

REMARKS  
BY  
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BEFORE THE  
FEDERALIST SOCIETY FOR LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY  
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THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS HAVE RAISED ANEW QUESTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT SECRET OPERATIONS AND WHETHER SUCH ACTIVITY IS APPROPRIATE IN A DEMOCRACY SUCH AS OURS. WHAT WE'VE LEARNED--AND WHAT I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY--ARE THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE USE OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE CANNOT ONLY BE VERY APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY BUT A VITALLY IMPORTANT PART OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. I THINK THAT WHAT I HAVE TO SAY FITS INTO A CONSIDERATION OF THE ROLE OF THE BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT TO FOREIGN POLICY, BECAUSE MUCH OF WHAT WE DO DEALS WITH THE GATHERING OF INFORMATION UPON WHICH POLICYMAKERS CAN MAKE WISE DECISIONS IN THAT AREA, AND THEN IN SPECIFIC CASES TAKING ACTION TO IMPLEMENT THAT FOREIGN POLICY, NOT CIA FOREIGN POLICY, BUT THAT FOREIGN POLICY.

NOT LONG AGO SOMEBODY GAVE ME A LAPEL BUTTON WHICH READS, "MY JOB IS SO SECRET THAT EVEN I DON'T KNOW WHAT I AM DOING." THERE MAY BE SOME CORRELATION BETWEEN THAT STATEMENT AND HOW WE FEEL ABOUT SECRECY. IT CONJURES UP IMAGES OF ORWELLIAN INTRUSION BY GOVERNMENT, OF CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES THAT PUT AT

RISK OUR MOST CHERISHED INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, OF MISTAKES AND BLUNDERS  
CONCEALED WITHIN DOCUMENTS CLASSIFIED AS SECRET OR "EYES ONLY."

THERE IS, OF COURSE, AN HISTORICAL BASIS FOR ALL OF THESE CONCERNS,  
INCLUDING SOME VERY RECENT HISTORY. BUT THAT IS NOT MY REAL PURPOSE IN  
SPEAKING TO YOU TODAY. RATHER, I PROPOSE TO TALK ABOUT THE COLLECTION OF  
INTELLIGENCE AT HOME AND ABROAD AND HOW OUR CONSTITUTION, WITHOUT A SINGLE  
REFERENCE TO INTELLIGENCE, HAS ACCOMMODATED THIS FUNCTION SO VITAL TO OUR  
NATIONAL SECURITY, AND HAS INSPIRED A SYSTEM OF OVERSIGHT THROUGH THE  
SEPARATION OF POWERS.

TAKING A LEAF OR TWO FROM MY EXPERIENCES ON THE FEDERAL BENCH AND AS  
DIRECTOR OF THE FBI, I CONDUCT MY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WITH TWO DEEPLY HELD  
CARDINAL THESES: FIRST, THAT THE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES VITAL TO THE  
PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY MUST BE CONDUCTED  
PROFESSIONALLY, OBJECTIVELY, AND LAWFULLY, WITH ABSOLUTE FIDELITY TO OUR  
CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR LAWS. AND, SECOND, THERE MUST BE A TRUSTWORTHY SYSTEM

OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY WHICH BUILDS, RATHER THAN ERODES, TRUST BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE RESPONSIBILITY AND THOSE WHO ACT AS SURROGATES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

