

POLITICAL PROFILES



The Kennedy Years

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liberalism. The ILGWU made large con-
tributions to the national Democratic Party
and the New York Liberal Party as well as
to various civil rights organizations, the
League for Industrial Democracy, the
Jewish Labor Committee and other liberal
groups throughout the 1950s and 1960s.
[See TRUMAN, EISENHOWER Volumes]

During the 1960s the union's
membership—mostly black, Puerto Rican
and Italian—remained stable at about
440,000. Jews maintained their hold on
leadership positions in the New York-based
organization, and the union came under at-
tack from civil rights groups charging racial
discrimination. In 1962 Herbert Hill
[*q.v.*], labor secretary of the NAACP,
opened a drive to seek National Labor Re-
lations Board decertification of unions prac-
ticing discrimination. In August Hill acted
as a consultant to a special House subcom-
mittee investigating the ILGWU. Hill
maintained that the union condoned a low
wage level in the New York garment trades
in order to keep the industry in the city.
This was at the expense of poorly-paid black
and Puerto Rican workers who, he said,
were discriminated against by an undemo-
cratic union constitution. ILGWU officials
denied these charges.

In May 1965, when Dubinsky was
elected to his 12th term as union president,
the ILGWU convention endorsed his call to
support President Johnson's policy in both
Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.
Dubinsky retired in 1966 at age 74.

[MDB]

For further information:

Labor History Special Supplement (Spring 1968).
Burton Hall, ed., *Autocracy and Insurgency in
Organized Labor* (New Brunswick, 1972).

DUKE, ANGIER BIDDLE

b. Nov. 30, 1915; New York, N.Y.

Chief of Protocol for the State Depart-
ment and the White House, January
1961-December 1964.

An heir to the American Tobacco Com-
pany fortune, Duke spent his early years
traveling around the world before joining

the Army during World War II. After the
war he entered the foreign service and from
1952 to 1953 served as ambassador to El
Salvador. During the 1950s he headed vari-
ous private relief agencies, including the
International Rescue Committee.

Duke was sworn in as chief of protocol in
January 1961. During his term of office he
was primarily interested in aiding African
diplomats facing racial discrimination in the
Washington area. Duke's concern was evi-
dent in his handling of a March 1961 inci-
dent in which a restaurant in Hagerstown,
Md., refused to serve a diplomat from Sierra
Leone. Instead of merely tendering an offi-
cial apology, Duke and the town's mayor
arranged a banquet for the visiting diplo-
mat. The restaurant was subsequently de-
segregated. In August 1961 Duke quietly
resigned from the exclusive Metropolitan
Club in Washington in protest against its
refusal to allow blacks as guests.

Duke was confirmed as ambassador to
Spain in March 1965. One year later, in
January 1966, the Navy lost a nuclear de-
vice in a crash off the Spanish coast. To as-
sure the Spanish that the waters were safe,
Duke and his family took a well publicized
swim near the site of the accident. From
January to September 1968 Duke again
served as chief of protocol until being ap-
pointed ambassador to Denmark. He re-
signed this post at the beginning of the
Nixon Administration in January 1969.

[EWS]

DULLES, ALLEN W(ELSH)

b. April 7, 1893; Watertown, N.Y.

d. Jan. 30, 1969; Washington, D.C.

Director of Central Intelligence, 1953-
61.

Dulles's lifelong interest in foreign affairs
was part of a strong family tradition. His
maternal grandfather, John W. Foster, had
been Secretary of State under President
Benjamin Harrison, a post that both Dul-
les's uncle, Robert Lansing, and his older
brother, John Foster Dulles, were also to
hold. Another uncle, John Walsh, had been
a minister to England, and Dulles's sister,
Elinor Lansing Dulles, was later a State

Department official as well. Dulles's father was a Presbyterian minister.

After attending private schools in upstate New York and Paris and receiving B.A. and M.A. degrees from Princeton University, Dulles entered the diplomatic service in 1916. He served in a variety of posts abroad and was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. Following four years as chief of the State Department Division of Near Eastern Affairs, Dulles resigned from government service in 1926 to join his brother at the Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, where he remained for the next 15 years.

