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## **Secrets in Switzerland : Allen W. Dulles' impact as OSS station chief in Bern on developments of World War II & U.S. dominance in post-war Europe**

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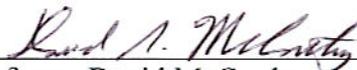
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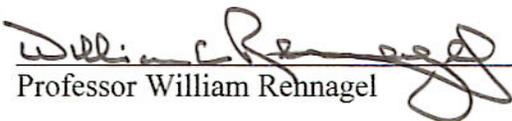
by

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## INTRODUCTION

On November 28, 1961, President John F. Kennedy stood on the podium at CIA Headquarters in Langley, Virginia. It was the last day before Allen W. Dulles resigned as Director of Central Intelligence, and the President wanted to bestow upon the head of the American intelligence community one of the highest civilian honors. As he presented Allen W. Dulles with the National Security Medal, he said: “I know of no man who brings a greater sense of personal commitment to his work, who has less pride in office than he has...But I am sure you realize how important your work is, how essential it is, and how in the long sweep of history, how significant your efforts will be judged.”<sup>1</sup>

Allen Dulles is most famously known for his controversial operations during the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations as director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). This story of Dulles as CIA director is already well told and analyzed by historians. Less known is his central role in the Office of Strategic Service’s (OSS) operation in Bern, Switzerland during the Second World War. Founded on June 13, 1942, the OSS was a key intelligence arm that assisted the United States’ military and diplomatic mission following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Dulles became the leading spymaster for the OSS and one of the most, if not *the* most, influential intelligence officers of World War II. By studying Dulles’ intelligence activities during the Second World War, we can learn a great deal about the foundations of the American intelligence community, various methods of intelligence collection, and how intelligence can be used as a tool to promote and/or achieve specific agendas. Historians have not adequately

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<sup>1</sup> James Srodes, *Allen Dulles: Master of Spies* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1999), 549.

examined Dulles' World War II years and the impact his role as Station Chief in Bern had on developments in the war and in the postwar period.

This thesis explores Dulles' agendas and practices as the Chief of Station of OSS Bern between November 1942 and May 1945. It analyzes the making of America's first intelligence organization in a continent torn by war. As one of the chief architects of this vital institution, Dulles had a significant amount of discretion in crafting and projecting his own style and agenda. OSS Bern became one of the critical workshops for the nascent U.S. intelligence community, and its station chief became a key innovator of American espionage. Dulles was able to achieve great success partly because he had an unusual degree of freedom to operate on the ground. Because the OSS was a new organization and Dulles was one of the few men with experience, headquarters granted him a significant level of independence. Another reason explaining his success was his ability to utilize European connections because of his geographic position. As the capital of neutral Switzerland, Bern was the center of diplomacy and espionage. Because of these two reasons, Dulles was able to influence the outcomes of the war and the planning of the peace.

This thesis argues that Dulles' leadership in OSS Bern was significant in three ways. First, his station played a pivotal role in defeating the Nazis by May 1945. Relying on a sprawling network that spanned across ten European countries, Dulles provided the U.S. government with thousands of top-secret Nazi documents, key connections to resistance groups, assessments of conditions behind enemy lines, and a negotiated surrender of over a million German troops in northern Italy. By providing these valuable reports and links to resistance groups, Dulles acted as a force multiplier and gave the U.S.

an advantage over its Axis enemies. Though the U.S. did not use a great portion of his work to its fullest potential, as frequently is the case with intelligence, the government and military were often a step ahead of the enemy because of the contributions of his organization.

Second, Dulles' activities greatly influenced the distribution of power in postwar Europe. Believing that the establishment of a multilateral balance of power was essential to the postwar reconstruction of Europe, Dulles used his intelligence apparatus to help bring order, stability, and democracy to this troubled region. In order to achieve these objectives, Dulles thought that it was necessary to prevent any single country from dominating the other European states. He was particularly concerned about the intentions of Great Britain and the Soviet Union—two of America's greatest allies. Dulles, therefore, consistently urged Washington to reach out to the French and anti-Nazi Germans and assure them that America would be of help to them during and after the war. He recognized that intelligence gave him the capacity to influence the world's most powerful national actors. Dulles thus utilized his newly acquired power to prevent the rise of another Hitler.

Finally, Dulles legitimized intelligence as a viable foreign relations tool for the second half of the twentieth century. The U.S. government did not view intelligence as a credible tool before World War II. Through his tireless activities in the European theater, Dulles successfully demonstrated that intelligence gathering was an essential vehicle in furthering America's national mission. Dulles spent the majority of the war years demonstrating to Washington the worth of intelligence, the value of establishing networks with opposition groups, and the importance of standing up to Great Britain and

the Soviet Union. Though policymakers sometimes neglected his recommendations, Dulles' precision and accuracy throughout the war made them recognize that the intelligence community was a powerful vehicle for altering the international political landscape. Inspired by the success during the Second World War, postwar leaders, from Dwight D. Eisenhower and to George W. Bush, the U.S. government has used intelligence to assert American power and supremacy throughout the world.

This thesis will illustrate the nature and importance of Dulles' operations in four chapters. The first chapter provides general background information on the OSS, Dulles, and his general activities in Bern. The remaining chapters examine Dulles' dealings with three nations: Great Britain, France, and Germany. I have chosen these countries because they were of central concern to Dulles throughout the war years. Because Britain was America's key ally, Dulles had a unique relationship with Whitehall's intelligence services. Since France and Germany were two major actors in the European theater, Dulles ran major operations and had key connections with resistance movements in both countries.

More specifically, chapter two traces Dulles' efforts to avoid British manipulation of the OSS. When the OSS was established in 1942, the British intelligence services were the best in the world. In an effort to woo the United States into the European battlefields, Winston Churchill and British intelligence played a key role in establishing the OSS and continued to provide guidance, advice, and assistance to the Americans throughout the war. However, because the British knew that they were the superior organization, they believed that they could dictate terms in dealing with the OSS. Dulles would not tolerate what he saw as encroachments on his duties and Britain's attempts to assert their

dominance. This chapter seeks to explain the frictions between Dulles and British intelligence. It also defends the significance of Dulles' reports on Nazi scientific process in response to its neglect or omission in British historiography.

The third chapter discusses Dulles' efforts to promote the future of a pro-West, democratic France that would play a considerable role in the postwar world. Dulles supported the French resistance because he believed that they were vital to the postwar balance of power. His views and endeavors were in contention with Roosevelt's and strategy, but Dulles continued to pursue activities with part of the French resistance known as the *Maquis*. Because of these connections, he provided tangible benefits to the Allied military forces. Dulles also urged Washington to work with General Charles de Gaulle, the leader of the Free French. Dulles correctly observed that the French recognized de Gaulle as their symbolic leader and that any slight to de Gaulle was likely to result as an offense to the French people. Since Dulles was also concerned about Soviet domination after the war, he wanted to prevent France from siding with Moscow. Dulles therefore promoted American support of de Gaulle to encourage the French to remain pro-West.

In the last chapter the relationship between Dulles and various anti-Nazi groups in Germany is analyzed. Dulles hoped to work with these Germans because he wanted to link potential future leaders of Germany to the United States. He opposed Roosevelt's doctrine of "unconditional surrender," because he knew that they would harm this relationship. His concerns about the Soviet domination of Germany increased when members of the German Underground informed him that they considered looking to Russia if they did not receive support and encouragement from the western Allies. He

therefore repeatedly sent telegrams to Washington urging policymakers to reach out to anti-Nazi Germans and convince them that their future lies with the West. Dulles also pushed through Washington's uncertainty and directly negotiated with German military officers who sought peace talks with him. Thanks to his determination and negotiation skills, Dulles was able to secure the surrender of over a million German troops in northern Italy near the end of the war.

My thesis is based on a close study of key primary and secondary sources. Because of the secretive nature of the intelligence realm, resources are oftentimes unavailable. However, we can analyze Dulles' daily pursuits and priorities by looking at two major sets of documents: his personal papers and wartime intelligence reports. Some of the most valuable material came from Allen Dulles' personal papers, which are housed in Princeton University's Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library. I am also fortunate to be the first person to utilize a recently added portion of Dulles files that the CIA just declassified in June 2007. The archivists at the Mudd Library specially created two CDs containing relevant selections of the new files for me to use for this thesis. These untapped resources at Princeton make my work a unique contribution to the study of Allen Dulles. His papers included Dulles' memoranda on telephone calls, correspondences, speeches, and drafts of his books, *Germany's Underground* and *The Secret Surrender*, all of which aided my understanding of his activities, priorities, and intentions. Neil H. Petersen's compilation of Dulles' telegrams and radiotelephone messages in *From Hitler's Doorstep: The Wartime Intelligence Reports of Allen Dulles, 1942-1945* was another helpful resource. Since the CIA still holds an unknown amount of

Dulles' files, it will be interesting to see what new answers these classified materials reveal.

## CHAPTER I:

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES (OSS) & THE CREATION OF OSS BERN

Prior to World War II, Franklin D. Roosevelt and most Americans were not greatly concerned about intelligence gathering. With the oceans isolating the United States from Europe and Asia and the Great Depression causing great hardship, Americans and their President turned attention to domestic matters and the New Deal programs. Things began to change, however, when a prominent colonel with bureaucratic experience—William Donovan—convinced the President that the U.S. must systematically obtain and analyze insider information of other countries. The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor further elevated the demands for intelligence. Recognizing America's new role in the war, Roosevelt expanded the role of the Office of the Coordinator of Information and created the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). In this newly founded institution, the OSS outpost in Bern played a key role in developments during the war and of the U.S. intelligence community.

By the time World War II broke out, the United States was already far behind many of the other world powers in the fields of intelligence gathering and analysis. Even as Britain, Germany, Switzerland, and Russia established intelligence agencies during the first three decades of the twentieth century, the U.S. government remained reluctant to develop an institutional equivalent. Not only were American policymakers concerned about the backlash they would get for having an intelligence community in a democratic country, they were also suspicious of working with spies and their behind-the-scenes

dealings.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, during the interwar period, intelligence gathering became the domain of prominent private-sector individuals who had connections to state leadership. In 1927, Vincent Astor established a private network of a few dozen of these men, including “Wild Bill” Donovan and Allen Dulles.<sup>3</sup> Astor named the group “The Room” and reported their findings to the President. Though presidents occasionally turned to “The Room” for information, the U.S. government’s interest in intelligence remained minimal during the 1920s and 1930s.

Once World War II broke out, Roosevelt continued using “The Room” (then re-named “The Club”) but became more open to the development of a state-sponsored intelligence community. “The Club” remained a small, private-sector intelligence network and was a convenient way for the President to continue to gather some information while staying neutral before America entered the war. Astor also helped foster the Anglo-American intelligence alliance by nurturing an unofficial relationship with Britain’s head of the Secret Intelligence Service post in New York City, William Stephenson.<sup>4</sup> Once the Nazis overtook France in June 1940, Britain realized that they needed help from the Americans to defeat the Nazis. One of the ways in which Churchill sought American support was by assisting the founding of an American intelligence community.

As the next chapter will explain, the British initiated numerous conversations with Donovan to help convince the U.S. of the value of an intelligence service and that of further developing Anglo-American intelligence collaboration. As a result of the British

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<sup>2</sup> Srodes, 151.

