

Undated: General: Looking to the future: American defense posture in a changing world

Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers
Speeches, Undated, Box SP1, Folder 1
<https://hdl.handle.net/10524/71357>

Items in eVols are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved, unless otherwise indicated.

UHM Library Digital Collections Disclaimer and Copyright Information

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: AMERICAN DEFENSE POSTURE
IN A CHANGING WORLD

SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

MR. PRESIDENT, TODAY I SPEAK TO THE SENATE ON THE GREAT ISSUE OF OUR TIME. I RISE TO ADDRESS A SUBJECT OF MUCH SPECULATION IN THE TOWNS AND CITIES OF OUR NATION, AND IN CAPITALS AROUND THE WORLD. I AM ENGAGED BY THE ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE AGE OF GLASNOST AND THE FATE OF THAT SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS BOUND TOGETHER THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WEST FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY. I AM DEEPLY TROUBLED.

TODAY THE STREETS OF EUROPE ARE FILLED WITH REVELRY AS PEOPLE FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS REJOICE IN THE BLUSH OF NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS. NO LONGER IS THE LINE WHICH RUNS FROM STETTIN TO TRIESTE A BOUNDARY SYNONYMOUS WITH THE DIVISION OF MANKIND, A TRIP-WIRE OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. RATHER, ITS LONG, DARK SHADOW HAS MELTED INTO THE LANDSCAPE. THE PASSIONS IT AROUSED ARE GRADUALLY FADING AS THE EUPHORIA OF THE MOMENT CONSIGNS THEM TO MEMORY. IN TIME, THE BARBED WIRE AND WATCHTOWERS OF THE IRON CURTAIN SHALL BECOME YET ANOTHER ATTRACTION IN GUIDEBOOKS TO THE HISTORY OF EUROPE -- A CURIOSITY OF THE COLD WAR MUCH AS THE MAGINOT LINE AND THE SEIGFRIED LINE HAVE COME TO SYMBOLIZE THE TRIALS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

MR. PRESIDENT, AT LONG LAST THE DARK SHADE HAS BEEN LIFTED. NIGHT IS ENDING AND EASTERN EUROPE IS AWAKING FROM A DEEP, PROLONGED SLEEP. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO GENERATIONS, THE WARM SUNLIGHT OF FREEDOM HAS SHONE ON THE FACES OF A POOR, OPPRESSED PEOPLE. LET US REMEMBER THAT WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD MARCHED IN TRIUMPH AFTER THE DEFEAT OF HITLER, THOSE WITHIN THE SOVIET ORBIT FELL VICTIM TO YET ANOTHER ENSLAVER. ONLY NOW, IS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE STALINIST TYRANNY SURFACING. AS THE TERRIBLE SECRETS OF THE KATYN FOREST ARE UNEARTHED AND THE TERROR OF THE GULAGS ARE UNCOVERED, THE WORLD IS FORCED, ONCE AGAIN, TO CONFRONT ITS CONSCIENCE AND ASK THOSE ETERNAL QUESTIONS: HOW COULD SUCH CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED? DID WE FAIL TO ACT? COULD THEY HAPPEN AGAIN?

LIKE MOST AMERICANS, I AM GLADDENED BY THE PROSPECT OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND HOPEFUL THAT IT WILL CONTINUE. I SHARE WITH MY COLLEAGUES THE PRAYER THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THAT PROSPERITY, AND BROTHERHOOD, WILL RULE THE DAY. BUT HISTORY IS A STERN TEACHER AND I AM AN AVID PUPIL. SHE HAS TAUGHT ME TO BE SKEPTICAL -- AND I AM. SWORDS, I HAVE LEARNED, ARE NOT SO EASILY BEATEN INTO PLOWSHARES. AGE OLD ENMITIES RARELY ARE FORGOTTEN. MAN'S BASE INSTINCTS, CUNNING AND BRUTALITY, ARE NOT SO EASILY, OR WILLINGLY, CONTAINED.

INSTABILITIES REMAIN

MR. PRESIDENT, FUNDAMENTAL INSTABILITIES REMAIN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, INSTABILITIES WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED OR WISHED AWAY AT ANY PRICE. THE DEMISE OF THE BIPOLAR WORLD BRINGS WITH IT NEW UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE FUTURE -- UNCERTAINTIES WHICH MUST BE CONFRONTED SQUARELY AND DECISIVELY BY MEN OF VISION AND OF COURAGE.

INSTEAD, WE WHO ARE CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENSURING OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING ASKED TO RELINQUISH THAT MEASURE OF SECURITY WHICH HAS PRESERVED US IN FREEDOM SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WITHOUT A COMPASS OR MAP TO GUIDE OUR WAY, WE ARE BEING PRESSED TO DRAW DOWN OUR ARMED FORCES, AS IF THE MILLENNIUM WERE AT HAND. DURING MY LIFETIME, THIS ILLUSION HAS APPEARED MANY TIMES. AND IT HAS, AS QUICKLY, DISAPPEARED, PASSING ALONG WITH THAT BURST OF ENTHUSIASM AND EXPECTATION WITH WHICH IT WAS USHERED IN.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE A PROUD AND FAIR NATION. A GOOD PEOPLE, MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY, JUST AS WE ARE STRONG AND PERSISTENT IN WAR. HOWEVER, MANY AMONG US ARE IMPATIENT WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE AND APPEAR WILLING TO SACRIFICE OUR LIVES AND OUR TREASURE AT THE SLIGHTEST SUGGESTION THAT PEACE IS AT HAND. I STAND BEFORE THE SENATE TODAY TO URGE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO MAKE FULL USE OF CAUTION IN THIS ENDEAVOR. PRUDENCE, MY COLLEAGUES, SHOULD GUIDE OUR ACTION, NOT WISHFUL THINKING. FOR, AS THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ONCE OBSERVED, "OUR SECURITY IS NOT A MATTER OF WEAPONS ALONE. THE ARM THAT WIELDS THEM MUST BE STRONG, THE EYE THAT GUIDES THEM CLEAR, THE WILL THAT DIRECTS THEM INDOMITABLE."

EAST EUROPE IN DISARRAY

GREAT AND UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES HAVE BEEN UNLEASHED ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. WHETHER THEY WILL BE USED FOR GOOD, OR FOR ILL, REMAINS UNCERTAIN. WHAT IS KNOWN IS THAT CRIES OF LIBERAL REFORMERS ARE TOO OFTEN ECHOED NOT BY DEMOCRATIC VOICES BUT BY THE BELLICOSE HOWLS OF RADICAL NATIONALISTS, ETHNIC PARTISANS, RELIGIOUS ZEALOTS AND MONARCHISTS.

AS IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS HAVE FOUND EXPRESSION IN VIOLENCE AND DISORDER. TRIBAL HATREDS AND ANCIENT VENDETTAS HAVE TAKEN ROOT IN A NEW GENERATION OF EUROPEANS, SPARKING CONFLICT, AND BLOODSHED. IN THE ANCIENT LANDS OF TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, LITHUANIA, ARMENIA, SERBIA, AND THE TRANS-CAUCUSES, FORMER VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER AS IF THE SOVIET EMPIRE, WITH ALL ITS BARBARISM, HAD NEVER EXISTED. A NEW DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF UNITY AND STRENGTH --AND, SADLY, ALSO A BREEDING GROUND FOR DISCONTENT. AS ONE WHO HAS WITNESSED SUCH FERMENT OFTEN IN MY LIFETIME, I AM UNWILLING TO PRONOUNCE GORBACHEV'S GREAT ENTERPRISE A SUCCESS, UNTIL THE FINAL KEYSTONE IS LOWERED INTO THE ARCH.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ABORTIVE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 IN GERMANY, 1917 IN RUSSIA, 1948 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1956 IN HUNGARY, AND 1968 AGAIN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, LOOM AS DARK REMINDERS THAT ONCE CONFLICTS ARE IGNITED, THEY ARE NOT SO EASILY QUELLED. IT WAS OUR OWN REVOLUTIONARY, THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO CAUTIONED A YOUNG REPUBLIC ABOUT THE DANGERS OF THE MOB -- AND HE WAS CORRECT. LET US HOPE THAT MR. GORBACHEV SUCCEEDS, BUT LET US NOT FORGET THAT REVOLUTIONS ARE A HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION, REQUIRING FROM THOSE TOUCHED BY THEIR INFLUENCE -- VIGILANCE, CAUTION AND CIRCUMSPECTION.

VIEWS OF RETRENCHMENT

THERE ARE THOSE AMONG US, HOWEVER, WHO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THIS VIEW OF OUR CHANGING TIMES. THEY ARGUE THAT A NEW, AND POSSIBLY IRREVERSIBLE REALITY HAS TAKEN HOLD IN EUROPE AND THAT OUR ACTIONS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT TO THE SURVIVAL OF PERISTROIKA AS ARE GORBACHEV'S SKILLS AS A LEADER. THEY SAY THAT IF GORBACHEV IS TO SUCCEED, THEN WE MUST RALLY TO HIS SIDE AND BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE WHATEVER INITIATIVES ARE CALLED FOR TO ENSURE HIS SURVIVAL. IF THIS SHOULD REQUIRE LARGE-SCALE TROOP REDUCTIONS, THEN, SO BE IT; IN THEIR VIEW, WE MUST OUT-MATCH HIM MEASURE FOR MEASURE. IF THE WARSAW PACT IS RENDERED IMPOTENT AS A MILITARY FORCE, THEN WE, IN THE WEST, MUST ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. IF GERMANY IS REUNIFIED, AS INDEED IT MAY BE, THEN, SAY THESE VOICES, WE MUST GUARANTEE ITS NEUTRALITY.

I, FOR ONE, TAKE ISSUE WITH THIS LOGIC. I REFUSE TO FOLLOW THAT PATH. OTHERS MAY PLUNGE INTO THE ABYSS; I PREFER TO CAREFULLY CONSTRUCT BRIDGES WHICH LEAD SAFELY FROM THE DIVISIONS OF THE PAST TO A NEW WORLD UNITED IN THE PEACE WHICH WE ALL HOPE WILL EMERGE.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO BE A NAYSAYER OR A JEREMIAH PROPHECYING IMMINENT CATASTROPHE. RATHER, I HOPE TO REMIND THOSE WHO WOULD LEAP TO JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE PERMANENCE OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THE IMPETUS FOR TODAY'S REFORM MOVEMENT RESTS ON THE WORK OF A SINGLE, SOLITARY MAN. TO GAMBLE OUR SECURITY, AND THAT OF OUR CHILDREN, ON THE SURVIVAL OF THIS, OR ANY, INDIVIDUAL IS NAIVE. TO ABANDON THE ELABORATE SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS PROTECTED OUR FREEDOM IN CRISIS AFTER CRISIS, IN BERLIN, IN GREECE, AND IN CUBA, IS RECKLESS AND FOOLHARDY.

MY DUTY -- AS I SEE IT -- IS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. MY CHARGE IS TO ENSURE THAT THEIR WELFARE IS PROTECTED IN THE EVENT THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND HIS GRAND EXPERIMENT SHOULD MEET AN UNTIMELY END.

I AM MINDFUL OF CONCERN VOICED BY SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO POINT TO THE INCREASING RESTLESSNESS WITHIN THE SOVIET MILITARY AS A THREAT TO REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE PULLBACK OF THE RED ARMY FROM AFGHANISTAN, ITS GROWING PROBLEMS WITH INTERNAL DISCIPLINE, ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE LEVEL OF POST-SERVICE BENEFITS AND ITS MOUNTING ANGER WITH THE RESTRAINTS BEING PLACED ON IT AS IT ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS POPULAR REBELLION IN THE REPUBLICS -- ALL OF THESE SETBACKS HAVE AROUSED THE SOVIET MILITARY.

FACED WITH THESE HUMILIATIONS, AND THE PROSPECT OF AN IMMINENT DRAWDOWN IN FORCE STRUCTURE, REACTIONARY FORCES WITHIN THE MILITARY COULD BE PROMPTED TO ATTEMPT A SEIZURE OF POWER. I NEED NOT ELABORATE ON THE DESTABILIZING EFFECTS SUCH A COUP ATTEMPT WOULD HAVE ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

WE MUST BE ALERT TO WHERE THE CURRENTS OF MODERN HISTORY ARE TAKING US. THE CHANNEL THAT GUARANTEES OUR SAFE PASSAGE IN A NUCLEAR AGE IS NARROW INDEED. WHEN WE ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE LARGE SUMS OF RECONSTRUCTION AID AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TO OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES, WE MUST BE SURE THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE IS NOT BEING SQUANDERED OR PUT TO AN INSIDIOUS PURPOSE. THE INVALID WHOSE HEALTH WE NURSE BACK TODAY, COULD WELL BECOME THE TITAN WE CONFRONT TOMORROW. LET IT NOT BE SAID THAT, AS A NATION, WE WERE SO CONSUMED WITH THE FRUITS OF VICTORY, THAT WE UNWITTINGLY SEWED THE SEEDS OF OUR OWN MISFORTUNE. AS WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE OBSERVED, "THE PROBLEMS OF VICTORY ARE MORE AGREEABLE THAN THOSE OF DEFEAT, BUT THEY ARE NO LESS DIFFICULT."

THE LIMITS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF TODAY'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO SHOULDER A LARGE PORTION OF THE BURDEN OF RECONSTRUCTION. WHILE THIS IS SURELY A TESTAMENT TO THE TRIUMPH OF OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, IT IS A TASK OF SUCH IMMENSITY THAT NO ONE COUNTRY CAN SHOULDER IT ALONE. THE UNITED STATES SIMPLY CAN NO LONGER BE IN THE POSITION OF BEING THE PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER OF EVERY EMERGING DEMOCRACY, PARTICULARLY WHEN WE MUST SACRIFICE OUR OWN DEFENSE IN ORDER TO FINANCE ASSISTANCE TO OTHERS. LEST WE FORGET, IT IS THIS VERY SAME DEFENSE BUDGET AND THE DETERRENT FORCE IT MAINTAINS, THAT HAS HELPED TO ENSURE THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM.

THOUGH WE REJOICE IN THE NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS IN PANAMA, NICARAGUA, NAMIBIA AND EASTERN EUROPE, THERE ARE PRACTICAL LIMITS TO OUR LARGESS. OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ARE TOO VAST, OUR FOREIGN COMMITMENTS TOO NUMEROUS, AND OUR RESOURCES TOO LIMITED, TO SHOULDER ALONE THE BURDENS OF THE WORLD. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EASTERN EUROPE TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY, BUT RATHER, THAT WE SHOULD NOT NEGLECT OUR OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES IN AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC WHEN DOING SO.

I BELIEVE THAT PERHAPS THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO EUROPEAN STABILIZATION IS FOR AMERICA TO REMAIN A FORCE OF CONSTANCY, OF PREDICTABILITY, AND OF STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN PEACE. THE SUPPORT OF SOUND FISCAL POLICIES AT HOME, AND THE PROMOTION OF MEASURED DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE, WILL PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE FOR A PROSPEROUS FUTURE. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY, AND DESPITE UP-AND-COMING COMPETITION FROM JAPAN, GERMANY, AND THE NEWLY-INDUSTRIALIZED ASIAN COUNTRIES, IT REMAINS THAT LEADER TODAY. IT IS OUR TASK TO ENSURE THAT THE UNITED STATES ALSO REMAINS THE GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AND THAT IT MAINTAINS THE STRENGTH IT REQUIRES TO BE THE PRIMARY PROTECTOR OF THOSE VALUES, INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

THE TRIUMPH OF DETERRENCE

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ROAD THAT HAS BROUGHT US TO THIS TIME IN HISTORY HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT ONE. MORE THAN ONCE WE HAVE BEEN POISED ON THE BRINK OF WAR, ONLY TO PULL BACK IN THE FINAL HOURS BEFORE CATASTROPHE. THESE EVENTS SHOULD HAVE TAUGHT US A POWERFUL LESSON IN THE IMPORTANCE, AND THE LASTING RELEVANCE, OF DETERRENCE AS A NATIONAL STRATEGY. FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS A BROAD RANGE OF MILITARY OPTIONS -- FROM THE MILITARY LEVERAGE PROVIDED BY OUR SUPERIOR CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TO THE ASSURED DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR RETALIATION-- HAS GIVEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE FLEXIBILITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE HE REQUIRED TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

I AM NOT CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE DETERMINED WHAT KIND OF SMALLER, LEANER MILITARY WILL PROVIDE THAT SAME LEVEL OF SECURITY. HOW CAN WE, AT REDUCED COST AND WITH A DIMINISHED MILITARY CAPACITY, PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT WITH AN EQUALLY WIDE VARIETY OF DETERRENT OPTIONS? I BELIEVE THAT DETERRENCE, AT THE LOWEST COST, BUT AT THE MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS, MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE BEHIND OUR MILITARY DOCTRINE, REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CHANGES COURSE ABOUT US.

IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR NATO'S DOCTRINE OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, WHICH MUST NOT BE ABANDONED IN THE RUSH TO REFORM THE ALLIANCE. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THIS DOCTRINE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE, IN LARGE MEASURE, FOR DISCOURAGING THE KREMLIN'S COSTLY HARASSMENT AND PROBING OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES OVER THE YEARS. NATO'S READINESS TO RESPOND TO ANY SOVIET MILITARY PROVOCATION WITH EQUAL AND PROPORTIONATE FORCE, HAS PROVED ITS VALUE IN PREVENTING THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN EUROPE.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IN THIS TIME OF UNCERTAINTY, WE CANNOT BE SURE THE CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE THAT NOW EXISTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WILL CONTINUE. WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT THE CHANGES FOSTERED UNDER THE BANNERS OF GLASNOST AND PERISTROIKA WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP. WE CANNOT, WITH CONFIDENCE, SAY THAT ALL IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY SUPPORT THIS COURSE OR THAT ALL SOVIET HAWKS HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY DOVES. SOME IN THE KREMLIN COULD WELL REGARD GLASNOST AS AN EFFECTIVE, ALBEIT SINISTER STRATEGY FOR ACHIEVING THEIR GOALS.

THOUGH THIS IS UNLIKELY, IT, NONETHELESS. SHOULD BE A FACTOR IN ALL OF OUR DELIBERATIONS ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEFENSE. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN HISTORY, NATIONS HAVE USED THE PRETENSE OF PEACE TO PREPARE FOR WAR. IT WAS HITLER WHO SO SKILLFULLY TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE INTERLUDE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS TO RESTORE GERMANY'S MILITARY MIGHT. AND WHEN HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED HIS OBJECTIVE, HE WAS ABLE TO DICTATE TO THE WORLD THE TERMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S SURRENDER.

FOR ALL WE KNOW, MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO DIVEST ITSELF OF ITS TROUBLESOME ALLIES IN EASTERN EUROPE MAY BE AN ACT OF SHREWD POLITICAL CALCULATION, INTENDED TO RETURN THE UNION TO FISCAL SOLVENCY AND ETHNIC PURITY. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN VERY GOOD AT DECODING THE KREMLIN'S INTENTIONS, AND I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE ANY WISER TODAY. ALL OF THE SCHOLARS, THE KREMLIN-WATCHERS, THE APOLOGISTS AND THE CRITICS, WERE UNABLE TO PREDICT THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE OVERTAKEN US IN EASTERN EUROPE IN THE PAST YEAR. I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT -- TWELVE MONTHS HENCE -- THOSE WHO NOW COGITATE ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD WILL PROVE ANY MORE RELIABLE IN THEIR FORECASTING.

MR. PRESIDENT, PRUDENCE REQUIRES THAT WE ASSUME THE WORST AND HOPE FOR THE BEST. WE MUST BE ALIVE TO THE FACT THAT MR. GORBACHEV'S GLASNOST COULD REALLY BE A PHANTOM IN DISGUISE, A TROJAN HORSE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. "LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR," THE WISE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ONCE SAID, "BUT DON'T PULL DOWN YOUR HEDGE!"

MR. PRESIDENT, GORBACHEV HAS DONE HIS WORK WELL. HE HAS MASTERED THE ART OF WESTERN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. HE HAS DONNED WESTERN ATTIRE AND SHOWN US A HUMAN FACE. HE HAS APPEALED TO OUR SENSE OF FAIRNESS AND DRAWN US INTO HIS PLANS. IN THE PROCESS, HE ALSO MAY HAVE INFLUENCED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IN WAYS WHICH SATISFY OUR ETERNAL YEARNING AS A PEOPLE FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY. IN LATE 1985, 76 PERCENT OF AMERICANS SURVEYED SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE EITHER A "SERIOUS" OR A "VERY SERIOUS" THREAT TO THE U.S. -- TODAY ONLY 33 PERCENT HOLD THIS VIEW. MR. PRESIDENT, THE IRON CURTAIN MAY HAVE RUSTED AWAY, BUT SOVIET WEAPONRY, PARTICULARLY ITS STRATEGIC ARSENAL, HAS NOT. IN FACT, IT IS GROWING STRONGER AND MORE POTENT DAY BY DAY.

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL STILL BE THE GREATEST LAND POWER IN ASIA, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL STILL BE A MARITIME NATION DEPENDENT UPON TRADE AND CONTACT WITH THE EURO-ASIAN LANDMASS FOR ITS SURVIVAL. THE FACTS OF GEOGRAPHY ARE IMMUTABLE. POLITICS CANNOT ALTER WHAT IS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPETITION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW FOR INCREASINGLY SCARCE RESOURCES, THEIR OPPOSING NEEDS FOR SECURE LINES OF COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND THEIR COMMITMENTS TO FRIENDS AROUND THE GLOBE.

INCREASINGLY, TODAY, THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD TURN THE CLOCK BACK TO THE DARK DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. I AM CERTAINLY NOT ONE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. BUT THE PREVALENCE OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS AND OLD-STYLE COMMUNISTS, GIVES ME PAUSE TO BE CONCERNED. MR. GORBACHEV MAY BE THE BEST HOPE THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE HAD IN SIX GENERATIONS TO EXPERIENCE FREEDOM, BUT THE JURY WHICH SITS IN JUDGEMENT ON HIS AMBITIOUS PROGRAM HAS YET TO RENDER ITS FINAL VERDICT.

