

Executive Registry
86- 4396

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE

THE WASHINGTON TIMES
ADVISORY BOARD AND EDITORIAL BOARD

THE INTERNATIONAL CLUB
WASHINGTON, D.C.

25 SEPTEMBER 1986



B-801-17

DCI ADDRESS BEFORE THE EDITORIAL BOARD
THE WASHINGTON TIMES
25 SEPTEMBER 1986

ARNAUD, CLARE, MEMBERS OF THE WASHINGTON TIMES ADVISORY BOARD AND EDITORIAL BOARD. THANKS FOR DINNER TONIGHT. I HAVE ENJOYED THE STIMULATING CONVERSATION THUS FAR AND LOOK FORWARD TO SOME MORE BEFORE WE ADJOURN. I KNOW THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THIS OCCASION IS TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR YOU TO FIRE AWAY AT ME WITH QUESTIONS. BUT BEFORE THE FUN BEGINS, LET ME SET THE STAGE BY TOUCHING BRIEFLY ON A FEW RECENT EVENTS AND CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE U.S. AND ITS INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES.

FIRST ON THE DANILOFF MATTER. UNLIKE ZHAKHAROV, NICK DANILOFF IS NOT A SPY AND HAS NEVER HAD A RELATIONSHIP WITH CIA. HIS ONLY CRIME WAS TO BE AN ENTERPRISING JOURNALIST WITH A NOSE FOR NEWS. HE USED HIS FAMILIARITY WITH RUSSIAN CULTURE AND HISTORY TO MINGLE WIDELY IN SOVIET SOCIETY AND EXPLORE STORIES SUCH AS THE USE OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS IN AFGHANISTAN -- THE YELLOW RAIN ISSUE THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS GOOD REASON TO WANT TO HIDE. OF COURSE, WE DON'T KNOW FOR SURE, BUT I SUSPECT THAT THE SOVIETS SINCERELY BELIEVE THEY HAVE A REAL CASE AGAINST DANILOFF. THIS SIMPLY MEANS THAT IN

THE SOVIET UNION A WESTERN JOURNALIST WHO IS PRACTICING HIS PROFESSION IS CONSIDERED TO BE A SPY AND GUILTY OF ESPIONAGE. IN ACCUSING NICK DANILOFF, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS ONLY INDICTED ITSELF.

THIS LEADS NOW TO A MORE PHILOSOPHIC POINT. I BELIEVE OUR NATIONAL ATTENTION, ALL TOO OFTEN, IS FIXED ON THE SURFACE QUESTIONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF OUR COMPETITION WITH THE SOVIETS AND FAR TOO LITTLE ON WHY WE ARE ENGAGED IN THIS CONFRONTATION IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE REAL NATURE OF THAT CONTEST, AND ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT OUR NATION UNDERSTAND THAT WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE CONFLICT WESTERN CIVILIZATION HAS STRUGGLED WITH FOR MILLENIUMS -- STATE DESPOTISM VERSUS THE NOTION THAT THE HIGHEST GOAL OF THE STATE IS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND CREATIVITY.

THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INCAPABLE OF MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN JOURNALISM AND ESPIONAGE, BUT PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF INDULGING IN THE MOST BLATANT FORM OF HOSTAGE-TAKING, TELLS ME THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH A FUNDAMENTALLY ALIEN AND TOTALLY UNPALATABLE VALUE SYSTEM THAT THREATENS OUR OWN CHERISHED INSTITUTIONS. WE SHOULD NOT GET BOGGED DOWN, FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIET AIR DEFENSE COMMAND KNEW FOR A FACT THAT IT WAS SHOOTING DOWN A KAL 747. ALL WE NEED TO KNOW ON THAT IS THAT THE SOVIET SYSTEM WAS PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF SHOOTING DOWN A LARGE UNIDENTIFIED AIRCRAFT ON THE MERE SUSPICION THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN ESPIONAGE.

