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Eleanor Lansing Dulles and the Fate of Berlin: 1953-1989

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**ELEANOR LANSING DULLES
AND THE FATE OF BERLIN: 1953-1989**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of History

by

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ABSTRACT

At the end of the Second World War, Berliners lived in a war-ravaged city and faced occupation under Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States. The occupation of Berlin and Germany became a competition between capitalism and communism. East Germany became a communist nation while West Germany recovered under the supervision of capitalist nations. In the 1950s West Berlin found a new ally in the director of the Berlin Desk at United States Department of State, Eleanor Lansing Dulles.

Eleanor Dulles came from a privileged family who participated in American diplomacy at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Dulles challenged the traditional roles of women in the early twentieth century and sought higher education. It was this experience, along with a determination to seek leadership positions, which brought Dulles in conflict with the career world of men. Dulles received a doctorate in economics in the early 1930s and studied international economic issues. This experience prepared her for the task she would face in Austria and West Berlin. After the Second World War, the State Department sent Dulles to assist in the economic recovery of Austria. Dulles helped Austrian officials apply for Marshall Plan funding and encouraged American companies to invest in the nation. In 1952, Dulles transferred from Austria to the State Department's Berlin Desk.

Dulles's time at the Berlin Desk had a major impact on West Berlin. She not only encouraged American companies to invest in West Berlin, but she brought public and private funding to the war-torn city. The city received a congress hall and badly needed infrastructure repairs. West Berlin's Free University received a new library, medical school, and student housing. All of this would not have occurred without Dulles's use of soft power diplomacy. This work looks at Dulles's impact on American diplomacy and her use of soft power

diplomacy. Through soft power diplomacy, Dulles convinced American officials that West Berlin was a main priority in the Cold War fight against communism, and she inspired West Berliners to be proud of their city.

INTRODUCTION

On the evening of November 28, 1988, Eleanor Lansing Dulles left her Watson Place apartment for an important event. The Smithsonian Institute National Portrait Gallery had invited her to participate in a living portrait session. That evening, historian Marc Pachter, in front of an audience, interviewed Dulles about her career and experience in American diplomacy. Dulles, age ninety-three, witnessed two world wars, the Great Depression, and the Cold War during her lifetime. Pachter asked Dulles, “Was it difficult to be a Dulles and a woman too?” “Well, I never thought I was particular about being a Dulles,” replied Dulles, “I just knew that to accomplish anything you had to work hard.” Pachter asked a simple question, but it is one that applied to Dulles’s whole life and career. She came from a privileged family, but it was a challenge to be a woman who wanted to become a professional. Dulles, along with other women, challenged their role in American society and strived for higher education. She became a diplomat who guided the economic recovery of West Berlin after the Second World War.

Dulles’s early career and experiences prepared her for service in the United States Department of State. Her path to civil service began with volunteering for relief efforts during the First World War. During the war, Dulles volunteered with the Presbyterian Church in the United States to help war victims in France. This experience opened Dulles’s eyes to the effects of war on a country. Dulles returned from France and enrolled in graduate studies at Bryn Mawr and later Radcliffe College. Research in economics and monetary issues introduced Dulles to the effects such issues can have on a nation. Dulles’s research on the French *Franc* demonstrated how France used monetary policy to stabilize the nation after the First World War. Her postdoctoral research on the Bank of International Settlements made Dulles aware of the

pressure Germany faced after being defeated in the war. Great Britain and France demanded large reparation payments for their sacrifice in the war, which Germany struggled to fulfill. Meanwhile, serving as an economist for the Social Security Board exposed Dulles to the retirement systems of European nations. In the early 1940s, Dulles's career path transitioned from the Social Security Board to postwar planning at the State Department. She took her prior knowledge of international economics and applied them to proposals for the State Department's Division on Postwar Planning. This position later opened the door for serving as an economist in the restoration of Austria after the end of the Second World War.¹

Beginning with her time in Austria, Dulles used soft power to influence decisions being made in postwar Austria and Germany. In Austria, she convinced officials to work with her on stabilizing the economy and applying for aid from the Marshall Plan. Like Germany, Austria was ground zero at the end of the Second World War. This ground zero became a testing ground for ideas Dulles brought with her from the State Department. During her time in the Postwar Planning Division, Dulles proposed one of many plans for an international bank and participated on the sidelines at the Bretton Woods Conference in July 1944. Her research into the future International Monetary Fund and other studies on displaced peoples made Dulles aware of issues faced by Austria and other war-torn nations. When John Erhardt, the Head of the United States Mission in Austria, asked Dulles to come to Austria, she gladly accepted his invitation. In Austria, Dulles had put her knowledge of economics and financing to work. She helped encourage American companies to invest in Austria and introduced a new currency. All of this was met by opposition from Soviet officials, who rejected such changes in their occupied sector.

¹ "Living Self-Portrait and Interviews: Eleanor Lansing Dulles," November 28, 1988, Interviewed by Marc Pachter, Audio/Visual Special Collection, *National Portrait Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution).

This opportunity led to a bigger one in 1952: West Berlin. With economic restoration on her resume, Dulles accepted a position in the Office of German Affairs at the State Department.

The story of Dulles is also one of West Berlin and the city's fate after the Second World War. Berlin's postwar fate began in meetings held between Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States during the war. In 1945, the Big Three met at Yalta and Potsdam to decide the fate of Nazi Germany and agreed to divide the nation into four occupation zones. Western Germany would be divided among Great Britain, France, and the United States while the Soviet Union received Eastern Germany. The same division occurred in the capital city of Berlin. The four occupation zones were placed under the authority of an Allied Control Council, but unity among the Allies only lasted a few months. When the Americans, British, and French united their occupation zones as one economic unit in 1946, the Soviets refused to comply. This led to the formation of two separate German governments. Western Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*) while the Soviets formed the German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*) in Eastern Germany. The fate of Berlin is divided by scholars into two crises. The First Berlin Crisis occurred in the late 1940s when Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin blockaded all access routes to West Berlin. Stalin opposed the introduction of a new currency (*Deutsche Mark*) to West Germany. In resistance to the new currency, Stalin blockaded all land routes on June 24, 1948. Great Britain and the United States responded with an airlift operation which provided supplies and prevented the starvation of West Berlin. The Soviet Union did not interfere with the airlift and eventually lifted the blockade in May 1949.²

² Hagen Schulze, *Germany: A New History*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 287-296.

The First Berlin Crisis concluded peacefully, but tension remained over the city of West Berlin. After Joseph Stalin's death in 1953 and a period of rule by a triumvirate, Nikita S. Khrushchev assumed the position of premier and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. Khrushchev called for the peaceful coexistence of capitalist and communist nations. He feared West Germany might obtain nuclear weapons from the United States. In 1956, West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer requested arms from the United States. This request alarmed Khrushchev in addition to the growing number of East Germans escaping communist rule through West Berlin. The Second Berlin Crisis occurred in November 1958 when Khrushchev issued an ultimatum to President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In his ultimatum to Great Britain, France, and the United States, Khrushchev asserted, "The Soviet Government on its part would consider it possible to solve the West Berlin question at the present time by the conversion of West Berlin into an independent political unit—a free city." Surrounded by East Germany, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan and President Dwight D. Eisenhower feared the Soviets would blockade West Berlin and take control of the city. Khrushchev never went through with plans to blockade access routes, but the issue continued into the John F. Kennedy presidency. In 1961, Khrushchev gave into requests by East German president Walter Ulbricht and agreed to build a wall in Berlin. The wall decreased tension, but the United States kept a presence in West Berlin and promised to protect it from a communist takeover.³

Not only did West Berlin face an ongoing crisis during the 1950s, but it was also a place the Soviets could use as a tool to threaten the United States. This was the atmosphere in which

³ Soviet Note from Premier Nikita Khrushchev to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Harold Macmillan, and Charles de Gaulle, Moscow, November 27, 1958, Confidential File Series, *Records as President, 1953-1961* (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library).

Dulles brought economic assistance to the city and helped promote its importance to Americans. Dulles worked at the State Department headquarters in Washington, but she made several trips to West Berlin. Her trips involved offers of economic assistance for the city and a long schedule of meetings with West Berlin officials such as Mayor Willy Brandt. It was her job to help maintain the blockade emergency stockpile, but Dulles knew West Berlin needed economic investment. She organized a foundation which raised funds for the construction of a congress hall, dormitories for university students and a new medical school for West Berlin's Free University. Like Austria, Dulles encouraged American companies to invest in the city and gave speeches on the importance of the United States in keeping its promise to protect the city from a communist takeover. Her mission for West Berlin continued after she left the State Department in 1962. She devoted the decade to writing books on the Berlin Wall and the city's future. Dulles feared Americans would forget about the city and wanted to keep it in the spotlight of American diplomacy. West Berlin received a completed medical school in the late 1960s, but its completion did not end Dulles's connections with the city. Dulles eventually retired in the 1970s, but her retirement centered on accomplishments made in West Berlin. Dulles maintained a soft power influence on West German and Berlin officials. West Berlin officials invited Dulles to several events which commemorated past accomplishments such as the Berlin Airlift and she was awarded for her contributions to the city.

Most Cold War scholars have focused on the main decision makers who were appointed to their positions, such as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and American presidents, but little has been written on people who influenced American diplomacy from the background. Dulles has been acknowledged by scholars, but she has not been recognized for her contributions to West Berlin during her career and her retirement years. Most of the early scholarship on the

Dulles family focused on Allen Welsh and John Foster Dulles. Townsend Hoopes's *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* only discussed Dulles's life during the First World War and her marriage to Dr. David Blondheim in the 1930s. Hoopes included information about Dulles's career at the State Department but used her book on John Foster Dulles as a main resource. Dulles's brief marriage to David Blondheim seemed to be an attraction for scholars who studied the careers of her brothers. Biographer and journalist Leonard Mosley used Dulles as one of his main sources for *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster and Their Family Network*. Unlike Hoopes, Mosley covered more of her life and career, but they are brief snippets that were used to demonstrate a strong family network. Mosley argued that Dulles and her brothers formed a family network which influenced American diplomacy during the Eisenhower presidency. This argument was one Dulles would later reject *Chances of a Lifetime: A Memoir*. Written in response to her criticism of Mosley's book, *Chances of a Lifetime* was an account of Dulles's life from her perspective. Dulles dismissed the idea of her family having a network in American diplomacy and emphasized that everything she achieved was done by independence and hard work. Historian Lynne Dunn Jurkovic completed a dissertation on the life of Dulles in 1982 which she later published as a chapter in Edward Crapol's *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*. Jurkovic's dissertation focused on Dulles's achievements as a woman who made a career of working in a man's world. Dulles faced gender discrimination throughout her career, but she refused to let this intimidate her. Although she stressed Dulles's independence and achievements, Jurkovic argued that Dulles's career was influenced by her brothers. In books such as James Srodes's *Allen Dulles: Master of Spies* and Robert Kinzer's *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* reemphasized the

power Allen Welsh and John Foster held in the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency. Both authors briefly mention Dulles in their books.⁴

Scholarship on West Berlin and the Cold War debated over American involvement in the city and the ideological fight of capitalism versus communism. In the 1950s, scholars debated over the causes of the Berlin Crisis and the Cold War. In *Divided Berlin: The Anatomy of Soviet Political Blackmail*, Hans Speier argued that the Soviet Union and the United States failed to agree on a final plan for restoring Germany after the Second World War. Without a restoration plan in place, Speier asserted, the Soviet Union resorted to blackmail against France, Great Britain, and the United States. Historian Hope Harrison's 2003 work *Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961* places the decision making in the hands of East German officials. Soviet officials gave approval for the Berlin Wall, but the requests came from East German officials. Walter LaFeber's famous work *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2006* connects West Berlin to the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. During his time in office, President Dwight D. Eisenhower devoted more money to the production of nuclear weapons. Soviet and East German officials feared that West Germany and West Berlin might obtain nuclear weapons from the United States. In addition to the arms race, John Lewis Gaddis viewed distrust as the main purpose for conflict over West Berlin. Distrust began with the division of Europe into spheres of occupation and influence. Soviet Premier

⁴ Townsend Hoopes, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* (London: Andrew Deutsch, 1973), 9, 17, 42-43; Leonard Mosley, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and their Family Network* (New York: Dial Press, 1978); Robert Kinzer, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (New York: Time Books, 2013); Lynne Dunn Jurkovic, "The Life and Public Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 1982), ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global; Lynne Dunn, "Joining the Boy's Club: The Diplomatic Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," in *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*, ed. Edward Crapol (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resource Books, 1992), 119-133.

Joseph Stalin believed that Soviet occupation of East Germany and Eastern Europe was not only compensation for the sacrifices his nation made during the war, but it also provided a buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the rest of Europe. Speier, Harrison, LaFeber, and Gaddis studied the decisions made by appointed leaders such as Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, and Soviet officials.⁵

This dissertation examines four factors which influenced Dulles's career. Firstly, she came from a privileged family who had a long background in diplomacy and public service. In addition to privilege, Dulles received an exceptional education for a woman during the early twentieth century. She received the opportunity to not only attend Bryn Mawr College, but also graduate school. Dulles earned a doctorate in economics at a time when few women were pursuing higher education. This education, along with experience of working at the Social Security Board in the 1930s, prepared Dulles for what she would face in Austria and Germany after the Second World War. Dulles is an example of a woman who made strides in the first half of the twentieth century. Instead of following the traditional role of women, she challenged tradition by seeking jobs that were otherwise occupied by men. In each civil service position, Dulles encountered gender discrimination, but it did not prevent Dulles from doing her job. While other women were overlooked for job promotions, Dulles sought other ways to promote herself to a higher position. She worked her way into the State Department without starting at the bottom as a foreign service officer. Later in the 1980s, women journalists wrote newspaper articles about Dulles's career and her experiences as a woman in the State Department. The

⁵ Hans Speier, *Divided Berlin: The Anatomy of Soviet Political Blackmail* (New York: Praeger, 1960), 3, 10-12, 15-18; Hope Harrison, *Driving the Soviets up the Wall: Soviet-East German Relations, 1953-1961* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 1, 10-11, 99-100; John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 10-12, 21-22, 27-31.

newspaper articles portrayed Dulles as a pioneer who inspired other women to seek higher positions at the State Department.⁶

Secondly, Dulles discovered the use of soft power during her time at the State Department. Dulles did not make final decisions, but she influenced the main decisionmakers. Scholars, such as Leonard Mosley, suggested that John Foster Dulles overshadowed his sister during her time at the State Department, but it seems to be vice versa. Although John Foster tried to pressure his sister to leave the State Department in 1953, Dulles found a way to influence her brother in decisions being made on West Berlin. She met with West Berlin and West German officials to gain their support for the economic recovery of the city. Dulles took this support and used it to convince John Foster that the recovery of West Berlin was a main priority in the fight against communism. Although Dulles did not always receive the funding she requested, she did receive support from the State Department.

Thirdly, Dulles used the different tools of soft power diplomacy to bring much needed assistance to the city. She used soft power tools such as public awareness to make not only West Berliners, but also West Germans aware of the importance of rebuilding and protecting West Berlin. Dulles encouraged West German and American companies to invest in the city, and she launched vital projects, such as the congress hall and medical school, which demonstrated the progress West Berlin was making in the 1950s and 1960s. Dulles's soft power influence did not end when she left the State Department. She continued overseeing the construction of the medical school and made frequent visits to the West Berlin. Economic recovery in West Berlin not only brought recognition of Dulles's soft power in West Berlin but also the United States.

⁶ Dulles, *Chances*, 228-229; Lynne Dunn, "Joining the Boy's Club: The Diplomatic Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," 120-123; Mosley, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network*, 204-205.

Newspapers published articles about a “Third Dulles” in Washington and her role at the State Department. Articles introduced Dulles as the sister of John Foster and Allen Welsh Dulles, but they always highlighted her accomplishments as a well-known economist and expert on West German affairs. Her home in McLean, Virginia, became a casual meeting place for American and West German officials. She invited her brothers and other officials to lounge around the pool and discuss diplomatic issues. West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt commended Dulles for her contributions to the city. East German officials viewed Dulles’s connections to West Berlin as a threat and made their criticism known over the radio air waves.⁷

Finally, Dulles’s soft power influence followed her after she left the State Department in 1962. She maintained her connections with Willy Brandt and other West Berlin officials. Dulles’s goal after leaving the State Department was preventing West Berlin from falling into the cracks of American diplomacy. She wrote books on the Berlin Wall and discussed the positive future of the city. She encouraged readers of her books to not view the Berlin Wall as permanent. Dulles believed the city and the two Germanies would be reunified one day, but not during her lifetime. In the 1970s and 1980s, Dulles’s soft power transitioned into memory diplomacy. She continued to influence projects, such as the renovation of the congress hall, but West Berlin and West German officials celebrated her past accomplishments. She was invited to celebrate anniversaries of past accomplishments in West Berlin. Dulles represented America’s past actions in West Berlin and the economic restoration of the city. She was recognized for her past achievements and given honorary awards for it.

⁷ Nicholas Schlosser, *Cold War on the Airwaves: The Radio Propaganda War against East Germany* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 107-110; Robert Erlenbusch, “Letter to Eleanor Lansing Dulles”, October 18, 1960, in *Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers, 1867-1993*, Special Collections Research Center (Washington, D.C.: George Washington University Repository), 1-2.

Despite many books and journal articles that have been published on the Dulles brothers, very little has been written about Eleanor Dulles's impact on American diplomacy regarding West Berlin. Not only did Dulles have an impact on the city during her time at the State Department, but she also kept the importance of West Berlin alive during the 1970s and 1980s. During her time at the State Department, Dulles helped channel funding and rendered economic advice to West Berlin, but this did not end with her dismissal in 1962. After 1962, she continued making trips to the city, overseeing the final stages of projects such as the medical school building at Berlin's Free University, and writing books on the city's unique issues. There is a need, in the historiography of West Berlin and American diplomacy, to express the importance of Dulles's impact on the city throughout the Cold War. In addition to her books, West German officials revered Dulles's accomplishments and believed she represented America's promise to protect the city from a communist takeover. The purpose of this dissertation is to look at the impact Dulles had on American diplomacy during her career and retirement years. She kept the issues of West Berlin alive in American diplomacy and encouraged future generations of West Berliners to participate in the city's prosperity.

CHAPTER 1. THE MAKING OF A DIPLOMAT AND ECONOMIST

When Eleanor Lansing Dulles entered a career of American diplomacy, she brought a lifetime of experience with her. Belonging to a family who had a tradition of public service influenced Dulles and her brothers. Dulles came from a privileged family and received opportunities that were unavailable to other women in the first half of the twentieth century. She experienced the effects of the First World War in France, which set a course for her life. In a world where men dominated public service, Dulles carved a path for other women to follow. This experience, along with a will to be independent, influenced the path Dulles took in her career. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, women made inroads in the professional world. She was not a pioneer, but Dulles's career path encouraged other women to seek higher education and positions in civil service. Dulles's knowledge of international economics and employment on the Social Security Board not only made her aware of economic issues faced by other nations, but she also learned the importance of forming relationships with influential people and government officials. Dulles used relationships to influence government policies and find opportunities for job advancement.

Early Life

Dulles and her two brothers, Allen Welsh and John Foster, came from a family with a background of public service. Their grandfather, John Watson Foster, served as a diplomat and later Secretary of State for President Benjamin Harrison. Dulles's uncle, Robert Lansing, was Secretary of State for President Woodrow Wilson. Aside from American diplomacy, Dulles's father, Allen Macy Dulles, was a Presbyterian pastor who attended Princeton University and the University of Göttingen in Germany. Dulles claimed her exposure to American diplomacy and morals inspired her brothers. They experienced what other young children did not have the

opportunity to experience, traveling abroad and reading books about other countries. They observed conversations that family members had on diplomacy. She recalled, “The Dulles clan was to live and work together for many years, often by the shores of [Lake Ontario].”¹ They traveled abroad together during their childhood years. In 1903, eight-year-old Eleanor traveled to Europe with John Foster and her mother, Edith Foster Dulles. During their trip, both siblings learned French. Eleanor traveled and observed conversations about diplomacy, but she faced gender issues from the beginning. British Journalist and biographer Leonard Mosley described Dulles’s interactions with her brothers as a strained relationship. Some of this came from differences in age. John Foster was seven years older than Eleanor, but she identified more with her other brother Allen who was two years older than her. Both Dulles brothers proved to be geniuses at an early age. Allen Dulles, at the age of eight, wrote *The Boer War*. Allen and Eleanor played together, and he helped her faced some challenges. “He helped me with various land and water ventures. He even tutored me in ancient history when I began to consider college entrance examinations,” she reminisced. Experiences in international travel and American diplomacy would have a major influence in the future careers of Dulles and her brothers.²

Dulles attended school during a period when women’s education was evolving in the United States. Academies for women (also known as seminaries) existed before the American Civil War, but education expanded for women during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the war, American women stepped out of their traditional role in the home and volunteered as nurses in the hospital camps. The daughters of wealthy families attended the

¹ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime, A Memoir* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1980), 4-5, 10-11.

² Leonard Mosley, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and their Family Network* (New York: Dial Press, 1978), 14-15; Townsend Hoopes, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles* (London: Andrew Deutsch, 1973), 17-18.

seminaries where they learned how to be a lady. The curriculum of private academies began including courses on teaching school. According to historian Barbara Solomon, the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Act benefited public education. Although land grant colleges were established for men, women found their way into such institutions. The demographic of women collegians also changed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only did women from wealthy families attend college, but women from middle class families also strived for higher education. Some state colleges became coeducational, but most women who attended college received their education at private institutions. Middle class ministers, teachers, and small businessmen paid for their daughters to attend female seminaries and colleges. Although they encouraged education, middle class families faced the obstacle of tuition costs. Tuition for private colleges, such as Mount Holyoke College, was three hundred and fifty dollars a year, while tuition for public colleges ranged from fifty to one hundred dollars a year. Dulles was one of the privileged women who had the opportunity to attend high school at Mount Vernon Seminary for Girls in Washington, D.C. She also attended Wykeham Rise School in Washington, Connecticut, where she graduated from high school in 1913. Her father must have valued an education not only for his sons, but also his daughters.³

Coming from a family of public service and intellect, Eleanor Lansing Dulles was determined to be independent. After graduating from Wykeham Rise School, Dulles enrolled at Bryn Mawr College in 1913. Bryn Mawr was one of several northern women's colleges that were established by benefactors in the late nineteenth century. Joseph Taylor, a Quaker doctor, donated funds for the establishment of Bryn Mawr with the vision of it being a place for training women as teachers. Although it was founded on Quaker principles, Martha Carey Thomas, a

³ Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 42-49, 62-65.

leading advocate of women's suffrage, transformed the college into an institution which equaled men's colleges. Instead of a basic curriculum on teaching, Thomas implemented an academic plan used by John Hopkins University. Four-year programs at Bryn Mawr not only included the classics, but also electives. When Dulles began attending Bryn Mawr, she was part of a growing population of women who attended college. Three years earlier in 1910, it was estimated that 140,000 women were enrolled in American colleges. They made up 39.6% of the college population. Although 140,000 women sought a college degree, they remained a minority in America. Institutions such as Bryn Mawr were limited on funds for scholarships. Historian Solomon asserted, "Raising scholarship money for women was even more difficult than for men since not all publics were persuaded of the value of educating females." Dulles was one of few women who not only had a family which funded her high school education, but also allowed her to attend college. Most of the scholarship money at Bryn Mawr was given to daughters who came from Quaker families, but Dulles, a Presbyterian, was awarded a New England Scholarship by the college. Dulles remembered the strict discipline and requirements Thomas placed on students at the college. "This assertive, snobbish woman thought the issue of entrance requirements a major one in her efforts to make Bryn Mawr *the best*," she wrote. Not only was Dulles influenced by Thomas, but also by Susan Kingsbury, an advocate of social work, at the college. Kingsbury's influence encouraged Eleanor to help others during the First World War. When the United States entered the Great War in 1917, Eleanor asked Secretary of State Robert Lansing, her uncle, if she could help. Lansing, who was steeped in Victorian morals, informed Eleanor that it was not a woman's place to be in the middle of war. However, this did not stop

Eleanor from her first experience with issues in another nation. Eleanor was nearing graduation from Bryn Mawr College and wanted to assist in relief efforts.⁴

The desire to bring humanitarian relief to Europe was not confined to the ideas of Susan Kingsbury. Historian Julia Irwin argues that America's humanitarian awakening came with the Progressive Movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The United States had already been active in diplomacy, but Americans, especially women, felt they had the responsibility to provide relief and aid during times of conflict overseas. Dulles did not volunteer in the American Red Cross, but she volunteered in a Presbyterian relief organization and paid her own way to France. Ernest Shurtleff and his wife Helen ran a mission in the Latin Quarter of Paris.⁵ The original purpose of the mission was to serve university students, but the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States decided to include war relief at their 1916 meeting. The Shurtleffs and university students operated the mission and received supplies from American donors. Ernest Shurtleff died unexpectedly in August 1917 and his wife took over the Latin Quarter Mission relief efforts. In June 1917, Dulles boarded a ship to France. When she arrived, Dulles and her friend, Henrietta Ely, were met with questions by French officers. Dulles was unaware Ely had mentioned Austria and Germany in conversation to another passenger on the boat, which alarmed authorities. The officers seized their passports and detained them. Eleanor contacted the American ambassador in France. The consul informed French officials they were detaining Secretary of State Robert Lansing's niece. This led to their release. Dulles's relationship to a sitting U.S. secretary of state helped convince French officials

⁴ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 34-35, 357-359; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 46-49, 62-63, 71-73, 80-83.

⁵ University students lived in the higher education section of Paris (Latin Quarter).

that she was not a spy. When Dulles arrived in Paris, she received her volunteer assignments from Helen Shurtleff and the Latin Quarter Mission.⁶

The Presbyterian Church in the United States shipped clothing and supplies to the Latin Quarter Mission. Dulles was not alone in devoting time to helping war-stricken areas in Europe. Volunteers greatly increased in the American Red Cross. Children, men, and women worked on the local level of the American Red Cross while others volunteered their relief efforts in Europe. Volunteers who traveled to Europe had several ideas in mind. Some were concerned about the instability in Europe, others saw “a chance to advance in one’s career, or a simple fascination with Europe and the Great War all influenced American decisions.” Eleanor had several fascinating experiences of helping people in France. The volunteer efforts of Shurtleff and the Latin Quarter Mission were decreasing, but she wanted the efforts to continue. Shurtleff handed over the mission relief efforts to the American Red Cross and returned to the United States in 1919. The war and volunteer relief efforts opened Dulles’s eyes to impact she could make on the world.⁷

Graduate School and Economics

At the end of the First World War, Dulles returned to the United States and contemplated her future. Before attending graduate school, Eleanor tried a career in poetry, but it did not work out. From 1917 to 1919, Eleanor made several attempts to get her poetry published, but was met

⁶ Julia F. Irwin, *Making the World Safe: The American Red Cross and a Nation’s Humanitarian Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1-3; Mosely, *Dulles*, 40-41; Stephen Kinzer, *The Brothers* (New York: Times Books, 2013), 28-29; Presbyterian Church in the United States, “Report on Mission in the Latin Quarter,” in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, vol. 1917, 142-144, 189-191; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 52-54.

⁷ Julia Irwin, *Making the World Safe*, 68-69; Presbyterian Church in the United States, “Work in Europe and Mrs. Shurtleff,” in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, vol. 1919, 229-230.

with rejection. In February, she received a rejection letter from the Poet Lore Company of Boston. The company rejected Eleanor's poems because of a large amount of submissions and her poems did not meet their interests. The company was interested in accepting submissions for volumes. Eleanor did not give up, but she received another letter shortly after the war in 1919. J.W. Halsey of Funk and Wagnalls Company suggested that Eleanor's poems were not qualified for publishing. Funk and Wagnalls had an unpleasant experience with publishing poems, which did not return a profit enough to cover costs. J.W. Halsey advised Eleanor to publish her collection of poems in a magazine. Eleanor submitted the poems for a magazine published by Charles Scribner's and Sons, but they were rejected too. In the end, Eleanor decided that poetry would not be a good career to pursue. She put aside poetry and focused on factory work.⁸

Dulles worked in a few factories before attending graduate school. In the early twentieth century, job opportunities increased for women. American society was changing as more households came to depend upon consumer goods, which decreased the work of housewives. In Dulles's case, she was encouraged by professors at Bryn Mawr College. Before the First World War, most women only hoped for a job that was paid a fair wage, but they were placed in low wage jobs. After the war, many immigrant and white women dreamed of working and sought higher paying jobs. "In 1916," labor historian Alice Kessler-Harris emphasized, "the Boston Bureau of Vocational Information, set up by college-educated women for women, sponsored series of lectures." The lectures encouraged women to seek higher jobs and believe they could make it to the top of the career ladder. Dulles came back from Europe after the war with this attitude. In July 1920, Dulles described her job at a steel plant to her mother, Edith Foster

⁸ Eleanor Dulles, "Rejection Letter from Poet Lore Company," February 6, 1917, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1; J.W. Halsey, "Letter from J.W. Halsey of Funk and Wagnall's to Eleanor," October 20, 1919, in *ELD Papers*, 1; "Letter from Charles Scribner's and Sons to Dulles," Undated, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1.

Dulles. Eleanor wore overalls, operated a stamp machine, gauged steel, and inspected monkey wrenches. She enjoyed working with machinery. “The press room, interests me more, however, I like the machinery,” stressed Dulles. The steel plant made parts for phonographs and stoves. After working at the steel plant, Dulles tried out a job at a hairnet factory. Although she didn’t remain in manual labor, the factory jobs helped Dulles find a niche in the world: economics.⁹

The number of women attending institutions of higher education continued increasing after the First World War, but they faced challenges of finding a job after graduation. The only positions available for educated women were in clerical work, nursing, teaching, and social work. Most women who obtained a doctorate majored in education. Graduate fellowships were also limited for women graduate students. Bryn Mawr College offered study abroad fellowships. Dulles majored in economics, an unusual field for female graduate students. Bryn Mawr awarded Dulles with a fellowship in social economy and psychology, which Dulles used to study at the London School of Economics and conduct research for a master’s thesis. She was also influenced by the ideas of her advisor, American economist Allyn Young, who studied the new economic ideas of Ralph George Hawtrey and John Maynard Keynes. After receiving her master’s degree, Dulles enrolled in a doctoral program at Radcliffe College. Like Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe College was founded as an alternative for women to attend college that was separate from men’s colleges, but women received an education that was equivalent to men. Radcliffe College kept women separate from the men of Harvard, but women could take courses there, and the president of Harvard co-signed their Radcliffe diplomas. Dulles took courses at Radcliffe College and Harvard University. Dulles chose the French *Franc* as her dissertation topic and delved into research about monetary inflation. Dulles published her dissertation in 1928 under

⁹ Dulles, “Letter to Mother,” July 2, 1920, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; Alice Kessler-Harris, *Gendering Labor History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 110-114, 123-126.

the title *The French Franc: 1914-1928; The Facts and Their Interpretation*. According to Eleanor, the United States was a major creditor to France and Great Britain after the First World War. At first, the United States did not ask for any payments on debts, but this changed in 1925. The French, she argued, wanted the United States to fund the reconstruction of their nation. French officers based their hopes on American officials in France, not the officials in Washington, D.C. European leaders quickly found out the United States would not assist in the reconstruction of their continent or join the newly formed League of Nations. For most of the 1920s, France experienced inflation issues with its currency. Dulles published her book at the beginning of the Great Depression, which hindered sales. In October 1933, George Brett Jr., of Macmillan Publishers, expressed concern in a letter to Dulles. Brett argued the book was expensive to print, and sales were down. Macmillan Publishers priced the book at \$6.50, but many Americans were not purchasing expensive books in 1933. Dulles wanted to continue publishing the book, but Brett suggested a smaller edition of it. Other scholars, in the early 1930s, were publishing books which attempted to explain why the United States was experiencing global depression. Dulles contributed to the conversation by explaining postwar inflation in France. Eleanor agreed, and Macmillan Company published *The Dollar, The Franc, and Inflation* later that year.¹⁰

While Dulles's book on French currency struggled with publishing issues, reviewers compared her analysis to high expectations for German reparations after the First World War.