INTELLIGENCE HAS ALWAYS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN OUR HISTORY AND IS AT LEAST AS OLD AS OUR CONSTITUTION. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, MALCOLM FORBES GAVE BILL CASEY AND ME A COPY OF A LETTER FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON WRITTEN IN 1779 TO MAJOR TALLMADGE, IN WHICH HE OUTLINED SOME OF HIS THOUGHTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR, AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF, GOOD INTELLIGENCE WORK. AND I AM ALSO REMINDED THAT IN 1777, WASHINGTON WROTE TO COLONEL ELIAS DAYTON DISCUSSING THE NEED FOR INTELLIGENCE IN THESE WORDS: HE WROTE "THE NECESSITY OF PROCURING GOOD INTELLIGENCE IS APPARENT AND NEED NOT BE FURTHER URGED. ALL THAT REMAINS FOR ME TO ADD IS THAT YOU KEEP THE WHOLE MATTER AS SECRET AS POSSIBLE. FOR UPON SECRECY, SUCCESS DEPENDS IN MOST ENTERPRISES OF THIS KIND, AND FOR WANT OF IT THEY ARE GENERALLY DEFEATED." IN 1789, SECRET FUNDING FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WAS FORMALIZED BY CONGRESS IN THE FORM OF A SECRET CONTINGENCY FUND FOR USE BY THE PRESIDENT.

TODAY OUR GOVERNMENT DEPENDS HEAVILY UPON ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE:  
INTELLIGENCE TO FORMULATE AND CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY, INTELLIGENCE TO  
VERIFY THE ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT WE HAVE MADE AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT  
WE COULD VERIFY THE ARMS AGREEMENTS THAT MAY BE SIGNED IN THE FUTURE, AND  
INTELLIGENCE TO UNDERSTAND BOTH THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND THE INTENTIONS  
OF OUR ADVERSARIES. AND MORE RECENTLY TO DEAL WITH THE TWIN SCOURGES OF  
NARCOTICS AND TERRORISM. OUR PRIMARY CONSUMERS TODAY ARE THE PRESIDENT, THE  
VICE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARIES OF STATE, DEFENSE, TREASURY, THE NATIONAL  
SECURITY COUNCIL, AND OF COURSE, THE SELECT COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE AND THE  
HOUSE.

WE LEARN AT GREAT COSTS THAT INTELLIGENCE MUST BE TIMELY. IN JULY, I  
SPENT A DAY IN NORAD IN CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN IN COLORADO SPRINGS, WHICH IS ONE OF  
THE PRINCIPLE EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. A DAY THERE  
CAN'T HELP BUT MAKE ONE AWARE OF HOW IMPORTANT IS EARLY AND ACCURATE  
INTELLIGENCE FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE.

JUST LAST WEEK I WAS AT SAC (STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND) IN OMAHA, WHERE THE SAME MESSAGE CAME THROUGH LOUD AND CLEAR. MUCH TIME HAS PASSED SINCE OUR CONSTITUTION WAS FORMED AND NOW IN TERMS OF SURVIVAL WARNINGS, WE THINK IN TERMS OF MINUTES RATHER THAN IN MONTHS AND IN YEARS.

A VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST, WITH A VIEW OF THE EAST AND WEST BANK AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND ALL THE ARMAMENT ASSEMBLED THERE, BORDERS OF ISRAEL, JORDAN AND SYRIA, IMPRESS UPON ME THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR UNDERSTANDING AND GATHERING RELIABLE AND TIMELY INTELLIGENCE, AND THE SAME IS TRUE OF COURSE IN THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

THE FORMS OF INTELLIGENCE VARY FROM THE HUMAN INTELLIGENCE THAT WE ARE ALL AWARE OF--CLANDESTINE INTELLIGENCE AND THE GATHERING OF PUBLIC SOURCE INFORMATION AROUND THE WORLD--TO SIGNALS AND COMMUNICATIONS INTELLIGENCE AND IMAGERY INTELLIGENCE, SOME OF WHICH INVOLVES SATELLITES WHERE A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF OUR BUDGET IS SPENT.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT INFORMATION THAT IS COLLECTED BE DEVELOPED IN AN OBJECTIVE WAY--THAT THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND THE PEOPLE WHO ANALYZE THE INFORMATION CAN BE SEEN AS GIVING OUR BEST ESTIMATES, NOT TO "COOK THE BOOKS" OR TO SHAPE OR INFLUENCE POLICY, BUT TO PROVIDE POLICYMAKERS WITH THE KIND OF INFORMATION THAT THEY NEED TO MAKE THE BEST INTERESTS, THE BEST DECISIONS, AND THE BEST JUDGMENTS IN THE INTEREST OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

