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Executive Registry

86- 4258

REMARKS OF WILLIAM J. CASEY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

BEFORE

THE OSS/DONOVAN SYMPOSIUM

FRIDAY, 19 SEPTEMBER 1986

THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, STATE BALLROOM

WASHINGTON, D.C.



3- 801-12

FELLOW SURVIVORS, IT'S GREAT TO GATHER THIS MORNING WITH SO MANY OLD FRIENDS AND COMRADES WHO SHARE A PRIDE AND SATISFACTION IN THE WORK OF OSS SOME FORTY TO FORTY-FIVE YEARS AGO. THANK GOD WE'RE ALL HERE!

I'D FIRST LIKE TO CONGRATULATE MAX CORVO FOR CONCEIVING THIS SYMPOSIUM ON THE HISTORY OF OSS, AND THANK HIM FOR HAVING THE SPIRIT AND THE WILL AND PERSISTENCE TO BRING US TOGETHER FOR THIS OCCASION. WE OWE A DEBT OF GRATITUDE TO MIM DADDARIO, RAY CLINE AND OTHERS ON THE COMMITTEE FOR PUTTING THE PROGRAM TOGETHER. WE THANK JEFF JONES FOR HIS DILIGENCE AND LEADERSHIP AS PRESIDENT OF VETERANS OF OSS.

MY ASSIGNMENT IS TO PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW. I'VE PUZZLED A GREAT DEAL AT WHAT THAT REQUIRES. IT IS NOT EASY BECAUSE OSS WAS SUCH A FAR-FLUNG ACTIVITY. A GREAT DEAL OF NEW DOCUMENTATION ABOUT OSS HAS BECOME AVAILABLE. THERE IS, IN THE HISTORICAL WORK ALREADY DONE ON OSS A WIDE RANGE OF OPINION AND INTERPRETATION. EVEN AFTER TWO DAYS' LIVELY DEBATE, THESE PROCEEDINGS WILL NOT PRODUCE FINAL ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF HOW OSS CAME TO BE CREATED, WHAT IT DID IN THE WAR, AND HOW ITS EXPERIENCE HAS INFLUENCED THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SINCE THEN. IN THESE TWO DAYS, ONE OF THE MOST USEFUL THINGS WE CAN DO IS TO IDENTIFY THE HIGH POINTS AND THE MAIN GAPS IN OUR KNOWLEDGE OF OSS.

OSS WAS AN EXTRAORDINARILY WELL-DOCUMENTED ORGANIZATION AND THERE ARE A LOT OF PRIVATE PAPERS AROUND. IN THE PAST YEAR, THE U.S. ARMY'S MILITARY HISTORY INSTITUTE AT CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA, HAS OPENED UP THE PAPERS OF GENERAL DONOVAN HIMSELF TO RESEARCHERS. WHILE THIS VALUABLE COLLECTION INCLUDES SOME MICROFILM OF THE WARTIME DIRECTOR'S OFFICE FILES, THE PAPERS, NATURALLY, MAINLY FOCUS ON GENERAL DONOVAN AND NOT ON OSS. THE TRUTH IS THAT COMPREHENSIVE AND THOROUGHLY DOCUMENTED STUDIES OF THE HISTORY OF OSS CAN'T BE DONE WITHOUT SUBSTANTIAL RESEARCH IN ITS OFFICIAL WARTIME RECORDS. UNTIL RECENTLY, HOWEVER, MOST OF THESE RECORDS WERE STILL CLASSIFIED AND RESEARCHERS HAD NO ACCESS TO THEM EXCEPT THROUGH THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT. I'M GLAD TO BE ABLE TO REPORT, HOWEVER, THAT THESE RECORDS-- AROUND 4,000 CUBIC FEET OF THEM--HAVE NEARLY ALL NOW BEEN DECLASSIFIED, TRANSFERRED TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION, AND OPENED TO THE PUBLIC FOR RESEARCH. THE OSS RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES WILL EVENTUALLY MAKE OVER MORE THAN 100 MILLION PAGES OF OSS RECORDS AVAILABLE FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

ONE OF THE GREAT RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THOSE INTERESTED IN OSS HISTORY IS JOHN E. TAYLOR, WHO FOR MANY YEARS HAS ASSEMBLED AND ORGANIZED THE OSS RECORDS AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES. HE CERTAINLY KNOWS MORE ABOUT OSS AND ITS HISTORY THAN ANYONE ELSE IN THE WORLD AND GLADLY SHARES THIS KNOWLEDGE TO HELP RESEARCHERS FIND WHAT THEY ARE LOOKING FOR IN THIS VAST COLLECTION.

OSS WAS VIRTUALLY WORLDWIDE, EXCEPT THAT GENERAL MACARTHUR AND ADMIRAL NIMITZ DID NOT USE OSS IN THEIR HUGE PACIFIC THEATER. UNDER CARL EIFLER AND RAY PEERS, A LARGE FORCE OF KACHINS WAS ORGANIZED AND SUPPLIED TO ASSIST GENERAL STILWELL BY FIGHTING BEHIND JAPANESE LINES IN BURMA. EXTENSIVE INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS WERE CARRIED OUT IN CHINA, SOMETIMES WITH AND SOMETIMES AGAINST CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. TOWARDS THE END OF THE WAR, OSS INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES WERE CARRIED ON WITH MAO SE TUNG'S COMMUNIST FORCES IN CHINA AND OSS FUNCTIONED IN INDOCHINA IN SUPPORT OF AND UNDER THE DIRECTION OF GENERAL MOUNTBATTEN'S HEADQUARTERS IN INDIA AND CEYLON. OTHER ACTIVITIES WERE CARRIED ON IN AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

MY OWN ACTIVITY AND KNOWLEDGE WAS CONFINED TO GENERAL DONOVAN'S HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON AND THE WAR AGAINST THE NAZIS IN EUROPE. THE BEST WAY I CAN PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW AS TO HOW OSS WORKED AND THE RANGE OF ITS CAPABILITIES IS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WAR AGAINST HITLER. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT COMPARABLE ACTIVITIES WERE CARRIED ON IN OTHER THEATERS -- ITALY, THE BALKANS, THE MIDDLE EAST, BURMA, CHINA AND INDOCHINA.

OSS STARTED WITH BILL DONOVAN'S VISION THAT INTELLIGENCE, SUBVERSION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE COULD BE OUR SPEARHEAD IN THE INVASION OF EUROPE. HE CREATED A NOVEL INSTRUMENT TO SERVE THAT PURPOSE. THE THRUST AND CUTTING EDGE WHICH INTELLIGENCE AND DECEPTION, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND IRREGULAR WARFARE CAN GIVE TO A

MILITARY COMMAND AND TROOPS IN BATTLE CANNOT BE CONJURED UP OVERNIGHT. THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE COVERT WAR AGAINST HITLER WERE BUILT BY THE BRITISH WHEN THEY STOOD ALONE. ITS MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS--THEIR READING OF THE GERMAN COMMUNICATIONS, THE WRITING OF GERMAN INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS FROM LONDON BY THEIR DECEPTION PLANNERS, THE TIMELY ASSESSMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF COUNTERMEASURES AGAINST GERMAN SECRET WEAPONS AND THE EARLY SUPPORT OF RESISTANCE FORCES IN EUROPE--WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY BRITISH. WHILE THIS FOUNDATION WAS BEING BUILT, AMERICA HAD LITTLE MORE THAN A VOLUNTEER ONE-MAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IN WILLIAM J. DONOVAN, PLUS A FEW BRILLIANT CRYPTOGRAPHERS HIDDEN AWAY, WHEN HENRY STIMSON AS SECRETARY OF STATE DECLARED THAT GENTLEMEN DON'T READ OTHER PEOPLE'S MAIL. THE ORGANIZATION WHICH DONOVAN CREATED HAD TO BE TAUGHT AND TRAINED AND BUILT ON THE EXPERIENCE AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE WHICH HAD BEEN BUILT UP IN BRITAIN--AND IN FRANCE AND POLAND, BELGIUM AND HOLLAND, SCANDINAVIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