¹⁰ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 76-77, 92-93, 98-100, 360-361; Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 125-137; Radcliffe College merged with Harvard University in 1999; Eleanor Dulles, *The French Franc: 1914-1928; The Facts and Their Interpretation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1929), vii-xv, 2-4, 10-11; George Brett Jr., "Letter from Macmillan Publishers to Eleanor Lansing Dulles," October 1933, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1; George Brett Jr., "Letter from Macmillan Publishers to Eleanor Lansing Dulles," November 23, 1933 and December 5, 1933, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Eleanor Dulles, *The Dollar, the Franc, and Inflation* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1933).

Reviewers praised Dulles's extensive analysis of French currency after the Great War but commented on repetition issues. One reviewer, Frank Graham, commented, "Such repetition may have didactic value but it does much to spoil an otherwise pleasant evening." Dulles's book blamed currency problems on acts French officials could not control. Graham disagreed with Dulles's conclusion and blamed currency issues on the nation's determination to rely on German war reparations. Another reviewer, Norman Cowper, highlighted the same issue of speculation. According to Cowper, France had high hopes on German reparations for rebuilding from the First World War. During the war, France relied heavily on foreign loans that were used to stabilize the French *Franc* and help keep the economy running. Damages suffered from the war, in addition to foreign debt, caused currency inflation in France. French officials hoped German war reparations would pay for postwar rebuilding, but that was not the case. Germany was unable to meet French demands for the excessive war reparations. France seized the German industrial Ruhr region, but it did not satisfy inflation issues. Cowper agreed with Dulles on the impact of confidence in overcoming currency inflation. Confidence was temporarily lost in French currency but was quickly restored by officials such as French President Raymond Poincaré. Cowper agreed with Dulles's argument about the importance of balanced budgets in France. Having a balanced budget failed to restore confidence in French currency alone, but it contributed to restoring confidence in the late 1920s.¹¹

After publishing her first book, Dulles continued research on a second one, *The Bank for International Settlements at Work*. She traveled to Germany and Switzerland for research. In

¹¹ Norman Cowper, "The French Franc, 1914-25 by Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *The Australian Quarterly* vol. 3, no. 10 (June 1931), 84-93; Frank D. Graham, "The French Franc 1914-1928 by Eleanor Lansing Dulles; The Process of Inflation in France 1914-1927 by James Harvey Rogers," *Journal of Political Economy* vol. 37, No. 6 (December 1929): 737-738; Everett Cherrington Hughes, "The French Franc, 1914-1918: The Facts and Their Interpretation. By Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 35, No. 2 (September 1929), 330-331.

the late 1920s, Germany experienced economic problems and could not fulfill the large reparation requirements placed on by the Treaty of Versailles. After the war, The Allies, especially France, demanded that Germany reimburse them for damages caused by the war. The final amount imposed on Germany was one hundred and fifty billion dollars. Dulles believed the reparation requirements placed on Germany were too much for the nation. In addition to the massive amount, Germany could not tax imports from Allied nations, and it was required to reduce military power. France occupied the Rhineland, an important industrial sector for the nation. American Banker Owen Young renegotiated reparation payments from Germany in June 1929. Under the plan, oversight of the German economy was lifted, France agreed to withdraw troops, and reparation payments were reduced for Germany.¹²

Established in Switzerland, the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) was founded to deal with reparation payments from Germany to Allied nations from the First World War. Under the Young Plan, Germany was supposed to submit annual payments of 2.4 billion *Reichsmarks* (\$571 million dollars). The BIS was founded not only to process reparation payments, but also as an organization where the central banks of Europe could meet and share information. Dulles referred to it as the central bank for the central banks of Europe. Dulles examined the early years of the BIS and how it was influenced by the onset of the economic depression. The BIS opened its door in 1931 at a time when the United States and European nations faced the beginning of the Great Depression. Dulles wrote, “The prompt establishment of these regular contacts made it

¹² Eleanor Dulles, *The Bank for International Settlements at Work* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1932), 1-3, 184-185, 290-297; Dietrich Orlow, *A History of Modern Germany, 1871 to Present* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), 119-121; Eleanor Dulles, “Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project* (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library), 199-200; Germany was allowed to impose import tariffs after 1925, but the economic depression that occurred in the late 1920s thwarted efforts to collect more revenue. Dulles claimed her brother, John Foster Dulles, was consulted during the development phase of Owen Young’s Plan.

possible for the Bank to fulfill the [role] of Central Bank for Central Banks in furnishing emergency aid in the summer of 1931.” The BIS provided emergency aid to European nations along with regulating the gold exchange. However, the BIS faced issues from nations such as Great Britain moving away from the gold standard, and the rise of fascism in Germany. Moving away from the gold standard made it difficult for the BIS to regulate gold exchanges and offer credit to such nations. In Germany, the Weimar government faced issues with making reparation payments. In order to meet the reparation payments, the Weimar government cut the salaries of government employees, which made younger Germans angry at the BIS. They accused the BIS of being the “Reparation Bank” and did not understand the severity of Germany’s punishment for the war. Germany struggled to make the payments and was forced to lower tariffs while other European nations raised their tariffs. This contributed to the political climate in which the Nazis later gained power in Germany.¹³

Later in the 1930s, Dulles followed up on her book with a journal article about the BIS after 1932. In 1938, Dulles published an updated article on the status of the BIS. Although the BIS had the intention of handling reparation payments, the bank never met its full potential in the 1930s. The BIS did not have the ability to solve trade problems or stabilize European currencies. Meanwhile, Germany failed in meeting its obligation of continued reparation payments. When the goal of processing reparation payments failed, the BIS focused on small transactions such as lending credit and the transferring of gold among the central banks of Europe. Yet, Dulles was optimistic about the future of the BIS in 1932 and 1938. Although the economic depression

¹³ Eleanor Dulles, *The Bank for International Settlements at Work*, 1-3, 184-185, 290-297.

affected its operations, Dulles predicted the BIS would serve as a meeting place for research and education in the financial systems of Europe.¹⁴

Reviews of *The Bank for International Settlements at Work* were positive, but quite critical of the bank. There were high hopes for the bank when it opened, but issues between nations and the lack of an international currency hindered the bank. In his review of Dulles's book, Walter Morton emphasized, "The bank has no currency unit of its own. Its actual assets and liabilities are in pounds, dollars, and other foreign currencies." The only common characteristic for central banks was their reliance on gold. The BIS could not prevent a nation's central bank from withdrawing large amounts of gold from the institution. Instead of acting as a central bank, the Bank for International Settlements served as a clearing house for the transfer of payments. Morton concluded the League of Nations and the BIS needed cooperation from nations to properly function. European nations must surrender some of their rights over finances for the bank to fully succeed as an institution. However, that was not the case. Lack of cooperation between central banks of nations, in addition to the Great Depression, only added problems. Morton agreed with Dulles's analysis of the Bank for International Settlements, but also concluded it needed a common international currency. James Angell, another reviewer, submitted a review that mimicked Morton. Although Dulles provided detailed records of the bank's operations in her book, he believed readers could not decide if the bank was successful unless they were provided with instances where the bank's purposes were being fulfilled. The

¹⁴ Eleanor Dulles, "The Bank for International Settlements in Recent Years." *The American Economic Review* vol. 28, no. 2 (June 1938): 290-292; Dietrich Orlow, *A History of Modern Germany*, 147-150; After the Second World War, the BIS struggled to repair its reputation. Many European leaders saw the bank as an extension of the Nazi wrath they faced in the war. During the war, the German *Reichsbank* seized gold from European central banks and used it in paying off loans to the BIS and the Swiss National Bank. The BIS recovered from its wartime legacy and has become a main organization where the central banks of Europe exchange financial information and conduct transactions; "History-Overview," *Bank for International Settlements*, <https://www.bis.org/about/history.htm> (accessed September 9, 2018).

Bank for International Settlements had no way of enforcing any policies on nations. The institution had no say in how foreign transactions were being conducted by central banks. However, he hoped Dulles's positive outlook on the bank in 1933 would come to fruition. Reviewer Ellery Stowell believed the economic depression had proved the resilience of the Bank for International Settlements. It had survived the first years of economic issues and proved to be a key party of international finance transactions for the future. It could remain as a clearinghouse during economic depression. *The Dollar, The Franc, and Inflation* and *The Bank for International Settlements at Work* introduced Dulles to how the impact of banking and debt issues in Europe affected finance systems in other nations. The BIS also made Dulles aware of problems Germany faced after the Great War and the effects of the Great Depression. This experience would be helpful for Dulles in her future interactions with Germany.¹⁵

Career and Marriage

In addition to establishing an academic career, Dulles also faced the challenge of marriage. Two accounts exist of the marriage, that of Dulles and one by journalist Leonard Mosley. Dulles met Dr. David Blondheim for the first time in Paris. She was on a research trip for her first book. At the time, Blondheim was also conducting research that was funded by a Guggenheim Fellowship, and overseen by the American University Union in Paris. The 1920s had been a productive time for Blondheim. John Hopkins University promoted Blondheim from associate professor to professor in 1924, and he was one of thirty-seven scholars chosen for a Guggenheim Fellowship in April 1926. Blondheim used his \$2,500.00 Guggenheim Fellowship

¹⁵ James W. Angell, "The Bank for International Settlements at Work by Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 48, no. 3 (September 1933): 461-463; Walter A. Morton, "The Bank for International Settlements at Work by Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *The Accounting Review* vol. 8, no. 2 (June 1933): 167-169; Ellery C. Stowell, "The Bank for International Settlements at Work by Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *The American Journal of International Law* vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1933): 190-192.

to research “the use of the Romance language among the Jews of the Middle Ages.”¹⁶

Blondheim took Dulles on several trips around Paris to see historical landmarks and buildings.

At the time, Blondheim specialized in literature from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. He spent most of his summers traveling and researching in Europe. “During this time we became engaged, Dulles recollected, “However, I have to admit that we were engaged at least four times.” There were cultural and ethnic issues in their relationship. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Jews were discriminated against in the United States. In the early 1920s, Henry Ford’s newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, published articles which accused prominent Jews of conspiring against Americans and the federal government. Louis Marshall, one of the accused and president of the American Jewish Committee, called for the *Dearborn Independent* and Henry Ford to stop publishing anti-Semitic articles about Jews. The attacks led to California lawyer Aaron Sapiro filing a lawsuit against Henry Ford in 1927. Although the lawsuit ended in a mistrial, Ford agreed to quit publishing anti-Semitic articles, and he even had Louis Marshall help with writing an apology to American Jews. Despite Ford’s apology, antisemitism continued flourishing in the United States. Such articles appeared in *McClure’s Magazine*, and the Ku Klux Klan encouraged it. Dr. David Blondheim probably experienced discrimination while attending John Hopkins University. After the First World War, a few universities in the northeast tried to restrict the number of Jewish students being admitted into their programs. The president of Harvard University, A. Lawrence Lowell, advocated for admission restrictions which targeted Jewish students in the 1920s. He feared that an increase in Jewish students would harm the democratic values of Harvard. Lowell was not the only university president who held

¹⁶ “2 Baltimoreans Win Guggenheim Fellowships, Dr. D.S. Blondheim, J.H.U., And Dr. M.H. Nicolson, Goucher, Named,” April 19, 1926, *Baltimore Sun*, 3, 22; Dr. Marjorie H. Nicolson, an English Professor at Goucher College, was the other Guggenheim Fellowship recipient in Baltimore, Maryland.

anti-Semitic views. The leadership and faculty of other universities, such as John Hopkins, also held such views. Historian Leonard Dinnerstein stressed, “In the same fashion the elevated number of Jews at many other American universities was perceived as an invasion that would ultimately undermine both Christian traditions and social prestige of schools that housed too many of them.” Jewish students were criticized for their lack of participation in university athletics and drinking culture. However, antisemitism did not discourage Jews from applying for admission to these universities. Despite antisemitism in the 1920s, David Blondheim was a sought-out expert of philology in academic and Jewish circles.¹⁷

Dulles was concerned that her father, a Presbyterian minister, would object to her marrying a Jew. Blondheim also faced issues with marriage. David Blondheim was not an orthodox Jew, but his family was orthodox. Blondheim grew up in a poor family and had worked in order to pay the tuition for his first year at John Hopkins University. Dulles remembered Blondheim talking about “work[ing] at a newspaper job to finance his first year in college....and got through John Hopkins with honors and then a fellowship to go abroad.” Blondheim was divorced and had one child from his first marriage. Dulles did not keep her relationship with Blondheim a secret, but she waited to inform her parents of their engagement. Her parents came for a visit during one of Dulles’s research trips in Paris. “This was a great jolt to my parents, particularly my father,” recalled Dulles. She did not know her parents wanted some control over the decision of who would marry their daughter. Dulles delayed marriage

¹⁷ Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles”, Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 185-186; Victoria Saker Woeste, “Insecure Equality: Louis Marshall, Henry Ford, and the Problem of Defamatory Antisemitism, 1920-1929,” *Journal of American History* vol. 91, no. 3 (December 2004): 880-883, 890-893, 898-902; Robert S. Rifkind, “Confronting Antisemitism in America: Louis Marshall and Henry Ford,” *American Jewish History* vol. 94, no. ½ (March/June 2008): 71-73, 79-80; The *Dearborn Independent*, which contained no advertisements, was available at Ford dealerships and newspaper stands; Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 84-87.

because of Blondheim's feelings about it and her father's concerns. Reverend Allen Dulles questioned Dulles about Blondheim's religious views. Dulles told her father Blondheim was not very pious, but he was not an atheist. Dulles's father wanted to invite Blondheim over for dinner, but she feared he would find something wrong with him. Dulles feared her father would find something wrong with Blondheim's suit, but Blondheim accepted the invitation. The dinner was normal and Blondheim talked with Dulles's parents. Shortly after the dinner, Dulles returned to Cambridge, Massachusetts, submitted her manuscript, and made corrections to it. After submitting her manuscript, Dulles went on an outdoor vacation and then taught at Bryn Mawr College. Blondheim visited Dulles several times during her time at Bryn Mawr College. Dulles claimed they broke their engagement and renewed it several times. They met and had dinner several times at Bookbinders restaurant in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.¹⁸ Dulles's parents were not the only family members critical of Blondheim. In June 1927, one of Dulles's sisters-in-law had dinner with Blondheim in Paris. He was there on a research trip. In his letter to Dulles from June 8, 1927, Blondheim told Dulles that her sister-in-law criticized him for not being an "ordinary" man. She wasn't fond of college professors and assumed he was just like the rest of them. Blondheim thought Dulles's sister-in-law was humorous, but it was one of the issues Dulles contemplated in her decision to marry him.¹⁹

Dulles also struggled with the idea of marriage. She did not want to go against her fiancé's religious beliefs. Dulles and Blondheim continued seeing each other for the next five years. Mosley wrote, "She would live with David, but she would not marry him. Not for the

¹⁸ Eleanor Dulles, "Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 179-185, 190-192, 197-198.

¹⁹ Dr. David Blondheim, "Letter from Blondheim to ELD," June 8, 1927, in *ELD Papers*, 1-4; Eleanor Dulles, "Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 185-186.

time being, anyway, not while her father was alive.” After Reverend Allen Dulles died in 1931, Dulles wanted to get married, but John Foster, the new patriarch of the family, urged her to continue living with Blondheim. In January 1932, Blondheim penned a letter to Dulles. His letter was not one of romance, but one about his research progress and Dulles’s book. Blondheim critiqued her book and hoped Dulles did not take his comments as negative. Blondheim wrote, “I don’t want you to feel, dear, that the many objections I raise on points of style mean that the book is ill-written.” He saw improvements in her writing and reminded Dulles about it. According to Leonard Mosley, Dulles and Blondheim decided to have a private marriage ceremony in December 1932. Mosley argued that none of Dulles’s family members attended the ceremony, but invitations were printed for the wedding. Blondheim’s family responded with rejection. They disapproved of Blondheim’s marriage and cut ties with him. At the time, David Blondheim was researching the writings of Rashi and tracing certain groups of words to their origins.²⁰

One of David Blondheim’s concerns was the possibility of having a child with Dulles. Dulles was not concerned about the possibility of having a child by a Jewish father. She wanted to go ahead with the marriage and that is what happened in 1932. Despite the marriage, Blondheim remained concerned about his religious convictions and whether he violated any with the marriage. In 1934, Dulles and Blondheim found out she was pregnant. Both were advancing their careers in academia. Dulles had no background in philology, but she enjoyed listening to Blondheim and wanted to work on a French dictionary with him. However, their dreams and hopes for the future were interrupted by Blondheim’s sudden death in 1934. On March 19, 1934,

²⁰ Leonard Mosley, *Dulles*, 84-87; Dr. David Blondheim, “Letter from Blondheim to ELD,” January 1, 1932, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Leonard Mosley, *Dulles*, 93-95; Townshend Hoopes, *The Devil and John Foster Dulles*, 42-43; Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 185-186.

David Blondheim left his office at Johns Hopkins University, and went home to his apartment. The *Baltimore Sun* reported, “Dr. Blondheim’s body, according to police, was found in a chair in front of a gas range. All the jets were wide open and newspaper had been used to seal the kitchen door.” Blondheim’s maid arrived later and reported a gas leak in the apartment. The reason for his death remained a mystery, but Blondheim’s suicide was published in local newspapers. Blondheim’s suicide puzzled Dulles. Blondheim had financial issues and was unsure how he would pay alimony to first his wife that month. Shortly after his death, an anonymous student wrote an essay about the professor. “Professor Blondheim was not only disliked by his students,” the student recalled, “but by his colleagues as well, being known to the other half of the philological staff by various opprobrious synonyms for the male sexual organ.” Blondheim held seminars in his office and invited students to his apartment for refreshments. The student continued criticizing the professor but noted that David Blondheim underwent an attitude transition after meeting Dulles. When Blondheim began courting Dulles, “He was once, or so it was said after his death, seen to smile in his seminar, a phenomenon never before observed.” However, the student questioned why Blondheim committed suicide. He seemed happy in his seminars, but one day the report came of his suicide. The views expressed by the student were not unusual in the 1930s. Not only did Northeastern universities like Johns Hopkins try to limit the admission of Jewish students, but they also discriminated in the hiring of Jews as professors. Harvard, John Hopkins, and other universities hired Jews, but they were restrictive in qualifications. Jews who were hired before 1920 retained their professorships, but

after 1920, a Jew was hired only if he had a qualification that stood out. This may explain why Johns Hopkins University hired Blondheim and why he was not liked by faculty members.²¹

Eleanor Dulles, who was pregnant at the time, did not attend his funeral. Instead of Dulles, the student described, an “[elegant] gentleman dressed in striped pants and morning coat,” attended the small burial service. John Foster Dulles was that gentleman. After David Blondheim’s death, John Foster Dulles advised his sister to change her last name from Blondheim to Dulles. Dulles never revealed the reason why John Foster urged her to do this, but it may have been a move to protect her academic career. During the 1930s, Jewish college students feared their last names would prevent them from being hired after graduation. Historian Leonard Dinnerstein pointed out, “Many Jewish college students changed their names just before they graduated; some people waited a bit longer.” If Dulles kept her husband’s surname, she may have not received opportunities in higher education and the federal government. The birth of her son, David Dulles, in October 1934, should have been a joyous occasion for Dulles, but she experienced a period of depression after her husband’s death. “I had struggled to keep my mind on this important event and to seal off the wound of my husband’s death,” Dulles reminisced in 1980, “I had no interest in social life. I did not go to cocktail parties, concerts or the theaters.” Although Dulles isolated herself from social events, the birth of David gave her

²¹ Mosley, *Dulles*, 88-89; Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 189-190; David Blondheim, “Anonymous Essay,” Vertical Reference File, Sheridan Libraries Archives (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University), 1-5; After 1934, Eleanor Dulles donated and sold portions of her husband’s literary library to George Washington University, Louisiana State University, and Princeton University; Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism*, 86-88; “Dr. Blondheim of J.H.U. Ends Life with Gas,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 20, 1934, 24; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 143-145.

time to think about a career change. Dulles accepted a civil service job in Washington, D.C., which opened doors she would have never imagined a decade earlier.²²

Career Transition

Eleanor Dulles's transition from academia to the civil service occurred after her husband's death in the mid-1930s. While Dulles focused on academic pursuits, the Roaring Twenties gave way to the Great Depression. Eleanor watched the stock market and discussed it in her economic classes at Bryn Mawr College. In an oral history from the 1970s, Dulles recalled the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and how it affected her students. In 1929, Dulles taught a class on international stocks and prices. Her students, like many Americans in the 1920s, were interested in buying stocks as prices rose and outpriced the real value of American companies. In September, the stock market experienced a brief decline, which influenced Dulles to do an illustration for her class. At the beginning of the next class meeting, Dulles walked into the room, placed her coat upside down on a chair and watched as her extra change fell out of a pocket. Dulles responded to her action by saying this is where the stock market is heading in the future. And, that is what happened the very next month when it crashed in October 1929. In 1935, Dulles conducted research in Europe. She received approval from Harvard University and Radcliffe College's Bureau of International Research to study the issue of post-First World War reparations and why the German government refused to pay them. Dulles believed Germany had the capability of paying reparations. Her research trip came at a time when Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany and launched a massive program to rearm the German military. According to Dulles, the German government could use the money spent on rearmament to pay reparations. "My evidence," Eleanor said in the 1970s, "for that is that they bought from foreign sources and

²² Blondheim, "Anonymous Essay," Vertical Reference File, Sheridan Libraries Archives (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University), 1-5; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 145-147.

stockpiled materials for the re-armament of Germany, probably more than the reparations bill.” Dulles returned to the United States and her depression continued. Dulles’s friends noticed her absence at social events and believed it was time for her to make a change in her life. In April 1936, former Yale professor Walton Hamilton asked Dulles if she would consider a career change. Dulles agreed with Hamilton and accepted a position with the newly formed Social Security Board in Washington.²³

Shortly after his inauguration in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called upon Congress to begin implementing what would be called the New Deal. Ideas for New Deal Programs were not explicitly American. Historian Daniel Rodgers argues many of the New Deal programs were influenced by progressive reforms in Europe. However, the New Deal marked a different approach to social issues. Unlike some of the social programs in Europe, which teetered toward Laissez-faire economics or Marxism, some perceived the New Deal as a middle ground compromise of both systems. British “[Economist John Maynard] Keynes saw in the New Deal the ‘middle way’ American progressives so often looked for in Europe: a ‘half-way’ house between Marxism and laissez-faire.” European economists and leaders became interested in Roosevelt’s New Deal. Instead of one social reform, it took a whole list of reforms and combined them into one program. American progressives observed social experiments such as old age insurance and unemployment insurance in Germany and Great Britain. Now, Europeans intellectuals and officials looked to the American New Deal for solutions in their nations. Some criticized the way President Franklin Roosevelt rallied Americans, through events such as parades for the New Deal, while others believed it gave hope for a global economy in depression. Another British Economist, William Beveridge, argued that the New Deal had something that

²³ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, “Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 196-199; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 145-147.

other social programs lacked. The New Deal had the purpose of not only economic recovery, but also reforms. Beveridge was convinced “that the two worked, to a great extent, at cross purposes to each other.” President Roosevelt took ideas from Europe and implemented them into New Deal Programs.²⁴

It was in the mid-1930s when the Roosevelt administration advocated for Old Age Insurance. The idea of old age or social insurance was not a new concept for the president. Earlier in his political career, Roosevelt supported workmen’s compensation as governor of New York and later signed into law a pension plan for the elderly. He also promoted the idea of unemployment compensation. Old Age Insurance (Social Security) involved more than a pension plan for older Americans. According to Arthur Altmeyer, one of the first members of the Social Security Board and future chairman, a social insurance program had to provide a variety of services. Altmeyer wrote, “It was also recognized that public services of various kinds, such as rehabilitation, public health, and maternal and child welfare services, were also necessary.” Roosevelt took his experience with social insurance in New York state and searched for a way to expand it across the United States.²⁵

Before passage of the Social Security Act by Congress, President Franklin Roosevelt sifted through many plans and ideas he received for social insurance. He wanted a social insurance plan that covered Americans from cradle to grave. The American Association of Social Workers (AASW) lobbied for a plan to cover illnesses, unemployment and old age. The

²⁴ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, “Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 196-199; Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1998), 410-415.

²⁵ Arthur J. Altmeyer, *The Formative Years of Social Security* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 4-6; Before his appointment to the Social Security Board, Altmeyer was Assistant Secretary of Labor.

Lundeen Bill, named after Minnesota Representative Ernest Lundeen, was presented to Congress in early 1935, but met failure. Backed by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), it originated under the idea that mass unemployment needed to be addressed by the federal government, not individual state governments. The bill offered an unemployment benefit program that came from “a progressive income tax.” The Lundeen Bill called for committee members elected by farmers and workers to oversee the program. President Roosevelt dismissed the Lundeen Bill as communist and asked Congress to come up with an alternative. Meanwhile, other ideas for social insurance circulated from Huey Long, Dr. Francis Townsend, and Abraham Epstein. In 1932, Dr. Francis Townsend crafted the “Townsend Old Age Revolving Pension Plan.” Townsend proclaimed every American over the age of sixty should receive a monthly payment of two hundred dollars. The pension plan had one requirement: all recipients must spend the money within thirty days of receiving it. Townsend argued that his plan would increase purchasing power and help the American economy recover from the Great Depression. Senator Huey Long of Louisiana promoted the distribution of wealth to all Americans. In his “Share Our Wealth Plan,” Long called for taxing the rich and giving it to other Americans. He wanted to restrict the amount of wealth one could obtain.²⁶

²⁶ Arthur Altmeyer, *Formative Years*, 9-11, 56-57; Dr. Francis Townsend also promoted the idea of a universal sales tax. Townsend’s plan included a two percent universal sales tax; Eleanor Dulles, *Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles*, Interview #5, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 198-199; Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 54-57; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Vintage, 1982), 71-72; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 424-429, 432-437; Pierre Epstein, *Abraham Epstein: The Forgotten Father of Social Security* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 119-120, 128-130; Dulles, *Chances*, 180-181; Mary B. Gilson, “Reviewed Work: Insecurity: A Challenge to America,” *Journal of Political Economy* vol. 42, no. 4 (August 1934): 553-555; Arthur J. Todd, “Reviewed Work: Insecurity: A Challenge to America,” *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 40, no. 1 (July, 1934): 131-132; Pierre Epstein, *Abraham Epstein: The Forgotten Father of Social Security* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006) 119-120, 128-130.

Unlike Long and Townsend, Abraham Epstein published books on the need for social insurance in the United States. In 1933, he published *Insecurity: A Challenge to America*. In his book, Epstein advocated the need for social security in America and believed it could be achieved by the means of social insurance. Epstein also founded the American Association for Social Security in the mid-1930s which published a monthly bulletin. He compared the social insurance systems of Great Britain and Germany and expressed the need for such system in the United States. Reviewers were intrigued by Epstein's book, but also criticized its repetition and the author's insistence on accepting his views. He called for Congress and President Franklin Roosevelt to pass a form of social insurance for disabled, elderly, and unemployed Americans. Epstein wanted to take money from the wealthy and use it to fund social insurance. This in turn, Epstein reiterated, would take away economic problems for Americans in the lower classes of society. Secretary of Labor (and the first female member of a presidential cabinet) Frances Perkins authored an introduction for Epstein's book, and it was printed in several editions, but he later criticized Perkins for not including him in the final drafting of the Social Security Act. Meanwhile, Republicans and labor unions criticized the act. Despite the criticism, Congress passed the Social Security Act in 1935. After Congress passed the act and President Roosevelt signed it, the newly formed Social Security Board faced a daunting task of organizing a large government agency. Dulles was asked to work for the Social Security Board and conduct research. Her job was to help organize social security into a well-oiled machine. Dulles said, "To help evaluate our law, my colleagues and I examined the well-established and smoothly functioning systems in other countries." The United States was not the first nation to have social

insurance. Germany established such a plan in the late nineteenth century and Great Britain had a pension plan. Plans from Europe were used as models for the American agency.²⁷

The Social Security Act of 1935 received congressional approval, but it still had critics. Senator Arthur Vandenburg of Michigan opposed the system and many Americans misunderstood its purpose. Critics were concerned that Social Security would hinder economic recovery. Unlike other New Deal programs, Social Security was unusual because it required taxing Americans in the middle of the Great Depression. Republicans and other critics believed that “by draining money from wage earners’ pockets at a moment when there was none to spare, its net economic effect was to retard rather than encourage recovery.” Such criticism may have been part of a larger opposition movement to Roosevelt’s First and Second New Deal Programs. Instead of seeing a return of laissez-faire economics of the 1920s, employers lost their dominance over labor as the Roosevelt administration sided with labor. American businessmen Irénée and Pierre DuPont founded the American Liberty League which opposed the Social Security Act and other New Deal programs. Social Security was passed the same year as the National Labor Relations Act, which gave more bargaining power to labor unions. As historian Kim Phillips-Fein summarized it, “The employers paradise had been lost.” Meanwhile, some in the business community supported Social Security. Gerard Swope, President of General Electric, and Marion Folsom, treasurer of the board at Eastman Kodak, warmed up to the idea of the federal government overseeing an old-age insurance system. Such companies were struggling to continue providing benefits to employees in a private pension system. Since it

²⁷ Pierre Epstein, *Abraham Epstein*, 119-120, 128-130; Dulles, *Chances*, 180-181; Mary B. Gilson, “Reviewed Work: Insecurity: A Challenge to America,” *Journal of Political Economy* vol. 42, no. 4 (August 1934): 553-555; Arthur J. Todd, “Reviewed Work: Insecurity: A Challenge to America,” *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 40, no. 1 (July, 1934): 131-132; Pierre Epstein, *Abraham Epstein*, 119-120, 128-130.

required contributions from all employers, they presumed it would help businesses with labor costs. No company could use a private pension system as competition against another one. At first, many Americans dismissed the act as another form of welfare, but it was a private insurance. Dulles and others in the Social Security Agency appeared before the Vandenburg commission in 1936 and 1937. They defended the system and tried to lessen opposition against it. A board of three members was appointed to oversee the Social Security Act and programs which operated under it. Arthur Altmeyer was chosen as head of the board. Shortly after the act was approved, a research group was organized to collect data for the program. The Social Security Board hired Dulles to help collect this data and solve problems in the early days of the agency. Dulles and other members of the research group studied pension systems in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, and Great Britain. Not only did the research group analyze the operations of similar programs in other countries, but the group also looked for ways to resolve problems within the agency. After collecting data on ways to streamline the program, the group's recommendations were used for amending the Social Security Act.²⁸

Dulles supported the Social Security program, but she was not afraid to criticize other New Deal reforms. Dulles agreed that reforms were needed in the American banking system, but she disagreed with the idea of taking power away from private banks in the Federal Reserve Board. In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt's newly appointed Governor of the Federal

²⁸ Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*, 133-135; Arthur Altmeyer, *Formative Years*, 56-57; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 424-429, 432-437; Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), 8-13; Opposition to the Social Security Act and other New Deal programs was a major issue during the 1936 Presidential Election. President Franklin D. Roosevelt responded to critics by telling Americans the opposition wanted to hinder the nation's future. Sterling Morton of Morton Salt discouraged his employees by telling them the money being deducted from their paychecks for the Social Security Tax would never return to them. However, workers refused to accept such lies and re-elected Roosevelt in 1936.

