

Not for RSI  
(not verbatim)

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY  
BEFORE  
SPECIAL FORCES CLUB  
CARLTON TOWER HOTEL  
OCTOBER 23, 1981

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IT IS AN HONOR TO RESPOND TO THE MOST ELOQUENT TOAST OF AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR LEWIS HODGES.

IT IS A GREAT AND HAPPY PRIVILEGE FOR ME TO BE WITH SO MANY DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES OF SOE AND SAS AND THEIR FRIENDS ON THIS SPARKLING OCCASION AND TO EXTEND TO YOU THE GREETINGS OF THE VETERANS OF OSS. TODAY OSS STANDS FOR OLD SOLDIERS SOCIETY BUT WE CARRY ON AND AT OUR LAST ANNUAL DINNER HAD THE HONOR OF PRESENTING THE WILLIAM J. DONOVAN AWARD TO MARGARET THATCHER. ON THAT OCCASION I REMARKED HOW PLEASED AND HOW PROUD BILL DONOVAN WOULD BE TO HAVE THE LADY, WHO SITS TODAY WHERE WINSTON CHURCHILL SAT, RECEIVE THE DONOVAN AWARD!

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME I HAVE CROSSED THE ATLANTIC TO BASK IN THE WARMTH AND COMPANIONSHIP OF THE FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES WHO GATHER FOR THIS OCCASION FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE ENGLISH CHANNEL. I RECALL THAT AL HAIG, WAS COMMANDING NATO, LAST TIME I WAS HERE. SINCE THEN THE POLITICAL CLIMATE HAS CHANGED. I RECALL THAT AFTER THE VOTES WERE IN LAST NOVEMBER, JIMMY CARTER CALLED RONALD REAGAN IN CALIFORNIA TO EXTEND HIS CONGRATULATIONS. THEN HE SAID, "RONNIE IS THERE ANYTHING I CAN DO FOR YOU?" REAGAN THOUGHT FOR A MINUTE AND THEN SAID, "YES, RUN AGAIN IN 1984".

I HAVE GOTTEN BACK IN A JOB WHERE ONE IS EXPECTED TO KNOW EVERYTHING. I'M REMINDED OF THE AVID GOLFER WHO WENT TO HIS GURU TO ASK ABOUT THE GOLFING FACILITIES IN HEAVEN. THE GURU

WENT OFF TO PONDER THIS QUESTION. RETURNING IN A FEW DAYS, HE ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD GOOD NEWS AND BAD NEWS. THE GOOD NEWS, HE SAID, IS THAT THERE ARE MARVELOUS GOLF COURSES AND PLUSH CLUBHOUSES IN HEAVEN. THE BAD NEWS IS THAT YOU HAVE A TEE OFF TIME AT 10 A.M. TOMORROW. THAT'S THE WAY THE WORLD SOMETIMES LOOKS AS I WILL DEVELOP LATER.

WHILE I HAVE BEEN AT YOUR DINNERS BEFORE, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME I HAVE BEEN PERMITTED TO SAY ANYTHING AND I HAVE PONDERED MIGHTILY ON HOW SUCH A GREAT OPPORTUNITY SHOULD BE USED. I CAN NOT FULLY RESIST THE TEMPTATION TO INDULGE IN A LITTLE NOSTALGIA FOR WHAT WERE FOR MANY OF US THE MOST CHALLENGING AND REWARDING DAYS OF OUR LIVES.

I REMEMBER AS THOUGH IT WERE YESTERDAY FLYING OUT OF NEW YORK, LANDING IN PRESTWICK AND ARRIVING BY TRAIN IN LONDON.

IT WAS MY FIRST VISIT TO LONDON AND I SURELY CONTRIBUTED TO THE IMPRESSION WHICH MOVED MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE TO SAY:

"AH THOSE FIRST OSS ARRIVALS IN LONDON. HOW WELL I REMEMBER THEM, ARRIVING LIKE YOUNG GIRLS IN FLOWER STRAIGHT FROM A FINISHING SCHOOL, ALL FRESH AND INNOCENT, TO START WORK IN OUR FROWSY OLD INTELLIGENCE BROTHEL." I WAS FULL OF ADMIRATION AND AWE FOR THE SPIRIT AND WILL THAT I FELT ON THIS ISLAND WHICH HAD STOOD ALONE AGAINST THE BRUTAL DICTATORSHIP WHICH HELD ALL OF EUROPE IN ITS GRASP. FOR ALMOST 4 YEARS YOU HAD WAGED SUBVERSIVE WAR AGAINST THIS OPPRESSIVE AND TOTALITARIAN POWER.