OUT-OF-AREA THREATS REMAIN

MR. PRESIDENT, AS WE SET ABOUT THE TASK OF ACCOMMODATING THE CHANGES PERCOLATING IN EUROPE, WE MUST ALSO BE ALIVE TO THE MANY OTHER THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE WHICH GIRD THE GLOBE. I AM SPEAKING HERE OF THE ONGOING CONFLICTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH HAVE THE POTENTIAL OF SPARKING A CONFLICT WHICH COULD ENGULF THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE THOSE, INCLUDING ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, A FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE SHIELDED FROM THE AWESOME EFFECTS OF A NUCLEAR CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I BEG TO DIFFER, AND PROFOUNDLY SO! NOT ONLY IS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MADE INEVITABLE BY OUR ONGOING COMMITMENTS TO THE REGION, BUT, TO FAIL TO ACT TO END SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD SURELY BE AN ABDICATION OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A SUPERPOWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE JOINT CHIEF'S MILITARY NET ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT "THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE OF INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN THE THIRD WORLD POSES INCREASINGLY COMPLEX SECURITY TASKS, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE RELENTLESS PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY." BALLISTIC MISSILES, THEY OBSERVE, "HAVE INTRODUCED A NEW ERA IN REGIONAL CONFLICT, INCREASING THE POTENTIAL FOR ESCALATION AND WIDESPREAD DESTRUCTION." IN ADDITION, TRADITIONAL REGIONAL ANIMOSITIES, EXACERBATED BY THE PROBLEMS OF DEBT, TERRORISM, INSURGENCIES, DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM WILL CONTINUE TO COMMAND U.S. ATTENTION AND DEFENSE RESOURCES."

EVERYWHERE ONE LOOKS TODAY, ONE SEES SMOLDERING REGIONAL CONFLICTS CHALLENGING, ALBEIT DEFYING, THE TREND TOWARD GREATER ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IN KASHMIR, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN REMAINS A FLASHPOINT OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. BOTH NATIONS ARE PRESUMED TO POSSESS BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE WILL TO USE THEM IF THE TIDE OF CONVENTIONAL WAR SHOULD MOVE IN A DIRECTION UNFAVORABLE TO EITHER.

ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, ARMIES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH FACE EACH OTHER IN A STANDOFF WHICH HAS REMAINED ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FOR TWO GENERATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION IS MORE UNSTABLE TODAY THAN IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS. THE NORTH CONTINUES TO LOSE ALLIES AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT, THUS MAKING THE PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER QUESTIONABLE. A DRAWDOWN OF U.S. TROOP STRENGTH COULD TRIGGER THE NORTH TO ACT, DRAWING US ONCE AGAIN INTO CONFLICT ON THE PENINSULA. THE NEWLY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH KOREAN IS YOUNG AND CONTINUES TO REQUIRE OUR SUPPORT.

IN AFGHANISTAN, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES HAS NOT MEANT AN END TO THE FIGHTING. TO THE CONTRARY, THE KABUL GOVERNMENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO RESIST THE ONSLAUGHT OF REBEL MUJAHEDDEEN WHOSE OWN UNITY OF PURPOSE HAS BEEN SHATTERED BY INTERNECINE STRIFE. A SIMILAR FATE HAS BEDEVILED THE OPPOSITION FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHERE PROGRESS TOWARD THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID HAS BEEN SLOWED BY INTER-TRIBAL FIGHTING.

MORE WORRISOME, HOWEVER, IS THE ONGOING CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL AND AMONG THE ARAB STATES THEMSELVES. THE RECENT DECLARATION BY IRAQ'S PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT HE HAS THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO DESTROY HALF OF ISRAEL IF ATTACKED, HAS RAISED, ONCE AGAIN, THE SPECTER OF ANOTHER, EVEN MORE DEADLY, MIDDLE EAST WAR. EVERYDAY, THERE ARE NEW REVELATIONS THAT IRAQ HAS ACQUIRED, THROUGH BOTH LEGAL AND ILLEGAL MEANS, THE CAPABILITY TO WAGE NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE. THE COUNTRY'S DEPLOYMENT OF DUAL-CAPABLE BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH RANGES OF UP TO 1,500 KILOMETERS, ENSURES THAT TEL AVIV AND TEHERAN, MUCH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TURKEY, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT, AND EVEN THE AMERICAN SIXTH FLEET STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN COULD FALL WITHIN ITS KILLING RANGE.

THOUGH ISRAEL AND SOME OF HER NEIGHBORS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE DEVELOPED A DETERRENT CAPABILITY, IT MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT AGAINST SUCH AWESOME POWER, THERE IS NO EFFECTIVE DEFENSE, AND THERE ARE NO CURRENTLY AVAILABLE COUNTER-MEASURES IN THE REGION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I AM CONCERNED THAT THE FLAMES OF REGIONAL CONFLICT ARE BEING FANNED BY THE VERY FORCES WHICH SHOULD, BY ALL RIGHTS, BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF PEACE-MAKING. COUNTRIES SUCH AS GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY, WHICH HAVE THEMSELVES EXPERIENCED THE HORRORS OF TOTAL WAR TWICE IN THIS CENTURY, HAVE BEEN THE ONES MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR TRANSFERRING LETHAL TECHNOLOGIES TO THE ANTI-WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A RECENT SURVEY OF AMERICANS REVEALED THAT 74 PERCENT FELT THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WAS AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS THREATS TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY -- SECOND ONLY TO DRUG TRAFFICKING, WHICH WAS CITED BY 84 PERCENT OF THOSE QUESTIONED.

THE WORLD IS LESS SECURE, AND THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS LESS BRIGHT, BECAUSE OF THE ACTIONS OF OUR ALLIES, SOME OF WHICH HAVE OPENLY ENCOURAGED THE EXPORT OF THE EQUIPMENT TO MANUFACTURE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO SUCH LAWLESS STATES AS LIBYA, IRAN, AND IRAQ. OTHERS HAVE SIMPLY TURNED A BLIND EYE TO THE ACTIONS OF THEIR CITIZENS AND PRIVATE COMPANIES BY FAILING TO ENFORCE EXISTING EXPORT CONTROL LAWS.

LET US NOT FORGET THAT IRAN AND IRAQ DID NOT HESITATE TO EMPTY THEIR DEADLY ARSENALS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WAR. ACCORDING TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IRAQ USED POISON GAS TO KILL BETWEEN SIX AND TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE, INCLUDING MANY OF ITS OWN KURDISH POPULATION.

EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEING PROVIDED BY COUNTRIES IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE TO ANTI-WESTERN INSURGENCIES, AND WARRING STATES AROUND THE GLOBE. THE RISE OF ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL AS TWO OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR ARMS EXPORTERS POINTS TO THE INCREASING EASE WITH WHICH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CAN BE PRODUCED AND ACQUIRED TODAY. THE SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT ALSO HAS DRIVEN MANY COUNTRIES LIKE CHINA WITH THE TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW, TO RELY ON THE TRAFFICKING OF ARMS AS A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF REVENUE.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REMAIN OUT OF THE FRAY. I AM INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT THE PROSPECT OF A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE WILL RESULT IN THE WHOLESALE TRANSFER OF FRONTLINE WEAPONRY TO THE THIRD WORLD. ALREADY THIS IS OCCURRING. NEARLY 40,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS ARE DUE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM SUPERPOWER ARSENALS IN THE COMING YEARS. THE UNITED STATES ALREADY HAS PROMISED TO GIVE EGYPT 700 M-60S, WITH SIXTY MORE DESTINED TO MOROCCO ALONG WITH THE POSSIBLE SALE OF 24 F-16 FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM OUR RESERVE STOCKS. THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPECTED TO PROVIDE LARGE QUANTITIES OF ITS DECOMMISSIONED EQUIPMENT TO IRAQ, A COUNTRY WHICH ALREADY FIELDS 5,500 MAIN BATTLE TANKS, 1,000 ARMORED INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES, AND 3,000 ARTILLERY PIECES.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE WORLD ARMS MARKET IS NOW AWASH IN LOW-PRICED, HIGHLY-LETHAL ARMS OF THE MOST MODERN SORT. THE READY AVAILABILITY OF SUCH MATERIEL TO TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS SHOULD BE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ALL NATIONS. WHILE THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE APPEAR NO LONGER TO PROVIDE A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE FORCES OF DARKNESS TO TRAIN AND PLAN THEIR COWARDLY OPERATIONS, COUNTRIES LIKE LIBYA, SYRIA, NORTH KOREA, CUBA, LEBANON, IRAQ AND SOUTH YEMEN REMAIN READY, IF NOT EAGER, HOSTS. ANY RECONFIGURATION OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THESE MULTIPLE THREATS. A FLEXIBLE, MOBILE, HIGHLY RESPONSIVE MILITARY WILL BE NEEDED TO OPERATE IN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX COUNTER-TERRORIST, COUNTER-NARCOTIC AND CONVENTIONAL WARFARE ENVIRONMENTS WHICH COULD BECOME THE MAINSTAY OF CONFLICT IN THE 1990S.

THE RANGE OF SOVIET POWER AND POTENTIAL

MR. PRESIDENT, SOVIET MILITARY POWER CONTINUES TO POSE THE PRINCIPAL THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE WORLD TODAY. ITS RANGE OF DEPLOYABLE FORCES, ITS MULTI-THEATER COMBATANT CAPABILITY AND ITS EXTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL BASE, PROVIDE IT WITH AN UNPARALLELED CAPACITY TO DISRUPT OR DESTROY ANY ATTACKER. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION TODAY STANDS AS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD CAPABLE OF HOLDING ALL OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AT RISK --THIS, DESPITE ITS ECONOMIC WOES, ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL TENSIONS AND THE APPARENT DISINTEGRATION OF THE WARSAW PACT.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WISH TO DISTANCE MYSELF FROM THOSE WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD RUSH TO CONCLUDE A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT WITH THE KREMLIN ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT MIGHT HELP GORBACHEV OR CONSTRAIN THE SOVIET MILITARY'S WARFIGHTING POTENTIAL SHOULD HE FALL FROM POWER. THIS IS NOT THE WAY FOR A GREAT NATION TO CONDUCT ITS DEFENSE POLICY, NOR IS IT A WISE NEGOTIATING POSTURE. WE ARE NOT IN A RACE TO SEE WHO CAN BUILD-DOWN THEIR FORCE STRUCTURE MORE QUICKLY -- OR IN ADVANCE OF THE MORNING HEADLINES. YES, WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES, BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THAT CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT, BY ITSELF, IS A GUARANTOR OF PEACE.

IT IS TIME THAT WE ASKED OURSELVES WHETHER WE ARE MERELY REACTING TO EVENTS AS THEY UNFOLD, OR ARE WE GUIDING THEM TO OUR BEST ADVANTAGE? ARE WE ALLOWING OUR DEFENSE POLICY TO BE DICTATED FROM WITHIN THE KREMLIN WALLS, OR IS IT TRULY THE PRODUCT OF PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE? FROM ALL APPEARANCES, IT SEEMS AS IF THE SHIP OF STATE IS ADRIFT WITHOUT A CAPTAIN, AND THAT DECISIONS ABOUT OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING MADE IN A PIECEMEAL FASHION, WITHOUT REGARD TO LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES. I PRAY THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT DECISIONS TAKEN TODAY TO REDUCE THE COMBAT CAPABILITY OF OUR ARMED FORCES COULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS WELL INTO THE EARLY PART OF THE NEXT CENTURY. WITH MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS TAKING UPWARDS OF FIFTEEN YEARS TO MOVE FROM CONCEPT TO DEPLOYMENT, ANY SLOW-DOWN IN THE PACE OF PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT COULD SEE AN EROSION IN THE QUALITATIVE EDGE OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY. SIMILARLY, ANY PERMANENT LOSS IN OUR MANUFACTURING CAPACITY, AFFECTS THE LEVEL OF OUR FIGHTING READINESS IF OUR OPTIMISTIC THREAT ASSESSMENTS FOR THE FUTURE PROVE INCORRECT.

THE SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE THREAT

TODAY, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY ESTIMATES, THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES COMPRISE OVER FIVE-AND-A-HALF MILLION MEN, WITH ITS GROUND COMPLEMENT GROUPED INTO 200 ACTIVE DIVISIONS. BY COMPARISON, MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 2.1 MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS, WITH OUR ARMY GROUPED INTO 18 ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND 10 RESERVE DIVISIONS. TWO OF THESE ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND 1 RESERVE DIVISION ARE SOON TO BE DISBANDED.

SOVIET OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY IS SUPPORTED BY 51,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS; THE U.S. DEPLOYS A SCANT 16,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS. THE SOVIETS FIELD 1,465 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS; THE UNITED STATES FIELDS 441 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS. THE SOVIETS DEPLOY 59,500 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS; THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 32,600 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE IS THE SOVIET AIR FORCE, WHICH DEPLOYS 620 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 4,595 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. AGAIN, BY COMPARISON, THE UNITED STATES FIELDS A FAR LESS NUMEROUS CONVENTIONAL AIR FORCE WITH 372 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 3,577 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT.

SOVIET AIR DEFENSE UNITS ALSO INCLUDE 12,000 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND 100 ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS; UNITED STATES AIR DEFENSE UNITS INCLUDE 630 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND NO -- I REPEAT NO -- ABM LAUNCHERS. EVEN WITH A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS STILL WILL MAINTAIN A SIZEABLE PRESENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC -- ITS POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITIES SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED BY 368 SUBMARINES -- COMPARED TO 133 SUBMARINES FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE USSR HAS 264 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS; THE U.S. HAS 229 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS ULTIMATELY MEAN? IT MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF NUMERICALLY DISADVANTAGED IN VIRTUALLY EVERY AREA OF MEN AND COMBATANT MATERIEL. UNLIKE THE PAST, WHEN U.S. EQUIPMENT WAS VASTLY SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE SOVIETS IN PERFORMANCE AND MAINTAINABILITY, TODAY WE FIND MANY SOVIET SYSTEMS ARE ACHIEVING QUALITATIVE PARITY WITH THEIR U.S. COUNTERPARTS.

THE SOVIET STRATEGIC THREAT

DESPITE SOME HOPEFUL CHANGES IN SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE STRUCTURE, NO SUCH CLAIM CAN BE MADE FOR THEIR STRATEGIC CAPABILITIES. UNCLASSIFIED INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN --

NO STAND-DOWN IN SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR READINESS, AND NO DIMINUTION IN THE SIZE, VARIETY OR POTENCY OF THEIR ATOMIC ARSENAL.

THIS IS A DISTURBING TREND AND ONE WHICH DEMANDS OUR CONTINUED VIGILANCE.

TO THEIR CREDIT, THE SOVIETS FINALLY HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE KRASNYSK RADAR VIOLATED THE 1972 ABM TREATY AND HAVE AGREED TO DISMANTLE IT. THEY HAVE ALLOWED ON-SITE INSPECTIONS, AS WE HAVE, OF SOME OF THE MOST SECRET WEAPONS FACILITIES AND HAVE REMAINED, ESSENTIALLY, WITHIN THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE UNRATIFIED START AGREEMENT. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SOVIETS HAVE EVEN PERMITTED PILOTS FROM NATO COUNTRIES TO FLY IN ONE OF THEIR FRONT-LINE FIGHTERS, THE MIG-29, AND CONTINUE TO ALLOW NATO OBSERVER GROUPS TO MONITOR THEIR TRAINING EXERCISES. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE PROCEEDING APACE IN DESTROYING THEIR INTER-MEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES COVERED UNDER THE INF TREATY.

THESE ARE EXTRAORDINARY GESTURES, ONES WHICH SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND BUILT-UPON. HOWEVER, BY THEMSELVES, THEY DO NOT ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL THREAT POSED TO U.S. SECURITY BY SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, NOR HAVE THEY SLOWED THE MOMENTUM WHICH THESE PROGRAMS HAVE GENERATED. THIS WORRIES ME GREATLY.

ANALYSTS EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE UPGRADING THEIR ICBM, SSBN AND BOMBER FORCE OVER THE NEXT DECADE, INCREASING THEIR ACCURACY AND PLACING U.S. FORCES AT GREATER RISK. THE JOINT MILITARY ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT: "ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS CURRENTLY ARE MODERNIZING FORCES ALONG THE LINES ENVISIONED IN THE START NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE ABSENCE OF A TREATY, THEY COULD ADD ADDITIONAL WEAPONS TO THEIR INVENTORY BY FY 1997... CONCURRENTLY, ENHANCED RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY POTENTIALLY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THE SOVIETS NEED TO ACHIEVE THEIR POSTULATED DAMAGE GOALS. AS A RESULT, THERE COULD BE AN INCREASE IN THE LETHALITY AND NUMBER OF SOVIET RESERVES COMPOSED OF MOBILE, SURVIVABLE WEAPONS MAKING U.S. FORCES LESS EFFECTIVE."

THE SOVIET'S CONTINUED EMPHASIS ON STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION ALSO IS FOCUSING ON BOTH RAIL-MOBILE AND SILO-BASED SS-24S AND ROAD-MOBILE SS-25S. BY THE MID-TO LATE 1990S, THESE DELIVERY VEHICLES COULD MAKE-UP HALF THEIR ICBM FORCE AND POSE NEW AND MORE DIFFICULT TARGETING AND VERIFICATION CHALLENGES FOR U.S. OFFENSIVE FORCES.

THE SOVIETS ALREADY HAVE DEPLOYED ABOUT 250 OF THESE MOBILE ICBMS, A FORCE WHICH IS MUCH MORE SURVIVABLE AND FLEXIBLE THAN THEIR CURRENT SILO-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE U.S. CURRENTLY HAS NO COMPARABLE SYSTEM IN THE FIELD. AS THE SOVIETS DEPLOY MOBILE ICBMS, MR. PRESIDENT, WE CONTINUE TO DEBATE MOBILE ICBMS. THEY DEPLOY, WE DEBATE.

SOVIET MODERNIZATION OF THE AIR-BREATHING AND SEA-BASED COMPONENTS OF ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR TRIAD ALSO IS ROBUST.

LAST YEAR, THE SOVIETS LAUNCHED TWO OF THEIR MOST MODERN BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES -- A DELTA IV CLASS VESSEL AND A HUGE "TYPHOON CLASS" VESSEL. CONVERSELY, THE UNITED STATES LAUNCHED ONLY ONE TRIDENT STRATEGIC SUBMARINE IN 1989.

THE SOVIETS ALSO ARE INCREASING THE LETHALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THESE SUBMARINES WITH TWO TYPES OF MODIFIED AND IMPROVED SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. THE U.S. HAS ONLY ONE NEW SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILE BEING DEPLOYED -- THE TRIDENT II, OR D-5, SYSTEM.

SOVIET STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES ARE BECOMING A MUCH MORE POTENT AND IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR NUCLEAR TRIAD. BEAR H BOMBERS ARMED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES ARE AN INCREASING THREAT TO THE AMERICAN HOMELAND. THE NEW BLACKJACK BOMBER CONTINUES IN PRODUCTION AND IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND HEAVIEST BOMBER.

THE BLACKJACK CARRIES THE NEW AS-16 NUCLEAR ARMED, AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE WHICH CAN BE USED AGAINST THEATER AND INTERCONTINENTAL TARGETS. ALTHOUGH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BLACKJACK BOMBER PRODUCTION HAS CHANGED, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THIS NEW SYSTEM INCREASES THE NUCLEAR STRIKE CAPABILITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

MEANWHILE, EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE U.S. STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES HAVE BEEN PLAGUED BY CONTROVERSY OR PROBLEMS.

THE CURRENT U.S. STRATEGIC AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE, THE SHORT RANGE ATTACK MISSILE-A, HAS RAISED SAFETY CONCERNS WHICH HAVE FORCED THE PENTAGON TO TAKE IT OFF ALERT. THE PROGRAM TO FIELD A REPLACEMENT, THE "SRAM II," HAS EXPERIENCED BUDGET AND TECHNICAL PROBLEMS.

THE B-1B BOMBER'S DEFICIENT ELECTRONIC COUNTERMEASURES SYSTEM STILL REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT. THE B-2 STEALTH BOMBER FORCE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN CUT FROM 132 TO 75, AND THE PENTAGON IS CONSIDERING WHETHER TO CHANGE THE TOTAL BUY OF ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILES.

THE PICTURE IS CLEAR, MR. PRESIDENT. THE UNITED STATES IS STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES TO MEET ITS NEEDS FOR THE 1990'S AND BEYOND. AS WE STRUGGLE, THE SOVIETS MARCH STEADILY ONWARD AND MAKE MORE PROGRESS TOWARD THE SAME GOAL.

THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD BE REMISS IN MY REMARKS IF I DID NOT SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE ISSUE OF NATO AND THE FUTURE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THAT IMPORTANT SECURITY FRAMEWORK BORN FORTY-ONE YEARS AGO. TODAY, IN THE WAKE OF ALL THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BUFFLED EUROPE, THERE IS A GROWING CHORUS OF VOICES CALLING FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THAT GREAT ALLIANCE. I COULD NOT BE MORE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THIS POSITION. WE SHOULD NEVER ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE TENET OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY. SINCE THE PRINCIPLES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOLIDARITY WERE FIRST LAID DOWN IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, IT HAS BEEN NATO, MORE THAN ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION, WHICH FOSTERED THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SOLIDARITY NECESSARY TO KEEP PEACE IN EUROPE.

THE POTENTIAL FOR A SOVIET "BLITZKRIEG" IS DIMINISHED BY THE DISUNITY OF THE WARSAW PACT. IT, NONETHELESS, IS TRUE THAT A DEMILITARIZED GERMANY AND A DISSOLUTE NATO COULD REVIVE THAT POTENTIAL. THEREFORE, IT REMAINS FOR A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE TO ENSURE THAT NO ENCOURAGEMENT IS GIVEN TO THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE PACT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION. IN NATO'S SUCCESS WE ARE REMINDED THAT NEVER IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE HAS SUCH A SUCCESSFUL OR DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE BEEN FORMED.

FROM TURKEY TO ICELAND, NATO'S MEMBER STATES CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEFENSE OF THE UNION THROUGH A COORDINATED COMMAND STRUCTURE, INTEGRATED RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS, REGULAR JOINT FIELD EXERCISES, SHARED INFRASTRUCTURE, NUCLEAR PLANNING AND FULLY INTEGRATED WARTIME OPERATIONS. THIS IS NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT. OUR EXPERIENCE WITH EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT EUROPEAN UNITY DEMANDS THAT THIS ALLIANCE NOT BE DISCARDED ON THE MERE SUGGESTION THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED PEACE IN OUR TIME. OVER THE YEARS, MILITARY NECESSITY HAS LED TO POLITICAL HARMONY, A PRECIOUS AND RARE THING FOR SIXTEEN NATIONS WHICH HAVE KNOWN THEIR SHARE OF INTER-STATE CONFLICT.