Reserve Board, Marriner Eccles, helped craft a banking bill, which included changes in the appointment of board members. Eccles wanted to give the president more control over the Federal Reserve Board, which received criticism from economists such as Dulles. In March 1935, the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy sent a memorandum to the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The committee opposed Eccle's idea of granting the president more power over the appointment and removal of members to the Federal Reserve Board. The memorandum stated, "Thus the Board can become a politically controlled board with little opportunity to exercise independent judgement." Dulles and other members of the committee were concerned about decreasing the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. Another aspect which concerned the committee was the idea of giving commercial banks permission to issue excessive real estate loans. Under the bill, commercial banks could issue a loan "equal to sixty percent of their time and savings accounts or an amount equal to their entire capital and surplus on real estate." The committee refuted that such an expansion would cause more financial issues. They claimed it was one of the reasons for banking issues in the previous decade. In a second memorandum, the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy urged the U.S. Congress to establish a commission and only approve the bill after the commission studied it. The memorandum stressed, "Such a commission should have sufficient time to study thoroughly our money and banking problems and, upon the basis of ample and carefully examined evidence, prepare a comprehensive and properly integrated plan which will reflect the best thought on the subject." Committee members felt Congress and the Roosevelt administration acted too quickly on the banking bill. They also urged the House committee to allow the Federal Reserve Board to contact them about any changes that were needed in the Federal Reserve System. The memorandum gave a sense that member banks of the system were

being left out of the legislation. Despite suggestions and urgency from the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, Congress passed the Banking Act of 1935. After the House and Senate amended it, the final bill gave the president authority to choose seven members to serve on the Federal Reserve Board. The board had the authority to appoint directors for the regional banks. In the end, the government's control increased over banks, and it required state banks to join the Federal Reserve System.²⁹

In the mid-1930s, Dulles began the next chapter of her career, but she faced the possibility of losing it. In 1938, the United States Civil Service Commission sent a rejection letter to Dulles. The commission refused to approve Dulles for a new position in the Social Security Board because of her eyesight. Dulles submitted a medical certificate about her need for corrective lenses, but it resulted in the rejection letter. The notice stated, "Medical certificate submitted for Mrs. Dulles has been disapprov[ed] by this office as it indicates that she has no vision without glasses." Dulles responded by submitting a request to a Dr. Alan Woods. She asked the doctor to consult with the U.S. Civil Service Commission and tell them she was capable of civil service work. Dulles emphasized she had used her vision and corrective lenses to do work for twenty years and it had not interrupted her career or work production. "I have earned my living," Dulles wrote, "by using my eyes on all types of material for many [twenty] years." Dr. Alan Woods submitted a letter to the Civil Service Commission. In his letter, Dr. Woods informed the commission that Dulles had myopia, but she can work for the Social Security Board. Woods emphasized, "I do not believe there is any reason to feel her eyes will be

²⁹ William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1963), 158-162; Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy, "Memorandum in Opposition to Title II, Banking Bill of 1935," March 7, 1935, in *Government Ownership of the Twelve Federal Reserve Banks*, United States House of Representatives, Committee on Banking and Currency (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 319-321; *Ibid*, "Memorandum to Congress," April 2, 1935, in "Government Ownership of the Twelve Federal Reserve Banks," 321-322.

a greater handicap to her in the years to come than they have been in the past.” Ewan Clague, Director of the Bureau of Research and Statistics also defended Dulles in a letter to the Civil Service Commission. Clague argued Dulles was a vital asset for the Social Security Board and urged the commission to approve her position. She had the capability of calculating statistics and her eyesight was not viewed as a hindrance to the job. The Civil Service Commission accepted the letters sent by Woods and Clague, which allowed Dulles to remain at the Social Security Board.³⁰

Women Leaders and the 1930s

Dulles stood out in the 1930s because of her career path. At a time when most women stayed home or had low paying jobs, Dulles came out of graduate school with a doctorate in economics, worked in academia, and researched for the Social Security Board. Dulles had a position at a time when few women worked in higher positions for the federal government. One influential figure who probably had an impact on Dulles was Frances Perkins. Perkins had served as Industrial Commissioner of New York for Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. After he won the 1932 Presidential election, Roosevelt asked Perkins to be his Secretary of Labor. Perkins was the first woman appointed to a position in a president’s cabinet. One of the main pieces of legislation Perkins advocated was Social Security. She advocated for a retirement system long before Roosevelt decided to ask Congress to pass such an act. Perkins helped organize the Social Security Act and get it through Congress. Although some in Congress changed oversight of the act, which made the Social Security Board an independent agency of

³⁰ Dulles, *Chances*, 147-149, 152-156; “Notice from Civil Service Commission,” January 20, 1938, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Dulles, “Letter from Dulles to Dr. Alan Woods,” January 22, 1938, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Alan Woods, “Letter from Dr. Alan Woods to the Civil Service Commission,” January 25, 1938, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Ewan Clague, “Letter from Ewan Clague to the Civil Service Commission, February 15, 1938, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*, 86-88.

the United States Department of Labor, Perkins still had connections to it. Even though Dulles, in her letters and memoir, did not write of any influences or encounters with the Secretary of Labor, Perkins no doubt had an influence on her. Like Dulles, Perkins faced opposition because of her gender. After Roosevelt announced his appointment of Frances Perkins, the president of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, criticized the decision and assumed no man would ever accept a woman as his boss. Perkins faced discrimination from men working in the department and had to prove herself before other members of the president's cabinet who were men. Frances Perkins was not the only woman to be given a high-level position in the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.³¹ In 1934, Katharine Lenroot became chief of the Children Bureau. Founded in 1912, the Children's Bureau conducted studies of infant mortality rates and the welfare of children. The agency became a part of the Social Security Administration in the late 1930s. Under the leadership of Katharine Lenroot, the Children's Bureau offered grants to states for child services, and services for disabled children. Lenroot began her career in the Industrial Commission of Wisconsin in 1912 and later joined the Children's Bureau in 1915. One last example is Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong. Barbara Armstrong was the first woman to serve as professor on a law school faculty in the United States. She joined the Boalt Hall School of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1928. In 1934, she became a consultant for the Commission on Unemployment and Old-Age Insurance in Washington, D.C. Armstrong assisted in writing the Social Security Act. Like Perkins, Lenroot, and Armstrong, Dulles came to Washington D.C. at a time when few women held government jobs. Dulles did not have a

³¹ Kirstin Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life of Frances Perkins, FDR's Secretary of Labor and His Moral Compass* (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 124-126, 160-161, 174-178, 278-279; Like Dulles, Frances Perkins attended a women's college (Mount Holyoke) and was influenced by teachers who wanted their students to achieve more in life than being a housewife.

leadership position, but she helped research statistics for the Social Security Board, an agency that outlasted the First and Second New Deal programs³²

In 1942, Eleanor Dulles left the Social Security Board because of disagreements. Dulles disagreed with the idea of establishing pension levels based on income. Dulles was not the only woman to oppose the final structure of Social Security. In the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of labor, Mary Anderson argued the Social Security Act harmed women. On the surface, the act appeared to equally cover men and women, but it was not the case. Anderson argued that the payroll tax would harm women because they made lower wages than men. Both were required to pay the payroll tax but would not receive equal benefits. Also, the act failed to benefit women who were not in the workforce. Dulles's argument about pension levels is interesting. Although she later classified herself as a conservative, Dulles's opinion leaned toward the views of New Deal Leftists in the late 1930s. New Dealers on the left of the political spectrum supported President Roosevelt's programs, but they believed the programs did not go far enough. Dulles's decision to leave the Social Security Board in April 1942 did not end her tenure in civil service, but only marked a transition in which Dulles moved from a New Deal agency to The United States Department of State. Dulles's experiences in researching economic issues and her exposure to the ravages of the First World War in France prepared Dulles for what she would face in the 1940s and 1950s. Her experience from testifying before congressional committees for social security and forming relationships with government officials introduced Dulles to the idea of soft power diplomacy. Dulles did not oversee the Social Security Board,

³² Dorothy E. Bradbury, *Four Decades of Action for Children: a Short History of the Children's Bureau* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1956), 36-44; Roger J. Traynor, Adrian A. Kragen, Herma Hill Kay, Stefan A. Risenfield, Sam Kagel, Richard C. Dinkelspiel, and Kathryn Gehrels, "Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong; In Memoriam," *California Law Review* vol. 65, no. 5 (September 1977): 922, 927.

but she had the ability to influence policy changes through relationships. This tactic followed Dulles to the United States Department of State where she influenced government officials in their decisions of how to deal with the postwar occupation of Austria and Germany.³³

³³ Dulles, *Chances*, 160-161; Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*, 80-83.

CHAPTER 2. SOFT POWER WOMAN DIPLOMAT IN A MAN'S WORLD

At the beginning of the 1940s, Eleanor Lansing Dulles faced a crossroads in her career. She had achieved more in the past decade than most American women her age. While many struggled with the effects of the Great Depression, Dulles completed graduate school, published books on economic issues, and even had the opportunity to participate in the formation of the Social Security program during its early days. Despite her success, Dulles was unsure of her next career move. Although her career path was pioneering for an American woman in the 1930s, Dulles still faced the consequences of working in a man's world. She never received a promotion from her bosses, but Dulles voluntarily made career decisions which helped her move up the career ladder. Over the next decade, Dulles broadened her knowledge of American diplomacy, witnessed the impact of the Second World War on Europe, and discovered the concept of soft power diplomacy.

Dulles's diplomatic career was based on a component of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy consists of soft power and hard power. Hard power is used by countries to coerce or demand another person or nation to do something and is used in making direct decisions. Soft power influences decisions without the use of coercion or demands. As Political Scientist Joseph Nye writes, "Soft Power is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments." Joseph Nye argued that soft power came from people who represented the nation. "The best communicators," Nye insisted, "are often not governments but civilian surrogates, both from the United States and from other countries." Dulles was not the first woman to have soft power influence on diplomacy. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, The British Foreign Office hired women for secretarial positions and slowly began including them in other diplomatic positions. Historian Helen McCarthy argues that men in the

British Foreign Office, over time, realized the presence of women in offices did not threaten their authority and jobs. McCarthy says, “Foreign office chiefs soon overcame their initial reluctance to entrust unknown females with sensitive communications.” One figure who stood out in the history of the British Foreign Office is Gertrude Bell. She became involved in British diplomacy in the Middle East and was a close confidant to Iraqi King Faisal after the First World War. American diplomacy also had soft power influences from women. Although she had the position of First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt headed the committee which drafted the United Nations Charter. Roosevelt’s position can be classified as a direct influence, but it also represented the influence of women on American diplomacy. Women had been employed at the State Department since the 1920s, but very few received a position above that of foreign service clerk or secretary. Dulles approached soft power diplomacy from the concept of forming relationships with American and West Berlin officials. Dulles did not have the authority to make final decisions, but she influenced the ones who made them.¹

A New Career Path

Eleanor Dulles did not leave civil service. In April 1942, Dulles left the Social Security Board and went to work for the Department of State. While the Second World War raged overseas, the Roosevelt administration and the State Department were already planning for a postwar world. Dr. Leo Pasvolsky, head of the State Department’s Special Division on Postwar Planning, offered Dulles a position with the Board of Economic Warfare. Dulles joined a team of economists and political scientists whose job was to hash out a plan for a postwar Europe.

¹ Joseph S. Nye Jr., “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 616 (March 2008): 94-98; Nye, “Soft Power and American Foreign Policy,” *Political Science Quarterly* vol. 119 no. 2 (summer 2004): 256-257, 266-267; Helen McCarthy, *Women of the World: The Rise of the Female Diplomat* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 69-70, 84-88; Homer L. Calkin, *Women in the Department of State: Their Role in American Foreign Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), 49-65.

Dulles compiled a study that was completed in May 1942. In the preamble, Dulles defined reconstruction as the restoration of nations and relations of those with the United States. Each nation, Dulles argued, had different problems which must be addressed separately by the Allies. The document had no list of nations, but the focus of the report was on future Allied occupation of Germany. Reconstruction, Dulles reiterated, had to be achieved by free trade with upstart industries and through certain tariffs. On May 8, 1942, Dulles submitted a list of possible projects to Dr. Hans Simon which included the future American occupation of Germany.² She addressed the problem of how the Allies would pay their soldiers and civilian employees in an occupied nation. What currency could they use in occupied Germany? The United States also faced the issue of dealing with assets that had been seized by the Nazi regime during the Second World War. On May 9, Dulles submitted a second document on the reconstruction of occupied Germany. She reminded the board that reconstruction required the input of specialists and the combined effort of the Allies. Reconstruction of Germany required banking experts, economists, engineers, and health specialists for the restoration of infrastructure and the economy. “Public health authorities,” reiterated Dulles, “those prepared to establish law and order, and others, would be associated with industrial and commercial experts, persons expert in finance, and those with other types of economic duties.” Dulles believed the absence of recovery efforts would lead to a leadership vacuum in Germany. At the same time, any recovery efforts required cooperation with the United States. Dulles did not want a repeat of how the Allies treated Germany after the First World War. After the war, nations such as France and Great Britain demanded large

² Eleanor Lansing Dulles, “Economic Reconstruction,” Board of Economic Warfare, 1942, in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; Dulles, “Projects of Interests” for Dr. Simon, May 8, 1942, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Dulles, “Relation Between Re-Occupation, Reconstruction and Relief,” May 9, 1942, Board of Economic Warfare, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project* (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library), 314-315, 317-318.

reparation payments from Germany but no assistance to the defeated nation. Dulles and Dick Eldridge, a representative from the State Department's Foreign Service Division, promoted this argument. A repeat of harsh reparations would lead to another diplomatic disaster, predicted Dulles. The Allies must change their psychological approach in order to succeed in the restoration of Germany.³

Dulles not only contemplated issues with law and order, but also addressed the Lend-Lease Settlement in her reports for the Board of Economic Warfare. On June 19, 1942, Dulles commented on the Lend-Lease Agreement. Before entering the Second World War, President Franklin Roosevelt convinced Congress to allow Great Britain to lease military equipment, munitions, and other supplies from the United States. Financial issues, such as payments for the leases from Great Britain and other Allied nations, concerned Dulles, but she stressed the need for no more complexities in the agreement. Cooperation with Allied nations was needed for the agreement to function. At the same time, Dulles knew the American public needed to be convinced that such an agreement was an innovative idea. She emphasized, "The settlement must be such as to assure sound international cooperation and an enduring peace." American officials needed to know payments would be received from the Allies, but Dulles also had concerns about how countries, who benefited from the agreement, felt about paying for the goods. Dulles stressed the need for neutrality and the absence of nationalism in the settlement. One nation's preferences cannot dominate the agreement. Dulles's reports were only viewed by committees within the State Department. Some papers were sent to the European Advisory

³ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 168-169; The planning group Dulles worked for was divided into two groups: economics and politics. Economists in the group presented papers with problems of a nation, and how those problems would affect the United States after the Second World War. The United States did not use the same approach that was used by France and Great Britain after the First World War. Germany had faced more devastation than it did in the First World War.

Commission, but no military committees. Dulles presented necessary ideas and questions for postwar recovery, but she was met by criticism. Secretary of State Cordell Hull tasked Leo Pasvolsky with postwar planning. Dulles worked for Pasvolsky's assistant Julian Wadleigh. Wadleigh was rarely seen in his office and criticized Dulles's reports. Dulles recalled, "when you wrote a paper and turned it in, he could be rather savage in his criticism of it."⁴

Dulles's reports included a plan for an international bank. Dulles's ideas were used by State Department officials, but they gave her no credit. The State Department dismissed Dulles's plan for that of economist Harry Dexter White. Dulles stressed the need for a central bank and stabilized exchange rates, but Harry Dexter White's plan called for payments. Although Dulles's plan was rejected, she served as a secretary at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. Dulles described the conference as a duel between Harry Dexter White and British Economist John Maynard Keynes. "The air was electric," Dulles typed, "as Keynes and White sparred with each other—Keynes, the English gentleman, White, the rough and sarcastic American." Dulles considered Harry Dexter White to be arrogant. White was supposed to collaborate with Keynes to restore the postwar economy, but the intentions of White and his boss, United States Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, thwarted such efforts. Although the main issue of the conference was the postwar global economy, American officials kicked off the conference with the British war debt. Before fighting in the war, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill asked President Roosevelt for assistance in fighting Hitler. President Franklin Roosevelt was aware of Hitler's threats and brought the idea of Lend-Lease to the American public by radio address. During one of his fireside chats, President Roosevelt presented the analogy of allowing a neighbor to borrow

⁴ Dulles, "Comments on Lend-Lease Settlement," June 9, 1942, Board of Economic Warfare, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Eleanor Dulles, "Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles", Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 312-315; Julian Wadleigh was later accused of giving classified information to Soviet officials.

a garden hose during an emergency. According to Benn Steil, “Britain, as Roosevelt framed it, was asking America to borrow a garden hose in a dire emergency, and it would be foolish and dastardly of America to try to sell the hose instead.” However, that is not what occurred during war. The United States Congress approved the Lend-Lease Act, but the munitions and other supplies were not given for free to Great Britain. Instead of decision making, Dulles compiled minutes from the previous day’s meetings and made them ready for distribution the next day. White and Morgenthau were for America first and really did not care what the British thought of their plans. The United States had loaned money and supplies to the British Empire, and they believed it was time for repayment. Meanwhile, Keynes believed the United States had exploited Great Britain during her time of need. He knew that Lend-Lease came at a large price and was not free.⁵ The Bank for International Settlements already existed, but others did not like its connection to Nazi Germany. Instead of relying on the Bank for International Settlements, White and Keynes combined their ideas at Bretton Woods to form the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Great Britain and the United States were not the only nations attending the conference. Some delegates represented governments in exile. Dulles believed the new institution had the purpose of overcoming hurdles which existed between nations.⁶

⁵ Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 312-313, 336-337; Dulles, *Chances*, 169-174; Benn Steil, *The Battle of Bretton Woods John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 1-4, 104-106, 110-112, 207-209.

⁶ Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 342-343; The Bank for International Settlements was organized after the First World War to process reparation payments from Germany and help give advice to central banks of Europe.

Opportunity in Austria

After the Bretton Woods Conference, Dulles was placed on an inter-departmental committee which dealt with displaced people. “We drew up,” Dulles said, “a series of papers for every country, every area, including the Far East as well as Europe, on what should be done to displaced persons at the end of the War.” The committee had the responsibility of resettling displaced people.⁷ Dulles served as a secretary for the inter-departmental committee. She worked on papers which ranged from Germany to Formosa. Not only did Eleanor Dulles study the displacement of people, but she also received the opportunity to travel abroad. In 1944, Dulles felt it was time for a change in her career. She received no promotions for a higher position and felt that she needed to change jobs to accomplish this. Accepting a position overseas seemed appealing and interesting for Dulles. Instead of leaving the State Department, Dulles requested to be sent abroad. John Erhardt, Head of the United States Mission in Austria, asked Dulles to come and help resolve economic issues there. Dulles assumed that she, as a woman, had reached the highest capacity in the State Department and would not be offered any promotions. Dulles recollected, “I did again, what I’ve done several times in my life, moved sideways in order to find a new door that would be open for me to expand my activities.”⁸

After saying yes to Erhardt’s request, Dulles rented out her house and moved into a hotel in Washington, D.C. During her time in Washington, Dulles’s family had expanded with the adoption of a baby girl, Ann Welsh. Dulles not only adopted a daughter, but also overcame the depression she experienced after Blondheim’s death and made new friends. Dulles wanted her children to be with her in Vienna. Her son and daughter received all the required vaccinations

⁷ Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 317-318, 322-323, 334-337.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 344-346.

and she applied for their passports. At first, Dulles was informed that her children could not come to Europe, but she finally received permission to bring them to Britain and then Switzerland. “Finally,” recalled Dulles, “I got both the British and the Swiss to tell me in writing that they would give me a visa on any piece of paper that I would give them.” It was a difficult trip for Eleanor and her children. They sailed across the Atlantic Ocean on the *U.S.S. Marine Fox*, a vessel which also transported families of foreign service employees and the army. The Second World War was still raging in Europe and all the passengers on the ship practiced daily drills. The ship’s crew used depth charges and monitored the route for any signs of a Nazi submarine. Dulles and her children arrived in Weymouth, Great Britain, after the eleven-day journey across the Atlantic Ocean. Dulles left her children with relatives and traveled to Austria to begin her new job. Later, her children, accompanied by Allen Dulles’s wife Clover, arrived in Paris, but Eleanor Dulles had trouble getting to Paris from Austria. Dulles drove to the French/Swiss border but was quarantined by French officials. She was taken to a camp and sprayed with disinfectant. Dulles’s children made it to Zurich where they finally were reunited with her. Allen Dulles, Dulles’s brother who worked for the Office of Strategic Service (OSS), helped Eleanor’s children travel to Switzerland and Austria. Allen used “Fritz Molden, his brave border-crossing courier to the Austrian underground, to get the three Dulleses safely through their journey.” With her family now in Austria, Dulles focused on her new job.⁹

Dulles was sent to Vienna for the postwar recovery effort and was given the title of Lieutenant Colonel on her identity card. This assured that she would receive better treatment if

⁹ Ibid., 358-360; Dulles, “Letter about Trip to Switzerland,” September 27, 1945, in *ELD Papers*, 1; James Srodes, *Allen Dulles: Master of Spies* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 1999), 370-371; Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #9, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 363-364; Dulles’s correspondence and autobiography are unclear why she decided to adopt a child in the late 1930s.

she was captured by the unconquered enemy, Japan. “I was this at a higher rank,” Dulles wrote, “than the twenty women secretaries with whom I shared billets but received from the men the treatment accorded a woman secretary.” At the end of the Second World War, the Allies made the decision to occupy Austria and treated the nation as a victim of Nazi wrath. Nazi Germany had annexed Austria in 1938 because of its ethnic German population. Austria and its capital city Vienna were divided into occupation zones. Like Berlin, Vienna was also located within the Soviet occupation zone of Austria. The Allies agreed at the Yalta conference to not demand reparations from Austria, but the Soviet Union did not follow protocol. After seizing its portion of Austria, the Soviets dismantled machinery in Austrian factories and seized petroleum resources. Believing they could get the upper hand on Allied occupation, the Soviets demanded for elections in Austria. They believed the Austrian Socialist Party would side with the Soviet Union and form a new government. This was despite Austria being occupied by Great Britain, France, and the United States. The Allies agreed to a new round of elections in Austria, but the results disappointed the Soviets. The Soviets did not interfere with the election and the communists only received 5.41% of the final vote. William Lloyd Stearman, American representative for the Allied Commission, remembered that “Soviet plans for establishing a communist-dominated Austrian Government through the control of the police and through national front ‘salami tactics’ perished on November 25, 1945.” However, failure to win the election did not stop the Soviet Union from agitating the Allies during their occupation of Austria. Despite Soviet intentions, Allied occupation of Austria was shorter than it was in Germany. Austria would regain its independence in 1955.¹⁰

¹⁰ Dulles, *Chances*, 188-191, 207-208, 221-224; Dulles, “Finance-Austria,” 1946, in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; William Lloyd Stearman, *The Soviet Union and the Occupation of Austria: An Analysis of Soviet Policy in Austria, 1945-1955* (Bonn, Germany: Siegler and Company, 1961), 33-36.

Dulles's soft power diplomacy began with her participation in the postwar recovery of Europe. Eleanor influenced Austrian officials and helped them claim aid from the Marshall Plan. Not only did Dulles help with applying for Marshall Plan aid, but she also helped deal with the currency situation. Dulles did not have a direct influence over the Austrian Treaty, but she was asked by Secretary of State Dean Acheson to compile memoranda for a presentation before Congress. Acheson gave Dulles three days to compile the memoranda. Dulles recalled, "And with the exception of three or four memoranda, I wrote them all myself and then worked virtually around the clock and by the middle of the second day I had most of them ready for clearance."¹¹

Dulles witnessed the Soviet abuse of its portion of occupied Austria. Austria was granted access to aid from the Marshall plan, but Austrian economists did not know how to obtain it or what imports they needed for the Austrian people. Dulles compared Marshall plan aid to "a pie to be divided among the sixteen members." The United States and its Allies faced the daunting task of restoring the economy of a former Nazi-occupied nation. Dulles stressed that Austria must have some form of independence, although the country would be occupied for a period by the Allies. The Allied military had to act and make decisions for Austria until a government could be organized. The military, according to Dulles, must seize any former Nazi assets and save them for the new government. Austria must abandon the German *Reichsmark* as its national currency and use a currency form agreed to by the Allies. In the meantime, the newly formed Austrian government needed to design and eventually implement its own form of currency. The Allied military faced the task of making drastic changes to the banking and financial sectors in Austria. Austrian financial reserves had been transferred to Germany by the

¹¹ Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #10, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 428-429.

Nazis during the Second World War. This needed to be resolved and Austria made independent from Germany. Nazi Germany had transferred all the gold in the Austrian national bank to the *Reichsbank*, which hindered Austrian businessmen from conducting financial transactions after the war. The Soviet Union resisted any changes being made by the rest of the Allies in Austria. They resisted changes to the Austrian currency and the American plan to reform it. The plan called for handing out new currency in exchange for the old currency. Local Soviet military officials rejected the reform and insisted Austria should not have military currency. Dulles responded to the currency dispute by talking to officials at the Austrian National Bank. She convinced officials to do a currency reform by printing money in a large denomination. Years later in oral history interviews, Dulles took credit for the currency reform idea. After convincing officials of the Austrian National Bank of the new plan, it was presented to Soviet military officials. They also approved the new plan. "I think they were surprised," reminisced Dulles, "but for some reason they accepted it, so the monetary conversion went through."¹²

Meanwhile, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in the United States Department of Defense, assigned General Mark Clark to oversee the American occupation zone in Austria. He also served as a member of the Allied Control Council that represented the occupation of Austria. From the beginning, General Clark faced issues with the military occupation of Austria. His major problem was the Soviet Union. None of the Soviet officials wanted to decide without approval or advice from the Kremlin. He communicated with Soviet General Ivan Stepanovich Konev and American General Alfred M. Gruenther. At first, Clark set up his headquarters in Italy, but quickly realized the Soviets were not going to be very cooperative. He moved his

¹² Dulles, *Chances*, 188-191, 207-208, 221-224; Dulles, "Finance-Austria," 1946, in *ELD Papers*, 1-3. Eleanor Dulles, Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles, Interview #9, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 378-384.

headquarters to Salzburg, Austria and directly confronted them. “At the time,” General Clark reminisced, “I certainly was hopeful of working harmoniously with the Soviets in Austria, and I began to fear that my efforts to speed up action would create a suspicion in their minds.”¹³

President Roosevelt and American officials agreed to occupy a sector of Austria after it was seized. The first objective was to clear Austrian public offices of Germans who worked for the Nazis. They wanted to replace them with Austrians who had no affiliations with the regime. Plans were made for the currency and banks of Austria. Like Dulles suggested, the Allies gave Austrians a chance to exchange their German *Reichsmarks* for money that could be used during occupation. Allied occupation leaders would also take over Austrian banks and make sure they were financially sound. General Clark faced a shortage in the food supply for Austrians. The United States and Great Britain had to supply their occupation zones with rations. General Clark accused the Soviets of trying to read into his statements and find other motives. The Soviets believed American officials were always out to get them. The Soviets constantly looked out for items to seize for reparations. During the war, Adolf Hitler seized the Austrian crown jewels and hid them in a salt mine. After the war, the Soviets were on the outlook for the mine, but it was discovered in the American sector near Salzburg. They demanded for the crown jewels to be handed over as a reparation payment from the Germans. Soviet soldiers interfered with American trains and tried to prevent American soldiers from being transported in Austria. They seized food rations that were intended for the American zone and shot at American planes. Soviet soldiers tried interfering with military trains which ran from Salzburg to Vienna. General Clark requested for United States Military Police to prevent Soviet troops from boarding the train, but this did not stop their attempts. “Soviet troops,” William Stearman wrote, “began

¹³ Mark W. Clark, *Calculated Risk* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1950), 452-454.

forcing their way into the U.S. military ‘Mozart’ train.” One incident ended with the death of a Soviet captain. Soviet military officials argued that a miscommunication in language caused the incident. The Soviet soldiers thought they could ride the “Mozart” train. Despite Soviet interference, the Austrians, held a national election in 1946, in which citizens chose not to renew the monarchy. They were in favor of forming a new government. General Clark stationed in Austria for two years. In 1947, he was replaced by General Geoffrey Keyes, who had an objective of preventing all of Austria from falling under Soviet control.¹⁴

Former President Herbert Hoover was called upon by President Harry S. Truman to address the food shortages in occupied nations after the Second World War. Hoover had a long history of being the “Great Humanitarian” after the First World War. Previously in the war, Hoover raised funds for the distribution of food in Great Britain, France, and Italy. During the Second World War, Herbert Hoover headed a national committee on sending food to five countries in Western Europe. The National Committee on Food for the Five Small Democracies (Belgium, Finland, Holland, Norway, and Poland) faced the issue of British and German blockades. Some Americans criticized the committee and believed the food would only end up in Nazi hands. But such arguments did not stop Hoover from promoting the humanitarian cause. Now, President Truman asked Hoover to survey food shortages in Asia and Europe. Two of the stops Hoover made was to occupied Austria and Germany. Louis Lochner, a journalist at the time, remembered Hoover’s stop in war ravaged Berlin. Hoover came to Berlin not to see the crumbled buildings but to get to work in resolving food issues. Hoover acknowledged that East Germany was being taken advantage of by the Soviet Union. Hoover implied, “this breadbasket

¹⁴ Donald R. Whitnah and Edgar L. Erickson, *The American Occupation of Austria: Planning and Early Years* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 16-18, 177-180, 218-219; Mark Clark, *Calculated Risk*, 462-466, 468-479; William Stearman, *The Soviet Union and the Occupation of Austria*, 37-38.

could have served to supply the East Zone if the Russians had only allowed it to do so.” He witnessed the same atrocities occurring in Austria. Like Hoover, Dulles witnessed the same issues in Austria. The Soviet Union took advantage of its section of Austria. Dulles believed Austria was being overlooked in favor of Germany.¹⁵ In his recommendations, Herbert Hoover asked the United States House Foreign Relations Committee to place Austria and Germany as a high priority for assistance relief. In addition to visiting Congress, Hoover promoted the newly formed United Nations children’s nutrition program. Hoover deemed it tool for distributing food to children of both nations. Later in his recommendations for Austria, Hoover said the Austrians needed cereals, meats, and farm supplies such as fertilizer and seed. Compared to Germany, Austria was doing better in feeding children, but that was due to supplies being sent through the black market. Austria still needed assistance in postwar recovery. According to Hoover, “the Germans stripped the country of the bank reserves, confiscated many industrial establishments and large farm estates.” He reiterated the argument of some critics that such an assistance program would be a heavy burden on American taxpayers. However, Hoover argued that aid would help the Austrian economy recover and become a prosperous nation again. President Truman followed suit with Hoover’s recommendations and began organizing more aid for both nations. On March 1, 1947, the *New York Times* reported on grain exports for postwar recovery. The United States met the goal of sending 400,000,000 bushels of grain. Although a large amount was sent to Europe, President Harry Truman warned Americans that Germany still needed more food. Although the number of exports, including coal, was large, it still was not enough to meet everyone’s needs. The article reported, “every ton of grain exported would mean

¹⁵ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Herbert Hoover, The Great American Presidents* series, General Eds. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Sean Wilentz (New York: Times Books, 2009), 37-39, 156-158; Louis P. Lochner, *Herbert Hoover and Germany* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1960), 160-161, 170-178.

a day's bread ration for more than 4,000 persons at present ration levels." Hoover's humanitarian aid helped European countries, but it was not enough assistance. Austria and Germany still faced the issue of reviving their economies and rebuilding cities.¹⁶

Dulles, serving as senior economic analyst, compiled reports on the economic progress of Austria. One report traced developments between the months of January and June 1946. In the report, Dulles indicated the transition of the Austrian currency from the German *Reichsmark* to the Allied *Schilling* influenced not only the economy, but also the black market. She could not determine the full effect on the Black Market, but she believed that it somewhat thwarted black market transactions. Dulles believed she, John Erhardt, political advisor and later United States Minister, and Paul Geirer, political secretary, were the only State Department officials who did not participate in the black market. Some American officers sold artwork and other precious items on the Austrian black market. Cigarettes were also a popular black market item.¹⁷ Austria needed raw materials to manufacture goods, and it needed an export market. Dulles suggested that Austria needed foreign credit to survive and rebuild its economy. "Even the sending of telegrams, and sample shipments are hampered by regulations and lack of funds," complained Dulles. Austria was being neglected by the Allies, while Germany received all the benefits of reconstruction. For example, the United States Army did not pay for steel and other goods being imported from Austria, and Austria was not being compensated for the electricity it exported to Germany. In March 1947, Dulles released another report on Austrian economic progress. In the

¹⁶ "Text of Hoover's Proposals on Relief," March 1, 1947, *New York Times*, 5; "Text of Hoover Recommendations for Austrian Relief," March 11, 1947, *New York Times*, 12; "Grain Relief Tops Goal, Truman Says," March 1, 1947, *New York Times*, 4; Herbert Hoover returned to Germany in 1954 and was greeted with a national welcome from West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. This continued with a six-day trip in the nation.