During World War II Dulles headed the ultra-secret Office of Strategic Services mission in Switzerland. He was subsequently a key figure in the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) after the war. Dulles later said that the act which set up the CIA "has given intelligence a more influential position in our government than intelligence enjoys in any other government of the world."

The CIA was initially an information-gathering agency, but partially as a result of a suggestion by Dulles, who in 1948 was appointed by President Truman as head of a three-man CIA review committee, the Agency was soon given authority and capacity to conduct covert operations abroad. In 1951 Dulles himself was placed in charge of these operations when he joined the CIA as deputy director for plans. [See TRUMAN Volume]

In February 1953 President Eisenhower appointed Dulles as Director of Central Intelligence, making him both head of the CIA and coordinator of all U.S. intelligence activity. During the Eisenhower Administration the CIA greatly expanded its operations and became centrally involved in establishing and executing U.S. foreign policy. This was in part the result of the close working relationship between Dulles and his brother John Foster Dulles, who was Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959. During these years the CIA often intervened in the domestic affairs of other countries. Intelligence-gathering operations were also expanded and new technological means of surveillance, such as the U-2 and SR-71 spy

planes, were developed. Some CIA operations, such as the inspection and opening of mail sent from the Soviet Union to citizens, violated U.S. law.

On March 17, 1960 President Eisenhower ordered the CIA to help oppose the Cuban government and recruit and train a force of Cuban exiles capable of guerrilla action against the government. Richard M. Bissell [*q.v.*], CIA deputy director for plans, was placed in charge of the project. According to a 1975 Senate Select Committee report, that summer Bissell initiated attempts to kill Cuban leader Raul and Fidel Castro. Bissell claimed Dulles was fully informed of these activities. The Senate Select Committee also reported that in August 1960 Dulles authorized a CIA effort to assassinate Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba (Lumumba was killed by Congolese rebels before the CIA plans were carried out). It was unclear whether or not Eisenhower directly authorized these activities, or whether Dulles was fully aware of them. [See EISENHOWER Volume]

President-elect Kennedy announced that he would retain Dulles as Director of Central Intelligence on Nov. 10, 1960. Ten days later Dulles and Bissell briefed Kennedy on the training of the Cuban exile force, which was already well underway. Dulles had a CIA camp in Guatemala, and on his plans for landing them in Cuba. On Nov. 29, after a second more detailed briefing, Kennedy ordered the planning to proceed. It was unclear after the 1975 investigation whether Kennedy had been informed of this or in any other briefing of the plans to assassinate Castro. After a series of top-level meetings, at which Dulles and Bissell presented and defended the invasion plan, Kennedy gave his approval early April 1961.

On the day of the invasion at the Bay of Pigs, Dulles was in Puerto Rico delivering a long-planned speech, which he apparently declined to cancel to avoid any suspicion that a major CIA operation was under way. Dulles was therefore not in Washington when Kennedy decided to cancel one of two planned CIA air strikes. In Dulles's absence, Bissell was in charge of the C

developed. Some CIA operations—the inspection and opening of relations with the Soviet Union to U.S. law.

On April 17, 1960 President Kennedy ordered the CIA to help unify the Cuban government and to train a force of Cuban exiles for guerrilla action against it. Bissell [*q.v.*], CIA deputy director, was placed in charge of the operation. Leading to a 1975 Senate Select report, that summer Bissell also made attempts to kill Cuban leaders of the Castro. Bissell claimed that he was fully informed of these activities. The Senate Select Committee reported that in August 1960 it discovered a CIA effort to assassinate Premier Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was killed by Congolese rivals (CIA plans were carried out.) It is not clear whether or not Eisenhower authorized these activities, or was aware of them. [See EISENHOWER

After Kennedy announced that he would name Dulles as Director of Central Intelligence on Nov. 10, 1960. Eight days later Dulles and Bissell briefed Kennedy on the training of the Cuban exile force, which was already well underway at a time when the invasion of Guatemala, and on initial plans for the invasion of Cuba. On Nov. 10, 1960, after a more detailed briefing, Kennedy authorized the planning to proceed. After the 1975 investigation of the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy had been informed in a separate briefing of the parallel activities of the CIA to assassinate Castro. After a series of meetings, at which Dulles and Bissell defended the CIA involvement, Kennedy gave his approval in January 1961.

