS THAT ARE PRIMARILY BORNE BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION AND MANY IN CONGRESS, INCLUDING MYSELF, BELIEVE THAT THE PROGRAM CAN AND SHOULD DO A BETTER JOB. ACCORDINGLY, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DEVELOPED A BILL, COSPONSORED BY ALL THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, WHICH I BELIEVE LAYS THE FOUNDATION FOR REAL PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT. HEARINGS ARE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY AND I HOPE FINAL LEGISLATIVE ACTION CAN BE TAKEN BY CONGRESS BEFORE THE END OF THIS SESSION.

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2) SOCIAL SECURITY

ANOTHER ISSUE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF OLDER WOMEN CONCERNS THE TREATMENT OF WOMEN UNDER SOCIAL SECURITY.

THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM WAS ESTABLISHED WHEN MARRIAGES LASTED A LIFETIME, WOMEN WERE MOTHERS AND HOMEMAKERS, AND MEN WERE THE SOURCE OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT.

BUT TODAY WOMEN ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE PAID WORKFORCE AND AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR THEIR FAMILIES. THUS, THERE IS BROAD SUPPORT FOR CRITICALLY REEXAMINING THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL SECURITY ON WOMEN.

SOME LEGISLATIVE HEADWAY, ALBEIT LIMITED, WAS MADE IN THE RECENTLY ENACTED SOCIAL SECURITY FINANCING BILL WHERE BENEFITS WERE IMPROVED FOR WIDOWS, DIVORCED WIVES, AND DISABLED WOMEN. IN ADDITION, THE BILL CALLS FOR A GOVERNMENT STUDY ON THE FEASIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTING PROPOSALS FOR EARNINGS SHARING, WHEREBY MARRIAGE WOULD BE VIEWED AS AN ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP. I HOPE THAT THIS STUDY WILL SERVE AS A BASIS FOR COMPREHENSIVE HEARINGS IN THE FINANCE COMMITTEE NEXT SUMMER.

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Written June or July

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NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR

THE ADVANCEMENT OF SLAVIC STUDIES

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

OCTOBER 22, 1983

C.S.C.E

See with
Will Ruffin

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

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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

- 3 -

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

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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

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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."

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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.

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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
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THANK YOU, AND GOOD NIGHT.

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
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