WE KNOW THAT MANY IN THE WEST DECRY THE COST AND QUESTION THE WISDOM OF OUR COMPETITION WITH THE SOVIETS, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND ITS NATURE. THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD MEASURE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO MANAGE THE SOVIET RELATIONSHIP SIMPLY BY WHETHER OR NOT A SUMMIT MEETING CAN BE HELD. THIS KIND OF PERSPECTIVE ON THE U.S./SOVIET CONTEST IS SHORT-SIGHTED, OVER-SIMPLIFIED, AND TRAGICALLY UNDERESTIMATES WHAT WE ARE UP AGAINST.

THERE IS ANOTHER MANIFESTATION OF THIS PROBLEM THAT WEIGHS HEAVILY ON MY MIND. HOW CAN WE FULLY SENSITIZE AND ALERT PUBLIC OPINION THROUGHOUT THE LAND TO THE THREAT POSED BY SOVIET AND SOVIET-SURROGATE SUBVERSION IN THE THIRD WORLD? YOU ARE MAGNIFICENT IN LAYING OUT THE CREEPING SOVIET IMPERIALISM THAT THREATENS THE OIL FIELDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE ISTHMUS BETWEEN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA; THE IMPERIALISM THAT HAS ADDED FIVE NEW CLIENT STATES TO ITS FOLD SINCE THE VIETNAM WAR AND THAT THREATENS AT LEAST TWELVE OTHER THIRD WORLD REGIMES AT PRESENT.

SOME OF YOU HAVE HEARD ME ON THIS GENERAL SUBJECT BEFORE AND I AM SURE ALL OF YOU KNOW WHERE I AM COMING FROM. YOU KNOW I BELIEVE THE STAKES IN CENTRAL AMERICA ARE PARTICULARLY HUGE AND HISTORIC. I COULD TALK ALL NIGHT ABOUT WHAT IS GOING ON IN NICARAGUA AND WILL HAPPEN TO OUR INTERESTS IF THE SANDINISTAS ARE ALLOWED TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION. BUT ON A MORE GENERAL NOTE LET ME SAY THAT I BELIEVE THE PENDULUM OF HISTORY IS BEGINNING TO SWING AWAY FROM SOVIET MARXISM AS A MODEL FOR

THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT AND TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKET ECONOMICS. AFTER A PARTICULARLY AGGRESSIVE AND SUCCESSFUL SURGE DURING THE 10 YEARS FOLLOWING THE VIETNAM WAR, MOSCOW NOW FINDS ITSELF ON THE DEFENSIVE SUPPORTING HIGH-COST, LONG-TERM EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN IN POWER UNPOPULAR REPRESSIVE REGIMES THAT THEY HAVE INSTALLED OR CO-OPTED ALL OVER THE WORLD INCLUDING THE ONE IN MANAGUA. EVEN WHILE WE ARE ENJOYING THIS LOVELY DINNER TONIGHT, MORE THAN 300,000 FREEDOM FIGHTERS ARE RISKING THEIR LIVES IN AFGHANISTAN, CAMBODIA, ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA, NICARAGUA, MOZAMBIQUE AND YEMEN.

THIS COULD BE A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO CHECK THIRD WORLD MARXIST/LENINIST REGIMES THAT ARE STAMPING OUT DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND THREATENING OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY USING IN THE PROCESS ONLY A SMALL FRACTION OF OUR DEFENSE BUDGET. WE COULD BE ON THE VERGE OF AN HISTORIC TURNING POINT IN THIS CENTURY. BUT IT WILL ONLY WORK OUT THIS WAY IF THE U.S. TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES CAN UNDERSTAND THE PROBLEM AND MUSTER THE RESOLVE TO STAY THE COURSE.

UNFORTUNATELY, I HAVE VERY LITTLE DOUBT ABOUT MOSCOW'S RESOLVE TO STAY IN THIS GAME AND TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON. LET ME GIVE YOU A PARTICULARLY GRAPHIC EXAMPLE OF WHAT WE ARE UP AGAINST. IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, WE HAVE BEGUN TO SEE A TRICKLE OF VIETNAMESE-SUPPLIED ARMS CROPPING UP IN TROUBLE SPOTS AROUND THE WORLD. THE SOVIETS AND THEIR SURROGATES APPARENTLY HAVE DECIDED TO START USING THE TREMENDOUS STOCKPILE OF U.S. WEAPONRY SEIZED BY THE COMMUNISTS

IN 1975. IT'S SHOWING UP IN VARIOUS PLACES IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA, INCLUDING HONDURAS, EL SALVADOR, JAMAICA, PAKISTAN AND COLOMBIA, WITH CUBA ALMOST CERTAINLY DOING THE DELIVERING.

