

Introduction

°Good evening. I am very pleased to be here with you today. I have found that dialogues with members of the business and academic communities and other individuals interested in foreign affairs can be very beneficial. Despite what popular fiction portrays, intelligence does not operate in its own world. CIA regularly receives valuable help from patriotic individuals in private industry, research and academic institutions who volunteer their knowledge on foreign political, military, or economic matters.

°My predecessors in this job developed an apparatus which uses photography, electronics, acoustics, seismic sensors, and other technical marvels to gather facts on a daily basis from all parts of the world. CIA has thousands of scholars, experts in every discipline of technology and social science, who task our collectors to get the critical information they need to analyze events and improve our national leaders' understanding of what's going on in the world.

°Let me discuss with you today some of the key challenges we face in intelligence and briefly bring you up-to-date on some of the changes underway in the Intelligence Community as we rebuild our resources from the somewhat depleted condition that developed in the '70s.

I. Changes in the International System and the Impact on Intelligence

*The July issue of NEWSWEEK featured an article titled "Even in Peacetime 40 Wars are Going On." The article was meant to shock and startle readers, majority of whom are probably unaware of multitude of violent disputes around world. But there was no surprise in the corridors of CIA where analysts must follow developments all around globe and assess their implications for U.S.

*War, of course, is only the most extreme expression of international tension. We must follow dozens of international issues at CIA beyond the comparatively basic job of monitoring and predicting wars.

*The international system has undergone dramatic changes since 1947 when CIA was established. In post World War II period, only the U.S. stood at pinnacle of world power. The Soviet Union was our only serious rival.

*We have since witnessed the rise of many independent states as well as rise of significant nonstate actors, such as terrorist movements and economic cartels. Our economy is now

much more dependent and sensitive to international financial trends or to the economic health of other countries.

°Our national security depends on coming to grips with the complexities of this age. The result: the Intelligence Community must monitor more and more issues beyond the traditional confines of strict military and political analysis to include what are called transnational issues -- terrorism, nuclear proliferation, technology transfer, and insurgency.

°Since these problems cannot be analyzed and understood by looking at merely one country or just one dimension of problem, we have created new analytical centers at CIA such as Technology Transfer Assessment Center where economic, military, and political analysts are in daily contact, each providing unique perspectives on the issue.

II. Soviet Union: The Leadership Succession

°Andropov assumed power one year ago and already his uncertain health has raised questions about the length of his tenure. Illness prevented him from attending the recent anniversary ceremonies in Moscow.

°Before this latest confinement, Andropov had been able to increase his personal authority and political clout by becoming head of the party, state, and the defense council. At the most recent party plenum this past June, Andropov was also able to promote some of his allies and strengthen his political position.

°What is not yet clear, whether for health or political reasons, is if Andropov will be able to translate his enhanced authority into effective policy change. His initiatives to date -- an attack on corruption and on lax attitudes towards work -- have had some limited effects but do not address the deep-seated inequities and inefficiencies in the Soviet economic system.

*The top leadership ranks have been so reduced by sickness, death, and earlier political battles that the Kremlin is probably less prepared for a new succession than when Brezhnev died. There is no one leader in the reduced Politburo's Secretariat who has experience comparable to that of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, or even Andropov.

*A new leader, if necessary, could emerge within days but he would lack the power, authority, and prestige of Andropov. He would encounter more difficulty in consolidating his position.

*Likely candidates are: Gorbachev and Romanov, possibly Chernenko, or Dmitriy Ustinov.

III. Soviet Union: The Worldwide Threat

°Despite chronic economic problems, Andropov will continue pouring enormous resources into defense. Since about 1976, the Soviets have devoted some 13 to 14% of their GNP to the military -- about twice that of the U.S.

°The most potentially devastating military threat comes from the Soviet nuclear missiles which are aimed at us. The second comes from the land, air and sea forces of the Warsaw Pact nations which continue to gain on NATO forces in quantity and quality. The third is the growing ability of the Soviets to project power over long distances, an ability vividly demonstrated in Angola and Ethiopia.

°The Soviet military has received some 2,000 ICBM and SLBM missiles, 5,000 tactical combat and interceptor aircraft, over 60 SSBN and attack submarines, and some 30 major surface combatants since 1975. We also know of some 150 major weapon programs now under development.

°The fourth threat is that of surreptitious expansion, what I call creeping imperialism. The Soviet Union is not committed to world stability nor are they a status quo power. This is not to say or paint a vulgar caricature of a Russian

blueprint for world conquest. But the Kremlin will use maximum prudence with maximum opportunism to increase their power and influence.

°They have developed an array of tactics -- political, diplomatic, subversion, terrorism, and insurgency -- and they have compiled a remarkable record. We have seen Soviet allies gain power or influence in Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, and more recently in Grenada and Nicaragua.

°The Soviet's geographic expansion of power in a mere decade is unprecedented. One of their most effective techniques is their use of proxies -- Cubans in Latin America, East Germans and Libyans in Africa, and Vietnamese in Asia.

°Grenada provides a vivid illustration of how the Soviets practice creeping imperialism by proxy. Reports indicate that, in addition to the Cubans on the island, there were Soviets, North Koreans, Libyans, East Germans, and Bulgarians working together to establish a military base in the Eastern Caribbean.

°The Libyans and the Cubans are especially active. The Libyans, apparently in pursuit of their own interests, have helped promote Soviet foreign policy goals through the invasion

of Chad, assistance to rebels in the Philippines, Morocco and Central America, not to mention coups, plots and assassination attempts against pro-Western world leaders. Libya, Cuba, South Yemen, East Germany, and Bulgaria operate training camps for terrorists and insurgents.

°The Soviets recognize that in many Third World countries power rests with the military. They have focused on either winning over a country's officer corps or helping to overthrow the military leadership and install more pro-Soviet officers.

°Having for a decade denounced the West as "Merchants of Death," the Soviets have become the world's leading supplier of arms. Over recent years, their arms shipments to the Third World have been four times greater than their economic assistance. Third World countries then become dependent on the Soviets for thousands of advisors, for spare parts, and continued logistical support.

°Today we see the Soviets at work in our own backyard. If present trends continue, at risk are the Panama Canal, through which passes nearly half of all our foreign trade, as well as the Caribbean sea lanes we would use to resupply Europe in a conflict.

°Soviet assistance to Cuba now totals more than \$8 million a day. With such aid, much of it military aid, Cuba's immediate goals are to consolidate control of the Sandinista Government in Nicaragua and then with assistance from Managua, overthrow the elected government of El Salvador and Guatemala. Later would come Honduras and Costa Rica.