YOU HAD ONLY TO BE AROUND OSS A FEW DAYS IN THE SUMMER OF 1943 TO REALIZE HOW EMBATTLED AN ORGANIZATION IT WAS TWO YEARS INTO THE WAR, EVEN AFTER ITS METTLE HAD BEEN TESTED AND PROVEN IN THE CRUCIBLE OF THE NORTH AFRICAN CAMPAIGN. BUT TO THE ENTRENCHED WASHINGTON BUREAUCRACIES THAT CUT LITTLE ICE. IT IS NO EXAGGERATION TO SAY THAT DONOVAN CREATED OSS AGAINST THE FIERCEST KIND OF OPPOSITION FROM EVERYBODY--THE ARMY, NAVY AND STATE DEPARTMENTS, THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, THE REGULAR ARMY BRASS, THE WHOLE PENTAGON BUREAUCRACY, AND, PERHAPS MOST DEVASTATINGLY, THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF.

EVERYONE IN WASHINGTON WAS TRYING TO WALK OFF WITH A SLICE OF DONOVAN'S FRANCHISE. J. EDGAR HOOVER RESENTED A RIVAL AND FOUGHT FOR AS MUCH INTELLIGENCE TURF AS HE COULD GET. HE ENDED UP IN CHARGE OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA, AN AREA FROM WHICH OSS WAS TOTALLY EXCLUDED. NELSON ROCKEFELLER HACKED OUT AN EXCLUSIVE FRANCHISE TO REPORT AND ANALYZE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE THERE, AS WELL AS CONDUCT PROPAGANDA. BYRON PRICE HEADED THE OFFICE OF CENSORSHIP; LOWELL MILLET THE DIVISION OF INFORMATION OF THE OFFICE OF EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT. PLAYWRIGHT ROBERT SHERWOOD EDGILY DIVIDED HIS TIME BETWEEN WRITING FDR'S SPEECHES AND RUNNING THE FOREIGN INFORMATION SERVICE UNDER DONOVAN, WHILE HE WAS BUCKING FOR AN INDEPENDENT INFORMATION FRANCHISE. ARCHIBALD MCLEISH HAD THE OFFICE OF FACTS AND FIGURES. IT SEEMED AS IF ANYONE WITH ACCESS TO ROOSEVELT COULD GET A CHARTER FOR HIMSELF.

THAT OSS OPERATIONS IN NORTH AFRICA DID NOT ESTABLISH THE ORGANIZATION MORE FIRMLY AS PART OF THE WASHINGTON ESTABLISHMENT MUST REMAIN ONE OF THE MINOR MYSTERIES OF THE WAR. RARELY HAD INTELLIGENCE AND DIPLOMACY MESHED AS SMOOTHLY AS THEY DID IN PREPARING OPERATION "TORCH" AND HELPING IT ACHIEVE EARLY VICTORY.

NORTH AFRICA WAS OSS' FIRST TESTING GROUND. DONOVAN HAD PINPOINTED THE AREA AS A CRITICAL ONE IN HIS REPORT TO ROOSEVELT 18 MONTHS BEFORE THE AMERICAN LANDINGS IN NOVEMBER 1942. THAT

MOST REMARKABLE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS, ROBERT MURPHY, HAD GIVEN OSS A HEADSTART IN NORTH AFRICA WHERE HE SERVED AS A KIND OF AMERICAN PRO-COUNSUL. IN LATE 1940, MURPHY PERSUADED FRENCH AUTHORITIES TO LET HIM BRING IN 12 OBSERVERS, OSTENSIBLY TO ASSURE THE BRITISH THEN BLOCKADING THE AFRICAN COAST THAT FOOD SHIPMENTS ALLOWED THROUGH DID NOT GET INTO GERMAN HANDS. THESE OBSERVERS WERE ALSO ALLOWED TO USE SECRET CODES AND COURIERS WITH LOCKED POUCHES. ABLE TO SEND OUT UNCENSORED REPORTS, THEY BECAME THE NUCLEUS FOR THE FIRST OPERATING AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE NETWORK OF THE WAR. AND DONOVAN WASTED LITTLE TIME BUILDING ON THE BASE THEY PROVIDED. HE NAMED MARINE COLONEL WILLIAM EDDY, ENGLISH PROFESSOR AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO AND FLUENT IN ARABIC, AS HIS CHIEF IN NORTH AFRICA.

LARGE ELEMENTS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN NORTH AFRICA AND MANY FRENCH CIVILIANS WERE PREPARED FOR RESISTANCE TO ANY GERMAN OCCUPATION. EDDY AND HIS MEN HELPED ORGANIZE AND SUPPLY THIS RESISTANCE, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WINNING THE SUPPORT OF NATIVE MOOR, ALGERIAN AND TUNISIAN LEADERS.

OSS RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS SCHOLARS UNDER BILL LANGER AND SHERMAN KENT DELIVERED STUDIES OF THE FRENCH NORTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS, THE CAPACITY OF THE ROLLING STOCK, THE CONDITION OF THE ROADBED AND TRACK, TERRAIN MAPS, CHARTS OF REEFS AND CHANNELS, TIDAL TABLES--ALL ASSEMBLED FROM MANUALS, ENGINEERING JOURNALS, AND OTHER SOURCES AVAILABLE IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

IN NOVEMBER 1942, THE MONTHS OF PREPARATION PAID OFF. AS THE SHIPS APPROACHED THEIR DESTINATIONS ALONG THE COASTS OF MOROCCO AND ALGIERS, ALLIED ARMY, NAVY AND AIR OFFICERS WITH THE INVASION FLEET RECEIVED, UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE OF H-HOUR AND BEYOND, DETAILED INFORMATION ON WHAT TO EXPECT AT EVERY LANDING POINT. THEY WERE MET AND ACCOMPANIED BY OSS REPRESENTATIVES WHO ADVISED THEM ON THE TERRAIN, ON LOCATIONS OF FRENCH HEADQUARTERS AND GERMAN ARMISTICE COMMISSION OFFICES, AND ON THE OFFICIALS ON WHOM THEY COULD RELY FOR ASSISTANCE.

SQUADS OF FRIENDLY FRENCHMEN, MOORS AND RIFFS WERE INSTRUCTED TO CUT TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES AND TO OBSTRUCT PUBLIC UTILITIES GENERALLY. STILL OTHERS WERE TO GO JUST BEFORE H-HOUR TO DETONATE MINES ON ROADS AND BEACHES WHICH THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO USE. GROUPS WERE ASSIGNED TO BEACHHEADS AND LANDING AND PARACHUTE FIELDS, WITH FLARES TO SIGNAL TROOPS IN FROM SHIPS AND GUIDE THEM INLAND.

