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Director William Casey  
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DIRECTOR WILLIAM CASEY: Thank you, President O'Hara, for that generous introduction.

Honored guests, distinguished faculty, most of all, graduates of the Class of 1984, and your families and friends. I am honored to join you here today at the 121st commencement of this important institution.

I feel more at home here than you might imagine. I come here from a collegiate setting, the Virginia campus of the Central Intelligence Agency, across the broad Potomac from our nation's capital in Washington, D.C.

Contrary to what you may read in spy movies, novels, or seen in James Bond movies, most of our intelligence people spent their time not in bars or seedy hotels, but in interviewing, by consulting, sitting at computers, or working in libraries to gather, evaluate and analyze information. In the American intelligence community, we have scholars and scientists in every discipline of the social and physical sciences, as well as engineers, computer specialists, communication experts. All this in a profusion unmatched by many universities.

We have developed a variety of technical marvels and sophisticated techniques to gather facts and understand relationships in every corner of the Earth and beyond.

A graduation is a time of joy and celebration. You have worked hard to earn the degrees you'll be awarded today, and you and your families are properly proud of what you have achieved. Beyond that, you've earned a chance to grapple with the exciting problems and opportunities out there in the world, a world that has become at the same time more demanding, more potentially rewarding -- who's that guy talking back to me out there? -- more potentially rewarding, increasingly competitive, and ever more challenging; and, to be sure, increasingly dangerous.

I've now served more than three years as the President's principal intelligence adviser, and I've pondered on that experience, wondering what I could say to you today that would be of special interest and value. What I have to say might sound more like an intelligence briefing than a graduation speech, but I want to give you some of the insights and knowledge that have come to me as Director of Central Intelligence. And caught up as you are in the excitement of this day, as you prepare to say farewell to friends and begin a new phase in your lives, you may soon forget what I have to tell you here. But at least you should come away with a feeling of hope. Because if I share with you my concerns about trouble and danger in our world, you should realize that there is an expectation in all of this that you and your fellow college graduates across the country can and will do

something about the problems that face us, and that you will grasp the opportunities opening up before us. And I'm confident today that you will do that.

Indeed, whether or not your careers bring you into the foreign affairs field, each one of you will, I trust, continue after graduation to increase your understanding of the complex interrelated world in which we now live and must function.

We can no longer divide our work or our interests into neatly labeled boxes. We cannot easily separate the private from the public sector, or domestic from international affairs. Our most important problems intertwine and overlap. World events will affect you no matter what path you decide to pursue. And none of you will be insulated from foreign shocks and crises. It is more important now than ever before that each graduate participate in an informed way in the dialogue about how this country can preserve and protect and implement its ideas and values. We need also to consider how each of us can contribute to igniting the interest of less fortunate nations in a society and an economy based on incentives to serve each other and in the benefits and obligations of freely elected representative governments.

And let me now share with you a look at the world which you are entering and which you will help to shape.

The world has fused into one global economic system. Our economy is much more sensitive to international market and financial trends. About 25 percent of the goods produced in the world are traded across national borders. Governments have become economic powers in their own right. Americans must compete in the world marketplace, or our economy, and eventually our national security, will wither away.

The expert, no matter how well-versed in the latest information-processing techniques, who cannot relate his or her expertise to the surrounding world environment will simply not function at full capacity and will not be able to understand the range of planning and decision-making that will in your lifetimes create the opportunities that you will seek and embrace.

What, then, are the major international trends which could change and shape the environment in which you will live?

The Soviet Union still dominates any broad discussion of international affairs, and with good reason. For all its weaknesses, notably its sluggish economy, the Soviet Union, alone, possesses the armed might that has the potential for destroying the United States. But perhaps more worrisome is the continuing Soviet effort to expand the power, influence and

control of communism around the world.

The Soviet Union may be, perhaps, the last genuine empire. Those who rule it, whether Brezhnev, Andropov or Chernenko, have been and are unrelenting in their quest to expand Soviet power and domination; and their geographic expansion of power to all the continents of the world in a mere decade is unprecedented in world history.