IN ADDITION TO COLLECTION AND ANALYTICAL ACTIVITIES, THE CIA PLAYS A ROLE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY, AND THIS IS DONE THROUGH OUR COVERT ACTION PROGRAMS. THESE MAY INCLUDE POLITICAL WORK THROUGH COMMUNICATIONS--GETTING THE MESSAGE OUT--TRAINING, SUPPLYING IMPORTANT MATERIALS FOR THOSE WHOM WE SUPPORT, AND GIVING ADVICE. IT'S FUNNY THAT ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTION IS NOT DEFINED BY LAW, AND I THINK THAT'S THE FUNNY PART, THE TERM HAS COME TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS REFERRING TO ACTIVITIES CONDUCTED IN SUPPORT OF NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT READILY APPARENT.

COVERT CAPABILITY, ESSENTIAL IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY, PROVIDES NEEDED SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, OFTEN PROVIDES SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENTS, AND ALLOWS US TO WORK IN COLLABORATION WITH GOVERNMENTS WHO DO NOT WISH, FOR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL REASONS OF THEIR OWN, TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES ROLE AND INVOLVEMENT PUBLICLY KNOWN IN THEIR COUNTRIES.

FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FORWARD, EVERY PRESIDENT HAS ENDORSED AND USED COVERT ACTION TO SUPPORT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH COVERT ACTIONS TRADITIONALLY CLAIM ONLY A VERY SMALL PART OF THE CIA'S BUDGET, LESS THAN THREE PERCENT, THEY ARE, OF COURSE, THE FOCUS OF THE GREATEST CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION. AND HAVING SEEN SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR COVERT ACTION MOVE OUTSIDE THE CIA INTO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, I CAN UNDERSTAND HOW THIS HAS ADDED TO THE CONFUSION, THE SUSPICION, AND THE ILL EASE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I HAVE HEARD THIS SITUATION DESCRIBED AS A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT RULES INSIDE A GOVERNMENT THAT DID NOT KNOW. SINCE RESPONSIBILITY FOR COVERT ACTION HAS COME BACK TO THE CIA,



NEVER TO LEAVE AGAIN, I HOPE, I'D LIKE TO CONVINCED YOU TODAY THAT WE DO HAVE RULES THAT, IF FOLLOWED BY MEN OF INTEGRITY AND DEDICATION, WILL MEET THE CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND SUSTAIN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS.

WE MUST, OF COURSE, HAVE SECRECY. BOTH CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR SECRECY IN MATTERS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. IN THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT, FOR INSTANCE, THERE ARE EXPRESS PROVISIONS PROTECTING FROM DISCLOSURE THOSE MATTERS OF FOREIGN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO US BY FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES. THE FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE ACT, FOR INSTANCE, WHICH IS THE ACT UNDER WHICH ALL OF OUR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE OF COUNTERINTELLIGENCE TAKES PLACE IN THIS COUNTRY, PROVIDES FOR A SPECIAL COURT TO REVIEW, IN SECRET, THE APPLICATIONS FILED TO CONDUCT ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE FOR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE PURPOSES. THIS STATUTE HAS BEEN FOUND TO BE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE MAIN PURPOSE OF SECRECY IN THESE EFFORTS IS TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT SOURCES AND METHODS, TWO OF THE MOST IMPORTANT WORDS IN THE INTELLIGENCE

WORLD. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT OUR SOURCES, WHETHER THEY ARE FBI INFORMANTS OR CIA ASSETS DEVELOPED AROUND THE WORLD, WE WILL NOT GET THE INFORMATION THAT WE NEED. IF WE CANNOT PROTECT THE SENSITIVE METHODS BY WHICH WE COLLECT THE INFORMATION BOTH IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUALS ON THE GROUND AND SATELLITES IN THE AIR, WE WILL CEASE TO HAVE THE MEANS OF COLLECTING INFORMATION.