NO DOUBT THERE IS MUCH ROOM FOR THE EVOLUTION OF NATO. QUITE POSSIBLY ITS POLITICAL ROLE COULD BE INCREASED COMMENSURATE WITH THE GRADUAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPE. BUT THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND, SURELY IT WILL TAKE MONEY. INCREASED HOST-NATION SUPPORT, MORE JOINT WEAPONS PRODUCTION, GREATER MISSION SPECIALIZATION AND ENHANCED TRAINING AND BASE OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY WILL BECOME A NECESSITY AS THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET UNDERGOES READJUSTMENT.

IN THE MEANTIME, I BELIEVE IT IS PREMATURE TO CONTEMPLATE THE RAPID DRAW-DOWN OF U.S. TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE BEYOND THE 195,000 WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PROPOSED.

THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN, AND SHOULD REMAIN FOR THE NEAR TERM, THE AMERICAN TROOP PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT. SHOULD A FUTURE UNITED GERMANY CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL ALLIED FORCES FROM ITS SOIL, THEN, THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE PROCESS, ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE FOR A U.S. PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT.

IF AMERICAN TROOPS ARE THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE, THEN SURELY TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE ITS SINEWS, PROVIDING THE POWER NEEDED TO REPEL OR DEFEAT A MASSES GROUND ASSAULT. THOUGH IT IS LIKELY THAT FEWER OF THESE WEAPONS WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE FUTURE FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE, A PORTION OF THE CURRENT FORCE SHOULD BE RETAINED AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE AGGRESSION.

A LIMITED NUMBER OF AIR LAUNCHED SYSTEMS BASED IN GREAT BRITAIN, OR ON THE HIGH SEAS, MAY PROVIDE A SATISFACTORY ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE THE ROLE WHICH NATO WILL HAVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD. YET, IN THE AREA OF CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ARMS VERIFICATION, ITS VALUE COULD BE SUBSTANTIAL. IF ONLY TO ALLAY THE FEARS OF THE SECRET PACTS, THE BLANK CHECKS AND THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF AN EARLIER GENERATION, THEN WE MUST DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENCOURAGE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF NATO MEMBER STATES IN ITS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. SECRECY BREEDS FEAR AND DESTABILIZATION.

INCLUSION AND DISCUSSION LEADS TO THE MANAGEMENT OF DIFFERENCES. NOTHING COULD BE MORE CRUCIAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. AS THE HISTORY LEADING TO WORLD WAR I TAUGHT US, BILATERAL TREATIES ARE NOT ENOUGH TO ENSURE PEACE IN EUROPE.

MR. PRESIDENT, ISOLATION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT MAKE THE THREAT OF WAR GO AWAY. ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD, SHARED RESPONSIBILITY, FRANK DIALOGUE, OPEN BORDERS, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY, ARE THE TRUE GUARANTORS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. AS PRINCE METTERNICH DISCOVERED WELL OVER A CENTURY-AND-A-HALF AGO, A EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM RESTING ONLY ON THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE MOST POWERFUL STATES ON THE CONTINENT WAS AN UNWORKABLE PROPOSITION.

AS FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT TO GROW WEARY WITH MOMENTARY SETBACKS OR WITH THE SEEMING IMPATIENCE WITH WHICH OTHER STATES MAY JUDGE OUR CONDUCT. PERSEVERANCE IS THE LEGACY WHICH WE INHERITED FROM OUR FRONTIER DAYS AND WE SHOULD NOT FORSAKE IT FOR SHORT-TERM SATISFACTION. WE MUST NOT WEAKEN IN OUR RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, SHIRK FROM OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, OR CAPITULATE TO THOSE WHO WOULD JUDGE OUR FOREIGN POLICY OR DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF AN ACTUARIAL TABLE. I AM CONCERNED THAT ALL THE TALK OF A PEACE DIVIDEND IS MERELY A EUPHEMISM FOR OUR DISENGAGEMENT FROM WORLD AFFAIRS, AND THAT, AT PRESENT, THE IMPETUS TO SAVE DOLLARS APPEARS STRONGER THAN OUR SENSE OF NATIONAL MISSION.

THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR WAY OF LIFE REQUIRES A FAR MORE ELABORATE CALCULATION THAN A QUARTERLY PROFITS REPORT. THAT CALCULATION INVOLVES NOT ONLY THE CORRELATION OF FORCES, BUT ALSO THE MAINTENANCE OF ESPRIT D'CORPS AMONG OUR ARMED FORCES, A TRUST IN OUR NATION'S LEADERSHIP, A STRONG COMMITMENT TO BASIC VALUES, A DETERMINED DISPLAY OF THE NATIONAL WILL, AND, IF NEED BE, THE EXERCISE OF MILITARY POWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT IN 1990, A GREAT POWER SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES CAN REMAIN ALOOF FROM THE CHANGES WHICH ARE OCCURRING IN EUROPE OR THE CONFLICTS THEY MIGHT SPAWN. NOR IS IT POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE EUROPEAN LANDMASS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT A PRICE. RETREAT, PARTICULARLY PRECIPITOUS RETREAT, ALWAYS HAS ITS PRICE. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, IF NONE OTHER, THAT WE MUST KEEP OUR POWDER DRY, OUR BATTLEMENTS STRONG AND OUR WATCH-TOWERS WELL-LIGHTED.

SHAPING OUR FUTURE MILITARY

CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE DETERRENT FORCE IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY IS A DIFFICULT, AND OFTEN FRUSTRATING CHALLENGE. MUCH OF THE DIFFICULTY STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT WHILE THREAT ASSESSMENTS MAY CHANGE AND PUBLIC OPINION MAY VARY IN THE EXTREME, THE SUCCESSFUL EMPLOYMENT OF FORCE BY A LAW-ABIDING SOCIETY REQUIRES SUSTAINED AND THOUGHTFUL INVESTMENT.

THIS, I BELIEVE, CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH SUCH MECHANISMS AS STRONGER SERVICE ACCOUNTABILITY, JOINT SERVICE EQUIPMENT PURCHASES, MULTI-MISSION UNITS AND IMPROVED TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE.

I DO NOT FAVOR THE ADOPTION OF A FIVE YEAR DEFENSE BUDGET PLAN WHICH, IF ENACTED BEFORE THE RECENT CHANGES IN EUROPE TEN MONTHS AGO, ALREADY WOULD BE OBSOLETE. IT ALSO WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY RESTRICT CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PROCESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON WHO ONCE REMARKED TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS IN 1790, THAT "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF PRESERVING PEACE." HIS WORDS RING JUST AS TRUE TODAY AS THEY DID WHEN THEY WERE SPOKEN.

I BELIEVE THAT IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE READY TO MEET ANY OF THE CONTINGENCIES WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN THE GENERATION AHEAD, WE MUST NOT WAIVER FROM SEVERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOUND COMBAT WHICH HAVE STOOD THE TEST OF TIME. TO DO ANY LESS, IS TO PROCEED DOWN A TREACHEROUS PATH, ONE WHICH NO WISE MAN WOULD WISH TO TRAVEL AND DOWN WHICH NO FATHER OR MOTHER WOULD WISH TO SEND THEIR SON. IN SUM, I BELIEVE THAT IF WE ARE TO REMAIN A FREE AND UNMOLESTED NATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD --

- WE MUST RETAIN THE CAPABILITY TO KEEP THE PEACE AND DETER WAR ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF CONFLICT;
- WE MUST MAINTAIN THE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO MID- AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT IN MULTIPLE THEATERS OF OPERATION AND AT THE TIME AND PLACE OF OUR CHOOSING;
- WE MUST CONTINUE TO MODERNIZE BOTH OUR TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC AIR AND SEALIFT TO ENSURE A RAPID AND SUSTAINED POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITY;
- WE MUST BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND SUPPORT OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES AT TIMES OF CRISIS; AND LASTLY,
- WE MUST ENSURE THE HIGH QUALITY AND MOTIVATION OF OUR MEN AND WOMEN UNDER ARMS. WE MUST BROADEN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY; WE MUST INSTILL IN EVERY YOUNG PERSON A RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF OUR ARMED FORCES AND WE MUST BUILD AND NURTURE A BROAD CONSENSUS BEHIND OUR NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

GUIDING OUR MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST BE COGNIZANT OF THE WAY IN WHICH WE EMPLOY OUR ARMED FORCES. FOR A WELL-RUN MILITARY IS A PRECIOUS RESOURCE WHEN PLACED IN THE SERVICE OF A FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE, WHO RESPECT LIFE AND WHO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE DOCTRINE OF DETERRENCE SHOULD FOREVER GUIDE OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY AND WARFARE SHOULD BE SEEN AS THE OPTION OF LAST RESORT OF THIS GOVERNMENT. AS WE STRUGGLE TO REALIGN OUR DEFENSE BUDGET AND TO BRING NECESSARY ECONOMIES TO OUR FORCE STRUCTURE, I, FOR ONE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY FIVE SOLEMN OBJECTIVES.

- FIRST, PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, WE MUST EMPLOY OUR FORCES WITH THE INTENTION OF ENCOURAGING, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE, A DIPLOMATIC RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFERENCES;
- SECOND, IF WAR OCCURS, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE THE ENEMY AS FAR FROM OUR SHORES AS POSSIBLE;
- THIRD, ONCE AT WAR, WE MUST USE OUR FORCES TO ENCOURAGE A CONCLUSION OF CONFLICT AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF FIGHTING, WITH THE LEAST COLLATERAL DAMAGE AND IN PROPORTION TO THE THREAT;
- FOURTH, IN WAR, OUR GOAL MUST BE TO SEEK NOT STALEMATE OR ATTRITION, BUT VICTORY THROUGH DECISIVE MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS;
- FIFTH, WE MUST ENSURE THE CONCLUSION OF A CONFLICT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND, IF NECESSARY, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO CARRY THE BATTLE TO THE CAPITAL OF THE ENEMY AND IMPOSE, IF NEED BE, A SOLUTION FAVORABLE TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS.

CONCLUSION

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE I AM A MAN OF PEACE. I HAVE KNOWN WAR. CONSEQUENTLY, I HAVE DEVOTED MY PUBLIC CAREER TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. MY FOCUS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE WITHIN AN EVOLUTIONARY FRAMEWORK -- TO GIVE PEACE THE SUPPORT IT NEEDS.

IT DOES LITTLE GOOD TO WISH FOR PEACE; WE MUST WORK FOR IT. THAT MEANS TAKING CARE TO ESTABLISH SOUND, CAREFULLY CONCEIVED AGREEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. THEREFORE, BEFORE THE PROCESS OF RETRENCHMENT TAKES HOLD, WE MUST HAVE A COMPLETE AND FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW OF OUR ENTIRE DEFENSE STRATEGY AND DETERMINE WHAT WE REQUIRE TO PROVIDE AND PROTECT THAT FRAMEWORK.

LIKE MY COLLEAGUES I AM COGNIZANT OF THE NEED TO RESTORE THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY. WE MUST, AND WE SHALL, IMPROVE HEALTH CARE, REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S INFRASTRUCTURE, AND ATTEND TO THE NEEDS OF THE LESS FORTUNATE THROUGH BETTER SCHOOLS, HOUSING, AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS. YET, HAVING SEEN FIRST HAND THE DEVASTATION CAUSED BY A MADMAN LET LOOSE UPON THE EUROPEAN COUNTRYSIDE, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE SECURITY OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HOPE THAT AS WE MOVE FROM A COLD WAR TO A WARM PEACE, OUR MILITARY WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE HONOR AND THE RESPECT IT DESERVES. FOR IT IS THE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN OF THIS NATION WHO DESERVE THE CREDIT FOR MAKING THIS GLORIOUS DAY POSSIBLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE IT IS OUR JOB, AS CIVILIAN LEADERS, TO ENSURE THAT THE HERALDING OF PEACE DOES NOT CAUSE US TO BREAK FAITH WITH OUR MILITARY, TO ALLOW THE SOCIAL COMPACT WHICH WE HAVE WITH THOSE IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT TO LANGUISH, AND TO LEAVE THE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE THE FIRST VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS.

THERE IS NO MASKING THE FACT THAT THESE ARE DIFFICULT TIMES FOR OUR MILITARY -- AN INSTITUTION WHICH HAS SERVED US BRAVELY AND HONORABLY OVER THE YEARS AND FOR WHICH WE, AS A NATION, ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL. IT IS IRONIC THAT THE REDUCTIONS WE MAY BE REQUIRED TO MAKE TO REACH DEFICIT TARGETS WILL FALL MOST HEAVILY ON THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED US WELL.

I HOPE THE YEARS AHEAD WILL PROVE THAT WE HAVE LISTENED TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HAVE BEEN WISE ENOUGH TO LEARN FROM HIS WARNING THAT "THOSE WHO HAVE LONG ENJOYED SUCH PRIVILEGES AS WE ENJOY FORGET IN TIME THAT MEN HAVE DIED TO WIN THEM."

MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY. WE CANNOT ALLOW THE PRIDE WE ALL SHARE IN THAT ACCOMPLISHMENT TO BE DIMINISHED. NOR CAN WE ALLOW FUTURE GENERATIONS TO FORGET THE SUPREME SACRIFICES MADE BY AMERICA'S FATHERS, SONS, AND BROTHERS TOWARD THAT NOBLE END. BECAUSE OF THEIR SERVICE, THE WIND-SWEPT FIELDS OF EUROPE, FROM FLANDERS TO FRIBRUCKEN, REJOICE IN YET ANOTHER CHANCE FOR PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE SEPARATED SOVIET AND AMERICAN SOCIETY, DIFFERENCES WHICH GAVE SUBSTANCE AND MEANING TO THE COLD WAR. WE HAVE DIFFERENT CULTURES, DIFFERENT HISTORIES, AND DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE. NONE OF THESE DIFFERENCES, I BELIEVE, CONSTITUTES AN IMPENETRABLE OBSTACLE TO BETTER RELATIONS. BUT IT WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE FEARS AND MUTUAL SUSPICIONS OF GENERATIONS ARE OVERCOME AND THE DEMONS WHICH HAUNT THE BOUNDARY LINE FROM STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN THE ADRIATIC ARE FINALLY LAID TO REST.

MR. PRESIDENT, I YIELD THE FLOOR.

**LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: AMERICAN DEFENSE POSTURE
IN A CHANGING WORLD**

SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

MR. PRESIDENT, TODAY I SPEAK TO THE SENATE ON THE GREAT ISSUE OF OUR TIME. I RISE TO ADDRESS A SUBJECT OF MUCH SPECULATION IN THE TOWNS AND CITIES OF OUR NATION, AND IN CAPITALS AROUND THE WORLD. I AM ENGAGED BY THE ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE AGE OF GLASNOST AND THE FATE OF THAT SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS BOUND TOGETHER THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WEST FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY. I AM DEEPLY TROUBLED.

TODAY THE STREETS OF EUROPE ARE FILLED WITH REVELRY AS PEOPLE FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS REJOICE IN THE BLUSH OF NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS. NO LONGER IS THE LINE WHICH RUNS FROM STETTIN TO TRIESTE A BOUNDARY SYNONYMOUS WITH THE DIVISION OF MANKIND, A TRIP-WIRE OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. RATHER, ITS LONG, DARK SHADOW HAS MELTED INTO THE LANDSCAPE. THE PASSIONS IT AROUSED ARE GRADUALLY FADING AS THE EUPHORIA OF THE MOMENT CONSIGNS THEM TO MEMORY. IN TIME, THE BARBED WIRE AND WATCHTOWERS OF THE IRON CURTAIN SHALL BECOME YET ANOTHER ATTRACTION IN GUIDEBOOKS TO THE HISTORY OF EUROPE -- A CURIOSITY OF THE COLD WAR MUCH AS THE MAGINOT LINE AND THE SEIGFRIED LINE HAVE COME TO SYMBOLIZE THE TRIALS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

MR. PRESIDENT, AT LONG LAST THE DARK SHADE HAS BEEN LIFTED. NIGHT IS ENDING AND EASTERN EUROPE IS AWAKING FROM A DEEP, PROLONGED SLEEP. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO GENERATIONS, THE WARM SUNLIGHT OF FREEDOM HAS SHONE ON THE FACES OF A POOR, OPPRESSED PEOPLE. LET US REMEMBER THAT WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD MARCHED

IN TRIUMPH AFTER THE DEFEAT OF HITLER, THOSE WITHIN THE SOVIET ORBIT FELL VICTIM TO YET ANOTHER ENSLAVER. ONLY NOW, IS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE STALINIST TYRANNY SURFACING. AS THE TERRIBLE SECRETS OF THE KATYN FOREST ARE UNEARTHED AND THE TERROR OF THE GULAGS ARE UNCOVERED, THE WORLD IS FORCED, ONCE AGAIN, TO CONFRONT ITS CONSCIENCE AND ASK THOSE ETERNAL QUESTIONS: HOW COULD SUCH CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED? DID WE FAIL TO ACT? COULD THEY HAPPEN AGAIN?

LIKE MOST AMERICANS, I AM GLADDENED BY THE PROSPECT OF REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND HOPEFUL THAT IT WILL CONTINUE. I SHARE WITH MY COLLEAGUES THE PRAYER THAT TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THAT PROSPERITY, AND BROTHERHOOD, WILL RULE THE DAY. BUT HISTORY IS A STERN TEACHER AND I AM AN AVID PUPIL. SHE HAS TAUGHT ME TO BE SKEPTICAL -- AND I AM. SWORDS, I HAVE LEARNED, ARE NOT SO EASILY BEATEN INTO PLOWSHARES. AGE OLD ENMITIES RARELY ARE FORGOTTEN. MAN'S BASE INSTINCTS, CUNNING AND BRUTALITY, ARE NOT SO EASILY, OR WILLINGLY, CONTAINED.

INSTABILITIES REMAIN

MR. PRESIDENT, FUNDAMENTAL INSTABILITIES REMAIN IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, INSTABILITIES WHICH CANNOT BE IGNORED OR WISHED AWAY AT ANY PRICE. THE DEMISE OF THE BIPOLAR WORLD BRINGS WITH IT NEW UNCERTAINTIES ABOUT THE FUTURE -- UNCERTAINTIES WHICH MUST BE CONFRONTED SQUARELY AND DECISIVELY BY MEN OF VISION AND OF COURAGE.

INSTEAD, WE WHO ARE CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENSURING OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING ASKED TO RELINQUISH THAT MEASURE OF SECURITY WHICH HAS PRESERVED US IN

FREEDOM SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WITHOUT A COMPASS OR MAP TO GUIDE OUR WAY, WE ARE BEING PRESSED TO DRAW DOWN OUR ARMED FORCES, AS IF THE MILLENNIUM WERE AT HAND. DURING MY LIFETIME, THIS ILLUSION HAS APPEARED MANY TIMES. AND IT HAS, AS QUICKLY, DISAPPEARED, PASSING ALONG WITH THAT BURST OF ENTHUSIASM AND EXPECTATION WITH WHICH IT WAS USHERED IN.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE A PROUD AND FAIR NATION. A GOOD PEOPLE, MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY, JUST AS WE ARE STRONG AND PERSISTENT IN WAR. HOWEVER, MANY AMONG US ARE IMPATIENT WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE AND APPEAR WILLING TO SACRIFICE OUR LIVES AND OUR TREASURE AT THE SLIGHTEST SUGGESTION THAT PEACE IS AT HAND. I STAND BEFORE THE SENATE TODAY TO URGE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO MAKE FULL USE OF CAUTION IN THIS ENDEAVOR. PRUDENCE, MY COLLEAGUES, SHOULD GUIDE OUR ACTION, NOT WISHFUL THINKING. FOR, AS THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ONCE OBSERVED, "OUR SECURITY IS NOT A MATTER OF WEAPONS ALONE. THE ARM THAT WIELDS THEM MUST BE STRONG, THE EYE THAT GUIDES THEM CLEAR, THE WILL THAT DIRECTS THEM INDOMITABLE."

EAST EUROPE IN DISARRAY

GREAT AND UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES HAVE BEEN UNLEASHED ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. WHETHER THEY WILL BE USED FOR GOOD, OR FOR ILL, REMAINS UNCERTAIN. WHAT IS KNOWN IS THAT CRIES OF LIBERAL REFORMERS ARE TOO OFTEN ECHOED NOT BY DEMOCRATIC VOICES BUT BY THE BELLICOSE HOWLS OF RADICAL NATIONALISTS, ETHNIC PARTISANS, RELIGIOUS ZEALOTS AND MONARCHISTS.

AS IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS HAVE FOUND EXPRESSION IN VIOLENCE AND DISORDER. TRIBAL HATREDS AND ANCIENT VENDETTAS HAVE TAKEN ROOT IN A NEW GENERATION OF EUROPEANS, SPARKING CONFLICT, AND BLOODSHED. IN THE ANCIENT LANDS OF TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, LITHUANIA, ARMENIA, SERBIA, AND THE TRANS-CAUCUSES, FORMER VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER AS IF THE SOVIET EMPIRE, WITH ALL ITS BARBARISM, HAD NEVER EXISTED. A NEW DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF UNITY AND STRENGTH --AND, SADLY, ALSO A BREEDING GROUND FOR DISCONTENT. AS ONE WHO HAS WITNESSED SUCH FERMENT OFTEN IN MY LIFETIME, I AM UNWILLING TO PRONOUNCE GORBACHEV'S GREAT ENTERPRISE A SUCCESS, UNTIL THE FINAL KEYSTONE IS LOWERED INTO THE ARCH.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ABORTIVE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 IN GERMANY, 1917 IN RUSSIA, 1948 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1956 IN HUNGARY, AND 1968 AGAIN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, LOOM AS DARK REMINDERS THAT ONCE CONFLICTS ARE IGNITED, THEY ARE NOT SO EASILY QUELLED. IT WAS OUR OWN REVOLUTIONARY, THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO CAUTIONED A YOUNG REPUBLIC ABOUT THE DANGERS OF THE MOB -- AND HE WAS CORRECT. LET US HOPE THAT MR. GORBACHEV SUCCEEDS, BUT LET US NOT FORGET THAT REVOLUTIONS ARE A HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION, REQUIRING FROM THOSE TOUCHED BY THEIR INFLUENCE -- VIGILANCE, CAUTION AND CIRCUMSPECTION.

VIEWS OF RETRENCHMENT

THERE ARE THOSE AMONG US, HOWEVER, WHO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THIS VIEW OF OUR CHANGING TIMES. THEY ARGUE THAT A NEW, AND POSSIBLY IRREVERSIBLE REALITY HAS TAKEN HOLD IN EUROPE AND THAT OUR

ACTIONS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT TO THE SURVIVAL OF PERISTROIKA AS ARE GORBACHEV'S SKILLS AS A LEADER. THEY SAY THAT IF GORBACHEV IS TO SUCCEED, THEN WE MUST RALLY TO HIS SIDE AND BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE WHATEVER INITIATIVES ARE CALLED FOR TO ENSURE HIS SURVIVAL. IF THIS SHOULD REQUIRE LARGE-SCALE TROOP REDUCTIONS, THEN, SO BE IT; IN THEIR VIEW, WE MUST OUT-MATCH HIM MEASURE FOR MEASURE. IF THE WARSAW PACT IS RENDERED IMPOTENT AS A MILITARY FORCE, THEN WE, IN THE WEST, MUST ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. IF GERMANY IS REUNIFIED, AS INDEED IT MAY BE, THEN, SAY THESE VOICES, WE MUST GUARANTEE ITS NEUTRALITY.