<sup>3</sup> Srodes, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Andrew, *For the President’s Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and American Presidency from Washington to Bush* (New York: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1995), 93.

and Donovan's efforts, Roosevelt officially created the Office of Coordinator of Information (COI) on July 11, 1941 with Donovan as its head. Its role was to "collect and analyze all information which bear upon national security; to correlate such information and data and make it available to the President, and to the departments and officials of the Government as the President may determine."<sup>5</sup> To build up his new agency, Donovan relied on his personal network and asked Dulles to head the COI's New York office.<sup>6</sup>

The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor exposed the need for an intelligence organization with more powers than data collection, analysis, and correlation. The newly founded Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) managed the OSS, which replaced the COI as the American wartime intelligence community. Dulles later explained that the OSS "brought together under one roof the work of intelligence collection and counterespionage, with the support of underground resistance activities, sabotage and almost anything else in aid of our national effort that regular armed forces were not equipped to do." As noted in its charter, the OSS held the authority to "plan and operate such special services as may be directed by the United States Chief of Staff." According to Dulles, "special services" meant "unconventional warfare, commandos, support of partisans and guerillas, and the exploitation by covert means of all the weaknesses of Hitler's and Mussolini's empires."<sup>7</sup> With this authorization, the American intelligence community was able to engage in covert operations and psychological warfare. According to Kermit Roosevelt, the Chief Historian of the OSS, the "significance of the COI/OSS was in the concept of the relationship between these varied activities and their combined effect as one of the most

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<sup>5</sup> Allen Dulles, *The Secret Surrender*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 8-9.

<sup>6</sup> Srodes, 207.

<sup>7</sup>Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 9.

potent weapons in modern warfare.”<sup>8</sup> This creation of the OSS sparked a new way of engaging in international conflict.

Allen Dulles emerged as a leader of the U.S. intelligence community in this context. From a young age, Dulles was accustomed to the international scene and foreign policy. His family was entrenched in state-level politics: his grandfather, General John Watson Foster, served as Secretary of State in 1892 and his uncle, Bert Lansing, took the same position in 1915. After earning a Masters in International Law from Princeton University, Dulles served as an officer in the Foreign Service. During the First World War, he gained experience with intelligence through the Foreign Service, which ran small-scale intelligence operations in their overseas posts.<sup>9</sup> In this capacity, he first served at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna. Once the U.S. declared war on the Central Powers, he requested relocation to the U.S. Legation in Bern, which he described as “the *diplomatic and spy center*.”<sup>10</sup>

Dulles’ early career as a Foreign Service officer rewarded him with invaluable experience in the field of intelligence. In Vienna and Bern, Dulles learned how to collect strategic information, make connections with prominent organizations and individuals, and work with other intelligence communities. When members of dissident groups from Russia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia ventured into Switzerland in hopes of financial aid and political support, Dulles met with them and reported the outcomes to Washington. He also caught a number of German agents, who tried to use fake or stolen documents to

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<sup>8</sup> Kermit Roosevelt, *War Report of the OSS*, prepared by History Project, Strategic Services Unit, Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, War Department, (New York: Walker and Company, 1976), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Srodes, 50.

<sup>10</sup> Srodes, 70-73.

obtain visas to enter the U.S.<sup>11</sup> Being in Bern also enabled Dulles to learn the tricks of the spy trade from the Swiss intelligence community.<sup>12</sup> This experience and unofficial training from the Swiss gave Dulles a special background that many in the OSS did not have before joining the agency. It proved incredibly useful when Donovan asked him to setup the first intelligence outpost in Bern during the next world war.

Dulles continued to boost his credentials and experience after the war as a diplomat and a lawyer. At the Paris Peace Conference, he negotiated peace terms, helped draw the new borders of Czechoslovakia, and established intelligence links in Berlin. After serving as head of the State Department's Middle Eastern Affairs division, he went to law school and worked for Sullivan & Cromwell, a prominent firm on Wall Street. His years at Sullivan & Cromwell further enhanced his skills, connections, and ability to work in intelligence. According to his biographer, James Srodes, Sullivan & Cromwell was "the biggest, most powerful, most respected law firm in the world. Its clients were national governments, major corporations, even entire industries." Because of his background in negotiation, he shone as a deal maker rather than as a litigator. His savvy personality and the type of clients he served enabled him to develop a broad global and political network.<sup>13</sup> Dulles also made important connections as a member of Astor's "The Room" and as a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.<sup>14</sup>

By the time of the Pearl Harbor attack, Dulles was a prominent figure in the burgeoning intelligence field. Thus, when Donovan was looking for men to build up this new institution, his name quickly came to mind. Donovan was acquainted with Dulles

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<sup>11</sup> Srodes, 72-73.

<sup>12</sup> Srodes, 83-84.

<sup>13</sup> Srodes, 142-144.

<sup>14</sup> Srodes, 152-155.

from his days as a lawyer in New York City and from “The Room.” According to Donovan’s aide, Ned Putzell, “New York was the logical first place [to set up the Coordinator of Information], and Dulles was the logical guy because of his contacts. He started bringing in people right away.”<sup>15</sup> Dulles’ work as the head of the New York office was a major asset to Donovan. Immediately after receiving permission from Roosevelt to create an OSS post in Bern, Donovan asked Dulles to lead the office in Switzerland. Donovan recognized that “we need badly a man of a different type; some person of quality who can mingle freely with intellectual and business circles in Switzerland in order to tap the constant and enormous flow of information that comes from Germany and Italy to these people.”<sup>16</sup> He knew that Dulles would be the perfect man for the job.

The OSS office in Bern operated in a unique location. The geographical position of Switzerland made the country of interest to both the Axis and the Allies. The Axis powers encircled Switzerland, but the Swiss remained neutral and unoccupied. The Swiss continued their historic tradition by declaring its neutrality in August 1939 and mobilizing their troops to defend their borders from foreign intruders. Neutrality also meant that the Swiss traded with both the Allies and the Nazis. They realized that there was little choice but to trade with the neighboring Axis countries, but they also demanded that their neighbors allow them to export war-related goods to the Allies.<sup>17</sup> The Swiss intelligence organization worked with information agencies from both sides and assigned one man to work specifically with the Germans and another to work with Dulles. Dulles explained that though they remained neutral, the Swiss had to be extremely cautious in

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<sup>15</sup> Srodes, 210.

<sup>16</sup> Srodes, 213.

<sup>17</sup> Edgar Bonjour, “Swiss Neutrality During Two World Wars,” in *Switzerland under Siege 1939-1945* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2000), 125.

their activities because “there was a fear that any blatant breach in neutrality would be taken by the Germans as an excuse for reprisals.”<sup>18</sup>

Owing to the country’s neutrality, Bern became a hub of economic, political, intelligence, and humanitarian activity. There was a constant flow of people from occupied Europe into the city seeking business and aid. Bern was also a major meeting point where people could devise strategy, exchange documents, and converse with relatively little constraints. The difficulty of entering and leaving the country greatly increased after the Germans closed its borders. When Dulles tried to get to his post in Bern in November 1942, he was barely able to cross the border. Luckily, after negotiating with a border guard, he passed through. Dulles recalled that “I was one of the last Americans to... [legally enter Switzerland] until after the liberation of France. I was ready to work.”<sup>19</sup> Because of these restrictive conditions, Dulles was not able to leave Switzerland again until the summer of 1944.

Dulles’ work in Bern involved a wide range of activities, and many people were confused about his actual role in Switzerland. His cover was to be the Special Assistant to the Minister at the American Legation, but that fell through after a Swiss newspaper touted him as “the personal representative of President Roosevelt” with a “special duty” mission. According to Dulles, this article “had the result of bringing to my door purveyors of information, volunteers and adventurers of every sort, professional and amateur spies, good and bad.” He explained that Donovan’s rationale for keeping his OSS station chiefs somewhat exposed was “on the very reasonable premise that it was futile [to keep them underground] and that it was better to let people know you were in

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<sup>18</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 26-27.

<sup>19</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 13-14.

the business of intelligence and tell them where they could find you.”<sup>20</sup> Though his presence could be known, Dulles had to keep his real assignment—“to gather information about the Nazi enemy” and gather “support and encouragement . . . to the resistance forces working against the Nazis and Fascists”—undercover.<sup>21</sup> In order to hold meetings in secrecy, Dulles rented an apartment with a back terrace and a back entrance. He also utilized a connection in the city works department to shut off the streetlight across from his front door.<sup>22</sup> These cautious arrangements were of great importance because people were then able to slip in and out of his apartment without the noticing of Nazi agents who kept an eye on Dulles’ front door.<sup>23</sup> Dulles knew that secrecy as well as the protection of his sources was critical to his operation.

Shortly after his arrival in Bern, Dulles had to find aides to help him deal with a drastic increase in the level of activity. Dulles always had a very small staff, but this did not prevent him from achieving impressive feats. According to Cordelia Dodson Hood who worked in the Bern station during the latter half of the war, the Bern office usually had less than eight aides and never more than twelve.<sup>24</sup> When his operations expanded, Dulles could not obtain American aides because the Germans had blocked the borders. Therefore, Dulles explained that he sought out “Americans who had been living privately in Switzerland for various reasons, or who had been stranded by the sudden closing of the frontier.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 15.

<sup>21</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 12.

<sup>22</sup> Srodes, 229.

<sup>23</sup> Srodes, 236.

<sup>24</sup> Srodes, 230.

<sup>25</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 16.

The small station in Bern achieved many accomplishments throughout the war. President Harry Truman's citation that accompanied Dulles' Award of the Medal for Merit described his most important contributions. Within the first year, Dulles and his staff established intelligence networks in Germany, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, and North Africa. He helped the *Maquis* in France develop their resistance operations and provided support to Italian partisan groups. Dulles also ran one of the single most important informants of the war: Fritz Kolbe, who worked in the German Foreign Office. Various governmental agencies valued his reports on bombing targets, troop movements, and Allied air raid damage. He also supplied some of the first reports on the experimental and testing site for the German rocket bomb in Peenemünde and the installation sites for the rocket bomb in Pas de Calais.<sup>26</sup> OSS Bern's reports and ability to carry out the broadly termed "special services" of the OSS Charter helped the Allies win the war and the Americans emerge as a more powerful actor. Many of these operations will be discussed in further detail in the next three chapters.

Dulles' experiences and networking skills enabled him to achieve great successes during the war years. His background on the world stage gave him the skills to make the relationships with groups and prominent people across Europe so worthwhile. His familiarity with intelligence, willingness to take risks, and refusal to let others intimidate him also made him an exceptional leader in the OSS. These attributes gave him the confidence and ability to work with resistance groups, to stand up to British intelligence officers, and to determine which Germans he could trust and which he could not. The

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<sup>26</sup> Harry S. Truman, "Citation to Accompany the Award of the Medal for Merit to Allen W. Dulles," July 18, 1946, Box 106, Folder 11, Allen Dulles Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (hereafter ADP).

OSS had the disadvantage of being created rather late in comparison to other countries' intelligence communities. However, as we will explore in the following chapters, OSS officers, like Dulles, made up for the lost time and greatly contributed to the Allied defeat of the Nazis in the spring of 1945.

## CHAPTER II: GREAT BRITAIN

In the complex struggle of World War II, there was a secret war within an open war. While fighting their Axis enemies, the Allied states were each jockeying for position and supremacy among themselves. In no case was this tension and competition more evident than in the relationship between British and American intelligence. Emerging after World War I as the world's most powerful intelligence community, the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) had established its own ideas on how Allied intelligence should operate during the Second World War. The SIS and Winston Churchill played a key role in founding the OSS and continued to provide guidance, advice, and assistance throughout the war. The SIS had decades of experience and years to develop their expertise, but their tendency to rely on precedent undermined their flexibility. Additionally, the British confidence in their superiority sometimes rendered their demands unreasonable to the OSS. While welcoming British assistance in the early months of the war, Allen Dulles consistently strove to check British domination in the short term in the wartime intelligence community and in the long term in regards to postwar Europe.