WHILE SECRECY IS NECESSARY IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE ARE, NEVERTHELESS, OFFICIAL SURROGATES LOOKING AFTER THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IN 1976 AND 1977, BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS ESTABLISHED INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES TO MONITOR ALL SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES. WE FIND MANY OF THE RULES WHICH GOVERNED OUR ACTIVITIES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY OVERSIGHT ACT, THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, AND THE INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT ACT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEES, OPERATING UNDER THOSE ACTS, HAVE FORMALIZED THE REPORTING OF INTELLIGENCE AND COVERT

ACTIVITIES TO CONGRESS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IS NOW REQUIRED BY LAW TO KEEP THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS FULLY AND CURRENTLY INFORMED OF ALL INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES. UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT, THE PRESIDENT MUST FIND THAT EACH COVERT ACTION IS IMPORTANT TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY BEFORE THE OPERATION CAN BE INITIATED. WE CALL IT A FINDING AND YOU'VE BEEN READING ABOUT IT.

UNDER LAW IT IS OUR DUTY TO NOTIFY THE COMMITTEES OF ANY SIGNIFICANT INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WHICH INCLUDE ANY ACTIVITIES REQUIRING A FINDING UNDER THE HUGHES-RYAN AMENDMENT. SO NOW UNDER THE STATUTE, TO MEET EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS, THE PRESIDENT CAN LIMIT THAT NOTIFICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN AND RANKING MINORITY MEMBER OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES, TO THE SPEAKER AND THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND TO THE MAJORITY LEADER AND MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE--REFERRED TO, IN TRADE PARLANCE, AS THE "GANG OF EIGHT." AND THERE IS ANOTHER STATUTORY REQUIREMENT THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES BE FULLY

INFORMED "IN A TIMELY FASHION" OF INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THOSE SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF COLLECTING INTELLIGENCE FOR WHICH PRIOR NOTICE WAS NOT GIVEN--AND THE PRESIDENT MUST STATE THE REASONS FOR NOT GIVING PRIOR NOTICE IN THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES.

TIGHTLY FRAMED PROCEDURES FOR GETTING THE INFORMATION TO THE SURROGATES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN A PROPER AND A TIMELY WAY. I THINK WE ARE IMPROVING THE MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY TO DEAL WITH COVERT ACTIVITY ON THE EXECUTIVE SIDE. IT IS NOT ENOUGH JUST FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE A FINDING AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING US TO TAKE SOME COVERT ACTIVITY. BEFORE SUBMITTING THE PROPOSAL TO THE PRESIDENT, WE IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DETERMINE THAT IT IS DOABLE, AND DOABLE IN A LAWFUL WAY. AND WE HAVE TO BE SURE THAT THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE OUT ON THE FIRING LINE, IN MANY INSTANCES, OUTSIDE THE PROTECTION OF OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR LAWS, CAN DO THEIR WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FLEXIBILITY THAT THEY NEED, WITH THE CLEAREST POSSIBLE TRAINING AND UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE CIA AND TO THE COUNTRY.

OUR OWN INTERNAL COVERT ACTION REVIEW GROUP WITHIN THE CIA NOW LOOKS CAREFULLY AT ALL ASPECTS OF COVERT FINDINGS AND ASKS ITSELF THESE KINDS OF QUESTIONS. IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERT UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY? THE KINDS OF THINGS THAT WENT WRONG IN THE IRAN CONTRA SITUATION. WILL IT WORK? NOT ALL COVERT ACTIVITIES WILL WORK, AND WE HAVE TO ASSESS IT. WILL IT WORK? WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES GOING TO BE IF THE ACTIVITY IS PUBLICLY EXPOSED? WILL IT MAKE SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH AMERICAN VALUES? WHILE NOT ALL COVERT ACTIVITIES WILL SUCCEED, I THINK THAT IF SUBJECTED TO THESE KINDS OF TESTS, AND THIS KIND OF MANAGEMENT, WE HAVE THE BEST CHANCE OF GETTING THE MAXIMUM AND MOST EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE USE FROM OUR COVERT CAPABILITY. AND ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED AGAIN WHEN THE PROPOSAL GOES TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, OFTEN WITH THE PRESIDENT IN ATTENDANCE, FOR ITS CONSIDERATION AND RECOMMENDATION.