FOR US, ON OUR SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC IT ALL STARTED 40 YEARS AGO WHEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT SENT A NEW YORK LAWYER, NAMED WILLIAM J. DONOVAN, TO ENGLAND TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT AS TO WHETHER ENGLAND COULD SURVIVE AND WHAT THAT SURVIVAL WOULD TAKE. AFTER TALKING TO WINSTON CHURCHILL AND HIS COLLEAGUES, HE CAME BACK WITH THE CONVICTION THAT BRITAIN HAD THE WILL TO SURVIVE NO MATTER HOW OVERWHELMING THE ODDS. HE PERSUADED FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT TO PROVIDE DESTROYERS TO KEEP THE ATLANTIC SEA LANES OPEN AND TO LEND-LEASE PLANES, TANKS AND GUNS TO REPLACE THOSE WHICH BRITAIN HAD LOST ON THE CONTINENT AND IN THE GREAT AIR BATTLE RAGING OVER THE BRITISH ISLES.

AT THE SAME TIME CHURCHILL HIMSELF AND COLIN GUBBINS AND SIR STEWART MENZIES AND CAVENDISH BENTINCK AND MANY OTHERS INDOCTRINATED DONOVAN IN THE ARTS OF CLANDESTINE WARFARE. IN WORLD WAR I, CHURCHILL HAD SAID, "WARS ARE WON BY SLAUGHTER AND MANEUVER. THE GREATEST GENERAL IS

THE ONE WHO USES MANEUVER TO SAVE BLOOD AND TREASURE". DONOVAN IN TURN WAS TO TELL ROOSEVELT THAT PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AND IRREGULAR FORCES DRAWN FROM THE GREAT ETHNIC MELTING POT WHICH IS AMERICA WOULD BE THE SPEARHEAD FOR THE RETURN TO LIBERATE OCCUPIED EUROPE. CHURCHILL SAW THAT DONOVAN WENT HOME WITH A THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE WHICH ENGLAND HAD DEVELOPED OVER FIVE CENTURIES AND OF THE WAY BRITAIN WAS NOURISHING RESISTANCE IN THE OCCUPIED NATIONS OF EUROPE PURSUANT TO WINSTON CHURCHILL'S DRAMATIC ORDER TO "SET EUROPE ABLAZE". OUT OF THIS PERSPECTIVE AND KNOWLEDGE CAME THE OSS. DONOVAN REACHED INTO THE GREAT AMERICAN MILITARY POT TO GATHER TEAMS OF FRANCO-AMERICANS, SLAVIC AMERICANS, ITALIAN AMERICANS, GREEK-AMERICANS, AND NORDIC AMERICANS. HE PUT TOGETHER WHAT HAD TO BE THE MOST DIVERSE AGGREGATION EVER ASSEMBLED OF SCHOLARS, SCIENTISTS, BANKERS AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS, TYCOONS, PSYCHOLOGISTS AND FOOTBALL STARS, CIRCUS MANAGERS AND CIRCUS FREAKS, SAFE-CRACKERS, LOCK PICKERS AND PICKPOCKETS, PLAYWRIGHTS AND JOURNALISTS, NOVELISTS AND PROFESSORS OF LITERATURE, WIZARDS OF ADVERTISING AND THE BROADCASTING WORLD. BY THE TIME PEARL HARBOR CAME, DONOVAN HAD GATHERED HUNDREDS OF THE FINEST SCHOLARS IN AMERICA AND HAD THEM PROCESSING GEOGRAPHIC, SCIENTIFIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY INFORMATION IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. TWO YEARS LATER DONOVAN HAD SCoured OUR CAMPUSES AND MOBILIZED