°There are about 8,000 Cubans in Nicaragua today, including some 200 military advisers. The Soviets have some 50 military and 100 economic advisers. Soviet personnel are assisting the Sandinistan security services, and even the Nicaraguan general staff. Also active in Managua are East Germans, Libyans, Vietnamese, and PLO personnel.

°Whenever a country falls under Soviet or communist dominance, one result is a flood of refugees. The U.S. already is straining with the burden of thousands of illegal immigrants from Mexico. A Cubanization of Central America would quickly create new refugees by the millions. Could our economy, our political and social system, absorb this increase?

IV. Technology Transfer ✓

°Modern warfare and modern weapons systems depend upon advanced technology: microelectronics, communications, computers, advanced metal-making equipment and so on.

°The Soviet Union's economy is inefficient, overcentralized, and suffers from a lack of innovation. So who provides the R&D, the technological genius, behind the massive Soviet military build-up? We do.

°A few startling examples:

- The Soviets had the plans to the C-5A before it flew.
- The Soviet trucks used in Afghanistan came from a plant outfitted with \$1.5 billion in modern American and European machinery.
- The precise gyros and bearings in SS-18 ICBM are from U.S. designs.
- The radar in Soviet AWACs is virtually ours.
- Starting with set of plans for the U.S. Sidewinder Air-to-Air missile, the Soviets built a copy, saving 7 years in R&D time.
- The list goes on and on.

°The Soviet appetite for U.S. and Western European technology is voracious. About 30% of their technology requirements are met by legal, open means such as subscribing to AVIATION WEEK or by attending international conferences. But some 70% to 80% of their technology requirements are satisfied by illegal means, relying on their intelligence services.

°Former KGB officers have told us that the clandestine acquisition of Western technology has the highest priority in KGB and its military counterpart the GRU.

°This is a national-level program approved at highest party and government levels. There are several thousand intelligence officers, under various covers ranging from diplomats and journalists to businessmen, dedicated solely to this effort.

°The Soviets hide behind dummy trading companies or they sometimes engage bona fide European firms as middlemen in order to obscure the technology's ultimate destination. There are more than 30 Communist country owned-U.S. chartered firms in the U.S.; there are 300 in Western Europe.

°Since early 1970s, the Soviet and East European intelligence services have emphasized the collection of manufacturing-related technology, in addition to weapon R&D designs. Our famous Silicon Valley in California is a favorite target for acquiring semiconductors and computer manufacturing designs.

°The Intelligence Community is redoubling its collection and assessment efforts. At CIA, we have established a new analytical center, the Technology Transfer Assessment Center, to improve our analysis. We then pass our intelligence to Justice Department, FBI, Commerce, and other government components.

°In policy arena, the government is also taking such measures as tightening export control and restrictions on activities of Soviet and East European nationals in U.S. We simply cannot afford to continue to fight ourselves.

°Other nations of world are beginning to focus on this problem. In last six or seven months, over 100 Soviets have been expelled from countries because of their illegal attempts to steal technology.

V. World Debt Problems

°The major problem facing world economy today is the inability of many less developed and East European countries to repay their debts.

°The amount of these countries' debt is enormous. Their combined medium and long-term debt grew from \$55 billion in 1970 to \$625 billion last year.

°Debt in and of itself is not bad but, of course, it becomes a big problem when it cannot be repaid. These countries' debt service payments accelerated rapidly in late 1970s. Last year payments reached \$140 billion.

°At same time, the ability of many of these countries to earn the foreign exchange needed to repay their loans deteriorated as prices for industrial raw materials and agricultural products fell rapidly beginning in 1980. In 1979, oil prices and interest rates also sharply increased, and the global recession decreased the demand for Third World goods. In other words, they got less for what they had to sell and had to pay more for what they needed, such as loans and oil.

°In the top-10 list of countries with serious debt problems are our southern neighbors: Brazil and Mexico lead the list, which also includes Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile. The total debt of Brazil is \$85 billion; Mexico is \$83 billion; Argentina is \$37 billion; Venezuela is \$34 billion; and Chile is \$18 billion.

°The crux of problem for the U.S. is that the costs to the LDCs of paying off these debts means declining standards of living in these countries. This can easily lead to political and social instability and the growth of radical movements.

°There have already been riots in Rio and Sao Paulo over economic conditions. The pace of illegal Mexican emigration to the U.S. has picked up since its financial problems deepened last year.

°The inability of these countries to honor repayment agreements could also have a negative effect on economic recovery in industrial world. LDCs have emerged as important customers for industrial nations' products, but financial strains have forced them to curb imports, especially of U.S. goods. American commercial banks have major stake in debtor countries, especially in Latin America. By end of 1982, U.S. banks had lent almost \$100 billion to Latin America.

°U.S. government, in collaboration with other governments and banks, is dealing with debt readjustments on a case-by-case basis involving five elements -- debtors' internal economic adjustments, new commercial bank financing, government loans, IMF loans, and the pace of the global economic recovery.

°For U.S. intelligence, the task is to closely monitor these countries' economies as well as the political and social repercussions of their financial difficulties in order to assess any adverse impact on our national security.

VI. Narcotics

°As many as 41 million people in the United States each year spend some \$80 billion on illegal drugs: heroin, cocaine, marijuana, and hashish.

°The CIA plays an important role in the national effort to interdict the flow of narcotics into this country. We provide the crop estimates of the production of illicit drugs around the world as well as the analysis of how such drugs are smuggled from country to country.

°The results of such research are sobering. Drugs entering U.S. markets are produced primarily in Latin America, Southwest Asia, and Southeast Asia.

°Latin America supplies all of the cocaine, over 90% of the marijuana, and about one-third of the heroin sold on U.S. streets.

°The so-called Golden Crescent of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran is the world's leading opium-producing region and supplies over 50% of the heroin used here.

°The Golden Triangle of Burma, Thailand, and Laos supplies about 10% of U.S. heroin.

°Although marijuana use has declined somewhat among high school youths, there has been a slow, steady increase in the use of cocaine. Colombia is the major source for cocaine imported into the U.S. New marketing sources have also been established in Brazil's Amazon valley. More and more cocaine is being smuggled into the U.S. in commercial aircraft.

°Drug traffickers need overseas havens to launder and stash their huge profits from smuggling. Countries with strict bank secrecy laws are favored as are areas which have easy, loose requirements for incorporation. Loose incorporation laws enable the drug smuggler to form a front corporation to handle money arrangements.

°Although Switzerland is known for its bank secrecy laws, the Swiss have signed a mutual assistance treaty with the U.S. which allows U.S. investigative agencies access to certain bank records if there is probable cause. Presently drug traffickers use banks in Panama, the Cayman Islands, the Bahamas and Hong Kong. The proximity of Panama, the Caymans, and the Bahamas to the U.S. enables the traffickers to smuggle

large amounts of cash via short flights on commercial or chartered aircraft.