I, FOR ONE, TAKE ISSUE WITH THIS LOGIC. I REFUSE TO FOLLOW THAT PATH. OTHERS MAY PLUNGE INTO THE ABYSS; I PREFER TO CAREFULLY CONSTRUCT BRIDGES WHICH LEAD SAFELY FROM THE DIVISIONS OF THE PAST TO A NEW WORLD UNITED IN THE PEACE WHICH WE ALL HOPE WILL EMERGE.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO BE A NAYSAYER OR A JEREMIAH PROPHECYING IMMINENT CATASTROPHE. RATHER, I HOPE TO REMIND THOSE WHO WOULD LEAP TO JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE PERMANENCE OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THE IMPETUS FOR TODAY'S REFORM MOVEMENT RESTS ON THE WORK OF A SINGLE, SOLITARY MAN. TO GAMBLE OUR SECURITY, AND THAT OF OUR CHILDREN, ON THE SURVIVAL OF THIS, OR ANY, INDIVIDUAL IS NAIVE. TO ABANDON THE ELABORATE SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS PROTECTED OUR FREEDOM IN CRISIS AFTER CRISIS, IN BERLIN, IN GREECE, AND IN CUBA, IS RECKLESS AND FOOLHARDY.

MY DUTY -- AS I SEE IT -- IS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. MY CHARGE IS TO ENSURE THAT **THEIR** WELFARE IS PROTECTED IN THE EVENT THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND HIS GRAND EXPERIMENT SHOULD MEET AN UNTIMELY END.

I AM MINDFUL OF CONCERN VOICED BY SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO POINT TO THE INCREASING RESTLESSNESS WITHIN THE SOVIET MILITARY AS A THREAT TO REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE PULLBACK OF THE RED ARMY FROM AFGHANISTAN, ITS GROWING PROBLEMS WITH INTERNAL DISCIPLINE, ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE LEVEL OF POST-SERVICE BENEFITS AND ITS MOUNTING ANGER WITH THE RESTRAINTS BEING PLACED ON IT AS IT ATTEMPTS TO SURPRESS POPULAR REBELLION IN THE REPUBLICS -- ALL OF THESE SETBACKS HAVE AROUSED THE SOVIET MILITARY.

FACED WITH THESE HUMILIATIONS, AND THE PROSPECT OF AN IMMINENT DRAWDOWN IN FORCE STRUCTURE, REACTIONARY FORCES WITHIN THE MILITARY COULD BE PROMPTED TO ATTEMPT A SEIZURE OF POWER. I NEED NOT ELABORATE ON THE DESTABILIZING EFFECTS SUCH A COUP ATTEMPT WOULD HAVE ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

WE MUST BE ALERT TO WHERE THE CURRENTS OF MODERN HISTORY ARE TAKING US. THE CHANNEL THAT GUARANTEES OUR SAFE PASSAGE IN A NUCLEAR AGE IS NARROW INDEED. WHEN WE ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE LARGE SUMS OF RECONSTRUCTION AID AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TO OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES, WE MUST BE SURE THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE IS NOT BEING SQUANDERED OR PUT TO AN INSIDIOUS PURPOSE. THE INVALID WHOSE HEALTH WE NURSE BACK TODAY, COULD WELL BECOME THE TITAN WE CONFRONT TOMORROW. LET IT NOT BE SAID THAT, AS A NATION, WE WERE SO CONSUMED WITH THE FRUITS OF VICTORY, THAT WE UNWITTINGLY SEWED THE SEEDS OF OUR OWN MISFORTUNE. AS WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE OBSERVED, "THE PROBLEMS OF VICTORY ARE MORE AGREEABLE THAN THOSE OF DEFEAT, BUT THEY ARE NO LESS DIFFICULT."

THE LIMITS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF TODAY'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO SHOULDER A LARGE PORTION OF THE BURDEN OF RECONSTRUCTION. WHILE THIS IS SURELY A TESTAMENT TO THE TRIUMPH OF OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, IT IS A TASK OF SUCH IMMENSITY THAT NO ONE COUNTRY CAN SHOULDER IT ALONE. THE UNITED STATES SIMPLY CAN NO LONGER BE IN THE POSITION OF BEING THE PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER OF EVERY EMERGING DEMOCRACY, PARTICULARLY WHEN WE MUST SACRIFICE OUR OWN DEFENSE IN ORDER TO FINANCE ASSISTANCE TO OTHERS. LEST WE FORGET, IT IS THIS VERY SAME DEFENSE BUDGET AND THE DETERRENT FORCE IT MAINTAINS, THAT HAS HELPED TO ENSURE THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM.

THOUGH WE REJOICE IN THE NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS IN PANAMA, NICARAGUA, NAMIBIA AND EASTERN EUROPE, THERE ARE PRACTICAL LIMITS TO OUR LARGESS. OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ARE TOO VAST, OUR FOREIGN COMMITMENTS TOO NUMEROUS, AND OUR RESOURCES TOO LIMITED, TO SHOULDER ALONE THE BURDENS OF THE WORLD. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EASTERN EUROPE TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY, BUT RATHER, THAT WE SHOULD NOT NEGLECT OUR OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES IN AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC WHEN DOING SO.

I BELIEVE THAT PERHAPS THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO EUROPEAN STABILIZATION IS FOR AMERICA TO REMAIN A FORCE OF CONSTANCY, OF PREDICTABILITY, AND OF STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN PEACE. THE SUPPORT OF SOUND FISCAL POLICIES AT HOME, AND THE PROMOTION OF MEASURED DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE, WILL PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE FOR A PROSPEROUS FUTURE. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED

STATES HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY, AND DESPITE UP-AND-COMING COMPETITION FROM JAPAN, GERMANY, AND THE NEWLY-INDUSTRIALIZED ASIAN COUNTRIES, IT REMAINS THAT LEADER TODAY. IT IS OUR TASK TO ENSURE THAT THE UNITED STATES ALSO REMAINS THE GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AND THAT IT MAINTAINS THE STRENGTH IT REQUIRES TO BE THE PRIMARY PROTECTOR OF THOSE VALUES, INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

THE TRIUMPH OF DETERRENCE

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ROAD THAT HAS BROUGHT US TO THIS TIME IN HISTORY HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT ONE. MORE THAN ONCE WE HAVE BEEN POISED ON THE BRINK OF WAR, ONLY TO PULL BACK IN THE FINAL HOURS BEFORE CATASTROPHE. THESE EVENTS SHOULD HAVE TAUGHT US A POWERFUL LESSON IN THE IMPORTANCE, AND THE LASTING RELEVANCE, OF DETERRENCE AS A NATIONAL STRATEGY. FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS A BROAD RANGE OF MILITARY OPTIONS -- FROM THE MILITARY LEVERAGE PROVIDED BY OUR SUPERIOR CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TO THE ASSURED DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR RETALIATION-- HAS GIVEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE FLEXIBILITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE HE REQUIRED TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

I AM NOT CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE DETERMINED WHAT KIND OF SMALLER, LEANER MILITARY WILL PROVIDE THAT SAME LEVEL OF SECURITY. HOW CAN WE, AT REDUCED COST AND WITH A DIMINISHED MILITARY CAPACITY, PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT WITH AN EQUALLY WIDE VARIETY OF DETERRENT OPTIONS? I BELIEVE THAT DETERRENCE, AT THE LOWEST COST, BUT AT THE MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS, MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE BEHIND OUR MILITARY DOCTRINE, REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CHANGES COURSEING ABOUT US.

IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR NATO'S DOCTRINE OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, WHICH MUST NOT BE ABANDONED IN THE RUSH TO REFORM THE ALLIANCE. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THIS DOCTRINE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE, IN LARGE MEASURE, FOR DISCOURAGING THE KREMLIN'S COSTLY HARASSMENT AND PROBING OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES OVER THE YEARS. NATO'S READINESS TO RESPOND TO ANY SOVIET MILITARY

PROVOCATION WITH EQUAL AND PROPORTIONATE FORCE, HAS PROVED ITS VALUE IN PREVENTING THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN EUROPE.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IN THIS TIME OF UNCERTAINTY, WE CANNOT BE SURE THE CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE THAT NOW EXISTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WILL CONTINUE. WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT THE CHANGES FOSTERED UNDER THE BANNERS OF GLASNOST AND PERISTROIKA WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP. WE CANNOT, WITH CONFIDENCE, SAY THAT ALL IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY SUPPORT THIS COURSE OR THAT ALL SOVIET HAWKS HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY DOVES. SOME IN THE KREMLIN COULD WELL REGARD GLASNOST AS AN EFFECTIVE, ALBEIT SINISTER STRATEGY FOR ACHIEVING THEIR GOALS.

THOUGH THIS IS UNLIKELY, IT, NONETHELESS, SHOULD BE A FACTOR IN ALL OF OUR DELIBERATIONS ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEFENSE. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN HISTORY, NATIONS HAVE USED THE PRETENSE OF PEACE TO PREPARE FOR WAR. IT WAS HITLER WHO SO SKILLFULLY TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE INTERLUDE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS TO RESTORE GERMANY'S MILITARY MIGHT. AND WHEN HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED HIS OBJECTIVE, HE WAS ABLE TO DICTATE TO THE WORLD THE TERMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S SURRENDER.

FOR ALL WE KNOW, MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO DIVEST ITSELF OF ITS TROUBLESOME ALLIES IN EASTERN EUROPE MAY BE AN ACT OF SHREWD POLITICAL CALCULATION, INTENDED TO RETURN THE UNION TO FISCAL SOLVENCY AND ETHNIC PURITY. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN VERY GOOD AT DECODING THE KREMLIN'S INTENTIONS, AND I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE ANY WISER TODAY. ALL OF THE SCHOLARS, THE KREMLIN-WATCHERS, THE APOLOGISTS AND THE CRITICS, WERE UNABLE TO PREDICT THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE OVERTAKEN US IN EASTERN EUROPE IN THE PAST YEAR. I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT -- TWELVE MONTHS HENCE -- THOSE WHO NOW COGITATE ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD WILL PROVE ANY MORE RELIABLE IN THEIR FORECASTING.

MR. PRESIDENT, PRUDENCE REQUIRES THAT WE ASSUME THE WORST AND HOPE FOR THE BEST. WE MUST BE ALIVE TO THE FACT THAT MR. GORBACHEV'S GLASNOST COULD REALLY BE A PHANTOM IN DISGUISE, A TROJAN HORSE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. "LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR," THE WISE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ONCE SAID, "BUT DON'T PULL DOWN YOUR HEDGE!"

MR. PRESIDENT, GORBACHEV HAS DONE HIS WORK WELL. HE HAS MASTERED THE ART OF WESTERN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. HE HAS DONNED

WESTERN ATTIRE AND SHOWN US A HUMAN FACE. HE HAS APPEALED TO OUR SENSE OF FAIRNESS AND DRAWN US INTO HIS PLANS. IN THE PROCESS, HE ALSO MAY HAVE INFLUENCED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IN WAYS WHICH SATISFY OUR ETERNAL YEARNING AS A PEOPLE FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY. IN LATE 1985, 76 PERCENT OF AMERICANS SURVEYED SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE EITHER A "SERIOUS" OR A "VERY SERIOUS" THREAT TO THE U.S. -- TODAY ONLY 33 PERCENT HOLD THIS VIEW. MR. PRESIDENT, THE IRON CURTAIN MAY HAVE RUSTED AWAY, BUT SOVIET WEAPONRY, PARTICULARLY ITS STRATEGIC ARSENAL, HAS NOT. IN FACT, IT IS GROWING STRONGER AND MORE POTENT DAY BY DAY.

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL STILL BE THE GREATEST LAND POWER IN ASIA, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL STILL BE A MARITIME NATION DEPENDENT UPON TRADE AND CONTACT WITH THE EURO-ASIAN LANDMASS FOR ITS SURVIVAL. THE FACTS OF GEOGRAPHY ARE IMMUTABLE. POLITICS CANNOT ALTER WHAT IS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPETITION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW FOR INCREASINGLY SCARCE RESOURCES, THEIR OPPOSING NEEDS FOR SECURE LINES OF COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND THEIR COMMITMENTS TO FRIENDS AROUND THE GLOBE.

INCREASINGLY, TODAY, THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD TURN THE CLOCK BACK TO THE DARK DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. I AM CERTAINLY NOT ONE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. BUT THE PREVALENCE OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS AND OLD-STYLE COMMUNISTS, GIVES ME PAUSE TO BE CONCERNED. MR. GORBACHEV MAY BE THE BEST HOPE THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE HAD IN SIX GENERATIONS TO EXPERIENCE FREEDOM, BUT THE JURY WHICH SITS IN JUDGEMENT ON HIS AMBITIOUS PROGRAM HAS YET TO RENDER ITS FINAL VERDICT.

OUT-OF-AREA THREATS REMAIN

MR. PRESIDENT, AS WE SET ABOUT THE TASK OF ACCOMMODATING THE CHANGES PERCOLATING IN EUROPE, WE MUST ALSO BE ALIVE TO THE MANY OTHER THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE WHICH GIRD THE GLOBE. I AM SPEAKING HERE OF THE ONGOING CONFLICTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH HAVE THE POTENTIAL OF SPARKING A CONFLICT WHICH COULD ENGULF THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE THOSE, INCLUDING ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, A FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE SHIELDED FROM THE AWESOME EFFECTS OF A NUCLEAR CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I BEG TO DIFFER, AND PROFOUNDLY SO! NOT ONLY IS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MADE INEVITABLE BY OUR ONGOING COMMITMENTS TO THE REGION, BUT, TO FAIL TO ACT TO END SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD SURELY BE AN ABDICATION OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A SUPERPOWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE JOINT CHIEF'S MILITARY NET ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT "THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE OF INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN THE THIRD WORLD POSES INCREASINGLY COMPLEX SECURITY TASKS, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE RELENTLESS PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY." BALLISTIC MISSILES, THEY OBSERVE, "HAVE INTRODUCED A NEW ERA IN REGIONAL CONFLICT, INCREASING THE POTENTIAL FOR ESCALATION AND WIDESPREAD DESTRUCTION." IN ADDITION, TRADITIONAL REGIONAL ANIMOSITIES, EXACERBATED BY THE PROBLEMS OF DEBT, TERRORISM, INSURGENCIES, DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM WILL CONTINUE TO COMMAND U.S. ATTENTION AND DEFENSE RESOURCES."

EVERYWHERE ONE LOOKS TODAY, ONE SEES SMOLDERING REGIONAL CONFLICTS CHALLENGING, ALBEIT DEFYING, THE TREND TOWARD GREATER ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IN KASHMIR, THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN REMAINS A FLASHPOINT OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. BOTH NATIONS ARE PRESUMED TO POSSESS

BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE WILL TO USE THEM IF THE TIDE OF CONVENTIONAL WAR SHOULD MOVE IN A DIRECTION UNFAVORABLE TO EITHER.

ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, ARMIES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH FACE EACH OTHER IN A STANDOFF WHICH HAS REMAINED ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FOR TWO GENERATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION IS MORE UNSTABLE TODAY THAN IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS. THE NORTH CONTINUES TO LOSE ALLIES AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT, THUS MAKING THE PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER QUESTIONABLE. A DRAWDOWN OF U.S. TROOP STRENGTH COULD TRIGGER THE NORTH TO ACT, DRAWING US ONCE AGAIN INTO CONFLICT ON THE PENINSULA. THE NEWLY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH KOREAN IS YOUNG AND CONTINUES TO REQUIRE OUR SUPPORT.

IN AFGHANISTAN, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES HAS NOT MEANT AN END TO THE FIGHTING. TO THE CONTRARY, THE KABUL GOVERNMENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO RESIST THE ONSLAUGHT OF REBEL MUJAHEDDEEN WHOSE OWN UNITY OF PURPOSE HAS BEEN SHATTERED BY INTERNECINE STRIFE. A SIMILAR FATE HAS BEDEVILED THE OPPOSITION FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHERE PROGRESS TOWARD THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID HAS BEEN SLOWED BY INTER-TRIBAL FIGHTING.

MORE WORRISOME, HOWEVER, IS THE ONGOING CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL AND AMONG THE ARAB STATES THEMSELVES. THE RECENT DECLARATION BY IRAQ'S PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT HE HAS THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO DESTROY HALF OF ISRAEL IF ATTACKED, HAS RAISED, ONCE AGAIN, THE SPECTER OF ANOTHER, EVEN MORE DEADLY, MIDDLE EAST WAR. EVERYDAY, THERE ARE NEW REVELATIONS THAT IRAQ HAS ACQUIRED, THROUGH BOTH LEGAL AND ILLEGAL MEANS, THE CAPABILITY TO WAGE NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE. THE COUNTRY'S DEPLOYMENT OF DUAL-CAPABLE BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH RANGES OF UP TO 1,500 KILOMETERS, ENSURES THAT TEL AVIV AND TEHERAN, MUCH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TURKEY, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT, AND EVEN

THE AMERICAN SIXTH FLEET STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN COULD FALL WITHIN ITS KILLING RANGE.

THOUGH ISRAEL AND SOME OF HER NEIGHBORS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE DEVELOPED A DETERRENT CAPABILITY, IT MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT AGAINST SUCH AWESOME POWER, THERE IS NO EFFECTIVE DEFENSE, AND THERE ARE NO CURRENTLY AVAILABLE COUNTER-MEASURES IN THE REGION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I AM CONCERNED THAT THE FLAMES OF REGIONAL CONFLICT ARE BEING FANNED BY THE VERY FORCES WHICH SHOULD, BY ALL RIGHTS, BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF PEACE-MAKING. COUNTRIES SUCH AS GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY, WHICH HAVE THEMSELVES EXPERIENCED THE HORRORS OF TOTAL WAR TWICE IN THIS CENTURY, HAVE BEEN THE ONES MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR TRANSFERRING LETHAL TECHNOLOGIES TO THE ANTI-WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A RECENT SURVEY OF AMERICANS REVEALED THAT 74 PERCENT FELT THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WAS AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS THREATS TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY -- SECOND ONLY TO DRUG TRAFFICKING, WHICH WAS CITED BY 84 PERCENT OF THOSE QUESTIONED.

THE WORLD IS LESS SECURE, AND THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS LESS BRIGHT, BECAUSE OF THE ACTIONS OF OUR ALLIES, SOME OF WHICH HAVE OPENLY ENCOURAGED THE EXPORT OF THE EQUIPMENT TO MANUFACTURE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO SUCH LAWLESS STATES AS LIBYA, IRAN, AND IRAQ. OTHERS HAVE SIMPLY TURNED A BLIND EYE TO THE ACTIONS OF THEIR CITIZENS AND PRIVATE COMPANIES BY FAILING TO ENFORCE EXISTING EXPORT CONTROL LAWS.

LET US NOT FORGET THAT IRAN AND IRAQ DID NOT HESITATE TO EMPTY THEIR DEADLY ARSENALS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WAR. ACCORDING TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IRAQ USED POISON GAS TO KILL BETWEEN SIX AND TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE, INCLUDING MANY OF ITS OWN KURDISH POPULATION.

EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEING PROVIDED BY COUNTRIES IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE TO ANTI-WESTERN INSURGENCIES, AND WARRING STATES AROUND THE GLOBE. THE RISE OF ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL AS TWO OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR ARMS EXPORTERS POINTS TO THE INCREASING EASE WITH WHICH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CAN BE PRODUCED AND ACQUIRED TODAY. THE SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT ALSO HAS DRIVEN MANY COUNTRIES LIKE CHINA WITH THE TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW, TO RELY ON THE TRAFFICKING OF ARMS AS A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF REVENUE.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REMAIN OUT OF THE FRAY. I AM INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT THE PROSPECT OF A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE WILL RESULT IN THE WHOLESALE TRANSFER OF FRONTLINE WEAPONRY TO THE THIRD WORLD. ALREADY THIS IS OCCURRING. NEARLY 40,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS ARE DUE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM SUPERPOWER ARSENALS IN THE COMING YEARS. THE UNITED STATES ALREADY HAS PROMISED TO GIVE EGYPT 700 M-60S, WITH SIXTY MORE DESTINED TO MOROCCO ALONG WITH THE POSSIBLE SALE OF 24 F-16 FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM OUR RESERVE STOCKS. THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPECTED TO PROVIDE LARGE QUANTITIES OF ITS DECOMMISSIONED EQUIPMENT TO IRAQ, A COUNTRY WHICH ALREADY FIELDS 5,500 MAIN BATTLE TANKS, 1,000 ARMORED INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES, AND 3,000 ARTILLERY PIECES.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE WORLD ARMS MARKET IS NOW AWASH IN LOW-PRICED, HIGHLY-LETHAL ARMS OF THE MOST MODERN SORT. THE READY AVAILABILITY OF SUCH MATERIEL TO TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS SHOULD BE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ALL NATIONS. WHILE THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE APPEAR NO LONGER TO PROVIDE A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE FORCES OF DARKNESS TO TRAIN AND PLAN THEIR COWARDLY OPERATIONS, COUNTRIES LIKE LIBYA, SYRIA, NORTH KOREA, CUBA, LEBANON, IRAQ AND SOUTH YEMEN REMAIN READY, IF NOT EAGER, HOSTS. ANY RECONFIGURATION OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THESE MULTIPLE THREATS. A FLEXIBLE, MOBILE, HIGHLY RESPONSIVE MILITARY WILL BE NEEDED TO OPERATE IN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX COUNTER-TERRORIST, COUNTER-NARCOTIC AND CONVENTIONAL WARFARE ENVIRONMENTS WHICH COULD BECOME THE MAINSTAY OF CONFLICT IN THE 1990S.