By the outbreak of World War II, the British intelligence community had a wealth of experience and know-how for fighting the Axis powers. Since its foundation in 1909, the Secret Service Bureau, later separated into MI5 and MI6, focused on information gathering when running covert operations in Europe and the wider world. During the First World War, the British, unlike the Americans, managed an effective intelligence operation that gathered a great deal of valuable knowledge and skill. They had

experience setting up stations throughout Europe with agents engaging in espionage and counter-espionage. They worked with and organized groups in occupied countries. For example, one of their most successful Belgian networks, *La Dame Blanche*, watched tramline movements running parallel to the German battlefield every hour of the day and reported on the number of enemy soldiers, horses, guns, etc on the train.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the British analysts in Room 40 spent the war breaking and analyzing German codes and ciphers. After thirty years in the business, the British intelligence community seemed to have earned a right to claim their dominance of the secret world. The Americans accepted their help in establishing their first organized intelligence community.<sup>28</sup>

At the outset of the Second World War, the British were eager to offer, and somewhat push, their assistance to the United States, because they needed the Americans to defeat the Germans. The notion of American involvement had gained imminence particularly with France's fall to the Nazis in 1940. The loss of a main European ally prompted the British to seek U.S. support. Winston Churchill sought to draw the Americans into the war by directly appealing to Roosevelt, but his early efforts failed. Thus, the Prime Minister turned to William Stephenson, the British representative of the Passport Control Office (an entity of British Intelligence) in New York City, to "assure sufficient aid for Britain...and eventually bring the United States into war." Stephenson then asked Navy Secretary Frank Knox to dispatch Donovan to Britain and report on Britain's standing against the Nazis.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service: the making of the British Intelligence Community* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 159-160.

<sup>28</sup> For more information about the making of the British intelligence community, an excellent work is Christopher Andrew's *Her Majesty's Secret Service: the making of the British Intelligence Community*, (New York, 1987); John Curry's *The Security Service 1908-1945* (London 1999) is another great source on the British intelligence community during that period.

<sup>29</sup> Srodes, 201-202.

Donovan's mission strengthened the relationship between the British intelligence services and the United States. During his first official visit, Donovan not only confirmed Britain's willpower and ability to fight the Nazis, but also discovered that the British were willing to offer "full intelligence collaboration" with the United States.<sup>30</sup> Pleased with the possibilities, Roosevelt agreed to send Donovan to Britain for another three months so that he could gain more know-how about the spy trade. This experience, Dulles later explained, confirmed Donovan's belief that "America's military planning and its whole national strategy would depend on intelligence as never before and that the American intelligence set-up should be completely re-vamped."<sup>31</sup> When Donovan returned, he insisted on the importance of psychological and unconventional warfare and outlined a plan to develop an intelligence apparatus in the United States.<sup>32</sup> This blueprint led to the creation of the COI and ultimately the foundation of the OSS. The British played a crucial role in establishing state-sponsored intelligence in the United States, but their desire to hold onto their power during the Second World War led to confrontations with their greatest ally.

Despite the collaborative atmosphere between Britain and the United States, the relationship between the OSS and the British intelligence service quickly soured. The main reason was their disagreement over objectives. The British primarily wanted to use intelligence to defeat and punish the Nazis. Dulles, in contrast, perceived intelligence as a vehicle to create a multipolar international order in postwar Europe. Count Frederich Vanden Heuvel, the head of MI6's station in Geneva, later recalled that "[w]e saw our

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<sup>30</sup> Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington the Bush* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 95.

<sup>31</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 6-7.

<sup>32</sup> United States War Department Strategic Services Unit History Project, *War Report of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services)*, (New York: Walker, 1976), 6.

missions differently. We went after a lot of military intelligence, order-of-battle things, and we weren't too occupied with what would happen after the war, just what we had to do to win the war at the moment, whereas Allen saw his mission as much more encompassing."<sup>33</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, Dulles was convinced that America had to serve as a facilitator in building a multilateral society after the war. For this reason, Dulles wanted to prevent the British from dominating the region. As OSS Chief of Station in Bern, he repeatedly encouraged Washington to take a firmer stance toward the British and check their ability to dictate the terms.

The disagreement in goals soon led to a contentious operation of the two groups. In a telegram responding to a message from OSS Headquarters about duplicative information, Dulles began by acknowledging that "[a] certain amount of duplication in Unison material is unavoidable." He then explained that since MI6 was stationed in Geneva, it took extra time to get the information to the Allies because of the days wasted in transporting the material for cross-checks. Lastly, Dulles retorted that "If Broadway [MI6's Headquarters in London] is earnest about wanting to assist in preventing duplication they ought to make arrangements to move their Headquarters to Bern since 520 [U.S. Military Attaché Brigadier General Barnwell Legge], K-13 [a joint U.S.-UK source], 472 [French intelligence], Poles and everyone else, including ourselves, centralize their activities there."<sup>34</sup> The telegram clearly indicates that Dulles was not willing to budge from his position. He thought it was ridiculous that the British had to separate themselves from the rest of the wartime intelligence world.

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<sup>33</sup> Srodes, 233.

<sup>34</sup> Telegram 548-49 to London, March 24, 1944, in *From Hitler's Doorstep: The Wartime Intelligence Reports of Allen Dulles, 1942-1945*, ed. Neil Petersen, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 252.

Dulles contested British methods also by working with resistance groups in occupied Europe. Since early in the war, contact with resistance movements had been the domain of British intelligence. Once the Germans defeated the French Army, the British were concerned about their ability to defeat the Germans alone and contemplated other methods of attack.<sup>35</sup> In 1940, Churchill secretly approved of the founding of the Special Operations Executive (SOE) and ordered the SOE to “set Europe ablaze.” According to General Colin Gubbins, the head of the SOE, “the problem and the plan [of the SOE] was to encourage and enable the peoples of occupied countries to harass the German war effort at every possible point by sabotage, subversion, go-slow practices, *coup de main* raids, etc.”<sup>36</sup> The British were proud of their established networks with resistance groups and were very protective of their underground operation.

The British made numerous attempts to show that they were in charge of Anglo-American intelligence activities. Their efforts to showcase their superiority surfaced in 1942, when the British initiated covert turf arrangements with the OSS. In an arrangement struck between the SOE and OSS in June 1942, the British agreed to suppress subversion efforts in India, West Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The OSS agreed to monitor North Africa. Western Europe was the only area where both countries could run operations, but the British demanded they be the primary link between resistance movements and the Allies.<sup>37</sup>

The Americans, however, did not succumb to Churchill’s will. Despite the territorial agreement between the SOE and the OSS, Dulles disregarded it and began to

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<sup>35</sup> David Stafford, *Churchill and the Secret Service* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1998), 217.

<sup>36</sup> William Casey, *The Secret War Against Hitler* (Washington D.C.: Regnery Press, 1998), 26.

<sup>37</sup> Richard Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America’s First Intelligence Agency* (Guilford, CT: The Lyons Press, 1972), 52; Petersen, 7.

establish ties with the *Maquis*—a secret organization that led the French resistance. This move was particularly contentious because the *Maquis* was the SOE's most prized connection. In response to the enraged British, Dulles defended his activities as merely intelligence gathering. In reality, his station had formed an intimate relationship with the *Maquis*. On December 24, 1942, Dulles sent a telegram to the Director of the OSS Planning Group, recommending that the United States directly support the French underground. He advised that “underground resistance groups should be strengthened” and that “[a]ll possible encouragement and morale building materials should be given to the French.” Dulles recognized the problems arising from the 1942 agreement and lobbied for a stronger U.S. role in special operations. In a telegram sent on May 7, 1943, Dulles stated that “As Zulu's [i.e. Britain's] approach to the French situation is somewhat different than ours, we recommend our independent scrutiny. Harmonious, useful work is assured once a clear understanding is reached with them concerning the American role in general and the part assigned to us here.”<sup>38</sup>

Dulles was minimally concerned, if at all, about the SOE's demands and objections. Without hesitation, he proceeded to assign his aides to specific French networks. For example, he dispatched Max Schoop, whom he recruited from Sullivan & Cromwell, to develop communication networks between Geneva and Lyons. Thanks to Schoop and other well-positioned agents, Dulles was able to keep Washington posted on the developments within the French resistance units.<sup>39</sup> A more in-depth look at Dulles' relationship with the French resistance will be provided in the next chapter. For the time

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<sup>38</sup> Petersen, 61-2.

<sup>39</sup> Srodes, 237.

being, I wish to note that this example clearly illustrates the tension between Dulles and the British as well as Dulles' assertion of his own style and role in the secret world.

In addition to aligning with the French resistance, Dulles resisted British intentions by choosing to work with Fritz Kolbe. Codenamed "George Wood," Kolbe was a Special Assistant to Ambassador Karl Ritter, a top Nazi Foreign Office official. He had access to an enormous amount of top-secret information, including military strategies, political information, and progress in weapons production. Because of his anti-Nazi sentiments and his desire to have a career after the war, Kolbe approached the British and offered to pass them insider information. The SIS turned Kolbe away because the British were instructed not to work with German dissidents.<sup>40</sup> This order came after the SIS suffered an embarrassing and devastating sting, known as the "Velno Incident," at the beginning of the war. After posing to be conspirators who were plotting to overthrow Hitler, German SS Security Service agents captured and interrogated two MI6 officers.<sup>41</sup> Because of information gained during the interrogation about British networks in Western Europe, the Germans were able to immediately round up those working with the British once they overtook France and the Low Countries.<sup>42</sup> After this humiliating experience, the British became extremely weary of working with any Germans.

In contrast to the British, Dulles perceived German agents as a necessary resource. He was much more willing to take risks than MI6. This outlook was based partly on a momentous incident during the previous war, while he was working as a Foreign Service officer in Switzerland. He always remembered turning down the

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<sup>40</sup> Srodes, 280.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service*, 434-439.

<sup>42</sup> Stafford, 165.

invitation from a Russian exile—Vladimir Lenin—to meet and talk about something of importance. Since he did not know anything of Lenin at the time, Dulles told him that he was too busy to meet. As a result, he missed the opportunity to discuss pertinent matters with Lenin. Lenin probably wanted to discuss the Germans’ offer to get him back into Russia where he would start a revolution and then make reconciliations with Germany.<sup>43</sup> Learning from this lesson, Dulles agreed to meet with Kolbe despite British warnings about Kolbe being an *agent provocateur*.

Dulles was aware that defiance of British recommendations would create tension. Three months after his first meeting with Kolbe in September 1943, Dulles sent a telegram to Washington explaining his reasons for believing that Kolbe was a legitimate source. “I now firmly believe in the good faith of Woods,” wrote Dulles, “and I am ready to stake my reputation on the fact that these documents are genuine. I base my conclusion on internal evidence and on the nature of the documents themselves.”<sup>44</sup> Even though intercepts from Bletchley Park confirmed the legitimacy of Kolbe’s reports, the officials in London and Washington D.C. remained skeptical.<sup>45</sup> During this period, Sir Claude Clamsey, the deputy head of the OSS, commented that Kolbe’s reports were “obviously a plant, and Dulles had fallen for it like a ton of bricks.” In reality, Gerhard Van Arkel’s, a OSS officer in Bern, had the truer assessment of the SIS: “I think that a real criticism of British intelligence during the war was that they were over suspicious of the motives of the people with whom they had to deal, and the consequences was that as far as I was concerned the three best agents that Dulles had [George Kolbe, Fritz

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<sup>43</sup> John Ranelagh, *The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1987), 73.