°Despite attempts by some countries to reactivate crops and despite more widespread attention given to stopping international trafficking, the lure of large profits ensures a steady flow. In many drug-producing countries money earned by growers and traffickers far exceeds returns from alternative crops. For example: the average income for a Colombia farmer is some \$60 to \$70 per month; the same farmer growing marijuana could probably earn more than \$1,300 monthly.

VII. Terrorism

°The bombing of our Marine headquarters in Lebanon is but latest tragic example of how terrorist groups increasingly threaten U.S. lives and property overseas.

°Our task is to track and, if possible, infiltrate these groups. Infiltration is not easy. Groups now using more sophisticated security procedures.

°A handful of countries -- Syria, Libya, Cuba, the USSR, East Germany, Iran, and South Yemen -- provide arms, money, and training to terrorist cells. For some of these countries, terrorism is becoming an accepted instrument of state policy.

°U.S. citizens are the primary targets of radical groups. About 200 Americans have been killed since 1968; about half were victims of indiscriminate attacks. But more and more terrorists are specifically singling out Americans for assassination.

°In part, it is extreme envy for our standard of living; in part, it is because our freedoms and beliefs are anathema to those who support totalitarianism or anarchism.

°U.S. diplomats are most frequent victims but American businessmen are the next likeliest target. U.S. firms have paid an estimated \$125 million in ransom over past 10 years.

°Most common type attack is a bombing. We have recorded nearly 4,500 such attacks worldwide since we began keeping records about 15 years ago. The greatest number of terrorist attacks now occur in Lebanon, West Germany, Spain, and France.

°Because of our concern in intelligence for this growing threat to U.S. lives and property, we have established a new analytical center in CIA specifically devoted to tracking terrorist groups.

VIII. Rebuilding Our Intelligence Service

°The decade of seventies was tough for intelligence. The Intelligence Community underwent a 40% cut in funds and a 50% cut in personnel.

°Congress began our restoration with FY '80 budget. Congressional committees were so concerned about state of intelligence they gave us even more than the President requested.

°We have had budget increases, depending on which agency you talk about, of some 15% to 20% a year for past three years; such increases are now tapering off.

°What have we been doing with these increases? We have been hiring more people and shoring up badly-needed or neglected support systems. Some of you may have seen our advertisements which is an unusual recruitment method for us that has been very successful.

°Intelligence Community's manpower is still about half of what it was in early seventies but that's O.K. Automation has helped and with end of Vietnam, our mission has been redirected.

°We have a new spirit of cooperation among various agencies that make up Intelligence Community, due in part to a renewed emphasis on making sure all hypotheses and alternative conclusions are heard.

°NFIB is functioning as a Board of Estimates. Each Chief of the various intelligence agencies is encouraged -- indeed tasked -- to make sure the conclusions and views of his organization are fairly and adequately represented.

°Our analysts are also inserting a range of possibilities into all of their analysis, hopefully better preparing policymakers to cope with a variety of outcomes to a problem or crisis.

°We are reaching out more to universities and think tanks, searching out new perspectives. We recognize intelligence organizations have no monopoly on truth. We are holding more joint conferences and encouraging our analysts to strengthen their school ties and to take additional courses.

°Congressional oversight is the best protection we have. The U.S. citizen is well-served by this process. The two Intelligence Committees of Congress are informed and are with us for takeoff on all our covert action programs.

°Our relationship with Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is excellent; but last year, unfortunately, House Oversight Committee began to divide along partisan lines. This causes us great concern because partisan oversight is no oversight at all.

°Covert action is, of course, a politically sensitive issue. Covert action is difficult because it's alien to our open society. But if we aren't occasionally willing to use it -- responsibly and with discretion -- then we are going to be in trouble. There are occasions when the President needs an option between open diplomacy or military force.



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Text of Attached Speech
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October 27, 1983

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE WILLIAM CASEY HONORED AT WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

William J. Casey, Director of Central Intelligence, will receive an honorary Doctor of Laws Degree and give the 40th John Findley Green Foundation Lecture on October 29, 1983, at 3:00 p.m. at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri.

The 1980 Lecturer, the Honorable Clare Boothe Luce, will present Mr. Casey for the honorary degree in Westminster's Champ Auditorium and will cite Mr. Casey as "a man of multiple talents and diverse interests" who "has contributed significantly to the welfare of his nation and the free world in a number of important assignments spanning the past four decades."

Since 1936, the John Findley Green Foundation Lecture Series has brought a distinguished roster of world leaders to Westminster College to deliver lectures, which according to the deed of trust are "designed to promote understanding of economic and social issues of international concern." Sir Winston Churchill gave his famous "Iron Curtain" speech at Westminster in 1946. Previous lecturers also have included former Presidents Harry S. Truman and Gerald R. Ford, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry R. Luce and Edward Heath. Last year Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger spoke.

Mr. Casey's audience is expected to include Westminster's President J. Harvey Saunders, Dean of the Faculty, Dr. Richard E. Mattingly, the Board of Trustees, faculty, students, and parents. Mr. Casey's speech, titled "What We Face," will detail the Soviet worldwide challenge to U.S. interests and call for a realistic U.S. counter-strategy, especially in the Third World.

The text of Mr. Casey's speech is attached to this press release.

...END OF RELEASE

REMARKS BY WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

AT

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE

FULTON, MISSOURI

SATURDAY, 29 OCTOBER 1983

WHAT WE FACE

PRESIDENT SAUNDERS, AMBASSADOR LUCE, HONORED GUESTS, TEACHERS, PARENTS AND STUDENTS OF WESTMINSTER COLLEGE. I THANK YOU MY DEAR FRIEND CLARE LUCE FOR THE GENEROSITY OF THAT ELOQUENT INTRODUCTION. I AM HONORED AND GRATEFUL AT BECOMING AN HONORARY ALUMNUS OF WESTMINSTER AND THE WARMTH OF YOUR WELCOME AND AT THE HONOR OF BEING ASKED TO SPEAK HERE AT WESTMINSTER IN THE GREEN LECTURE SERIES ON WHICH WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THOSE WHO FOLLOWED HIM HAVE BEEN CONFERRED SUCH DISTINCTION.

