

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE THE

COUNCIL OF AMERICAN AMBASSADORS

THURSDAY, 3 APRIL 1986  
9:30 A.M.

ROOM 1A 07, CIA HEADQUARTERS BUILDING

I AM HAPPY TO WELCOME YOU, MANY OF YOU OLD FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES, TO OUR HEADQUARTERS TODAY. WE DON'T HAVE MUCH TO SHOW. IN THIS BUILDING ARE PEOPLE AND THE OFFICES IN WHICH THEY WORK. THEY APPLY PHOTOGRAPHY, ELECTRONICS, ACOUSTICS, CHEMICAL AND OTHER PHYSICAL PRINCIPLES AND OTHER TECHNICAL MARVELS TO GATHER AND ANALYZE FACTS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD. OUR TASK IS TO MOBILIZE AND USE THE BEST BRAINS WE CAN FIND IN ACADEMIA AND PRIVATE BUSINESS AS WELL AS IN THIS BUILDING AND ELSEWHERE IN GOVERNMENT TO PRODUCE FOR OUR NATIONAL DECISIONMAKERS THE BEST INTELLIGENCE IN THE WORLD. WE PLAN TO SHARE SOME OF OUR OWN PERCEPTIONS WITH YOU TODAY.

FIRST, ABOUT THE PEOPLE HERE. THEY HAVE SURVIVED ONE OF THE MOST RIGOROUS SCREENING PROCESSES KNOWN TO MAN -- THE HIGHEST SKILL REQUIREMENTS, THE TOUGHEST INTELLIGENCE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTING, CLOSE MEDICAL SCRUTINY, SECURITY CLEARANCES WITH BACKGROUND INVESTIGATIONS GOING BACK FIFTEEN YEARS, AND DETAILED POLYGRAPHS. THE ONES WHO GET THROUGH THIS OBSTACLE COURSE ARE SMART, CLEAN OF DRUG AND ALCOHOL ADDICTION, HEALTHY, AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY ABLE TO COPE.

LAST YEAR WE HAD ABOUT 150,000 INQUIRIES FOR EMPLOYMENT; WE SELECTED SOME 23,000 APPLICANTS FOR INTERVIEWS; OF THOSE, SOME 13,000 WERE ACTUALLY CONSIDERED FOR EMPLOYMENT. ABOUT 7,000 WERE GIVEN ALL THE TESTS. OF THOSE, LESS THAN 2,000 -- A LITTLE MORE THAN 1 PERCENT -- MADE IT THROUGH THE ENTIRE SCREENING PROCESS AND ENTERED ON DUTY.

A QUARTER OF A CENTURY AGO, WE BASICALLY FOLLOWED ONLY THE SOVIET POLITICAL AND MILITARY THREAT TO WESTERN EUROPE, THE FAR EAST AND NORTH AMERICA. WE STILL DO. BUT TODAY, OUR NATIONAL POLICYMAKERS ARE INCREASINGLY CONFRONTED BY COMPLEX ECONOMIC, SOCIOLOGICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROBLEMS THAT ALSO AFFECT OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

THE PACE OF CHANGE IS ACCELERATING; CHALLENGES TO OUR SECURITY AND WELL BEING ARE MULTIPLYING; OPPORTUNITIES TO PROMOTE OUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND TO HELP OTHERS SHARE OUR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY ARE INCREASING. THE CONTRIBUTION OF INTELLIGENCE IN DISCERNING AND EXPLAINING THESE DEVELOPMENTS IS BECOMING MORE VITAL.

WE ARE ENTERING AN ERA WHEN DEMANDS ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ARE REACHING BEYOND TRADITIONAL AREAS INTO NEW WORLDS INCLUDING TERRORISM, NARCOTICS, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, OUR INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS.

THE RANGE OF OUR WORK GROWS CONSTANTLY MORE EXTENSIVE. WE HAVE OVER 500 PH.D.s HERE AT LANGLEY AND AT LEAST FOUR TIMES THAT NUMBER WHO HOLD MAS OR OTHER ADVANCED DEGREES. OUR WORK HAS BECOME SO FAR REACHING THAT WE NOW MUST HAVE SPECIALISTS IN MORE THAN 60 DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES.