AND MOST RECENTLY -- JUST WEEKS AGO -- WE HAVE THE DISCOVERY OF AN ENORMOUS CACHE OF SUCH WEAPONS IN CHILE -- SOME 3400 U.S. M-16 RIFLES AND MORE THAN 100 U.S. ANTI-TANK WEAPONS. THIS IS THE LARGEST BATCH OF SUCH WEAPONS WE HAVE DETECTED TO DATE. BUT IT IS A TRIVIAL AMOUNT COMPARED TO THE STOCKPILE THE COMMUNISTS ARE SITTING ON IN VIETNAM AND APPARENTLY ARE NOW READY TO EXPORT FOR SUBVERSIVE PURPOSES. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ESTIMATE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL OVER 200,000 U.S. RIFLES, OVER 100,000 PISTOLS, OVER 60,000 ANTI-TANK WEAPONS, OVER 60,000 GRENADE LAUNCHERS, NOT TO MENTION LARGE NUMBERS OF MACHINE GUNS AND MORTARS.

THE TRANSFER OF ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF THIS BOOTY TO, SAY, THE COMMUNIST INSURGENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES, COULD QUICKLY TRANSFORM A BAD SECURITY SITUATION INTO A CATASTROPHE. AND ONCE THE PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY DROPS ITS IDEOLOGICAL OBJECTION TO RECEIVING SUCH FOREIGN ASSISTANCE -- PROBABLY ONLY A MATTER OF TIME -- I SEE LITTLE TO STAND IN THE WAY OF SUCH A TRANSFER. U.S. POLICY HAS TO DEAL WITH THE REALITY OF A SOVIET AND SOVIET-SURROGATE NETWORK OF INTERNATIONAL SUBVERSION. IT CANNOT BE WISHED AWAY.

NOW I DON'T WANT TO LEAVE YOU WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT WE SEE THE WORLD ONLY THROUGH AN ANTI-SOVIET PRISM. WE KNOW BETTER THAN THAT. THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION ARE NO LONGER

THE ONLY TWO PLAYERS THAT MATTER. THE NUMBER OF PLAYERS HAS PROLIFERATED, ISSUES HAVE BECOME BEWILDERINGLY COMPLEX, THE PACE OF CHANGE AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE ALMOST OVERWHELMING, AND THE WORLD SMALLER AND INTERDEPENDENT. TODAY WE FACE THREATS TO OUR LONGER-TERM INTERESTS FROM ALL DIRECTIONS AND FROM A VARIETY OF SOURCES.

RIGHT NOW, FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT A CONVULSION UNDERWAY IN THE THIRD WORLD THAT IS NOT THE RESULT OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE OR SUBVERSION. I AM TALKING ABOUT THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR. THIS WEEK MARKS THE 6TH ANNIVERSARY OF WHAT HAS BECOME THE BLOODIEST CONFLICT SINCE WORLD WAR II. IT HAS RESULTED IN MORE THAN ONE MILLION CASUALTIES, INCLUDING 500,000 DEATHS. DESPITE SOME SEESAWING BACK AND FORTH, THE WAR HAS ESSENTIALLY BEEN A CHARNEL-HOUSE DRAW. NOW, HOWEVER, SIGNS ARE BEGINNING TO ACCUMULATE THAT KHOMEINI IS PREPARING FOR A FINAL PUSH TO KNOCK IRAQ OUT OF THE WAR AND TOPPLE HIS HATED ARCH RIVAL, SADAM HUSSEIN. SHOULD THE IRANIANS BREAK THROUGH TO VICTORY, THE RESULT COULD BE A DEVASTATING SETBACK FOR U.S. AND WESTERN INTERESTS -- COMPARABLE IN IMPACT TO THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION ITSELF. IRAQ WOULD LIKELY END UP A SHITE-DOMINATED VASSAL STATE. WHILE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR ITSELF CANNOT BE LAID AT MOSCOW'S DOORSTEP, THE INSTABILITY AND UNCERTAINTY THAT WOULD RESULT FROM ITS CONCLUSION ON IRANIAN TERMS WOULD OPEN NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOVIET MEDDLING AND CREATE MORE PROBLEMS FOR THE U.S., NOT TO MENTION ISRAEL. AND CAN ANYONE IN THIS ROOM DOUBT THAT MOSCOW WOULD BE EAGER TO TEST SUCH WATERS.