THOUSANDS OF THE FINEST SCHOLARS IN AMERICA. THEY WERE WORKING IN WASHINGTON AND THROUGHOUT BRITAIN WITH SCHOLARS FROM OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE AND OTHER GREAT CENTERS OF LEARNING ANALYZING EVERY MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE WAR AND THE PREPARATIONS FOR PEACE. THIS HAS CONTINUED DOWN TO THIS DAY WHEN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME GREAT CENTERS OF LEARNING AND SCHOLARSHIP WITH MORE PHD'S AND ADVANCED SCIENTIFIC DEGREES THAN WE ARE LIKELY TO FIND ANYWHERE ELSE. THEY WORK TOGETHER IN THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP INITIATED IN OUR YOUTH TO DEVELOP, AS A PRE-REQUISITE TO COMMON POLICIES, A COMMON PERCEPTION OF THE WORLD WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL.

YET IN 1943, WHEN WE ARRIVED HERE, DESPITE THE ARRAY OF TALENT DONOVAN HAD COLLECTED, WE WERE AMATEURS. WE WERE THE NEW BOYS IN THE STREET, AND VERY SENSIBLY, YOU PREFERRED TO TAKE US INTO NEW VENTURES AND AVOID THE RISK THAT, IN OUR INNOCENCE, WE MIGHT FOUL UP OR SLOW DOWN OPERATIONS YOU HAD BUILT UP OVER FOUR YEARS AND ALREADY HAD UNDER WAY. YET YOU FOUND TIME TO SHARE YOUR EXPERIENCE WITH US, AND WE WELL REMEMBER THAT OSS, COMING INTO THE EUROPEAN WAR THREE YEARS LATE, WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO VERY MUCH AT ALL IF OUR BRITISH FRIENDS HAD NOT TAKEN US IN AS JUNIOR PARTNERS AND SO GENEROUSLY TAUGHT US ALL THEY KNEW.

THIS PARTNERSHIP, INCLUDING THE GREAT AND COURAGEOUS RESISTANTS OF FRANCE AND BELGIUM, OF HOLLAND AND LUXEMBOURG, OF NORWAY AND DENMARK, FLOURISHED UNTIL VICTORY WAS ACHIEVED. THEN, WHEN ANOTHER THREAT WAS PERCEIVED IN THE EAST, THERE DEVELOPED A BROADER PARTNERSHIP, WHICH WE CALL NATO. TODAY WE CAN SAY THAT WE HAVE KEPT THE PEACE IN EUROPE, THE ATLANTIC AND THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT FOR 36 YEARS.

YET, TODAY THERE ARE NEW AND BROADER AND INCREASINGLY SEVERE CHALLENGES, AND TO MEET THEM IT WILL TAKE THE FULL POWER OF OUR PARTNERSHIP, THE FULL RANGE OF SKILL YOU CREATED IN WORLD WAR II AND HAVE ELABORATED ON OVER THE YEARS, AND QUITE POSSIBLY THE CHURCHILLEAN WILL YOU DISPLAYED IN THOSE DARKEST HOURS.

WE LIVE TODAY IN A DIFFERENT WORLD, AND AS THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP INTENSIFIES, IT COMES UNDER SHARPER CHALLENGE.

THE BROAD ATLANTIC IS NO LONGER THE IMPASSABLE BARRIER TO ANY SERIOUS AGGRESSION AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. CITIES IN THE WESTERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES ARE AS VULNERABLE TODAY TO THE HEAVY SOVIET MISSILES AS ARE BIRMINGHAM AND FRANKFURT. AN INDISPUTABLY HEAVY SOVIET BUILD-UP IN CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC MILITARY POWER HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE OVER THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, TO A POINT WHICH DEMANDS THE SERIOUS THOUGHT AND ATTENTION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ALLIANCE.

BECAUSE OF THE DESIRE OF THE U.S.S.R. TO EXTEND ITS HEGEMONY OVER ALL OF EUROPE, WE CAN CONTINUE TO EXPECT A CONSTANT EFFORT FROM THE SOVIET UNION TO FOSTER A DIVIDED EUROPE, SHARPLY SEPARATED FROM THE UNITED STATES.