STILL, FIRST PRIORITY MUST GO TO THE STRATEGIC BALANCE BETWEEN THE SOVIET BLOC AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND THE NEW DIMENSIONS IT HAS TAKEN ON.

FROM THE BEGINNING, THE SOVIETS HAD DOMINANCE IN LAND WARFARE. THIS WAS COUNTERED BY OUR SUPERIORITY IN STRATEGIC FORCES. BY 1980, THE SOVIET STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES HAD CAUGHT UP AND, IN MANY KEY AREAS, SURPASSED OURS. EVER SINCE 1980, THE UNITED STATES HAS ACTED TO MODERNIZE ITS STRATEGIC FORCES; THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN DOING MORE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS ARE NOW PROTECTING THEIR LAND MISSILE FORCE BY MAKING MUCH OF IT MOBILE, WHEREAS THE U.S. MOBILE ICBM WILL NOT BE DEPLOYED UNTIL THE 1990s.

PERHAPS MOST ALARMING, THE SOVIETS HAVE INVESTED BETWEEN 15 AND 20 YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THEIR STRATEGIC DEFENSES AND HAVE BUILT A MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AROUND MOSCOW. WE ONLY NOW ARE BEGINNING TO EXPLORE MISSILE DEFENSE.

EVEN AT A TIME OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY AND A REORDERING OF DOMESTIC PRIORITIES, SOVIET MILITARY PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN PROTECTED. DESPITE OUR OWN INCREASES IN DEFENSE SPENDING OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS ONLY RECENTLY BEGUN TO CATCH UP WITH SOVIET WEAPONS ACQUISITION PROGRAMS.

NOW, THIS HUGE MILITARY FORCE MAY NEVER BE USED AGAINST US. THE LARGER THREAT MAY LIE ELSEWHERE. THE SOVIETS' MASSIVE NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES MAY BE ONLY A SHIELD TO MAKE IT EASIER AND LESS RISKY FOR THE SOVIETS TO INTIMIDATE WEAKER GOVERNMENTS AND TO GOBBLE UP PIECES OF TERRITORY AROUND THE GLOBE.

THE SOVIETS HAVE ACQUIRED BRIDGEHEADS IN CUBA AND VIETNAM, AND CLIENT STATES IN SOUTH YEMEN, ETHIOPIA, ANGOLA, KAMPUCHEA, NICARAGUA, AND AFGHANISTAN. SINCE COMING TO POWER A YEAR AGO, SOVIET PARTY LEADER GORBACHEV HAS MOVED STRONGLY TO STRENGTHEN THE SOVIET HOLD ON THESE COUNTRIES WHICH ARE LOCATED EITHER NEAR STRATEGIC CHOKES POINTS OR IN AREAS OF ALMOST CERTAIN REGIONAL CONFLICT. THEY ARE BEING LINKED, MOREOVER, IN A GROWING LOGISTIC AND MUTUAL SUPPORT NETWORK THAT DEPENDS ON EXPANDING SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR POWER.

TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIET POSITION IN THE CARIBBEAN. THE SOVIETS HAVE CREATED IN CUBA THE STRONGEST MILITARY FORCE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF OUR OWN. OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS THEY HAVE GIVEN CUBA MASSIVE INFUSIONS OF MILITARY HARDWARE. THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES HAVE AT THEIR OWN MILITARY BASES IN CUBA 4,500 SOVIET TROOPS AND ADVISORS.

TODAY, WE HAVE AN EXTENSION OF THIS BASE ON THE AMERICAN MAINLAND IN NICARAGUA. EVEN NOW, CUBAN CONSTRUCTION CREWS ARE COMPLETING, OUTSIDE MANAGUA, THE LARGEST MILITARY AIRBASE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. WHEN THE NEW FIELD IS OPERATIONAL, THE SOVIETS WILL BE ABLE TO FLY FROM THE SOVIET HOMELAND TO NICARAGUA, REFUEL THERE, AND CONTINUE BY WAY OF THE PACIFIC TO AIR BASES IN THE SOVIET FAR EAST.