I FEEL MORE AT HOME HERE THAN YOU MIGHT IMAGINE. I CAME HERE FROM THE CIA CAMPUS IN VIRGINIA, ACROSS THE POTOMAC FROM WASHINGTON. CONTRARY TO THE SPY NOVELS AND MOVIES, MOST OF OUR PEOPLE IN INTELLIGENCE SPEND THEIR TIME SITTING AT COMPUTERS OR IN LIBRARIES EVALUATING AND ANALYZING INFORMATION. TODAY'S JAMES BONDS HAVE GRADUATE DEGREES AND ARE MORE CONVERSANT IN ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, ENGINEERING, DEMOGRAPHY AND HISTORY THAN WITH GAMBLING CASINOS, FAST CARS, SMOKEY BARS OR RUN-DOWN HOTELS AROUND THE WORLD. THEY DEVELOP AND USE TECHNICAL MARVELS AND APPLY THE FINEST SCHOLARSHIP TO GATHER, ANALYZE AND INTERPRET FACTS AND RELATIONSHIPS FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH AND BEYOND.

THE MOST DIFFICULT TASK IN INTELLIGENCE IS FORECASTING DEVELOPMENTS A FEW MONTHS OR YEARS AHEAD. WINSTON CHURCHILL HAD AN UNCANNY, PERHAPS UNIQUE, CAPACITY TO LOOK INTO THE HEARTS AND

MINDS OF CIVILIZATION'S ADVERSARIES AND ACCURATELY FORETELL THEIR INTENTIONS YEARS AND EVEN DECADES AHEAD. HE WAS A PROPHET ALONE IN THE EARLY 1930s AND, MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, HE WAS STILL A PROPHET NEARLY ALONE IN HIS VISION OF RUSSIA HERE AT WESTMINSTER COLLEGE IN 1946.

ON THAT OCCASION, HE DEFINED A CHALLENGE WITH WHICH MY GENERATION HAS STRUGGLED FOR A THIRD OF A CENTURY AND WHICH THE GENERATION NOW AT WESTMINSTER MUST ALSO FACE. LISTEN TO HIS WORDS:

"FROM STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN THE ADRIATIC, AN IRON CURTAIN HAS DESCENDED ACROSS THE CONTINENT....THE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH WERE VERY SMALL IN ALL THREE EASTERN STATES OF EUROPE, HAVE BEEN RAISED TO PRE-EMINENCE AND POWER FAR BEYOND THEIR NUMBERS AND ARE SEEKING EVERYWHERE TO OBTAIN TOTALITARIAN CONTROL."

HE WENT ON TO SAY:

"IN A GREAT NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, FAR FROM THE RUSSIAN FRONTIERS AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMNS ARE ESTABLISHED AND WORK IN COMPLETE UNITY AND ABSOLUTE OBEDIENCE TO THE DIRECTIONS THEY RECEIVE FROM THE COMMUNIST CENTRE."

SPEAKING OF THE AMERICAN ATOMIC BOMB AND THE PERIL THAT WOULD EXIST IF A COMMUNIST STATE HAD THAT CAPABILITY, HE SAID:

"THE FEAR OF THEM ALONE MIGHT EASILY HAVE BEEN USED TO ENFORCE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEMS UPON THE FREE DEMOCRATIC WORLD, WITH CONSEQUENCES APPALLING TO HUMAN IMAGINATION."

ALL THIS, LESS THAN A YEAR AFTER WE HAD WON THE LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST HITLER WITH RUSSIA BY OUR SIDE, WAS NEW AND STARTLING TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. CHURCHILL ALLOWED HIMSELF A CRY OF ANGUISH THAT AGAIN HIS WARNING WOULD GO UNHEEDED:

"THE LAST TIME I SAW IT ALL COMING, AND CRIED ALOUD TO MY OWN FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AND TO THE WORLD BUT...NO ONE WOULD LISTEN AND ONE BY ONE WE WERE ALL SUCKED INTO THE AWFUL WHIRLPOOL."

HOW MUCH MORE ALARMED WOULD CHURCHILL BE IF HE LOOKED AROUND THE WORLD TODAY AND SAW HOW THE SOVIETS HAVE GROWN IN STRENGTH AND HOW FAR THEY HAVE EXTENDED THEIR POWER AND INFLUENCE BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN HE SO APTLY LABELED. HE WOULD SEE SOVIET POWER:

--IN VIETNAM ALONG CHINA'S SOUTHERN BORDER AND ASTRIDE THE SEA LANES WHICH BRING JAPAN'S OIL FROM THE PERSIAN GULF;

--IN AFGHANISTAN, 500 MILES CLOSER TO THE WARM WATER PORTS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN AND TO THE STRAITS OF HORMUZ THROUGH WHICH COMES THE OIL ESSENTIAL TO WESTERN EUROPE;

--ON THE HORN OF AFRICA OVERLOOKING THE PASSAGEWAY OF SUEZ WHICH CONNECTS THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN;

--IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, RICH IN MINERALS, WHICH THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS MUST HAVE;

--AND IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA ON THE VERY DOORSTEP OF THE UNITED STATES.

AND WHAT WOULD CHURCHILL THINK OF THE CATAclySMIC EVENTS IN LEBANON AND GRENADA DURING THE LAST SEVEN DAYS. FOR REASONS WHICH YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, I AM NOT IN A POSITION TO GO INTO IN ANY DETAIL BEYOND WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED FROM THE MEDIA, AND LIKE ANY GOOD REPORTER I'M PREPARED TO GO TO JAIL TO PROTECT MY SOURCES. BUT I WILL HAZARD AN ATTEMPT TO RELATE THE EVENTS TO WHAT CHURCHILL CALLED THE SINEWS OF PEACE WHEN HE SPOKE HERE.

THE DISASTER IN LEBANON WOULD HAVE REMINDED HIM OF THE AWFUL PRICE THAT CAN BE LEARNED TO MAINTAIN PEACE. THE RESPONSE OF BOTH OUR MARINES IN LEBANON AND THE FLOOD OF NEW RECRUITS HERE WOULD HAVE REMINDED HIM OF THE COURAGE AND SPIRIT HIS COUNTRYMEN DEMONSTRATED WHEN THEY STOOD ALONE AGAINST THE FORCES OF DARKNESS IN EUROPE.

HE WOULD HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED TO SEE IN GRENADA A FREE NATION ACT TO CHECK THE POTENTIAL COMMUNIST AGGRESSION WHICH HE WARNED AGAINST HERE AS HE HAD FAILED TO GET HIS OWN COUNTRY TO ACT AGAINST THE FASCISM OF THE THIRTIES. HE WOULD REJOICE THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME THE WEST HAS RESTORED TO A COLONY OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE THE FREEDOM WHICH HAD BEEN STOLEN FROM IT.