THE RANGE OF SOVIET POWER AND POTENTIAL

MR. PRESIDENT, SOVIET MILITARY POWER CONTINUES TO POSE THE PRINCIPAL THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE WORLD TODAY. ITS RANGE OF DEPLOYABLE FORCES, ITS MULTI-THEATER COMBATANT CAPABILITY AND ITS EXTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL BASE, PROVIDE IT WITH AN UNPARALLELED CAPACITY TO DISRUPT OR DESTROY ANY ATTACKER. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION TODAY STANDS AS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD CAPABLE OF HOLDING ALL OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AT RISK --THIS, DESPITE ITS ECONOMIC WOES, ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL TENSIONS AND THE APPARENT DISINTEGRATION OF THE WARSAW PACT.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WISH TO DISTANCE MYSELF FROM THOSE WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD RUSH TO CONCLUDE A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT WITH THE KREMLIN ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT MIGHT HELP GORBACHEV

OR CONSTRAIN THE SOVIET MILITARY'S WARFIGHTING POTENTIAL SHOULD HE FALL FROM POWER. THIS IS NOT THE WAY FOR A GREAT NATION TO CONDUCT ITS DEFENSE POLICY, NOR IS IT A WISE NEGOTIATING POSTURE. WE ARE NOT IN A RACE TO SEE WHO CAN BUILD-DOWN THEIR FORCE STRUCTURE MORE QUICKLY -- OR IN ADVANCE OF THE MORNING HEADLINES. YES, WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES, BUT WE SHOULD NOT BE SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THAT CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT, BY ITSELF, IS A GUARANTOR OF PEACE.

IT IS TIME THAT WE ASKED OURSELVES WHETHER WE ARE MERELY REACTING TO EVENTS AS THEY UNFOLD, OR ARE WE GUIDING THEM TO OUR BEST ADVANTAGE? ARE WE ALLOWING OUR DEFENSE POLICY TO BE DICTATED FROM WITHIN THE KREMLIN WALLS, OR IS IT TRULY THE PRODUCT OF PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE? FROM ALL APPEARANCES, IT SEEMS AS IF THE SHIP OF STATE IS ADRIFT WITHOUT A CAPTAIN, AND THAT DECISIONS ABOUT OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING MADE IN A PIECEMEAL FASHION, WITHOUT REGARD TO LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES. I PRAY THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT DECISIONS TAKEN TODAY TO REDUCE THE COMBAT CAPABILITY OF OUR ARMED FORCES COULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS WELL INTO THE EARLY PART OF THE NEXT CENTURY. WITH MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS TAKING UPWARDS OF FIFTEEN YEARS TO MOVE FROM CONCEPT TO DEPLOYMENT, ANY SLOW-DOWN IN THE PACE OF PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT COULD SEE AN EROSION IN THE QUALITATIVE EDGE OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY. SIMILARLY, ANY PERMANENT LOSS IN OUR MANUFACTURING CAPACITY, AFFECTS THE LEVEL OF OUR FIGHTING READINESS IF OUR OPTIMISTIC THREAT ASSESSMENTS FOR THE FUTURE PROVE INCORRECT.

THE SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE THREAT

TODAY, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY ESTIMATES, THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES COMPRISE OVER FIVE-AND-A-HALF MILLION MEN, WITH ITS GROUND COMPLEMENT GROUPED INTO 200 ACTIVE DIVISIONS. BY COMPARISON, MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 2.1 MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS, WITH OUR ARMY GROUPED INTO 18 ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND 10 RESERVE DIVISIONS. TWO OF THESE ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND 1 RESERVE DIVISION ARE SOON TO BE DISBANDED.

SOVIET OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY IS SUPPORTED BY 51,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS; THE U.S. DEPLOYS A SCANT 16,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS. THE SOVIETS FIELD 1,465 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS; THE UNITED STATES FIELDS 441 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS. THE SOVIETS DEPLOY 59,500 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS; THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 32,600 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE IS THE SOVIET AIR FORCE, WHICH DEPLOYS 620 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 4,595 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. AGAIN, BY COMPARISON, THE UNITED STATES FIELDS A FAR LESS NUMEROUS CONVENTIONAL AIR FORCE WITH 372 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 3,577 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT.

SOVIET AIR DEFENSE UNITS ALSO INCLUDE 12,000 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND 100 ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS; UNITED STATES AIR DEFENSE UNITS INCLUDE 630 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND NO -- I REPEAT NO -- ABM LAUNCHERS. EVEN WITH A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS STILL WILL MAINTAIN A SIZEABLE PRESENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC -- ITS POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITIES SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED BY 368 SUBMARINES -- COMPARED TO 133 SUBMARINES FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE USSR HAS 264 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS; THE U.S. HAS 229 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS ULTIMATELY MEAN? IT MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF NUMERICALLY DISADVANTAGED IN VIRTUALLY EVERY AREA OF MEN AND COMBATANT MATERIEL. UNLIKE THE PAST, WHEN U.S. EQUIPMENT WAS VASTLY SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE SOVIETS IN PERFORMANCE AND MAINTAINABILITY, TODAY WE FIND MANY SOVIET SYSTEMS ARE ACHIEVING QUALITATIVE PARITY WITH THEIR U.S. COUNTERPARTS.

THE SOVIET STRATEGIC THREAT

DESPITE SOME HOPEFUL CHANGES IN SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE STRUCTURE, NO SUCH CLAIM CAN BE MADE FOR THEIR STRATEGIC CAPABILITIES. UNCLASSIFIED INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN --

NO STAND-DOWN IN SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR READINESS, AND NO DIMINUTION IN THE SIZE, VARIETY OR POTENCY OF THEIR ATOMIC ARSENAL.

THIS IS A DISTURBING TREND AND ONE WHICH DEMANDS OUR CONTINUED VIGILANCE.

TO THEIR CREDIT, THE SOVIETS FINALLY HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE KRASNYARSK RADAR VIOLATED THE 1972 ABM TREATY AND HAVE AGREED TO DISMANTLE IT. THEY HAVE ALLOWED ON-SITE INSPECTIONS, AS WE HAVE, OF SOME OF THE MOST SECRET WEAPONS FACILITIES AND HAVE REMAINED, ESSENTIALLY, WITHIN THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE UNRATIFIED START AGREEMENT. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SOVIETS HAVE EVEN PERMITTED PILOTS FROM NATO COUNTRIES TO FLY IN ONE OF THEIR FRONT-LINE FIGHTERS, THE MIG-29, AND CONTINUE TO ALLOW NATO OBSERVER GROUPS TO MONITOR THEIR TRAINING EXERCISES. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE PROCEEDING APACE IN DESTROYING THEIR INTER- MEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES COVERED UNDER THE INF TREATY.

THESE ARE EXTRAORDINARY GESTURES, ONES WHICH SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND BUILT-UPON. HOWEVER, BY THEMSELVES, THEY DO NOT ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL THREAT POSED TO U.S. SECURITY BY SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, NOR HAVE THEY SLOWED THE MOMENTUM WHICH THESE PROGRAMS HAVE GENERATED. THIS WORRIES ME GREATLY.

ANALYSTS EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE UPGRADING THEIR ICBM, SSBN AND BOMBER FORCE OVER THE NEXT DECADE, INCREASING THEIR ACCURACY AND PLACING U.S. FORCES AT GREATER RISK. THE JOINT MILITARY ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT: "ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS CURRENTLY ARE MODERNIZING FORCES ALONG THE LINES ENVISIONED IN THE START NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE ABSENCE OF A TREATY, THEY COULD ADD ADDITIONAL WEAPONS TO THEIR INVENTORY BY FY 1997... CONCURRENTLY, ENHANCED RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY POTENTIALLY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THE SOVIETS NEED TO ACHIEVE THEIR POSTULATED DAMAGE GOALS. AS A

RESULT, THERE COULD BE AN INCREASE IN THE LETHALITY AND NUMBER OF SOVIET RESERVES COMPOSED OF MOBILE, SURVIVABLE WEAPONS MAKING U.S. FORCES LESS EFFECTIVE."

THE SOVIET'S CONTINUED EMPHASIS ON STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION ALSO IS FOCUSING ON BOTH RAIL-MOBILE AND SILO-BASED SS-24S AND ROAD-MOBILE SS-25S. BY THE MID-TO LATE 1990S, THESE DELIVERY VEHICLES COULD MAKE-UP HALF THEIR ICBM FORCE AND POSE NEW AND MORE DIFFICULT TARGETING AND VERIFICATION CHALLENGES FOR U.S. OFFENSIVE FORCES.

THE SOVIETS ALREADY HAVE DEPLOYED ABOUT 250 OF THESE MOBILE ICBMS, A FORCE WHICH IS MUCH MORE SURVIVABLE AND FLEXIBLE THAN THEIR CURRENT SILO-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE U.S. CURRENTLY HAS NO COMPARABLE SYSTEM IN THE FIELD. AS THE SOVIETS DEPLOY MOBILE ICBMS, MR. PRESIDENT, WE CONTINUE TO DEBATE MOBILE ICBMS. THEY DEPLOY, WE DEBATE.

SOVIET MODERNIZATION OF THE AIR-BREATHING AND SEA-BASED COMPONENTS OF ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR TRIAD ALSO IS ROBUST.

LAST YEAR, THE SOVIETS LAUNCHED TWO OF THEIR MOST MODERN BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES -- A DELTA IV CLASS VESSEL AND A HUGE "TYPHOON CLASS" VESSEL. CONVERSELY, THE UNITED STATES LAUNCHED ONLY ONE TRIDENT STRATEGIC SUBMARINE IN 1989.

THE SOVIETS ALSO ARE INCREASING THE LETHALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THESE SUBMARINES WITH TWO TYPES OF MODIFIED AND IMPROVED SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. THE U.S. HAS ONLY ONE NEW SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILE BEING DEPLOYED -- THE TRIDENT II, OR D-5, SYSTEM.

SOVIET STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES ARE BECOMING A MUCH MORE POTENT AND IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR NUCLEAR TRIAD. BEAR H BOMBERS ARMED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES ARE AN INCREASING THREAT TO THE AMERICAN HOMELAND. THE NEW BLACKJACK BOMBER CONTINUES IN PRODUCTION AND IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND HEAVIEST BOMBER.

THE BLACKJACK CARRIES THE NEW AS-16 NUCLEAR ARMED, AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE WHICH CAN BE USED AGAINST THEATER AND INTERCONTINENTAL TARGETS. ALTHOUGH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BLACKJACK BOMBER PRODUCTION HAS CHANGED, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THIS NEW SYSTEM INCREASES THE NUCLEAR STRIKE CAPABILITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

MEANWHILE, EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE U.S. STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES HAVE BEEN PLAGUED BY CONTROVERSY OR PROBLEMS.

THE CURRENT U.S. STRATEGIC AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE, THE SHORT RANGE ATTACK MISSILE-A, HAS RAISED SAFETY CONCERNS WHICH HAVE FORCED THE PENTAGON TO TAKE IT OFF ALERT. THE PROGRAM TO FIELD A REPLACEMENT, THE "SRAM II," HAS EXPERIENCED BUDGET AND TECHNICAL PROBLEMS.

THE B-1B BOMBER'S DEFICIENT ELECTRONIC COUNTERMEASURES SYSTEM STILL REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT. THE B-2 STEALTH BOMBER FORCE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN CUT FROM 132 TO 75, AND THE PENTAGON IS CONSIDERING WHETHER TO CHANGE THE TOTAL BUY OF ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILES.

THE PICTURE IS CLEAR, MR. PRESIDENT. THE UNITED STATES IS STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES TO MEET ITS NEEDS FOR THE 1990'S AND BEYOND. AS WE STRUGGLE, THE SOVIETS MARCH STEADILY ONWARD AND MAKE MORE PROGRESS TOWARD THE SAME GOAL.

THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD BE REMISS IN MY REMARKS IF I DID NOT SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE ISSUE OF NATO AND THE FUTURE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THAT IMPORTANT SECURITY FRAMEWORK BORN FORTY-ONE YEARS AGO. TODAY, IN THE WAKE OF ALL THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BUFFETED EUROPE, THERE IS A GROWING CHORUS OF VOICES CALLING FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THAT GREAT ALLIANCE. I COULD NOT BE MORE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THIS POSITION. WE SHOULD **NEVER** ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE TENENT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY. SINCE THE PRINCIPLES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOLIDARITY WERE FIRST LAID DOWN IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, IT HAS BEEN NATO, MORE THAN ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION, WHICH FOSTERED THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SOLIDARITY NECESSARY TO KEEP PEACE IN EUROPE.

THE POTENTIAL FOR A SOVIET "BLITZKRIEG" IS DIMINISHED BY THE DISUNITY OF THE WARSAW PACT. IT, NONETHELESS, IS TRUE THAT A DEMILITARIZED GERMANY AND A DISSOLUTE NATO COULD REVIVE THAT POTENTIAL. THEREFORE, IT REMAINS FOR A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE TO ENSURE THAT NO ENCOURAGEMENT IS GIVEN TO THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE PACT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION. IN NATO'S SUCCESS WE ARE REMINDED THAT NEVER IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE HAS SUCH A SUCCESSFUL OR DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE BEEN FORMED.

FROM TURKEY TO ICELAND, NATO'S MEMBER STATES CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEFENSE OF THE UNION THROUGH A COORDINATED COMMAND STRUCTURE, INTEGRATED RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS, REGULAR JOINT FIELD EXERCISES, SHARED INFRASTRUCTURE, NUCLEAR PLANNING AND FULLY INTEGRATED WARTIME OPERATIONS. THIS IS NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT. OUR EXPERIENCE WITH EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT EUROPEAN UNITY DEMANDS THAT

THIS ALLIANCE NOT BE DISCARDED ON THE MERE SUGGESTION THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED PEACE IN OUR TIME. OVER THE YEARS, MILITARY NECESSITY HAS LED TO POLITICAL HARMONY, A PRECIOUS AND RARE THING FOR SIXTEEN NATIONS WHICH HAVE KNOWN THEIR SHARE OF INTER-STATE CONFLICT.

NO DOUBT THERE IS MUCH ROOM FOR THE EVOLUTION OF NATO. QUITE POSSIBLY ITS POLITICAL ROLE COULD BE INCREASED COMMENSURATE WITH THE GRADUAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPE. BUT THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND, SURELY IT WILL TAKE MONEY. INCREASED HOST-NATION SUPPORT, MORE JOINT WEAPONS PRODUCTION, GREATER MISSION SPECIALIZATION AND ENHANCED TRAINING AND BASE OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY WILL BECOME A NECESSITY AS THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET UNDERGOES READJUSTMENT.

IN THE MEANTIME, I BELIEVE IT IS PREMATURE TO CONTEMPLATE THE RAPID DRAW-DOWN OF U.S. TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE BEYOND THE 195,000 WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PROPOSED.

THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN, AND SHOULD REMAIN FOR THE NEAR TERM, THE AMERICAN TROOP PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT. SHOULD A FUTURE UNITED GERMANY CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL ALLIED FORCES FROM ITS SOIL, THEN, THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE PROCESS, ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE FOR A U.S. PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT.

IF AMERICAN TROOPS ARE THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE, THEN SURELY TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE ITS SINEWS, PROVIDING THE POWER NEEDED TO REPEL OR DEFEAT A MASSED GROUND ASSAULT. THOUGH IT IS LIKELY THAT FEWER OF THESE WEAPONS WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE FUTURE FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE, A PORTION OF THE CURRENT FORCE SHOULD BE RETAINED AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE AGGRESSION.

A LIMITED NUMBER OF AIR LAUNCHED SYSTEMS BASED IN GREAT BRITAIN, OR ON THE HIGH SEAS, MAY PROVIDE A SATISFACTORY ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE THE ROLE WHICH NATO WILL HAVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD. YET, IN THE AREA OF CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ARMS VERIFICATION, ITS VALUE COULD BE SUBSTANTIAL. IF ONLY TO ALLAY THE FEARS OF THE SECRET PACTS, THE BLANK CHECKS AND THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF AN EARLIER GENERATION, THEN WE MUST DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENCOURAGE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF NATO MEMBER STATES IN ITS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. SECRECY BREEDS FEAR AND DESTABILIZATION.

INCLUSION AND DISCUSSION LEADS TO THE MANAGEMENT OF DIFFERENCES. NOTHING COULD BE MORE CRUCIAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. AS

THE HISTORY LEADING TO WORLD WAR I TAUGHT US, BILATERAL TREATIES ARE NOT ENOUGH TO ENSURE PEACE IN EUROPE.

MR. PRESIDENT, ISOLATION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT MAKE THE THREAT OF WAR GO AWAY. ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD, SHARED RESPONSIBILITY, FRANK DIALOGUE, OPEN BORDERS, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY, ARE THE TRUE GUARANTORS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. AS PRINCE METTERNICH DISCOVERED WELL OVER A CENTURY-AND-A-HALF AGO, A EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM RESTING ONLY A THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE MOST POWERFUL STATES ON THE CONTINENT WAS AN UNWORK-ABLE PROPOSITION.

AS FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT TO GROW WEARY WITH MOMENTARY SETBACKS OR WITH THE SEEMING IMPATIENCE WITH WHICH OTHER STATES MAY JUDGE OUR CONDUCT. PERSEVERANCE IS THE LEGACY WHICH WE INHERITED FROM OUR FRONTIER DAYS AND WE SHOULD NOT FORSAKE IT FOR SHORT-TERM SATISFACTION. WE MUST NOT WEAKEN IN OUR RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, SHIRK FROM OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, OR CAPITULATE TO THOSE WHO WOULD JUDGE OUR FOREIGN POLICY OR DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF AN ACTUARIAL TABLE. I AM CONCERNED THAT ALL THE TALK OF A PEACE DIVIDEND IS MERELY A EUPHEMISM FOR OUR DISENGAGEMENT FROM WORLD AFFAIRS, AND THAT, AT PRESENT, THE IMPETUS TO SAVE DOLLARS APPEARS STRONGER THAN OUR SENSE OF NATIONAL MISSION.

THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR WAY OF LIFE REQUIRES A FAR MORE ELABORATE CALCULATION THAN A QUARTERLY PROFITS REPORT. THAT CALCULATION INVOLVES NOT ONLY THE CORRELATION OF FORCES, BUT ALSO THE MAINTENANCE OF ESPRIT D'CORPS AMONG OUR ARMED FORCES, A TRUST IN OUR NATION'S LEADERSHIP, A STRONG COMMITMENT TO BASIC VALUES, A DETERMINED DISPLAY OF THE NATIONAL WILL, AND, IF NEED BE, THE EXERCISE OF MILITARY POWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT IN 1990, A GREAT POWER SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES CAN REMAIN ALOOF FROM THE CHANGES WHICH ARE OCCURRING IN EUROPE OR THE CONFLICTS THEY MIGHT SPAWN. NOR IS IT POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE EUROPEAN LANDMASS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT A PRICE. RETREAT, PARTICULARLY PRECIPITOUS RETREAT, ALWAYS HAS ITS PRICE. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, IF NONE OTHER, THAT WE MUST KEEP OUR POWDER DRY, OUR BATTLEMENTS STRONG AND OUR WATCH-TOWERS WELL-LIGHTED.

SHAPING OUR FUTURE MILITARY

CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE DETERRENT FORCE IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY IS A DIFFICULT, AND OFTEN FRUSTRATING CHALLENGE. MUCH OF THE DIFFICULTY STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT WHILE THREAT ASSESSMENTS MAY CHANGE AND PUBLIC OPINION MAY VARY IN THE EXTREME, THE SUCCESSFUL EMPLOYMENT OF FORCE BY A LAW-ABIDING SOCIETY REQUIRES SUSTAINED AND THOUGHTFUL INVESTMENT.

THIS, I BELIEVE, CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH SUCH MECHANISMS AS STRONGER SERVICE ACCOUNTABILITY, JOINT SERVICE EQUIPMENT PURCHASES, MULTI-MISSION UNITS AND IMPROVED TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE.

I DO NOT FAVOR THE ADOPTION OF A FIVE YEAR DEFENSE BUDGET PLAN WHICH, IF ENACTED BEFORE THE RECENT CHANGES IN EUROPE TEN MONTHS AGO, ALREADY WOULD BE OBSOLETE. IT ALSO WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY RESTRICT CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PROCESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON WHO ONCE REMARKED TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS IN 1790, THAT "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF PRESERVING PEACE." HIS WORDS RING JUST AS TRUE TODAY AS THEY DID WHEN THEY WERE SPOKEN.

I BELIEVE THAT IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE READY TO MEET ANY OF THE CONTINGENCIES WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN THE GENERATION AHEAD, WE MUST NOT WAIVER FROM SEVERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOUND COMBAT WHICH HAVE STOOD THE TEST OF TIME. TO DO ANY LESS, IS TO PROCEED DOWN A TREACHEROUS PATH, ONE WHICH NO WISE MAN WOULD WISH TO TRAVEL AND

DOWN WHICH NO FATHER OR MOTHER WOULD WISH TO SEND THEIR SON. IN SUM, I BELIEVE THAT IF WE ARE TO REMAIN A FREE AND UNMOLESTED NATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD --

- O WE MUST RETAIN THE CAPABILITY TO KEEP THE PEACE AND DETER WAR ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF CONFLICT;
- O WE MUST MAINTAIN THE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO MID- AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT IN MULTIPLE THEATERS OF OPERATION AND AT THE TIME AND PLACE OF OUR CHOOSING;
- O WE MUST CONTINUE TO MODERNIZE BOTH OUR TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC AIR AND SEALIFT TO ENSURE A RAPID AND SUSTAINED POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITY;
- O WE MUST BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND SUPPORT OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES AT TIMES OF CRISIS; AND LASTLY,
- O WE MUST ENSURE THE HIGH QUALITY AND MOTIVATION OF OUR MEN AND WOMEN UNDER ARMS. WE MUST BROADEN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY; WE MUST INSTILL IN EVERY YOUNG PERSON A RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF OUR ARMED FORCES AND WE MUST BUILD AND NURTURE A BROAD CONSENSUS BEHIND OUR NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

GUIDING OUR MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST BE COGNIZANT OF THE WAY IN WHICH WE EMPLOY OUR ARMED FORCES. FOR A WELL-RUN MILITARY IS A PRECIOUS RESOURCE WHEN PLACED IN THE SERVICE OF A FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE, WHO RESPECT LIFE AND WHO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE DOCTRINE OF DETERRENCE SHOULD FOREVER GUIDE OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY AND WARFARE SHOULD BE SEEN AS THE OPTION OF LAST RESORT OF THIS GOVERNMENT. AS WE STRUGGLE TO REALIGN OUR DEFENSE BUDGET AND TO BRING NECESSARY ECONOMIES TO OUR FORCE STRUCTURE, I, FOR ONE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY FIVE SOLEMN OBJECTIVES.