<sup>44</sup> Telegram 1477-79, December 29, 1943, in Petersen, 183.

<sup>45</sup> Srodes, 286.

Molden, Hans Gisevius] were rejected by the British. The British had turned them all down, and it was Dulles' wit that picked them up.”<sup>46</sup>

Despite skeptical remarks about Kolbe given by his superiors, Dulles forged ahead and provided the Allies with what turned out to be some of the most valuable intelligence of the war. In the “Boston Series,” the codename for Kolbe’s reports, Dulles provided Washington with over one thousand six hundred documents, maps, and assessments straight from inside the German Foreign Office between August 1943 and April 1945. By January 1944, Roosevelt, the State, War, and Navy Departments finally began receiving Kolbe’s reports, but it was not until March that they took them seriously.<sup>47</sup> After Dulles provided a camera to Kolbe, the OSS agent was able to increase the volume by sorting out and sending hundreds of the most important cables exchanged between the Foreign Office and its embassies around the world in microfilm form.<sup>48</sup> The reports contained information on the European theater as well as the war in the Pacific.<sup>49</sup> Dulles provided the Allies with information on strategic bombing information, analyses on political activities, German morale assessments, order of battle reports, and scientific and industrial production information.<sup>50</sup> He also sent documentary evidence of Jewish extermination efforts conducted by the Nazis.<sup>51</sup> These reports helped cement Dulles’ place as Europe’s greatest spymaster. According to Petersen, for the final year of the

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<sup>46</sup> Ranelagh, 74.

<sup>47</sup> Christof Mauch, *The Shadow War Against Hitler: the Covert Operations of America’s Wartime Intelligence Service*, (trans. Jeremiah Riemer), (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 129-130.

<sup>48</sup> Dulles, legal deposition for Kolbe’s citizenship, Box 36, Folder 20, pg. 4, ADP.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Telegram 2143-45 on February 22, 1944, Kolbe gave the report from the Nazi Military Attache in Tokyo on the state of affairs in the Pacific.

<sup>50</sup> Dulles, legal deposition for Kolbe’s citizenship, Box 1, Folder 4, ADP.

<sup>51</sup> Telegram 1496-97 on December 30, 1943 in Petersen 187-188.

war, Dulles' reports were the "single most voluminous category of OSS data put before the President."<sup>52</sup>

Moreover, Dulles was able to gather important information on Nazi spies inside the British bureaucracy. Kolbe assisted Dulles once again by exposing Hitler's espionage activities inside the British Embassy in Turkey. Kolbe's reports led Dulles to conclude that a German spy, codenamed "Cicero," was posing as a valet inside the Embassy and passing top-secret documents to Berlin. Dulles contacted MI6's man in Geneva and provided him with the evidence of "Cicero's" activities.<sup>53</sup> The British immediately sent counterespionage agents to the Embassy, but "Cicero" had already escaped. MI6 still refused to accept Dulles' revelation. Instead, they asserted that they were aware of the leak the whole time and actually used him for disinformation purposes. Six years after the war, Ernest Bevin, the British foreign secretary, acknowledged that, "the ambassador's valet succeeded in photographing a number of highly secret documents in the Embassy and selling the films to the Germans."<sup>54</sup> Even when Dulles made an outreach to the British, they remained firm in their belief in his inferiority and tried to cover up their own mistake.

Dulles also was able to gain insight on Nazi science and technology, particularly German V-Weapons in a complex in Peenemünde. The "V" was short for Vergeltungswaffen, which translates roughly into "vengeance weapons."<sup>55</sup> Hitler called these his "weapons of reprisal" and wanted to use them against Great Britain in

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<sup>52</sup> Petersen, 267.

<sup>53</sup> Telegram 1503-5 (Part 2) on January 1, 1944 in Petersen 189; Petersen's analysis, 189.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph E. Persico, *Roosevelt's Secret War: FDR and World War II Espionage*, (New York: Random House, 2001), 287.

<sup>55</sup> "Peenemünde 1943," in "Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)," <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/ops/peenemunde.htm> (accessed 11 November 2007).

retaliation to Allied bombings. In the eastern part of Peenemünde, the German Army controlled the development of the long-range V-2 rocket, and in the western section, the Luftwaffe ran the V-1 flying bomb project.<sup>56</sup> These weapons were extremely dangerous because they could get past any defense structures that the British could create. The Germans could send the flying bombs in such a great quantity that no aerial defense would prove sufficient. Similarly, the British were vulnerable to the V-2 rockets because of their ability to travel long distances and reach unreachable altitudes. Additionally, their built-in gyroscopic compasses made these weapons remarkably accurate.<sup>57</sup>

Dulles played a key role in gathering information on these formidable weapons. The OSS spymaster relied on first-hand information from a German industrialist, Walter Bovari, whose factory was used by the Germans to produce some of the rocket parts. On February 5, 1943, Bern reported that the “Germans are producing a secret weapon...that is a flying contraption perhaps in the form of an aerial torpedo.”<sup>58</sup> Dulles also forwarded information that German informants learned from leaks inside Peenemünde. In contrast to the extremely secluded and secretive sites of Bletchley Park and the Manhattan Project, scientists and workers at Peenemünde talked freely about their work in a variety of public places. According to a young scientist at Peenemünde, “internal security simply did not exist. *Fachsimpfen*, or shop talk, squeezed out all other discussions.”<sup>59</sup> Because one of his connections gleaned information from an over-talkative worker, Bern was able to send another telegram detailing the size, weight, and composition of the V-2 rocket, the stage of its production, specific factories that produced its parts, and the

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<sup>56</sup> John Keegan, *Intelligence in War*, (New York: Knopf, 2003), 261-262.

<sup>57</sup> Mauch, 122.

<sup>58</sup> Telegram 44-45 from OSS Bern to OSS Headquarters on February 5, 1943, in Petersen 37-38.

<sup>59</sup> Keegan, 263.

general location where the German scientists were testing the rockets. It also contained an estimate that they would be ready to use in September or October.<sup>60</sup> This report was of such great importance that Donovan distributed it among necessary OSS departments in Washington, New York, and London and to Army, Navy, and Air Force Intelligence.<sup>61</sup>

According to British historians, the British did not seriously consider Dulles' reports when planning the Allied defense against the V-2 rockets. The British intelligence services were also collecting a great deal of information about the development of these weapons. The amount, accuracy, and detail of information the British got from leaks, SIGINT, and aerial photographs of the complex, did outclass Dulles' reports. As a result, British intelligence scholars, such as John Keegan, do not even mention the OSS Bern reports, let alone the impact these reports had on the British government's decision to bomb the complex on August 17, 1943. Additionally, the official British accounts stressed the dialogue between the British and the Americans about intelligence on the secret weapons during which the OSS replied that its only information was what the British already had.<sup>62</sup>

Though Dulles' reports may not have had a great impact on the British decision to bomb the complex, his reports following the British aerial assault may have been as valuable and as important as British intelligence reports. As some American historians have noted, Dulles' reports on the V-2 weapons and other scientific projects were timely, accurate, and valuable. Dulles reported on the impact of the bombings and the development of other secret weapons. He also passed on information from Eduard

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<sup>60</sup> Telegram 338-42, from OSS Bern to OSS Headquarters on June 24, 1943, in Petersen 75.

<sup>61</sup> Mauch, 122-123.

<sup>62</sup> Mauch, 123.

Schulte, another German industrialist, who “stressed the point that the rocket bomb should be taken very seriously...A delay of 1 to 2 months in assemblage work was caused as a result of the bombardment of Peenemünde.”<sup>63</sup> Though this was a success, he warned that “important objectives above ground have not been damaged and there are also underground assembly plants on the island.”<sup>64</sup> Even if Bern’s reports did not affect Britain’s decision to bomb Peenemünde, his reports had a notable impact in Washington and on OSS stations throughout the world.

With this information, Dulles sought out more information about the secret weapons from his contacts. Bern continued to send reports on the V-weapons and, later, on a “secret weapon against heavy bombers, device to refrigerate atmosphere to 250 degrees zero” and “large quantities of oil fire bombs particularly for use against invasion forces.”<sup>65</sup> He also sent information on the launching ramps for the V-rockets up to Germany’s first firing of the V-weapons a few days after the invasion of Normandy. The Germans then launched a second series of attacks on Britain in the fall of 1944. Though the attack was very destructive, OSS Bern’s intelligence reports enabled the British government to warn the population and therefore limit the devastation of the assault.<sup>66</sup>

As evidenced in Dulles’ reports on the V-weapons and on “Cicero,” Dulles was successful in culling valuable information for fighting the war. However, politics and British pride for their own agencies prevented Dulles from receiving the full credit he deserved. MI6 did not want to acknowledge that their American protégé organization

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<sup>63</sup> Telegram 703-5, from OSS Bern to OSS Headquarters on September 9, 1943, in Petersen, 121.

<sup>64</sup> Secret Weapons Compilation Report to Washington, 19430205, February 1943, Allen Dulles Data Disc, Compiled by Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey (in author’s possession, hereafter ADDD).

<sup>65</sup> Secret Weapons Compilation 19430205, February 4, 1944 and May 2, 1944, ADDD.

<sup>66</sup> Mauch, 125-126.

had the ability to challenge their supremacy in the intelligence realm. He also was unwilling to remain a subordinate to the British. He was eager and determined to help the Allies win the war while carving an important niche for Americans in developing a balance of power in postwar Europe. The American spymaster confronted British superiority in the intelligence world and thereby challenged their desire to be the dominant and superior actor in the open world of the postwar period.

## CHAPTER III:

### FRANCE

In the previous chapter, we saw the various ways in which Dulles used intelligence and covert activities to resist British domination. This chapter analyzes Dulles' dealings with France as the war unfolded in the European theater. The spymaster's desire for establishing a multilateral balance of power in the postwar world produced a decisive influence on his stances on issues and actions. As an on-the-ground observer, Dulles had a different perspective on the situation and the sentiments in France than policymakers in Washington whose knowledge of the situation was more indirect. Dulles' experiences in Bern and his concern with establishing a democratic France that would play a part in postwar multilateral balance of power frequently led him to disagree with the President and urge Washington to act on the realities of wartime France. Dulles' grasp of reality led him to support the French resistance movement and the leader of the Free French, General Charles de Gaulle.

The short but tide-turning struggle in the early summer of 1940 left France divided and disrupted. In May, Hitler carried out a surprise attack against France from the Ardennes, which was a deeply wooded area at the Belgian-German-French border. After less than a month of fighting, Hitler defeated the French and proudly marched to Paris. The leaders of the Third Republic fled Paris and ordered their troops to leave the city. The capital became an open city, and the Nazis arrived to overtake Paris on June 14. Once defeat was imminent, Marshal Philippe Pétain pushed for surrender and negotiation with the Nazis. In opposition, General Charles de Gaulle urged the government to continue the fight in the North African colonies. Ultimately, the government decided to

follow Pétain's proposal and seek an armistice with the Nazis. The agreement arranged for the Germans to occupy northern France and Pétain to lead a French government in Vichy that would govern the southern Free Zone.<sup>67</sup> De Gaulle refused to accept this deal and created a government-in-exile out of London. De Gaulle's "Free France" was outside the domain of Pétain and the Nazis, and he became the alternative leader that opposed the Nazis.