In 1961, the then-leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, said the communists would win not through nuclear war, which could destroy the world, or conventional war, which could quickly lead to nuclear war, but through wars of national liberation in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We were reluctant to believe him then, just as, as a nation, we were reluctant to believe Hitler in the 1930s when he spelled out how he would take over Europe.

And during the mid-to-late 1970s, the Soviets unfurled a new strategy to expand its power and influence in the less developed world. And this strategy has worked. In ten years, Soviet power has been established in Vietnam, along China's southern border and astride the sea lanes between -- which bring Japan's oil from the Persian Gulf. In Afghanistan, 500 miles closer to the warm-water ports of the Indian Ocean and to the Straits of Hormuz, through which comes the oil essential to Western Europe. In southern Africa, the source of minerals which the industrial nations must have. And in the Caribbean and Central America, on the very doorstep of the United States.

Now, this astonishing expansion has been accomplished by using proxies and surrogates in peace and in war. The role of these Soviet surrogates is as much political as military. Libyans and East Germans in Africa, Cubans in Latin America, Vietnamese in Asia, all have helped accomplish this expansion of power and influence.

And if history has taught us anything, it is that military strength deters aggression. This means that we cannot slacken in our commitments to a strong national defense, despite its burdens. The alternative is slow economic strangulation, and ultimately political isolation.

Those of you who will seek careers in private industry will have a key responsibility in ensuring that our national defense remains strong. Technical innovation, entrepreneurial drive, and willingness to meet the competition head-on have traditionally been the hallmark of the American business spirit and a fundamental basis of American strength. and if we live up to this tradition, we need not worry about our ability to stand up to our adversaries.

But we have to realize that the Soviets have been quick to take advantage of our technology. In fact, the weapons which confront us, the ability to sustain the enormous Soviet military machine come, in part, because American business and American know-how provide the technological research and development that has helped to fuel and make possible the Soviet military buildup. They've trained thousands of spies and hundreds of dummy corporations to steal our technology. The Soviet military had our plans for our new cargo plane before it flew. The precise gyros and bearings in their latest generation of missiles were designed here. Their space shuttle is a virtual copy of our first design. And the list goes on and on.

They comb through our open literature, buy through legal trade channels, religiously attend our scientific and technological conferences, and send students over here to study science most relevant and critical to military sophistication and precision.

The West needs to organize to protect itself, and this will take the combined efforts of both business and government. The businesses in which you will work will be our first line of defense. Industrial security measures need to be strengthened to protect our nation's most valuable asset -- our own ability to innovate and our own brainpower -- to protect us from it being used against us.

Whether you seek a career in the private sector or, as I hope, some of you decide to join us in government, you must be aware that today's world is far from benign. And this affects all of us. Perhaps the most insidious manifestation of this is international terrorism. As practiced today, terrorism virtually obliterates the distinction between peace and war. We count over 50 major terrorist organizations, and a great many more sort of mom-and-pop shops, which can be hired by Iran, by Syria, by Libya, and other governments which practice terrorism as an instrument of foreign policy.

The U.S. Government and the intelligence community are taking strong measures to deal with terrorism, but it is something we'll all have to live with and must defend against for some time because American citizens are often the targets, and American installations and embassies around the world the targets, of terrorist activity.

Also, we face tough economic competition around the world. Japan is, of course, already a formidable business competitor, and will become even more so in the computer and robotics field. Leading Japanese firms are developing and will soon market large-scale scientific computer systems, the super-computer. They've also put us on notice they're intent

on capturing a share of the U.S. personal computer market. While the increasing number of cooperative agreements between Japanese and U.S. companies is dramatically altering the structure of the world computer industry.

Japanese firms are also installing industrial robots four to five times faster than their United States counterparts, and plan to export a growing share of this production.