- O FIRST, PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, WE MUST EMPLOY OUR FORCES WITH THE INTENTION OF ENCOURAGING, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE, A DIPLOMATIC RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFERENCES;
- O SECOND, IF WAR OCCURS, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE THE ENEMY AS FAR FROM OUR SHORES AS POSSIBLE;
- O THIRD, ONCE AT WAR, WE MUST USE OUR FORCES TO ENCOURAGE A CONCLUSION OF CONFLICT AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF FIGHTING, WITH THE LEAST COLLATERAL DAMAGE AND IN PROPORTION TO THE THREAT;
- O FOURTH, IN WAR, OUR GOAL MUST BE TO SEEK NOT STALEMATE OR ATTRITION, BUT VICTORY THROUGH DECISIVE MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS;

- O FIFTH, WE MUST ENSURE THE CONCLUSION OF A CONFLICT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND, IF NECESSARY, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO CARRY THE BATTLE TO THE CAPITAL OF THE ENEMY AND IMPOSE, IF NEED BE, A SOLUTION FAVORABLE TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS.

CONCLUSION

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE I AM A MAN OF PEACE. I HAVE KNOWN WAR. CONSEQUENTLY, I HAVE DEVOTED MY PUBLIC CAREER TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. MY FOCUS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE WITHIN AN EVOLUTIONARY FRAMEWORK -- TO GIVE PEACE THE SUPPORT IT NEEDS.

IT DOES LITTLE GOOD TO WISH FOR PEACE; WE MUST WORK FOR IT. THAT MEANS TAKING CARE TO ESTABLISH SOUND, CAREFULLY CONCEIVED AGREEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. THEREFORE, BEFORE THE PROCESS OF RETRENCHMENT TAKES HOLD, WE MUST HAVE A COMPLETE AND FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW OF OUR ENTIRE DEFENSE STRATEGY AND DETERMINE WHAT WE REQUIRE TO PROVIDE AND PROTECT THAT FRAMEWORK.

LIKE MY COLLEAGUES I AM COGNIZANT OF THE NEED TO RESTORE THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY. WE MUST, AND WE SHALL, IMPROVE HEALTH CARE, REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S INFRASTRUCTURE, AND ATTEND TO THE NEEDS OF THE LESS FORTUNATE THROUGH BETTER SCHOOLS, HOUSING, AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS. YET, HAVING SEEN FIRST HAND THE DEVASTATION CAUSED BY A MADMAN LET LOOSE UPON THE EUROPEAN COUNTRYSIDE, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE SECURITY OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HOPE THAT AS WE MOVE FROM A COLD WAR TO A WARM PEACE, OUR MILITARY WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE HONOR AND THE RESPECT IT DESERVES. FOR IT IS THE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN OF THIS NATION WHO DESERVE THE CREDIT FOR MAKING THIS GLORIOUS DAY POSSIBLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE IT IS OUR JOB, AS CIVILIAN LEADERS, TO ENSURE THAT THE HERALDING OF PEACE DOES NOT CAUSE US TO BREAK FAITH WITH OUR MILITARY, TO ALLOW THE SOCIAL COMPACT WHICH WE HAVE WITH THOSE IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT TO LANGUISH, AND TO LEAVE THE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE THE FIRST VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS.

THERE IS NO MASKING THE FACT THAT THESE ARE DIFFICULT TIMES FOR OUR MILITARY -- AN INSTITUTION WHICH HAS SERVED US BRAVELY AND HONORABLY OVER THE YEARS AND FOR WHICH WE, AS A NATION, ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL. IT IS IRONIC THAT THE REDUCTIONS WE MAY BE REQUIRED TO MAKE TO REACH DEFICIT TARGETS WILL FALL MOST HEAVILY ON THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED US WELL.

I HOPE THE YEARS AHEAD WILL PROVE THAT WE HAVE LISTENED TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HAVE BEEN WISE ENOUGH TO LEARN FROM HIS WARNING THAT "THOSE WHO HAVE LONG ENJOYED SUCH PRIVILEGES AS WE ENJOY FORGET IN TIME THAT MEN HAVE DIED TO WIN THEM."

MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY. WE CANNOT ALLOW THE PRIDE WE ALL SHARE IN THAT ACCOMPLISHMENT TO BE DIMINISHED. NOR CAN WE ALLOW FUTURE GENERATIONS TO FORGET THE SUPREME SACRIFICES MADE BY AMERICA'S FATHERS, SONS, AND BROTHERS TOWARD THAT NOBLE END. BECAUSE OF THEIR SERVICE, THE WIND-SWEPT FIELDS OF EUROPE, FROM FLANDERS TO FRIBRUCKEN, REJOICE IN YET ANOTHER CHANCE FOR PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE SEPARATED SOVIET AND AMERICAN SOCIETY, DIFFERENCES WHICH GAVE SUBSTANCE AND MEANING TO THE COLD WAR. WE

HAVE DIFFERENT CULTURES, DIFFERENT HISTORIES, AND DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE. NONE OF THESE DIFFERENCES, I BELIEVE, CONSTITUTES AN IMPENETRABLE OBSTACLE TO BETTER RELATIONS. BUT IT WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE FEARS AND MUTUAL SUSPICIONS OF GENERATIONS ARE OVERCOME AND THE DEMONS WHICH HAUNT THE BOUNDARY LINE FROM STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN THE ADRIATIC ARE FINALLY LAID TO REST.

MR. PRESIDENT, I YIELD THE FLOOR.

**DEFENSE POSTURE
IN A CHANGING WORLD**

SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

MR. PRESIDENT, TODAY I SPEAK TO THE SENATE ON THE GREAT ISSUE OF OUR TIME. I RISE TO ADDRESS A SUBJECT OF MUCH SPECULATION IN THE TOWNS AND CITIES OF OUR NATION, AND IN CAPITALS AROUND THE WORLD. I AM ENGAGED BY THE ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE AGE OF GLASNOST AND THE FATE OF THAT SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS BOUND TOGETHER THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS OF THE WEST FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY. I AM DEEPLY TROUBLED.

TODAY THE STREETS OF EUROPE ARE FILLED WITH REVELRY AS PEOPLE FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE URALS REJOICE IN THE BLUSH OF NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS. NO LONGER IS THE LINE WHICH RUNS FROM STETTIN TO TRIESTE A BOUNDARY SYNONYMOUS WITH THE DIVISION OF MANKIND, A TRIP-WIRE OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. RATHER, ITS LONG, DARK SHADOW HAS MELTED INTO THE LANDSCAPE. THE PASSIONS IT AROUSED ARE GRADUALLY FADING AS THE EUPHORIA OF THE MOMENT CONSIGNS THEM TO

MEMORY. IN TIME, THE BARBED WIRE AND WATCHTOWERS OF THE IRON CURTAIN SHALL BECOME YET ANOTHER ATTRACTION IN GUIDEBOOKS TO THE HISTORY OF EUROPE - - A CURIOSITY OF THE COLD WAR MUCH AS THE MAGINOT LINE AND THE SEIGFRIED LINE HAVE COME TO SYMBOLIZE THE TRIALS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

MR. PRESIDENT, AT LONG LAST THE DARK SHADE HAS BEEN LIFTED. NIGHT IS ENDING AND EASTERN EUROPE IS AWAKING FROM A DEEP, PROLONGED SLEEP. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO GENERATIONS, THE WARM SUNLIGHT OF FREEDOM HAS SHONE ON THE FACES OF A POOR, OPPRESSED PEOPLE. LET US REMEMBER THAT WHILE THE REST OF THE WORLD MARCHED IN TRIUMPH AFTER THE DEFEAT OF HITLER, THOSE WITHIN THE SOVIET ORBIT FELL VICTIM TO YET ANOTHER ENSLAVER. ONLY NOW, IS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE STALINIST TYRANNY SURFACING. AS THE TERRIBLE SECRETS OF THE KATYN FOREST ARE UNEARTHED AND THE TERROR OF THE GULAGS ARE UNCOVERED, THE WORLD IS FORCED, ONCE AGAIN, TO CONFRONT ITS CONSCIENCE AND ASK THOSE ETERNAL QUESTIONS: HOW COULD SUCH CRIMES HAVE

UNCERTAINTIES WHICH MUST BE CONFRONTED SQUARELY AND DECISIVELY BY MEN OF VISION AND OF COURAGE.

INSTEAD, WE WHO ARE CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ENSURING OUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING ASKED TO RELINQUISH THAT MEASURE OF SECURITY WHICH HAS PRESERVED US IN FREEDOM SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. WITHOUT A COMPASS OR MAP TO GUIDE OUR WAY, WE ARE BEING PRESSED TO DRAW DOWN OUR ARMED FORCES, AS IF THE MILLENNIUM WERE AT HAND. DURING MY LIFETIME, THIS ILLUSION HAS APPEARED MANY TIMES. AND IT HAS, AS QUICKLY, DISAPPEARED, PASSING ALONG WITH THAT BURST OF ENTHUSIASM AND EXPECTATION WITH WHICH IT WAS USHERED IN.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE A PROUD AND FAIR NATION. A GOOD PEOPLE, MAGNANIMOUS IN VICTORY, JUST AS WE ARE STRONG AND PERSISTENT IN WAR. HOWEVER, MANY AMONG US ARE IMPATIENT WITH THE PACE OF CHANGE AND APPEAR WILLING TO SACRIFICE OUR LIVES AND OUR TREASURE AT THE SLIGHTEST SUGGESTION THAT PEACE IS AT HAND. I STAND BEFORE THE SENATE

TODAY TO URGE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO MAKE FULL USE OF CAUTION IN THIS ENDEAVOR. PRUDENCE, MY COLLEAGUES, SHOULD GUIDE OUR ACTION, NOT WISHFUL THINKING. FOR, AS THE LATE PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ONCE OBSERVED, "OUR SECURITY IS NOT A MATTER OF WEAPONS ALONE. THE ARM THAT WIELDS THEM MUST BE STRONG, THE EYE THAT GUIDES THEM CLEAR, THE WILL THAT DIRECTS THEM INDOMITABLE."

EAST EUROPE IN DISARRAY

GREAT AND UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES HAVE BEEN UNLEASHED ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. WHETHER THEY WILL BE USED FOR GOOD, OR FOR ILL, REMAINS UNCERTAIN. WHAT IS KNOWN IS THAT CRIES OF LIBERAL REFORMERS ARE TOO OFTEN ECHOED NOT BY DEMOCRATIC VOICES BUT BY THE BELLICOSE HOWLS OF RADICAL NATIONALISTS, ETHNIC PARTISANS, RELIGIOUS ZEALOTS AND MONARCHISTS.

AS IN THE DAYS BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS HAVE FOUND EXPRESSION IN VIOLENCE AND DISORDER. TRIBAL HATREDS AND ANCIENT VENDETTAS HAVE TAKEN ROOT IN A NEW GENERATION OF EUROPEANS, SPARKING CONFLICT, AND BLOODSHED. IN THE ANCIENT LANDS OF TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, LITHUANIA, ARMENIA, SERBIA, AND THE TRANS-CAUCUSES, FORMER VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION HAVE TAKEN UP ARMS AGAINST ONE ANOTHER AS IF THE SOVIET EMPIRE, WITH ALL ITS BARBARISM, HAD NEVER EXISTED. A NEW DEMOCRATIC ENVIRONMENT HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF UNITY AND STRENGTH --AND, SADLY, ALSO A BREEDING GROUND FOR DISCONTENT. AS ONE WHO HAS WITNESSED SUCH FERMENT OFTEN IN MY LIFETIME, I AM UNWILLING TO PRONOUNCE GORBACHEV'S GREAT ENTERPRISE A SUCCESS, UNTIL THE FINAL KEYSTONE IS LOWERED INTO THE ARCH.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ABORTIVE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848 IN GERMANY, 1917 IN RUSSIA, 1948 IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1956 IN HUNGARY, AND 1968 AGAIN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, LOOM AS DARK REMINDERS THAT ONCE

CONFLICTS ARE IGNITED, THEY ARE NOT SO EASILY QUELLED. IT WAS OUR OWN REVOLUTIONARY, THOMAS JEFFERSON, WHO CAUTIONED A YOUNG REPUBLIC ABOUT THE DANGERS OF THE MOB -- AND HE WAS CORRECT. LET US HOPE THAT MR. GORBACHEV SUCCEEDS, BUT LET US NOT FORGET THAT REVOLUTIONS ARE A HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION, REQUIRING FROM THOSE TOUCHED BY THEIR INFLUENCE -- VIGILANCE, CAUTION AND CIRCUMSPECTION.

VIEWS OF RETRENCHMENT

THERE ARE THOSE AMONG US, HOWEVER, WHO TAKE EXCEPTION TO THIS VIEW OF OUR CHANGING TIMES. THEY ARGUE THAT A NEW, AND POSSIBLY IRREVERSIBLE REALITY HAS TAKEN HOLD IN EUROPE AND THAT OUR ACTIONS ARE AT LEAST AS IMPORTANT TO THE SURVIVAL OF PERISTROIKA AS ARE GORBACHEV'S SKILLS AS A LEADER. THEY SAY THAT IF GORBACHEV IS TO SUCCEED, THEN WE MUST RALLY TO HIS SIDE AND BE PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE WHATEVER INITIATIVES ARE CALLED FOR TO ENSURE HIS SURVIVAL. IF THIS SHOULD REQUIRE LARGE-SCALE TROOP REDUCTIONS, THEN, SO BE IT; IN THEIR VIEW,

WE MUST OUT-MATCH HIM MEASURE FOR MEASURE. IF THE WARSAW PACT IS RENDERED IMPOTENT AS A MILITARY FORCE, THEN WE, IN THE WEST, MUST ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. IF GERMANY IS REUNIFIED, AS INDEED IT MAY BE, THEN, SAY THESE VOICES, WE MUST GUARANTEE ITS NEUTRALITY.

I, FOR ONE, TAKE ISSUE WITH THIS LOGIC. I REFUSE TO FOLLOW THAT PATH. OTHERS MAY PLUNGE INTO THE ABYSS; I PREFER TO CAREFULLY CONSTRUCT BRIDGES WHICH LEAD SAFELY FROM THE DIVISIONS OF THE PAST TO A NEW WORLD UNITED IN THE PEACE WHICH WE ALL HOPE WILL EMERGE.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO BE A NAYSAYER OR A JEREMIAH PROPHECYING IMMINENT CATASTROPHE. RATHER, I HOPE TO REMIND THOSE WHO WOULD LEAP TO JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE PERMANENCE OF CHANGE IN THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THE IMPETUS FOR TODAY'S REFORM MOVEMENT RESTS ON THE WORK OF A SINGLE, SOLITARY MAN. TO GAMBLE OUR SECURITY, AND THAT OF OUR CHILDREN, ON THE SURVIVAL OF THIS, OR ANY, INDIVIDUAL IS NAIVE. TO ABANDON THE ELABORATE SECURITY SYSTEM WHICH HAS PROTECTED OUR FREEDOM IN CRISIS AFTER CRISIS, IN BERLIN, IN GREECE, AND IN CUBA, IS RECKLESS AND FOOLHARDY.

MY DUTY -- AS I SEE IT -- IS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. MY CHARGE IS TO ENSURE THAT **THEIR** WELFARE IS PROTECTED IN THE EVENT THAT MR. GORBACHEV AND HIS GRAND EXPERIMENT SHOULD MEET AN UNTIMELY END.

I AM MINDFUL OF CONCERN VOICED BY SOVIET SCHOLARS WHO POINT TO THE INCREASING RESTLESSNESS WITHIN THE SOVIET MILITARY AS A THREAT TO REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION. THE PULLBACK OF THE RED ARMY FROM AFGHANISTAN, ITS GROWING PROBLEMS

WITH INTERNAL DISCIPLINE, ITS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE LEVEL OF POST-SERVICE BENEFITS AND ITS MOUNTING ANGER WITH THE RESTRAINTS BEING PLACED ON IT AS IT ATTEMPTS TO SURPRESS POPULAR REBELLION IN THE REPUBLICS -- ALL OF THESE SETBACKS HAVE AROUSED THE SOVIET MILITARY.

FACED WITH THESE HUMILIATIONS, AND THE PROSPECT OF AN IMMINENT DRAWDOWN IN FORCE STRUCTURE, REACTIONARY FORCES WITHIN THE MILITARY COULD BE PROMPTED TO ATTEMPT A SEIZURE OF POWER. I NEED NOT ELABORATE ON THE DESTABILIZING EFFECTS SUCH A COUP ATTEMPT WOULD HAVE ON THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

WE MUST BE ALERT TO WHERE THE CURRENTS OF MODERN HISTORY ARE TAKING US. THE CHANNEL THAT GUARANTEES OUR SAFE PASSAGE IN A NUCLEAR AGE IS NARROW INDEED. WHEN WE ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE LARGE SUMS OF RECONSTRUCTION AID AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY TO OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES, WE MUST BE SURE THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE IS NOT BEING SQUANDERED

OR PUT TO AN INSIDIOUS PURPOSE. THE INVALID WHOSE HEALTH WE NURSE BACK TODAY, COULD WELL BECOME THE TITAN WE CONFRONT TOMORROW. LET IT NOT BE SAID THAT, AS A NATION, WE WERE SO CONSUMED WITH THE FRUITS OF VICTORY, THAT WE UNWITTINGLY SEWED THE SEEDS OF OUR OWN MISFORTUNE. AS WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE OBSERVED, "THE PROBLEMS OF VICTORY ARE MORE AGREEABLE THAN THOSE OF DEFEAT, BUT THEY ARE NO LESS DIFFICULT."

THE LIMITS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS THE INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF TODAY'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN CALLED UPON TO SHOULDER A LARGE PORTION OF THE BURDEN OF RECONSTRUCTION. WHILE THIS IS SURELY A TESTAMENT TO THE TRIUMPH OF OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM, IT IS A TASK OF SUCH IMMENSITY THAT NO ONE COUNTRY CAN SHOULDER IT ALONE. THE UNITED STATES SIMPLY CAN NO LONGER BE IN THE POSITION OF BEING THE PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER OF EVERY EMERGING DEMOCRACY, PARTICULARLY WHEN WE MUST SACRIFICE OUR OWN DEFENSE IN ORDER TO FINANCE ASSISTANCE TO OTHERS. LEST WE FORGET, IT IS THIS VERY SAME DEFENSE BUDGET AND THE DETERRENT FORCE IT MAINTAINS, THAT HAS HELPED TO ENSURE THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM.

THOUGH WE REJOICE IN THE NEW-FOUND FREEDOMS IN PANAMA, NICARAGUA, NAMIBIA AND EASTERN EUROPE, THERE ARE PRACTICAL LIMITS TO OUR LARGESS. OUR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS ARE TOO VAST, OUR FOREIGN COMMITMENTS TOO NUMEROUS, AND OUR RESOURCES

TOO LIMITED, TO SHOULDER ALONE THE BURDENS OF THE WORLD. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EASTERN EUROPE TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY, BUT RATHER, THAT WE SHOULD NOT NEGLECT OUR OTHER RESPONSIBILITIES IN AFRICA, ASIA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC WHEN DOING SO.

I BELIEVE THAT PERHAPS THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO EUROPEAN STABILIZATION IS FOR AMERICA TO REMAIN A FORCE OF CONSTANCY, OF PREDICTABILITY, AND OF STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN PEACE. THE SUPPORT OF SOUND FISCAL POLICIES AT HOME, AND THE PROMOTION OF MEASURED DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE, WILL PROVIDE THE BEST HOPE FOR A PROSPEROUS FUTURE. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL ENGINE OF GROWTH FOR THE WORLD ECONOMY, AND DESPITE UP-AND-COMING COMPETITION FROM JAPAN, GERMANY, AND THE NEWLY-INDUSTRIALIZED ASIAN COUNTRIES, IT REMAINS THAT LEADER TODAY. IT IS OUR TASK TO ENSURE THAT THE UNITED STATES ALSO REMAINS THE GUARDIAN OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AND

THAT IT MAINTAINS THE STRENGTH IT REQUIRES TO BE THE
PRIMARY PROTECTOR OF THOSE VALUES, INTO THE
TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

THE TRIUMPH OF DETERRENCE

MR. PRESIDENT, THE ROAD THAT HAS BROUGHT US TO THIS TIME IN HISTORY HAS BEEN A DIFFICULT ONE. MORE THAN ONCE WE HAVE BEEN POISED ON THE BRINK OF WAR, ONLY TO PULL BACK IN THE FINAL HOURS BEFORE CATASTROPHE. THESE EVENTS SHOULD HAVE TAUGHT US A POWERFUL LESSON IN THE IMPORTANCE, AND THE LASTING RELEVANCE, OF DETERRENCE AS A NATIONAL STRATEGY. FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS A BROAD RANGE OF MILITARY OPTIONS -- FROM THE MILITARY LEVERAGE PROVIDED BY OUR SUPERIOR CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TO THE ASSURED DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR RETALIATION-- HAS GIVEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES THE FLEXIBILITY AND THE INDEPENDENCE HE REQUIRED TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

I AM NOT CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE DETERMINED WHAT KIND OF SMALLER, LEANER MILITARY WILL PROVIDE THAT SAME LEVEL OF SECURITY. HOW CAN WE, AT REDUCED COST AND WITH A DIMINISHED MILITARY CAPACITY, PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT WITH AN EQUALLY WIDE VARIETY OF DETERRENT OPTIONS? I BELIEVE THAT

DETERRENCE, AT THE LOWEST COST, BUT AT THE MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS, MUST CONTINUE TO BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE BEHIND OUR MILITARY DOCTRINE, REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CHANGES COURSE ABOUT US.

IN THE EUROPEAN THEATER, THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR NATO'S DOCTRINE OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, WHICH MUST NOT BE ABANDONED IN THE RUSH TO REFORM THE ALLIANCE. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THIS DOCTRINE HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE, IN LARGE MEASURE, FOR DISCOURAGING THE KREMLIN'S COSTLY HARASSMENT AND PROBING OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES OVER THE YEARS. NATO'S READINESS TO RESPOND TO ANY SOVIET MILITARY PROVOCATION WITH EQUAL AND PROPORTIONATE FORCE, HAS PROVED ITS VALUE IN PREVENTING THE OUTBREAK OF WAR IN EUROPE.

ETERNAL VIGILANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, IN THIS TIME OF UNCERTAINTY, WE CANNOT BE SURE THE CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE THAT NOW EXISTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WILL CONTINUE. WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN THAT THE CHANGES FOSTERED

UNDER THE BANNERS OF GLASNOST AND PERISTROIKA WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP. WE CANNOT, WITH CONFIDENCE, SAY THAT ALL IN THE SOVIET HIERARCHY SUPPORT THIS COURSE OR THAT ALL SOVIET HAWKS HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY DOVES. SOME IN THE KREMLIN COULD WELL REGARD GLASNOST AS AN EFFECTIVE, ALBEIT SINISTER STRATEGY FOR ACHIEVING THEIR GOALS.