BOB MURPHY'S DOZEN AND DONOVAN'S OSSERS HAD SUCCESSFULLY PREPARED THE WAY AND ALMOST ENTIRELY ELIMINATED RESISTANCE TO THE LANDING OF ONLY 110,000 AMERICAN AND BRITISH TROOPS ALONG 1,200 MILES OF ATLANTIC AND MEDITERRANEAN BEACHES. MILITARY PLANNERS IN WASHINGTON AND LONDON HAD ESTIMATED THAT THEY WOULD NEED 500,000 MEN, TO TAKE AND HOLD FRENCH NORTH AFRICA. THE FOOTHOLD IN NORTH AFRICA, WHICH THE MILITARY PLANNERS HAD ESTIMATED WOULD COST 10,000 CASUALTIES, HAD BEEN GAINED WITH LESS THAN A COUPLE OF HUNDRED.

IN FEBRUARY 1943, DONOVAN SENT DAVID BRUCE TO LONDON TO TAKE OVER A SMALL OSS HEADQUARTERS. IT WAS BRUCE'S TASK TO SELL OSS TO THE VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN WARTIME LONDON, THOSE BUILDING THE INVASION ARMADA AND THOSE CHARGED WITH DIRECTING THREE WARS FROM LONDON--THE AIR WAR, THE SUBVERSIVE WAR ALREADY UNDER WAY, AND THE LAND WAR SOON TO BE LAUNCHED OVER FRENCH BEACHES.

WE WERE THE NEW BOYS ON THE TEAM AND THE BRITISH WERE RELUCTANT TO RISK WHAT THEY HAD BUILT UP TO LET US SHOW OUR STUFF AND DEVELOP OUR TALENTS IN AREAS WHERE THEY WERE ALREADY ACTIVE AND SUCCESSFUL. THEY PREFERRED TO ENGAGE OSS IN NEW PROJECTS AND TO DO THAT UNDER BRITISH TUTELAGE. MUCH TO HIS LATER CHAGRIN, DONOVAN AGREED TO THIS.

DONOVAN SOON REGRETTED HIS COMMITMENT NOT TO SEND AMERICAN AGENTS INTO EUROPE FROM BRITAIN WITHOUT BRITISH APPROVAL, BUT HE COULD NOT CHANGE IT. MOREOVER, EVEN WITHOUT SUCH AN EXPLICIT AGREEMENT, THE BRITISH COULD EASILY HAVE STOPPED ANY INDEPENDENT EFFORT WHENEVER THEY FELT IT RISKED THEIR OWN OPERATIONS. THEY CONTROLLED THE AIR AND THE SEA AND ALL MOVEMENTS IN AND OUT OF BRITAIN.

WE FINALLY GOT THE BRITISH TO AGREE TO A JOINT INTELLIGENCE UNDERTAKING. THE SUSSEX PLAN CALLED FOR DISPATCHING 120 AGENTS IN TEAMS OF TWO, ONE OBSERVER AND ONE RADIO OPERATOR, INTO FRANCE

JUST AHEAD OF THE INVADING ARMIES. THEY WERE TO REPORT FROM KEY POINTS IN FRANCE ON GERMAN TROOP MOVEMENTS. IT WAS A TRIPARTITE OPERATION WITH FRENCH, BRITISH AND AMERICAN AGENTS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES ORGANIZED INTO 30 TEAMS FOR THE BRITISH COMBAT ZONE IN FRANCE AND ANOTHER 30 FOR THE AMERICAN BATTLE AREA.

IN THE SUMMER OF 1943, ALLEN DULLES SCORED THE FIRST BIG OSS COUP IN SWITZERLAND AND WE FELT THE REPERCUSSIONS IN LONDON. FRITZ KOLBE, AN OFFICIAL OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE CHARGED WITH HANDLING CABLE TRAFFIC WITH DIPLOMATIC POSTS ALL OVER THE WORLD, HAD MADE HIS WAY TO BERNE CARRYING 16 TELEGRAMS TAKEN OUT OF THE FILES OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE IN BERLIN. ULTIMATELY, DULLES RECEIVED A HUGE AMOUNT OF THIS INFORMATION WHICH WE CALLED "WOODS CABLES".

THEY STIRRED UP A FIERCE STORM IN LONDON. SIR CLAUDE DANSEY, THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE, HAD BEEN IN CHARGE OF INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS FROM SWITZERLAND BEFORE THE WAR. HE CHARGED OSS WITH FALLING FOR AN OBVIOUS PLANT. WHEN OUR "WOODS CABLES" STOOD UP AS VALID UNDER COMPARISON WITH THE DECODIFICATION OF CABLES INTERCEPTED BETWEEN THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE AND GERMAN EMBASSIES ABROAD, DANSEY RETREATED GRUDGINGLY AND DULLES' "WOODS" REPORTS GAINED ACCEPTANCE AS PERHAPS THE GREATEST ESPIONAGE COUP OF THE WAR.

IN THOSE EARLY DAYS, MOST OF OUR INTELLIGENCE CAME FROM THE NEUTRAL CAPITALS. IN SWITZERLAND, ISTANBUL, LISBON, MADRID, AND STOCKHOLM, FREE OF OUR BRITISH TUTORS, DONOVAN HAD CREATED MISSIONS TO DEVELOP CONTACTS AND SOURCES AND THE FLOW OF AMERICAN INFORMATION FROM THESE AREAS ENHANCED THE OSS POSITION IN LONDON'S INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. WITH DIRECT AIR LINKS VIA REGULARLY SCHEDULED PASSENGER FLIGHTS TO BOTH BERLIN AND LONDON, THE NEUTRAL CAPITALS--LISBON, MADRID, STOCKHOLM, BERNE AND ISTANBUL--SERVED AS WINDOWS ON OCCUPIED EUROPE AND MEETING PLACES FOR "OUR" AND "THEIR" PEOPLE.

GREGORY THOMAS AND FRANK SCHOONMAKER BUILT UP EXTENSIVE INTELLIGENCE NETWORKS FROM BARCELONA AND SAN SEBASTIAN INTO SOUTHWESTERN FRANCE. HENRY HYDE FROM ALGIERS AND ALLEN DULLES FROM SWITZERLAND BUILT AGENT NETWORKS INTO SOUTHERN, EASTERN AND CENTRAL FRANCE. WHEN CALVIN HOOVER, WHO RAN OSS OPERATIONS IN STOCKHOLM, ESTABLISHED THAT BALLBEARING EXPORTS WERE MUCH LARGER THAN THE SWEDES ADMITTED, A U.S. ECONOMIC WARFARE MISSION WON SWEDISH AGREEMENT TO STOP THE SHIPMENTS.

IN LONDON WE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS IN EXILE, THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE RESISTANCE IN THEIR HOMELANDS, AND WITH THE INTELLIGENCE LINKS THEY ESTABLISHED BACK HOME. NONE WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FRENCH. FRANCE WAS OUR INVASION TARGET. THOUGH THE REGIME IN EXILE AND THE RESISTANCE AT HOME WAS RIVEN WITH FACTIONS, BOTH WERE ACTIVE, STRONG AND

EAGER. BY 1944, DeGAULLE'S INTELLIGENCE, UNDER COLONEL PASSY AND COLONEL REMY, WAS DISTRIBUTING REPORTS TO THE ENTIRE LONDON INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TWICE A DAY. THE MONTHLY OUTPUT OF THIS INFORMATION FACTORY AVERAGED 200,000 MIMEOGRAPHED SHEETS, 60,000 COPIES OF MAPS AND SKETCHES, AND 10,000 PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTIONS.

