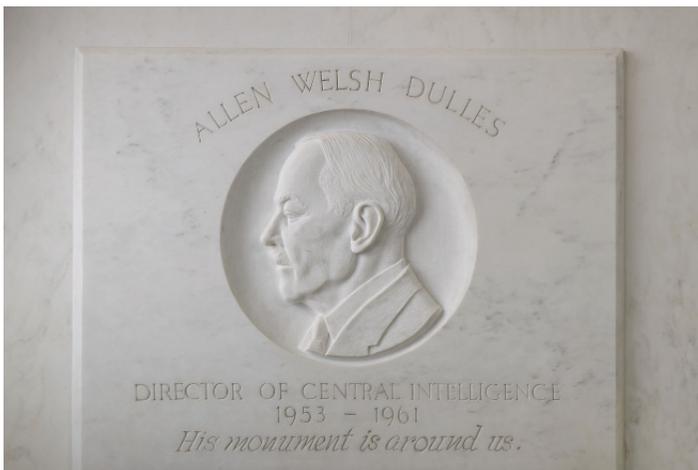


THE GILDED AGE

Allen W. Dulles and the CIA

Allen W. Dulles spent his tenure as the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) entrenched in secret power struggles that would ensure his ultimate power over the foreign and domestic affairs for the United States. Throughout his childhood, Dulles learned to use political power in order to get ahead, and to use secrecy to make unilateral decisions. After analyzing examples of his treatment of various foreign affairs disasters, as well as his manipulation of American media and politicians, Dulles is exposed as a man whose legacy lives in the CIA, as a legendary figure who is in fact much more of a crafted legend than a man of truth.

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A Bas-relief of Allen Dulles at the Original Headquarters of the CIA (1968)

Source: *The Central Intelligence Agency (Flickr Commons)*

“As director of the CIA, Allen Dulles liked to think he was the hand of a king, but if so, he was the left hand—the sinister hand. He was the master of the dark deeds that empires require.”¹

Allen W. Dulles served in many capacities for the CIA over a course of eight tumultuous years, most notably as the Director of Central Intelligence. Looking at the CIA website, one would see a host of accomplishments listed—Dulles “gave President Eisenhower—and his successors—intelligence about Soviet strategic capabilities and provided timely information about developing crises and hot spots.”² In fact, his statue in the lobby of the Original Headquarters bears the inscription, “His Monument is Around You,” implying his legacy is the CIA campus and as it exists today.³ But, what is that legacy? Under his reign as the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI), Dulles planted stories of successful missions in the press, lied to the presidents he served, and focused much more on protecting the *aura* surrounding the CIA than gathering true intelligence.

As written in *Legacy of Ashes*, “The myth of a golden age was

of the CIA’s own making, the product of the publicity and the political propaganda Allen Dulles manufactured in the 1950s.”⁴ How, though, did Dulles craft a flawless, genius image for the CIA? What methods did Dulles use to manipulate the press, the public, and even the other branches of government to bring forth an agency with “a great reputation and a terrible record?”⁵ Dulles made the CIA seem like an elite agency full of top agents resulting in high risk, high reward missions—how is this reconciled with the reality of the CIA under Dulles’ reign?

INTELLIGENCE IN YOUTH

To begin, it is vital to identify the significance of developing and running an intelligence agency in an open democratic system.⁶ Sun Tzu, author of *The Art of War*, insists the best (only) way to fight a war is to know the enemy. In fact, “So it is said that if you know others and know yourself, you will not be imperiled in a hundred battles; if you do not know others but know yourself, you will win one and lose one; if do not know others and do not know yourself, you will be imperiled in every single battle.”⁷

Allen W. Dulles did not see it this way, however. To him, intelligence was simply a buzzword used to convince those around him that he was fighting the good fight. Walter Bedell Smith served as the fourth Director of the CIA, directly preceding Dulles in the position, which worked out in Dulles’ favor as Dulles shone in comparison to Bedell Smith’s control. He also gained a head start in his conquest for unquestioned power. Though Bedell Smith left to become the Under Secretary of State, under his direction “the agency carried out the only two victorious coups in its history. The declassified records of those coups show that they succeeded by bribery and coercion and brute force, not secrecy, stealth, and cunning. But they created the legend that the CIA was a silver bullet in the arsenal of democracy. They gave the agency the aura that Dulles coveted.”⁸ Dulles leaned on this legacy, and used his power and manipulation within the CIA as the ultimate form of intelligence. His spies were within the agency and his family, he developed a network of people who helped him lie and manipulate the press, the US citizens, and the

President of the United States, always remaining at the top of the pyramid, alone, and responsible for all of the success he reported, and the disasters looming beneath.