TODAY, WE ARE AS A NATION CHALLENGED ON MANY LEVELS. THE MOST POTENTIALLY DEVASTATING THREAT COMES FROM THE NUCLEAR MISSILES WHICH ARE AIMED AT US. THE SECOND COMES FROM THE LAND, AIR AND SEA FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS IN EUROPE WHICH CONTINUE TO GAIN ON NATO FORCES IN QUANTITY AND QUALITY. THE THIRD IS THE GROWING ABILITY OF THE SOVIETS TO PROJECT POWER OVER LONG DISTANCES, AN ABILITY VIVIDLY DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR USE OF AIR AND SEA TRANSPORT TO LINK UP ADVANCED SOVIET WEAPONS WITH CUBAN TROOPS THOUSANDS OF MILES FROM THEIR BORDERS. WE SAW THEM DO THIS FIRST IN ANGOLA AND AGAIN IN ETHIOPIA.

THE FOURTH LEVEL OF THREAT IS SOMETHING WE MIGHT CALL CREEPING IMPERIALISM. THE KREMLIN USES A VARIETY OF TECHNIQUES TO EXPLOIT ECONOMIC, RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS AROUND THE WORLD AND TO DESTABILIZE AND SUBVERT OTHER COUNTRIES BY FOSTERING INTERNAL INSURGENCY. THE SOVIET UNION THEN SUPPLIES WEAPONS, TRAINING AND ADVISORS TO BRING IN RADICAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH WILL EXTEND SOVIET POWER AND FURTHER SOVIET INTERESTS.

IT IS TO THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR THREAT AND THAT OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE THAT WE DEVOTE MOST OF OUR CONCERN AND COMMIT MOST OF OUR DEFENSE RESOURCES. YET, THE APPALLING DEVASTATION WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM THE USE OF THESE WEAPONS IS SUCH THAT THIS THREAT IS LESS LIKELY TO MATERIALIZE THAN THAT OF AGGRESSIVE PROTECTION OF POWER AND INTRUSION INTO OTHER COUNTRIES.

ALL OF THESE THREATS ARE INTERRELATED, AND THE MEASURES NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THEM ARE CLOSELY INTERCONNECTED. WE MUST MAINTAIN A STRATEGIC POSTURE THAT CONVINCES THE SOVIETS THAT THE RISK OF ANY ATTACK ON THE US OR ITS ALLIES FAR OUTWEIGHS ANY POSSIBLE BENEFITS. BUT MORE THAN THAT IS NECESSARY. THE GROWTH IN OVERALL SOVIET MILITARY POWER, UNMATCHED BY THE WEST OVER THE LAST 15 TO 20 YEARS, HAS ENCOURAGED THEM TO TRY INTIMIDATION TO SPLIT OUR ALLIES AWAY FROM US AND UNDERMINE OUR CREDIBILITY. IF THE ADVERSE SHIFT IN THE STRATEGIC BALANCE OF RECENT YEARS IS PERMITTED TO GO FAR ENOUGH, IT WILL BECOME EASIER FOR THE SOVIETS TO EXPLOIT SOFT SPOTS AROUND THE WORLD. IT WILL SEEM TO HAVE BECOME LESS RISKY FOR THE SOVIETS TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN SMALLER CONFLICTS ESPECIALLY IN LESS DEVELOPED PARTS OF THE WORLD.

TO FACE THESE THREATS EFFECTIVELY WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE SOVIET UNION NOT AS WE WOULD LIKE IT BUT AS IT IS. WE LIVE ON THE SAME PLANET, WE HAVE TO GO ON SHARING IT. WE MUST THEREFORE STAND READY TO TALK TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. THE CHARACTER OF MODERN WEAPONS, NOT ONLY NUCLEAR BUT CONVENTIONAL, MAKES THIS DIALOGUE INDISPENSABLE. BUT WE MUST RESOLVE NOT TO HAND AN ADVANTAGE TO THE OTHER SIDE, TO DO NOTHING THAT WOULD EITHER RISK THE CREDIBILITY OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE OR UNSETTLE THE MILITARY BALANCE ON WHICH PEACE ITSELF DEPENDS.

WE MUST RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT THE SOVIETS WILL EXPLOIT ARMS CONTROL TALKS AND AGREEMENTS TO SLOW DOWN IMPROVEMENTS IN WESTERN

MILITARY CAPABILITIES WHILE THEY CONTINUE TO BUILD UP AND MODERNIZE THEIR OWN FORCES. THUS FAR THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN THIS OBJECTIVE. THEY HAVE NEGOTIATED CEILINGS WHICH PERMIT THEIR CONTINUED MILITARY BUILDUP OR THEY HAVE AVOIDED RESTRICTIONS ON NEW WEAPONS THEY INTEND TO BUILD. THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN UNWILLING TO FOREGO ANY OF ITS MAJOR MILITARY PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO INDUCE US TO DROP OUR OWN PROGRAMS.

NEVERTHELESS, WE SHOULD PERSIST IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO CONTAIN THIS COMPETITION. WE MUST CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT AT SOME POINT THERE WILL BE A CHANGE IN SOVIET PERCEPTIONS AND BEHAVIOR.

HERE AT WESTMINSTER, CHURCHILL WONDERED:

"NOBODY KNOWS WHAT SOVIET RUSSIA AND ITS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION INTENDS TO DO IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, OR WHAT ARE THE LIMITS, IF ANY, TO THEIR EXPANSIVE AND PROSELYTIZING TENDENCIES."

A MONTH AFTER CHURCHILL MADE HIS SPEECH HERE AT WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, HIS QUESTION WAS ECHOED IN MOSCOW. THE NEW US AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA, GENERAL WALTER BEDELL SMITH, MET WITH STALIN IN THE KREMLIN TO ASK, "WHAT DOES THE SOVIET UNION WANT AND HOW FAR IS RUSSIA GOING TO GO?" STALIN ACCUSED THE US OF TRYING TO THWART RUSSIA AND DECLARED THAT CHURCHILL'S SPEECH HERE AT FULTON WAS AN UNFRIENDLY ACT. ASKED AGAIN, "HOW FAR IS RUSSIA GOING TO GO?" STALIN COOLLY REPLIED, "WE'RE NOT GOING MUCH FURTHER."

WE KNOW TODAY THAT RUSSIA HAS GONE A LOT FURTHER. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE UNDERSTAND HOW THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED. DURING THE MID TO LATE 1970s, THE SOVIETS UNFURLED A NEW STRATEGY ON A NEW FRONT--THE THIRD WORLD. AND THEIR STRATEGY HAS WORKED.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED IN THIS STRATEGY HAS BEEN THE USE OF PROXIES. THIS IS NOT EXACTLY NEW IN HISTORY. THE ROMANS USED MEN FROM CONQUERED COUNTRIES TO FIGHT THEIR ENEMIES. LATER, SWISS AND GERMAN MERCENARIES WERE AVAILABLE TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER ALL OVER EUROPE. THE BRITISH ARMY HAD ITS GHURKAS AND THE FRENCH THEIR FOREIGN LEGION. BUT THE SOVIETS USE THE CUBANS, EAST GERMANS, LIBYANS AND VIETNAMESE IN A QUITE DIFFERENT ROLE.