From Washington, President Roosevelt observed these developments and determined America's official response: support Pétain over de Gaulle. Three reasons influenced Roosevelt's decision-making. First, France was not the primary issue on the table. Roosevelt had to deal with other problems pertinent to America's survival. At home, the Great Depression continued to hurt the U.S. economy despite the New Deal program. In Asia, the Japanese empire posed a serious threat to U.S. interests in that vital region. In a moment when other decisive issues awaited U.S. action, Roosevelt chose to endorse Pétain's government to avoid further entanglements with the divided nation. In the President's mind, France was not a great power.<sup>68</sup> In the event that the Nazis successfully conquered Britain, Roosevelt also wanted to maintain some sort of political connection inside occupied Europe. He thought that Pétain could be that source.<sup>69</sup>

The second factor that influenced Roosevelt's decision was his anxiety towards British domination. Following Churchill's decision to endorse de Gaulle, the President chose Pétain to counterbalance the Prime Minister's position. Jean Lacouture, a biographer of de Gaulle, wrote that "American strategy could not blend entirely with that

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<sup>67</sup> John Ray, *The Second World War a Narrative History*, (London: Cassell & Co., 1999), 70-71.

<sup>68</sup> Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle: The Rebel 1890-1944*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 333; 337.

<sup>69</sup> Lacouture, 339.

of the British Empire, still less depend upon it. From the moment Churchill had a protégé and wished to center his continental policy on him, the American leaders could not but see this protégé as a pawn on the British side, an instrument in a plan that they should treat with circumspection...If Churchill had “his” Frenchman, we should have one or several of our own.”<sup>70</sup> Therefore, Roosevelt believed that Pétain was the easiest and obvious alternative to de Gaulle and the British. This choice provides another example of how the secret war that contested British hegemony was an important factor in Roosevelt’s foreign policy decisions.

Finally, Roosevelt favored Pétain because he feared that de Gaulle would emerge as a dictator of France after the war.<sup>71</sup> In actuality, de Gaulle did not seek a dominating presence over the French public after the war. In his speeches, de Gaulle made it clear that his goal was to re-establish France as a democracy and an international actor. He proclaimed that “the French people are actually the one and only master in their own country.” In the future, he envisioned the establishment of “fellowship and mutual aid between all nations,” with “France occupying, in this international system, the distinguished place allotted to her by her worth and genius.”<sup>72</sup> De Gaulle wanted to defeat the Nazis and put the French people back in control of their government. The General even directly addressed Roosevelt’s main attack by writing in a letter that “no one accuses me of aiming at a dictatorship, not even my enemies in Vichy.” A large segment of the French population supported the leader of the Free French. Roosevelt, however, believed that de Gaulle’s nationalistic appeals were paving the way towards a postwar

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<sup>70</sup> Lacouture, 341.

<sup>71</sup> Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR The War President 1940-1943: A History*, (New York: Random House, 2000), 379.

<sup>72</sup> Lacouture, 349.

dictatorship. Even after the fall of the Vichy government in November 1942, the President remained steadfast in his suspicions.<sup>73</sup>

Like Roosevelt, Dulles had concerns about de Gaulle's place in postwar France. However, Dulles ultimately objected to the President's policies towards France on multiple levels. Instead of taking Roosevelt's view that France was of minor significance to the United States, Dulles perceived France as a focal point of the global contest. He recognized that "in the reconstruction of Europe, France...will play a real part."<sup>74</sup> Additionally, in contrast to Roosevelt, who generally opposed the support of resistance groups, Dulles collaborated with the French resistance who fought against the occupation. While working with French groups, Dulles soon realized that the French embraced de Gaulle and saw him as their leader and symbol of freedom. Therefore, though Dulles was cautious about de Gaulle's charisma and power, he favored the resistance leader because he was France's choice. Furthermore, Dulles' anxiety over the emerging power of the Soviet Union led him to believe that a recognition of de Gaulle was vital. He was aware that many Frenchmen were leaning towards Russia. This, he believed, was a threat to the balance of power. Therefore, he considered supporting de Gaulle—a leader opposed to communism and fascism—to be better than letting the country fall into the Soviet sphere of influence.

Dulles worked with resistance groups because he believed that they were vital for rebuilding a democratic France and establishing a balance of power. Because de Gaulle's resistance group worked mostly with MI6, Dulles established most of his contacts with the resistance group led by General Henri Giraud. Though this group was poorly

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<sup>73</sup> Lacouture, 350.

<sup>74</sup> Telegram 6103, December 24, 1942, in Petersen, 28.

organized, Dulles advocated them because of their potential for helping the Allied cause in the long run.<sup>75</sup> Dulles was concerned about the spirit of the resistance fighters because he envisioned them as the backbone of the country after the war. From the very beginning, Dulles saw the value in assisting these resistance movements because he saw their members as people “who, when the collapse comes, can take over civilian administration.”<sup>76</sup> Therefore, he continually lobbied for direct aid in southeastern France and warned that “morale there will be seriously affected if real encouragement is not given now.”<sup>77</sup> By working with these groups, Dulles was seeking to establish stability and order, not just American ideals, in the postwar world.

Though Dulles viewed postwar reconstruction as an important aspect of his work, he retained a focus on defeating the Nazi forces. Dulles ran an operation within the French underground movement called the “Gaston Operation.” Dulles initially asked those involved to collect political information. Then, starting in 1944, the “Gaston Operation” began gathering military information, with a special attention to the order of battle. The reason for this shift was Churchill and Roosevelt’s planning for the invasion of southern France on August 15, 1944, codenamed “Operation Dragoon.” To make this operation successful, the Allies needed intelligence on this area and assurance that the French resistance would assist the landing forces.<sup>78</sup>

The OSS in Washington turned to Bern for this information. Starting in 1943, Dulles began preparing for the invasions. In October, he organized a series of covert conferences in Geneva where members of the various resistance groups discussed their

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<sup>75</sup> Telegram 1534, March 6, 1943 in Petersen 49.

<sup>76</sup> Petersen, 27. Telegram 6103, December 24, 1942, in Petersen, 28.

<sup>77</sup> Petersen, 63.

<sup>78</sup> Srodes, 237.

potential roles in assisting the invasion. By November, Dulles had already sent a complete plan of railroad and communication sabotage to London. Yet Dulles did more than provide this valuable information. He also developed an extensive information network consisting of eight separate groups with hundreds of agents operating in France. According to the Official History of the OSS, Dulles' operation "was able to identify and locate all the important German military units there."<sup>79</sup> Dulles also passed on the locations of German anti-aircraft emplacements and the offices of important Nazi officials in Paris. By supplying misinformation through his French agents, he also tricked the German Army High Military Command into thinking that the potential Allied invasion would be in the southwest of France rather than the southeast.<sup>80</sup>

The French networks were invaluable during the invasion as well, since they continued to supply strategic information to the Allies after their landing. The Allies had an advantage over the Nazis because the French provided updates about the locations of the German units. The *Marquis*—the French underground—also engaged in sabotage and guerilla operations.<sup>81</sup> The contributions of the French resistance assisted the eventual success of Operation Dragoon. The French insurgents enabled American General Patch's Seventh Army, which led the invasion, to meet up with Patton's Army at Dijon in September. An evaluation by Patch's army reported that "the results achieved by the OSS in respect of Southern France before [Dragoon] were so outstanding that they should be brought to the attention to the authorities." It continued by praising the operation as the "best briefed invasion of history."<sup>82</sup> Because Dulles' information and

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<sup>79</sup> Srodes, 302.

<sup>80</sup> Srodes, 300-302.

<sup>81</sup> Srodes, 303.

<sup>82</sup> Persico, 353.

network helped in defeating the Germans and saving hundreds of American lives, James Srodes, a biographer of Allen Dulles, believes that the “Gaston Operation” was Dulles’ most important contribution to winning the war.<sup>83</sup> Because Dulles forged these intelligence networks and assisted the French underground, he was able to provide tangible contributions to military endeavors.

Furthermore, Dulles’ work with the members of the resistance allowed him to gain a more realistic perspective of the political situation in France, in particular the French embrace of the Free French leader. In October 1943, Dulles described the complexity of the U.S. stance towards France and offered his recommendations for U.S. policy:

“Without doubt there is a feeling that our Secretary of State is hostile to General de Gaulle. This has had certain bad effects, since the militant resistance organizations work under the banner of de Gaulle and his followers, who are a symbol of the spirit that resisted the Nazis from the most somber days of 1940. This symbol has more power and is more extensive than the influence of a man [probably Giraud] who, regardless of his virtues, has acted cantankerously, as I am well aware. I certainly would regret any endeavor to establish an anti-Gaullist resistance.”<sup>84</sup>

Observing the detrimental effects of the Roosevelt Administration’s hostile position towards de Gaulle, Dulles pushed for a change in U.S. policy towards France. In particular, he discouraged any attempts to bring down the Free French leader. He based his position on information that none of the policymakers would have had access to without OSS Bern. Dulles captured the reality on the ground in asserting that the French embraced de Gaulle as their national leader. Because of the strong feelings the French had for the General, Dulles called for the U.S. to tone down their dislike of de Gaulle in order to have the French on the American side after the war.

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<sup>83</sup> Srodes, 302.

<sup>84</sup> Telegram 869-71, October 14, 1943 in Petersen, 141.

Throughout 1944, Dulles urged Roosevelt to recognize de Gaulle as the symbolic leader of the French and support de Gaulle's government. In February, for example, Dulles suggested the value of a speech from the President to the French people and the French resistance before the invasion of Normandy. He noted that in order for it to have any impact, Roosevelt had to mention de Gaulle's role as the man who always was confident of and strived for the final defeat of the Nazis.<sup>85</sup> Dulles was even more forward in his recommendations for the Administration in his "Notes on the Situation in Europe," which he sent on October 7, 1944. He described the situation in France as a "real opportunity" and argued that the U.S. "should strengthen rather than weaken the hands of de Gaulle's government and persuade it that their interest lies in looking to the West rather than the East." Dulles was aware of the small, but strong, presence of French communists and the possibility of the French turning to Russia if the West did not support them.<sup>86</sup>

Roosevelt was more concerned about keeping the Russians in the war than preventing the French from looking to Moscow. As John Lewis Gaddis explains in *Strategies of Containment*, Roosevelt was one of the most lenient U.S. leaders towards communism and the Soviets. The President once explained his position by saying: "My children, it is permitted you in time of grave danger to walk with the devil until you have crossed the bridge."<sup>87</sup> Roosevelt wanted to win the war quickly and with minimal casualties, and he knew that this required reliance on the enormous Russian supply of troops and equipment.<sup>88</sup> Because he believed in the need to work with the Soviets to

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<sup>85</sup> Telegram 2226-28, February 28, 1944, in Petersen, 232.

<sup>86</sup> "Notes on the Situation in Europe," October 7, 1944, in Petersen, 383.

<sup>87</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), vii.

<sup>88</sup> Gaddis, 5-8.

defeat the Nazis, the President was willing to risk the dangers associated with a powerful and potentially threatening country.

In contrast, Dulles thought that the price of allowing the Soviets to strengthen their position and ultimately seek domination was too great. As the war progressed, Dulles' anxiety over Soviet domination in Europe deepened. While concerned about the British hegemony, Dulles also worried that the Soviets would undermine his plans for a multilateral balance of power after the war. He was particularly worried that the Soviet Union would try to convert France into a communist state and control it from Moscow. Because of this concern, Dulles wanted Roosevelt to be on guard when dealing with Stalin. He also wanted America to be more active in resisting Soviet efforts to win over other countries.