SIMILAR LINKS AND COMPONENTS OF THIS NETWORK HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AROUND THE GLOBE. FROM ANGOLA, SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR FORCES NOW ROUTINELY OPERATE ASTRIDE WESTERN SHIPPING LANES IN THE ATLANTIC.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEGMENT OF THIS SOVIET GLOBAL NETWORK, WITH 6,000 SOVIET BLOC ADVISORS, IS ANCHORED AT LIBYA AND SYRIA, WHICH ARE GAINING CONTROL IN LEBANON AND SUDAN TO FURTHER SQUEEZE ISRAEL AND MODERATE ARABS.

SIMILARLY, THIS NETWORK THREATENS WESTERN SEA LANES IN THE RED SEA, ARABIAN SEA, AND INDIAN OCEAN FROM BASES IN ETHIOPIA AND SOUTH YEMEN.

FINALLY, SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR FORCES OPERATING OUT OF OUR FORMER BASES AT CAM RANH BAY AND DA NANG IN VIETNAM COMMAND THE VITAL SEA LANES LINKING JAPAN, TAIWAN AND SOUTH KOREA WITH MIDDLE EAST OIL SUPPLIES AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN ALLIES.

THESE BRIDGEHEADS ARE BEING USED TO SPREAD SUBVERSION, TERROR, AND DESTABILIZATION, AND SPAWN NEW BRIDGEHEADS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. FROM NICARAGUA, TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION ARE BEING EXPORTED THROUGHOUT CENTRAL AMERICA AND INTO CHILE, COLOMBIA AND ELSEWHERE IN LATIN AMERICA. FROM LIBYA, THERE IS INVASION OF CHAD, ATTEMPTS AT DESTABILIZING GOVERNMENTS IN EGYPT AND TUNISIA, ZAIRE AND SUDAN, AND SUBVERSION THROUGHOUT WEST AFRICA. FROM ANGOLA, THERE ARE INTRUSIONS INTO ZAIRE. FROM SOVIET-OCCUPIED AFGHANISTAN, THERE HAVE BEEN ARMED INTRUSIONS INTO PAKISTAN AND OCCASIONALLY EVEN IRAN. SINCE 1964, NORTH KOREA HAS BEEN DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SUBVERSION AND TERRORISM IN AT LEAST TWENTY-EIGHT COUNTRIES.

DURING THE 1960s AND 1970s, PEOPLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WERE FLOCKING TO JOIN COMMUNIST INSURGENCIES. IN THE 1980s, THIS TREND HAS REVERSED.

TODAY, SOME HALF MILLION PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD ARE FIGHTING IN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS AGAINST COMMUNIST REGIMES OR COMMUNIST OCCUPATION. AFGHANISTAN IS VIRTUALLY A NATION-IN-ARMS FIGHTING AGAINST 120,000 SOVIET OCCUPATION TROOPS. IN ANGOLA, SAVIMBI HAS SOME 60,000 FIGHTERS IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY BATTLING THE CUBANS, MARXIST ANGOLANS, AND SOVIET ADVISORS. IN ETHIOPIA, ERITREAN AND TIGREAN REBELS FIGHT THE MARXIST MENGISTU GOVERNMENT AND THE LARGEST ARMY IN AFRICA WITH ITS CUBAN AND SOVIET ADVISORS. IN KAMPUCHEA, 50,000 INSURGENTS STRUGGLE BITTERLY WITH 170,000 OCCUPYING VIETNAMESE SOLDIERS. IN MARXIST NICARAGUA, 20,000 RESISTANCE FIGHTERS--MOST OF THEM CAMPESINOS DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES BY THE REGIME--ARE HOLDING THEIR OWN AGAINST 120,000 SANDINISTA TROOPS AND MILITIA ARMED WITH THE LATEST SOVIET ASSAULT HELICOPTERS AND TANKS.