From a young age Dulles was exposed to government and competition, both of which inspired his rise into power through the 1950s. Dulles' immediate family was not wealthy. However his ancestry did boast "three secretaries of state and other holders of important positions in diplomacy, government, the law, and the church."⁹ John W. Foster served as the Secretary of State under Harrison, and Robert Lansing acted as Secretary of State for Woodrow Wilson, setting the precedent that befriending and reaching high ranks of the government was a family expectation.¹⁰ There were certain standards of education and lifestyle that were acceptable for a Dulles. This pattern of success created a culture in which idleness or laziness were not accepted—in fact the family dynamic was "robust to the point of being somewhat spartan."¹¹ However spartan it was though, it worked as Allen W. Dulles learned from a young age to use his strengths and leave his weaknesses behind. Born with a clubfoot, Dulles' sister never remembered it as a handicap, rather just a part of his childhood that Dulles never received sympathy for, in "an attempt to toughen the boy to the rigors of life."¹² The Dulles' were never to receive sympathy or seem weak in the eyes of others; instead they were to be the leaders of the community, scholars, moral examples. Allen W. Dulles took this education very seriously; though deemed the "charming rascal of the family," he was never a slacker, and was successful through childhood, in part due to competition with his brother John Foster Dulles.¹³

In everything from school, "the large amount of reading, learning, and reciting they were encouraged to do at home," to recreational, leisure trips Allen and John were pitted against one another, partially by family, and in part by each other. Family fishing trips in which Allen would go with "Uncle Bert [Robert Lansing]" and John would ride with "his grandfather [John W. Foster]" took on a severely competitive nature; the boys were not even allowed to speak.¹⁴ Only during the lunch stops was discussion permitted, and then the topics were political concerns and world events—often high-ranking government officials, foreign and domestic, made these trips and there was no filter put on the policy discussions in front of John and Allen.¹⁵ From this young age, the Dulles brothers were taught to debate hotly and hold discussion and power close to the chest.

THE DULLES BROTHERS IN POWER

From this lesson came Dulles' knowledge that an alliance with his brother could bring him great success, but the competition with his brother was a fine line that had to be maneuvered carefully if he was to ultimately become more successful than John. From being left at home while John went abroad just before he went to Princeton to his entire Princeton experience at John's alma mater, Allen attempted to



Allen Welsh Dulles

Source: *Public Domain (Commons Wikimedia)*

outshine, or at least equal John's accomplishments.¹⁶ Princeton underwent great changes that resulted in the revelation that "Foster's class had been firmly rooted in the nineteenth century. During Allie's four years there, Princeton and the world took a last deep breath and then plunged headlong into the twentieth century."¹⁷ Though, John graduated first in his class, and Allen only ninth, both won prizes for their dissertations, and Allen participated in many more clubs and organizations.¹⁸ Known as a joiner, Allen was a member of the Whig Society, Law Club, the Municipal Club, and Cap and Gown eating club, while John was described as a "polar; a serious studier."¹⁹ Essentially, every aspect of Allen Dulles' growing up was embittered in competition with his high-achieving brother, and pushed by his successful relatives and family. He was only ever taught that power comes from success, success comes from knowledge, and knowledge was to be acquired through studying books... and people. The complicated competition and companionship of the two brothers can be seen in their hungry desire to play strategic games at all times, most notably chess. This game grew with them through childhood into adulthood; "the Dulles brothers were obsessive chess players... Allen could not be distracted from a lengthy joust with his brother. The Dulles brothers would bring the same strategic fixation to the game of global politics."²⁰

John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen left little to chance when it came to power and control. They believed "democ-



The CIA Original Headquarters Building (OHB) in Langley, VA (2014)