In order to warn Washington about this danger, Dulles began writing about the threat of Soviet domination in early 1943. For example, in February 1943, Dulles sent a report from a Russian source about the Soviet's scheme for the balance of power in Europe. The Russian warned that "Moscow is building on Poland in the East and France in the West, both of which are militarily and ideologically united to Russia." The source also explained that Stalin planned to use the Anglo-American war in Japan as a "bargaining point in accomplishing objectives in Europe." Therefore, Dulles urged Washington to be on-guard and "take a strong stand when dealing with Soviet Russia."<sup>89</sup> However, Washington was weary about taking Dulles' advice about their position against Stalin because they firmly believed that Soviet involvement was vital in defeating Hitler.

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<sup>89</sup> Bradley Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: OSS and the Origins of the CIA*, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1983), 193; Telegram 933, February 10, 1943, in Petersen, 39.

Dulles also expressed his concerns to Washington about the potential of France to “go communist.” After noting that the Russians were achieving great victories over Germany, Dulles asserted that many Frenchmen “who are not communist themselves feel that a close collaboration with Russia, for the next few decades at least, would be the safest insurance for France.” However, Dulles explicated that “while the French are ready to collaborate with Russian communism, they do not trust French communism,” because unlike France, “Russia has worked through the bloody stages of its communism and has given up all revolutionary ideas.”<sup>90</sup> Therefore, while the French were willing to work with the Soviets, they did not necessarily want French communists to run the country. However, Dulles thought it was important to monitor closely Russia’s intentions for France and the relationship between the two countries.

Dulles wanted to thwart Soviet attempts to take control of European countries and dominate the postwar world. As early as October 1944, Dulles reported that “Russia now believes that she is entitled to a dominating position in Eastern and Southeastern Europe.” He explained that Russia planned to set-up leftist regimes and make these governments pledge to cooperate chiefly with the Soviets. He envisioned that “this development will change the face of Europe and will limit the area in which Western culture and Western democracy will have the chance of surviving in the immediate future.” Therefore, he urged Washington to give their “attention primarily to the areas where there is real prospect that the principles of Western civilization can be maintained and development.” The first country that Dulles listed as a priority was France because of his desire to make

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<sup>90</sup> Radiotelephone Transmission No. 43, December 3, 1943, in Petersen 168.

the country pro-West and democratic after the war and his awareness that France could turn to either side.<sup>91</sup>

Since Dulles did not want France to align with Moscow, he lobbied for a more friendly American position towards de Gaulle. Dulles urged that “[t]he Provisional Government of de Gaulle should be recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Russia at the earliest possible moment, in order that it may have the strength and prestige to cope more efficiently with the manifold problems which it has to face.” Dulles reiterated his support of de Gaulle because “today they consider the failure to recognize de Gaulle as a slight, not to de Gaulle, but to France, and as such they resent it.”<sup>92</sup> A strong, independent France was crucial to Dulles’ vision of the power dynamics after the war. Because of his concern of Soviet or British domination, he was weary of the U.S. alienating not only de Gaulle but also the French.

Though Dulles may still have had concerns about de Gaulle’s charisma and cult of personality, he thought that it would be better to support him than let other countries, namely Britain and the Soviet Union, establish a hegemony over Europe. Dulles’ observations as an on-the-ground officer allowed him to see the reality in France in a clearer light than the officials in Washington. Therefore, despite lack of support from the Roosevelt Administration, Dulles developed an important working relationship with the French resistance, which not only yielded key assistance to allied forces but also realization of the degree to which the French admired de Gaulle. This comprehension led Dulles to oppose the President and adamantly endorse the leader of the Free French. He wanted to avoid alienating the French people, and he saw that attacks against de Gaulle

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<sup>91</sup> Dulles, “Notes on the Situation in Europe,” October 7, 1944, in Petersen, 382-383.

<sup>92</sup> Radiotelephone Transmission No 229, October 23, 1944, in Petersen, 388.

by the Americans only pushed the French towards a closer relationship with Great Britain and even the Soviet Union. Keeping with his vision of the postwar period, Dulles continually tried to convince Washington of the need to change their positions towards France.

## CHAPTER IV: GERMANY

The tendency to oppose the communists was evident in Dulles' dealings with France, but these efforts were even more apparent in the German case. Dulles wanted to ensure that the Germans would embrace the Western Allies instead of Russia. He used his reputation as "Roosevelt's emissary" as well as his intelligence tools to direct the Germans towards the Americans. Thanks to his first-hand observations on the ground, Dulles knew of the danger of Europeans, especially Germans, turning to Russia for help during or after the war. Since preventing the Soviet domination of Europe was crucial to Dulles' postwar vision, he constantly reiterated his appeal to policymakers to encourage the anti-Hitler resistance and be open to legitimate peace feelers. However, Dulles once again opposed the Roosevelt Administration's policies and urged Washington to take precautionary actions to prevent the Soviet domination of Europe.

Roosevelt's doctrine of "unconditional surrender" had a great impact on the relationship between the Germans and the Americans during the war. At the Casablanca conference on January 24, 1943, Roosevelt declared that "peace can come to the world only by the total elimination of German and Japanese power...[which] means the unconditional surrender by Germany, Italy, or [sic] Japan."<sup>93</sup> Roosevelt never elaborated on his decision, but Dulles later wrote that "to stop short of total military victory, to allow Germany any doubt of its total defeat, would have been unthinkable" for the U.S.<sup>94</sup> After their embarrassing surrender in 1918, German military officers spread the story that internal traitors working for enemy countries created conditions in Germany that led to

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<sup>93</sup> Srodes, 242.

<sup>94</sup> Allen Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, (New York, London: Macmillan, 1947), 133.

Germany's downfall.<sup>95</sup> Partly to make a similar claim impossible after Hitler's defeat, the United States insisted that military might, not American-supported internal opposition, needed to be the source of defeat.<sup>96</sup> Historians such as Joseph Persico also argued that Roosevelt chose this policy to please Stalin. Roosevelt recognized the need to keep the Soviets in the war and was concerned that the Soviets might alter their plans after their costly victory at Stalingrad. In hopes of preventing the Soviets from negotiating a separate peace with the Germans, Roosevelt adopted the policy of no-compromise.<sup>97</sup>

Dulles was critical of Roosevelt because his policy of unconditional surrender was producing harmful effects on German morale. At first, Dulles noted that the Germans were disappointed with the policy but approved of the slogan. He noted that "[i]t can be safely stressed as much as you desire since, as psychological warfare, it is absolutely sound."<sup>98</sup> However, it was soon clear to Dulles that the Nazis were manipulating this doctrine to make the Germans fear their American enemy to an even greater degree. Goebbels' propaganda successfully convinced many Germans that "unconditional surrender" to the Americans meant "total slavery."<sup>99</sup> Dulles sent multiple telegrams to Washington to alert Roosevelt to the situation. In one report, Dulles cautioned that "the majority of Germans believe...that the Allies wish to ruin the economic as well as the military strength of Germany, and thus demolish what they feel to be a normal and successful civilian life." He continued to criticize the no-nonsense policy, charging that

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<sup>95</sup> "Antisemitism in History: World War I," in *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, Washington, D.C.: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, October 25, 2007, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10007166> (accessed 25 October 2007).

<sup>96</sup> Casey, 66.

<sup>97</sup> Persico, 235-236.

<sup>98</sup> Telegram 723, January 31, 1943, in Petersen, 34.

<sup>99</sup> Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, 132.

“we ourselves haven’t done a thing to offer them any hope of any more optimistic meaning for this expression.” Instead of instilling harmony, this doctrine, Dulles feared, would push the Germans towards Russia to avoid a more miserable state under the Anglo-Americans.<sup>100</sup>

Dulles discovered the German unease with “unconditional surrender” during his search for anti-Hitler forces within Nazi Germany. In his book entitled *Germany’s Underground, the Anti-Nazi Resistance*, Dulles explained that his “first and most important task [upon arrival in Switzerland] was to find out what was going on in Germany. Among other things, Washington wanted to know who in Germany were really opposed to the Hitler regime and whether they were actively at work to overthrow it.”<sup>101</sup> As late as September 1943, Dulles reported of “no coordinated opposition” aside from sporadic opposition from church circles, labor organizations, communist groups, special governmental departments, and the army. Resistance activities, he discovered, were small-scale because of the risks involved in displaying anti-Nazi sentiment. A month later, Dulles received a series of reports describing “a new wave of Gestapo terror.” He explained that “[if] sometimes you wonder why there is no clearly defined resistance movement in Germany...the reason for it is the effective terror of the Gestapo. Any statement may mean death, any meeting, however innocent, is ground for suspicion.”<sup>102</sup> However, in January 1944, Dulles learned that Hitler did not succeed in “winning over, hypnotizing or terrorizing the entire German nation” and that a significant group had been conspiring against the Führer since before the war.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Telegram 2659-67, March 31, 1944, in Petersen, 260.

<sup>101</sup> Dulles, *Germany’s Underground*, xi.

<sup>102</sup> Memorandum from Telephone Call on October 18, 1943, ADDD.

<sup>103</sup> Dulles, *Germany’s Underground*, xi; Telegram 409-10 to London, January 27, 1944, in Petersen 205.

Men in High German military and governmental command along with young intellectuals ran this anti-Nazi organization, codenamed the “Breakers.” Once Hitler’s plan for waging a European war became a certainty in 1938, members of the German military began plotting a number of attempts to overthrow the Führer. Leading this group was Colonel General Ludwig Beck, who was Chief of Staff of the German Army until his forced resignation during the summer of 1938.<sup>104</sup> Another key conspirator was Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, who served as Chief of the *Abwehr* Military Intelligence until his dismissal in February 1944.<sup>105</sup> A group of young, well-educated men, known as the Kreisau Circle, “provided the spiritual and political ideology” of the German Underground’s plot.<sup>106</sup> The goal of the Breakers was to get Hitler out of power and “set up a government which, purged of all Nazis, would surrender unconditionally.”<sup>107</sup>

The Breakers contacted Dulles because they thought, as “Roosevelt’s emissary,” he could arrange for the Allies’ backing of the conspiracy plot.<sup>108</sup> OSS Bern’s primary link with the Breakers was Hans Bernd Gisevius, who worked for the *Abwehr* under Canaris. Gisevius first went to MI6 to forge a relationship with the Allies, but, once again, the British turned him away because of their policy against working with Germans. Gisevius then approached Dulles in hopes of setting up a connection with the Americans. Although skeptical at first, Dulles gave Gisevius the opportunity to prove himself. Gisevius won Dulles’ confidence by informing him that the Germans broke the diplomatic code and were able to read messages between the U.S. Department of State

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<sup>104</sup> Dulles, *Germany’s Underground*, 24, 42.

<sup>105</sup> Dulles, *Germany’s Underground*, 3; Petersen, 228.

<sup>106</sup> Dulles, *Germany’s Underground*, 81.

<sup>107</sup> Dulles, xi.

<sup>108</sup> Mauch, 116-117.

and OSS Bern.<sup>109</sup> Through this link with Gisevius, Dulles was able to stay informed about the Breakers' considerations and plans.