THE PENDULUM OF HISTORY HAS SWUNG AWAY FROM SOVIET MARXISM AS A MODEL FOR COUNTRIES IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND LATIN AMERICA, AND TOWARD THE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY AND A FREE MARKET ECONOMY. IN LATIN AMERICA, FOR EXAMPLE, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, URUGUAY, VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, PERU, COLOMBIA, PANAMA, COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, HONDURAS AND GUATEMALA ARE ALL FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACIES. IN EIGHT OF THESE TWELVE COUNTRIES, DEMOCRACY HAD BEEN RESTORED IN JUST THE PAST SIX YEARS.

JUST THIS YEAR, ONE-MAN RULE IN HAITI AND THE PHILIPPINES HAS BEEN REPLACED BY GOVERNMENTS COMMITTED TO A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE. NOW WE MUST HELP HAITI RESIST CUBAN SUBVERSION AND THE AQUINO GOVERNMENT DEAL WITH A SAGGING ECONOMY AND COMMUNIST INSURGENCY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THERE IS, THEN, A "WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY" RIGHT NOW FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY TO ADVANCE IN THE WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION HAS OVEREXPANDED AND IS ON THE DEFENSIVE. IT CANNOT SUPPORT ITS EMPIRE ECONOMICALLY. FOR EVERY COUNTRY THAT HAS EMBRACED IT, SOVIET MARXISM HAS BECOME A ONE-WAY TICKET TO OPPRESSION AND POVERTY.

THE SOVIETS AND THEIR FRIENDS HAVE DISCOVERED IN TERRORISM A LOW-COST, LOW-RISK MEANS OF ATTACKING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND LATIN AMERICA.

THE MAJOR TERRORIST STRIKES WE'VE SEEN HAVE TWO COMMON THREADS:

1. THE ATTACKS WERE DIRECTED AGAINST WESTERN (OR PRO-WESTERN) TARGETS.
2. THE MAJOR TERRORIST STRIKES INVOLVED AN ELABORATE SUPPORT APPARATUS, AND MAIN CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS INFRASTRUCTURE INCLUDE BULGARIA, CUBA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EAST GERMANY, LIBYA, NICARAGUA, NORTH KOREA, IRAN AND SYRIA.

TERRORISM TODAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE APPARATUS OF SOME STATES. ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT TASKS FOR INTELLIGENCE IN THE YEARS AHEAD WILL BE TO PENETRATE THE SMALL, FANATICAL GROUPS WHICH CARRY OUT THE CRIMINAL ACTS OF MURDER, ROBBERY, BOMBING AND KIDNAPPING.

THERE ARE OTHER ASPECTS OF THE HUGE TROUBLEMAKING APPARATUS WE TRY TO KEEP TRACK OF OUT THERE: THE ARMS SMUGGLERS WHO PROVIDE WEAPONS TO TERRORISTS AND INSURGENTS AROUND THE WORLD; THE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS WHO INCREASINGLY FUND TERRORISM AND SUBVERSION; THE TECHNOLOGY THIEVES AND THEIR HUNDREDS OF DUMMY CORPORATIONS SET UP AROUND THE WORLD FOR THIS PURPOSE; THE PROVIDERS OF NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL KNOW-HOW AND COMPONENTS WHO FEED A GROWING PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS; THE HUGE ESPIONAGE AND PROPAGANDA APPARATUS THE SOVIETS, CUBA, AND WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES MAINTAIN.

THESE THREATS MOVE SILENTLY ACROSS BORDERS AND AROUND THE WORLD. WE ARE THE ONLY WORLDWIDE SERVICE ABLE TO WORK WITH THE SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES OF OTHER FREE COUNTRIES TO CONSTITUTE A WORLDWIDE NETWORK TO COUNTER THIS MOVEMENT OF CAR BOMBS AND SECRETS, OF TECHNOLOGY AND GUNS, AND OF NARCOTICS AND NUCLEAR AND CHEMICAL CAPABILITIES ACROSS INTERNATIONAL BORDERS.

THERE IS NO WAY WE COULD COVER THESE WORLDWIDE THREATS BY OURSELVES. BUT IN UNITY AND COOPERATION THERE IS STRENGTH AND, AS THE MAJOR TARGET OF MUCH OF THIS ACTIVITY, WHETHER AT HOME OR ABROAD, WE NEED AND CONSTANTLY CULTIVATE THAT COOPERATION AND STRENGTH.

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