¹⁷ Dulles, "Economic Developments in Austria," June 10, 1946, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Whitnah and Erickson, *American Occupation of Austria*, 230-231, 236-237.

attaché, Dulles reported that a delegation was negotiating the possibility of creating a chamber of commerce in the port city of Trieste, which is in Italy. Negotiations were in progress with Italy and neighboring countries such as Czechoslovakia. However, Austria faced hurdles with the railway system. Austria faced the risk of sabotage by either country on the railway center. Austria had not been on the best terms with Italy, which complicated negotiation talks. People in Trieste did not support the issue either. Originally, Austrian officials set out to develop a central government, monetary conversion, and free elections, but their efforts failed.¹⁸

American companies made inroads into occupied nations such as Austria. In one attaché, Dulles wrote about the efforts of American Express to open an office in Austria. At the time, the company had an office open to do transactions and services for the American military and military forces. The Soviet Union also opened a bank and tried to influence financial power in Austria. The Soviet Union organized an agency, the Administration for Soviet Property in Austria, to seize property which had been under the previous control of Germany. For their excuse, the Soviets argued that the Potsdam Agreement gave them the right to seize property, but other Allies disagreed with this interpretation. The Austrian government responded with a Nationalization Law in 1946, which nationalized all banks, mines, and other industries. American officials didn't want American Express to have the same influence as the Soviet Union. The company opened a branch in Vienna and expanded services to include traveler checks for American officials.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., 15-17, 22-23; Dulles, "Trieste-Austrian Relations," March 18, 1947, in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; Eleanor Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #9, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 378-379.

¹⁹ Dulles, "Austria and the Marshall Plan Memorandum," June 26, 1947, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Dulles, "Letter from Austria to Margaret," September 1, 1945, in *ELD Papers*, 1; William Stearman, *The Soviet Union and the Occupation of Austria*, 48-51; Soviet military officials accused Great Britain and the United States of trying to re-arm Austria.

In 1947, Austria was in dire need of aid. The nation experienced a severe winter in 1947, which exhausted relief efforts. In response to needs, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) sent shipments from its stocks and from Allied militaries. Early in 1947, Austria and the United States signed an “Assistance Agreement” which provided financial aid in the form of one hundred thousand dollars. The Soviets balked at the agreement and accused the United States of asserting more control over Austria. Austria received more help from the Marshall Plan which became available to European nations in 1948. Dulles advised Austrian officials on how to apply for the Marshall Plan. In a memorandum from July 26, 1947, she recommended that the Austrian government draw up a document which listed its needs and how the nation would contribute to postwar recovery of Europe. Not only should Austrian officials list needs, but they should also find ways to fulfill those needs without bureaucratic restrictions. Dulles penned, “With regard to what Austria can supply in a material way to assist in European recovery, probably timber is the most important factor.” Austria had the ability to export wood and fertilizer to the rest of Europe. The products would be distributed to war-torn Germany and the rest of Europe. She indicated that the Marshall Plan had set aside \$350 million dollars for economic recovery of Austria. Although Dulles had diplomatic status, it was not comfortable living and working in postwar Austria. Dulles wrote about her experience in a letter dated September 1, 1945. Dulles and a group of secretaries traveled from Vienna to Salzburg for a meeting with General Clark. During the dinner, a few secretaries requested they return to Vienna by car. There was a concern Soviet soldiers would stop the car and terrorize them, but General Clark granted their request. Dulles rode in a Mercedes that previously belonged to Hitler, and said they made it safely to Vienna without any interruptions from Soviet soldiers. She described Vienna as a war-ravaged city which needed all the assistance it could

get. During her time in Austria, Dulles discovered the use of soft power diplomacy in her interactions with State Department and Austrian officials. Dulles did not have the authority to make final decisions, but she could influence officials who made those decisions. Dulles discovered that she could use soft power diplomacy by giving advice to officials during her meetings with them. Her use of soft power diplomacy succeeded in Austria, and it was an important tool Dulles took with her to West Berlin.²⁰

Call for Assistance in West Germany

After the surrender of Nazi Germany in 1945, American leaders debated on how to treat the defeated nation. Treasury Secretary Morgenthau and others working with him wanted to neutralized Germany. Morgenthau's plan called for a nation with little industry. Dulles and a few others on the committee called for the reconstruction of Germany, but they were also aware Britain and France had been the victims of Nazi wrath. Dulles said, "One could expect that the French and the British who had suffered as victims should have a standard of living no better than that of Germany." They believed Germans would need help, but the United States should treat a defeated as an equal to Britain and France. According to Dulles, 1944 was a crucial year for the fate of postwar Germany. Morgenthau's plan called for the stripping of industrial and military power from Germany. The media did not have a good picture of what was going on in the State Department committee meetings. Dulles reflected, "I don't think that in 1944, which is a crucial period in the decision on Germany, that the press had a very good picture of what was going on." Decisions were being made behind closed doors while Germans sifted through the

²⁰ Dulles, "Austria and the Marshall Plan Memorandum," June 26, 1947, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Dulles, "Letter from Austria to Margaret," September 1, 1945, in *ELD Papers*, 1; William Stearman, *The Soviet Union and the Occupation of Austria*, 48-51, 101-104; When the United States and Austria signed the "Assistance Agreement" in 1947, The Soviet Union dismissed the agreement as another way for American officials to exploit Austria.

rubble of ravaged cities. The Morgenthau Plan was never enforced, but portions of it made their way into Directive 1067 that was issued by the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff.²¹

After capturing Germany, the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff issued Directive 1067, which listed conditions and requirements for the occupation of the nation. Dulles was already in Austria when the directive was finalized in 1945. She disagreed that President Franklin Roosevelt originally requested for the United States Department of Treasury to have a major influence in the occupation of Germany, but this changed after his unexpected death. Dulles disagreed with the idea of Germany being no better than Britain or France. Although Nazi caused a lot of destruction in Europe, Dulles believed that Germany should be treated fairly and not be severely punished for its actions. At the time, President Roosevelt considered the idea of making the German standard of living lower than the British or French. Fragments of the proposed Morgenthau Plan made its way into the Directive to the Commander in Chief of the United States Occupation Forces (Document JCS 1067) that was issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in April 1945. This document called for the United States occupation force to treat Germany as an enemy nation and it advocated for Denazification. As for the economy, it called for Germans, who had no earlier affiliations with the Nazi party, to oversee economic recovery, but the German standard of living could not surpass that of neighboring countries. The directive called for the disarming of the German military and the denazification of school textbooks. At the time, Dulles believed it was not a harsh directive, but she later looked back on her postwar occupation experience and deemed it as such. Unconditional surrender was harsher on the Germans than the War Guilt Clause. Austria, Dulles stressed, was treated by Allies as a victim, not a participant, of Nazi Rule. Yet, Austria was neglected while Germany remained a top

²¹ Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 317-318, 322-323, 334-337.

priority for the State Department. This changed with the introduction of the Marshall Plan in the late 1940s. Instead of restraining West Germany and stifling its military, the Marshall Plan encouraged the nation to rebuild its forces. This mind change came with the growing threat of Soviet Communism. In 1947, economic recovery occurred at a very slow pace. President Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall feared the slow pace of recovery would encourage the spread of Communism. Marshall helped form the European Recovery Program (Marshall Plan) which called for the United States to aid Austria and West Germany, but also aided the nations of Western Europe.²²

Working in a Man's World

When Dulles returned to the United States in the early 1950s, she faced the same gender discrimination which other women experienced in the workplace. Dulles had contributed to the recovery of Austria and postwar planning, but little credit was given to Dulles because of her gender. "My problems were the same as those faced by most women in the Department," Dulles wrote, "I was confronting a clear case of attempted exclusion from a man's world." Dulles had faced discrimination previously during the Second World War. Although the role of women in the American government and in factories developed quickly during the war, it did not change at the United States Department of State. Even after the war, State Department officials still embraced high level government positions as a man's world. Although Dulles had been assigned the rank of colonel in Austria, she still resided at the same quarters as secretaries. During Dulles's time in Austria, she had been excluded from the American staff, "Boy's Club," in Salzburg, but Dulles continued doing her job. Much did not change when Dulles arrived in

²² Ibid., 318-323; United States Department of State, *Germany 1947-1949: The Story in Documents* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), 22-28.

Washington, D.C.²³ One example of how working women in the Federal government were perceived comes from a book written by journalists Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer in the early 1950s. Jack Lait was the editor of *The New York Daily Mirror* and *The Sunday Mirror*, while Lee Mortimer was a columnist for the *New York Mirror*. Lait and Mortimer were known for their satire and authored books on the social atmosphere of different American cities such as Chicago and New York. In their book *Washington Confidential*, Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer devoted two chapter to the “Dames of Washington” and the “G-Girls.” Both journalists claimed the nation’s capital was overrun with “The Dames of Washington.” The city had at least 100,000 young women working for the government. Lait and Mortimer argued that a government job gave the women freedom, but it restrained them at the same time. They had more freedom living in the capital, but they also had the mundane task of working for the government. Lait and Mortimer wrote, “This town has 100,000 more nubile women than men. Forty-five percent of all its females earn their own livings.” Although Lait and Mortimer made fun of the working women, they admitted the Dames of Washington were better educated than others in big cities. They had at least a high school education and attended a vocational school. Some, like Dulles, even graduated from universities. They described the “G-Girls,” those who worked for the federal government, and lived in small, run-down apartments as having the mentality of a spinster. “They are a hard, efficient lot,” concluded Lait and Mortimer, “doing men’s work, thinking like men and sometimes driven to take the place of men.” They all have the same characteristics, eat the same types of food, and live in the same size apartments. Lait and Mortimer also wrote, “They live in the same—spick and span tiny rooms, with intimate wash

²³ Dulles, *Chances*, 228-229; Lynne Dunn, “Joining the Boy’s Club: The Diplomatic Career of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” in *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders*, ed. Edward Crapol (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resource Books, 1992), 120-123; Mosley, *Dulles*, 204-205.

hung on the line in the bathroom, which does triple duty as a kitchenette.” They had the same dreams of going to Hollywood, but they had a better education and were not up to Hollywood standards. Lait and Mortimer and their publishers received lawsuits because of the book’s content.²⁴

Although Dulles was a middle-aged woman in the early 1950s, she faced the same discrimination as the experiences reflected in Lait and Mortimer’s book. Eleanor’s family name also interfered at times with her career. Dulles was proud of her family name, but she could not get away from the popularity of her two brothers, John Foster and Allen Welsh Dulles. In addition to a partnership at New York’s Sullivan and Cromwell Law Firm, John Foster had run for the United States Senate in the late 1940s. He took an anti-communist stance and he argued that the communists were only out for international domination. A campaign pamphlet from the senate race touted, “Six-footer John Foster Dulles looks like a serious, mild mannered professor, but don’t let his looks fool you. He’s *downright serious* about keeping the world from going communist.” Meanwhile, Allen Dulles was appointed as head of the newly formed Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1953. When she returned to Washington, D.C., in the early 1950s, Dulles took a position with the Department of Commerce. According to her job description, Dulles was responsible for financial problems of Western Europe and West Germany. She worked for the Officer of Western Economic Affairs and had the responsibility of dealing with currency and gold exchange. Although Dulles left the State Department for a brief period, her time at the Department of Commerce would not mark the end of her diplomatic career.²⁵

²⁴ Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *Washington Confidential* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1951), 74-78, 79.

²⁵ Dulles, *Chances*, 230-231; Dulles, “Job Description,” April 12, 1951, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Dulles, “Pamphlet for John Foster Dulles’s Senatorial Campaign,” late 1940s, in *ELD Papers*, 1-4.

In 1953, Dulles was given the opportunity to work for the State Department's Berlin Desk. Director James Riddleberger of the Office of German Affairs knew about her experience with economic recovery in Austria and believed she would be a major help in aiding West Germany, especially West Berlin. Unlike her previous opinions, Dulles saw the need for economic recovery of West Berlin in the early 1950s. She adhered to the idea that West Berlin was important in the fight against Soviet aggression and the expansion of communism. She helped manage the recovery programs and aid given to West Berlin. When she took over the position, it was divided between the State Department and the Department of Defense. She tried to combine recovery efforts into one office. Dulles recalled, "Berlin was my client and from that time on whatever could be done I tried to do." The recovery system was controlled by an Industry Bank, which gave out funds and monitored repayment of loans. The system helped rebuild industry and created jobs. Also, "workers from East Berlin could work in the western sector and many did," stated Dulles. It was the same for West Berliners. They could work in East Berlin and communicate with family members in that sector of the city by telephone.²⁶

Despite her excitement of the position, it did not come without criticism. Dulles was proud of her family name and long reputation of service for the United States, but she could not get away from the authority of her brothers. This time, the criticism was from her brother, John Foster. Eleanor Dulles was already in the State Department when newly elected President Dwight D. Eisenhower asked John Foster Dulles to be his secretary of state. John Foster pressured his sister into leaving the State Department and accepting another civil service position. At first, it is unclear why he wanted his sister out of the State Department. Her presence did not violate any ethics codes and she had been employed there before his nomination

²⁶ Dulles, *Chances*, 242-245, 248-249; Lynne Dunn, "Joining the Boy's Club," 126-127.

as secretary of state. Later, in an interview from 1988, Dulles claimed her brother feared that having a sister working at the State Department and a brother, Allen Welsh, as head of the Central Intelligence Agency would give the impression that his family had a stronghold over American diplomacy and intelligence services. However, Dulles refused to leave her job. Historian Lynne Dunn Jurkovic argued that Dulles's fate at the State Department in 1953 depended on her brothers. However, that was not the case. John Foster could have easily pushed his sister out of the State Department after he became secretary of state, but how would that have looked to those in West Germany? John Foster Dulles didn't offer her the State Department position and she was already there before he was appointed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.²⁷

Another threat Dulles faced was the growing Red Scare of the late 1940s and early 1950s, which affected the State Department and other government agencies. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had already launched investigations into communist infiltrating the Federal government in the late 1940s. Several people who worked with Dulles, and her superiors, were brought before HUAC. The case of Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers included people Dulles knew from her job in postwar planning. In 1945, Elizabeth Bentley walked into a Federal Bureau of Investigation office and began telling about her involvement in a Russian spy ring. Bentley became involved in spying while attending classes at Columbia University in the 1930s. She worked for Jacob Golos who became her lover. During the 1930s and beginning of the 1940s, Bentley participated in subversive activities such as transporting documents and slowly acquired power over Golos's spy ring. After her lover died, Soviet

²⁷ "Living Self-Portrait and Interviews: Eleanor Dulles," November 28, 1988, Interviewed by Marc Pachter, Audio/Visual Collection, *National Portrait Gallery* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution); Eleanor Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #9, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 348-354; Lynne Dunn, "Joining the Boys Club," 126-127.

officials feared the FBI would catch on to their spy ring and began seizing power away from Bentley. Bentley was angry at the Soviets and claimed this as her reason for revealing the spy ring participants to the FBI. She did not have documentary evidence, but Bentley named several people including Harry Dexter White and Julius Wadleigh. White, the highest American official in Bentley's spy list, was accused of passing on classified documents from the United States Treasury to Soviet spies. Whittaker Chambers, an editor for *Times* magazine, made the same accusations about Alger Hiss.²⁸ According to Dulles, Leo Pasvolsky depended on Julius Wadleigh to compile papers for the committees on post-war recovery, but she was unaware of his connections to the Soviet Union. Wadleigh belonged to the same economic committee and social group which Dulles associated with before and during her career at the State Department. She indicated that Julian Wadleigh's involvement with the Soviets occurred after she went to Austria, but she had never considered him to be a spy. Dulles remembered Wadleigh's Bokhara Rug, an item which became a key piece of evidence used in HUAC hearings. Spies for the Soviet Union were awarded with Bokhara Rugs. Dulles and other State Department employees were shocked by the confession of Wadleigh. Harry Dexter White was a difficult person, but she never considered him to be a spy for the Soviets. Dulles reminisced, "Well, now to get outside of government channels is one thing, but to get outside of your country's channels is certainly extreme." Dulles assumed Wadleigh only wanted more power or recognition. That could have been a reason for his actions against the U.S. government. Alger Hiss, the one Whittaker Chambers testified against, was not well known by Dulles. She had been to his house a few

²⁸ Michael Sulick, *Spying in America: Espionage from the Revolutionary War to the Dawn of the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2014), 185-190, 201-205; The Alger Hiss case introduced U.S. Senator Richard Nixon to the American public.

times for parties but was not a close friend or acquaintance. According to Dulles, Wadleigh left Washington society after the hearings and Alger Hiss trial.²⁹

The Red Scare did not stop with HUAC. In the mid-1950s, The Subcommittee on the Investigation of Loyalty of State Department Employees (Tydings Committee) launched an investigation into Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy's claim of communist spies in the State Department. Dulles disagreed with the McCarthy hearings from the beginning, though she admitted that the State Department had leaks and needed tighter security. Some, from within the department, had leaked information to Constantine Brown, a reporter at the *Washington Star*, to get their ideas out for discussion.³⁰

McCarthy's show hearings went after men and women in federal agencies. Not only did McCarthy go after men, but he also investigated women who had been promoted to high positions in the Federal government. The "G-Girls," as stated by Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, were seen as vulnerable women who could be persuaded to spy for the Soviet Union. They were seen not only as a source for spying, but also as a subversion to male dominance in the workplace. Only three percent of G-Girls had a high-ranking position. Although the State Department was a big source for McCarthy, he also went after the United States Department of Commerce because it had the highest number of women in higher positions. Like Dulles, Esther Brunauer had worked her way into Federal government. Brunauer, a delegate at the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), was married to Stephen Brunauer, a Hungarian immigrant and scientist, who worked for the United States Navy.

²⁹ Eleanor Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #9, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 348-354; Lynne Dunn, "Joining the Boys Club," 126-127.

³⁰ Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #8, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 328-329; Mosley, *Dulles*, 312-314; United States Senator Millard Tydings served as chairman of the subcommittee.

Brunauer failed to satisfy the loyalty board's requirement of keeping secrets from her husband. Not only did the loyalty board and McCarthy assume Brunauer could not keep secrets, but women like her were perceived as unfeminine and only out to compete against men. They did not fit the mold of staying at home and caring for their children. Esther Brunauer testified before Senator Miller Tydings's Committee in the United States Senate and was later found to not be communist. However, the investigation harmed Esther Brunauer's career at UNESCO. Dulles was not immune to such an investigation. It is not clear if her family name prevented Dulles from being subpoenaed before Senator McCarthy or being investigated for communism. Several people, including Dulles, submitted letters of support for Esther Brunauer. On March 22, 1950, Dulles sent a letter to Senator Tydings. Dulles had known Esther Brunauer for fifteen years and worked with her on economic issues. Dulles claimed she heard only negative conversations about Communism from Esther and Stephen Brunauer. Dulles wrote, "I feel I have reasonably clear understanding of her attitudes and political views and have reason to think that they are very close to my own." She believed the Brunauers were not communist spies. Despite the outcome of the investigation, Esther Brunauer was suspended without pay and later dismissed from her position in 1952. The State Department Loyalty Board believed Esther Brunauer was a security risk. Brunauer spent the rest of her life as a textbook editor. Having a brother as secretary of state spared Dulles from testifying before the Tydings Committee and saved her career.³¹

³¹ Landon R.Y. Storrs, *The Second Red Scare and the Unmaking of the New Deal Left* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 86-94, 102-104, 183-184; William White, "M'Carthy Accuses Point Four Official," March 14, 1950, *New York Times*, 1, 4; "Excerpts from Text of Majority Report on Charges by Senator McCarthy" July 18, 1950, *New York Times*, 16; "Red Leaning Denied by Mrs. Brunauer," March 28, 1950, *New York Times*, 3; "Letter from Eleanor Lansing Dulles," *State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation*, S. Res. 231, Appendix, Before Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress (1950), 1578.

Soft Power Diplomacy in West Berlin

While Eleanor's brother, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, dominated the diplomatic headlines in the 1950s, she influenced American diplomacy through soft power. Dulles was a federal worker, but her presence at the Berlin Desk of the State Department helped represent the United States. West Berlin officials treated Dulles as an indirect representative of the United States. West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt and other officials knew they could reach out to the secretary of state by meeting with Dulles. During her time at the West Berlin Desk in the State Department, Dulles influenced West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, and other officials. She came to know these officials in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Shortly after accepting her new position in the State Department's Office of German Affairs, Dulles traveled to Germany in January 1953. Dulles met new West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer for the first time, and they reminisced about the nation before the Second World War. Dulles argued that she helped plan the first meeting of the chancellor and her brother, the Secretary of State. Adenauer wanted to know everything about the new secretary of state and how he could work with him. "I told him that Foster had a new, but close, relationship with our President," Dulles later recorded, and "Foster's interest was not so much in one country as in the hope of international cooperation." Soon after their lunch visit, Adenauer agreed to meet with John Foster Dulles. Both men found common ground during their first visit. Adenauer and John Foster Dulles viewed the Soviet Union through the lens of religion. Dulles believed Communism represented atheism and must be stopped from spreading to other countries, and the chancellor agreed with him.³²

³² Eleanor Dulles, *Chances*, 244-246; Stephen Kinzer, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (New York: Times Books, 2013), 154-155.

West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt was very close to Dulles during her time at the Office of German Affairs. Brandt had a long history which involved fleeing Nazi Germany during the 1930s. Willy Brandt not only had changed his name from Herbert Frahm, but he also continued living in Norway until the end of the Second World War. After the war, Willy Brandt came back to Germany and became involved in the Social Democratic Party. His participation in politics did not come without critics. Some questioned his loyalty to West Germany because he had fled the nation before the war. In the mid-1950s, Brandt decided to campaign for the position of West Berlin Mayor. He won the position, but the influence of Dulles also helped him win over the hearts of West Berliners. During her time at the Berlin Desk of the State Department, Dulles met with Brandt several times and advocated the needs of the city to the State Department. Dulles felt that West Berlin was her client and she needed to do all she could to help the city. Brandt benefited from this working relationship both economically and politically. On the economic front, West Berlin received new construction projects and other economic incentives during Dulles's time with the State Department. This in turn helped improve Brandt's reputation as mayor. He supported the projects and advocated for the continued protection of West Berlin from communism. Dulles believed she not only helped the city recover, but also helped Brandt's political career. They appeared in many newspaper articles during Dulles's visits to West Berlin, and Brandt even touted Dulles's actions in his political memoir *My Road to Berlin*. Dulles included a large photo of her and Willy Brandt on the dust cover of her autobiography *Chances of a Lifetime: A Memoir*. Brandt voiced his ongoing concerns for the city and Dulles passed them along to the State Department. Brandt dreamed of becoming West German Chancellor and Dulles believed that he would make an excellent one. Her public appearances with Brandt helped expand his political career. They were seen together at public ceremonies for the Berlin

congress hall, the medical school, and in newspaper photographs. Brandt later became vice chancellor in the mid-1960s and chancellor in 1969. Brandt looked upon Dulles not only as a representative for the State Department, but also a key supporter of West Berlin. Dulles used her soft power to convince Brandt to support projects in the city, and he used her presence to convince the secretary of state and other officials that West Berlin was an important city in the fight against communism.³³

Although it was a rough beginning, Dulles did influence her brother, John Foster Dulles. As Secretary of State, he tried to discourage his sister and push her out of the State Department, but she refused to leave her job. Before he came into office, John Foster offered his sister another job with an aid organization. Dulles refused the position and insisted she would have a better impact on West Berlin with her current position. John Foster quit pressuring Dulles after he came into office in January 1953. He did not like the idea of having a sibling work in the same government agency, but Dulles had made up her mind. Despite a turbulent start to 1953, Dulles had direct contact with the Secretary during her time in the State Department. Sometimes, they rode in the same car to work and John Foster would ask her about the current situation in West Berlin. Dulles gave him brief updates about the city and stressed issues such as the need for funding of projects and economic recovery. Newspaper and magazine articles declared that Dulles had a close connection to her brother. Each article introduced Dulles as the sister of the Secretary of State and the director of the Central Intelligence Agency. In the January 21, 1953 issue of *Stars and Stripes* newspaper, an article described Dulles's report on

³³ Willy Brandt, *My Road to Berlin*, 260-263.

the current economic situation of West Berlin and her meeting with her brother John Foster to discuss her concerns about the city.³⁴

One major issue of concern was the stockpile kept in West Berlin that had been organized after the blockade of 1948 and the Berlin Airlift. City officials believed the threat of blockading West Berlin was ongoing and could have easily happened during the 1950s. As part of her position, Dulles had some authority over the stockpile. Dulles knew the importance of the stockpile and emphasized its importance to her brother. In 1953, a worker's strike in East Berlin sent a wave of refugees into the West Berlin. Her brother agreed that the stockpile was important for the city and helped secure fifty million dollars in unused defense money before it expired. Thirty-five million was designated for the stockpile and fifteen million of it was devoted for industrial investment. "Well, anyway, we had 35 million dollars for the stockpile," Dulles recounted, "And then we went through one of those government rigamaroles that really drives you crazy." Despite the rigamarole, West Berlin received the money before the deadline expired on it. The stockpile was designated for another blockade, but Dulles convinced officials to use it for natural disasters emergencies too. Food was used from the stockpile in 1954, to help flood victims in the Danube River Valley. Dulles received support from the Operation Coordination Board of the National Security Council and C.D. Jackson to organize the flood aid program. It did not take much from the stockpile and the International Red Cross was also involved in relief efforts. Dulles implied, "What we were trying to do was stir in the hearts of people the thought that they were not abandoned." Although most of the flood relief aid came

³⁴ "Dulles' Sister Urges more West Berlin Industry Investment," *Stars and Stripes*, January 21, 1953, 7; Dulles, "Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #14, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 574-576.

from the stockpile, Soviet officials changed the wheat sacks to appear as if the food came from the Soviet Union and not West Berlin.³⁵

In the mid-1950s, Dulles was making a name for herself in the field of American diplomacy. Articles appeared in American newspapers about a third “Dulles” who worked for the federal government. In November 1955, *The Bee* newspaper of Danville, Virginia, published an article titled, “Eleanor Dulles Has Important Job in Brother’s Department.” It began with Dulles being introduced at a speaking event in West Germany. She spoke to a crowd from both sides of Germany, free and communist. The article complimented Dulles as a major influencer in helping West Berlin recover and become a prosperous city. Although the title emphasized her “brother’s department,” the article’s author reported that Dulles was making a name for herself without any help from John Foster. Dulles acknowledged that her presence had a connection to the secretary of state, but she did not represent him. Dulles represented the people of West Berlin. Dulles told the interviewer, “People feel my being there is an indication of his personal interest in their affairs.” Dulles’s position consisted of many jobs. According to the article, Dulles made sure that West Berlin was ready for any threat from the Soviet Union or East Germany. She monitored a stockpile of foodstuffs and other needed supplies. The article said, “She checks supplies of food, fuel, and other items that would be needed in case of such an emergency.” This came from a major fear that West Berlin would once again be cut off by East German forces. Dulles also had the privilege of meeting with important leaders and keeping up with important issues of the city. Dulles liked to stay busy and did not believe in having an idle

³⁵ Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #14, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 567-569; Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #15, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 619-621.

moment. She wanted to use every moment of her job and public service in the State Department.³⁶

Charles Johnson began working in the State Department in the mid-1950s. Johnson passed the Foreign Service Exam and eventually received a position in the Bureau of German Affairs. He did not like the job and asked for a transfer, which landed him in the position as a special assistant to Dulles. “Everyone thought she had the Secretary of State in her pocket,” Johnson told the interviewer, “and that she was whispering things in his ear when she occasionally rode to work with him from his home in Georgetown.”³⁷ Yet, Dulles did not have this perception of herself. Instead of being a direct influencer, Dulles believed her brother glossed over her ideas. Yes, she occasionally rode with her brother, but Dulles felt her ideas were being ignored by the secretary of state. Charles Johnson was an assistant to Dulles for two years and remembered the many programs she oversaw for West Berlin. Dulles dealt with everything from daily office affairs to programs and aid for West Berlin. She received aid from the foreign aid appropriations, which went to students in the city. Dulles oversaw programs which sent food aid and assistance to students in East Germany. Despite her gender and disagreements with the secretary of state, Dulles was not someone to argue with. “She was also a very persistent woman,” Johnson said, “very persuasive, sharp minded, and very intelligent.” Dulles always managed to get her way; she even faced bureaucratic fights with the American Embassy in Bonn, West Germany. West Berlin remained a main priority for Dulles. As Johnson reiterated, Eleanor’s short trips to the city were packed with appointments, which included visits

³⁶ “Eleanor Dulles Has Important Job in Brother’s Department,” November 22, 1955, *The Bee*, 8.