Dulles was interested in working with the Breakers to win the Second World War. However, he also desired to collaborate with the leaders of the German underground to prevent its turn to communism. After a first glance into the resistance groups in Germany, Dulles discovered that the military opposition group was considering either "opening the door to the Anglo-Saxon operation forces" or seeking the "Eastern solution, that is, by approach to Russia."<sup>110</sup> Later, when he began working directly with the Breakers, they informed Dulles several times that the Breakers preferred working with the West but were also looking to the East as a possibility.<sup>111</sup> From these communications, it was clear to Dulles that "the Germans can never perceive of the third alternative of capitulating to both at the same moment."<sup>112</sup>

Dulles was skeptical of the Soviet Union because he was concerned that they wanted to takeover Europe after the war. The creation and propaganda activities of the Soviet-sponsored *Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland* (National Committee for a Free Germany Committee, NKFD) heightened his concerns. In February 1943, Dulles alerted Washington to the possible development of Soviet-German relations. He reported that it was "possible in responsible German circles that the high German officers captured at Stalingrad may be in the mood to lead a German Revolutionary Army against the present German regime in collaboration with the Russians."<sup>113</sup> Five months later, the Soviets announced the establishment the NKFD. Many in the OSS viewed its creation as the

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<sup>109</sup> O'Donnell, 77.

<sup>110</sup> Telegram 763-67, September 21, 1943, in Petersen 129.

<sup>111</sup> Telegram 1890-93, January 27, 1944, in Petersen, 206.

<sup>112</sup> Telegram 2714-16, April 6, 1944, in Petersen 263

<sup>113</sup> Telegram 75-77, February 23, 1943, in Petersen, 42. Mauch, 73-74.

Soviet's first overt move to direct Germany towards Moscow.<sup>114</sup> Dulles stressed the danger of NKFD and Russian propaganda in convincing the Germans to turn to Russia or the NKFD for leadership.<sup>115</sup> He was eager to counter Soviet "back-handed encouragement" by providing support and encouragement to the Breakers.<sup>116</sup>

Washington objected to the idea of providing the Breakers with the level of encouragement that he desired. There were three main reasons behind his opposition. First, as just described, the Roosevelt Administration opposed anything short of an "unconditional surrender." Secondly, the U.S. did not want a military regime to replace the Nazi government.<sup>117</sup> Like Dulles, Roosevelt wanted a democratic government in Germany after the war. The President and his aides feared that the Breakers would hinder a stable reconstruction of Europe after the war. Lastly, Washington was concerned about keeping the Russians in the war and on their side. The Roosevelt Administration did not want the Soviets to misinterpret Dulles' communication with the Breakers as an act to exclude Russia from any peace talks.

Despite the negative response from Washington, Dulles continued to cable information acquired from the Breakers. In many ways, however, he was not entirely straightforward in his dealings and reports. According to historian Christof Mauch, he "left the OSS in Washington in the dark about details of his talks with the emissaries of the German resistance, and even deliberately misinformed his superiors on a number of matters."<sup>118</sup> Though these methods involved deception, this tactic proved beneficial to Dulles' mission of keeping Washington up to date with important developments. His

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<sup>114</sup> Smith, *The Shadow Warriors*, 213.

<sup>115</sup> Radiotelephone Transmission No. 182, July 24, 1944, in Petersen 347.

<sup>116</sup> Telegram 2659-67, March 31, 1944, in Petersen 259.

<sup>117</sup> Mauch, 117.

<sup>118</sup> Mauch, 118.

tactics enabled him to glean more information from the German underground, promote their activities, and strengthen their morale to a greater extent than Washington would have allowed.

Thanks to a strong relationship with the Breakers, Dulles was able to learn of the Breakers' plan to assassinate Hitler on July 20, 1944. Dulles intently followed the developments but did not get involved with the plot. In a radio interview years after the war, Dulles admitted, "I was skeptical myself...Some people wanted me to get into the plot. And I decided it wasn't my business. My business was just to follow what was going on."<sup>119</sup> Unlike his actions as director of the CIA, Dulles, during World War II, conceived of intelligence as a vehicle of fact-finding and fact-analysis. Instead of getting directly involved in an assassination plot, as he would do as head of the CIA years later, he stayed on the sidelines during the Second World War.

Furthermore, Dulles avoided U.S. involvement in the assassination plot possibly because he feared that his involvement in the *coup d'état* would de-legitimize the takeover. Dulles recognized that the German people needed to accept the new government themselves in order for it to be strong and stable. He knew that an unpopular regime change could inspire anger and dissent. Dulles also seemed to have believed that spymasters had no such role to play in such assassinations. If this was true, then Dulles embraced a drastically different mission when he was CIA director under presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy. During his term as Director of Central Intelligence, Dulles engaged in three major plots to overthrow leaders in foreign countries, including Iran, Guatemala, and Cuba. During World War II, however, Dulles

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<sup>119</sup> Full Text of an Interview with Allen Dulles, the *Martha Deane* Show, 26 October 1966, Box 104, Folder 6, ADP.

seemed to view his role of spymaster as a detached observer in the overthrow of governments.

Dulles' work with the Breakers proved rewarding. Even though most of his messages about the plot and other wartime developments never made it to the President, one dispatch on July 12, 1944 about the "possibility that a dramatic event may take place up north" did reach the Oval Office.<sup>120</sup> Two days later, the Breakers' carried out their assassination attempt. Breakers' member Colonel Count von Stauffenberg placed a briefcase containing a bomb under a map table in Hitler's secret headquarters in East Prussia. The bomb exploded as Hitler was leaning on the table. However, it failed to kill the Führer because a German officer unknowingly moved the briefcase away from Hitler to the other side of a table support. Hitler was originally going to keep this failed attempt secret, but ultimately disclosed it on a radio broadcast. He downplayed it by announcing that "the circle that comprises these usurpers is extremely small. It had nothing to do with the German armed forces...It was a very small clique of criminal elements, that will now be exterminated mercilessly." Hitler later learned of the immensity of people involved in the operation and purged the Reich by rounding up, arresting, torturing, and killing thousands of Germans, including many of the plotters.<sup>121</sup>

Dulles' knowledge of the failed assassination raised his credibility in Washington and cemented their belief in his abilities as a spymaster. Dulles later admitted that Washington "did not pay much attention to my telegram until after it took place, but then there was great excitement about it." He explained, "That often happens to intelligence

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<sup>120</sup> Telegram 4085, July 12, 1944, in Petersen, 330.

<sup>121</sup> Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, 1-11.

officers. You can't expect to be believed the first time or even the second.”<sup>122</sup> After establishing himself, the U.S. government had more confidence in Dulles' ability to carry out a new operation: “Operation Sunrise.” This operation aimed to achieve the surrender of over a million German troops in northern Italy through negotiations with Nazi generals. As a negotiator after the First World War, Dulles knew how to make peace arrangements. Though Dulles often faced obstacles from a vacillating U.S. government on whether to conduct the peace talks, Dulles' experience, will, and determination enabled him to take a major step towards Allied victory.

By the end of 1944, many Germans began to raise doubts about the Nazis' ability to win the war. A few months after the German bombing campaign on London on December 5, 1944, Gaevernitz, Dulles' top aid, recorded his conversation with General Bassenge, an anti-Nazi General of the Luftwaffe whom the British had as a prisoner. The main topic of discussion was the condition of Germany. Bassenge sent OSS Bern a memorandum describing that “[t]o every clear-thinking person and, especially to the expert, the complete military defeat of Germany is only a question of time.”<sup>123</sup> Based on this memo and other reports from Germany, Gaevernitz wrote to General E.L. Sibert about his suspicion that anti-Nazi German Commanders would soon attempt to reach allied High Command to arrange an end to the war.<sup>124</sup>

Soon after this prediction, the German officers contacted Dulles in Bern. They approached the OSS spymaster because he was believed to be Roosevelt's representative in Switzerland. Two days later, a Swiss intelligence officer informed OSS Bern that an

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<sup>122</sup> Full Text of an Interview with Allen Dulles, the *Martha Deane* Show, 26 October 1966, Box 104, Folder 6, ADP.

<sup>123</sup> Memorandum on the prevention of chaos in Germany by General Bassenge, December 5, 1944, Box 75, Folder 6, ADP.

<sup>124</sup> Letter from Gaevernitz to General E.L. Sibert on February 23, 1945, Box 75, Folder 6, 3, ADP.

Italian intermediary, who also represented members of the German military, approached him with hopes of ending hostilities in Italy. The Swiss officer sent the Italian liaison to Dulles, who then required the release of General Parri—an Italian General he knew from his work with the Italian resistance whom the Germans held as prisoner—prior to meeting. Less than a week later, the highest-ranking S.S. commander in Northern Italy and Western Austria, General Wolff, came to Switzerland with General Parri.<sup>125</sup>

Dulles aimed to end the war through these discussions with the general. He reasoned that “an intelligence officer should be free to talk to the Devil himself if he could gain any useful knowledge for the conduct or the termination of the war.”<sup>126</sup> General Wolff also sought to end the fighting because he knew “the war was lost for Germany in every respect” and considered it “a crime against the German people to continue it.”<sup>127</sup> Dulles made it clear to Wolff before their first meeting that he wanted to hear plans for unconditional surrender.<sup>128</sup> Wolff explained how he would attempt to convince the Commander-in-Chief in Italy, Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, to agree to a joint action. The general also planned to broadcast an appeal to German Commanders and the German people to “end an utterly useless struggle, and to free themselves from the Hitler-Himmler control.” To show goodwill, he proposed releasing hundreds of Jewish captives in Bolzano into Switzerland. Dulles was also pleased that “neither at this meeting or later did Wolff suggest that his action would be contingent upon any promise of immunity for himself” because “he did not consider himself a war criminal and was

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<sup>125</sup> Letter from Gaevernitz to General E.L. Sibert on March 10, 1945, Box 106, Folder 13, 1, ADP.

<sup>126</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 87-88.

<sup>127</sup> Letter from Gaevernitz to Sibert, Box 2, Folder 4, ADP.

<sup>128</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 92.

willing to stand on his record.”<sup>129</sup> This exchange made Dulles more trusting of the General and willing to pursue negotiations.

Dulles also wanted to conduct peace talks with the Germans because he knew of the importance of the surrender to the postwar period. He believed that “the best hope of saving Nazi-occupied Europe from chaos [from Hitler’s proclaimed scorched-earth policy] and Communism was an organized surrender.” He was concerned that a ravaged and open northern Italy would allow “Tito’s troops and the communists” to takeover the area.<sup>130</sup> He was also worried that the “Russians should do everything possible to block realization” of the surrender because “its success would mean that our forces in Italy would probably be first to occupy Trieste which from various indications received here constitutes an even more important objective for Russians than Berlin.”<sup>131</sup> Dulles was convinced that the secret surrender was vital to keeping Tito and the Soviets from establishing a stronghold on this area. He also recognized that the capitulation would enhance America’s bargaining and power position after the war. The American-led negotiations would leave the U.S. in control of the conditions of the surrender and post-surrender situation, which was important for crafting a specific postwar situation.

Because he recognized the value of the peace talks, Dulles was determined to overcome various constraints and complete the negotiations. The meetings between Dulles and the German officers were stop and go throughout the entire process partly because of problems with the Russians.<sup>132</sup> The Soviets were also aware of the importance of these negotiations, and Stalin furiously rebuked Roosevelt in a cable for conducting

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<sup>129</sup> Dulles, *Secret Surrender*, 97-98.

<sup>130</sup> Allen Dulles, Outline for NBC TV’s “Today Show,” 26 October 1966, Box 106, Folder 13, ADP.

<sup>131</sup> Allen Dulles, telephone conversation memorandum on April 18, 1945, in a compilation of telephone conversations concerning “Operation Sunrise,” 19450506, pg 5, AD44.