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, DESPITE ITS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES, IS FOR THE MOST PART A RELATIVELY OLDFASHIONED INTELLIGENCE PROBLEM -- A REGIONAL CONFLICT CHARACTERIZED BY WORLD WAR I INFANTRY TACTICS. TODAY'S INTELLIGENCE AGENDA, HOWEVER, IS INCREASINGLY DOMINATED BY A TOTALLY DIFFERENT SET OF PROBLEMS. I AM TALKING ABOUT THE TYPE OF TRANSNATIONAL ISSUES THAT ARE POSING AN INCREASING CHALLENGE TO OUR SOCIETY AND WORLD POSITION. THE LIST IS LONG AND GETTING LONGER -- INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND DEBT, INDUSTRIAL COMPETITIVENESS, NARCOTICS, THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL, NUCLEAR AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, RAPID POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION, JUST TO MENTION A FEW.

AND, OF COURSE, THE ISSUE AT THE TOP OF THIS NEW AGENDA IS INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. THERE ARE TWO THINGS I CAN SAY WITH UTMOST CONFIDENCE ABOUT THIS PROBLEM. ONE, A CREDIBLE THREAT OF FORCE MUST BE ONE ELEMENT OF A SUCCESSFUL TERRORISM POLICY. AND TWO, INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM IS GOING TO BE WITH US FOR A LONG TIME.

OUR MILITARY RAID ON LIBYA HAD SOME VERY THERAPEUTIC EFFECTS. TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR STATE SPONSORS MUST NOW FACTOR INTO THEIR EQUATION THE CERTAINTY OF SWIFT AND PAINFUL RETALIATION. THIS ALREADY HAS HAD AN INHIBITING EFFECT ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND A GALVANIZING EFFECT ON THE RESOLVE OF OUR FRIENDS AND ON THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ACT IN CONCERT WITH US.

BUT, I ALSO HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT THE LONGER-TERM TREND LINE IS NOT PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING. DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1986, THE NUMBER OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS -- 450 -- WAS UP SOME 25%, AND THE NUMBER OF CASUALTIES UP SOME 30% OVER THE COMPARABLE PERIOD LAST YEAR. MIDDLE EASTERN TERRORISM REMAINS, OF COURSE, OUR GREATEST CONCERN. THE KARACHI HIJACKING AND THE SPATE OF BOMBINGS THAT HAVE LEFT 8 DEAD AND HUNDREDS WOUNDED IN PARIS IS A DEADLY REMINDER OF MIDDLE EASTERN GROUPS' WILLINGNESS TO MAIM AND KILL INDISCRIMINATELY.

SO I THINK WE HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR MATTERS TO GET WORSE BEFORE THEY GET BETTER. BUT I DO THINK WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK. AGAIN, THE TRICK IS FOR THE WEST TO REMAIN WILLING TO STAY THE COURSE. AND HERE THERE IS SOME REASON FOR OPTIMISM. IN FRANCE, FOR EXAMPLE, PUBLIC AND POLITICAL RESOLVE AGAINST TERRORISM -- NEVER A STRONG SUIT IN THE FRENCH DECK -- HAS BEEN STIFFENED BY THE RECENT TERRORIST OUTRAGES IN PARIS TO A POINT THAT SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR CHIRAC TO TAKE A FIRM STAND.