Source: *The Central Intelligence Agency*

racy was an enterprise that had to be carefully managed by the right men, not simply left to elected officials as a public trust.²¹ Since they ran “the most powerful corporate law firm in the nation,” Sullivan and Cromwell, they relied on the men who made up a privileged elite to override and run the inner workings of politics.²² Aside from the agreement to work together at Sullivan and Cromwell, it became clear the brothers had entirely different views on how to play the game of politics. Allen had the “colder eye of the two,” developing a foreign policy much more like Lansing’s than his grandfathers; that is, “[They] reasoned that if a nation is truly sovereign, then only a greater physical force can change its course; questions of right and wrong were on the margin.”²³ Though both Dulles brothers were tough lawyers, and power hungry politicians, it was Allen Dulles that became the shark. John Foster Dulles had the mantra, “Do not comply;... ‘Resist the law with all your might, and soon everything will be all right;’” those were words that he would continue to carry on through his career and inspire Allen in his tenure as CIA director.²⁴

Dulles was power hungry, and had been since his young career start with the government. He quickly made his way through the ranks of politics beginning as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, acting as Director and Secretary.²⁵ Proving himself in that context, and at Sullivan and Cromwell, he began to make a name for himself as republican and interventionist fighting for the election of the party leaders, losing the 1948 election as an advisor to Dewey, but remaining active in the party.²⁶ His most significant career move came at the beginning of WWII, however, when he took the position as the Swiss direction of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS).²⁷ It was not long after the end of WWII that he was called upon to move into the ranks of the CIA.

And to his ultimate favor, he became Director in 1953, as the first civilian DCI, and just a few years after the passage of the CIA Act which “gave the agency the widest conceivable powers.”²⁸ More importantly, the election of Eisenhower resulted in the brothers becoming “the new heads of the State Department and the CIA” via which they could “direct the global operations of the most powerful nation in the world.”²⁹ Despite any competition, or perhaps because of it, the Dulles brothers had “a unique leverage over the incoming administration, and they were imbued with a deep sense of confidence that these were the roles they were destined to play.”³⁰ Essentially, approval for any mission or operation could be requested and approved, or at least influenced, by one or both of the brothers. They had an ultimate hand in the politics of the newly created intelligence agency, and on foreign affairs of the entire United States.

SECRETS AS CURRENCY: DULLES AT THE CIA

For as much power as Dulles had in this new position as DCI, there was nothing he liked more than secrets, and nothing he disliked more than having to consult other people for authority. Reportedly, Dulles was an expert and spinning situations to always remain in control of his words and his secrets. At his dinner parties, when guests (who all numbered in the high-ranking government of Washington) would try to gather insight into the various crises he would tell stories with casts of characters that included former presidents, foreign diplomats, and evil dictators—not at all replying to the question asked of him.³¹ Reportedly, without divulging any ounce of covert information to the rest of the party, Dulles managed to leave everyone with “an afterglow, feeling they had been present at a rare inside look into the workings of high affairs.”³² Even in the informal setting of dinner parties,

Allen Dulles remained in control, and he never loosened his façade of power, for fear that the image of the CIA would crash down with it. In work and social situations, “Allen gave the impression of being a gregarious type. He was full of jollity. With his hearty laugh, his tweed coat, and his love of the martini, he cut quite a figure. But he never left any doubt that he was always looking for information rather than giving it out. He was very good at giving you tidbits in order to draw what he wanted from you.”³³ These secrets and need for power stretched as far as his personal life in which his marriage to Clover was anything but sacred. He had “as his sister, Eleanor, wrote later, ‘at least a hundred’” affairs.³⁴ He often wrote to his wife insinuating these infidelities occurred in the letters, detailing the beauty of the women he was keeping company with (and his mistresses included his wife’s best friend, and the Queen of Greece, to name a few).³⁵ Though ultimately a part of his private life, this need to be desired, and conquer his every whim shows Dulles’ true nature as a control-seeking director of intelligence—a man prepared to lie, cheat, and steal in order to keep what he holds close to his chest, and to acquire every tool possible to defend those secrets.

and that ‘in the absence of strong recommendations to the contrary operations against Mossadegh [sic] should be discontinued.’³⁹

Potentially the most amazing part of Operation Ajax is the aftermath in the American media and government, in which Kim Roosevelt (station head of the operation) and Dulles were heralded as heroes. By definition only, the mission seemed to have been fairly successful, if messy—that is, the Mossadegh was out of power. In an interview Dulles engaged in with John Chancellor for the NBC segment “The Science of Spying,” he responds to a question about the details of the Iranian coup by saying “The government of Mossadegh [sic], if you recall history, was overthrown by the action of the Shah. Now that we encouraged the Shah to take that action I will not deny.”⁴⁰ Clearly elusive, and as vague as possible, Dulles maintains the success and prestige of the operation by condescendingly keeping the power in his own hands. It was the action of the Shah that created the fall of power, yet it was the benevolent push of the CIA that created the destruction—but the destruction was not his fault, it was the Iranians.

