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NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER

Once again, Casey outlining the challenges of a new era. Here, he exhorts young people to reach for excellence. "Lofty goals, hard work, and enthusiasm still matter. . . . With perseverance and devo-

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tion to duty, you too will pass on the baton so that the opportunities and freedom you enjoy will be enjoyed by those who follow."

I feel more at home here than you might imagine. I came here from the collegiate setting of the Virginia campus of the Central Intelligence Agency where we are separated from Washington by the broad Potomac. Contrary to what you may have read in spy novels or seen in James Bond movies, most of our people spend their time not in bars or seedy hotels but in interviewing and consulting, sitting at computers or working in libraries to gather, evaluate, and analyze information. We have scholars and scientists in every discipline of the social and physical sciences — as well as engineers, computer specialists and communications experts — in a profusion unmatched by any university. We have developed a variety of technical marvels and sophisticated techniques to gather and interpret facts and relationships from every corner of the earth and beyond.

Graduating is a time of joy and celebration. You have worked hard to earn the degrees you will be awarded today, and you and your families are properly proud of that achievement.

Indeed, whether or not your future 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.

We can no longer divide our work, 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 overlap. World events will affect you, no matter what path you decide to pursue; 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 should protect its ideals and values. We should also consider how each of us can contribute to igniting the interest of less fortunate nations, within an economy based on incentives and the benefits and obligations of freely elected representative government. Let me now share with you a look at the world 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 the international market and financial trends. About 25 percent of goods produced in the world are traded across na-

tional borders. Governments have become economic powers in their own right. American businesses must compete in the world marketplace or our economy, and eventually our national security, will wither. The expert who is well-versed in the latest information processing techniques but 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 create opportunities and affect our lives.

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, especially 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.

I believe that the Soviet Union is perhaps the last genuine empire. The men in the Kremlin — whether Andropov or Chernenko — are unrelenting in their quest to expand Soviet power and domination. Moscow's geographic expansion of power to all the continents of the world in a mere decade is unprecedented.

In 1961, Nikita Khrushchev said that communism 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 we were reluctant to believe Hitler in the 1930s when he said he would take over Europe.

During the mid to late 1970s, the Soviet Union unfurled a new strategy to expand its power and influence in the Third World. And the strategy has worked. Soviet power has been established:

- ♦ In Vietnam along China's southern border and astride the sea lanes which bring Japan's oil from the Persian Gulf.
- ♦ In Afghanistan, 500 miles closer to the warm water ports of the Indian Ocean and to the Straits of Hormuz through which comes the oil essential to Western Europe.
- ♦ In Southern Africa, rich in minerals, which the industrial nations must have.

♦ And in the Caribbean and Central America on the very doorstep of the United States.

The Soviets have accomplished this astonishing expansion by using proxies and surrogates, in peace and in war. The role of these Soviet surrogates is as much political as military. East Germans in Africa, Cubans in Latin America, Vietnamese in Asia all have helped carry the Soviet banner.

If history has taught us anything it is that military strength deters aggression. This means that we cannot slacken in our commitment to a strong national defense despite its burdens. The alternative is slow economic strangulation and 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. Technological innovation, entrepreneurial drive, and willingness to meet the competition head-on have traditionally been the hallmark of the American business spirit. 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 Soviet Union is able to sustain its enormous military machine in part because American business, and American know-how provide the technological research and development that helps fuel the Soviet military buildup. They trained thousands of spies and hundreds of dummy corporations to steal our technology. The Soviet military had our plans for the C-5A *Galaxy* plane before it flew. The precise gyros and bearings in their latest generation of ICBMs were designed by us. Their space shuttle is a virtual copy of our first design. And the list goes on and on.

They comb through our open literature, religiously attend our scientific and technological conferences, and send students over here to study.

The West must 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 commodity —our own innovations and brainpower — from 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 the world today is far from benign. As one writer has put it, there is an "anarchic reality" to international relations, and it affects all of us. Perhaps the most insidious manifestation of this sort of anarchy is international terrorism. As practiced today, terrorism obliterates the distinction between peace and war. We count over fifty major terrorist organizations and a great many more "mom and pop shops" which can be hired by Iran, Syria, Libya, and other radical governments. The U.S. government and the intelligence community are taking strong measures to deal with terrorism but it is something we all will have to live with and must defend against because U.S. citizens are often the targets of terrorist groups.

Over the longer term, however, the challenge to America may well lie in the rapid pace at which technological change is taking place in various parts of the world. American business is being challenged by newly industrializing countries such as Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Brazil. Such countries are aggressively reshaping their industries from producing simple, labor-intensive goods to new, high-growth, technology products such as telecommunications equipment, small computers, and machine tools. Lower labor costs and government subsidization of manufacturing will make them tough market competitors.

Irregular rates of growth in technology will contribute to economic strains with key U.S. allies, and may actually slow economic growth in some Third World countries. The spread of technology will make it easier for more countries to produce sophisticated weapons, but can also reduce the real value of some commodity products and reduce the value of the currencies and savings in countries that lag behind. Thus, your success and skill and efficiency in the future can mean a lot to the nation and all its people.

We face tough competition around the world. Japan Inc. 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 "supercomputers."

The Japanese have also put us on notice that they are intent on capturing a share of the U.S. personal computer market, while the increasing number of cooperative agreements between Japanese and U.S. com-

panies is altering dramatically the structure of the world computer industry.

Japanese firms are also installing industrial robots four to five times faster than their U.S. counterparts and plan to export a growing share of their production. There is more at stake than the sale of robots since robots are often sold as part of complete manufacturing systems. These complete systems can be worth ten to twenty times the value of the robots alone.

I outlined these challenges 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 some 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 heed these voices. True, we need to use our military power and our economic and political influence judiciously and some events are outside our control. But our natural resources, our size, the creativity of our people, and particularly our values give us enormous influence around the world and control over our national destiny. In that you may take great pride.

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, and must face the growth of ethnic minorities that want to retain their heritage and traditions. And the export of the Soviet system has not been without some drawbacks. Without exception, the economic record of the countries which 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 that have been subject to the Soviet or Cuban style of socialism.

I believe American business is one of our greatest international assets. And we must find a way to mobilize and use this great advantage particularly in the Third World where the Soviet challenge is immediate and threatening. All that is needed for Soviet expansionism to succeed is for the U.S. to do nothing - to simply acquiesce through inaction.

We cannot 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 in the Third World and we, our NATO allies, and Japan have superior ability to promote investment and support it with knowhow.

Another vital strength we possess is our heritage of 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 —150,000 perished in the attempt. Almost four million Afghans have fled their country; at least 150,000 have been killed or wounded; and remember the Haitians, Ethiopians, Cubans, and more recently, in Central America, the 10,000 to 15,000 Miskito Indians who have had to flee into Honduras. Their flight is testimony to the emptiness of dictatorship and the continuing allure of freedom. Thus, we must foster in the Third World the infrastructure of democracy, the system of free press, unions, political parties, and universities, which allow a people to choose its own way, to develop its own culture, and to reconcile its own differences through peaceful means.

It is your challenge, as this country's future leaders in business and government, in education and the professions, to know and understand world affairs and history, not just for your personal benefit or your company's, but also for the benefit of this nation as a whole. You are embarking on an exciting —though not always an easy —future. Dealing with the world realistically does not mean you cannot or should not have high hopes. As Thomas Wolfe wrote in his novel, Of Time and the River: "It's 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 matter. Remember your political heritage and the values imparted to you by your families and this college. With perseverance and devotion to duty, you too will pass on the baton so that the opportunities and freedoms you enjoy will be enjoyed by those who follow.