³⁷ Charles K. Johnson, Interview for “Foreign Affairs Oral History Project,” interviewed by Jay P. Moffat, *The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, <https://adst.org/oral-history/oral-history-interviews/#gsc.tab=0> (accessed October 1, 2016), 3-5; Charles Johnson was not a short escort and spent more time with Dulles in the 1950s.

from friends and city officials. Richard H. Boehm, a veteran of the United States Foreign Service, had the opportunity of escorting Dulles on her trips to West Berlin in the late 1950s. Richard Boehm was given a position at the U.S. Mission in West Berlin and arrived right after Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev issued his November Ultimatum in 1958. Khrushchev's ultimatum renewed threats to block all access routes to West Berlin. Boehm had access to East and West Germany, but he was aware of the ongoing dispute over Soviet soldiers stopping American officials on the road between West Germany and West Berlin. "So I had travel orders," Boehm recounted, "called flag orders—issued by the United States Commandant in Berlin, which entitled me, then, to go through without being stopped, interfered with or checked or controlled in any way by the East Germans." Boehm said Dulles had a big influence on West Berlin because of her brother. She fostered economic revival in the city and always got what she requested from people.³⁸

Dulles's soft power influence was prevalent in speeches she made in the 1950s. During her time at the State Department, Eleanor Dulles may have not been viewed as a top diplomat, but many classified her as an expert in American diplomacy and German Affairs. Women's groups and institutions of higher education invited Dulles to speak on foreign policy topics. In January 1957, Dulles addressed the League of Women Voters and the Bryn Mawr Club in Albany, New York. Dulles spoke on the issue of refugees and freedom in West Berlin. Throughout the 1950s, the western side of Berlin reflected recovery and the success of capitalism, while the Soviets and East German Communists controlled the eastern side. Although communist forces ended the East German workers' revolt in 1953, they failed to stop

³⁸ Richard Boehm, "Ambassador Richard W. Boehm Interview," "Foreign Affairs Oral History Project," interviewed by Charles S. Kennedy, *The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training*, <https://adst.org/oral-history/oral-history-interviews/#gsc.tab=0> (accessed October 1, 2016), 18-20, 25-27.

the increasing flow of refugees. Although West Berlin lay in the middle of Communist East Germany, it was viewed as an option for escaping oppression. Although the western sector of Berlin was surrounded by a communist controlled government, the city had access to West Germany by airplane, railroads and roads. Since it was only one hundred miles from the border of West Germany, this portion of the city was viewed as a path to freedom by East Germans. “Each person who crosses into Berlin testifies in a dramatic fashion to the failure of Communism, Dulles told the crowd, “He is wagering his future, the present welfare of his family, and the fate of his children” in the pursuit of seeking a better life and job. Although the issues of West Berlin seemed distant to members of the League of Women Voters and the Bryn Mawr Club, Dulles stressed the need for the United States to continue supporting the island city. Over the last ten years, American aid had been used to build low-cost apartments and improve the city’s infrastructure. Private donations from Henry Ford II and other Americans helped build a new library for Berlin’s Free University.³⁹

Dulles not only informed local groups of the current situation in West Berlin, but she also spoke to higher education audiences about issues East Germans faced in a communist nation. On March 21, 1958, Dulles spoke to the International Relations Council at St. Mary’s College in Indiana. Communism, according to Dulles, sacrificed labor and offered no incentives. The labor force in East Germany disliked communist control because it offered no representation for them in decisions being made at the national level. After taking control of East Germany in 1946, the Soviet Union organized Worker’s Councils, but did not fully back them. Instead of allowing the Worker’s Councils to succeed, Soviet Communists feared that it might lead to resistance and decided to let the councils collapse. Despite promises to improve working conditions in East

³⁹ Eleanor Dulles, “The Meaning of Berlin for the Free World,” January 17, 1957, in *Department of State Bulletin* vol. 36, 175-177, *Internet Archive*, <https://www.archive.org> (accessed October 19, 2015).

Germany, Dulles argued that Walter Ulbricht and other communist leaders prevented the representation of trade unions in government affairs. Dulles told her audience, “The Controlled labor organization, the so-called Free German Federation of Trade Unions, in the East Zone is not able to influence elections or working conditions.” It was merely an organization in name only. The number of refugees increased after 1953 because there were no incentives. Workers had no way of bargaining for higher wages or better workplace conditions.

Dulles’s speeches brought the current conditions of West Berlin and East Germany home to American audiences. American newspapers reported on issues in the city, but Dulles had been on the ground. She witnessed the needs of West Berliners and the plight of East German workers. soft power diplomacy applied to government officials, but Dulles, through her influence, made Women’s Clubs and intellectual groups aware of the impact of Communism on East Germany and its constant threat on capitalist West Berlin. Dulles’s speeches kept West Berlin not only in the diplomatic spotlight, but also on the minds of the American public. In turn, the American public encouraged diplomatic leaders to support the city and its efforts to assist refugees.⁴⁰

Soft Power Diplomacy and Family Life

Eleanor Dulles’s soft power diplomacy influenced her family life. Dulles’s home was a gathering place for diplomats and her family. In the mid-1950s, Dulles hired Nicholas Saterlee to design a house for her in the suburb of McLean, Virginia. Fearing a shortage might occur in construction materials, Dulles instructed Saterlee to purchase the construction materials and store them in her friend’s, Clara Beyer, barn. Dulles feared shortages influenced by the Korean War would affect the purchase of construction supplies. Andrew Friedman claims Northern Virginia

⁴⁰ Eleanor Dulles, “Labor Rejects Communism—East Germany,” March 21, 1958, in *Department of State Bulletin* vol. 38, 615-618, *Internet Archive*, <https://www.archive.org> (accessed October 19, 2015).

became a suburb for diplomats and intelligence workers in the 1950s. The “Dulles Corridor” became the location of the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Dulles International Airport. Eleanor Dulles’s McLean, Virginia, home served as a casual meeting place for family, American officials and West German officials. Andrew Friedman says, “McLean was home to the striking and revered bungalow of Allen Dulles’s sister Eleanor, whose gleaming swimming pool became a kind of Round Table for Cold War Washington.” Dulles held family dinners at her house for family and diplomatic officials.⁴¹

Although Dulles didn’t like her brothers interfering with her career, she did support them in politics. In 1940, she attended the Republican National Convention with her brothers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and later supported John Foster’s decision to run for United States Senator in the late 1940s. Yet, John and Allen Dulles monitored their sister’s activities. In her memoir, Dulles wrote that she dated a man named Nicholas during the 1940s and 1950s. Dulles met Nicholas in 1936 while conducting research on European issues. In later years, Dulles recalled that Nicholas was a fervent anti-communist, but he had “hippie” ideas. They began seeing each other and continued corresponding during the Second World War. In 1939, Nicholas worried about the safety of his mother in Poland. He returned to Poland in 1939, but later moved back to London. This man, who was of Polish descent, was on the radar of the FBI in the early 1940s. In 1942, William Donovan, an intelligence officer with the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), informed Allen Dulles that Dulles had been seeing this man for five years. Allen Dulles dismissed the FBI’s concern for the man and claimed he was fine if Eleanor had decided to date him. Biographer Leonard Mosley wrote that Dulles’s boyfriend had the name of Michael and the FBI had photographed this man with Dulles at a restaurant. “Michael X” was an expert on

⁴¹ Andrew Friedman, *Covert Capital: Landscapes of Denial and the Making of U.S. Empire in the Suburbs of Northern Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 3-4, 35-37.

Polish and Soviet Affairs. The FBI was experiencing a shortage on specialists and considered this man as a possible agent when he applied for the job. The FBI turned him down, but Allen Dulles later offered him a position at the CIA. Despite the reports and photographs, Allen never told Dulles the FBI had spied on her. Nicholas and Dulles continued their relationship after the Second World War, but she later ended it in the mid-1950s. Dulles broke off the relationship because her conservative ideas and position at the State Department clashed with Nicholas's beliefs.⁴²

By the end of the 1940s and beginning of 1950s, Eleanor Dulles had learned about the importance of soft power diplomacy and how to use it in her job at the State Department. Dulles took what she had learned in economics and applied it to the postwar recovery of Austria and Germany. In the early 1950s, Dulles made another transition within the State Department from being an economic advisor for Austrian postwar recovery to one of the main overseers of postwar recovery in West Berlin. This job opportunity not only broadened her horizons, but it made Eleanor Dulles a public name in association with the city. Newspaper journalists interviewed Dulles, and she was invited to speak before various groups in the United States and West Berlin. Meanwhile, Dulles formed relationships with officials in West Germany and West Berlin. Through relationships, Dulles influenced decisions that were made not only in West Berlin, but decisions that the secretary of state made regarding the city. Officials in West Germany and West Berlin recognized Dulles's use of soft power and saw her as a direct line to the State Department. Although Dulles dismissed it, the presence of her brother as secretary of state helped increase her prestige in West Berlin. Not only did Dulles have connections to funding, but her office also offered easy access to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

⁴² Mosley, *Dulles*, 122-125; Eleanor Dulles, *Chances*, 161-166.

CHAPTER 3. KEEPING THE ISSUE OF WEST BERLIN ALIVE

Throughout her career at the State Department, Dulles made it her main priority to keep not only West Germany, but also West Berlin in the spotlight of American diplomacy. West Berlin was caught up in the middle of an ideological war between East Germany (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*) and West Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*). To accomplish this task, Dulles used different tools of soft power diplomacy to remind government officials and readers of the importance of a continued American presence in the city of West Berlin. American and German newspapers published accounts of her visits there. She successfully kept the city at the center of the Eisenhower administration's priorities in fighting the Cold War. Dulles not only demanded the attention of officials in the federal government, but she also maintained correspondence with West Berlin officials, and convinced some in the United States to assist her in the continuing economic reconstruction of the city. Dulles retained her soft power after leaving the State Department. She continued emphasizing the centrality of West Berlin to the Cold War through trips to the city, and the publication of several books. West Berlin officials continued seeking Dulles's advice on economic issues. Construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 may have established *détente*, but the wall did not settle the future of the city. Dulles challenged Americans to continue strengthening West Berlin and encouraging a future reunification of the two Germanies.

Importance of West Berlin

Despite funding from the Marshall Plan, West Berlin faced the daunting task of increasing economic development and planning for the city's future growth. Dulles made these her priorities after being promoted to the Berlin Desk division of the Office of German Affairs at the State Department in December 1952. In late December 1952 and early January 1953, Dulles

traveled to West Berlin to survey its economic situation. The United States military newspaper, *Stars and Stripes* published an article on January 21, 1953, titled “Dulles’ Sister Urges more West Berlin Industry Investment.” Dulles told the newspaper that a survey of the city was needed to help foster the growth of several industries. Access to improved consumer goods and credit depended on industrial development. “West Berlin could, in particular, do more to develop its consumer goods industry,” Dulles said, “and there is also need for more equity financing, risk capital and short-term credit.” Without such resources, West Berlin risked becoming economically stagnant, which might open the door for more influence from the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Dulles argued that building up the industrial sector was important in fighting against communism. West Berlin needed to improve and become the opposite of impoverished East Berlin. She told the newspaper that East Berlin resembled a city that had given up on any recovery or economic prosperity. As part of her push for industrial build-up, Dulles met with local bankers, trade union representatives, businessmen, and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. In 1953, West Berliners were motivated to improve their city, and Dulles wanted to take advantage of their enthusiasm. In addition to meeting with West German and West Berlin officials, Dulles compiled a report for the State Department. In her report, Dulles indicated what problems West Berlin faced and what steps the city should take to thrive industrially. The city should provide more jobs and housing for its growing population, she insisted. Dulles emphasized that West Berlin would prosper “with decent living conditions, high morale, active economy with the maximum possible access to the outside free world, and a stable government.” That was Dulles’s vision and she intended on making it a reality.¹

¹ “Dulles’ Sister Urges More West Berlin Industry Development,” *Stars and Stripes*, January 21, 1953, 7; Eleanor Dulles, “Berlin-Problems and Goals,” January 28, 1953, in *Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers*, 1.

Not only did West Berlin need economic growth, but also solutions for the continuous influx of East German refugees. Although the city was in the heart of the communist GDR, it served as a place where refugees could escape and possibly be smuggled to Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Dulles suggested the United States should assist the city in providing more aid for refugees who sought housing and jobs. Dulles's office was located at the State Department building in Washington, but she maintained communications with West Berlin officials and kept the issue of the city's needs alive at the State Department. She had to convince the State Department that frequent trips to the city were necessary. Dulles observed progress in West Berlin and made requests, but she did not always receive funding from the State Department. Dulles recalled, "I would feel out the general temper of Washington...[and] know whether I could make a pitch for, say, 10 million dollars or 20 million dollars." Dulles's first request—fifty million dollars—was her highest, but she settled for a more moderate amount of twenty million dollars. She acquired funds not only from the U.S. government, but also from private donors.² American companies responded to her campaign to invest in West Berlin. First, Dulles focused on the attraction of heavy industries and transitioned to small sectors such as textiles. Among the companies who came to the city were the Gillette Safety Razor Company and General Electric. She was not alone in pushing the American consumer goods industry to move into West Berlin. The Eisenhower administration had the same idea. Historian Walter Hixson claimed Eisenhower and other American officials believed communism could be defeated with public diplomacy and cultural infiltration. Dulles used soft power which is a form of public diplomacy. Attracting American companies to invest in West Berlin and the introduction of American products would show Germans and Eastern Europeans that communism cannot

² Eleanor Lansing Dulles, "Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles," Interview #14, *Columbia University Oral History Project* (Abilene, KS: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library), 547-548, 552-554.

provide the comfort and freedom that came with American democracy. By purchasing American products and allowing American companies to operate in the city, West Berlin showed the world that it was becoming a modern city and embraced progress. This is what Dulles wanted for the city and believed it also would help in the fight against communism.³

Dulles wanted to transform West Berlin into a city that attracted tourists to Europe and be an example of success within a communist nation. Eleanor pushed for the introduction of modern buildings in West Berlin and western cultural contributions. Unlike other European cities, West Berlin did not place restrictions on the architecture of buildings. Instead of having buildings that resembled that of pre-war Berlin, the city embraced all forms of modern architecture. Modern buildings were designed by not only American architects, but also by famous German architects such as Werner Düttman and Hans Sharoun. Free University received a new medical school, classroom buildings, and more student housing, while the city acquired a congress hall. All of these facilities were state of the art buildings which reflected the architecture of the 1950s and 1960s. They were funded by private donations and U.S. public funds. She believed the construction of such facilities would show the world that progress was taking place in the city.⁴ It all began with the idea of organizing a building exhibition that would take place in 1957. In 1954, Dulles contemplated how the United States would participate in it. Dulles, with assistance from the American Institute of Architects (AIA), wanted to construct a building that would contribute to the prosperity and culture of West Berlin. She organized a trip

³ Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), x-xvi, 185-189. Although communist leaders dismissed American consumer goods as “excess,” they later had to produce certain consumer goods.

⁴ Eleanor Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #14, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 555-561; One primary source of funding was the Benjamin Franklin Foundation.

with a group of architects who observed the city and made recommendations on possible buildings. The group of architects included Howard Eichenbaum of Arkansas, Hugh Stubbins of Boston, Moreland Smith of Alabama, and Ralph Walker of New York.⁵ They discussed the construction of a theater or a daycare center, but eventually settled on a place where West Berliners could host conferences and other events: a congress hall. Dulles and the architects envisioned a meeting hall that could house exhibits and a restaurant. A congress hall would be better than a meeting place in a hotel. Moreland Smith and the other architects recommended a meeting hall be constructed “with a certain amount of capacity for cultural exhibits and suitable for scientific, educational conferences.” The intent of the congress hall was to attract not only conference, but it would also serve as a place where West Germans could be exposed to other cultures. This project matched Dulles’s vision for the city and she fully supported it.

The group also came up with the idea of funding construction through a foundation. Smith suggested the foundation be named after Benjamin Franklin. Franklin had supported free speech in America and was a representative of early American diplomacy. However, organizing a foundation that involved a project in another country was complex. First, Dulles had to convince West Berliners of the need for a meeting hall. She contacted West Berlin Mayor Otto Suhr and submitted a request to the United States government for the building. The foundation would be a conduit for government and private donations for the congress hall.⁶ Second, Dulles had to find a location for the new congress hall. The Benjamin Franklin Foundation and Dulles found a location near the Tiergarten, an inner-city park in West Berlin. In October 1955, she received a

⁵ All four men were prominent architects. Ralph Walker designed the New York Telephone Building and U.S. Embassy complexes. Hugh Stubbins is known for Citicorp Center in Manhattan, and Howard Eichenbaum designed several buildings in Little Rock, Arkansas.

⁶ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #16, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 644-649.

translation of an article from the German newspaper *Spandauer Volksblatt*. According to the article, one million dollars would come from the United States while the city would contribute 9 million *Deutsche* marks to congress hall. Meanwhile, the Benjamin Franklin Foundation combined U.S. funds with private donations and oversaw the planning and construction of the building. The foundation planned to donate the building to West Berlin at the end of the 1957 International Building Exhibition. Dulles corresponded with the foundation and architects throughout the construction process. She received a letter from the architect Ralph Walker a few months earlier in May 1955. In the letter, Ralph Walker viewed the future congress hall as a symbol of peace. He wrote, “Truly if the American people wish to make a contribution to the idea that we are peaceful people, this is an opportunity which is well worth considering.” Walker estimated the cost of the congress hall to be 2.5 million dollars. The final design plans called for a congress hall that would be covered by a massive oyster-shaped concrete roof. The use of a massive roof reduced construction costs and required no major support columns. The building would offer more open space and the roof would be supported by tension cables.⁷

While construction began on the congress hall, Dulles was already looking at other improvements for West Berlin. West Berlin was home to the Free University with its founding connected to the 1948 blockade. During her observation trips to the city and visits to the university, Dulles noticed that maintaining adequate housing and food were constant issues for students. In a memorandum that was written between 1954 and 1956, Dulles emphasized the dire situation of students who attended Free University. She believed that money should be set aside for building adequate dormitories for the university’s growing enrollment. Like the

⁷ Eleanor Dulles, “Letter from Ralph Walker to Eleanor,” May 18, 1955, in *ELD Papers*, 5; Dulles, “Construction of the Congress Hall,” October 19, 1955, *ELD Papers*, 1; Dulles, “Reminisces of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” Interview #16, *Columbia Oral History Project*, 650-651; David Clay, *Berlin*, 470-471.

congress hall, Dulles emphasized that the Benjamin Franklin Foundation could help raise funds for construction. Not only was Free University in need of student housing, but it also needed a modern facility to house its medical school. To accomplish this complex task, Dulles needed the assistance of university officials, city officials, and advice from American architects. The Benjamin Franklin Foundation would be the main contributor, but the Ford Foundation was also brought in to assist in the plan. Unlike the Berlin congress hall, the Schlachtensee Student Village (*Studentendorf*) and Free University's Medical School (*Klinikum*) would be planned and constructed over the next decade. However, the main priority was the student village. The student village would be a separate community from the Free University Campus. Designed through the Ford Foundation, Dulles promoted the plan because it called for individual housing for college students. She wanted the plan to be finalized by the end of 1956.⁸ Dulles faced a second issue with the future student village: leadership. Although the village would house students from the Free University, Dulles and West Berlin officials had to decide who would oversee the complex. As it neared completion, there were conflicting opinions about leadership. In April 1959, Dulles attended a discussion on the legalization of the student village. Three groups had different opinions. The West Berlin Senate (*Senat*) wanted the Student Village to be administered and overseen by the Free University. Whereas, the Ford Foundation and West Berlin Mayor Otto Suhr wanted the complex to remain independent from the university. Free University officials agreed with the donor. Although she spearheaded the project, Dulles could not make the final decision. In the memorandum from the discussion, "The American government," Dulles stated, "cannot, of course, force the Senat of Berlin to agree to a certain

⁸ Eleanor Dulles, "College Students in West Berlin," October 12, 1956, in *ELD Papers*, 1-4.

legal status for the Student Village.” Through her use of soft power diplomacy, Dulles convinced officials to make the student village an independent community for college students.⁹

In September 1956, funding from the Benjamin Franklin Foundation was finalized, and Dulles was ready for construction to begin on the congress hall. The foundation invited Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to the ceremony, who was unable to attend. He sent Deputy Under Secretary Robert Murphy in his place. In a letter to Ralph Walker, the Chairman of the Benjamin Franklin Foundation, John Foster Dulles thanked Walker for his efforts in organizing the project and expressed his hope the congress hall would help the city prosper. He wrote, “I am sure that the Hall will do much to carry out our hope of attracting to the city groups of intellectual leaders and of stimulating there an increasing exchange of ideas through free assembly and debate.” President Eisenhower also sent a letter to Walker and said he would not be at the ceremony. He told Walker, “This cooperative effort of the German and American people is not only a symbol but an instrument to serve the cause of liberty and those basic human values which we are committed to preserve.” This was no doubt disappointing for Dulles, but at least there would be a representative from the Eisenhower administration.¹⁰

Dulles saw the project as one of her main contributions to West Berlin. In her memoir, Dulles claimed she was responsible for financing, and building the congress hall. She reminisced in 1977, “I had arranged the financing, helped the design, and guided to completion this modern structure in the heart of West Berlin.” Dulles saw it as her own project to control. West Berliners also attributed the congress hall to Dulles. They nicknamed it the “Pregnant

⁹ Eleanor Dulles, “Memorandum Discussion the Student Village,” April 1959, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2.

¹⁰ John Foster Dulles, “Letter to Ralph Walker,” September 28, 1956, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Letter to Ralph Walker,” September 29, 1956, in *ELD Papers*, 1; President Dwight D. Eisenhower was invited to speak at the cornerstone ceremony.

Oyster,” “Dulleseum,” and “Frau Dulles’ Hut,” because of its massive oyster-shaped concrete roof. The congress hall was completed in 1957 for the International Building Exhibition. This exhibition, in the works since 1954, gave architects an opportunity to show off their latest ideas to the world. Willy Brandt, the mayor of West Berlin in the late 1950s, called the congress hall an “oyster” and claimed that the city “ha[d] become a Mecca for all people interested in modern architecture.” The exhibition highlighted this characteristic. At the end of 1957, the Benjamin Franklin Foundation transferred ownership of the congress hall to West Berlin.¹¹

Dulles saved a brochure which described the congress hall and its role in West Berlin. The brochure marketed the facility as the most modern for conferences and other important meetings. It had accommodations for journalists and the ability to make language translations during conferences. The congress hall not only had the equipment for hosting local events, but also international conferences. As a future home for international conferences, the brochure highlighted its convenience for those who would attend the meetings. It was estimated that one hundred planes departed West Berlin airports on the daily basis, which classified the congress hall as an excellent and easily accessible location. In October 1957, American playwright Thornton Wilder penned a letter to Dulles. In the letter, Wilder said he was glad to meet her in West Berlin and bragged about the congress hall. “By faith, you moved mountains to bring it into being—and ‘generations shall rise up and call you blessed’” wrote Wilder. He was in Berlin to give a speech at a different event and invited Dulles. However, Wilder knew Dulles had a busy schedule, but he wanted to “exchange grins” with Dulles from the third row. Wilder’s

¹¹ Eleanor Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 1-2; Willy Brandt, *My Road to Berlin*, As told to Leo Lania (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 260-262. Brandt’s book could be classified as a memoir of his life, but also his political career. In 1960, he already aspired of becoming West German Chancellor in the future.

response was one of many who responded to the construction and opening of the Berlin congress hall.¹²

The impact of the congress hall was expressed across the ocean in Washington. In February 1958, Willy Brandt visited with President Eisenhower. First, Brandt commented on the progress of buildings that had been constructed in the city. President Eisenhower said he had read reports of the new congress hall and the progress of the Benjamin Franklin Foundation. Eisenhower said, “He regretted that he had not seen Berlin for many years and hoped that when any of his friends next visit Berlin they would send him pictures of the City as it is today.” Brandt replied with a progress report of the city since the Soviet blockade of the late 1940s. According to Brandt, Berlin was experiencing a construction boom with the addition of 20,000 buildings a year. Several buildings had been built since the late 1940s. This construction boom was encouraged by the projects Dulles promoted in the city. In addition to the buildings Dulles promoted, Berlin received the New Philharmonic Hall and the Europa-Center. The New Philharmonic Hall attracted orchestras from other nations, while Europa-Center housed offices and stores.¹³

Soviet Threats and American Support

The yearly expansion of West Berlin, in addition to the opening of the congress hall and continued planning for the medical school, garnered the attention of officials in East Berlin and the Soviet Union. Throughout the 1950s, West Berlin was a target for communist propaganda and a convenient escape route for East Germans. The city was not yet divided in 1958, and

¹² Thornton Wilder, Letter to Eleanor Dulles, October 5, 1957, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; “Brochure on Congress Hall,” 1957, in *ELD Papers*.

¹³ United States Department of State, “Memorandum of Conversation between Eisenhower and Brandt,” *Foreign Relations of the United States: Berlin Crisis, 1958-1959*, vol. 8 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 18-19.

Berliners had access to both sides. Not only did East Germans escape through West Berlin, but the constant flow of United States personnel into the city also disturbed both East German and Soviet officials. Throughout the year, there were disputes over travel orders, passport checks, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev's ultimatum. In his ultimatum, Khrushchev demanded Great Britain, France, and the United States to withdraw troops from West Berlin. In January of 1958, The State Department sent a telegram to American embassies in the FRG and Moscow. Dulles was one of the officials who cleared the telegram. In the telegram, diplomats discussed the issue of American soldiers, train passes, and the constant nagging of Soviet officials. Soviet leaders had demanded that restrictions be placed on the travel orders given to American soldiers. Two issues arose because of the Soviet demands. First, State Department officials believed only the United States had the full authority to issue and control the travel orders and passes given to soldiers who traveled into West Berlin. Second, pacifying the Soviet demands might diminish the authority of American officials. The State Department had to deal with the Soviet demands, but diplomats did not want to make it appear as if the U.S. was negotiating with them. The telegram emphasized that "stamping of travel orders by Soviet officers would obviously constitute extension of Soviet control and is unacceptable." Undersecretary of State Christian Herter and others in the State Department insisted that American military personnel should not be required to have their travel orders stamped by a Soviet officer at the Helmstedt-Marienborn checkpoint. The Soviets must accept American requirements for travel orders, they insisted. Soviet officials were already authorized to stamp American freight train passes and could not understand why American officials banned travel passes of soldiers.¹⁴ Soviet officials tried to

¹⁴ United States Department of State, "Telegram from State Department to Embassy in Germany," January 22, 1958, *FRUS: Berlin Crisis*, vol. 8, 7-8; "Telegram from State Department to Embassy in Germany," January 31, 1958, *FRUS: Berlin Crisis*, vol. 8, 8-9.

get authority by offering for East German officials to stamp the travel passes. State Department officials, including Dulles, refused to budge and insisted on American authority over travel passes. Dulles and other State Department officials claimed that “Present planning takes into account possibility that East German personnel might go beyond this and raise new demands and conditions.”¹⁵ While Soviet and East German officials built a case against American occupation of West Berlin, they also spread propaganda across the airwaves. Historian Nicholas Schlosser asserted that East German officials incorporated Dulles and her two brothers, Allen Welsh and John Foster, into a conspiracy against communism. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the United States Information Agency (USIA) established radio stations in West Berlin and other locations in Europe. The radio stations were used to broadcast western ideas, music and news to West Berliners, and East Germans. East Germany and the Soviet Union made several attempts to jam radio frequencies, but the USIA radio stations were quick to change frequencies. The radio station in West Berlin was named Radio in the American Sector (RIAS). RIAS (*Rundfunk im Amerikanischen Sektor* in German) was accused of broadcasting messages for East Germans to turn them against communism and encourage them to escape through West Berlin.¹⁶

East German officials believed that Americans were funding RIAS in hopes of launching another world war and proclaimed that it served as a headquarters for espionage against their nation. They argued that “R[IAS] was an espionage center in the middle of democratic Germany that utilized its radio transmissions to send coded messages to its sleeper agents.” East German officials criticized the presence of Dulles in the city. According to the communists, Dulles was

¹⁵ United States Department of State, “Airgram from State Department to Embassy in Germany,” *FRUS: Berlin Crisis*, vol 8, 10-12.

¹⁶ Nicholas Schlosser, *Cold War on the Airwaves: The Radio Propaganda War against East Germany* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 107-110.

one of the main leaders of espionage in the RIAS. Instead of being a proponent of economic recovery and funding, East German officials asserted that Dulles spent all her time conspiring and sending spies into East Germany. Officials proclaimed, “There is no [long-range] action carried out by this agent center that she herself has not contrived.” communist officials churned out such propaganda over the airwaves and pamphlets. According to them, Dulles was part a larger conspiracy to takeover East Berlin and threaten communism. Such propaganda contributed to East German criticism of America’s presence in the city and Khrushchev’s November Ultimatum in 1958. Khrushchev claimed that Great Britain, France, and the United States had violated the 1945 Potsdam Agreement, which had promised a temporary occupation of Germany. He gave them six months to withdraw from West Berlin and allow it to become a neutral city.¹⁷

In 1959, President Eisenhower faced a new Berlin Crisis. Throughout 1959, Soviet Premier Khrushchev demanded the withdrawal of American, British, and French troops. He insisted that Berlin should become a “free city.” However, Eisenhower was determined to keep the American promise of protecting the city from communist threats. Eisenhower and Dulles lost a key negotiator, John Foster, in the summer of 1959. Secretary of State Dulles spent most of the year in and out of Walter Reed Hospital with health issues. Meanwhile, Undersecretary of State Christian Herter represented him in ongoing negotiations. When John Foster died, so did Dulles’s inside connection to the Second Berlin Crisis. Herter assumed the role of secretary of state and left her out of meetings that involved West Berlin. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Eisenhower administration and Khrushchev collapsed when U.S. pilot Gary Powers crashed his U-2 spy plane and was held prisoner in the Soviet Union. The incident interrupted

¹⁷ Ibid., 107-110; Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 250-251.

Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Harold McMillan's summit meeting in Paris that dealt with the Berlin Crisis. Khrushchev proclaimed that Eisenhower had lied about negotiating over West Berlin and had violated his requests for no surveillance of his nation. Eisenhower finished his second term with no end to the crisis.

A Divided Berlin

Shortly after the death of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1959, Dulles transferred to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR) in the State Department. Her focus also transitioned from West Berlin to the study of American international aid programs and Soviet aid programs. Although she no longer oversaw the Berlin Desk, Dulles was still called upon for trips to West Germany. In October 1960, Dulles received the opportunity to lead a group of Americans on an itinerary trip to West Germany. Plans for the trip included a tour of Radio Free Europe, and the border of East Germany. Robert Erlenbusch, a Colonel in the Eleventh Armored Cavalry Regiment, assured Dulles, in a letter, the group would be transported to the border by helicopter. If weather conditions grounded the helicopter, the group would be transported to the border by bus. The trip began with the group departing Munich and traveling to the Roetz border. They would have lunch and tour the Regen border camp and later have lunch at the Roehrbach border camp. At the end of the day, Dulles and the group returned to Munich. The military named the plan "Flight Red" and Dulles was assured that it would all go as planned.¹⁸ That same year, West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt touted the success that his city had made over the past decade. In *My Road to Berlin*, Brandt praised the success of Berlin's Free University and American contributions to the city's famed institution of higher learning. He gave credit to Dulles for improving university facilities and helping the city. When the

¹⁸ Robert Erlenbusch, "Letter to Eleanor Lansing Dulles", October 18, 1960, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2.

university needed more space, it received the gift of a library building from the Ford Foundation, which had connections to Dulles. Brandt claimed this helped the university flourish along with the presence of Dulles's student village apartments. He said, "Eleanor Dulles, the sister of the late Secretary of State, has been our loyal and staunch support in all these efforts."¹⁹

The election of John F. Kennedy as United States President in November 1960 cut Dulles off from important affairs in the State Department. While Dulles struggled to remain at the State Department, President Kennedy once again faced the possibility of East German or Soviet forces harming the city of West Berlin in July 1961. His predecessor faced the issue of another blockade, but a solution for the increasing flow of East German refugees into the city was never resolved. Soviet Premier Khrushchev renewed his threats shortly after Kennedy assumed the presidency. Kennedy's first meeting with the Soviet leader in Vienna did not go well. Instead of having a formal conversation with the president, Khrushchev demanded that the FRG sign a peace treaty with Communist GDR. He wanted Kennedy to back the peace treaty, and Khrushchev threatened to do it alone if the president refused to support it.²⁰ President Kennedy refused to allow Khrushchev to bully him and brought the issue to the American public. While Khrushchev continued his threats, Kennedy gave a radio and television report to the American people on July 25, 1961. In his speech, Kennedy not only summarized his recent meeting with Khrushchev, but he also asked Americans for their support in this crisis. Kennedy informed Americans that "[Khrushchev] intends to bring an end, through a stroke of the pen, *first* our legal rights to be in West Berlin—and *secondly* our ability to make good on our commitment to the two million free people of the city." He reminded Americans that Soviet threats against West

¹⁹ Willy Brandt, *My Road to Berlin*, 262-263.