AS I NOTED EARLIER, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS MUST BE ONE OF

TRUTH AND NOT OF DECEPTION. THERE IS SO MUCH CONFUSION ABOUT DENIABILITY AND DECEPTION THAT IT'S IMPORTANT TO MAKE ONE LEGITIMATE DISTINCTION. IN COVERT ACTIVITY, THERE IS OFTEN DECEPTION TO CONCEAL THE SOURCE OF THE ACTIVITY IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT OUR FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH MEANS THAT WE BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE BUT WHICH MUST NECESSARILY BE COVERT.

BUT IN DEALING WITH THE CONGRESS THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO EXCUSE FOR DECEPTION. NOW THERE ARE GOING TO BE OCCASIONS, I BELIEVE, WHEN I MAY NOT BE IN A POSITION TO RESPOND TO A PARTICULAR QUESTION, ESPECIALLY IN AN OPEN SESSION OF CONGRESS. BUT I BELIEVE IT IS POSSIBLE TO TELL THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS--AND I HAVE DONE SO ON OCCASION--THAT I AM NOT AT LIBERTY TO ANSWER THE QUESTION, THAT I HAVE AN ANSWER BUT I CANNOT GIVE IT. I THINK THIS IS A LOT DIFFERENT THAN TRYING TO ANSWER THE QUESTION NARROWLY, OR CUTELY, WHEN I KNOW WHAT THE CONGRESS WANTS TO HEAR FROM ME, OR PRETENDING THAT THEY HAVE FAILED TO ASK THE QUESTION PRECISELY ENOUGH. I THINK WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SPEAK TO EACH OTHER AS INDIVIDUALS DOING BUSINESS, KNOWING WHAT EACH OTHER

WANTS TO KNOW, AND BEING HONEST ABOUT WHAT WE ARE GOING TO TELL THEM OR NOT TELL THEM.

IF I DECLINE TO ANSWER, FOR REASONS THAT SEEM LEGITIMATE TO ME, THERE ARE ALWAYS OPPORTUNITIES TO ELEVATE THAT ISSUE--FOR CONGRESS TO APPEAL OVER MY HEAD--OR THEY MIGHT MAKE IT ROUGH ENOUGH ON ME THAT I MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT I HAD TO ANSWER. BUT AT A LEVEL OF HONESTY, A RECOGNITION THAT NOTHING IS BEING WITHHELD BY DECEPTION, IS VITALLY IMPORTANT IN THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE BALANCE AND SHARING OF POWER.

AND I MUST SAY, ALSO, THAT I THINK THERE IS A CORRESPONDING OBLIGATION ON THE CONGRESS AND THE COMMITTEES WHO SERVE AS SURROGATES INSIDE THE SELECT COMMITTEES, TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEEDS OF SECRECY AND TO SHARE THAT RESPONSIBILITY WITH THE SAME CARE AND CONCERN FOR THE PROTECTION OF OUR SOURCES AND METHODS THAT IS IMPOSED UPON US IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

THE CHALLENGES THAT WE FACE IN INTELLIGENCE REQUIRE A HIGH DEGREE OF COOPERATION NOT ONLY WITHIN GOVERNMENT, BUT OUTSIDE IT AS WELL. AND ONE OF

THE KEY ELEMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY, AND ONE THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN IMPORTANT TO US, IS THE AMERICAN ACADEMIC COMMUNITY AS SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW, ACADEMICS WERE IN AT THE BEGINNING OF OUR MODERN INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM. PROFESSORS AND SCHOLARS FLOCKED TO WASHINGTON TO BECOME THE BACKBONE OF THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES IN WORLD WAR II, AND MANY OF THEM STAYED AROUND TO CREATE THE CIA IN 1947. THEY BECAME KEY RESEARCH DIRECTORS, OPERATIONS OFFICERS MANAGERS IN LEADERSHIP, AND THEIR LEGACY IS STILL WITH US.