“Dulles made the CIA seem like an elite agency full of top agents resulting in high risk, high reward missions.”

One of the earliest examples of Dulles’ disregard for oversight and second opinions came in the form of Operation Ajax, the name given to the plan for the Iranian Coup in 1953. Frank Wisner said once that the “CIA makes policy by default,” and this was one of those times, as the US government publicly supported Mossadegh, the very leader the CIA plotted to overthrow with the help of the British Secret Intelligence Service.³⁶ The plan relied very heavily, if not exclusively on the fact that the US had money to hand out; by bribing various members of Mossadegh’s family and cabinet, the CIA suddenly had influence in Iran. Despite President Eisenhower’s pervasive hesitance to approve the mission, Dulles went full steam ahead. A full propaganda scheme underway, money flowing into Iran, and a new shah hand-picked to take over after the coup, the plan seemed infallible—except, of course, if one of the many Iranian men on the inside of the plan talked, which is how Mossadegh learned of his own coup.³⁷ The country quickly flew into chaos, with pro-shah forces seeking out CIA officers and agents, and creating a world of violence in the nation. “Dr. Mossadegh had overreached, playing into the C.I.A.’s hands by dissolving Parliament after the coup,” so he was nearly caught, but instead flew to Rome in August 1953.³⁸ His departure left the operation headquarters in “depression and despair,” the history states, adding, “The message sent to Tehran on the night of Aug. 18 said that ‘the operation has been tried and failed’

Some men, Ray Cline being one of them, saw this as simply an “extravagant impression of CIA’s power.” Basically, this mission did nothing to actually prove the CIA’s might, and definitely did not encourage anyone of the worth of intelligence the CIA was gathering—it seemed, at least to Cline, to be more of a coincidence that the CIA was able to push Iran at just the right time to encourage a revolution, mostly by accident.⁴¹ All the CIA had done was push money into Iran, and trust the wrong people, which resulted in Mossadegh finding out the plan early. However, Dulles saw quite a different story. He instead found “[t]he illusion that the CIA could overthrow a nation by sleight of hand...alluring.”⁴² This mission created years of turmoil and SAVAK, the intelligence agency and secret police that ran much like the CIA, with no limitations to power and no oversight, becoming “Iran’s most hated and feared institution.”⁴³ However, Dulles chose to see it as an exertion of his power—he approved a mission to overthrow Mossadegh, and Mossadegh was now in Rome. His concealment expressed pure power and success, he refused to acknowledge that perhaps it was accidental, unnecessary, and in the long run detrimental—all Operation Ajax meant was that he could continue to run his CIA as he pleased, with whatever money he wanted.

In true Dulles style, he continued with his illusion of CIA power and success by perpetuating the myth of success by



Tanks in the streets of Tehran (1953)

Source: *Unknown* (Wikimedia Commons)

any means possible in the case of the Guatemalan coup in 1954. With the plan in place for the CIA to overthrow the “democratically elected Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz,” the CIA made a list of fifty-eight high-ranking government leaders who were to be assassinated, or “whose removal for psychological, organizational, or other reasons is mandatory for the success of military action.”⁴⁴ This justification made it clear that the removal of these men in order to replace Árbenz with the “‘bold, but incompetent’ Castillo Armas” was an act of grace for the Guatemalan people by the CIA, or so Dulles upheld.⁴⁵ In fact, the CIA waged psychological warfare on Árbenz and the people of Guatemala by dropping leaflets on cities inciting terror campaigns against the evils of Árbenz’s government, in favor of Armas, perpetuated further by radio campaigns. Árbenz played right into the CIA’s hands by fearing rebellion and taking away many civil liberties that had been granted by his administration—becoming “the dictator the CIA depicted.”⁴⁶ And as Castillo Armas attacked and eventually took over for Árbenz’s reign, he banned the party system, tortured people, and upended nearly all of the reforms that had taken place during the Guatemalan Revolution.⁴⁷