²⁰ "Memorandum of Conversation," Vienna, June 4, 1961, *FRUS: Berlin Crisis*, vol. 15 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1994), 245.

Berlin were also threats against the United States. Kennedy's predecessors had promised to protect the city from communism, and he did not intend to abandon West Berliners. The president called upon Congress to fund a defense build-up in Europe and the authority to activate military reservists and the National Guard if East Germans blocked access routes to the city. Kennedy declared, "The Soviet government alone can convert Berlin's frontier of peace into a pretext for war." It would be Khrushchev's choice whether or not to launch another war.²¹

While President Kennedy prepared for an attack on West Berlin, Khrushchev faced increasing pressure from East German General Secretary Walter Ulbricht. Ulbricht feared the increasing number of East Germans fleeing his nation would lead to shortages in skilled labor and professionals. In the early 1960s, many East Germans lived in East Berlin and worked in West Berlin. Many decided with their feet to escape communist control and move to West Berlin. The amount of East German refugees to West Berlin increased in the last part of the 1950s and Ulbricht believed something needed to be done immediately to slow it down. Soviet Premier Khrushchev finally agreed to Ulbricht's plan for a wall and it was set into action on the night of August 12, 1961. Late on a Saturday night, troops built a wall under the supervision of Erich Honecker, the East German Central Committee's Security Chief.²²

During the early morning hours of August 13, with East German forces in place, troops began sealing the border. No traffic was allowed across the border while East German forces constructed the wall. An Associated Press report described the incident as a shock to East and

²¹ John F. Kennedy, "Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Berlin Crisis," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy; containing the public messages, speeches, and statements of the President*, 1961, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962), 302, University of Michigan Digital Library, <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/4730928.1963.001> (accessed February 1, 2013).

²² Frederick Kempe, *Berlin 1961: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Most Dangerous Place on Earth* (New York: Putnam's Sons, 2011), 324-325.

West Germans. Before the border was sealed, 3,700 East Germans fled west while others in West Berlin enjoyed their Saturday evening. The Berlin Wall divided family members and the city. Shortly after its construction, East Berlin Mayor Friedrich Ebert made an announcement for those who worked in West Berlin. According to the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, Ebert “announced that East Berliners with jobs in West Berlin will have to give them up.” Those unemployed because of the wall would have to find new jobs in East Berlin. East German officials did not stop all traffic at the wall. They only restricted at checkpoints. There were no protests in East Berlin, but West Berliners refused to be silent. A crowd of 5,000 gathered near the Brandenburg Gate on the morning of August 13 and yelled at troops. Some sang the national anthem of the FRG while others tried walking closer to the wall. East German police prevented the protestors from overtaking the checkpoint. In addition to the wall of barbed wire, East German troops cut all phone lines, blocked windows and doors facing West, and cut off train routes.²³

President Kennedy had to prove to West Berliners that a wall would not hinder American support for the city. There was a delay in Kennedy’s response to the wall. The president was caught off guard by the wall, but he had been planning for another blockade of the city. He already had a Berlin Steering Group in place and met with them shortly after the wall was erected on August 15. Members of the steering group suggested that Kennedy respond with propaganda and sending American officials to assure Berliners that the United States would keep its promises. Kennedy was reluctant in using propaganda, but he agreed with the group that

²³ “Allies, West Germans can Cross,” *Stars and Stripes*, August 14, 1961, 1, 24; “Angry Crowds Mass, Jeer,” *Stars and Stripes*, August 14, 1961, 24.

America needed a quick response to the situation.²⁴ His response came with the visits of Vice President Lyndon Johnson and former General Lucius Clay to the city. Clay had served as governor for the Allies after the Second World War in West Germany and they respected him. Kennedy hoped the presence of Johnson and Clay would reassure West Berliners that he was not abandoning them. Kennedy emphasized he was open to a peaceful solution for West Berlin, but he would need cooperation from Khrushchev.²⁵

Career Change and Support for West Berlin

President John F. Kennedy didn't seek Dulles's advice during the Berlin Wall crisis in August 1961. She did not plan to leave the State Department, but newly appointed Secretary of State Dean Rusk asked her to resign in September 1961. Rusk gave Dulles two options. She could either retire or stay on as a pencil pusher for two more years. He warned Dulles that she would not be given any more assignments or projects. Dulles decided to remain at the State Department until she could find a job. However, Rusk's plans for her were leaked to the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* in early January 1962, which hastened her departure. Dulles recalled, "I carried and pushed my boxes of books along the corridor and managed to get them to the elevator." There was no farewell reception or assistance offered by the State Department. Dulles had devoted nine years (1953-1961) to promoting and keeping West Berlin in the headlines of American diplomacy. However, Dulles did not stay away from foreign affairs. Although Dulles went into academia, she maintained contact with West Berlin officials and kept up with the events of August 1961. She did not speak out against Kennedy, but Dulles felt it was

²⁴ Berlin Steering Group, August 15, 1961, *FRUS*, vol. 14, 748-750; The Berlin Steering Group consisted of the Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, State, and Treasury. The group also included the attorney general, the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency.

²⁵ "Clay will return to Berlin to represent President," *New York Times*, August 30, 1961; Kennedy's Reply to Brandt, August 18, 1961, *FRUS*, vol. 14, 785-788.

her duty to help keep the issue of West Berlin alive in American diplomacy. After August 1961, her research focused on the current situation of West Berlin and its future. Dulles's articles and books were part of a larger movement to show a city that prospered amid communist threats and isolation.²⁶

Dulles's voice for West Berlin's problems was not new in 1962. In previous years, Dulles had given speeches about the city and the threat of Communism. In 1957, Dulles received an honorary doctorate from Free University and gave a speech about Economics and Occupation. According to Dulles, Soviet leaders had devoted most of the 1950s to exploiting Eastern Europe and she did not see an end to it in the future. Instead of considering people's needs in a nation, the Soviets forced their ideology on them and exploited raw materials. In Austria, Dulles said, "Machine tools were torn out of factories, and often left to rust on railroad sidings. Freight cars and trucks were seized and many were abandoned, burned out for lack of oil." The same practices occurred in East Germany. Yet, Soviet officials expected East Germany to exceed imports. They demanded more raw materials, but East Germans no longer had the equipment to extract them. Dulles claimed that an economist must also serve as a statesman. No economic theories could predict the long-term influence of the Soviet Union on East Germany, but economists must participate in diplomacy. In another speech from March 1959, Dulles described the situation of West Berlin as a city in the center of a hurricane. Although the city had recovered from the Second World War, it remained vulnerable and dependent on outside assistance. Dulles deemed Soviet threats as a test of determination for

²⁶ Eleanor Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 305-306; The author has not found a written account of Secretary of State Dean Rusk's meeting with Eleanor Dulles in 1961. Eleanor wrote about the meeting in her memoir and it was recorded for the Columbia Oral History project. Dean Rusk never mentioned the meeting in his writings.

West Germans.²⁷ After 1961, Dulles conducted research for a book that she would publish at the end of the decade: *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*. For primary sources, Dulles corresponded with former coworkers at the State Department and she traveled extensively to both sides of Berlin in the mid-1960s. Dulles also received support and assistance from various institutions such as the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies. In 1967, Dulles journeyed to East Germany and Moscow. Unlike the official trips of the 1950s, Dulles returned to East Germany, not as a State Department official, but as a private American citizen. She and a friend, Honoré Marc Catudal, returned for research purposes, but East German officials still perceived her as an indirect representative of the United States.²⁸ Before arriving, Dulles had to submit a route plan to the East German tourist office, and East German agents monitored her during the whole trip through their nation. She recalled, “A man in a small white car did most of the shadowing. At one time in Jena four agents in four cars followed me around.” Fearing that some East German official would write a traffic violation or find some way to detain her, Dulles decided to let Catudal do all the driving. The conditions and the people that Dulles encountered convinced her to write a book about the Berlin Wall and the city’s future. She believed East and West Germans could have a bright future, but the issue of divided Berlin had fallen out of the spotlight in American diplomacy. Dulles wanted to remind Americans that the United States retained a military presence for a reason and explain how that presence had benefited the city. “We have risked war perhaps more often in Berlin than in any other outpost of American policy,” Dulles said, “Our commitment has been consistent,

²⁷ Eleanor Dulles, “The Challenge to the Western Policy for Germany,” *Vital Speeches of the Day* 25, no. 11 (March 15, 1959); Dulles, “The Arithmetic of Occupation,” in *ELD Papers*, 4-5.

²⁸ Honoré Marc Catudal would later publish a book on the Berlin Wall titled *Kennedy and the Berlin Wall Crisis: A Case Study in Decision Making*.

bipartisan, and broadly based.” She reminded readers why the United States risked war over Berlin and why the city remained important for both Germans and Central Europe.²⁹

After she returned from East Germany, Dulles began researching and writing her book. Dulles began with a brief history of Berlin from 1945 to the early 1960s. After the defeat of Adolf Hitler, Allied officials had to overcome the conviction that all Germans were a major threat to postwar peace. German officials did have a past of retaliating and not following the rules. Dulles claimed, “there was natural, if mistaken, fear that, as after the Versailles Treaty, they would burn with hate and plot revenge.” Germans had resented the terms of the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War and there was a question if they would react the same way to the occupation of their nation in 1945. Dulles argued that Allied officials had miscalculated the German people. Other missteps included dividing the nation with the Soviet Union and terms of occupation in the peace treaty. Dividing the nation and occupying it led to disputes between Communist Russia and the West. Despite the arguments over occupation and spheres of influence, the German people were determined to recover from the war, and, in East Germany, try to resist communism. The theme of German determination and the need for an American presence would be a continuing theme in Dulles’s other books on the nation. Dulles’s main focus is the events surrounding the Berlin Wall and its impact on the city.³⁰

Dulles was not in Berlin in August 1961, but her criticism of the American response is prevalent in her book. According to Dulles, West Berliners lost faith in the United States after August 13, 1961. Dulles believed that President Kennedy waited too long in responding to the Berlin Wall. West Germans, including Mayor Brandt, could not understand why President

²⁹ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 318-319.

³⁰ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 3, 24-26.

Kennedy remained silent for several days after General Secretary Ulbricht began constructing the wall. Resentment by Dulles was also present in the book. Before Kennedy publicly reacted to the Wall, he had consulted with officials, but not Dulles. Dulles had devoted several years to the recovery of West Berlin and felt she was an expert in West German affairs. However, Kennedy did not contact her for advice. Dulles believed the president could have resisted the wall, and tried to stop its construction, but one could only speculate the “what ifs” after August 1961. The Wall interrupted the lives of Germans, separated family members and cut off jobs. East Germans who worked in West Berlin were suddenly without a job and had to seek employment in East Germany. Dulles took a hard stance and referred to the Berlin Wall as “the new concentration camp of the Communist dictators.”³¹ The crisis of confidence in the United States, according to Dulles, was later restored with the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and Kennedy’s visit to the city in 1963.

The final topics Dulles addressed in *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*, were the future of Berlin and the possibility of German reunification. At first, the construction of the Berlin Wall caused panic in both sides of the city. Some Germans tried to flee into West Berlin by hiding in vehicles, building tunnels, or crawling through the barbed wire when the East German guards were not looking. Dulles emphasized their determination and looked at the future of the divided city. The wall had decreased the number of East Germans fleeing communism, but it didn’t solve economic problems. The wall did not prevent West Berlin from continuing to progress, but it contributed to ongoing shortages of goods in East Berlin. Dulles noted that East Germany succeeded in heavy industry but continued to suffer shortages in consumer goods.

³¹ Dulles, *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*, 47-49.

In the late 1960s, some progress had been accomplished, but tension remained in the divided city. Dulles argued that a few older Germans were granted permission to travel into West Berlin, but she saw this as a ploy to get rid of the older population. “The policy in the East regime,” Dulles wrote, “was to encourage the nonworking older people to leave; they were considered to be ‘dead wood.’” Reunification was not out of the question, but it was still remote. Dulles suggested that the Berlin Wall only encouraged young Germans to fight against any threats of communism in West Berlin and seek opportunities for communication between both nations. At the same time, President Lyndon Johnson gave a speech in 1966, which encouraged Dulles; it signaled that Berlin was still a priority in the Johnson Administration. Speaking before the National Conference of Editorial Writers, Johnson reminded the audience about the Berlin Airlift of the late 1940s and the Marshall Plan. He stated, “In a restored Europe, Germany can and will be united.” This and the determination of young West Germans convinced Dulles that the Wall would not be forever. This confidence influenced Dulles in writing two more books on Germany and West Berlin in the early 1970s.³²

In *One Germany or Two: The Struggle at the Heart of Europe*, Dulles approached the issues of a divided Germany from the viewpoint of economics and social issues. Dulles addressed three issues in the two nations: difference in governments, struggles experienced during postwar recovery, and the future. East Germany and West Germany faced situations and questions in the late 1960s. For West Germany, and of course West Berlin, it was the issue of preserving and maintaining democracy with communism as a next-door neighbor. East Germany faced the issue of cooperation and recognition by the West German government. Could West

³² Dulles, *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*, 97-99, 110-111; Lyndon B. Johnson, “Remarks in New York City before the National Conference of Editorial Writers,” October 7, 1966, *The American Presidency Project*, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu> (accessed January 16, 2018).

Germany cooperate and trade with East Germany, without the threat of Communist influence? Allies of both nations faced issues simultaneously. “The United States also is faced with the problem,” Dulles said, “that overt acts and financial assistance might retard rather than advance the movement toward rapprochement.”³³ There were concerns that any overt acts by the Americans might hinder any progress that had been made by the West German government. West Germany expected the United States to maintain its commitment for protection and the so-called containment of communism.

Dulles’s book thoroughly addressed the economic aspects of both nations. She compared the economies of both Germanies and their current issues. In the 1950s, West Germans were concerned over their nation’s place in Western Europe. West Germany joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). West Germany adopted the doctrine of State Secretary Walter Hallstein. Hallstein advocated no recognition of countries that remained under Soviet control. However, the influence of younger West Germans called for changes in the mid to late 1960s. Dulles claimed that “young Germans had become accustomed to the continuing existence of the communist world,” but they wanted both Germanies to have normal exchanges and recognition.³⁴ They wanted communication with other Germans, no matter if they had communist ties. These Germans had grown up in a divided world and now wanted more communications. Dulles emphasized that younger West Germans did not see ideological differences as an obstacle. Former West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt promoted the same ideas when he became chancellor of the FRG in 1969. He promoted the idea of *Neue Ostpolitik* (New Eastern Policy). This concept called for diplomatic relations between

³³ Eleanor Dulles, *One Germany or Two: The Struggle at the Heart of Europe* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1970), 1-3.

³⁴ Dulles, *One Germany or Two*, 18-20, 26-28.

the two Germanies and Eastern Europe. Under Chancellor Brandt's leadership, the FRG recognized the GDR as a sovereign power and negotiated trade agreements with East German officials. He also wanted trade agreements with other Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union. Brandt was not the only one to advocate *Neue Ostpolitik*. Dulles believed it was time for the two Germanies to have diplomatic relations. Allowing the FRG to recognize and trade with Soviet satellite states would help strengthen the nation economically and politically in Europe. Dulles argued that *Neue Ostpolitik* could be the way to overcome physical and ideological barriers in Europe. It could break through the Iron Curtain, the Berlin Wall, and allow for an exchange of ideas and goods.³⁵

Although *Neue Ostpolitik* brought hope for the FRG, Dulles looked to the future and listed what issues both Germanies must overcome to have open communication. Both nations had to deal with the possibility of reunification. According to Dulles, the 1950s had been "A Decade of Abortive Proposals." The Rapacki Plan had called for Germany to serve as a neutral zone in Central Europe. It was proposed with the idea of having an atomic weapon free zone in Central Europe. Other plans included the *Deutschland* Plan (Germany Plan) and one presented by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles's successor, Christian Herter, in 1959. The *Deutschland* Plan called for reunification in a process of three steps. First, officials from both Germanies would be brought together for a conference. Second, a parliamentary council would be established to deal with the merging of land and water transportation. The *Deutschland* Plan concluded with the unification of policies and tax structures in both nations. Herter's plan called for free elections in all of Berlin and the drafting of a constitution for the city. Herter suggested that reunification of Berlin would pave the way for the future reunification of Germany. Dulles

³⁵ Ibid., 50-54.

did not see reunification happening in the next few years, but she believed it could only succeed with the support of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both superpowers must recognize the need for reunification. At the same time, Dulles emphasized that the East German Communist regime must realize that repression cannot be used forever on East Germans. Ulbricht decreased the rapid migration of East Germans with the Berlin Wall, but he could not continue repressing the younger generation. In the end, it was the Cold War rivalry, according to Dulles, which kept Germany divided. Dulles argued that both nations adhered to a domino theory. The Domino Theory had emerged at the beginning of the 1950s and President Eisenhower firmly believed that losing one nation to communism would cause neighboring countries to experience the same fate. “The Soviets,” Dulles wrote, “as well as others realize that the loss of West Germany to the democratic cause is in a sense ‘unthinkable; since it would be followed by the loss of Europe.’” Dulles expanded the idea and emphasized that the Soviet Union feared losing East Germany, or East Berlin, would have a domino effect in Eastern Europe.³⁶

Dulles’s final book, *The Wall: A Tragedy in Three Acts*, condensed much of her first book and was published as a reminder about the city’s significance to U.S. foreign policy in 1972. It began with an argument about unpreparedness. The foreword analyzed the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and compared it to the events West Berliners experienced earlier in the decade. Divided into acts, Dulles presented a chronological perspective of events and people who witnessed or were involved with the construction of the Berlin Wall. The first act discussed the growing threats to West Berlin that were posed by the Soviet Union and East Germany. According to Dulles, President Kennedy lost an opportunity to discuss the freedom of the city at

³⁶ Dulles, *One Germany or Two*, 109-113, 258-259.

his Vienna meeting with Khrushchev. She referred to Kennedy and his entourage as “a confused and disconcerted group of Americans.”³⁷ Although Kennedy eventually responded to the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, Dulles insisted that though his speech was a supportive one, it contained weaknesses. She believed Kennedy only discussed the rights of the United States and other Allies to have a presence in the city, but not the rights of West Berliners. Dulles emphasized that the United States was prepared to deal with conflicts involving the city, but they had not envisioned a wall. Not only did Kennedy deal with the crisis in a weak manner, but Dulles also criticized his advisors who lacked in experience of the German situation and the city. Before the Berlin Wall, Secretary of State Rusk attended a NATO foreign ministers meeting in Paris. Rusk said the United States would maintain its promise to protect the city and keep access routes open. “Nothing was said there that would have given any support to a prompt local reaction to communist barriers in the city,” Dulles wrote. She argued that Rusk’s message was the same as Kennedy’s speech which came afterward, but she pointed out the lack of preparation for local reactions to communist actions such as the Berlin Wall.³⁸

Despite criticism of the Kennedy administration, Dulles saw a hopeful future for Germans. In 1973, she published an article in the *Atlantic Community Quarterly* titled “A New Berlin.” Dulles reviewed Berlin’s past, but she focused on the future of the city. She believed the city could not have fully recovered without outside help from the Marshall Plan and the other investors. However, she continued fearing the influence of East Germans. If West Germans did not embrace their nation, the relaxation of Cold War tensions between the two countries could influence them. She encouraged West Germans to continue their support for West Berlin and

³⁷ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *The Wall: A Tragedy in Three Acts*, Studies in International Affairs Series no. 9. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 10-13.

³⁸ Eleanor Dulles, *The Wall*, 19-20.

prevent any influence of communism from taking over the city. Dulles advocated, “What is needed now is a psychological drive—pride, hope, leadership.” America and its Allies assisted West Germany and West Berlin in postwar recovery, now it was the decision of West Germans to decide the future of their nation. West Germany could embody, as Dulles envisioned a new Europe, with the nation as the home of economic and political opportunities. The newly constructed medical school (*Klinikum*) represented a new opportunity to educate a workforce in the field of medicine, and the city could benefit from reforms in academia at universities. Instead of losing reputable professors, laws needed to be changed to encourage them to reside at such institutions of higher learning. The city and West Germany should participate in the intellectual world and become a science center. This was the vision of Dulles in 1973.³⁹

Dulles was not the only one concerned about the future of West Berlin and West Germany in the 1960s and early 1970s. She was joined by a variety of scholars and journalists who also studied current issues and the future of the two Germanies. Political Scientist Anne Armstrong published an account of Berliners from both sides of the city in 1973. Armstrong did not insert her opinions about the divided city, but she focused on interviewing East and West Berliners. She stayed at a hotel which served as a staging area for the processing of refugees. Armstrong recalled that many refugees stayed in the city while others were transported to West Germany. One West Berliner, Gräfin, had been a Nazi opponent during the Second World War and was now a living witness of the Berlin Wall. Gräfin blamed the Berlin Wall for isolating the city and increasing crime. She believed the presence of the wall made Berliners feel like they were boxed in, which led to gang rapes. She claimed that the younger generation of Berliners felt pressured by a divided city and wanted change. Despite isolation, Gräfin had seen progress

³⁹ Eleanor Dulles, “A New Berlin,” *Atlantic Community Quarterly*, vol. 11, no. 1 (spring 1973): 69-72, 75-77.

in the city. Dulles Gräfin recalled, “I saw Berliners change from the scrawny scarecrows of 1947 to the well-dressed briskly successful citizens of the 1960s and 1970s.” Armstrong also interviewed a young East Berliner named Hans. Hans was preparing for his upcoming wedding, but he discussed the issues of living in a communist city and nation. Hans and his wife came from families who had served as Nazis during the Second World War. Hans’s father was now a manager and his siblings attended trade school. Hans complained about the government’s control over education, jobs, and businesses. He worked for a privately-owned paint factory, but the factory was under constant scrutiny by the communist government. He claimed that private businesses were heavily taxed and had no money left for growth. Hans said, “Profits are drastically taxed, and so there is never enough profit to reinvest in expansion or research and development.” Such businesses could not compete against the larger government-controlled factories.⁴⁰

The Berlin Crisis remained an issue in American newspapers and periodicals after August 1961. Columnist Stewart Alsop, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, wrote a series of columns on the Berlin Crisis. In October 1961, he published, “Washington Views Berlin,” to inform Americans the Kennedy administration’s preparedness for a future conflict over West Berlin. He began with details about the Berlin Task Force, which Kennedy formed after the Vienna Summit with Khrushchev in June 1961. After the summit, Kennedy believed that America faced a future showdown with the Soviets over West Berlin. He wanted to be prepared for any moves the Soviets would make against the United States. Alsop listed a set of questions that he asked current and former government officials. One question he asked was “Could it really lead to war?” Alsop’s sources affirmed that the crisis could lead to a future war. Alsop asked why the

⁴⁰ Anne Armstrong, *Berliners: Both Sides of the Wall* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1973), 180-186, 403-416, 440-446.

Soviet Union was obsessed with West Berlin. Khrushchev, he was told, was obsessed with the city because he wanted it under his control. Alsop asserted, “Khrushchev’s role has been to persuade the world how horrible its fate will be if the West resists his demands in Berlin.” To Alsop, Khrushchev did not want a free city, but a city under communist control. The column termed Ulbricht as Khrushchev’s puppet. He said that the communists called all non-communists militarists and fascists. This explained why the East German Communists placed these labels on West Germans—they wanted revenge against GDR. He said that Kennedy should not hand over control of access routes to the GDR. America would lose authority if the East Germans controlled all access routes to West Berlin. It would be a “death warrant” for the city.⁴¹

Use of Propaganda to promote West Berlin after 1961

Not only did scholars and journalists publish books on West Berlin, but the United States and the Soviet Union waged a propaganda war over the city. In 1961, the United States Information Agency produced, with Hearst Metrotone news, a short film, *Journey across Berlin*, illustrating achievements in West Berlin and its increase in population. Lines of West Germans walk to and from work, streets filled with traffic. The film demonstrates the stark contrasts between East and West Berlin. The narrator proclaims that he is returning to Berlin to see how the city had changed since the 1949 airlift. The narrator uses the Brandenburg Gate as an example to show the free world versus communism. On the West Berlin side, is a “jaunty spirit, the pulse of a dynamic forward-moving society of two and a half million people.” West Berlin flourishes with industry and education. The Free University represents a beacon of learning for the city. On the East Berlin side, *Volkspolizei* (People’s Police of East Germany) stand guard

⁴¹ Stewart Alsop, “Washington Views Berlin,” *Saturday Evening Post*, October 21, 1961: 98-100.

and view the cameras with cold faces. Everyone, according to the narrator, lives under the surveillance of Ulbricht's government. Signs warn people that they are leaving the American zone and entering Communist territory. Another scene compares children on both sides of the city. West Berlin children are happy, playing on carnival rides—East Berlin children stare vacantly at the sidewalk. The film argues, though, that there is hope for East Berliners—leave the country. The narrator asserts that East Berliners vote with their feet and abandon Communist rule.

The Kennedy administration and the United States Information Agency also responded to the Berlin Wall with propaganda in 1962. The USIA produced *The Wall* in 1962, which reflected on Berlin one year after the border's fortification. Filmed by Hearst Metrotone for the USIA and directed by Walter de Hoog, the film demonstrated the psychological impact of the wall on families and the harsh punishment by the Communists.⁴² A West Berliner demonstrated how he communicated with his children. He said, "I speak to my children in East Berlin with hand signals." Hand signals were used to communicate to avoid attracting attention from the East German guards. When the wall was constructed, East Germans escaped through windows that faced West Berlin. One clip showed a woman escaping from a window. The East German police try pulling the woman back into the window, while the crowd pulls her down. The guards throw tear gas at the crowd, but do not stop efforts to save her. The crowd saves her from the guards. The narrator adds, "In the beginning, many people escaped in broad daylight by jumping out of windows facing the Western sector of the city." Refugees tossed luggage out of windows

⁴² United States Information Agency, *The Wall*, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration); Owned by the Hearst Corporation, Hearst Metrotone produced newsreels that were viewed in movie cinemas. Walter de Hoog produced *The Wall* and other films such as *The Five Cities of June* for the United States Information Agency; Scott Simmons, *The Wall Notes*, National Film Preservation Foundation, <http://www.filmpreservation.org> (accessed March 9, 2013).

and quickly escaped East Berlin. After several escapes, Ulbricht decided to extend the wall. The guards placed barbed-wire on roofs of buildings near the wall and planted mines along the rural section of the wall. Although this film contained scenes of refugees escaping into West Berlin, it was not produced for an American audience. Films made by the USIA could only be viewed outside of the United States.⁴³

In 1962, Americans both read about conflict with the Berlin Wall and viewed instructional films produced by the United States Department of Defense. One example is a documentary on Checkpoint Charlie. In *U.S. Army in Berlin: Checkpoint Charlie* (1962), the audience sees Lieutenant Bainbridge, from Detroit, Michigan. He emphasizes that the military is combat ready for any attacks by the East German *Vopos* (another name for the People's Police). Bainbridge calls the police "hardened Communists" who enforce their ideology. The narrator asked the lieutenant what the *Vopos* have done to American soldiers. Bainbridge replies, they "often have thrown rocks at us, gas grenades, and squirted us with fire hoses."⁴⁴ He reassures viewers that American soldiers are prepared to face any situation. The narrator introduces Peter Erlich, a student of Berlin's Free University. Erlich says that all West Berliners despise the wall and do not want American soldiers to leave the city. Erlich told viewers, "When the American soldier [leaves] West Berlin, the town is lost for the free world." He argues that if Berlin falls, the free world succumbs to world communism. Erlich's statement agrees with Kennedy's July 1961 speech. Americans must understand that their family members are protecting freedom for

⁴³ United States Information Agency, *The Wall*, 1962; The wall became a complex section of barbed-wire, guards, and concrete walls topped with broken glass. The U.S. government did not want to propagandize its citizens. That is why USIA films were released outside of the United States.

⁴⁴ United States Department of Defense, *U.S. Army in Berlin: Checkpoint Charlie*, 1962 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration); The East German Police are called the *Volkspolizei* (People's Police) or *Vopos*.

the United States and West Berlin. Americans learn that the *Vopos* suffer from desertion. Bainbridge states that the East German government has trouble with *Vopos* defecting into West Berlin. In response, East Germany sends guards indoctrinated from childhood.⁴⁵

President Kennedy's 1963 visit boosted morale in West Berlin. The United States Information Agency compiled a report on the media response to Kennedy's visit and produced the film, *The Five Cities of June*. The USIA reported that Kennedy's visit to West Berlin was a success, and it demonstrated that the United States would keep its promise of protection. West Germans believed that Kennedy would not compromise with the Soviet Communists. They were ecstatic about Kennedy identifying himself as a Berliner. The report stated that the "West German public opinion was left in no doubt as to the certainty of US promises to stand by its pledges." West Germans were reassured that the United States would not hand West Berlin over to the GDR. In *The Five Cities of June*, actor Charlton Heston's introduction includes a line that connected the five cities together (Rome, a secret location in the Soviet Union, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, a village in South Vietnam, and West Berlin).⁴⁶ Heston said, "God made the days, man made the calendar, and the five cities made June 1963." The last half of the film was devoted to West Berlin. It began with a view of the wall. According to Heston, East Germans faced three barriers to freedom in West Berlin—guards, barbed-wire, and a concrete wall. The Berlin Wall was the second wall built to keep a nation in and isolated from the world. Normally,

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ United States Information Agency, "Western European Reaction to President Kennedy's Trip," Research and Reference Service, Department and Agencies Series (Boston, MA: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library), 5, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-091-010.aspx> (accessed March 30, 2013); United States Information Agency, *The Five Cities of June*, 1963 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration); Charlton Heston was a famous actor in the 1950s and 1960s. He played in several movies such as *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), and *Ben-Hur* (1959).

walls were built to keep out enemies, not contain people. Heston said, “On the other side of this wall are millions of people who aren’t going anywhere.” The film included crosses that symbolized locations where East Germans died while escaping from communism. Each cross represented a life taken by the Communists. Heston highlighted Kennedy’s visit to West Berlin. In the film, West Berliners wave from apartment windows and shout at the motorcade. Meanwhile, East Berlin remained silent with few people in the streets. The film emphasized the somber environment of East Berlin. Heston informed audiences that East German guards could shoot another guard if he fled toward the wall. President Kennedy loved this film and praised Edward Murrow, head of the USIA, for allowing its creation. Kennedy liked how Walter de Hoog focused the West Berlin visit around his identification as a Berliner. His brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy also praised the film and showed it to his visitors.⁴⁷

Dulles was aware of the USIA radio stations, but she didn’t discuss the films in her memoir and personal papers. The one film Dulles discussed in later years was the *Tunnel*, a special program which aired on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) television stations in December 1962. In 1962, NBC journalist Piers Anderton approached his superiors at the Berlin News Bureau with the idea of funding a group of German and Italian university students to construct an underground tunnel beneath the Berlin Wall. Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) partnered with NBC during the early stages, but later abandoned the project.⁴⁸ Several efforts had been made to dig tunnels, but previous tunnels were met with disaster or early discovery by East German police. NBC teamed up with a local film company to own the film rights for the tunnel. In exchange for film rights, the network provided \$150,000 (50,000 *Deutsche Marks*) for

⁴⁷ Scott Simmons, *The Wall Notes*.