THOUGH THIS IS UNLIKELY, IT, NONETHELESS, SHOULD BE A FACTOR IN ALL OF OUR DELIBERATIONS ABOUT THE NATIONAL DEFENSE. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION IN HISTORY, NATIONS HAVE USED THE PRETENSE OF PEACE TO PREPARE FOR WAR. IT WAS HITLER WHO SO SKILLFULLY TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE INTERLUDE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS TO RESTORE GERMANY'S MILITARY MIGHT. AND WHEN HE HAD ACCOMPLISHED HIS OBJECTIVE, HE WAS ABLE TO DICTATE TO THE WORLD THE TERMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S SURRENDER.

FOR ALL WE KNOW, MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO DIVEST ITSELF OF ITS TROUBLESOME ALLIES IN EASTERN EUROPE MAY BE AN ACT OF SHREWD POLITICAL CALCULATION, INTENDED TO RETURN THE UNION TO FISCAL SOLVENCY AND ETHNIC PURITY. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN VERY GOOD AT DECODING THE KREMLIN'S INTENTIONS, AND I HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE ANY WISER TODAY. ALL OF THE SCHOLARS, THE KREMLIN-WATCHERS, THE APOLOGISTS AND THE CRITICS, WERE UNABLE TO PREDICT THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE OVERTAKEN US IN EASTERN EUROPE IN THE PAST YEAR. I HAVE NO

REASON TO BELIEVE THAT -- TWELVE MONTHS HENCE -- THOSE WHO NOW COGITATE ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD WILL PROVE ANY MORE RELIABLE IN THEIR FORECASTING.

MR. PRESIDENT, PRUDENCE REQUIRES THAT WE ASSUME THE WORST AND HOPE FOR THE BEST. WE MUST BE ALIVE TO THE FACT THAT MR. GORBACHEV'S GLASNOST COULD REALLY BE A PHANTOM IN DISGUISE, A TROJAN HORSE WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. "LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOR," THE WISE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ONCE SAID, "BUT DON'T PULL DOWN YOUR HEDGE!"

MR. PRESIDENT, GORBACHEV HAS DONE HIS WORK WELL. HE HAS MASTERED THE ART OF WESTERN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. HE HAS DONNED WESTERN ATTIRE AND SHOWN US A HUMAN FACE. HE HAS APPEALED TO OUR SENSE OF FAIRNESS AND DRAWN US INTO HIS PLANS. IN THE PROCESS, HE ALSO MAY HAVE INFLUENCED AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION IN WAYS WHICH SATISFY OUR ETERNAL YEARNING AS A PEOPLE FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY. IN LATE 1985, 76 PERCENT OF AMERICANS SURVEYED SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WERE EITHER A "SERIOUS" OR A "VERY SERIOUS" THREAT TO THE U.S. --

TODAY ONLY 33 PERCENT HOLD THIS VIEW. MR. PRESIDENT, THE IRON CURTAIN MAY HAVE RUSTED AWAY, BUT SOVIET WEAPONRY, PARTICULARLY ITS STRATEGIC ARSENAL, HAS NOT. IN FACT, IT IS GROWING STRONGER AND MORE POTENT DAY BY DAY.

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE, THE SOVIET UNION WILL STILL BE THE GREATEST LAND POWER IN ASIA, AND THE UNITED STATES WILL STILL BE A MARITIME NATION DEPENDENT UPON TRADE AND CONTACT WITH THE EURO-ASIAN LANDMASS FOR ITS SURVIVAL. THE FACTS OF GEOGRAPHY ARE IMMUTABLE. POLITICS CANNOT ALTER WHAT IS A FUNDAMENTAL COMPETITION BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW FOR INCREASINGLY SCARCE RESOURCES, THEIR OPPOSING NEEDS FOR SECURE LINES OF COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND THEIR COMMITMENTS TO FRIENDS AROUND THE GLOBE.

INCREASINGLY, TODAY, THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD TURN THE CLOCK BACK TO THE DARK DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. I AM CERTAINLY **NOT** ONE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS. BUT THE PREVALENCE OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS AND OLD-STYLE COMMUNISTS, GIVES ME

PAUSE TO BE CONCERNED. MR. GORBACHEV MAY BE THE BEST HOPE THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE HAD IN SIX GENERATIONS TO EXPERIENCE FREEDOM, BUT THE JURY WHICH SITS IN JUDGEMENT ON HIS AMBITIOUS PROGRAM HAS YET TO RENDER ITS FINAL VERDICT.

OUT-OF-AREA THREATS REMAIN

MR. PRESIDENT, AS WE SET ABOUT THE TASK OF ACCOMMODATING THE CHANGES PERCOLATING IN EUROPE, WE MUST ALSO BE ALIVE TO THE MANY OTHER THREATS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE WHICH GIRD THE GLOBE. I AM SPEAKING HERE OF THE ONGOING CONFLICTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH HAVE THE POTENTIAL OF SPARKING A CONFLICT WHICH COULD ENGULF THE UNITED STATES. THERE ARE THOSE, INCLUDING ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, A FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, WHO BELIEVE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE SHIELDED FROM THE AWESOME EFFECTS OF A NUCLEAR CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I BEG TO DIFFER, AND PROFOUNDLY SO! NOT ONLY IS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES MADE INEVITABLE BY OUR ONGOING COMMITMENTS TO THE REGION, BUT, TO

FAIL TO ACT TO END SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD SURELY BE AN ABDICATION OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AS A SUPERPOWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE JOINT CHIEF'S MILITARY NET ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT "THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE OF INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS IN THE THIRD WORLD POSES INCREASINGLY COMPLEX SECURITY TASKS, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE RELENTLESS PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY." BALLISTIC MISSILES, THEY OBSERVE, "HAVE INTRODUCED A NEW ERA IN REGIONAL CONFLICT, INCREASING THE POTENTIAL FOR ESCALATION AND WIDESPREAD DESTRUCTION." IN ADDITION, TRADITIONAL REGIONAL ANIMOSITIES, EXACERBATED BY THE PROBLEMS OF DEBT, TERRORISM, INSURGENCIES, DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM WILL CONTINUE TO COMMAND U.S. ATTENTION AND DEFENSE RESOURCES."

EVERYWHERE ONE LOOKS TODAY, ONE SEES SMOLDERING REGIONAL CONFLICTS CHALLENGING, ALBEIT DEFYING, THE TREND TOWARD GREATER ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IN KASHMIR, THE CONFLICT

BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN REMAINS A FLASHPOINT OF PARTICULAR CONCERN. BOTH NATIONS ARE PRESUMED TO POSSESS BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE WILL TO USE THEM IF THE TIDE OF CONVENTIONAL WAR SHOULD MOVE IN A DIRECTION UNFAVORABLE TO EITHER.

ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, ARMIES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH FACE EACH OTHER IN A STANDOFF WHICH HAS REMAINED ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED FOR TWO GENERATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION IS MORE UNSTABLE TODAY THAN IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT YEARS. THE NORTH CONTINUES TO LOSE ALLIES AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT, THUS MAKING THE PROSPECT OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER QUESTIONABLE. A DRAWDOWN OF U.S. TROOP STRENGTH COULD TRIGGER THE NORTH TO ACT, DRAWING US ONCE AGAIN INTO CONFLICT ON THE PENINSULA. THE NEWLY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH KOREAN IS YOUNG AND CONTINUES TO REQUIRE OUR SUPPORT.

IN AFGHANISTAN, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES HAS NOT MEANT AN END TO THE FIGHTING. TO THE CONTRARY, THE KABUL GOVERNMENT REMAINS DETERMINED TO RESIST THE ONSLAUGHT OF REBEL MUJAHEDDEEN WHOSE OWN UNITY OF PURPOSE HAS BEEN SHATTERED BY INTERNECINE STRIFE. A SIMILAR FATE HAS BEDEVILED THE OPPOSITION FORCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHERE PROGRESS TOWARD THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID HAS BEEN SLOWED BY INTER-TRIBAL FIGHTING.

MORE WORRISOME, HOWEVER, IS THE ONGOING CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL AND AMONG THE ARAB STATES THEMSELVES. THE RECENT DECLARATION BY IRAQ'S PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN THAT HE HAS THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO DESTROY HALF OF ISRAEL IF ATTACKED, HAS RAISED, ONCE AGAIN, THE SPECTER OF ANOTHER, EVEN MORE DEADLY, MIDDLE EAST WAR. EVERYDAY, THERE ARE NEW REVELATIONS THAT IRAQ HAS ACQUIRED, THROUGH BOTH LEGAL AND ILLEGAL MEANS, THE CAPABILITY TO WAGE NUCLEAR, BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WARFARE. THE COUNTRY'S DEPLOYMENT OF DUAL-CAPABLE BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH RANGES OF UP TO 1,500 KILOMETERS, ENSURES THAT TEL AVIV AND TEHERAN, MUCH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND TURKEY, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT, AND EVEN THE AMERICAN SIXTH FLEET STATIONED IN THE MEDITERRANEAN COULD FALL WITHIN ITS KILLING RANGE.

THOUGH ISRAEL AND SOME OF HER NEIGHBORS ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE DEVELOPED A DETERRENT CAPABILITY, IT MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT AGAINST SUCH AWESOME POWER, THERE IS NO EFFECTIVE

DEFENSE, AND THERE ARE NO CURRENTLY AVAILABLE COUNTER-MEASURES IN THE REGION.

MR. PRESIDENT, I AM CONCERNED THAT THE FLAMES OF REGIONAL CONFLICT ARE BEING FANNED BY THE VERY FORCES WHICH SHOULD, BY ALL RIGHTS, BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF PEACE-MAKING. COUNTRIES SUCH AS GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY, WHICH HAVE THEMSELVES EXPERIENCED THE HORRORS OF TOTAL WAR TWICE IN THIS CENTURY, HAVE BEEN THE ONES MOST RESPONSIBLE FOR TRANSFERRING LETHAL TECHNOLOGIES TO THE ANTI-WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A RECENT SURVEY OF AMERICANS REVEALED THAT 74 PERCENT FELT THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE HANDS OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WAS AMONG THE MOST SERIOUS THREATS TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY -- SECOND ONLY TO DRUG TRAFFICKING, WHICH WAS CITED BY 84 PERCENT OF THOSE QUESTIONED.

THE WORLD IS LESS SECURE, AND THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS LESS BRIGHT, BECAUSE OF THE ACTIONS OF OUR ALLIES, SOME OF WHICH HAVE OPENLY ENCOURAGED THE EXPORT OF THE EQUIPMENT TO MANUFACTURE CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO SUCH LAWLESS STATES AS LIBYA, IRAN, AND IRAQ. OTHERS HAVE SIMPLY TURNED A BLIND EYE TO THE ACTIONS OF THEIR CITIZENS AND PRIVATE COMPANIES BY FAILING TO ENFORCE EXISTING EXPORT CONTROL LAWS.

LET US NOT FORGET THAT IRAN AND IRAQ DID NOT HESITATE TO EMPTY THEIR DEADLY ARSENALS IN THE PERSIAN GULF WAR. ACCORDING TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, IRAQ USED POISON GAS TO KILL BETWEEN SIX AND TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE, INCLUDING MANY OF ITS OWN KURDISH POPULATION.

EQUALLY DISTURBING IS THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEING PROVIDED BY COUNTRIES IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE TO ANTI-WESTERN INSURGENCIES, AND WARRING STATES AROUND THE GLOBE. THE RISE OF ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL AS TWO OF THE WORLD'S MAJOR ARMS EXPORTERS POINTS TO THE INCREASING EASE WITH WHICH WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION CAN BE PRODUCED AND ACQUIRED TODAY. THE SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL DEBT ALSO HAS DRIVEN MANY COUNTRIES LIKE CHINA WITH THE TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW, TO RELY ON THE TRAFFICKING OF ARMS AS A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF REVENUE.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REMAIN OUT OF THE FRAY. I AM INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT THE PROSPECT OF A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE WILL RESULT IN THE WHOLESALE TRANSFER OF FRONTLINE WEAPONRY TO THE THIRD WORLD. ALREADY THIS IS OCCURRING. NEARLY 40,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS ARE DUE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM SUPERPOWER ARSENALS IN THE COMING YEARS. THE UNITED STATES ALREADY HAS PROMISED TO GIVE EGYPT 700 M-60S, WITH

SIXTY MORE DESTINED TO MOROCCO ALONG WITH THE POSSIBLE SALE OF 24 F-16 FIGHTER AIRCRAFT FROM OUR RESERVE STOCKS. THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPECTED TO PROVIDE LARGE QUANTITIES OF ITS DECOMMISSIONED EQUIPMENT TO IRAQ, A COUNTRY WHICH ALREADY FIELDS 5,500 MAIN BATTLE TANKS, 1,000 ARMORED INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES, AND 3,000 ARTILLERY PIECES.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE WORLD ARMS MARKET IS NOW AWASH IN LOW-PRICED, HIGHLY-LETHAL ARMS OF THE MOST MODERN SORT. THE READY AVAILABILITY OF SUCH MATERIEL TO TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS AND DRUG TRAFFICKERS SHOULD BE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ALL NATIONS. WHILE THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE APPEAR NO LONGER TO PROVIDE A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE FORCES OF DARKNESS TO TRAIN AND PLAN THEIR COWARDLY OPERATIONS, COUNTRIES LIKE LIBYA, SYRIA, NORTH KOREA, CUBA, LEBANON, IRAQ AND SOUTH YEMEN REMAIN READY, IF NOT EAGER, HOSTS. ANY RECONFIGURATION OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE STRUCTURE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THESE MULTIPLE THREATS. A FLEXIBLE, MOBILE, HIGHLY RESPONSIVE MILITARY WILL BE NEEDED TO OPERATE IN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX COUNTER-TERRORIST, COUNTER-NARCOTIC AND CONVENTIONAL WARFARE ENVIRONMENTS WHICH COULD BECOME THE MAINSTAY OF CONFLICT IN THE 1990S.

THE RANGE OF SOVIET POWER AND POTENTIAL

MR. PRESIDENT, SOVIET MILITARY POWER CONTINUES TO POSE THE PRINCIPAL THREAT TO OUR

NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE WORLD TODAY. ITS RANGE OF DEPLOYABLE FORCES, ITS MULTI-THEATER COMBATANT CAPABILITY AND ITS EXTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL BASE, PROVIDE IT WITH AN UNPARALLELED CAPACITY TO DISRUPT OR DESTROY ANY ATTACKER. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION TODAY STANDS AS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD CAPABLE OF HOLDING ALL OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES AT RISK --THIS, DESPITE ITS ECONOMIC WOES, ITS INTERNAL POLITICAL TENSIONS AND THE APPARENT DISINTEGRATION OF THE WARSAW PACT.

MR. PRESIDENT, I WISH TO DISTANCE MYSELF FROM THOSE WHO BELIEVE WE SHOULD RUSH TO CONCLUDE A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT WITH THE KREMLIN ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT MIGHT HELP GORBACHEV OR CONSTRAIN THE SOVIET MILITARY'S WARFIGHTING POTENTIAL SHOULD HE FALL FROM POWER. THIS IS NOT THE WAY FOR A GREAT NATION TO CONDUCT ITS DEFENSE POLICY, NOR IS IT A WISE NEGOTIATING POSTURE. WE ARE NOT IN A RACE TO SEE WHO CAN BUILD-DOWN THEIR FORCE STRUCTURE MORE QUICKLY -- OR IN ADVANCE OF THE MORNING HEADLINES. YES, WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO NEW OPPORTUNITIES, BUT WE

SHOULD NOT BE SO NAIVE AS TO BELIEVE THAT CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT, BY ITSELF, IS A GUARANTOR OF PEACE.

IT IS TIME THAT WE ASKED OURSELVES WHETHER WE ARE MERELY REACTING TO EVENTS AS THEY UNFOLD, OR ARE WE GUIDING THEM TO **OUR** BEST ADVANTAGE? ARE WE ALLOWING OUR DEFENSE POLICY TO BE DICTATED FROM WITHIN THE KREMLIN WALLS, OR IS IT TRULY THE PRODUCT OF PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVE? FROM ALL APPEARANCES, IT SEEMS AS IF THE SHIP OF STATE IS ADRIFT WITHOUT A CAPTAIN, AND THAT DECISIONS ABOUT OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE ARE BEING MADE IN A PIECEMEAL FASHION, WITHOUT REGARD TO LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES. I PRAY THAT THIS IS NOT THE CASE.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECALL THAT DECISIONS TAKEN TODAY TO REDUCE THE COMBAT CAPABILITY OF OUR ARMED FORCES COULD HAVE REPERCUSSIONS WELL INTO THE EARLY PART OF THE NEXT CENTURY. WITH MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS TAKING UPWARDS OF FIFTEEN YEARS TO MOVE FROM CONCEPT TO DEPLOYMENT, ANY SLOW-DOWN IN THE PACE OF PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT COULD SEE AN EROSION IN THE QUALITATIVE EDGE OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY. SIMILARLY, ANY PERMANENT LOSS IN OUR MANUFACTURING CAPACITY, AFFECTS THE LEVEL OF OUR FIGHTING READINESS IF OUR OPTIMISTIC THREAT ASSESSMENTS FOR THE FUTURE PROVE INCORRECT.

THE SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE THREAT

TODAY, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY ESTIMATES, THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES COMPRISE OVER FIVE-AND-A-HALF MILLION MEN, WITH ITS GROUND COMPLEMENT GROUPED INTO 200 ACTIVE DIVISIONS. BY COMPARISON, MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 2.1 MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS, WITH OUR ARMY GROUPED INTO 18 ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND

10 RESERVE DIVISIONS. TWO OF THESE ACTIVE DIVISIONS AND 1 RESERVE DIVISION ARE SOON TO BE DISBANDED.

SOVIET OFFENSIVE CAPABILITY IS SUPPORTED BY 51,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS; THE U.S. DEPLOYS A SCANT 16,000 MAIN BATTLE TANKS. THE SOVIETS FIELD 1,465 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS; THE UNITED STATES FIELDS 441 SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE LAUNCHERS. THE SOVIETS DEPLOY 59,500 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS; THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYS 32,600 INFANTRY FIGHTING VEHICLES AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS.

EQUALLY IMPRESSIVE IS THE SOVIET AIR FORCE, WHICH DEPLOYS 620 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 4,595 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT. AGAIN, BY COMPARISON, THE UNITED STATES FIELDS A FAR LESS NUMEROUS CONVENTIONAL AIR FORCE WITH 372 STRATEGIC BOMBERS AND 3,577 TACTICAL AIRCRAFT.

SOVIET AIR DEFENSE UNITS ALSO INCLUDE 12,000 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND 100 ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS; UNITED STATES AIR

DEFENSE UNITS INCLUDE 630 SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND NO -- I REPEAT NO -- ABM LAUNCHERS. EVEN WITH A CONVENTIONAL FORCES AGREEMENT IN EUROPE, THE SOVIETS STILL WILL MAINTAIN A SIZEABLE PRESENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC -- ITS POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITIES SIGNIFICANTLY ENHANCED BY 368 SUBMARINES -- COMPARED TO 133 SUBMARINES FOR THE UNITED STATES. THE USSR HAS 264 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS; THE U.S. HAS 229 SURFACE COMBATANT WARSHIPS.

WHAT DOES ALL THIS ULTIMATELY MEAN? IT MEANS THAT THE UNITED STATES FINDS ITSELF NUMERICALLY DISADVANTAGED IN VIRTUALLY EVERY AREA OF MEN AND COMBATANT MATERIEL. UNLIKE THE PAST, WHEN U.S. EQUIPMENT WAS VASTLY SUPERIOR TO THAT OF THE SOVIETS IN PERFORMANCE AND MAINTAINABILITY, TODAY WE FIND MANY SOVIET SYSTEMS ARE ACHIEVING QUALITATIVE PARITY WITH THEIR U.S. COUNTERPARTS.

THE SOVIET STRATEGIC THREAT

DESPITE SOME HOPEFUL CHANGES IN SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCE STRUCTURE, NO SUCH CLAIM CAN BE MADE FOR THEIR STRATEGIC CAPABILITIES. UNCLASSIFIED INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS NOTE THAT THERE HAS BEEN --

NO STAND-DOWN IN SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR READINESS, AND NO DIMINUTION IN THE SIZE, VARIETY OR POTENCY OF THEIR ATOMIC ARSENAL.

THIS IS A DISTURBING TREND AND ONE WHICH DEMANDS OUR CONTINUED VIGILANCE.

TO THEIR CREDIT, THE SOVIETS FINALLY HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE KRASNYARSK RADAR VIOLATED THE 1972 ABM TREATY AND HAVE AGREED TO DISMANTLE IT. THEY HAVE ALLOWED ON-SITE INSPECTIONS, AS WE HAVE, OF SOME OF THE MOST SECRET WEAPONS FACILITIES AND HAVE REMAINED, ESSENTIALLY, WITHIN THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE UNRATIFIED START AGREEMENT. IN RECENT MONTHS, THE SOVIETS HAVE EVEN PERMITTED PILOTS FROM NATO COUNTRIES TO FLY IN ONE OF THEIR FRONT-LINE FIGHTERS, THE MIG-29, AND CONTINUE TO ALLOW NATO OBSERVER GROUPS TO MONITOR THEIR TRAINING EXERCISES. MOREOVER, THE SOVIETS APPEAR TO BE PROCEEDING APACE IN DESTROYING THEIR INTER-MEDIATE-RANGE MISSILES COVERED UNDER THE INF TREATY.

THESE ARE EXTRAORDINARY GESTURES, ONES WHICH SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED AND BUILT-UPON. HOWEVER, BY THEMSELVES, THEY DO NOT ALTER THE FUNDAMENTAL THREAT POSED TO U.S. SECURITY BY

SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SYSTEMS, NOR HAVE THEY SLOWED THE MOMENTUM WHICH THESE PROGRAMS HAVE GENERATED. THIS WORRIES ME GREATLY.

ANALYSTS EXPECT THE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE UPGRADING THEIR ICBM, SSBN AND BOMBER FORCE OVER THE NEXT DECADE, INCREASING THEIR ACCURACY AND PLACING U.S. FORCES AT GREATER RISK. THE JOINT MILITARY ASSESSMENT FOR 1990 NOTES THAT: "ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS CURRENTLY ARE MODERNIZING FORCES ALONG THE LINES ENVISIONED IN THE START NEGOTIATIONS, IN THE ABSENCE OF A TREATY, THEY COULD ADD ADDITIONAL WEAPONS TO THEIR INVENTORY BY FY 1997... CONCURRENTLY, ENHANCED RELIABILITY AND ACCURACY POTENTIALLY REDUCE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THE SOVIETS NEED TO ACHIEVE THEIR POSTULATED DAMAGE GOALS. AS A RESULT, THERE COULD BE AN INCREASE IN THE LETHALITY AND NUMBER OF SOVIET RESERVES COMPOSED OF MOBILE, SURVIVABLE WEAPONS MAKING U.S. FORCES LESS EFFECTIVE."