IT HAS BEEN UNPLEASANTLY SUGGESTED THAT OUR DESIRE TO HAVE OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE THEIR DEFENSES AGAINST THE FORMIDABLE NEW MISSILES ACTUALLY BEING DEPLOYED AGAINST WESTERN EUROPE AND ITS CAPITALS IS DUE TO OUR WISH TO SHIFT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE FROM ONE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC TO A SOVIET-EUROPEAN ONE. THE PRESENCE OF OUR TROOPS IN SUCH QUANTITY IN EUROPE, SO LONG AFTER THE WAR, OUGHT TO BE QUITE ENOUGH TO DEMONSTRATE THE UTTER FALSITY OF THAT CHARGE.

TO THE EXTENT THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS FACED WITH A CONVINCING EUROPEAN-U.S. DETERMINATION AND CAPACITY TO MEET ANY ATTACK, OR ANY THREATENED ATTACK, THE CHANCES OF IT EVER OCCURRING GREATLY DIMINISHES. THIS JOINT WILL, IN ITSELF, SUITABLY DEMONSTRATED, WOULD BE WORTH MANY MISSILES AND MANY TANKS. I BELIEVE THE SOVIET LEADERS WOULD NEVER BE SO FOOLISH AS TO ATTACK, OR ATTEMPT TO BLACKMAIL, EITHER WESTERN EUROPE OR THE U.S. ONCE THEY WERE CONVINCED OF THE SOLID UNITY AND DETERMINATION OF THE ALLIANCE TO PROTECT ITSELF. ONLY IF THERE EXISTED ANY LIKELIHOOD OF A DIVISION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE WOULD THERE BE A REAL TEMPTATION FOR THE U.S.S.R. TO CONFRONT US HEAD ON.

AS WE FACE THE NEED TO TURN BACK A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DIVIDE US IN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE, IT IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE FOR US TO CONFINE OUR PERCEPTIONS, WHETHER FROM EUROPE OR THE

UNITED STATES, TO THE NATO AREA. AND AS THE WORLD BECOMES MORE DIVERSE AND OUR PERCEPTIONS VARY, NEW STRAINS, AND QUITE POSSIBLY SERIOUS DIFFERENCES, WILL DEVELOP AS WE FACE OUR RESPECTIVE PROBLEMS. WE SHALL NEED TO APPLY OUR BEST COMBINED STATESMANSHIP TO RESOLVE THEM. THIS IS THE STAGE AT WHICH I SENSE WE NOW FIND OURSELVES.

FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY OUR PRIMARY WORRY HAS BEEN THE MISSILES THAT CAN DESTROY US IN HALF AN HOUR AND THE PREPONDERANCE OF TANKS AND PLANES AND TROOPS THAT CAN BE THROWN AGAINST NATO. IT HAS ONLY RECENTLY DAWNED UPON US THAT IT IS COUPS AND SUBVERSION AND WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND ECONOMIC AGGRESSION WHICH HAVE DAMAGED US MOST SEVERELY OVER THE LAST DECADE. EVEN AS WE WORRY ABOUT HAVING FALLEN BEHIND THE SOVIET UNION IN BOTH MISSILES AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS, WE NEED TO FACE UP TO A GROWING VULNERABILITY OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO SUBVERSION, TO WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION, TO DISINFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA AND TO THE PROVISION OF ARMS AND ADVISORS TO GAIN INFLUENCE.

WHILE WE SPEND 7 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THESE COUNTRIES, THE SOVIETS AND ITS PROXIES SPEND TWICE THAT TO EXPLOIT THESE VULNERABILITIES IN A WAY THAT COULD TIP THE WORLD'S GEOPOLITICAL BALANCE AGAINST US.