THE POLES IN LONDON RAN ONE OF THE MOST EFFICIENT AND AMBITIOUS OF THE EXILE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. COLONEL GANO DEVELOPED LARGE NETWORKS BOTH IN POLAND AND IN FRANCE WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF POLES HAD FOUND REFUGE. BELGIAN INTELLIGENCE HAD EIGHT TO TEN EFFECTIVE INTELLIGENCE NETWORKS OPERATING IN BELGIUM AND IN THAT PART OF NORTHERN FRANCE THE GERMANS ADMINISTERED FROM BRUSSELS. THE NORWEGIANS, THE DANES, AND THE DUTCH WERE SIMILARLY ACTIVE.

THE FIRST OF WHAT WOULD TOTAL SOME 150 MESSAGES WHICH PASSED AMONG BERNE, LONDON, STOCKHOLM AND WASHINGTON, CLATTERED OVER THE AIRWAVES AT THE TURN OF 1944. IT TOLD US ABOUT A MUSHROOMING CONSPIRACY INSIDE THE REICH WHICH DULLES CALLED "BREAKERS." THE CONSPIRATORS WANTED TO GET RID OF HITLER, FORM A NEW GOVERNMENT AND BRING THE WAR TO AN END.

THE BRITISH JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE AND OUR JOINT CHIEFS URGED A RESTATEMENT OF THE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER FORMULA TO ENCOURAGE GERMAN COMMANDERS TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS.

ROOSEVELT REJECTED THESE PROPOSALS BUT EISENHOWER KEPT PRESSING ALL THE WAY TO THE END, ALMOST TO THE DAY OF THE INVASION. AT THE END OF APRIL, HE HAD BEDELL SMITH FORMULATE A POLICY, WHICH THE GERMAN GENERALS MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT, TO QUIT FIGHTING AND IN LATE MAY HE GOT BOB SHERWOOD TO DRAFT A SPEECH REDEFINING UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER INTENDED TO BE DELIVERED AFTER THE LANDING, BUT APPARENTLY NEVER APPROVED.

WHEN THE ATTEMPT ON HITLER'S LIFE CAME ON JULY 20, 1944, THE INFORMATION DULLES PROVIDED CAUSED CHURCHILL TO PUBLICLY ENCOURAGE INTERNAL ACTION AGAINST HITLER, DULLES' CONTACTS WITH THE GERMAN RESISTANCE RESULTED IN ROOSEVELT HAVING FOR SOME DAYS EARLIER A PAPER FROM DONOVAN TELLING HIM THAT AN ATTEMPT ON HITLER'S LIFE WAS IMMINENT AND URGING HIM TO DO LIKEWISE.

MEANWHILE, OSS WAS CONTRIBUTING HEAVILY TO THE INTELLECTUAL AND STRATEGIC BASIS FOR THE AIR WAR ON GERMAN INDUSTRY. THIS WAS DONE BY THE ENEMY OBJECTIVES UNIT DEVELOPED IN DONOVAN'S IVORY TOWER BACK IN WASHINGTON BY ED MASON, AN ECONOMICS PROFESSOR FROM HARVARD AND BROUGHT TO LONDON UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHARLIE KINDELBERGER.

THE AMERICAN TALENT WORKING IN THIS AREA WAS PRODIGIOUS, AS THE FUTURE CAREERS OF THOSE WHO TOOK PART WOULD TESTIFY. KINDELBERGER'S STARS INCLUDED WALT ROSTOW, LATER TO BECOME

LYNDON JOHNSON'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR; ROBERT ROOSA, A FUTURE UNDER SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY FOR MONETARY AFFAIRS; CHARLES HITCH, WHO WOULD BECOME PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA; CARL KAYSEN, WHO WAS TO HEAD THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES AT PRINCETON; CHAN MORSE; EMIL DESPRES; HAROLD BARNET; AND OTHERS I CAN'T RECALL.

THESE OSS ECONOMISTS, APPLYING ECONOMIC ANALYSIS TO STRATEGIC BOMBING, DEVELOPED CRITERIA AND DOCTRINE FOR TARGET SELECTION AND CARRIED OUT COST BENEFIT ANALYSES ON THE RELATIVE MERITS OF BOMBING FACTORIES THAT MADE AIRCRAFT ENGINES, ASSEMBLED PLANES, AND PRODUCED BALL-BEARINGS.

IN THE SPRING OF 1944, THEY LOST A CAMPAIGN TO PERSUADE EISENHOWER TO SHIFT FROM THE BOMBING OF RAILROAD MARSHALING YARDS, WHICH THEY ARGUED COULD BE QUICKLY REPAIRED, TO THE DESTRUCTION OF SYNTHETIC OIL PLANTS WHICH THEY FELT COULD BE KEPT OUT OF ACTION LONGER AND WHICH WOULD SLOW DOWN GERMAN AIRPOWER AND TRUCKS MORE PERMANENTLY AND MORE VALUABLY THAN DAMAGING MARSHALING YARDS. THEY FELT THAT ANY TRAFFIC DELAYS RESULTING FROM THE BOMBING OF MARSHALING YARDS WOULD SLOW DOWN CIVILIAN MORE THAN MILITARY TRANSPORT BECAUSE THE GERMAN MILITARY WOULD HAVE PRIORITY AND GET THROUGH.

WHERE AND HOW AND WHEN SUPPLIES TO THE FRENCH RESISTANCE WOULD BE DELIVERED WAS PLANNED JOINTLY BY OSS AND SOE, ALREADY WORKING IN TANDEM AS SPECIAL FORCES HEADQUARTERS (SFHQ). SPECIALLY TRAINED BRITISH AND AMERICAN CREWS FLEW MODIFIED PLANES

TO DROP WEAPONS TO THE RESISTANCE. WITH THE FRENCH RESISTANCE LEADER IN LONDON WE STRUGGLED WITH THE AMERICAN AIR FORCE TO GET MORE AIR DROPS FOR THE RESISTANCE AND WITH THE BRITISH WE TRAINED AND SENT CLOSE TO 100 YOUNG AMERICANS AS AGENTS INTO FRANCE.

IN THOSE LAST WEEKS BEFORE THE LANDINGS, THE WIRELESS REPORTS RECEIVED IN LONDON IN INCREASING PROFUSION CREATED A GROWING SENSE OF CONTROL OVER LARGE AREAS OF FRANCE. OUR AGENTS WOULD FIND THEMSELVES SURROUNDED BY A LARGE GROUP OF PEOPLE AS THEY LANDED WITH FIRES BURNING, AUTOS ON HAND TO DRIVE THEM THROUGH VILLAGES AND SMALLER TOWNS UNDER MAQUIS CONTROL. SUPPLY DEPOTS AND HOSPITALS FOR RESISTANCE FIGHTERS WERE FUNCTIONING. GERMAN FORCES KEPT TO THE ROUTES NATIONALES AND THE BIG TOWNS BECAUSE THEY FOUND THE SECONDARY ROADS TOO DANGEROUS. BY STICKING TO BACKROADS IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR OUR AGENTS TO DRIVE LONG DISTANCES WITH IMPUNITY.

