

CIA Head Dulles Retiring After 20 Years of

By BRIC GEN. THOMAS R. PHILLIPS, U.S.A. (Ret.)
Military Analyst of the Post-Dispatch.

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PRESIDENT KENNEDY made an unannounced trip by helicopter to the new Central Intelligence Agency headquarters last Tuesday to award the National Security medal to Allen W. Dulles, the retiring chief of the CIA.

The medal was awarded for distinguished service in the field of intelligence. The President praised Dulles as "an almost unique figure in our country," a man who has served the United States under seven Presidents as a diplomat, wartime chief of undercover operations and head of CIA.

"I know of no man who brings a greater sense of personal commitment to his work," Mr. Kennedy said of Dulles, "who has less pride in office than he has."

Dulles, who is 68 years old, is ending a career of 20 years of active intelligence and cloak-and-dagger operations.

FROM APPEARANCE, one would never associate Dulles as an unquestioned master of espionage and undercover operations. A tweedy gentleman, gregarious, even jaunty, with a hearty laugh and a manner exuding friendliness, Dulles, nevertheless, had the toughness to send friends and agents on missions from which he and they knew the chances of returning alive were not more than even.

At one time, some years before Dulles joined the CIA at the request of the late Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, nine out of 10 espionage agents sent into the Soviet Union were caught.

This is the hard duty that is inevitably associated with espionage and undercover

operations. But in the less important aspects of being director of CIA, he is something of a softy. He hates to fire or retire an employe whose usefulness is limited because of age or other reasons.

The past two years have been rough ones for the CIA and its director because of the U-2 incident and the failure of the Cuban invasion. In both cases Dulles offered to resign and accept the blame. But neither President Eisenhower nor President Kennedy was willing to let him shoulder the burden.

Most officials believe that in the U-2 case Dulles should have been sacrificed rather than to have the President take the responsibility, not because any specific blame attached to Dulles, but because of the higher interests of the United States.

Failure was due both to the activity of Soviet counter-espionage and to the rather elementary training, documents and equipment given to the spies.

The U-2 flights had been going on for four years and had become almost routine. The President was acquainted with the schedule and had approved it. It apparently occurred to no one that these flights were especially risky at a time of appar-

ent reduction in tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The really embarrassing aspects of shooting down the U-2 were the transparently untrue cover story, which probably had been on the shelf for so long that no one thought much about it until it had to be used, and then the successively changed stories until the truth was admitted after the United States had fallen into Khrushchev's trap of keeping secret the capture of the pilot, Maj. Francis G. Powers.

"Your successes go unnoticed," President Kennedy told Dulles, "your failures are advertised. I have sometimes had that feeling myself."

The most advertised failure was the invasion of Cuba. Because the whole story has not been told, CIA was saddled in the public mind with the major blame for the failure. CIA may have underestimated Castro's strength,

but this was not a vital error.

THE CUBAN rebel group taking part in the invasion had their own intelligence in which they had complete faith. They were the men who were risking their lives and were determined to fight Castro. Even though their intelligence was optimistic, the landing was a surprise and a success.



ALLEN DULLES

The operation failed apparently because of lack of air cover. The authority for "volunteer" flyers to support the invasion was withdrawn at the last minute on orders from the President. Two ships loaded with ammunition and artillery and one ship with communications equipment were sunk by Castro's jet trainers.

When the invaders got ashore in a successful landing, many of the militia defected and went over to them. When they saw finally that the expedition was a failure, as the landing battalions ran out of ammunition, the defectors redefected to Castro and saved their lives.

Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, in an address in Chicago Nov. 21, said that American naval planes were "in the air and ready, willing and able to provide air cover" for the invading forces. The American planes were armed and "for a short time were over Cuban territory and territorial waters," but "did not fire a shot."

It is not generally known that the invasion was launched from Nicaragua, not Guatemala. According to former United States Ambassador to Nicaragua Thomas Whelan, there were 2000 trained Cubans ready to sail and support the landing force of 1500 men. When the landing force was destroyed, through lack of air cover, the reinforcements were held back. Whelan blamed the failure on the advice Chester Bowles and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. gave to President Kennedy and called for the removal of Bowles and Schlesinger.

Richard M. Bissell, who was Dulles's deputy for covert operations, was the responsible official in both the U-2 and the Cuban operations. He had been selected by Dulles as the best man to succeed him when he retired.

The CIA under Dulles has been criticized

for operating without adequate controls in the conduct of undercover operations. The fact is that no undercover operations are ever undertaken without the approval and on the orders of the National Security Council.

THE FEWER PEOPLE who know about the CIA operations the greater the secrecy and security. CIA employees are covered by a special law with ample punishment which binds them for life not to reveal anything of its operations.

In 1948 Dulles was appointed chairman of a three-man committee to survey the United States intelligence system. When Gen. Smith became director of CIA in 1950, he called Dulles and said: "You've written this report, suppose you come down here and put it into effect for me."

Dulles came to Washington for a six-weeks' job under Smith and has been with CIA ever since. He became director Feb. 26, 1953.

In the last years under Dulles, CIA has expanded greatly and its operations are worldwide. It is supposed to take a generation or more to build an effective intelligence service. Dulles and his predecessors in 14 years have built one of the most effective intelligence systems in the world.

Probably not more than 2 or 3 per cent of both the successes and failures of the CIA have been made public. The successes are testified to by the tirades in the Communist press about Dulles and CIA operations.

Some of them included the overthrow of Premier Mohamed Mossedegh in Iran, of King Farouk in Egypt, of Jacob Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala (he is now in Cuba with Castro), and the placing of Ngo Dinh Diem in power in South Viet Nam. A revolution in Indonesia rumored to have been supported by CIA did not succeed. It provided the rare spectacle of revolutionaries trained in United States military schools fighting against government officers trained in the same schools.

We knew all about the invasion of Egypt well in advance. CIA had information on Nasser's plots in Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. Nothing was known of Kassim's revolution in Iraq, by the British, the United States or Egypt. It was a minor plot completely separate from Nasser's, that took place fortuitously when Kassim's brigade was ordered to Baghdad en route to the Syrian frontier.

CIA furnished information about the trouble to be expected in connection with former Vice President Nixon's trip to South America. It was aware of the Soviet plans for orbiting a Sputnik a year before the event took place.

CIA has often been blamed for erroneous intelligence, when in fact correct intelligence had been supplied.

Dulles's motto is: "Never alibi, never explain, never boast."

He is returning to the practice of law with his old firm, Sullivan and Cromwell, of New York City. He also plans to write a book on Communism.

His book, "Germany's Underground," published in 1947, is in the rare book category. It commands a price of \$10. It deals with the anti-Hitler underground during World War II.

Dulles was in contact with this underground from 1942 until V-E day. He kept the United States informed of the plot against Hitler and found no one interested in helping it along. He supplied the President with the date of the attempted assassination of Hitler July 20, 1944, a week before it took place, much to the surprise and consternation of intelligence officials in Washington.

United States thinks are needed if V to turn back the Communists is h percussions in Washington. As c of bringing pressure on Diem the ation now is considering the tem