There is more at stake than the sale of robots, since robots are often sold as part of a complete manufacturing system. And these complete systems can be worth 10 to 20 times the value of the robots alone, and can produce a decisive economic advantage that would be most harmful in the long run to our standard of living and our economic interests.

I outline these challenges rather quickly not to give you a feeling of despair, but rather to show you something about the worlds that are out there for you to conquer. And there are good reasons to be optimistic. Remember that this country and its people have many strengths. The United States enjoys enormous respect and envy around the world, even from our adversaries.

During the 1960s, the early 1970s, and indeed even today, there are those who say that the United States has lost its way in the world, that we no longer can influence or control important forces that will affect our future. Do not heet these voices.

True, we need to use our power, our economic and political influence judiciously. And in this large world, there are some events that are outside of our control. But our national resources, the creativity of our people, and particularly our values assure us enormous influence around the world and continued control over our national destiny. In that, you can take approach you future -- with that conviction, you can approach your future with pride and confidence.

Despite what appears to be a string of successes, over the longer term our major adversary has a few things to worry about. Within its own borders, the Soviets have some serious economic problems. It faces the growth of ethnic minorities seeking to retain their own heritage and traditions. And the export of the Soviet system has not been a great success. Without exception, the economic record of the countries that have come under Soviet domination has ranged from poor to very poor. Economic progress has been far greater in the free areas of Asia, Latin America and Africa than in those which have been subject to the Soviet or Cuban style of socialism.

American initiative, enterprise and skills are our greatest international assets. And we must find a way to mobilize and use this great advantage, particularly among the poorer nations of the world, where the Soviet challenge is immediate and threatening. All that is needed for Soviet expansionism to succeed is for the United States to do nothing, to simply acquiesce through inaction and holding back the kind of support that we can provide. We can't back away from the Soviet challenge in the Third World. But neither we nor the Soviets can offer unlimited, or even large-scale, economic assistance to the less developed countries. Investment is the key to success there. And we, our NATO allies, and Japan have a superior ability to promote and develop investments and support it with know-how, skill, and technological capability.

Another vital strength we possess is our heritage, our political values: our democratic traditions, our freedoms. Human beings in incredible numbers are risking their lives every day in desperate attempts to escape dictatorship. Over two million Vietnamese risked their lives for a chance to come here or to other democracies. A hundred and fifty thousand perished at sea in small boats in the attempt to escape reeducation camps and other devices of totalitarian government. Almost four million Afghans have fled their country over the last four years. That's 25 percent of the entire nation. And we can remember the Haitians, the Ethiopians, the Cubans, and most recently, in Central America, the 10,000 to 15,000 Miskito Indians who had to flee their country into Honduras and other directions.

This flight is testimony to the emptiness of dictatorship and the continuing allure of freedom. Thus, we must foster around the world the infrastructure of democracy: the system of free press, free unions, political parties, and free universities, which allow a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, and to reconcile their differences through peaceful means.

This is your challenge, as your country's future leaders in business and government, in education and in the professions: to know and understand world affairs and history, not just for your own benefit, for your company's benefit, but also for the benefit of our nation as a whole. We must have a common understanding and appreciation of the values that make up our heritage. And you've acquired for that at this institution, and you have an opportunity to expand and develop that throughout your lives. And it's important that you do so.

You are embarking on an exciting, though not always an easy, future. Dealing with the world realistically does not mean you can not or should not have high hopes. As Thomas Wolfe wrote in his novel Of Time and the River, "It is a fabulous country,

the only fabulous country. The one where miracles not only happen, but they happen all the time."

Lofty goals, hard work, and enthusiasm still count. Remember your political heritage and the values imparted to you by your families and at this college. With perseverance and devotion to duty, you too will pass on the baton so that the opportunities and the freedoms that stand before you, and you will enjoy, will also be enjoyed by those that follow you.

Finally, I extend again my personal congratulations to you, the graduates of 1984, and to your families.

Thank you.