TODAY WE RELY VERY MUCH ON COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, NOT ONLY TO SUPPLY THE NEW PEOPLE WHO WILL MAKE OUR SYSTEM WORK, BUT ALSO FOR THE EXPERTISE THEY CAN PROVIDE US IN SO MANY AREAS. MANY FACULTY MEMBERS WORK CLOSELY WITH US AND SOME EVEN BECOME SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE, SHARING THEIR KNOWLEDGE ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS. THERE ARE AT LEAST 43 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WHERE A COURSE IN INTELLIGENCE WILL BE TAUGHT THIS YEAR AND MANY OTHERS WHERE A DISCUSSION OF INTELLIGENCE WILL TAKE PLACE IN A COURSE ON FOREIGN POLICYMAKING.

AGENCY OFFICERS ARE INVITED AND DO PARTICIPATE IN PROFESSIONAL AND



SCHOLARLY ASSOCIATIONS AND MAKE SUBSTANTIVE PRESENTATIONS ON CAMPUSES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. THERE IS NOTHING SECRET IN THESE RELATIONSHIPS, NOR SHOULD THERE BE. WE BELIEVE THAT THERE CAN AND THERE SHOULD BE A CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY IN DEVELOPING ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS ABOUT THE WORLD AROUND US. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE CAMPUS IS ALSO A LEGITIMATE PLACE FOR DISCUSSION AND FOR DISSENT. OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, STUDENTS AND FACULTY OPPOSED TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES HAVE CHOSE THE CIA AND ITS RECRUITERS AS THE TARGET FOR MANY OF THEIR PROTESTS. ON ONE OCCASION THEY EVEN CAME TO OUR OWN CIA AGENCY CAMPUS IN VIRGINIA. BUT DESPITE THIS ACTIVITY, WE CONTINUED TO SEEK OUT THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST ON OUR NATION'S CAMPUSES TO JOIN US, AND THEY CONTINUE TO COME.

BOB GATES HAS BEEN AT PRINCETON RECENTLY AND A WEEK OR SO AGO I WAS AT DARTMOUTH AND PLEASED TO SEE BOTH THE INTEREST AND THE SUPPORT THAT EXISTS ON A CAMPUS NOTED FOR ITS CAPACITY FOR DISSENT, WHEN ISSUES ARE RATIONALLY AND CLEARLY PRESENTED TO THEM.

WELL, I BELIEVE IN CONCLUSION THAT SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR INTELLIGENCE IS VITALLY IMPORTANT BOTH ON THE EXECUTIVE AND ON THE CONGRESSIONAL SIDE. IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, WE MUST WORK CLOSELY WITH THOSE IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WHO MUST MAKE THE POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS THAT DEFINE OUR PRESENT AND SHAPE OUR FUTURE, PROVIDING OUR ASSESSMENTS OBJECTIVELY, PROFESSIONALLY, HELPING TO PUT TRUTH INTO ACTION. AND WE MUST WORK WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES WHICH ACT IN SECRET MATTERS AS SURROGATES FOR THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND WE MUST BE WORTHY OF THEIR TRUST. AND WE MUST DILIGENTLY CARRY OUT OUR ASSIGNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD, HOWEVER DIFFICULT, WITH FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAWS OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY. NO NATION DEDICATED TO THE RULE OF LAW CAN PROTECT ITSELF IN ANYOTHER WAY.

THANK YOU.