THESE PROXIES ACT IN PEACE AS WELL AS WAR. THEIR ROLE IS AS MUCH POLITICAL AS MILITARY. EAST GERMANS IN AFRICA, CUBANS IN LATIN AMERICA, VIETNAMESE IN ASIA HAVE A CERTAIN LEGITIMACY AND FREEDOM FROM IMPERIALIST TAINT THAT SOVIET TROOPS WOULD NOT ENJOY. DIFFERENT PROXIES HAVE SPECIALIZED FUNCTIONS. OF THE MORE THAN 40,000 CUBANS IN AFRICA, 80 PERCENT OF THE SOLDIERS ARE ON ACTIVE DUTY. VIETNAM, WITH THE FOURTH LARGEST ARMY IN THE WORLD, KEEPS CHINA AND THAILAND WORRIED AS IT SOLIDIFIES ITS POSITION IN KAMPUCHEA. MOST OF THE THOUSANDS OF EAST GERMAN EXPERTS IN AFRICA OR LATIN AMERICA ARE ACTIVE IN ADMINISTRATION, EDUCATION, INDUSTRY, HEALTH, AND, ABOVE ALL, THE SECURITY FORCES WHICH PROTECT THE REGIMES FROM THE PEOPLE.

LIBYA, CUBA, SOUTH YEMEN, EAST GERMANY, AND BULGARIA OPERATE CAMPS FOR TRAINING TERRORISTS AND INSURGENTS WHO ARE THEN SENT AROUND THE WORLD. THE LIBYANS HAVE HELPED PROMOTE SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY GOALS THROUGH THEIR INVASION OF CHAD AND THROUGH THEIR ASSISTANCE TO REBELS IN THE PHILIPPINES, MOROCCO AND CENTRAL AMERICA. LET US ALSO NOT FORGET THEIR COUPS, PLOTS AND ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS AGAINST THE LEADERS OF PRO-WESTERN COUNTRIES, NOR THEIR FINANCIAL HELP TO SO-CALLED "LIBERATION" GROUPS AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AT LEAST TEN COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA.

GRENADA PROVIDES A VIVID ILLUSTRATION OF HOW THE SOVIETS PRACTICE CREEPING IMPERIALISM BY PROXY. EARLY REPORTS INDICATE THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE CUBANS ON THE ISLAND, THERE WERE ON THE ISLAND SOVIETS, NORTH KOREANS, LIBYANS, EAST GERMANS AND BULGARIANS WORKING TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH A MILITARY BASE IN THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN. THIS SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE. IT IS A MICROCOSM OF NICARAGUA. FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS MANAGUA HAS BEEN AN INTERNATIONAL CITY WITH CUBANS, SOVIETS, EAST GERMANS, VIETNAMESE, NORTH KOREANS, BULGARIANS, LIBYANS AND PLO ELEMENTS WORKING TOGETHER TO FASTEN A TOTALITARIAN GRIP ON NICARAGUA, TO MAKE NICARAGUA MILITARILY DOMINANT OVER ITS NEIGHBORS AND TO PROJECT REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE INTO EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS, COSTA RICA AND GUATEMALA.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT IN CHILE, COMMITTED PRO-SOVIET GOVERNMENTS HAVE NEVER COME TO POWER THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS BUT ALWAYS THROUGH VIOLENCE, COUPS AND CIVIL WARS. THE SOVIETS RECOGNIZE THAT IN MOST THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES POWER RESTS WITH THE MILITARY. THEY HAVE FOCUSED, THEREFORE, ON EITHER WINNING OVER THE OFFICERS' CORPS OR HELPING TO OVERTHROW AND REPLACE THEM WITH OTHERS MORE LIKELY TO DO THEIR BIDDING. HAVING FOR DECADES DENOUNCED THE "MERCHANTS OF DEATH," THE SOVIETS HAVE BECOME THE WORLD'S LEADING SUPPLIER OF ARMS. OVER RECENT YEARS, THEIR ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE THIRD WORLD HAVE BEEN FOUR TIMES GREATER THAN THEIR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THIS HAS MADE THIRD WORLD ARMS RECIPIENTS DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIETS FOR THOUSANDS OF ADVISORS, FOR SPARE PARTS, AND FOR CONTINUED LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

YET THE SOVIET UNION IS CRIPPLED. IT IS CRIPPLED IN HAVING ONLY A MILITARY DIMENSION. IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DELIVER ECONOMIC, POLITICAL OR CULTURAL BENEFITS AT HOME OR ABROAD. WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE ECONOMIC RECORD OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE COME UNDER SOVIET INFLUENCE HAS RANGED FROM POOR TO VERY POOR. ECONOMIC PROGRESS HAS BEEN FAR GREATER IN THE FREE AREAS OF EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, IN CENTRAL AMERICA UNTIL DISRUPTION BY SOVIET AND CUBAN-BACKED INSURGENCY, IN THE IVORY COAST AND OTHER NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN AFRICA.

MILITARY SUPPORT CAN ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A SUPERPOWER AND A SMALL COUNTRY. BUT IN THE LONG RUN IT IS ECONOMIC, FINANCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES WHICH ATTRACT, DELIVER BENEFITS, AND MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT COMPETE IN THESE AREAS. THIS FORCES THE SOVIETS TO RELY ON SUBVERSION AND DISRUPTION OF STABLE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS TO WEAKEN WESTERN RELATIONSHIPS AND CREATE A CONDITION OF CHAOS IN WHICH THEIR SURROGATES AND INTERNAL ALLIES CAN SEIZE POWER.

IN THIS STRATEGY OF DISRUPTION, THE AREAS MOST HEAVILY TARGETED ARE CLEARLY THE MIDDLE EAST AND CENTRAL AMERICA. BY FANNING THE FLAME OF CONFLICT BETWEEN ARAB AND ISRAELI, SUNNI AND SHIA, RADICAL AND MODERATE ARAB, BY PLAYING BOTH SIDES AGAINST THE MIDDLE IN THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, AND BY NAILING DOWN A MILITARY POSITION IN SYRIA AND AFGHANISTAN, THE SOVIETS HOPE TO KEEP THE MIDDLE EAST IN TURMOIL AND THE OIL RESOURCES ON WHICH THE WESTERN WORLD DEPENDS UNDER CONSTANT THREAT. THE OTHER SENSITIVE TARGET IS THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA. SOVIET POWER IS ALREADY SOLIDLY ESTABLISHED IN CUBA AND NICARAGUA. THIS THREATENS THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE SEA LANES OF THE CARIBBEAN. INSURGENCIES AND REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN UNLEASHED TO TOPPLE GOVERNMENTS IN EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND GUATEMALA.