⁴⁸ Eleanor Dulles, *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*, 70-72.

construction. The project was kept secret. Only the film production team on scene of the tunnel and the president of NBC knew about it. The three leaders of the tunnel project, Luigi Spina, Domenico Sesta, and Wolf Schroedtere, did have some experience with construction and tunnels. Spina was a civil engineer major while Schroedtere had experience in dealing with previous tunnels. They began digging the tunnel on May 9, 1962 and completed it in September. At least 24 East Germans escaped through the tunnel before water leaks flooded it.

Dulles recalled the battle that took place between NBC and the U.S. State Department over the film. NBC wanted to air the show on October 31, 1962, but State Department officials pressured them to delay it until December 1962. On the evening of December 10, Americans sat in front of their televisions and witnessed the struggle to escape communism. They saw each stage of the tunnel construction, the problems tunnel diggers faced, and the constant fear of being discovered by the East German Police. The tunnel diggers constantly monitored the stability of the tunnel and were concerned that it might cause the street above to collapse. This was in addition to the fear that East German police might hear them after the tunnel crossed under the Berlin Wall. Unlike the films produced by the USIA, *The Tunnel* was privately funded, but it had the same effect as the government funded films. It urged television viewers to continue supporting the fight of West Berliners against the communist threats.⁴⁹

During the 1950s and 1960s, Dulles's was successful with her use of soft power diplomacy. She used soft power diplomacy not only as a tool to remind Americans about the importance of West Berlin, but she also used it to bring new facilities to the city. West Berlin

⁴⁹Ibid., 70-72; "The Tunnel," NBC News, New York, NY: NBC Universal, 12/10/1962. Accessed August 1, 2017 from NBC Learn: <https://archives.nbclearn.com/portal/site/k-12/browse/?cuecard=62526> (accessed August 1, 2017), 1-10; "Tunnel 29: How NBC News Funded Big Breach of Berlin Wall," NBC News, New York, NY: NBC Universal, <https://www.nbcnews.com> (accessed August 1, 2017); President Kennedy and State Department officials were concerned that airing the show in late October would interfere with the Cuban Missile Crisis.

received the congress hall while Free University received a new medical school, library, and a new housing for students. With the publication of three books, Dulles was not ready for retirement. In fact, her transition from the State Department to academia only launched a new career for Dulles that expanded into the 1970s and 1980s. Her books exerted soft power diplomacy. They informed readers of divided Germany and encouraged officials to continue investing in West Berlin. Dulles reminded American and West German readers that the city remained a priority in the overall fight against communism. Dulles did not discuss the USIA and U.S. Department of Defense films in her books, but they supported her argument for West Berlin. She wanted the city to remain in the spotlight of American diplomacy, and the films helped accomplish this task. The films supported the arguments in her books and brought West Berlin's issues to life for international audiences. By the end of the 1960s, Dulles had become a well-known expert in American diplomacy and West German affairs. Although Dulles returned to academia in the 1960s, she remained an unofficial representative of America's promises to West Germans and West Berlin.

CHAPTER 4. A FOREVER FRIEND OF WEST BERLIN

In the 1970s and 1980s, Eleanor Dulles experienced a revival in her career. Most officials fade away from the public spotlight after leaving the civil service sector. However, this was not the case for Dulles. She devoted the last two decades of the Cold War researching and writing about West Berlin's past. Although Dulles left the State Department in 1962, she continued using soft power diplomacy. During the last two decades of the Cold War, Dulles's soft power transitioned into memory diplomacy. She represented past decisions made and America's commitment to protect West Berlin. To West Berliners, Dulles represented the city's recovery and how it learned to survive within the borders of Communist East Germany. Memory diplomacy also extended to the diplomatic career of her brother, John Foster Dulles. Dulles believed she was responsible for protecting his legacy.

Dulles and Memory Diplomacy

During the second half of her life, Eleanor Dulles experienced a renewal of her career. Instead of receiving another position at the State Department, Dulles became important because of her past contributions to the Cold War. The Cold War continued in the 1970s and 1980s, but it had been around long enough for leaders to begin reflecting on its origins and past events. Not only did Dulles represent the early years of the Cold War, but she was part of the path West Berlin had taken after 1945. West German and West Berlin officials never forgot her contributions to the city and invited Dulles for numerous events. In a sense, Dulles participated in memory diplomacy. Memory diplomacy is a study of public memory and the remembrance of decisions made in foreign policy. Historian Brian Etheridge claims that memory studies can be used to examine the influence of diplomats, such as Dulles, in shaping the memory of an event and how nations commemorate an event. Memory diplomacy is a study of public diplomacy

which consists of hard power and soft power. Dulles participated in memory diplomacy because of her soft power, which is a component of public diplomacy. In Dulles's life, the Cold War had not concluded, but she was a representative of past diplomatic events and the ongoing debate of communism versus democracy. In Dulles, West Berliners concentrated on an economic recovery that promoted democracy and fought against communism. Memory diplomacy raises questions of what people remember about an event. Do they remember only the positive aspects of an event and leave out negative facts? Memory diplomacy can also be related to the use of psychology in studying American diplomacy. Scholars use psychological theories to study how American officials perceived the world and why they made decisions in certain situations. In Dulles's case, she represented the legacy of the decisions made regarding not only the fight against Soviet communism after the Second World War, but also how the United States approached postwar recovery in West Germany and West Berlin. She represented a legacy of past interactions by American officials, such as her brother Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, in the development of West Germany, and how decisions evolved with the Cold War. Events which celebrated the past did not acknowledge the use of propaganda in the Cold War. Propaganda had been used by both sides during the early Cold War. The United States not only launched propaganda campaigns to defame communism in East Berlin, but also organized campaigns to promote West Germany to the American public. The American public needed to see why the United States should maintain a military presence in the city and why it sent funds for the city's recovery. Dulles was aware of the propaganda used in promoting the importance of West Berlin. As indicated by Etheridge, policymakers had "to convince Americans that the new Federal Republic was emerging as a dependable ally of the United States." Instead of remembering the propaganda wars between Radio in the American Sector (RIAS) and radio in

East Berlin, or days surrounding the construction of the Berlin Wall, Dulles contributed to the expansion of Berlin's Free University, introduced American companies into the city, and served as a direct line to the United States State Department. Her career was also acknowledged by American officials in the 1970s and 1980s. American officials, such as President Ronald Reagan, asked Dulles to represent the U.S. at events in West Berlin. One component of memory diplomacy Dulles embraced was the legacy of her two brothers, John Foster and Allen Welsh Dulles. Although she pointed out John Foster's efforts to control her life, Dulles felt she had to protect her brothers' legacy in American diplomatic history. Not only did Dulles consider herself to be a consultant of her brother's career, but also the protector of it. That is why Dulles was not afraid to point out errors in books that were written about her family.¹

Forever Friend of Berlin

West Berlin experienced a lot of changes in the 1970s and 1980s. Although the wall decreased the flow of East German refugees into the city, West Berlin remained an island in the middle of a communist state. Tension had decreased after 1961, but the presence of being in the middle of a communist nation was still a threat to the city. Dulles had encouraged American and West German companies to open factories in West Berlin in the 1950s, but the city experienced population issues. While young West Germans attended Free University, many of them did not remain in the city after graduation. During the 1970s, a quarter of West Berlin's German population was over the age of sixty-five. In addition to a population drain, West Berlin officials faced challenges in bringing more jobs to the city. Historian Frederick Taylor asserted,

¹ Brian Etheridge, "The Desert Fox, Memory Diplomacy, and the German Question in Early Cold War America," *Diplomatic History* vol. 32, no. 2 (April, 2008): 207-238; Etheridge, *Enemies to Allies* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky: 2016), 3-4, 65-66; Richard Immerman, "Psychology," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, eds. Michael Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 106-115.

“Manufacturing industries, including electrical equipment, machine-tools and the garment business, suffered from the unreliability and expense of the transit routes.” West Berlin had only one main transit route to West Germany, and businesses were limited on what could be manufactured in West Berlin. Businesses could not build military equipment in the city. West Berlin had just reached full employment in 1961, but the wall created a large shortage of workers. In response to the population drain, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) offered subsidies for native Germans and businesses to locate in West Berlin. The subsidies included tax breaks for businesses and income tax reductions for native Germans who lived in the city. West Germans who moved to the city referred to the government subsidies as “the bribe they got for taking the risk of living on a tiny island in the big Red sea.” The West German government relocated some of its federal agencies from the capital of Bonn to West Berlin. To decrease the worker shortage, West Berlin was granted permission to import guest workers from Turkey.²

Differences in East and West Berlin remained during the 1970s and 1980s. West Germany continued subsidies in West Berlin, and the city remained dependent on outside assistance. Some West Germans believed threats on the city had ended with the wall in 1961, and they criticized the city’s dependence on government assistance from West Germany. Meanwhile, East Berlin basically remained the same during the 1970s and 1980s. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) made the city its capital and restored buildings such as the German Royal Library and the Royal Arsenal, but much of the city remained economically stagnant. The communist government, under Erich Honecker, allowed West Germans to visit East Berlin, but they had to go through the stringent checkpoints at the Berlin Wall. East Germans sixty-five and older could travel to West Berlin and West Germany. Honecker lifted bans such as the one

² Frederick Taylor, *The Berlin Wall: A World Divided, 1961-1989* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006), 356-360; David Clay Large, *Berlin* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 463-464.

which forbade East Germans from watching western television stations. However, the communist regime continued its investment in the Berlin Wall. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the wall had evolved into a complex of barbed wire, concrete, and guard towers. Although it had become a border marker, the Berlin Wall served as reminder of the Cold War and what could happen to West Berlin. This was the state of the city when Dulles visited it during the 1980s.³

In May 1980, a section of the roof on the Berlin congress hall collapsed during a conference. The disaster injured five people and killed one journalist. The congress hall had served as a symbol of America's assistance for the city after the Second World War, and it represented advances in construction during the 1950s. American architect Hugh Stubbins designed the concrete roof to be free standing without any supports in the center of the congress hall. The arched roof had two supports on each side and included steel cables (tendons) that were embedded in the concrete roof. Over time, water penetrated the concrete and corroded the cables, which led to the collapse in 1980. The German Office of the Public Prosecutor did not charge the architect or construction firm for the collapse, but West Berlin lawmakers debated over the future of the congress hall. Two years later in 1983, West Berlin officials had not decided whether to renovate the building or demolish it. Since she had helped build the congress hall, Dulles was concerned over its future. According to James Tobin, an officer from the State Department's Berlin Desk, officials in the Berlin Senate (*Senat*) were concerned about the costs of restoring the congress hall. Some in the Berlin Senate believed the city did not have enough money to restore and maintain the structure. Using her soft power, Dulles contacted Tobin and requested a meeting with a member of the Berlin Senate, Eberhard Diepgen. Dulles reminded

³ David Large, *Berlin*, 497-499.

Diepgen and other officials of building's importance in the city's history. The congress hall represented America's promise to invest in the city, and 1957 International Building Conference, which inspired the building's design, had made a big impact on West Berlin's architecture. The conference influenced architects to design modern buildings for the city. The congress hall had provided a venue for conferences on science and technology. Such conferences helped attract people to West Berlin. Despite concerns, the Berlin Senate and the FRG designated funds for it.⁴

Instead of demolishing it, the congress hall underwent a massive renovation which included a newly designed concrete roof. The renovation was completed in time for the seven hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Berlin in 1987. In honor of the city's anniversary, West Berlin invited Dulles for the rededication of the congress hall. Dulles represented the city's past and postwar recovery. She oversaw its economic recovery and helped raise money for the congress hall during the 1950s. Now, she had the opportunity to rededicate it for future generations of Germans. Her participation in the rededication ceremony not only reflected on soft power, but it was also a part of memory diplomacy. Her influence shaped the memory of the congress hall and its purpose for the city. On May 9, 1987, Dulles, along with architect Hugh Stubbins, West Berlin Mayor Eberhard Diepgen, and United States Senator Phil Gramm of Texas gave speeches at the ceremony. "It represented," proclaimed Dulles of the congress hall, "a long and arduous work to restore the city and the community that was to become the present-day Berlin." The congress hall represented recovery after the Second World War and the cooperation of two nations, the United States and West Germany. This cooperation continued in 1987 and Dulles challenged the city to remain vibrant for a next generation of Germans. Dulles informed West Berliners and Mayor Diepgen, "The vitality of your community must be seen and

⁴ Eberhard Diepgen was elected Mayor of West Berlin in 1984.

heard around the world.” Dulles’s visit to West Berlin was organized by United States Minister John Kornblum of the U.S. Diplomatic Mission at Berlin. Dulles had an extensive trip itinerary, but she set aside time to meet with young people at the mission. After the trip, Dulles received a letter from Ken Pitterle of the State Department’s Berlin Desk. Pitterle sent Dulles photographs from the trip and thanked her for meeting with the staff at the U.S. Mission in West Berlin. Ken Pitterle replied, “We at the Mission very much appreciated your support.” Dulles’s attendance at the rededication ceremony demonstrated the affection West Berliners still had for her in the late 1980s.⁵

The rededication of the congress hall was followed by visits from dignitaries such as Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain, French President François Mitterand, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Their appearances were a part of celebrations that included performances by Bob Dylan and Stevie Wonder. This occurred in West Berlin, but East Berlin also had celebration events. During President Ronald Reagan’s visit in June 1987, he remarked on the anniversary of the city and gave his famous speech at Brandenburg Gate. President Reagan opened his speech at Tempelhof Airport with the following remark, “I’m especially pleased to be here today because—well, it’s not often that I get to go to a birthday party for something that’s older than I am.” Like Dulles, Reagan’s message was for the future of Germans in West Berlin. The city had overcome major obstacles over the last forty-two years, with its main obstacle being communism. Although the city remained divided in 1987, Reagan reminded the audience, “Like

⁵ Rosemarie Helmerich and A. Zunkel, “Partial Collapse of the Berlin Congress Hall on May 21, 1980,” *Engineering Failure Analysis* 43 (December 11, 2013) *Science Direct*, <https://www.sciencedirect.com> (accessed June 12, 2019): 108-112; “West Berlin Hall Collapses; Weakened Girders Suspected,” May 22, 1980, *New York Times*, A3; James Tobin, “Letter to Dulles,” May 5, 1983, in *Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers*, 1-2; “Reconstruction of the *Kongreßhalle*, May 9, 1987,” Ceremony Program, *ELD Papers*, 4-5; Dulles, “Remarks by ELD on Rededication of Berlin Congress Hall,” May 9, 1987, in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; Ken Pitterle, “Letter to Dulles,” September 11, 1987, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

America, Berlin is a place of great energy. We see our own hopes and ideals mirrored in the energy and courage of Berliners and draw strength from our joint efforts here.” Reagan came to celebrate the city’s anniversary, but he also came with a message for East Berliners. After viewing the Berlin Wall from a balcony at the Reichstag, the president traveled to the Brandenburg Gate and gave some remarks. It was this speech in which Reagan confronted Berlin’s future and challenged Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, “[I]f you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” President Reagan’s speech reflected on the crumbling GDR and its determination to maintain the wall in the late 1980s. Honecker tried to compete with Reagan’s visit to East Berlin by inviting Gorbachev to the fortieth anniversary of East Germany’s founding in 1989. Gorbachev’s visit did not resolve East Berlin’s economic struggles.⁶

Dulles not only advocated for the importance of American and West German relations, but she also promoted study abroad programs for high school students. One organization Dulles promoted was Youth for Understanding. John Eberly, an American minister, founded Youth for Understanding in 1951 with the purpose of bringing a group of Austrian and German teenagers to experience high school in the United States for one year. Eberly not only wanted to encourage Austrian and German teenagers to experience American culture and take it back to their nation, but he also envisioned Youth for Understanding as a program that would help improve the image of both nations after the Second World War. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Youth for

⁶ James M. Markham, “East Side, West Side: The two Berlins mark 750 years with Japanese fireworks, historic restorations, and rock concerts,” May 10, 1987, in *New York Times*, XX 15, 30; “Ronald Reagan, “Remarks on the 750th Anniversary of the Founding of Berlin,” *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/speeches> (accessed June 14, 2019); Reagan, “Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, June 12, 1987,” *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*.

Understanding chapters were established in several nations and it became an international student exchange program. In 1971, Dulles traveled to California to campaign for the Youth for Understanding exchange program. While in California, she was interviewed by *The San Francisco Examiner* and the *Oakland Tribune*. “She manages simultaneously to be a dead ringer for her late brother, John Foster Dulles, even to the duplicate crooked smile,” wrote Journalist Caroline Drewes, “and yet maintain her femininity.” Dulles spoke at an event in California which promoted the need for volunteers to open their homes to foreign exchange students. Dulles encouraged families to consider hosting teenagers from Latin America over the next year. In addition to hosting children from Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, Youth for Understanding also recruited American teenagers for study abroad programs. Dulles, a member of the Youth for Understanding board, pressed for more American students to be in study abroad programs during the school year. At the time, “1,500 American students” participated in summer programs, but fewer in programs during the school year. Dulles did not leave out her concern about America’s relations with European countries such as Austria and Germany. Dulles found out that Youth for Understanding did not have an exchange program with Austria and inquired about it. Although Austrians were included in the first group of students Youth for Understanding brought to the United States, the Austrian government had not established an official chapter. She asked Philip Yasinski, executive director of Youth for Understanding, why Austria was not on the list of countries for exchange programs. Yasinski sent a reply letter on January 9, 1976. Yasinski claimed the organization did not contact Austria, but it currently did not have enough funds to expand its student exchange program to the nation. Yasinski replied, “We were surprised and disappointed to learn that ‘Austria cannot be included in the Youth for Understanding students exchange program at the present time.’” However, Yasinski asked

Eleanor to contact the Austrian embassy and see if they would be willing to launch an exchange program for American students. Although Dulles inquired about the possibility of Austria forming a Youth for Understanding chapter, it was not established in Austria until March 2005.⁷

Dulles participated in memory diplomacy by serving as an indirect consultant for the State Department and a representative of America's commitment to West Berlin. In 1984, President Ronald Reagan requested for Dulles to represent him at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Berlin Airlift. A request was sent to Dulles from the State Department with the addition of a trip itinerary. According to the itinerary, Dulles would arrive on Thursday, May 10 and stay at the Hotel Intercontinental. On Friday, Dulles would tour Checkpoint Charlie, the Berlin Wall, and the Marienfelde Refugee Camp. There were no plans for Dulles to speak on the tour. The Federation of German American Clubs informed Dulles that she would be awarded the Lucius D. Clay Medal in 1985. Federation President Hilda Rittelmeyer described the award as "the Federation's highest award for outstanding promotion of German-American relations." Dulles received the invitation in 1984 and the event was scheduled for German American Friendship Week in May 1985. Dulles accepted the invitation and agreed to give a speech at the award ceremony.⁸

Other invitations included the anniversary of Berlin's Free University. In 1988, the President of Free University, Dieter Heckelman, invited Dulles to the fortieth anniversary of the university's founding. Heckelman wrote, "It will always stay in our minds what an important

⁷ Robin Orr, "A Dulles Pleads for Youth Homes," "World of Women," December 19, 1971, *Oakland Tribune*, 2-S; Caroline Drewes, "Dr. Dulles' Campaign for Youth," *San Francisco Examiner*, Tuesday, December 14, 1971, 25; Philip Yasinski, "Letter to Eleanor Dulles," January 9, 1976, in *ELD Papers*, 1; "History of Youth for Understanding Austria Club," *Youth for Understanding Austria*, <https://verein.yfu.at/geschichte> (accessed July 20, 2019).

⁸ Linda Mysliwly, "Letter to Dulles about President Ronald Reagan's Request," May 1984, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

and helpful role you played for the Free University during the time of its building up.” The university offered to help with travel expenses if Dulles agreed to attend the event. The invitation coincided with the John F. Kennedy Symposium that would take place in December 1988. Dulles accepted Dr. Dieter Heckelman’s offer and agreed to attend the symposium. Dulles received an invitation to attend “The Legacy of the Marshall Plan – Forty Years Later” in California. The event conflicted with her trip to West Berlin and Dulles had to decline the invitation. Dulles’s participation in the fortieth ceremony of Free University represented soft power and memory diplomacy. Over the years, Dulles used her soft power to help expand Free University and she maintained a close connection to it. The anniversary gave Dulles the opportunity to celebrate her contributions to the university and participate in shaping West Berlin’s memory of American diplomacy.⁹

Dulles not only observed the recovery of postwar West Berlin and the presence of the Berlin Wall, but she lived to see the end of the Cold War for the city. When Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet Premier in the late 1980s, he inherited a nation suffering from stagflation and other economic issues. Gorbachev approached economic issues with two concepts: *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*. *Glasnost* slowly lifted censorship in the Soviet Union while *Perestroika* called for restructuring the economy. Both concepts brought ideas to Soviet satellite states such as East Germany. During the 1970s, West Germany and East Germany resumed trade relations, but West Germany recovered at a faster pace than East Germany. Instead of keeping up with industrial and technological progress, East Germany became indebted to foreign banks. Erich Honecker, Secretary of the East German Socialist Party, visited West Germany in September

⁹ Dieter Heckelman, “Invitation from Free University,” August 16, 1988, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Ken Pitterle, “Letter from Pitterle to Jim Williams,” November 14, 1988, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Charles Manatt, “Invitation for Dulles to attend fortieth anniversary of Marshall Plan,” November 17, 1988 in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Dulles, “Reply to Charles Manatt,” December 9, 1988, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

1987. Honecker's visit angered Communist leaders in Moscow because he did not ask Gorbachev for permission. In the late 1980s, the number of exit permit requests increased among young East Germans. This was encouraged by steps taken in neighboring countries in 1989. The Hungarian government removed barriers from its border in May and the ban on travel to Czechoslovakia was lifted in November. This encouraged East Germans to flee across the border into those countries. Meanwhile, the death nail for the Berlin Wall came in November 1989 and caught everyone by surprise. On the evening of November 9, a spokesman for the GDR announced changes to travel policies. It announced a slimlining of the travel request process. When questioned about the date the new law would go into effect, Günter Schabowski, the spokesman, believed the law took effect immediately after the announcement. The announcement was followed by East Germans flooding the checkpoint border at Bornholmer Strasse. The overwhelming crowd pressured East German soldiers to open the border. With no response from East German officials, Lieutenant-Colonel Harald Jäger opened the checkpoint. This marked the end of a divided Germany and the beginning of reunification. Dulles planned to visit West Germany for her ninety-fifth birthday and corresponded with former West Berlin Mayor Dietrich Stobbe. Stobbe replied to Dulles on August 5, 1990. In his reply, Stobbe informed Dulles he had been busily helping with German reunification and promised to contact the West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper for Dulles. Stobbe replied, "I have to apologize for not answering your letter dated February 21st. The breath-taking events here took all my time and I sincerely was not able to do the follow up of my mail." Papers in Dulles's collection do not indicate if she visited West Berlin in 1990, but she was no doubt excited about the fall of

communism and the beginning of German reunification. German reunification continued over the next decade.¹⁰

Protecting the Dulles Legacy

In 1978, Leonard Mosley, a British journalist and biographer, published a book titled *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network*. Mosley wrote a variety of books including biographies of United States General George C. Marshall, Aviator Charles Lindbergh, and the infamous Nazi Hermann Goering. Mosley thought his book would be praised by the Dulles family, but he received criticism instead of accolades. In the late 1970s, the only living family member of the Dulles family was Eleanor. John Foster died from cancer in 1959 and Allen Welsh had died in 1969. Mosley credited Dulles on the acknowledgement page. "I am especially grateful, first of all, to Eleanor Lansing Dulles herself," wrote Mosley. Mosley continued, "Both at her home in Washington, D.C., and at my home in south of France, she gave me many hours of her time and filled them with endlessly fascinating stories about her brothers and herself." Mosley met with Dulles several times and claimed that she had approved of his book manuscript, but Dulles responded to the book's publication with a barrage of criticism. Herbert Mitgang, a journalist for the *New York Times*, published an article in March 1978 about Dulles's accusations against the book. In "A Dulles Alleges 900 Errors in 'Dulles,'" Dulles claimed Mosley misinterpreted her comments and his book contained at least 900 errors. She also blasted the idea of her family having a political network. Dulles dismissed such an idea and insisted that she never conspired with her brothers to influence diplomatic relations during the Eisenhower presidency. Dulles had visited France and agreed to be interviewed by Mosley, but she felt duped by the author. Meanwhile, the

¹⁰ Frederick Taylor, *The Berlin Wall*, 388-395, 400-422; Dietrich Stobbe, "Reply to Dulles," August 5, 1990, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

book's publisher, James O. Wade of Dial Press, defended Mosley and said the book contained accurate information.¹¹

Dulles was infuriated by Mosley's account of her return to the United States after the First World War and of her marriage to Dr. David Blondheim. According to Mosley, Eleanor returned home after the war as a changed woman with characteristics of a Flapper. She rebelled against her strict parents. Dulles refuted, "And to say that I came back from France saying damn and wearing silk stockings is kind of almost sordid." Mosley highlighted issues that arose from her marriage to Blondheim. There were concerns because she was a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant and he was Jew. Mosley claimed that Allen and John Foster never invited Blondheim to their homes. Dulles rejected Mosley's account of Blondheim and said her brothers did invite him to their houses. Yes, they were critical of Blondheim, but "when they came to know David, in every case they liked him, and there was no sense of cold-shouldering." Dulles also felt betrayed by Mosley's opinion of John Foster Dulles. Dulles insisted Mosley never met her brothers and did not have the right to manipulate their emotions in his book. Dulles argued that both men were depicted as control freaks who made all the decisions for President Dwight D. Eisenhower. She credited Mosley for being a good fiction author, but horrible at non-fiction. Dulles had committed to forty hours of interviews with Mosley, but she attacked his research methods. Dulles criticized not only Mosley's accounts of her brothers, but she also castigated his research methods. She refuted that Mosley listened to taped interviews and did not have the opportunity to interview everyone mentioned in his book. "Now that means he got a frozen TV dinner of an interview," refuted Dulles, "[i]t was not the person responding to a question that he put." Mosley, according to Dulles, failed to discuss details of his book with her. Mosley never

¹¹ Leonard Mosley, *Dulles*, vii; Herbert Mitgang, "A Dulles Alleges 900 Errors in 'Dulles,'" March 9, 1978, *New York Times*, C 22.

mentioned that he was going to use “network” in his title, or his plans to include her in the book.¹²

On March 4, 1978, the *Washington Star* published an interview of Dulles by Anne Crutcher. The interview focused solely on Eleanor’s issues with Mosley’s book. In the book, Mosley claimed Dulles had close ties with West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Eleanor rejected his claim. She had met with Adenauer a few times, but she was not close friends with him. She had closer ties to Willy Brandt. When asked about Adenauer and Brandt, Eleanor replied, “Yes, I was close to Willy Brandt, but I was never as buddy-buddy with [Konrad] Adenauer as Mosley shows me to have been.” In addition to friendship claims, Dulles argued against Mosley’s suggestion that she had direct influence over foreign policy. Yes, she had influence in certain countries, but she was not a foreign policy maker. One final rebuke from Dulles was the Bay of Pigs invasion. She dismissed Mosley’s suggestion that John Foster Dulles had influenced the Bay of Pigs plan. He was on his deathbed in 1959 and did not have time to participate in covert planning. Mosley did not remain silent and responded with a defense of his book on March 12. Mosley defended his account of Dulles’s marriage plans and reiterated that John Foster Dulles was against the arrangement. Mosley replied, “Her final ambition in life was to make evident, not how she herself had been cheated out of her opportunities, but how her favorite brother, John Foster, had been misjudged by history.” Not only did he defend his account of Dulles’s rocky relationship with her brothers, but he also suggested Dulles was covering up the bullying she received from her brothers.¹³

¹² Eleanor Dulles, “Reminiscences of Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” *Columbia Oral History Project*, Undated, 6-7, 9, 11-12, 20-21.

¹³ Anne Crutcher, “Interview with Dulles,” March 4, 1978, *Washington Star*, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Leonard Mosley, “Letter to the Editor,” *Washington Star*, March 12, 1978, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-2.

John Foster's son, Father Avery Dulles, replied to Mosley's letter with criticism. Avery Dulles said he never proofed any quotes for Mosley's book and claimed that some of them were distorted. Father Dulles replied, "In his statements about me, my brother and my sister, I have found a dozen errors, some damaging and some inconsequential." Mosley replied to his letter and insisted Father Dulles was wrong. He did look over quotes before the book manuscript was sent to the publisher.¹⁴ Along with Father Avery Dulles, his niece, Ellen Dulles, sent a personal letter to Mosley. She accused Mosley of distorting the career history of her father, John Watson Foster Dulles, during the Second World War. John Watson Foster Dulles, insisted Ellen Dulles, moved to Mexico at the beginning of the war because of business dealings. He was not a college professor during the war. After the Second World War, he received a position at the University of Texas with a specialization in Latin American History. She asked Mosley to apologize to her father. Mosley responded to Ellen Dulles-Coelho's letter with a defense of his book. Mosley defended his research, but further questioned the reason Ellen's father moved to Mexico before the war. Mosley asked if Ellen's father wanted to avoid participating in the war. It is unclear who is telling the truth about John Watson Foster. He worked for the Hannah Mining Company in Mexico, but he also attended Arizona University in the early 1940s. John Watson Foster was within the age range to be drafted into military service, but it is unclear if he used his family name and privilege to avoid serving in the Second World War. The disagreement between Ellen Dulles-Coelho and Mosley was part of a larger dispute between Mosley and Dulles.¹⁵

¹⁴ Avery Dulles, "Avery Dulles Reply to Mosley," *Washington Star*, March 28, 1978, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1; Leonard Mosley, "Reply to Avery Dulles," *Washington Star*, April 3, 1978, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

¹⁵ Ellen Dulles-Coelho, "Letter to Leonard Mosley," March 27, 1978, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; Leonard Mosley, "Letter to Ellen Dulles-Coelho," April 6, 1978, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2.

