

Alliance. This means doing a better job of addressing ourselves to the fears of our publics. It means persuading them that unilateral disarmament would increase rather than reduce the risk of war. It also means convincing them of the basic common sense of their own governments. That is why NATO's readiness to negotiate real and meaningful arms reductions, including deep cuts in tactical and strategic nuclear weapons, is so important.

Where will China fit in the geopolitical equation of the eighties? In the fifties we used to think of the communist world as monolithic and East-West relations as almost Manichaeian. China forced us to revise that calculation. During the last decade its leaders have greatly increased and diversified their experience in world affairs. They will be taking a cautious but critical look at the balance of advantages and disadvantages in their foreign links. But China cannot be taken for granted. The challenge for us will be to devise policies which do not reverse its growing contacts with the West.

And what can Iran, for example, tell us about the challenges ahead? Here was a country that gave every appearance of making giant strides into the twentieth century, and which, as a large oil producer, was more than capable of paying its own way, unlike so many other countries in the Third World. We know today how deceptive much of that picture was. Development, particularly rapid development which does not respect centuries of tradition, no matter how benighted and unprogressive we Westerners may think elements of that tradition are, is likely to lead to social upheaval.

Another lesson we ought to draw from Iran is that we ignore or tolerate gross violations of human rights in other countries at our own peril. While the current government's record is abysmal, the Shah's regime's performance was also poor. I know full well that foreign policy is ultimately based on hard-headed calculations of national interest and that we must make our way in the real world. Relations with a country are not cut off immediately if it falls short of observing, to the letter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. But at some point the violation of human rights abroad has to become part of our calculations. It is after all the West which stands for human rights and freedom.

Central America graphically illustrates one of the most difficult challenges of all facing the Western democracies-- how to accommodate ourselves to social and economic change in the Third World. We simply cannot afford to see every Third World conflict through an East-West prism and, as a consequence, to align ourselves with the forces of reaction, privilege, and inhumanity. This would be inconsistent with our own values and ultimately certain to fail. But we equally cannot ignore communist intervention.