SINCE WORLD WAR II, WE HAVE SEEN THAT COUNTRIES FALLING UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL PROMPTLY PRODUCE A HEAVY FLOW OF REFUGEES--

PEOPLE VOTING WITH THEIR FEET TO GO ELSEWHERE. MILLIONS OF REFUGEES HAVE LEFT EASTERN EUROPE AND CUBA SINCE THE COMMUNISTS TOOK OVER. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE PUT THEIR LIVES AT STAKE TO ESCAPE FROM INDOCHINA IN LEAKING SHIPS. MORE THAN ONE-FOURTH OF THE POPULATION OF AFGHANISTAN HAS FLED TO PAKISTAN AND IRAN. THE FLOW OF REFUGEES FROM CENTRAL AMERICA IS ALREADY UNDER WAY.

A CUBANIZATION OF CENTRAL AMERICA WOULD QUICKLY CREATE NEW REFUGEES BY THE MILLIONS. THE SOVIETS CAN CALCULATE THAT A GREATLY INCREASED MILITARY THREAT ON OUR SOUTHERN FLANK AND THE INTERNAL DISRUPTION THAT WOULD RESULT IF MILLIONS OF LATIN AMERICANS WALKED NORTH WOULD DISTRACT THE UNITED STATES FROM DEALING WITH WHAT COULD BE MORE LETHAL THREATS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA WILL BE DAMAGED IF THE WEST IS UNABLE TO SENSITIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND MEXICO IN DEFENDING THEMSELVES AS WELL AS SOLVING THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ON THEIR OWN TERMS.

THE US NEEDS A REALISTIC COUNTER-STRATEGY. MANY COMPONENTS OF THAT STRATEGY ARE FAMILIAR, BUT THEY MUST BE APPROACHED AND LINKED IN NEW WAYS. THE MEASURES NEEDED TO ADDRESS THE SOVIET CHALLENGE IN THE THIRD WORLD HAVE THE ADDITIONAL APPEAL THAT THEY ALSO REPRESENT A SENSIBLE AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE THIRD WORLD WHETHER OR NOT THE USSR IS INVOLVED:

1. WE HAVE TOO OFTEN NEGLECTED OUR FRIENDS AND NEUTRALS IN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA UNTIL THEY BECAME A PROBLEM OR WERE THREATENED BY DEVELOPMENTS HOSTILE TO OUR INTERESTS. THESE COUNTRIES NOW BUY 40% OF OUR EXPORTS; THAT ALONE IS REASON ENOUGH TO PAY GREATER ATTENTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS BEFORE OUR ATTENTION IS COMMANDED BY COUPS, INSURGENCIES OR INSTABILITY. THE PRIORITY OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN OUR OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY NEEDS TO BE RAISED AND SUSTAINED.

2. WE MUST BE PREPARED TO DEMAND FIRMLY BUT TACTFULLY AND PRIVATELY THAT OUR FRIENDS OBSERVE CERTAIN STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR WITH REGARD TO BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS REQUIRED BY OUR OWN PRINCIPLES AND ESSENTIAL TO POLITICAL SUPPORT IN THE US. MOREOVER, WE HAVE TO BE WILLING TO TALK STRAIGHT TO THOSE WE WOULD HELP ABOUT ISSUES THEY MUST ADDRESS TO BLOCK FOREIGN EXPLOITATION OF THEIR PROBLEMS--ISSUES SUCH AS LAND REFORM, CORRUPTION AND THE LIKE. WE NEED TO SHOW HOW THE SOVIETS HAVE EXPLOITED SUCH VULNERABILITIES ELSEWHERE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE AREN'T PREACHING OUT OF CULTURAL ARROGANCE BUT ARE MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON EXPERIENCE.

3. WE NEED TO BE READY TO HELP OUR FRIENDS DEFEND THEMSELVES. WE CAN TRAIN THEM IN COUNTERINSURGENCY TACTICS AND UPGRADE THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, MOBILITY, POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES. WE NEED CHANGES IN OUR FOREIGN-MILITARY-SALES LAWS TO PERMIT THE US TO PROVIDE ARMS FOR SELF-DEFENSE MORE

QUICKLY. WE ALSO NEED TO CHANGE OUR MILITARY PROCUREMENT POLICIES SO AS TO HAVE STOCKS OF CERTAIN BASIC KINDS OF WEAPONS MORE READILY AVAILABLE.

4. WE MUST FIND A WAY TO MOBILIZE AND USE OUR GREATEST ASSET IN THE THIRD WORLD--PRIVATE BUSINESS. FEW IN THE THIRD WORLD WISH TO ADOPT THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM. NEITHER WE NOR THE SOVIETS CAN OFFER UNLIMITED OR EVEN LARGE-SCALE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. INVESTMENT IS THE KEY TO ECONOMIC SUCCESS IN THE THIRD WORLD AND WE, OUR NATO ALLIES AND JAPAN NEED TO DEVELOP A COMMON STRATEGY TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT AND SUPPORT IT WITH KNOW HOW IN THE THIRD WORLD. THE SOVIETS ARE HELPLESS TO COMPETE WITH PRIVATE CAPITAL IN THESE COUNTRIES.

WITHOUT A SUSTAINED, CONSTANT POLICY APPLIED OVER A NUMBER 7 OF YEARS, WE CANNOT COUNTER THE RELENTLESS PRESSURE OF THE USSR IN THE THIRD WORLD. IT IS PAST TIME FOR THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT-- EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESS--TO TAKE THE SOVIET CHALLENGE IN THE THIRD WORLD SERIOUSLY AND TO DEVELOP A BROAD, INTEGRATED STRATEGY FOR COUNTERING IT. THE LESS-DEVELOPED NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL US-SOVIET BATTLEGROUND FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. J

THERE IS ALSO A POLITICAL WEAPON WE CAN DEPLOY AROUND THE WORLD WHICH IS MORE POWERFUL THAN THE SOVIETS' MILITARY ARSENAL AND SUBVERSIVE BAG OF TRICKS. ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD ON BOTH SIDES OF THE IRON CURTAIN REMAIN UNITED AS THEY WERE IN

CHURCHILL'S DAY ON ONE ISSUE--THEIR ABHORRENCE OF DICTATORSHIP IN ALL ITS FORMS, MOST PARTICULARLY TOTALITARIANISM AND THE TERRIBLE INHUMANITIES IT HAS CAUSED IN OUR TIME--THE GREAT PURGE, AUSCHWITZ AND DACHAU, THE GULAG, AND CAMBODIA. THEY HAVE CERTAINLY NOTED IT WAS NOT THE DEMOCRACIES THAT INVADED AFGHANISTAN OR SUPPRESSED POLISH SOLIDARITY OR USED CHEMICAL AND TOXIC WARFARE IN AFGHANISTAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.