OUR PLANES WERE PARACHUTING ALMOST 100 TONS OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION A WEEK, TEN TIMES WHAT WE HAD BEEN DOING TWO MONTHS EARLIER. THE RAF WAS DROPPING EVEN MORE. STILL MORE CAME FROM ALGIERS. THE RADIO SETS IN CONTACT WITH LONDON OR ALGIERS HAD BECOME THE GREAT SOURCES OF POWER IN DEALING WITH RESISTANCE FACTIONS AND THEIR LEADERS. THE TAPPING OF THE MORSE KEY COULD, LIKE MAGIC, BRING THEM STEN GUNS, GRENADES, BAZOOKAS AND EXPLOSIVES. A SINGLE RADIO COULD PROVIDE A CENTER OF COMMUNICATION FOR GROUPS OF HUNDREDS AND EVEN THOUSANDS OF RESISTANCE FIGHTERS EXTENDING

OVER HUNDREDS OF MILES OF WINDING ROADS AS THEIR LEADERS CAME TO REQUEST ARMS AND PROPOSE OR ACCEPT MISSIONS OF DESTRUCTION, INTERDICTION OR PRESERVATION.

AS THE INVASION DREW NEARER, RESISTANCE LEADERS OPERATING BEHIND THE LINES AND OFFICERS COMMANDING INVADING TROOPS HAD TO BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY IF THEIR OPERATIONS WERE TO MESH. RADIO CONTACT ALONE COULD NOT ACCOMPLISH THIS. WE NEEDED MEN IN ALLIED UNIFORMS TO ADVISE THE RESISTANCE ON ALLIED NEEDS. WE NEEDED SPECIALISTS ATTACHED TO THE INVADING ARMIES WHO UNDERSTOOD THE RESISTANCE TO ADVISE ALLIED COMMANDERS ON WHAT FRENCH FORCES COULD DELIVER.

TEAMS OF THREE--AN AMERICAN, BRITISH AND FRENCH OFFICER OR NON-COM--CALLED "JEDBURGHs" WERE AIR DROPPED INTO FRANCE STARTING A DAY OR TWO BEFORE D-DAY. ALL IN ALL WE TRAINED 300 VOLUNTEERS AND ORGANIZED THEM INTO 93 TEAMS. VIRTUALLY ALL WERE DISPATCHED INTO FRANCE BEHIND THE LINES. IN ADDITION, SMALL SPECIAL FORCES DETACHMENTS, MADE UP OF OSS AND SOE OFFICERS, WERE DETAILED TO EACH ARMY AND ARMY GROUP HEADQUARTERS. EQUIPPED WITH DIRECT RADIO LINKS TO OSS RADIO STATIONS IN ENGLAND, THEY SERVED AS THE EUROPEAN RESISTANCE'S CENTRAL NERVOUS SYSTEM IN INDIRECT CONTACT WITH RESISTANCE FORCES.

OUR COUNTERESPIONAGE OUTFIT, X-2, UNDER JIMMIE MURPHY AND HUBERT WILL, ORGANIZED TEAMS TO JOIN THE ARMY STAFFS AND SUPPORT THEM WITH DATA AND FILES WHICH, WHEN THEY GOT TO FRANCE, WERE

USED TO APPREHEND AND PLACE BACK TO THE GERMANS SPIES THEY HAD LEFT BEHIND OR WHO HAD BEEN CAPTURED. DONOVAN HAD TURNED TO THE AMERICAN ETHNIC MELTING POT TO ORGANIZE OPERATIONAL GROUPS, SOME 20 TO 40 OF FRENCH, ITALIAN, SCANDANAVIAN, AND SLAVIC ORIGINS WHO WERE TO BE DROPPED INTO FRANCE, ITALY, NORWAY AND YUGOSLAVIA TO COOPERATE AND SUPPORT LOCAL RESISTANCE FORCES. SEVERAL OF THESE OPERATIONAL GROUPS WENT BEHIND THE LINES IN FRANCE AND ITALY. TOWARD THE END OF THE WAR, BILL COLBY, HAVING FINISHED HIS MISSION INTO FRANCE AS A JEDBURGH, TOOK AN OPERATIONAL GROUP INTO NORTHERN NORWAY NEAR THE RUSSIAN BORDER.

ON MAY 31, WORD REACHED US AT GROSVENOR STREET THAT SHAEF HAD TURNED THE POLICY FOR USING FRENCH RESISTANCE UPSIDE DOWN. WE WERE TOLD THAT INSTEAD OF SIGNALING THE RESISTANCE TO RISE UNIT BY UNIT AND JOIN THE FIGHTING ON A GRADUAL, AS-NEEDED BASIS, ALL ACTION SIGNALS TO RESISTANCE GROUPS IN EVERY CORNER OF FRANCE WOULD BE SENT OUT SIMULTANEOUSLY.

MOST IMPORTANT, EISENHOWER WANTED TO PROTECT THE DECEPTION CAMPAIGN THAT HAD THE GERMANS EXPECTING THE LANDINGS TO COME FURTHER TO THE NORTH ON THE PAS DE CLAIS AND WOULD KEEP HITLER'S BEST DIVISIONS THERE, 100 MILES FROM THE NORMANDY BEACHES, FOR SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER THE LANDINGS.

OUR FIRST REACTION TO THE NEW ORDER WAS ONE OF GLOOM AND FOREBODING. THIS COULD TOUCH OFF A NATIONAL UPRISING. THE GERMANS WOULD HAVE LITTLE TROUBLE DROWNING THE REVOLT IN A BLOOD BATH WITH GRAVE, LONG-TERM POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES. FINALLY, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, OUR TROOPS MOVING ACROSS FRANCE WOULD BE DEPRIVED OF MILITARY SUPPORT FROM THE FFI. DAVID BRUCE WENT TO ARGUE THIS OUT WITH GENERAL WALTER BEDELL SMITH, IKE'S CHIEF OF STAFF. TO NO AVAIL. THE DECISION WAS FIRM. EISENHOWER WANTED ALL THE HELP HE COULD GET WHEN HE NEEDED IT MOST, AT THE TIME OF THE LANDING.

ON JUNE 1, THE FIRST SET OF SOME 300 MESSAGES WENT OUT OVER THE BBC ALERTING RESISTANCE LEADERS ALL OVER FRANCE THAT THE LANDINGS WERE TO COME DURING THAT WEEK. THE ACTION MESSAGES ON THE NIGHT OF JUNE 5 TRIGGERED THE RAIL, WIRE CUTS, ROAD AND BRIDGE DESTRUCTION WHICH HAD BEEN TARGETED ALL OVER FRANCE. TRAINS AND CONVOYS CARRYING GERMAN TROOPS AND SUPPLIES TO THE BRIDGEHEAD WERE DELAYED FOR DAYS AND WEEKS, TROOPS ARRIVED AT THE FRONT ON BICYCLES AND HORSE-DRAWN CARTS, GERMAN HEADQUARTERS WITH THEIR TELEPHONE LINES CUT HAD TO COMMUNICATE WITH RADIOS WHICH OUR CODEBREAKERS IN ENGLAND READ WITH DRAMATIC CONSEQUENCES.

IN LATE MAY, A SHAEF ASSESSMENT HAD FOUND THAT BOMBING RAILROAD MARSHALING YARDS HAD INDEED FAILED TO IMPAIR THE ENEMY'S ABILITY TO MOVE UP REINFORCEMENTS AND MAINTAIN HIS FORCES IN THE WEST. THE GERMANS STILL HAD THREE TIMES THE CAPACITY NEEDED TO SUPPORT THEIR MILITARY TRAFFIC.

AFTER LOSING THE FIGHT TO GIVE PRIORITY TO ATTACKING OIL FACILITIES, THE OSS ECONOMISTS HAD GONE ALL OUT TO REFOCUS ALLIED BOMBINGS AWAY FROM MARSHALING YARDS TO BRIDGES, FUEL AND AMMUNITION DUMPS, TANK AND TRUCK DEPOTS. THEY ARGUED THAT IT COULD TAKE UP TO THREE WEEKS TO REPAIR A BRIDGE, ONLY HOURS TO FIX A TRACK INSIDE OR NEAR A MARSHALING YARD OR RAILROAD CENTER.