On Oct. 4, 1960, Dulles was in Puerto Rico delivering a speech, which he apparently intended to cancel to avoid any suspicion that a CIA operation was underway. He therefore did not appear in Washington and decided to cancel one of the planned CIA air strikes. In Dulles's absence, Bissell was in charge of the Cuban

operation, which ended in complete defeat for the invasion forces.

On April 22 Kennedy established a panel headed by retired Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor [*q.v.*] to investigate the CIA role in the Cuban invasion. Also serving on the panel were Dulles, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy [*q.v.*] and Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Arleigh A. Burke [*q.v.*]. Members of the Taylor panel disagreed as to whether or not the invasion plans had had any chance of success. Dulles took a middle position, arguing that in spite of certain important problems, if the original plans had been followed, including both air strikes, the invasion might have succeeded. The panel recommended that the CIA be permitted to continue to conduct clandestine operations but not to undertake major paramilitary operations unless they could be plausibly denied.

During the early months of the Kennedy Administration, Dulles was also involved in efforts to bolster the deteriorating position of U.S.-supported forces in Laos, where the CIA had long been involved. During this period Dulles opposed the proposed establishment of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), a plan supported by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara [*q.v.*]. Dulles urged the continuation of individual military service intelligence agencies, each separately represented on the U.S. Intelligence Board, which he headed. Over Dulles's objections, McNamara proceeded in October 1961 with the creation of the DIA.

According to David Wise and Thomas B. Ross in *The Invisible Government*, Kennedy had been planning major changes in the CIA even before the Cuban invasion. After the failure of that project, the CIA leadership was quietly replaced. On July 31, 1961, Administration spokesman Pierre Salinger [*q.v.*] confirmed that Dulles would soon retire, and on Sept. 27 Kennedy accepted his resignation. (Bissell and CIA Deputy Director Gen. Charles P. Cabell also left the CIA in the following months.) On Nov. 28 Kennedy presented a National Security Medal to Dulles at the recently opened \$46-million CIA headquarters in Langley, Va., which had been planned and con-

structed during Dulles's tenure.

Following his resignation Dulles returned to his former law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell. In November 1963 President Johnson [*q.v.*] appointed Dulles to the Warren Commission charged with investigating the assassination of President Kennedy. In June 1964, following the disappearance of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, Dulles went to Mississippi as Johnson's special emissary to evaluate "law enforcement problems." Dulles died in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 30, 1969.

[J]

For further information:

Allen W. Dulles, *The Craft of Intelligence* (New York, 1963).

David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1964).

U.S. Senate, Select Committee to Study Intelligence Activities, *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders* (Washington, 1975).

DUNGAN, RALPH (ANTHONY)

b. April 22, 1923, Philadelphia, Pa.
Special Assistant to the President
January 1961-October 1964.

Ralph Dungan, aide to John F. Kennedy during both his Senate career and presidency, was born and raised in Philadelphia, Pa. Following his graduation from Bryn Mawr College in 1945, Dungan studied at Princeton where he received a master's degree in public affairs in 1952. Dungan then served with the international division of the Bureau of the Budget's legislative reference service. From 1956 to 1960 he was a legislative assistant to Sen. Kennedy. Dungan later served on the staff of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and advised Kennedy on legislation and politics. During Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign, Dungan served as a speech writer and liaison between Kennedy and labor leaders. After the election he aided Sargent Shriver [*q.v.*] in the Administration's talent hunt and advised him on political appointments.

In January 1961 Dungan joined the White House staff where he had a wide range of duties. He continued as chief