<sup>132</sup> See Petersen 462-472, 477-480, 486.

peace talks without them. The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) were concerned about these “complications with the Russians.” In an effort to avoid offending the Russians, the Joint Chiefs ordered Dulles to stop contacting the Germans and end the negotiation process on April 20, 1945.<sup>133</sup> Dulles maintained that the Soviet interference with Operation Sunrise was an attempt “really to sabotage the surrender and permit a communist takeover.”<sup>134</sup>

Dulles sent numerous telegrams explaining the difficulties in ending the operation. It was his personal opinion that “we are breaking this contact a couple of days too soon and just at the moment when we could judge whether or not something can be achieved,” but he realized that “orders are orders and those who have broad overall picture must decide.” Nevertheless, he told them he could not stop the Italian intermediary, Ferruccio Parri, from arriving, because he was already *en route* to Switzerland. Dulles agreed to let the Italian know of the JCS decision but tried not to “alienate this contact.”<sup>135</sup> The German negotiators were also on their way to meet with Dulles, but the American spymaster officially ended the negotiations on April 24. Two days later, the JCS changed their minds. They were able to work out an agreement with the Russians, who demanded that they play a direct role in the negotiations. The compromise was that the Russians could be observers, so that they could be assured that no separate peace was reached, but the JCS refused to allow them to participate directly.<sup>136</sup> With the Russian problem out of the way, the JCS ordered Dulles to give Wolff an ultimatum: Wolff and one assistant must leave immediately for AFHQ in

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<sup>133</sup> Petersen, 508.

<sup>134</sup> Outline for NBC TV’s “Today Show” 26 October 1966, Box 106, Folder 13, ADP.

<sup>135</sup> Telegram 9119, April 21, 1945, in Petersen, 508-509.

<sup>136</sup> O’Donnell, 297.

Caserta or there would be no deal.<sup>137</sup> Finally, on April 29, 1945, Dulles achieved a milestone—the formal, unconditional surrender of over a million German troops in northern Italy.

Operation Sunrise is one of Dulles’ most recognized acts during World War II. It was monumental because it was the war’s first unconditional surrender by German forces. *The Yorkshire Post*’s front page article, “Unconditional Surrender of 1,000,000 Troops in Italy,” reported that “not only has a vast area of territory vital in its character fallen into the hands of the Supreme Commander,” but the number of troops surrendered “constitutes...a record for the whole of this war and cannot but be helpful to the further events for which we are looking.”<sup>138</sup> Srodes also makes an important observation that the war could have continued for much longer without this negotiation.<sup>139</sup> O’Donnell agrees that the surrender “was a key factor in overall Allied strategy” because it eliminated the threat of German troops forming a redoubt in the Alps. With the German troops in Italy gone, the south of the redoubt had no protection. Because the surrender eliminated this threat, Eisenhower was able to devote his troops to other important battles.<sup>140</sup> American Army General Lemnitzer also applauded Dulles in a cable, offered his “[h]eartiest congratulations...you and your associates may be proud of the part you have all played in epoch-making events which occurred today. My admiration for your loyalty and devotion to duty during these recent difficult weeks [is] equaled only by [the] pride which is mine for having [the] privilege and pleasure of participation with you in this operation which

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<sup>137</sup> Petersen, 515.

<sup>138</sup> “Unconditional Surrender of 1,000,000 Troops in Italy,” in *The Yorkshire Post*, No. 30,486, May 3, 1945, pg 1.

<sup>139</sup> Srodes, 249.

<sup>140</sup> O’Donnell, 298.

spells [the] end of Nazi domination in Europe.”<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, by removing so many soldiers from battle, the negotiations saved countless lives. Brigadier General John Magruder noted to Dulles that “this last accomplishment has earned for you the gratitude of the American people. It alone justified the entire cost of the OSS.”<sup>142</sup>

Dulles’ efforts to negotiate the unconditional surrender of German troops in Italy and his relationship with the anti-Hitler resistance illustrate how Dulles engaged in efforts to both end the war and construct a multilateral balance of power in the postwar period. Dulles’ main mission was to provide intelligence that would help the Allies defeat the Nazis, but he extended his duties beyond this goal. He provided important German morale reports, updated Washington with major developments in the German Underground, and negotiated a key surrender at the end of the war. Dulles wanted to show the Germans that the Allies were willing to establish a relationship with non-Nazi Germans because the spymaster was determined to have a pro-West Germany after the war. As he encouraged the reconstruction of a democratic Germany, Dulles wanted to prevent the Russians from dominating the postwar period. Though Germany was ultimately split between East and West after the war, Dulles’ contributions may have helped thwart the total domination of Germany by the Russians.

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<sup>141</sup> 19450506, pg 3, AD44.

<sup>142</sup> Letter from Brigadier General John Magruder to Allen Dulles on December 6, 1945, Box 106, Folder 11, ADP.

## CONCLUSION

With intelligence activities of the wartime intelligence organization winding down, Dulles knew that it was time to return to the United States. Dulles submitted his resignation to the War Department on December 2, 1945. In response, Brigadier General John Magruder, the Director of the Strategic Services Unit, the organization that absorbed the activities of the OSS, sent Dulles a letter to express his gratitude: “It is with a deep sense of loss that I accept your resignation. Those of us whose privilege it has been to be your associates appreciate how large of segment of the agency’s total accomplishment consisted of your work. Your successes have been of such scope and importance that they cannot be evaluated in ordinary terms.”<sup>143</sup>

This thesis has explored the extraordinary achievements of Allen Dulles during the Second World War and his ambitious attempts to reconfigure power relationships in the international system. Far transcending the expectations of his superiors, the OSS spymaster provided timely and valuable reports to Washington policymakers. He used intelligence as a vehicle for providing the Allies with a decisive advantage over their Axis enemies. He also engaged in covert operations that increased American influence in occupied Europe. Dulles’ relationships with individuals and organizations in Great Britain, France, and Germany played a vital role in the outcome of the war and America’s position in the global political sphere. His intelligence reports and services ultimately helped America enhance its power and prestige during and after World War II.

After Dulles fulfilled his duties as chief spymaster of OSS Bern, he remained deeply involved in the affairs of Germany and the construction of postwar Europe. In

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<sup>143</sup> Letter from Brigadier General John Magruder to Allen Dulles on December 6, 1945 Box 106, Folder 11, ADP.

July 1945, Dulles became the head of the American German mission. After striving to influence the postwar situation through his use of intelligence, Dulles became directly involved in transforming a war-torn and devastated Germany into a stable and democratic state. As President Truman later explained, he “supplied important and essential intelligence to American Military Government, occupation, and diplomatic offices” and setup intelligence offices in Berlin, Munich, and Frankfurt.<sup>144</sup> He also was responsible for finding and protecting anti-Nazis who could work in the newly established government bureaucracies across Germany. Lastly, he was in charge of gathering intelligence on Nazi perpetrators for the Nuremberg trials.<sup>145</sup>

Dulles returned to civilian life after completing his final tasks for the War Department, but he remained an intelligence man for the rest of his life. A few months before Dulles resigned, President Truman officially disbanded the OSS in September 1945. The American public and the President were concerned that the wartime intelligence community would turn into an American Gestapo. There were also concerns with the idea of running a peacetime intelligence service under a peacetime democracy. Therefore, America returned to having a decentralized intelligence establishment. The State Department absorbed OSS Research & Analysis and the War Department took over OSS clandestine services.<sup>146</sup> With intelligence on the United States government’s backburner, Dulles decided to return to practicing law at Sullivan & Cromwell.

However, Dulles was too valuable for the government to let go. In the face of the mounting Soviet threat, Truman soon decided that the U.S. intelligence community needed to be reorganized and strengthened. Congress therefore passed the National

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<sup>144</sup> Truman, Citation to Accompany the Medal for Merit, Box 106, Folder 11, ADP.

<sup>145</sup> Srodes, 359-361; Petersen, 15.

<sup>146</sup> Ranelagh, 98-99.

Security Act in 1947 and created the Central Intelligence Agency to perform “such other functions and duties.” The language was intentionally ambiguous to give the CIA more flexibility in performing “unmentionable” acts, such as sabotage and subversion. In January 1949, the government turned to Dulles to lead a study group and evaluate the performance of the CIA. He recommended how to revamp the intelligence community and suggested the tools it needed to protect America from the Soviets.<sup>147</sup> In this position, Dulles was able to use the insight that he gained during his experience as OSS Station Chief. He thus yielded a direct impact on the foundations of the CIA. He later proceeded to serve as Director of Central Intelligence under the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations and had the longest tenure of any CIA director in its history.

Dulles’ experience in World War II instilled his belief in the importance of covert operations and psychological warfare. His leadership in the CIA allowed him to heighten America’s global involvement through covert activities. Relying on his excellent public relations skills, Dulles developed a mystique of the CIA and depicted its officers as Cold War heroes who safeguarded American democracy from the communist threat.<sup>148</sup> He therefore took the CIA to a new level of espionage and stretched the role of the CIA during the 1950s—the so-called “Golden Age of Operations.” During this era, Dulles led the CIA in two landmark operations: the overthrow of the Iranian Prime Minister, Mohammad Mossadeq, and the *coup d’état* of the democratically elected Guatemalan President, Jacobo Arbenz. However, the Bay of Pigs debacle quickly overshadowed Dulles’ successes during the Eisenhower era.

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<sup>147</sup> Srodes, 387.

<sup>148</sup> David McCarthy, Lecture “Allen Dulles & The Spymaster Mystique,” on September 12, 2007, for his class on “The CIA & American Society, 1947-2003,” at the College of William & Mary.

Dulles' willingness to make active use of the CIA in risky anti-communist operations stemmed from the mentality and know-how he gained while fighting the Nazis. As an OSS station chief, he learned the value and rewards of working with resistance groups and engaging in attempts to undermine enemy governments. When he became director of Central Intelligence, he finally acquired the authority to mobilize the American intelligence community for sabotage and subversion activities in foreign countries. Dulles did not actively pursue direct participation in these types of actions during World War II, but the legacy of his OSS experience provided the framework for future CIA operations.

Furthermore, Dulles' use of intelligence to construct particular global power relations during World War II legitimized and elevated the use of intelligence as an important foreign policy tool. Policymakers noticed how Dulles was able to alter the dynamics of the international system through his activities at OSS Bern and increasingly turned to the American intelligence community to resolve off-shore problems. The presidents during the Cold War relied heavily on the CIA to contain the spread of communism. After the final collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, presidents of the 1990s and 2000s depended on the CIA to thwart terrorist threats. U.S. leaders of the second half of the twentieth century have used intelligence activities to create and sustain America's supremacy. However, while the CIA has been relatively successful in obtaining these objectives, the U.S. government has authorized them to carry out morally questionable activities, namely the overthrow of democratically elected governments as well as renditions and detentions in Guantanamo Bay. Dulles showed the capabilities of

intelligence, but also opened the doors for questionable activities that would sometimes undermine America's democratic foundations.

Though intelligence today is a very different game than it was during the OSS years, we can see how Dulles' accomplishments during the Second World War provided some of the underpinnings for the CIA during the Cold War and after. In addition to building these foundations, Dulles made remarkable and unexpectedly useful contributions to the Allied war effort. Numerous presidents of the United States, highly ranked military officers, officials in the Departments of War and State, his colleagues, and his subordinates praised Dulles for his achievements and recognized the key role he played in defeating the Nazis. In July 1946, President Harry Truman awarded Dulles the Medal of Merit for his "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services as chief of the foremost under-cover operations conducted by the Office of Strategic Services."<sup>149</sup> Dulles' reports and services shaped the war's outcome, the reconfiguring of power in postwar Europe, and the development of the American intelligence community in the second half of the twentieth century.

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<sup>149</sup> Harry Truman, Citation to Accompany the Award of the Medal for Merit to Allen W. Dulles, Box 106, Folder 11, ADP.

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