THE OSS ECONOMISTS HAD BEEN RIGHT AND THE ALLIED AIR MARSHALLS--TEDDER, LEIGH-MALLORY, SPAATZ, ARNOLD--AUTHORIZED THE ATTACKS ON BRIDGES SPANNING THE SEINE, OISE AND MEUSE. SUCCESS WAS SPECTACULAR. GENERAL SPAATZ PARTICULARLY WENT AFTER THE SYNTHETIC OIL PLANTS AS KINDELBERGER HAD URGED MONTHS EARLIER AND THIS CONTRIBUTED HEAVILY IN SLOWING DOWN GERMAN AIR ATTACKS, TANKS AND TRANSPORT FOR THE DURATION OF THE WAR.

NOW AS THE FRENCH BRIDGES WERE HIT, STONE AND MASONRY TUMBLED INTO THE DUSTY RIVERS, FORCING GERMAN SOLDIERS OFF TRAINS TO TRUDGE DOWN A ROAD TOWARD THE FRONT LINES.

IN THE WEEK AFTER D-DAY, RESISTANCE TEAMS MADE 1,000 RAIL CUTS AND 2,000 WITHIN THREE WEEKS. AFTER JUNE 7, NOT A SINGLE TRAIN CROSSED THE AREA OF BURGUNDY BETWEEN DIJON, BESANCON, CHALON AND LOUS LE SAUNIER, THROUGH WHICH RAN ALL THE MAIN AND SECONDARY LINES BETWEEN THE RHONE VALLEY AND THE RHINE.

THE GERMAN 11TH PANZER DIVISION TOOK A WEEK TO GET FROM RUSSIA TO THE RHINE AND THREE WEEKS TO GET ACROSS FRANCE TO CAEN. ONE OF THE OLDEST AND PROBABLY THE BEST OF THE PANZER DIVISIONS, DAS REICH, ORDERED TO NORMANDY, WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN A THREE-DAY TRIP, ARRIVED 15 DAYS LATE.

AFTER THE LANDINGS, PARTICULARLY DURING LATE JUNE AND JULY, WE POURED IN A TORRENT OF SUPPLIES. WITH THE LIFT IT GAVE RESISTANCE FIGHTERS, IT PAID OFF DURING AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER WHEN RESISTANCE GROUPS SOUTH OF LOIRE PROTECTED PATTON'S RIGHT FLANK AS HE RACED ACROSS FRANCE FROM BRITTANY TO NANCY AND ULTIMATELY LIBERATED ALL OF FRANCE SOUTH OF THE LOIRE AND WEST OF THE RHONE. EAST OF THE RHONE RESISTANCE FORCES, ALONG NAPOLEON'S ROUTE, PROTECTED THE FLANKS OF THE AMERICAN SEVENTH ARMY AS IT MOVED FROM ITS MEDITERRANEAN LANDING BEACHES TO TAKE GRENOBLE WITHIN NINE DAYS AFTER LANDING ON THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST. THE SEVENTH ARMY OPERATIONAL PLAN HAD FIGURED IT WOULD TAKE MUCH LONGER TO TAKE GRENOBLE.

WHILE THIS WAS GOING ON, OSS JEDBURGHES FROM ALGIERS RANGED AS FAR NORTH AS DIJON AND AS FAR WEST AS VICHY, RALLYING RESISTANCE FORCES TO DISRUPT GERMANS, WITH SOME SEEKING TO PROVIDE REINFORCEMENT, OTHERS RETREATING. THE MILITARY COMMAND IN ALGIERS HAD REMARKABLY ACCURATE INTELLIGENCE ON GERMAN DISPOSITIONS IN FRANCE OF WHICH, A BRITISH G-2 OFFICER ESTIMATED, 50% CAME FROM OSS.

THIS BRILLIANT RESULT CAME FROM INTEL NETWORKS IN FRANCE LAUNCHED WHEN HENRY HYDE PERSUADED THE BRITISH TO ALLOW HIM TO SEND A TWO-MAN TEAM HE HAD RECRUITED IN ALGIERS FROM ENGLAND. THE YEAR THIS GAVE HYDE TO DEVELOP HIS NETWORKS BEFORE ANY OTHER AGENTS COULD BE DROPPED FROM ENGLAND PAID ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS.

HYDE'S TEAM HAD QUICKLY BUILT A TIGHT ESPIONAGE NETWORK THROUGH SOUTHERN FRANCE THAT HAD 2,500 AGENTS AND 337 RADIOS TRANSMITTING INTELLIGENCE TO ALGIERS. COMPLIMENTING HYDE'S ALGERIAN EFFORT WAS OSS IN MADRID, PUTTING AGENTS ACROSS THE SPANISH BORDER, AND ALLEN DULLES, IN SWITZERLAND, PUSHING AGENTS DOWN THROUGH THE ALPS TOWARDS THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST.

WHEN BRITISH AND AMERICAN ARMIES APPROACHED THE BELGIAN BORDER, THE PORT OF ANTWERP WAS A GREAT PRIZE. WHEN BELGIUM WAS LIBERATED IN SEPTEMBER, THE BELGIAN SECRET ARMY HAD PREVENTED THE GERMANS FROM CARRYING OUT ORDERS TO DESTROY IT. THE PORT WAS HANDED OVER TO US INTACT. ONE OF THE GREAT FOUL-UPS OF COMMAND IN WORLD WAR II WAS THE FAILURE TO CROSS THE ALBERT CANAL TO SEAL OFF THE GERMAN 15TH ARMY IN ITS RETREAT FROM THE CHANNEL COAST. THE RESULT WAS THAT SUBSTANTIAL ELEMENTS OF THAT ARMY SURVIVED TO DEFEAT MONTGOMERY'S THRUST TO CROSS THE RHINE AT ARNHEIM AND THAT WE HAD TO SIT UNTIL NOVEMBER TO CLEAR THE APPROACHES TO ANTWERP SO THAT SUPPLIES COULD BE BROUGHT TO THE FRONT BY THE SHORTEST AND FASTEST ROUTE. THE WAR WOULD HAVE LASTED A GOOD DEAL LONGER IF WE HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO USE THOSE PORT FACILITIES IN THE LATE FALL OF 1944.

DURING SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, WITH FRANCE LIBERATED, EVERYONE FROM THE BRITISH JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE TO THE HIGH COMMAND TO THE LOWEST GI THOUGHT THE WAR WAS VIRTUALLY OVER, THE GERMANS LICKED. OSS ALMOST DISMANTLED ITSELF. EVERYBODY HAD HUSTLED TO PARIS IN ORDER TO BE IN PARIS. LONDON WAS DENUDED. NEITHER OFFICE WAS REALLY FUNCTIONAL. OSS DETACHMENTS WITH THE ARMIES IN THE FIELD HAD LITTLE WORK TO DO SINCE CONTACTS WITH THE RESISTANCE AND THE LOCAL POPULATION EITHER WERE NON-EXISTENT OR HAD TO BE REBUILT FROM SCRATCH. WE HAD STAFF AND ORGANIZATION BUT FEW FUNCTIONING AGENTS, NO AIR LIFTS AND NO COMMUNICATIONS ON THE CONTINENT.