INCIDENTALLY, I READ WITH INTEREST YOUR TWO STORIES THIS MORNING ABOUT BRITISH PLANS TO TALK TO THE SOVIETS ABOUT COUNTERING TERRORISM. I HAVE MY OWN DOUBTS, WHICH I'LL PASS ON TO SIR GEOFFREY. THERE MAY BE SOME WHO ARE NOT YET FULLY PERSUADED ABOUT MOSCOW'S OWN LINKS TO TERRORISM, BUT NOT ME. WE CONTINUE TO OBTAIN SOLID EVIDENCE THAT MOSCOW IS SUPPORTING TERRORISM WHERE ITS INTERESTS ARE SERVED. WE ALSO KNOW THAT PALESTINIAN TERRORIST GROUPS ARE PERMITTED TO USE EASTERN

EUROPE FOR ILLICIT COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS, ARMS DEALS, AND STAGING ATTACKS IN THE WEST. WE KNOW THAT THE LEADERS OF WELL-KNOWN MIDDLE EASTERN EUROPEAN TERRORIST GROUPS CONTINUE TO TRAVEL TO AND DEAL WITH EAST COMMUNIST STATES. THESE EAST EUROPEAN REGIMES ACT IN SOME CASES AS SOVIET SURROGATES IN MAKING ARRANGEMENTS WITH THESE GROUPS. THIS IS JUST SOME OF WHAT WE KNOW. AND ASIDE FROM THE UTTER CYNICISM THAT WOULD SURROUND SUCH AN EXCHANGE WITH THE BRITISH, SOMEONE NEEDS TO WORRY ABOUT MOSCOW'S ABILITY TO USE SUCH A FORUM TO ELICIT INFORMATION ABOUT THE WEST'S COUNTERTERRORISM METHODS AND CAPABILITIES.

I DIDN'T REALLY COME HERE TONIGHT TO TRY TO DEPRESS YOU. AS WE MOVE INTO THE LAST TWO YEARS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, I FEEL A GREAT SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT OVER HOW, THANKS TO THE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, WE HAVE REBUILT THIS NATION'S INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES. OUR INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM TODAY IS MORE ROBUST THAN AT ANY TIME IN OUR HISTORY AND IN FAR BETTER SHAPE THAN SIX OR SEVEN YEARS AGO.

IN OUR BUSINESS WE CANNOT AFFORD TO STAND STILL. IT TAKES CONSTANT EFFORT AND CONTINUAL INVESTMENT TO MONITOR AND PROJECT THE CAPABILITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVIET STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCES -- FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEW MOBILE MISSILES AND MISSILE-CARRYING AIRCRAFT AND SUBMARINES MOSCOW IS NOW DEPLOYING IN AMAZING PROFUSION.

IT TAKES A MAJOR COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS EFFORT TO KEEP UP WITH THE HUGE SOVIET MISSILE DEFENSE PROGRAM (ONE THAT DWARFS OUR OWN IN TERMS OF BOTH INVESTMENT AND CONTINUITY). MOSCOW HAS UNDERTAKEN AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP PROTECTION IN TIMES OF NUCLEAR WAR INCLUDING DEEP UNDERGROUND HEADQUARTERS FACILITIES WITH EXTENSIVE COMMUNICATIONS AND CONTROL CAPABILITIES. THE OVERALL MAGNITUDE OF THE STEPS MOSCOW IS TAKING TO PUT ITSELF IN POSITION TO FIGHT, SURVIVE, AND WIN A NUCLEAR WAR, IS THE BEST AND MOST URGENT ARGUMENT FOR OUR OWN SDI PROGRAM.