I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS GRASPED THAT AS A RESULT OF THE EXPULSION OF THE UNITED STATES FROM VIETNAM, IT WOULD BE

SOME TIME BEFORE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WOULD SUPPORT ANY KIND OF SIGNIFICANT INTERVENTION IN A THIRD WORLD INSURGENCY. IT WAS, THUS, "NOT BE ACCIDENT" THAT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE CUBANS IN ANGOLA FOLLOWED IN 1975. THERE AND IN ETHIOPIA WE WITNESSED A REMARKABLE DISPLAY OF POWER PROJECTION AS SOVIET ARMS WERE QUICKLY TRANSPORTED OVER HUGE DISTANCES TO MEET UP WITH CUBAN TROOPS BROUGHT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. SINCE THEN WE HAVE SEEN THE SOVIETS AND ITS PROXIES PREPOSITION LARGE STOCKPILES OF HEAVY ARMS IN LIBYA, IN YEMEN, IN SYRIA, IN CUBA, AND THAT PROCESS SEEMS TO BE UNDER WAY IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE HAVE SEEN TWO COUNTRIES WITH TINY POPULATIONS, LIBYA AND CUBA, SPREAD TERROR AND SPAWN INSURGENCIES ON FOUR CONTINENTS. LIBYA HAS ENTERED INTO A PACT WITH ETHIOPIA AND SOUTH YEMEN FOR JOINT ACTION TO OVERTHROW ADJOINING GOVERNMENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA AND ON THE FRINGES OF ARABIA. A SUPER POWER ON A CENTRAL AMERICAN SCALE IS BUILDING UP IN TINY NICARAGUA, WHICH WITH SOVIET TANKS AND PLANES AND CUBAN ORGANIZATION AND TROOPS AND WITH A POPULATION OF A LITTLE MORE THAN 2 MILLION WILL SOON BE ABLE TO MILITARILY DOMINATE ITS NEIGHBORS WITH A POPULATION EIGHT TIMES AS GREAT. MANAGUA, THE CAPITAL OF NICARAGUA, HAS BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL CENTER WHERE RUSSIANS, EAST GERMANS, BULGARIANS, VIETNAMESE, NORTH KOREANS AND PLO ADVISORS JOIN LIBYAN MONEY AND CUBAN SOLDIERS TO PROVIDE VERY SOPHISTICATED TRAINING AND DIRECTION TO INSURGENCIES IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. TODAY, THE SANDINISTAS HAVE A MILITARY FORCE SEVEN

TIMES AS LARGE AS THE ONE THEY OVERTHREW TWO YEARS AGO. ITS CUBAN ADVISORS TRAIN AND ORGANIZE IT DOWN TO COMPANY LEVEL. ITS AIRFIELDS ARE EXTENDED TO TAKE SOVIET PLANES TO BE FLOWN BY AVIATORS BEING TRAINED IN BULGARIA AND CUBA. OVER THE SIX YEARS OR SO THAT THESE LATENT THREATS TO OUR OIL, MINERAL SOURCES AND SHIPPING AND OUR ENTIRE GEOPOLITICAL POSITION HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING, WE HAVE HARDLY NOTICED. YET OVER THIS SAME PERIOD IN AN ODDLY DISJOINTED AND DISCONNECTED WAY, THE KIND OF INTANGIBLE ASSETS WHICH WORKED FOR US IN WORLD WAR II HAVE QUIETLY MANIFESTED THEMSELVES. WE STIRRED OURSELVES TO HELP THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE OVERTHROW THE COMMUNIST FORCES THAT HAD ALMOST CLOSED IN ON THEM. THE SPECIAL AIR SERVICE HAS DEMONSTRATED FROM MALAYSIA TO OMAN THAT EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED INSURGENCIES CAN BE DEFEATED. AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS HAVE MADE IT AS DANGEROUS FOR A RUSSIAN SOLDIER TO BE OUT AT NIGHT OR A SOVIET CONVOY TO STRAY OFF A MAIN ROAD AS IT WAS FOR THE GERMANS IN FRANCE IN 1944. THE PROSPECT OF A POLISH POPULATION AROUSED TO ECONOMIC SABOTAGE AND ORGANIZED RESISTANCE AND OF WESTERN ALLIES UNITED IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RETALIATION HAS KEPT THE SOVIETS FROM THE KIND OF BRUTAL REPRESSION SIMILAR LIBERALIZATION CAUSED THEM TO INFLICT ON HUNGARY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. LET US HOPE THAT THESE EXPRESSIONS OF THE HUMAN WILL TO FREEDOM, TOGETHER WITH THE COMMITMENT OF BRITISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN TROOPS TO A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN THE SINAI, ARE SIGNS THAT THE WEST IS AWAKENING TO

-11-

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