THE SURPRISE AND POWER OF HITLER'S COUNTERATTACK THROUGH THE ARDENNES CHANGED ALL THAT. DONOVAN MUST HAVE REACHED FOR AN AIRPLANE THE MOMENT HE HEARD ABOUT HITLER'S DRIVE INTO THE ARDENNES. HE WAS IN PARIS A FEW DAYS BEFORE CHRISTMAS. INTUITIVELY, DONOVAN SENSED BOTH FAILURE AND OPPORTUNITY.

HE KNEW, TOO, THAT NEITHER OSS NOR THE BRITISH WERE PRODUCING ENOUGH INTELLIGENCE FROM BEHIND GERMAN LINES. HE NAMED ME CHIEF OF SECRET INTELLIGENCE FOR THE EUROPEAN THEATER WITH BLANKET AUTHORITY TO PREEMPT PEOPLE FROM ANY PART OF OSS AND CONCENTRATE ALL ITS RESOURCES ON PRYING FRESH INTELLIGENCE OUT OF THE REICH. BITTERMAN REINFORCED ME BY BRINGING MILTON KATZ UP FROM ITALY TO BE MY DEPUTY AND DICK HELMS AND MIKE BURKE AND HANS TOFTE, WHO HAD COMPLETED MISSIONS IN FRANCE AND

YUGOSLAVIA, TO RUN OUR OPERATIONS INTO GERMANY. I HAVE WONDERED HOW HE PICKED ON A YOUNG NAVAL LIEUTENANT FOR THAT TASK. I MAY HAVE FOUND THE ANSWER QUITE RECENTLY WHEN A FRIEND POKING THROUGH THE OSS FILES IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, SENT ME A COPY OF A PAPER I HAD SENT TO DONOVAN IN THE FALL OF 1944. IT LAID OUT THAT WE HAD TO CHANGE GEARS. IN PART IT READ:

"IT MUST BE ASSUMED THAT THE GERMANS WILL BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN RESISTANCE THROUGHOUT THE WINTER AND THAT THE ALLIED FORCES WILL BE FORCED TO DRIVE SLOWLY, TAKING IMPORTANT CENTERS IN GERMANY AT WELL SPACED OUT INTERVALS. AS LONG AS ORGANIZED RESISTANCE IS MAINTAINED, THE INTELLIGENCE ON ORDER OF BATTLE, DEFENSE INSTALLATIONS, AIR TARGETS, MORALE, MILITARY PLANS AND OTHER CONDITIONS INSIDE GERMANY WILL CARRY THE HIGHEST PRIORITY.

"CONTROLS OVER MOVEMENTS AND EATING ARE NOW SO TIGHT THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AGENTS INSIDE GERMANY IS LIKELY TO BE AN EXTREMELY SLOW AND UNCERTAIN PROCESS. HOWEVER, IF AND WHEN CONTROLS BEGIN TO BREAK DOWN, OSS MUST BE READY TO STEP UP THE PLACING OF AGENTS WITHIN GERMANY. MOREOVER, IT IS LIKELY THAT CONTROLS WILL BREAK DOWN LOCALLY IN AREAS IN THE LINE OF ADVANCE OF ALLIED FORCES. OSS MUST BE READY TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEND AGENTS THROUGH THE LINES IF AND WHEN THEY BECOME FLUID AND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF LOCAL COLLAPSE OF CONTROLS IN AREAS UP TO 25 AND 30 MILES BEHIND THE FRONT LINES...."

WE HAD HAD MEN AND WOMEN BEATING AT OUR DOORS TO JUMP INTO FRANCE. NOW ALL WE WERE HEARING WAS HOW RISKY, EVEN FOOLHARDY, IT WOULD BE TO TRY PUTTING AGENTS INTO THE DARKNESS OF GERMANY. OUR BRITISH PARTNERS AND TUTORS HAD DECIDED LONG AGO THAT ODDS AGAINST AGENTS SENT TO GERMANY WERE STACKED TOO HIGH. THIS SHOOK ME, BUT WE HAD TO TRY. THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE

WAS PROVING HOW MUCH PUNCH THE WEHRMACHT HAD LEFT. THE MEN WHO WOULD HAVE TO LAY THEIR LIVES ON THE LINE WERE ENTITLED TO BETTER INFORMATION THAN WE HAD BEEN GETTING THEM.

BETWEEN OCTOBER 1944 AND APRIL 1945, WE SENT MORE THAN 150 AGENTS, MOSTLY BELGIANS, DUTCHMEN, FRENCHMEN AND POLES, INTO GERMANY WITH IDENTIFICATION AS FOREIGN WORKERS, TOGETHER WITH ANTI-NAZI PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMAN UNIFORM. THEY WERE SENT TO TRANSPORTATION CENTERS WITH RADIO SETS OR NEW EQUIPMENT WE DEVELOPED TO ENABLE THEM TO HOLD A CONVERSATION WITH AN AIRPLANE SENT OUT FOR THAT PURPOSE. THESE BRAVE MEN WENT INTO GERMANY BLIND AND IT WAS REMARKABLE THAT OVER 95 PERCENT OF THEM CAME OUT ALIVE.

IN THE FEW MONTHS, SOME OF THEM ONLY WEEKS, THESE AGENTS HAD TO OPERATE INSIDE GERMANY, WITH THE WAR DRAWING TO A CLOSE, THE INTELLIGENCE PRODUCED WAS OF MARGINAL VALUE. BUT THE EXPERIENCE AND CONFIDENCE IT GAVE US WAS INVALUABLE.

OSS OPERATED UNDER ITS OWN STEAM IN A WAY IT NEVER REALLY HAD, EVEN DURING THE LATTER PHASE OF THE FRENCH CAMPAIGN. THEN, WE HAD BEEN DEPENDENT ON THE FRENCH FOR COVER STORY, INTELLIGENCE AND CREATIVITY AND ON THE BRITISH FOR DOCUMENT MANUFACTURE AND AGENT EQUIPMENT. NOW, IN GERMANY, THE BRITISH CAME TO US FOR THE HELP. THE PAINSTAKING RESEARCH AND ASSEMBLY, THE ENDLESS CLASSIFICATION OF INFORMATION, HAD FINALLY PAID OFF.

OUR WORK MET THE ACID TEST OF GERMAN INSPECTION WITH FLYING COLORS. ONLY TWO SETS OF DOCUMENTS FAILED TO PASS INSPECTION AND TWICE THE GERMANS ISSUED WARNINGS THAT AMERICAN AGENTS IN SOUTHERN GERMANY WERE EQUIPPED WITH PAPERS TOO GOOD TO SPOT AS FALSE.

DONOVAN'S INSISTENCE IN 1942 AND 1943 THAT THE AMERICAN ARMIES SHOULD HAVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT, SELF-SUSTAINING INTELLIGENCE SOURCES HAD FINALLY BEEN VINDICATED IN GERMANY.

DONOVAN PROMISED TO SEND OUR GERMAN TEAM TO CHINA TO DO A REPEAT PERFORMANCE AGAINST THE JAPANESE AND WE WERE READY AND EAGER, BUT THE JAPANESE SURRENDER SAVED US THAT TROUBLE.

FINALLY, LET ME HAVE A BRIEF WORD ON WHAT THE OSS EXPERIENCE MEANS TO US TODAY AND FOR THE FUTURE. IT PROVIDES TRADITION, THE DOCTRINE, THE SKILLS AND MANY OF THE PEOPLE WHO BUILT THE CIA. FOR HALF THE LIFE OF THE CIA ITS DIRECTOR HAS BEEN SOMEONE WHO WORKED UNDER BILL DONOVAN IN THE OSS. WHAT WE FACE TODAY HAS MUCH IN COMMON WITH WHAT WE FACED IN 1944.