IT TAKES A LOT OF PEOPLE, TRAINING, AND COMMITMENT TO KEEP UP WITH THE KGB AND ITS ALLIED INTELLIGENCE SERVICES AND FRONT ORGANIZATIONS. THEY CONSTITUTE A WORLD-WIDE APPARATUS THAT IS WORKING TO STEAL OUR TECHNOLOGY, DAMAGE OUR REPUTATION, DIVIDE US FROM OUR FRIENDS, AND DESTABILIZE, SUBVERT, AND OVERTHROW GOVERNMENTS FRIENDLY TO US. THEIR RUMORS, AGENTS OF INFLUENCE, AND FORGERIES, SPREADING POISON AROUND THE WORLD, HAVE TO BE SPOTTED AND COUNTERED. CIA IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION IN THE WEST WITH THE RESOURCES AND CAPABILITIES NECESSARY TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THIS CHALLENGE. WE ARE IN ACTION EVERY DAY TRACKING AND COUNTERING DRUG-RUNNERS AND GUN-SMUGGLERS, THE SOME 300 FIRMS ENGAGED IN ILLEGAL TECHNOLOGY ACQUISITION, THE VIOLENT REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS AND TERRORIST TRAINING CAMPS AROUND THE WORLD.

I'M PROUD OF THE WAY WE ARE DOING THE JOB. WHAT REALLY HURTS IS WHEN WE SHOOT OURSELVES IN THE FOOT BY NOT BEING ABLE

TO KEEP CONTROL OF OUR OWN INFORMATION. OF COURSE, I AM TALKING ABOUT LEAKING OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION AND ITS REPLAYING IN THE MEDIA -- A CHRONIC PROBLEM THAT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE INTOLERABLE. LAST NIGHT, I ADDRESSED THIS ISSUE IN SOME DETAIL BEFORE THE WASHINGTON CHAPTER OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS. SOME OF YOU NO DOUBT WERE THERE AND, DON'T WORRY, YOU WON'T HAVE TO HEAR IT AGAIN TONIGHT. LET ME JUST SAY THAT OUR COUNTRY HAS INVESTED TIME, EFFORT AND TALENT, NOT TO MENTION MANY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, TO COLLECT THE INFORMATION NEEDED TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS I HAVE ALLUDED TO TONIGHT. GOOD INTELLIGENCE SOURCES ARE CRITICAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND OUR HOPES OF EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL. SECRECY AND CONFIDENTIALITY AS TO HOW AND THROUGH WHOM WE COLLECT INFORMATION IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR EFFECTIVENESS.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR THIS NATION TO REGAIN CONTROL OF ITS NATIONAL SECRETS. WE MUST TIGHTEN DISCIPLINE AND ENFORCE LAWS CONGRESS HAS ENACTED TO PROTECT CLASSIFIED INFORMATION, AND WE MUST DEVELOP BETTER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MEDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT AS TO HOW TO HANDLE STORIES WHICH PUT INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS AT RISK.

SOME IN THE MEDIA CITE THE FIRST AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE "PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW" TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO RESTRAINT ON WHAT THE MEDIA CAN REPRINT OR BROADCAST AND THAT IT SHOULD BE THE SOLE JUDGE OF WHAT SHOULD, OR SHOULD NOT, BE MADE PUBLIC. I THINK THAT MOST OF US KNOW BETTER. MOST OF US KNOW THAT THE FIRST AMENDMENT STATES

ONLY THAT CONGRESS SHALL MAKE NO LAW ABRIDGING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND, AS THE LATE JUSTICE STEWART POTTER SAID "NOWHERE IN THE CONSTITUTION CAN ANYONE FIND ANYTHING ABOUT THE PUBLIC'S RIGHT TO KNOW."

OUR LEGAL SYSTEM HAS CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THAT WITHOUT THE SECRECY NEEDED TO MAINTAIN OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, WE MAY NOT HAVE FREEDOM OF SPEECH OR THE OTHER FREEDOMS WE ALL ENJOY. THE COURT WROTE IN 1963 IN KENNEDY V. MENDOZA-MARTINEZ THAT "WHILE THE CONSTITUTION PROTECTS AGAINST INVASION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, IT IS NOT A SUICIDE PACT." WE CAN HAVE BOTH A FREE PRESS AND NATIONAL SECURITY, BUT WITHOUT NATIONAL SECURITY WE WILL LOSE OUR FREEDOM.

I THINK THAT'S A GOOD NOTE TO END ON. YOU HAVE BEEN VERY PATIENT. IT IS YOUR TURN NOW -- SO FIRE AWAY.

* * * * *