To this end, the Operation Success was anything but—however, Dulles once again used his powers of deception to paint a pretty picture for the media. “One of the many myths about Operation Success, planted by Allen Dulles in the American Press, was that its eventual triumph lay not in violence but in a brilliant piece of espionage”—once more Dulles enacted his total control of the media and to some extent the US government (as he and John Foster Dulles ‘encouraged’ Eisenhower to take the steps to enact Operation Success).⁴⁸ A mere ten years later, Dulles proved his dedication to absolving himself and the CIA of any wrongdoing, preserving the veneer of polish, by saying on air, “Well, only as far as I know we don’t engage in assassinations and kidnapping, things of that kind. As far as I know we never have.”⁴⁹

Dulles’ aptitude for lying not only encouraged his own power

hungry agenda, but also promoted the win at all cost attitude in his colleagues as well. Richard Bissell was chief of clandestine services in the late 1950s, and during the period in which the US engaged in U2 flyovers of the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that the president was to order the missions, “Bissell ran the program, and he was petulant about filing his flight plans. He tried to evade presidential authority by secretly seeking to outsource flights to the British and the Chinese Nationalists.”⁵⁰ Over the course of the four years the U2 flights took place, many planes flew over the Soviets in an attempt to track the nuclear arms in their arsenal; in the process, however, the Soviets had begun to detect the flights going on.⁵¹ With Bissell carelessly demanding another flight, and the Soviets tracking the US movement, it seemed to be a recipe for disaster as Gary Francis Powers took off from Pakistan for what was to be the last flight of the operation.⁵² When Powers flew over Russian airspace, a missile struck his plane, causing him to have to eject and be captured alive by the Soviets.⁵³ When word came to the CIA that the plane had crashed, it became the job of Dulles to attempt to clean up the mess caused by the secret missions—to even his surprise, NASA came out with the story that a weather plane had gone down in Turkey. Dulles and the CIA ran with this lie to the American public, all in the name of preserving the image of success for the CIA, even when it was his policy that made lying and causing this disaster possible. The government and the CIA even went as far as to say “‘There was no authorization for such a flight.’”⁵⁴ However, as is typically the case, this caused more problems than it solved as this statement made it seem like President Eisenhower, who had been strategically and circularly informed about these flights, had no control over the CIA.⁵⁵

Therefore, he had to come clean, and “For the first time in the history of the United States, millions of citizens understood that their president could deceive them in the name of national security.”⁵⁶ Dulles’ reign of lies had spread like wildfire through the agency, and at this point the CIA had already been heralded as a life saving organization, full of men who understood international affairs to a degree above everyone else. It was disasters like this US incident, and the aftermath that Dulles perpetuated by covering lies and allowing himself and other men to run their operations on their own terms, outside of presidential oversight. However, even Eisenhower was convinced by the lies of Dulles, as in the time immediately after his departure from office he sent Dulles a letter saying, “As I think you know, I wish you and your associates in the Central Intelligence Agency well in the tremendously important job you do for our country”—showing his clear forgiving of the power of the agency. Dulles responds with, “These have been formative years for this Agency.”⁵⁷ You have given us constant encouragement and support in the collection and coordination of intelligence for national security decisions.”⁵⁸ Clearly, once again, Dulles tells even the president what he wants to hear—and in the process shows his ability to control many facets of government.

OMISSION OF TRUTH, OR LIES?