THE WEST AGAIN HAS TOTALITARIAN STATES USING FORCE AND VIOLENCE AGAINST ITS INTERESTS. MARXIST-LENINIST POLICIES AND TACTICS HAVE UNLEASHED THE FOUR HORSES OF THE APOCALYPSE--FAMINE, PESTILENCE, WAR AND DEATH. THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD WE SEE FAMINE IN AFRICA, PESTILENCE THROUGH CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND INDOCHINA, DEATH EVERYWHERE WITH OVER

300,000 SOVIET, VIETNAMESE, AND CUBAN TROOPS IN SAVAGE MILITARY OPERATIONS DIRECTED AT WIPING OUT NATIONAL RESISTANCE IN AFGHANISTAN, KAMPUCHEA, ANGOLA, ETHIOPIA, NICARAGUA AND SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF ALL THIS CARNAGE, THIS CREEPING IMPERIALISM? IN MY VIEW, THERE ARE TWO PRIMARY TARGETS--THE OIL FIELDS OF THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH ARE THE LIFELINE OF THE WESTERN ALLIANCE, AND THE ISTHMUS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA. AFGHANISTAN, SOUTH YEMEN, ETHIOPIA, AS WELL AS CAM RANH BAY IN VIETNAM, AND MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, BRING SOVIET POWER MUCH CLOSER TO THE SOURCES OF OIL AND MINERALS ON WHICH THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS DEPEND AND PUTS SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR POWER ASTRIDE THE SEA LANES WHICH CARRY THOSE RESOURCES TO AMERICA, EUROPE AND JAPAN.

ANOTHER PHENOMENON DOMINATING THE LANDSCAPE DURING AND AFTER WORLD WAR II WAS THE TRAGIC PLIGHT OF REFUGEES ESCAPING TOTALITARIANISM. TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION SINCE THEN HAS PRODUCED ADDITIONAL WAVES OF REFUGEES FROM EASTERN EUROPE IN THE 1940s AND 1950s FROM CASTRO'S CUBA, FROM THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVERS IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA. ONE-QUARTER OF THE POPULATION OF AFGHANISTAN HAS FLED INTO PAKISTAN. ALREADY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NICARAGUANS AND SALVADORANS HAVE FLED THEIR COUNTRIES AND HEADED NORTH. CAN ANYONE DOUBT THAT AS SOON AS IT BECOMES APPARENT THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE ABOUT TO

COMPLETE THEIR CONQUEST OF NICARAGUA ANOTHER SIGNAL WILL BE FLASHED AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WILL LEAVE CENTRAL AMERICA, AND ULTIMATELY MEXICO, TO CROSS THE BORDER OF THE UNITED STATES.

THIS RECURRING REFUGEE PHENOMENON IS AN ELOQUENT INDICTMENT OF THE NATURE AND DIMENSION OF WHAT IS HAPPENING FROM ETHIOPIA TO AFGHANISTAN TO CAMBODIA AND IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE. IN ADDITION TO THE MILLIONS VOTING WITH THEIR FEET, HOWEVER, MOSCOW'S SURROGATE TOTALITARIANS ARE FACING A NEW PHENOMENON-- THE RISING UP OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE WHO ARE VOLUNTEERS IN IRREGULAR WARS AGAINST THE SOVIET ARMY OR SOVIET-SUPPORTED REGIMES. WHEREAS IN THE 1960s AND 1970s ANTI-WESTERN CAUSES ATTRACTED RECRUITS THROUGHOUT THE THIRD WORLD, THE 1980s HAVE EMERGED AS THE DECADE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS RESISTING COMMUNIST REGIMES. TODAY IN A VERY REAL WAY, THE OCCUPYING FORCES ARE BESIEGED MUCH AS THE NAZI ARMY AND PUPPET RULERS WERE BY THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, DUTCH AND NORWEGIAN RESISTANCE IN 1943 AND 1944.

WE HEAR IT SAID THAT THESE CONTRAS, MUJAHIDEENS, AND TRIBESMEN LED BY DR. JONAS SAVIMBI CAN'T WIN. WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT GEORGE WASHINGTON'S RAG TAG ARMY, DOWN TO 3,000 MEN AT SOME POINTS, COULD HAVE, WITH COVERT ASSISTANCE FROM FRANCE, THROWN THE BRITISH WITH THE LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL ARMY IN THE WORLD OUT OF NORTH AMERICA? WHO WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT THE VIETCONG, WITH SOVIET COVERT AID, COULD HAVE FORCED AN AMERICAN ARMY OF HALF A MILLION OUT OF INDOCHINA?

THE TRUTH, AS REVEALED IN OUR WORLD WAR II EXPERIENCES AND NUMEROUS STRUGGLES IN THE THIRD WORLD SINCE THEN, IS THAT FAR FEWER PEOPLE AND WEAPONS ARE NEEDED TO PUT A GOVERNMENT ON THE DEFENSIVE THAN ARE NEEDED TO PROTECT IT. A RESISTANCE MOVEMENT DOES NOT SEEK A CLASSIC DEFINITIVE MILITARY VICTORY. EXTERNAL SUPPORT IS ALMOST ALWAYS A KEY FACTOR IN RESISTANCE SUCCESS. A PROGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL OF DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR A GOVERNMENT ACCOMPANIED BY NAGGING MILITARY PRESSURE LARGELY AGAINST ECONOMIC TARGETS IS WHAT HELPS BRING DOWN OR ALTER A REPRESSIVE GOVERNMENT.

THE SMALL AND WEAK COUNTRIES WHICH ARE COMBATting SOVIET INSPIRED SUBVERSION AND THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS WHICH ARE COMBATting MARXIST-LENINIST REPRESSION DO NOT NEED AND CANNOT HANDLE A LOT OF SOPHISTICATED MILITARY HARDWARE. WHAT THEY NEED IS WHAT ALWAYS HAS BEEN NEEDED IN THESE KINDS OF SITUATIONS-- TRAINING IN SMALL ARMS AND THEIR USE IN SMALL UNIT ACTIONS, GOOD INTELLIGENCE, AND GOOD COMMUNICATIONS. WE HELPED PROVIDE THIS WITH EFFECT TO THE RESISTANCE AGAINST NAZI GERMANY AND IF WE CAN MUSTER OUR RESOLVE AND ACT BEFORE RESISTANCE ASSETS ARE ALLOWED TO WITHER AWAY, WE CAN PUT THESE TACTICS TO GOOD USE TODAY.

IN CONCLUSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IT'S STILL WORTH TALKING ABOUT HOW THE OSS AND THE BRITISH SOE HELPED THE FRENCH RESISTANCE FORCES AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEFEAT OF NAZI GERMANY BECAUSE I'M CONVINCED THAT OUR SUCCESS IN THAT WORK CAN TEACH US SOMETHING ABOUT HOW WE CAN MEET OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES TODAY. WITH A RELATIVELY FEW SKILLED OFFICERS AND A TINY FRACTION OF OUR MILITARY BUDGET, WE CAN INTRODUCE NEW ELEMENTS OF STABILITY INTO THE THIRD WORLD AND CHECK THIRD WORLD MARXIST-LENINIST REGIMES THAT ARE STAMPING OUT DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND POSING A THREAT TO OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY. THANK YOU.