THE SOVIET'S CONTINUED EMPHASIS ON STRATEGIC MODERNIZATION ALSO IS FOCUSING ON BOTH

RAIL-MOBILE AND SILO-BASED SS-24S AND ROAD-MOBILE SS-25S. BY THE MID-TO LATE 1990S, THESE DELIVERY VEHICLES COULD MAKE-UP HALF THEIR ICBM FORCE AND POSE NEW AND MORE DIFFICULT TARGETING AND VERIFICATION CHALLENGES FOR U.S. OFFENSIVE FORCES.

THE SOVIETS ALREADY HAVE DEPLOYED ABOUT 250 OF THESE MOBILE ICBMS, A FORCE WHICH IS MUCH MORE SURVIVABLE AND FLEXIBLE THAN THEIR CURRENT SILO-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE U.S. CURRENTLY HAS NO COMPARABLE SYSTEM IN THE FIELD. AS THE SOVIETS DEPLOY MOBILE ICBMS, MR. PRESIDENT, WE CONTINUE TO DEBATE MOBILE ICBMS. THEY DEPLOY, WE DEBATE.

SOVIET MODERNIZATION OF THE AIR-BREATHING AND SEA-BASED COMPONENTS OF ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR TRIAD ALSO IS ROBUST.

LAST YEAR, THE SOVIETS LAUNCHED TWO OF THEIR MOST MODERN BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES -- A DELTA IV CLASS VESSEL AND A HUGE "TYPHOON CLASS" VESSEL. CONVERSELY, THE UNITED STATES LAUNCHED ONLY ONE TRIDENT STRATEGIC SUBMARINE IN 1989.

THE SOVIETS ALSO ARE INCREASING THE LETHALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THESE SUBMARINES WITH TWO TYPES OF MODIFIED AND IMPROVED SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILES. THE U.S. HAS ONLY ONE NEW SEA-BASED STRATEGIC MISSILE BEING DEPLOYED -- THE TRIDENT II, OR D-5, SYSTEM.

SOVIET STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES ARE BECOMING A MUCH MORE POTENT AND IMPORTANT PART OF THEIR NUCLEAR TRIAD. BEAR H BOMBERS ARMED WITH LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES ARE AN INCREASING THREAT TO THE AMERICAN HOMELAND. THE NEW

BLACKJACK BOMBER CONTINUES IN PRODUCTION AND IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND HEAVIEST BOMBER.

THE BLACKJACK CARRIES THE NEW AS-16 NUCLEAR ARMED, AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE WHICH CAN BE USED AGAINST THEATER AND INTERCONTINENTAL TARGETS. ALTHOUGH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF BLACKJACK BOMBER PRODUCTION HAS CHANGED, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THIS NEW SYSTEM INCREASES THE NUCLEAR STRIKE CAPABILITIES OF THE U.S.S.R.

MEANWHILE, EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE U.S. STRATEGIC BOMBER FORCES HAVE BEEN PLAGUED BY CONTROVERSY OR PROBLEMS.

THE CURRENT U.S. STRATEGIC AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILE, THE SHORT RANGE ATTACK MISSILE-A, HAS RAISED SAFETY CONCERNS WHICH HAVE FORCED THE PENTAGON TO TAKE IT OFF ALERT. THE PROGRAM TO FIELD A REPLACEMENT, THE "SRAM II," HAS EXPERIENCED BUDGET AND TECHNICAL PROBLEMS.

THE B-1B BOMBER'S DEFICIENT ELECTRONIC COUNTERMEASURES SYSTEM STILL REQUIRES IMPROVEMENT. THE B-2 STEALTH BOMBER FORCE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN CUT FROM 132 TO 75, AND THE PENTAGON IS CONSIDERING WHETHER TO CHANGE THE TOTAL BUY OF ADVANCED CRUISE MISSILES.

THE PICTURE IS CLEAR, MR. PRESIDENT. THE UNITED STATES IS STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE ITS STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES TO MEET ITS NEEDS FOR THE 1990'S AND BEYOND. AS WE STRUGGLE, THE SOVIETS MARCH STEADILY ONWARD AND MAKE MORE PROGRESS TOWARD THE SAME GOAL.

THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD BE REMISS IN MY REMARKS IF I DID NOT SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE ISSUE OF NATO AND THE FUTURE OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THAT IMPORTANT SECURITY FRAMEWORK BORN FORTY-ONE YEARS AGO. TODAY, IN THE WAKE OF ALL THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BUFFETED EUROPE, THERE IS A GROWING CHORUS OF VOICES CALLING FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THAT GREAT ALLIANCE. I COULD NOT BE MORE IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THIS POSITION. WE SHOULD **NEVER** ABANDON OUR COMMITMENT TO THE TENENT OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY. SINCE THE PRINCIPLES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOLIDARITY WERE FIRST LAID DOWN IN THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, IT HAS BEEN NATO, MORE THAN ANY OTHER ORGANIZATION, WHICH FOSTERED THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SOLIDARITY NECESSARY TO KEEP PEACE IN EUROPE.

THE POTENTIAL FOR A SOVIET "BLITZKRIEG" IS DIMINISHED BY THE DISUNITY OF THE WARSAW PACT. IT, NONETHELESS, IS TRUE THAT A DEMILITARIZED GERMANY AND A DISSOLUTE NATO COULD REVIVE THAT POTENTIAL.

THEREFORE, IT REMAINS FOR A STRONG ATLANTIC ALLIANCE TO ENSURE THAT NO ENCOURAGEMENT IS GIVEN TO THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE PACT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION. IN NATO'S SUCCESS WE ARE REMINDED THAT NEVER IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE HAS SUCH A SUCCESSFUL OR DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE BEEN FORMED.

FROM TURKEY TO ICELAND, NATO'S MEMBER STATES CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEFENSE OF THE UNION THROUGH A COORDINATED COMMAND STRUCTURE, INTEGRATED RECONNAISSANCE MISSIONS, REGULAR JOINT FIELD EXERCISES, SHARED INFRASTRUCTURE, NUCLEAR PLANNING AND FULLY INTEGRATED WARTIME OPERATIONS. THIS IS NO SMALL ACHIEVEMENT. OUR EXPERIENCE WITH EARLIER ATTEMPTS AT EUROPEAN UNITY DEMANDS THAT THIS ALLIANCE NOT BE DISCARDED ON THE MERE SUGGESTION THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED PEACE IN OUR TIME. OVER THE YEARS, MILITARY NECESSITY HAS LED TO POLITICAL HARMONY, A PRECIOUS AND RARE THING FOR SIXTEEN NATIONS WHICH HAVE KNOWN THEIR SHARE OF INTER-STATE CONFLICT.

NO DOUBT THERE IS MUCH ROOM FOR THE EVOLUTION OF NATO. QUITE POSSIBLY ITS POLITICAL ROLE COULD BE INCREASED COMMENSURATE WITH THE GRADUAL DEMOCRATIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPE. BUT THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND, SURELY IT WILL TAKE MONEY. INCREASED HOST-NATION SUPPORT, MORE JOINT WEAPONS PRODUCTION, GREATER MISSION SPECIALIZATION AND ENHANCED TRAINING AND BASE OPERATIONAL EFFICIENCY WILL BECOME A NECESSITY AS THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET UNDERGOES READJUSTMENT.

IN THE MEANTIME, I BELIEVE IT IS PREMATURE TO CONTEMPLATE THE RAPID DRAW-DOWN OF U.S. TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE BEYOND THE 195,000 WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS PROPOSED.

THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN, AND SHOULD REMAIN FOR THE NEAR TERM, THE AMERICAN TROOP PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT. SHOULD A FUTURE UNITED GERMANY CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL ALLIED FORCES FROM ITS SOIL, THEN, THROUGH THE COLLECTIVE PROCESS, ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE FOR A U.S. PRESENCE ON THE CONTINENT.

IF AMERICAN TROOPS ARE THE BACKBONE OF THE ALLIANCE, THEN SURELY TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE ITS SINEWS, PROVIDING THE POWER NEEDED TO REPEL OR DEFEAT A MASSED GROUND ASSAULT. THOUGH IT IS LIKELY THAT FEWER OF THESE WEAPONS WILL BE REQUIRED IN THE FUTURE FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE, A PORTION OF THE CURRENT FORCE SHOULD BE RETAINED AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE AGGRESSION.

A LIMITED NUMBER OF AIR LAUNCHED SYSTEMS BASED IN GREAT BRITAIN, OR ON THE HIGH SEAS, MAY PROVIDE A SATISFACTORY ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO FORESEE THE ROLE WHICH NATO WILL HAVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD. YET, IN THE AREA OF CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC ARMS VERIFICATION, ITS VALUE COULD BE SUBSTANTIAL. IF ONLY TO ALLAY THE FEARS OF THE SECRET PACTS, THE BLANK CHECKS AND THE POLITICAL INTRIGUES OF AN EARLIER GENERATION, THEN WE MUST DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENCOURAGE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF NATO MEMBER STATES IN ITS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS. SECRECY BREEDS FEAR AND DESTABILIZATION.

INCLUSION AND DISCUSSION LEADS TO THE MANAGEMENT OF DIFFERENCES. NOTHING COULD BE MORE CRUCIAL IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. AS THE HISTORY LEADING TO WORLD WAR I TAUGHT US, BILATERAL TREATIES ARE NOT ENOUGH TO ENSURE PEACE IN EUROPE.

MR. PRESIDENT, ISOLATION ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT MAKE THE THREAT OF WAR GO AWAY. ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD, SHARED RESPONSIBILITY, FRANK DIALOGUE, OPEN BORDERS, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION AT ALL LEVELS OF SOCIETY, ARE THE TRUE GUARANTORS OF INTER-

NATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. AS PRINCE METTERNICH DISCOVERED WELL OVER A CENTURY-AND-A-HALF AGO, A EUROPEAN POLITICAL SYSTEM RESTING ONLY A THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE MOST POWERFUL STATES ON THE CONTINENT WAS AN UNWORKABLE PROPOSITION.

AS FOR THE UNITED STATES, WE MUST TAKE CARE NOT TO GROW WEARY WITH MOMENTARY SETBACKS OR WITH THE SEEMING IMPATIENCE WITH WHICH OTHER STATES MAY JUDGE OUR CONDUCT. PERSEVERANCE IS THE LEGACY WHICH WE INHERITED FROM OUR FRONTIER DAYS AND WE SHOULD NOT FORSAKE IT FOR SHORT-TERM SATISFACTION. WE MUST NOT WEAKEN IN OUR RESOLVE TO MAINTAIN PEACE, SHIRK FROM OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES, OR CAPITULATE TO THOSE WHO WOULD JUDGE OUR FOREIGN POLICY OR DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF AN ACTUARIAL TABLE. I AM CONCERNED THAT ALL THE TALK OF A PEACE DIVIDEND IS MERELY A EUPHEMISM FOR OUR DISENGAGEMENT FROM WORLD AFFAIRS, AND THAT, AT PRESENT, THE IMPETUS TO SAVE DOLLARS APPEARS STRONGER THAN OUR SENSE OF NATIONAL MISSION.

THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY AND OUR WAY OF LIFE REQUIRES A FAR MORE ELABORATE CALCULATION THAN A QUARTERLY PROFITS REPORT. THAT CALCULATION INVOLVES NOT ONLY THE CORRELATION OF FORCES, BUT ALSO THE MAINTENANCE OF ESPRIT D'CORPS AMONG OUR ARMED FORCES, A TRUST IN OUR NATION'S LEADERSHIP, A

STRONG COMMITMENT TO BASIC VALUES, A DETERMINED DISPLAY OF THE NATIONAL WILL, AND, IF NEED BE, THE EXERCISE OF MILITARY POWER.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT IN 1990, A GREAT POWER SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES CAN REMAIN ALOOF FROM THE CHANGES WHICH ARE OCCURRING IN EUROPE OR THE CONFLICTS THEY MIGHT SPAWN. NOR IS IT POSSIBLE TO IMAGINE THAT DISENGAGEMENT FROM THE EUROPEAN LANDMASS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT A PRICE. RETREAT, PARTICULARLY PRECIPITOUS RETREAT, ALWAYS HAS ITS PRICE. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, IF NONE OTHER, THAT WE MUST KEEP OUR POWDER DRY, OUR BATTLEMENTS STRONG AND OUR WATCH-TOWERS WELL-LIGHTED.

SHAPING OUR FUTURE MILITARY

CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE DETERRENT FORCE IN A TIME OF AUSTERITY IS A DIFFICULT, AND OFTEN FRUSTRATING CHALLENGE. MUCH OF THE DIFFICULTY STEMS FROM THE FACT THAT WHILE THREAT ASSESSMENTS MAY CHANGE AND PUBLIC OPINION

MAY VARY IN THE EXTREME, THE SUCCESSFUL EMPLOYMENT OF FORCE BY A LAW-ABIDING SOCIETY REQUIRES SUSTAINED AND THOUGHTFUL INVESTMENT.

THIS, I BELIEVE, CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH SUCH MECHANISMS AS STRONGER SERVICE ACCOUNTABILITY, JOINT SERVICE EQUIPMENT PURCHASES, MULTI-MISSION UNITS AND IMPROVED TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE.

I DO NOT FAVOR THE ADOPTION OF A FIVE YEAR DEFENSE BUDGET PLAN WHICH, IF ENACTED BEFORE THE RECENT CHANGES IN EUROPE TEN MONTHS AGO, ALREADY WOULD BE OBSOLETE. IT ALSO WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY RESTRICT CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PROCESS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT WAS GEORGE WASHINGTON WHO ONCE REMARKED TO A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS IN 1790, THAT "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF PRESERVING PEACE." HIS WORDS RING JUST AS TRUE TODAY AS THEY DID WHEN THEY WERE SPOKEN.

I BELIEVE THAT IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE READY TO MEET ANY OF THE CONTINGENCIES WHICH MIGHT ARISE IN THE GENERATION AHEAD, WE MUST NOT WAIVER FROM SEVERAL PRINCIPLES OF SOUND COMBAT WHICH HAVE STOOD THE TEST OF TIME. TO DO ANY LESS, IS TO PROCEED DOWN A TREACHEROUS PATH, ONE WHICH NO WISE MAN WOULD WISH TO TRAVEL AND DOWN WHICH NO FATHER OR MOTHER WOULD WISH TO SEND THEIR SON. IN SUM, I BELIEVE THAT IF WE ARE TO REMAIN A FREE AND UNMOLESTED NATION IN THE YEARS AHEAD --

- O WE MUST RETAIN THE CAPABILITY TO KEEP THE PEACE AND DETER WAR ACROSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF CONFLICT;

- O WE MUST MAINTAIN THE ABILITY TO RESPOND TO MID- AND LOW-INTENSITY CONFLICT IN MULTIPLE THEATERS OF OPERATION AND AT THE TIME AND PLACE OF OUR CHOOSING;

- O WE MUST CONTINUE TO MODERNIZE BOTH OUR TACTICAL AND STRATEGIC AIR AND SEALIFT TO

ENSURE A RAPID AND SUSTAINED POWER PROJECTION CAPABILITY;

- O WE MUST BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND SUPPORT OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES AT TIMES OF CRISIS; AND LASTLY,

- O WE MUST ENSURE THE HIGH QUALITY AND MOTIVATION OF OUR MEN AND WOMEN UNDER ARMS. WE MUST BROADEN PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR OUR MILITARY; WE MUST INSTILL IN EVERY YOUNG PERSON A RESPECT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF OUR ARMED FORCES AND WE MUST BUILD AND NURTURE A BROAD CONSENSUS BEHIND OUR NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

GUIDING OUR MILITARY ENGAGEMENT

AT THE SAME TIME, WE MUST BE COGNIZANT OF THE WAY IN WHICH WE EMPLOY OUR ARMED FORCES. FOR A WELL-RUN MILITARY IS A PRECIOUS RESOURCE WHEN PLACED IN THE SERVICE OF A FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE, WHO RESPECT LIFE AND WHO DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT THE DOCTRINE OF DETERRENCE SHOULD FOREVER GUIDE OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY AND WARFARE SHOULD BE SEEN AS THE OPTION OF LAST RESORT OF THIS GOVERNMENT. AS WE STRUGGLE TO REALIGN OUR DEFENSE BUDGET AND TO BRING NECESSARY ECONOMIES TO OUR FORCE STRUCTURE, I, FOR ONE, WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY FIVE SOLEMN OBJECTIVES.

- O FIRST, PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, WE MUST EMPLOY OUR FORCES WITH THE INTENTION OF ENCOURAGING, WHENEVER AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE, A DIPLOMATIC RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFERENCES;

- O SECOND, IF WAR OCCURS, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE THE ENEMY AS FAR FROM OUR SHORES AS POSSIBLE;

- O THIRD, ONCE AT WAR, WE MUST USE OUR FORCES TO ENCOURAGE A CONCLUSION OF CONFLICT AT THE LOWEST LEVEL OF FIGHTING, WITH THE LEAST COLLATERAL DAMAGE AND IN PROPORTION TO THE THREAT;

- O FOURTH, IN WAR, OUR GOAL MUST BE TO SEEK NOT STALEMATE OR ATTRITION, BUT VICTORY THROUGH DECISIVE MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS;

- O FIFTH, WE MUST ENSURE THE CONCLUSION OF A CONFLICT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND, IF NECESSARY, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO CARRY THE BATTLE TO THE CAPITAL OF THE ENEMY AND IMPOSE, IF NEED BE, A SOLUTION FAVORABLE TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS.

CONCLUSION

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE I AM A MAN OF PEACE. I HAVE KNOWN WAR. CONSEQUENTLY, I HAVE DEVOTED MY PUBLIC CAREER TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. MY FOCUS HAS ALWAYS BEEN ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE WITHIN AN EVOLUTIONARY FRAMEWORK -- TO GIVE PEACE THE SUPPORT IT NEEDS.

IT DOES LITTLE GOOD TO WISH FOR PEACE; WE MUST WORK FOR IT. THAT MEANS TAKING CARE TO ESTABLISH SOUND, CAREFULLY CONCEIVED AGREEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. THEREFORE, BEFORE THE PROCESS OF RETRENCHMENT TAKES HOLD, WE MUST HAVE A COMPLETE AND FUNDAMENTAL REVIEW OF OUR ENTIRE DEFENSE STRATEGY AND DETERMINE WHAT WE REQUIRE TO PROVIDE AND PROTECT THAT FRAMEWORK.

LIKE MY COLLEAGUES I AM COGNIZANT OF THE NEED TO RESTORE THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY. WE MUST, AND WE SHALL, IMPROVE HEALTH CARE, REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S INFRASTRUCTURE, AND ATTEND TO THE NEEDS

OF THE LESS FORTUNATE THROUGH BETTER SCHOOLS, HOUSING, AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS. YET, HAVING SEEN FIRST HAND THE DEVASTATION CAUSED BY A MADMAN LET LOOSE UPON THE EUROPEAN COUNTRYSIDE, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE FIRST DUTY OF GOVERNMENT IS TO PROVIDE FOR THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND THE SECURITY OF ALL OUR CITIZENS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HOPE THAT AS WE MOVE FROM A COLD WAR TO A WARM PEACE, OUR MILITARY WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE HONOR AND THE RESPECT IT DESERVES. FOR IT IS THE SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN OF THIS NATION WHO DESERVE THE CREDIT FOR MAKING THIS GLORIOUS DAY POSSIBLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE IT IS OUR JOB, AS CIVILIAN LEADERS, TO ENSURE THAT THE HERALDING OF PEACE DOES NOT CAUSE US TO BREAK FAITH WITH OUR MILITARY, TO ALLOW THE SOCIAL COMPACT WHICH WE HAVE WITH THOSE IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT TO LANGUISH, AND TO LEAVE THE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE THE FIRST VICTIMS OF THEIR OWN SUCCESS.

THERE IS NO MASKING THE FACT THAT THESE ARE DIFFICULT TIMES FOR OUR MILITARY -- AN INSTITUTION WHICH HAS SERVED US BRAVELY AND HONORABLY OVER THE YEARS AND FOR WHICH WE, AS A NATION, ARE DEEPLY GRATEFUL. IT IS IRONIC THAT THE REDUCTIONS WE MAY BE REQUIRED TO MAKE TO REACH DEFICIT TARGETS WILL FALL MOST HEAVILY ON THOSE WHO HAVE SERVED US WELL.

I HOPE THE YEARS AHEAD WILL PROVE THAT WE HAVE LISTENED TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND HAVE BEEN WISE ENOUGH TO LEARN FROM HIS WARNING THAT "THOSE WHO HAVE LONG ENJOYED SUCH PRIVILEGES AS WE ENJOY FORGET IN TIME THAT MEN HAVE DIED TO WIN THEM."

MR. PRESIDENT, WE HAVE WON A GREAT VICTORY ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY. WE CANNOT ALLOW THE PRIDE WE ALL SHARE IN THAT ACCOMPLISHMENT TO BE DIMINISHED. NOR CAN WE ALLOW FUTURE GENERATIONS TO FORGET THE SUPREME SACRIFICES MADE BY AMERICA'S FATHERS, SONS, AND BROTHERS TOWARD THAT NOBLE END. BECAUSE OF THEIR SERVICE, THE WIND-SWEPT FIELDS OF

EUROPE, FROM FLANDERS TO FRIBRUCKEN, REJOICE IN YET ANOTHER CHANCE FOR PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT, WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE SEPARATED SOVIET AND AMERICAN SOCIETY, DIFFERENCES WHICH GAVE SUBSTANCE AND MEANING TO THE COLD WAR. WE HAVE DIFFERENT CULTURES, DIFFERENT HISTORIES, AND DIFFERENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE. NONE OF THESE DIFFERENCES, I BELIEVE, CONSTITUTES AN IMPENETRABLE OBSTACLE TO BETTER RELATIONS. BUT IT WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE FEARS AND MUTUAL SUSPICIONS OF GENERATIONS ARE OVERCOME AND THE DEMONS WHICH HAUNT THE BOUNDARY LINE FROM STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN THE ADRIATIC ARE FINALLY LAID TO REST.

MR. PRESIDENT, I YIELD THE FLOOR.