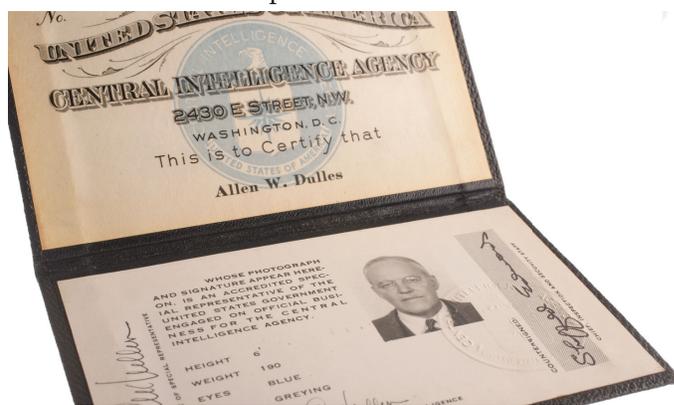
In an effort to make Americans forget about the dismal nature of the previous months' failures, the CIA used the summer months of 1960 to focus on, and throw more resources at the "hot spots in the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia."⁵⁹ However, one of the most central missions of the CIA was the assassination attempts of Fidel Castro, for which the CIA secured "another \$10.75 million to begin paramilitary training of the five hundred Cubans in Guatemala... on one condition: 'So long as the Joint Chiefs, Defense, State, and CIA think we have a good chance of being successful.'"⁶⁰ To Dulles, the phrase 'good chance' was more than enough for him to approve the missions and tell the president the CIA would take the money and do the job. This ignorance to the facts, or perhaps the blinding desire for power and control, ultimately led to the Bay of Pigs invasion, also the downfall of Dulles' career.

The operation called for 1400 men to be part of the paramilitary troops that were to take out Castro's army and render him defenseless.⁶¹ However, the "CIA had used obsolete World War II B-26 bombers, and painted them to look like Cuban air force planes. The bombers missed many of their targets and left most of Castro's air force intact. As news broke of the attack, photos of the repainted U.S. planes became public and revealed American support for the invasion."⁶² Despite this, however, Dulles seemed unperturbed, answering to the news of failed operations with "an oddly bemused look, as if the unfolding tragedy was too remote to affect him."⁶³ His behavior strange, and his unexplained absence from the office that day serve only to perpetuate the idea that he acted in a manner to usurp power, and deny negative press. He could not be at fault for the failure of the operation if he, and his best men, were not present. In fact, "Kennedy was to blame by blocking the agency's last-minute requests for air strikes."⁶⁴ Dulles knew that more troops would be necessary, but Kennedy would end up taking the fall—Dulles was banking on a full-scale invasion of Cuba, and thought his incomplete plan would force the issue.⁶⁵ In this case, Kennedy "took full blame for the Cuba fiasco," again leaving the CIA with a reputation of at least quasi-heroism, though this time, it left Dulles without a job. Near constant bickering and mutual dislike and distrust between Kennedy and Dulles—a power struggle of dramatic proportions—caused Kennedy to declare that he wanted to "splinter the CIA into a thousand pieces and scatter it into the winds."⁶⁶ For the first time, Dulles had to abandon his practice of "denying everything, admitting nothing, [and hiding] the truth to conceal the failures of his covert operations."⁶⁷ Allen Dulles retired as director of central intelligence in 1961; his legacy present in the building of the headquarters of the CIA, as well as in the somehow unmarred record of the CIA under his leadership, in an era when "The record in Europe was bad;... The record in Asia was bad. The agency had a terrible record in its early days—a great reputation and a terrible record."⁶⁸

THE ART OF MANIPULATION: ALLEN DULLES IN POWER

Allen Dulles, with the initial help of his brother, was a master in the art of the manipulation of information. Together, they were able to control arguably the most powerful agency of the government in the 1950s by lying and gathering (or making up) intelligence, and acting on that information with the strength of the United States government behind them. Beyond the control of the government, Dulles relied on the control of the media to help him maintain the support of the public to keep his painted image of the CIA unharmed. Dulles became in charge of Operation Mockingbird—he was able to hire journalists to report the stories the CIA wanted to have reported, the way they wanted to have them reported. Though it must be noted, that journalism houses often operated with the knowledge of the owner that this recruiting was happening.⁶⁹ Though there was both domestic and international involvement, the most common form of communication was a mutual relationship between the journalists and the CIA—it was not necessarily an infiltration by the CIA, but it certainly swayed the American public to hear the version of history the CIA wanted to tell. In most cases it worked as follows:

In most instances, Agency files show, officials at the highest levels of the CIA usually director or deputy director) dealt personally with a single designated individual in the top management of the cooperating news organization. The aid furnished often took two forms: providing jobs and credentials "journalistic cover" in Agency parlance) for CIA operatives about to be posted in foreign capitals; and lending the Agency the undercover services of reporters already on staff, including some of the best-known correspondents in the business.⁷⁰



Identification Card of Allen W. Dulles (2011)

Source: *The Central Intelligence Agency*

Even now, looking at the media coverage, and especially the CIA versions of Dulles' history paint him as a hero. Dulles led the CIA "when the public viewed the CIA as a patriotic organization of people fighting our Cold War enemies" and during the "hey-day of successful espionage against the Communist Bloc. Dulles presided over the Agency during one of its most active and interesting periods."⁷¹ Dulles and

The Gilded Age

his power of persuasion over the CIA allow him to gild his image with the sheen of success over 40 years after his death.