AROUND THE WORLD TODAY, THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS GATHERING NEW STRENGTH, IN ASIA, IN AFRICA, IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE. IN LATIN AMERICA, 18 OF 34 COUNTRIES HAVE FREELY-ELECTED GOVERNMENTS AND 6 ARE WORKING TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION, ALTOGETHER REPRESENTING 70% OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT CONTINENT. IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 8 OF THE 10 DEVELOPING NATIONS WHICH HAVE JOINED THAT BODY IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS ARE DEMOCRACIES. WE MUST FOSTER THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF DEMOCRACY, THE SYSTEM OF A FREE PRESS, UNIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES, UNIVERSITIES, WHICH ALLOWS A PEOPLE TO CHOOSE ITS OWN WAY TO DEVELOP ITS OWN CULTURE, TO RECONCILE ITS OWN DIFFERENCES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

FINALLY, IF WE ARE TO WIN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD'S FREEDOM AND LIBERTY, WE NEED TO REESTABLISH WHAT SIR JOHN PLUMB DESCRIBED SO ELOQUENTLY AS THE TRUE DOMINION OF HISTORY WHEN HE SPOKE ON THIS CAMPUS AT LAST MAY'S KEMPER LECTURE. IT IS IN THE TRUE STUDY OF OUR HISTORY AND OUR VALUES THAT WE CAN ESTABLISH THE SAME HISTORICAL CONFIDENCE IN OUR SOCIETY THAT

WINSTON CHURCHILL HAD IN HIS AND WHICH ENABLED HIM TO SPEAK SO ELOQUENTLY TO HIS PEOPLE AND THEY TO RESPOND SO WHOLEHEARTEDLY. IT IS YOUR CHALLENGE, AS OUR FUTURE LEADERS, TO BRING A PROPER SENSE OF OUR DESTINY TO OUR AFFAIRS AND THAT CAN ONLY COME THROUGH A KNOWLEDGE OF OUR PAST AND A FEELING FOR THE HERITAGE WHICH IS OURS TO PRESERVE AND PASS ON. AND I CAN IMAGINE NO SETTING AND NO ATMOSPHERE MORE CONDUCIVE TO KINDLING AND DEVELOPING THAT LEARNING AND THAT SENTIMENT THAN THE ONE WHICH BLESSES YOU IN THESE SURROUNDINGS AND IN THE TRADITION OF YOUR CHALLENGE.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SOME TWENTY YEARS AGO OBSERVED THAT WE WERE INVOLVED IN A LONG TWILIGHT STRUGGLE. WINSTON CHURCHILL'S SPEECH HERE AT WESTMINSTER COLLEGE MARKED THE INITIAL RECOGNITION BY THE WEST THAT THE STRUGGLE HAD BEGUN. CHURCHILL ALSO OBSERVED THAT, "WHAT WE HAVE TO CONSIDER HERE TODAY WHILE TIME REMAINS, IS THE PERMANENT PREVENTION OF WAR AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN ALL COUNTRIES."

IT IS NOW NEARING 40 YEARS SINCE WINSTON CHURCHILL SPOKE HERE. THE THOUGHT THAT I WOULD LEAVE WITH YOU IS THAT THE STRUGGLE WITH WHAT THE SOVIET UNION REPRESENTS IS NOT CONFINED TO CHURCHILL'S GENERATION, OR TO MY GENERATION, OR THE GENERATION OF YOUR FACULTY AND PARENTS, OR YOUR GENERATION. THIS IS A CONFLICT DEEPLY ROOTED IN IDEAS. [THIS CONFLICT IS AS OLD AS RECORDED HISTORY.] THE THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION IS THE

LINEAL DESCENDENT OF THE SAME THREAT WESTERN CIVILIZATIONS HAVE FACED FOR BETTER THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS: IT IS THE THREAT POSED BY DEPOTISM AGAINST THE MORE OR LESS STEADILY DEVELOPING CONCEPT THAT THE HIGHEST GOAL OF THE STATE IS TO PROTECT AND TO FOSTER THE CREATIVE CAPABILITIES AND THE LIBERTIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL. IT IS A CONTEST BETWEEN TWO ELEMENTAL AND HISTORICALLY OPPOSED IDEAS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE. THE CHIEF THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION, THEREFORE, IS NOT NECESSARILY IN THE VASTNESS OF ITS MILITARY FORCES--THOUGH VAST THEY ARE--BUT IN THE RELENTLESSNESS OF THEIR ASSAULT ON OUR VALUES.

THREE DAYS AFTER HIS SPEECH HERE IN FULTON, MR. CHURCHILL ADDRESSED THE VIRGINIA STATE ASSEMBLY, THE OLDEST LEGISLATIVE BODY IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. IN THAT SPEECH HE STATED:

"IT IS IN THE YEARS OF PEACE THAT WAR IS PREVENTED AND THOSE FOUNDATIONS LAID UPON WHICH THE NOBLE STRUCTURES OF THE FUTURE CAN BE BUILT. THAT PEACE WILL NOT BE PRESERVED WITHOUT THE VIRTUES WHICH MAKE VICTORY POSSIBLE IN WAR. PEACE WILL NOT BE PRESERVED BY PIOUS SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF PLATITUDES, OR BY OFFICIAL GRIMACES AND DIPLOMATIC CORRECTITUDE, OR BY CASTING ASIDE IN DANGEROUS TIMES OUR PANOPLY OF WAR-LIKE STRENGTH. THERE MUST BE EARNEST THOUGHT. THERE MUST BE FAITHFUL PERSEVERANCE AND FORESIGHT. GREATHEART MUST HAVE HIS SWORD AND ARMOR TO GUARD THE PILGRIMS ON THEIR WAY."

I AM CONFIDENT THAT SIR WINSTON WOULD AGREE THAT DESPITE OUR FONDEST HOPES TO FULFILL ISAIAH'S PROPHECY, ALL OF HUMAN HISTORY, AND ESPECIALLY ALL OF RUSSIAN HISTORY, POINTS TO OUR NEED AND THE NEED OF OUR CHILDREN FOR SWORDS AS WELL AS PLOWSHARES. I SEE, THEREFORE, THE SAME FUTURE CHURCHILL SAW HERE SO LONG AGO--NOT AN EASY FUTURE--BUT, WITH PERSEVERANCE AND DEVOTION TO OUR DUTY, A FREE ONE IN WHICH OUR VALUES AND OPPORTUNITIES ARE PRESERVED.

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