Dulles was an expert at using power in his favor to blind others to incompetence and failures; by utilizing this skill, in conjunction with his complicated relationship with his brother, he was able to create a regime at the CIA that disregarded moral intelligence seeking for a gilded idea of success and power. He cared little for the approval of his higher-ups, though there were few, and he regarded himself as the man most suited to make decisions for the CIA. His childhood led him to live a charmed life—he was able to combine strength of character with precociousness in a way that his family and their dignified friends approved of. Dulles was intelligent, charming, attractive, and used his desire to beat his brother to make it to the top of his class at Princeton, and then to the top of the political world. From playing chess to orchestrating assassinations that were never admitted to the public, Dulles took on the role of the most powerful man in America. He had power of decision and deception that escaped even the presidents he served under. Dulles manipulated the flawless image of the CIA that stands today by using the skills he learned as a child, retaining his ‘cold eye,’ and out manipulating everyone in the government to truth believe the verse that still stands engraved in the lobby of the CIA headquarters: “And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.”⁷²

Dulles knew no truths aside from the ones he fabricated himself, and knew no enemy aside from the ones he crafted in his own war on the world. Dulles did not use intelligence to fight for the preservation of democracy and America—rather, he fashioned intelligence to be able to play the political mas-



Seal of the CIA (1950)

Source: Public Domain (US Federal Government)

termind he always desired to be. Dulles created the legend that became fact—the CIA was infallible because “intelligence is information and information is power” and he and his agency controlled all of the intelligence in the country, at least on paper. In many ways, Dulles created the CIA, and in the process developed the most Noble Lie in the history of America—that our nation can have an open democratic system with a secret intelligence-gathering agency.⁷³ 🏛️

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- [50] Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 184.
- [51] United States Department of State, "U-2 Overflights and the Capture of Francis Gary Powers, 1960 - 1953-1960 - Milestones - Office of the Historian," *U-2 Overflights and the Capture of Francis Gary Powers, 1960 - 1953-1960 - Milestones - Office of the Historian*, 2016.
- [52] Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 184; United States Department of State. "U-2 Overflights and the Capture of Francis Gary Powers."
- [53] United States Department of State, "U-2 Overflights and the Capture of Francis Gary Powers."
- [54] Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 184-185.
- [55] Ibid.
- [56] Ibid.
- [57] Personal Correspondence, "Eisenhower and Dulles." MS, *Allen W Dulles Papers*, Princeton University (1960).
- [58] Ibid.
- [59] Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 185.
- [60] Ibid., 187.
- [61] Presidential Library and Museum. "The Bay of Pigs," *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library & Museum*.
- [62] Ibid.
- [63] Talbot, *The Devil's Chessboard*, 394.
- [64] Several of Dulles' chiefs of divisions in the CIA were not on call for the making of the Bay of Pigs plan, making it an operation "staffed largely by the agency's losers"; Ibid., 397-398.
- [65] Ibid., 400.
- [66] Ibid., 404; "CIA: Maker of Policy, or Tool?," *The New York Times*, April 25, 1966, 20.
- [67] Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 192.
- [68] Ibid., 206; Don Gregg, quoted in Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes*, 64.
- [69] Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media," *Carl Bernstein*, 1977, http://carlberstein.com/magazine_cia_and_media.php; Appeared in *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977.
- [70] Carl Bernstein, "The CIA and the Media."
- [71] "A Look Back... Allen Dulles Becomes DCI."
- [72] Central Intelligence Agency, "Headquarters Photo Tour," *Central Intelligence Agency*, August 20, 2015.
- [73] Tim Weiner, "Seminar Twelve," (Lecture, *The CIA in Fact and Fiction*, Princeton University, December 17, 2015); Plato's concept of a lie told by an elite in order to preserve the status of society; Tonnvane Wiswell, *The Republic by Plato* (New Jersey: Research and Education Association, 1999).