In addition to his book on the Dulles family, Mosley published an article in *Esquire* magazine about Kim Philby and his thoughts of Allen Dulles. Kim Philby was a British intelligence officer and a Soviet spy in the early years of the Cold War. He fled to the Soviet Union in 1963 and lived out the rest of his life there. In 1978, Mosley sent a list of questions to Philby and Philby answered them. He asked Philby questions that ranged from his ties with Allen Dulles to his thoughts about the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Mosley claimed his article was the first time Philby, since he fled to Moscow, broke his silence about being a spy. Mosley wrote, “How he was persuaded to break his silence is a long and complicated story, and I am pledged to reveal only part of it.” After the Second World War, the British Foreign Intelligence Service sent Kim Philby to be a liaison to CIA. Philby first met Allen Dulles in Switzerland and later worked with him in Washington, D.C. When asked to describe Allen Dulles, Philby emphasized Allen Dulles had the reputation of being a “cloak and dagger” person. This trait, according to Kim Philby, “sank him finally, in the Bay of Pigs.” Other recollections included Allen Dulles’s love for women. Philby wrote, “he may have enjoyed a reputation for naughtiness. My own social contacts with him were mildly convivial, but stopped well short of the naughty.” He blamed Allen Dulles for his dismissal from the CIA in the early 1950s. After a botched plan where American and British troops were attacked in Albania in 1951, Allen Dulles and others accused Kim Philby of leaking plans to Soviet officials. The CIA planned to overthrow Albanian Prime Minister Enver Hoxha and the communist government in Albania. Dulles went after Philby and convinced CIA Director Walter Bedell Smith to dismiss him. The magazine article concluded with Kim Philby’s remarks on former U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Philby called President Eisenhower “an idle, ignorant, ungenerous old fraud.” Mosley mentioned his contact with Philby in the Dulles book. Eleanor Dulles did not mention

the magazine article in her correspondence, but it no doubt added to her anger over the book. The magazine article was critical of her brother Allen and his career in the CIA.¹⁶

Despite attacks from the Dulles family, Mosley's book received positive reviews. Richard Ullman disagreed with Mosley's use of sources, but he also praised the book for revealing Allen Dulles's importance in Cold War espionage. Ullman agreed that Mosley's book contained errors and heavily depended on interviews. The book, Ullman stated, had a writing style which appealed to a celebrity magazine, not serious scholarship. Ullman believed Eleanor was the main subject of the book. Although she may have been overshadowed by her two brothers, she had an important part in foreign relations. He wrote, "It is very much Eleanor's view of the record that fills his book." But Mosley never defined what he meant by a "family network." Ullman wanted to know the reasons why Mosley used the phrase. Lance Morrow, a reviewer for *Time* magazine, believed Mosley was very critical of John Foster Dulles. He said, "Foster is the Dulles whom Mosley clearly likes the least." He used awkward quotes to discuss John Foster's appearances before Congressional committees. Dulles's criticism of Mosley's biography did not hinder book sales. His biography became a highly referenced source for scholars who researched American diplomacy and the Dulles family.¹⁷

Although Mosley defended his book and research methods, Eleanor insisted on the last word and sought legal counsel. In May and June 1978, Dulles corresponded with Arthur Dean, a lawyer at Sullivan and Cromwell in New York City. She inquired about the possibility of taking Mosley to court for libel. Dean informed Dulles there was no way to seek libel for her deceased

¹⁶ Leonard Mosley, "Letters from a Spy," *Esquire* vol. 89 (March 28, 1978): 48-52.

¹⁷ Richard Ullman, "Review of *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network*," February 26, 1978, *New York Times Review of Books*, 7; Lance Morrow, "Cold War's First Family," February 27, 1978, *Time Magazine*, 80.

brother, John Foster. She wanted to go after Mosley for his “so called” false accusations and portrayals of her brother. However, Arthur Dean was concerned about Mosley’s account of John Foster’s time at the firm. Mosley accused John Foster Dulles of dealings with Germans before the Second World War. Dean said the firm did not have an office in Germany and only assisted German Lawyers with loans offered by the Dawes Plan. The firm assisted Brown Brothers with underwriting loans for the Hamburg American Corporation. Dulles responded to Mosley’s columns with one of her own in the June/July edition of *The American Spectator*. In an article titled “The Historian as Gossip,” Dulles criticized Mosley’s biography and suggested that it did not deserve to be classified as a history book. She questioned Mosley’s access to archives and insisted that he never gained access to the Allen Dulles papers at Princeton University. Dulles stressed that Mosley’s book should not be categorized as history and dismissed sources in his appendixes as vague. In June 1978, Dean sent a letter to Dulles. He wrote, “I understand that the book is not selling very well[,] and I would not want to do anything which would increase its sales.” The book was experiencing poor sales, but he cautioned Dulles on writing more articles about it. Dulles accepted Dean’s advice and never filed a libel suit against Mosley. However, she never forgot what Mosley did to her and remained critical of him for the rest of her life.¹⁸

Dulles and Revival of Her Career

Since Dulles could not take Mosley to court and win, she decided to publish a memoir of her life. Dulles’s papers indicate she had interest in writing it as early as 1977 when she contacted Anita Diamant, a literary agent in New York City. Dulles tried contacting other agents but could not peak their interests in her manuscript ideas. A friend told Dulles about Diamant.

¹⁸ Arthur Dean, “Letter to Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” May 10, 1978, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; Eleanor Lansing Dulles, “The Historian as Gossip,” June/July 1978, *American Spectator*, copy in *ELD Papers*, 19-21; Arthur Dean, “Letter to Eleanor Lansing Dulles,” June 1, 1978, in *ELD Papers*, 1-2.

Dulles sent Anita Diamant outlines of her projects on Dean Acheson and Dulles, her autobiography, and a fiction novel. “I am sending approximately 450 pages or a little over half of the text of my autobiography,” Dulles wrote to Diamant in July 1977. Anita Diamant replied with interest and informed Dulles the manuscript needed to be decreased from 800 pages and wanted an edited chapter. In the meantime, Diamant contacted publishers to gage their interest in Dulles’s autobiography.¹⁹

Published in 1980, *Chances of a Lifetime: A Memoir* was a not only a personal account of her life, but also a reflection of what Dulles accomplished as a diplomat for West Berlin. “Assuming a degree of sympathy,” Dulles wrote in the Preface, “I have not labeled my mistakes, nor have I underscored my accomplishments—most of the facts are there for others to judge.” Dulles’s memoir did not acknowledge Mosley’s book, but she provided a few statements which are directed at the book. One major component of Dulles’s memoir is her independence. Unlike Mosley’s accounts of John Foster and Allen Welsh having a strong influence on her career, Dulles repeatedly stressed her independence. Instead of opposition to her marriage, Dulles emphasized support from family members. According to Dulles, John Foster gave her a dozen reasons why the marriage would not succeed in a letter, but Dulles dismissed his concerns. Dulles believed she and David Blondheim would have a successful marriage. Instead of focusing on John Foster’s dominance after Blondheim’s suicide, Dulles focused on the birth of her son and continuing her career. This same independence was emphasized in several chapters. “Many people jump to the conclusion that my brothers, Foster and Allen, helped me with my

¹⁹ Dulles, “Letter to Anita Diamant,” June 27, 1977, in *ELD Papers*, Box 19, 1; Anita Diamant, “Reply from Diamant to Dulles,” June 28, 1977, in *ELD Papers*, Box 19, 1; Dulles, “Letter to Diamant,” July 5, 1977, in *ELD Papers*, Box 19, 1; Diamant, “Letter to Dulles,” August 1, 1977, *ELD Papers*, 1.

career,” Dulles insisted, “The reverse is true.” Dulles earned her job and did not receive it because of having brothers in higher positions of government.²⁰

Dulles’s memoir was also published in West Germany under the title *Here is Eleanor: An American Economist in Postwar Europe (Hier ist Eleanor: Als Amerikanische Wirtschaftsexpertin im Nachkriegseuropa)*. In 1982, Eleanor embarked on a book tour in West Germany. In the months prior to her visit, German newspapers and magazines published articles about Eleanor Dulles and current issues. The *Berliner Morgenpost* and the *Bildzeitung* announced Dulles’s upcoming book tour on November 3, 1982. The *Berliner Morgenpost* introduced Dulles as “Mother of Congress Hall” (*Mutter der Kongreßhalle*) who planned to sign her new book. According to the schedule, book signings were held in Berlin, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, and Munich. The book tour was part of a trip which took place in November. Dulles boarded a train in Frankfurt and arrived in Freiburg on November 14, 1982. Dulles had a comprehensive schedule for the visit which included visiting West German officials. Upon her arrival, Dulles was greeted by a representative of the company which published her book, Herder Verlag, and Mrs. Angelika Mosich of the Bavarian State Chancellery Visitors’ Service. This began her trip of meeting people and autographing copies of *Here is Eleanor*. One German newspaper published a photo of Eleanor signing books in Darmstadt that was titled, “Mother of Berlin introduced newest book at the America House.” Dulles grinned at the camera as she signed books for eager readers. An official program was published of Dulles’s visit by the Bavarian state government. On Thursday, November 18, Dulles traveled to Munich by train and was welcomed by Carroll Brown, U.S. Consul General in Munich. The next day, Dulles autographed books at Herder bookshop in the *Promenadeplatz* (Promenade Place). The

²⁰ Eleanor Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, vi-vii, 137-138, 228-229.

publication of Dulles's autobiography and the book tour indicated the importance she held in the history of West Berlin. Not only was her book attractive for American readers, but German readers also wanted to know more about Dulles.²¹

After publication in the United States by Prentice-Hall, Dulles received several reviews of her memoir. Eve Auchincloss submitted a positive review of Dulles's book in the *New York Times Book Review*. Auchincloss praised Dulles's memoir as a work that revealed how she carved a career in a man's world. Auchincloss said, "It took all the male chauvinism of the State Department to keep her down in a middle-level desk job." It did not prevent Dulles from "doing a splendid job looking after her baby, a battered industrial capital getting over a war." Auchincloss heaped praises on Dulles's book, but she also pointed out the stance she took on her brothers. Instead of criticizing John Foster and Allen Welsh, she simply left it out of the book.²²

In *Chances of a Lifetime*, Dulles describes life experiences from her perspective. She includes events that were not in Mosley's book, but it is evident that Dulles was selective in what she included in her memoir. Auchincloss was correct about Dulles's portrayal of her brothers. Throughout *Chances of a Lifetime*, Dulles was very positive about her brothers and never criticized them. Dulles discussed the discrimination she experienced in the State Department, but she never included John Foster's attempt to get her out of the State Department. Instead of discussing the pressure Dulles faced from her brother within the first year at the Berlin Desk,

²¹ Dulles, *Hier ist Eleanor: Als amerikanische Wirtschaftsexpertin im Nachkriegseuropa*. Vorwort Richard von Weizsäcker. Herder Verlag, 1982; "Programme for the Visit of Mrs. Eleanor Dulles USA to Stuttgart," November 14-18, 1982, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; "Program for the visit to Freistaat Bayern," November 18-21, 1982, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-2; "'Mother of Berlin' signierte: Eleanor Dulles stellte ihr neuestes Buch im Amerika-Haus vor," November 12, 1982, unknown newspaper, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1; "Menschlich Gesehen: Mutter der Kongreßhalle," *Berliner Morgenpost*, November 3, 1982, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1; "Stadt-gespräch," *Bildzeitung*, November 3, 1982, copy in *ELD Papers*, 3.

²² Eve Auchincloss, "Loyal Sister," April 20, 1980, *New York Times Book Review*, 7, 26.

Dulles wrote about her conversations with the secretary of state on West Berlin's problems and receiving approval from him to travel to the city. Dulles was selective in the chapter about her marriage to Blondheim. Dulles wrote about the issues she and Blondheim experienced before they married, but she did not call his death in 1934 a suicide. Dulles included Blondheim's death at the end of the chapter and traces his steps on March 19, but she referred to the tragedy as "David's sudden death." Dulles was more forthcoming in the Columbia Oral History Project session than she was in her memoir. In the Columbia Oral History Project manuscripts, Dulles referred to Blondheim's death as a suicide and discussed John Foster's efforts to remove her from the State Department.²³

The success of *Chances* encouraged Dulles to request a reprint of it. Cherry Weiner, a literary agent for Dulles, reached out to publishers such as Louisiana State University Press. In January 1984, Beverly Jarrett of Louisiana State University Press sent a letter to Cherry Weiner. Beverly Jarrett received the manuscript samples and was interested in reviewing the whole book, but LSU Press had no interest in printing a second edition of the memoir. Jarrett replied, "We are not able to consider a reprint of the memoir. Our activities in reprinting out of print books are quite limited." Another letter was sent to Dulles on March 14, 1984. Dulles submitted her manuscript on the book on Acheson and Dulles. Beverly Jarrett responded that Dulles's manuscript was intriguing, but they believed it was a conflict of interest with Dulles being related to one of the subjects, John Foster Dulles. Jarrett said it was not academic material and suggested Dulles seek out a commercial printer for the manuscript. In her reply to Jarrett's rejected letter, Dulles wrote, "Too bad we can't do business." Although Dulles failed to get a publisher to reprint her autobiography, Dulles succeeded in what she wanted to accomplish with

²³ Eleanor Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 135-145, 228-240.

the book. Dulles revealed her life story to readers more aware of her soft power influence at the State Department and West Berlin.²⁴

Dulles's use of memory diplomacy extended to the preservation of her brothers' legacy. During the 1970s, diplomatic scholars sought interviews with Dulles. They wanted to know more about her brothers and her opinions on American diplomacy. Dulles helped shape the memory of her brothers and gave her perspective of Cold War events. Drs. Fred Greenstein and Richard Immerman contacted Dulles in 1979. They were researching the Eisenhower presidency and John Foster Dulles. They found Dulles's comments on Mosley's book in the Columbia University Oral History project and wanted to arrange a personal interview with Dulles. Both scholars knew about Dulles's criticism of Mosley's book and reassured Dulles their book would not have any exaggerations. Richard Immerman wrote, "You might note my reference to your critique of the Mosley book, and in general the shoddy manner in which historians have used the Dulles Oral History Project. I think you will see I try to use the Oral Histories in a different way." Dulles was interviewed by J.H. Kalicki in September 1970. Kalicki researched the diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States during the Eisenhower administration. Dulles discussed her brother's connections to diplomacy with China before the Second World War. Dulles said recent criticism of the Vietnam War and the Pentagon papers twisted the perception of her brother and diplomacy in Asia. John Foster Dulles traveled to China on a personal trip in the late 1930s and met with Chiang Kai-shek. She never visited China before the 1970 interview, but Kalicki asked Dulles to discuss the attitudes of John Foster and Allen Welsh on postwar policymaking in Asia. The three nations Kalicki focused on

²⁴ Beverly Jarrett, "Letter from Louisiana State University Press to Cherry Weiner," January 12, 1984, in *ELD Papers*, 1; "Jarrett, "Letter from LSU Press to Dulles," March 14, 1984, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Dulles, "Reply letter to LSU Press," March 19, 1984, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

in his interview was Indochina, Korea, and Taiwan. Dulles recalled her brothers approached issues in Asia from the viewpoint of combatting communism. They saw the Soviet Union as the true culprit. At the same time, they acknowledged that communist China could become a major power in Asia. Dulles said her brothers did not consider Asia to be a major area of concern in the early Cold War. Kalicki asked if the Dulles brothers wanted to separate China from the Soviet Union in terms of diplomatic relations. Dulles said, "I don't think we thought of that as a fruitful area of American diplomacy." John Foster Dulles visited South Korea before the outbreak of war. When North Korea attacked South Korea, her brother had negative comments about U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur's staff. John Foster claimed MacArthur's staff did not react quickly and inform the general of the attack. When asked about China's response to the Korean War, Dulles said no one really considered China to be an instigator. They just viewed it as interference coming from the Soviet Union. When asked about John Foster's opinion of Truman's response in Korea, Dulles said her brother felt Truman's response to the war was a narrow-minded approach. Truman followed Secretary of State Dean Acheson who knew little about Asia. Although Dulles was unable to get a publisher to reprint her autobiography, she remained a resource for scholars who sought information on the Dulles family.²⁵

John Foster Dulles Centennial and Airport Controversy

Eleanor Dulles's career was celebrated in the 1980s, but she did not forget about the accomplishments of her brother, John Foster Dulles. In the mid-1980s, Dulles helped organize a

²⁵ Richard Immerman, "Letter to Dulles," September 6, 1979, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Fred Greenstein, "Letter to Dulles," August 7, 1979, in *ELD Papers*, 1; J.H. Kalicki, "Sino-American Crisis in the 1950s: Interview with Prof. Eleanor Lansing Dulles," September 16, 1970, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-4, 9-11; J.H. Kalicki's research eventually led to the publication of *The Pattern of Sino-American Crises: Political-Military Interactions in the 1950s*.

committee to celebrate the centennial of John Foster's birth and his accomplishments as a diplomat. According to an article from the *Detroit Free Press*, the committee included officials of the past such as former United States President Gerald Ford, former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, David Eisenhower, grandson of Dwight D. Eisenhower, and George Kennan. The committee sought private donations and planned for a centennial celebration that would be held at Princeton University. John Foster had graduated from Princeton University in 1908. In 1987, the committee had six hundred thousand dollars, but needed more donations for the celebration. President Ronald Reagan sent a letter of support to the committee chairman, Douglas Dillon, in July 1987. President Reagan said he was encouraged by the idea of celebrating Dulles's life and establishing a scholarship in his name at Princeton University. Reagan wrote, "His accomplishments merit close study, as well as wide recognition by future generations of Americans." Dulles believed Reagan's support would help boost donations. "[T]he letter is worth its weight in gold," responded Dulles. The centennial took place at Princeton University in February 1988. In honor of his centennial, Princeton University established the John Foster Dulles Program for the Study of Leadership in Foreign Affairs. Not only did the program benefit graduate students, but it also provided opportunities for Princeton University to host visiting professors from Germany. The program was established with the idea of "supporting the research of graduate students and post-doctoral fellows." Recipients had to conduct research in the areas of diplomacy and statecraft. The centennial celebration was followed by Princeton University and the West German government signing an agreement in July 1989. The West German government would provide grant money for the next ten years for the program. The Japanese government also contributed to the program. The centennial celebration and the

founding of a study program at Princeton gave Dulles an opportunity to preserve her brother's legacy.²⁶

In 1990, Eleanor Dulles faced a new issue, the possibility of renaming Dulles International Airport in Washington, D.C. The Dwight D. Eisenhower Centennial Commission was planning events to honor the hundredth birthday of Eisenhower in the United States and Western Europe. In January, Jane Kratovil, head of the Centennial Commission, sent a letter to Kansas Senator Bob Dole about the idea of renaming the Dulles Airport in Washington, D.C, to the Eisenhower airport. The commission could not find another public works facility to name, and it believed the renaming of the airport would give importance to the centennial celebration. Kratovil wrote, "One interesting proposal has surfaced, for which there is already active support—changing the name of Dulles International Airport to Eisenhower International Airport."²⁷ The commission's recommendation was a good one, but Kratovil and others had to find a way of convincing the Dulles family. President Eisenhower had named the newly constructed airport after John Foster Dulles in 1959. According to Kratovil, Congressman Michael Barnes, a member of the Washington Metropolitan Airports Authority (WMAA), favored the name change and considered Eisenhower to be an internationally known figure. The commission argued that Eisenhower contributed more to American diplomacy than Secretary of

²⁶ "Reagan's letter raises hope for Dulles Memorial," Wednesday, July 29, 1987, *Detroit Free Press*, 8C; Ronald Reagan, "Letter from Ronald Reagan to C. Douglas Dillon," July 18, 1987, White House Office of Records Management Subject File (Simi Valley, CA: Ronald Reagan Presidential Library), 1; "Flyer on The John Foster Dulles Program for the study of Leadership in Foreign Affairs," February 1988, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1-3; "German & Japanese governments support Dulles program," *WWS Newsletter* vol. 13, no. 1 (1989-1990), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, copy in *ELD Papers*, 1.

²⁷ Jane Kratovil, "Memorandum from Jane Kratovil to Senator Bob Dole," January 2, 1990, *Dwight D. Eisenhower Centennial Commission Papers*, (Abilene, KS.: Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library), 1-3.

State John Foster Dulles. As for the Dulles family, the commission suggested naming a terminal after him. The commission's idea received support from local leaders. "To date," said Kratovil, "several members of the board have indicated support for the renaming including former Governor of Virginia, Linwood Holton."²⁸

Gregory Wolfe, secretary to the WMAA, replied to a memorandum from a Michael Barnes, a board member, on January 5, 1990. Barnes had questioned the legality of renaming the airport. Wolfe claimed the airport had no official name in a 1950 statute, but President Eisenhower issued an executive order in 1959 which officially named it after John Foster Dulles. The name was altered in 1984 to name the airport Washington Dulles International Airport. Wolfe wrote, "Nothing in our lease with the federal government explicitly limits us, and a legal challenge to the Board's action would be difficult." The WMAA had full authority to implement a name change, but Wolfe believed that legislation from Congress would make it official.²⁹ In addition to the WMAA, the centennial commission reached out to members of the Eisenhower family. Harry Freeman, member of the commission, corresponded with John S.D. Eisenhower. Freeman reached out to John Foster's son, Father Avery Dulles, and Eleanor to get their opinion on the name change. Dulles couldn't understand why the commission wanted to ditch her brother's name. Freeman, writing to Eisenhower, claimed that 30 years was enough time to honor John Foster Dulles and it was time for a name change. Eleanor Dulles thought the name change was coming from the Eisenhower family, but Freeman insisted it came from the WMAA and the centennial commission. Freeman insisted he "stressed that it was not a family crusade in any sense, but the idea emanated from the airport authority, and the people involved with the

²⁸ Ibid., 1-3.

²⁹ Gregory Wolfe, "Memorandum to Michael Barnes," January 5, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1-2.

Centennial were also favoring it.” John S.D. Eisenhower agreed with the commission and supported the name change. Eisenhower argued that it was impossible for the Dulles family to expect his family to continue supporting the secretary of state’s name. He saw no problems with the Dulles name, but Eisenhower stressed it was only a matter of time before the Dulles name was to disappear anyway. Eisenhower believed it would be impossible to convince Eleanor and her family to support the name change. John S.D. Eisenhower said, “It is inevitable that they resent the possible change and it is unrealistic to expect them to regard it in anything other than a ‘Eisenhower vs Dulles’ context.” They could only see it as a name competition.³⁰

John S.D. Eisenhower decided to send a personal letter to Dulles about the airport controversy. In the letter, Eisenhower assured Dulles his family was not supporting a conspiracy against her brother’s legacy. However, he was upset by any public reports that the Eisenhower family had been pushing the issue. Yet, Eisenhower would not reject naming the airport after his father. Eisenhower wrote, “I am not prepared to forbid categorically the naming of the airport after my father.” Members of the centennial commission advised Eisenhower and his family to avoid the press.³¹ John S.D. Eisenhower thanked the commission for its advice, but he would not allow any negative media response to go unanswered. Eisenhower didn’t want to fight with Dulles. Senator Bob Dole reached out to the Dulles family. On January 29, he sent a letter to

³⁰ Harry Freeman, “Memorandum from Harry Freeman to John S.D. Eisenhower,” January 16, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1-2; Freeman, “Memorandum from Harry Freeman to Representative Frank Wolfe,” January 22, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1-2; John S.D. Eisenhower, “Memorandum from John S.D. Eisenhower to Harry Freeman,” January 22, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1.

³¹ John S.D. Eisenhower, “Memorandum from John S.D. Eisenhower to Eleanor Dulles,” January 31, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1; Harry Freeman, “Memorandum from Harry Freeman to John S.D. Eisenhower,” February 2, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1; John S.D. Eisenhower, “Memorandum from John S.D. Eisenhower to Harry Freeman,” February 12, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1.

John Foster Dulles II in Los Angeles. In the letter, Senator Dole explained the whole situation and said he had no objections of changing the name to Eisenhower. Dole believed the Dulles name should remain somewhere within the airport. Meanwhile, members of the centennial commission reached out to other members of the Dulles family. Harry Freeman reached out to Father Avery Dulles who refused to give an answer. Eleanor's reaction was one of anger. She accused the commission of being anti-Dulles, but Freeman insisted the commission was not. Dulles was not happy with the alternative of naming a terminal in the airport after her brother.³²

Senator Bob Dole removed his resolution, but it wasn't overlooked by the national evening news. On the evening of February 10, 1990, a news clip by journalist Bruce Morton aired on the CBS *Evening News* about the controversy. At the age of ninety-five, Dulles gave her opinion about the name change. Dulles questioned why officials wanted to change the name after forty years. Dulles concluded, "Should they demean one person in order to give additional credit to another person—is not good policy." Kansas Senator Bob Dole introduced the resolution for the Eisenhower Centennial celebration, which received support from Kansans in the United States House of Representatives. Kansas Representatives had also introduced their own resolution for the name change. However, as Bruce Morton proclaimed, it was met with rejection not only by the Dulles family, but neighboring businesses. Several businesses had adopted the Dulles name and objected to renaming the airport. Dulles said that credit should not be taken away from her brother and given to Eisenhower. John Foster Dulles II commented on the matter and said he was surprised by how fast the resolution was introduced to Congress. At the same time, it was withdrawn at the same speed. Congressman Michael Barnes, also a

³² Bob Dole, "Memorandum from Senator Bob Dole to John Foster Dulles II," January 29, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1; Harry Freeman, "Memorandum from Harry Freeman to Representative Frank Wolfe," January 22, 1990, in *DDE Centennial Commission Papers*, 1-2.

member of the WMAA, blamed the name withdrawal on the idea of politicians avoiding controversy. Bruce Morton concluded Eleanor was well heard throughout Washington, D.C. “Hell hath no fury it turns out like a ninety-four-year-old Dulles scorn,” quipped Morton. Bruce Morton suggested lawmakers rename Washington National Airport after President Dwight D. Eisenhower. He believed Dulles would have no objections to renaming that airport. Conservative journalist George Will published an opinion article on the Dulles Airport controversy. He began his article with “America was never more American than in the 1950s when America was at the wheel of the world.” And the one who guided the wheel, according to Will, was John Foster Dulles. Although Dulles was remembered as a dull person who never had emotional expressions, Will reiterated his importance in the Early Cold War era. John Foster Dulles placed his stamp on the Republican party and its agenda of containing communism. At the same time, John Foster Dulles believed The Cold War could not end unless the Soviet Union underwent internal changes. Will credited President Ronald Reagan for taking Dulles’s ideas and “re-moralizing” the fight against Soviet communism during the 1980s. George Will agreed that something should be named after President Eisenhower, but he believed Dulles should remain in his airport that was named in memory of him. He concluded, “But leave Dulles in peace and in his place of honor.” The airport controversy marked one of the final events in which Dulles had a soft power influence on officials. She won the battle and her brother’s name remained on the airport.³³

³³ Bruce Morton, “Airport Name Controversy,” February 10, 1990, Columbia Broadcasting System *Evening News*, DVD copy in Vanderbilt Television News Archive (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University); George Will, “Leave Dulles in his place of honor,” February 11, 1990, *The Arizona Republic*, C5.

Dulles's Legacy

Throughout the 1980s, women journalists interviewed Dulles about her past career and continued work while in her late 80s. Journalist Lynn Roselli published an article about Dulles's busy life at home in Washington, D.C. While other people her age relaxed, Dulles spent her time writing a mystery novel, another book on American foreign policy, and speaking at events. Lynn Roselli referred to Dulles as "one of a group of pioneering women in the mostly male ranks of the State Department." Dulles reiterated this idea by reminiscing about her time at the State Department. Although she was a pioneer, Dulles fully remembered the discrimination of being a female in a man's world. In the interview, Dulles recalled, "One man told me he wouldn't promote me because I was a woman. One man told my assistant, who was male, that he didn't have to do what I told him." Yet, Dulles was portrayed as a woman who prevailed against discrimination and had many accomplishments. Dulles stressed the importance of public service. Public service ran in her family and Dulles believed such characteristic needed to be taught to the world.³⁴

Dulles's was honored for her accomplishments in the United States. At its one hundredth commencement in 1975, Mount Vernon College honored Dulles on her birthday with an Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree. Dulles graduated from Mount Vernon Seminary in 1912 and had supported the university in past years. This was not the first honorary degree awarded to Dulles. According to the commencement citation, Dulles received honorary degrees from Berlin Free University, Duke University, Wilson College, and Western College. In June 1985, Dulles received birthday greetings from the president of Mount Vernon College. Dulles was 90 years old at the time. This continued with a big birthday celebration in June 1993. A

³⁴ Lynn Roselli, "Eleanor Dulles, Active as Ever at 87, June 18, 1982, *New York Times*, B6; Barbara Gamarekian, "Dulles polishing Mystery Novel Draft" March 9, 1986, *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, 35.

birthday dinner was held at Mount Vernon College for her ninety-eighth birthday. Mount Vernon also named a room after her in Eckles Library. The commemoration of Dulles's accomplishments reflected her influence on Cold War diplomacy and the post war recovery of West Berlin. She succeeded in keeping West Berlin a top priority in the Cold War, while also inspiring other women to enter civil service and strive to get top positions in the U.S. State Department.³⁵

After 1993, Dulles stayed out of the public spotlight during the last years of her life. Dulles remained in Washington and moved from her apartment to Knollwood Military Community. She died at the age of one hundred and one on October 30, 1996. The obituary in the *Washington Post* said "she played a leading role in the rehabilitation of post-World War II West Berlin as the founder and head of the State Department's Berlin desk in the 1950s. For this work, she was sometimes called the 'Godmother of West Berlin.'" Dulles had witnessed a lot of events during her lifetime. She witnessed two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the Cold War. She had participated in all these events, and they shaped her experience as an economist and diplomat. Dulles was successful in her use of soft power diplomacy. She succeeded in helping West Berlin recover from the Second World War and helped transform a city within the confines of Communist East Germany. In 1996, the city Dulles treasured had been reunified along with the nation, but it came with challenges. France, Great Britain, and Russia signed the Two-Plus-Four Treaty in September 1990, which ended their occupation of Germany. In December, the first unified city council was elected in Berlin. This was followed by a

³⁵ "Citation on the Awarding of the Honorary Degree Doctor of Humane Letters to Eleanor Lansing Dulles," June 1, 1975, in *ELD Papers*, 1; "Mount Vernon Celebrates Centennial Commencement," *Mount Vernon College Bulletin* vol. 23, no. 2 (June 1975), in *ELD Papers*, 1,7; Jane Coutant Evans, "Birthday Greetings for Dulles," June 1, 1985, in *ELD Papers*, 1; Mount Vernon College, "Birthday Invitation," June 9, 1993, in *ELD Papers*, 1.

construction boom as German companies, such as Daimler-Benz, purchased land and moved back to the city. Dulles was not interviewed about German reunification, but she probably was proud to see a united Germany. In her books on West Germany and West Berlin, Dulles always believed reunification was possible. By 1996, Berlin was once again the German capital and a lasting testament to Dulles's soft power diplomacy. Although Dulles held the Berlin Desk at the State Department for only nine years, she made a lasting impact, which continued after she left civil service. Dulles spent the rest of her life promoting West Berlin and encouraged Berliners to succeed.³⁶

³⁶ Bart Barnes, "Diplomat, Author Eleanor Dulles Dies," November 2, 1996, *Washington Post*, B4; David Clay, *Berlin*, 544-546.

CONCLUSION

In November 1996, Eleanor Lansing Dulles died at the age of one hundred and one. She had witnessed the beginning of the Cold War in the 1940s and lived to see the end of it. In 1996, the Berlin Wall was only a memory and both Germanies had finished the process of reunification. The obituary in the *New York Times* summarized her legacy. The obituary said Dulles had “managed to carve for herself a formidable reputation even though her two brothers, John Foster Dulles and Allen Welsh Dulles, held much higher rank in the American government.” Dulles never received an appointed position, but she built a reputation of being the “Mother of Berlin” and participating in the city’s fight to recover after the Second World War. Dulles overcame the challenges of working in a male dominated world at the State Department and accomplished lasting achievements.¹

Today, the Dulles family legacy has faded from American diplomacy and politics. Out of the three Dulles siblings, John Foster is the family member who has been pushed aside, while Allen Welsh remains popular because of his time as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. One example of John Foster’s waning legacy is a bust that was made for Dulles International Airport in 1962. When the airport opened in 1962, the bust had a prominent location in the airport, but the location changed over time. According to Stephen Kinzer, the bust slowly made its way from the center of the airport terminal to a rear conference room, which left no indication for whom the airport was named after. During research for his book, Kinzer noticed the bust was no longer present in the airport and began asking questions about it. The story of the bust was one Kinzer used in each one of his speeches during his book tour. Mysteriously after months of enquiries, John Foster’s bust reappeared in a main hallway of the airport. It’s not the center of

¹ “Eleanor L. Dulles of State Dept. Dies at 101,” November 4, 1996, *New York Times*, B10.

Dulles airport, but the bust was relocated to a busy hallway. Both men are no longer a household name, but the decisions they made, especially regarding Latin America, still overshadow American diplomacy today. The State Department continues declassifying documents which reveal the role of the Dulles brothers in the overthrow of leaders in Latin American nations. Although her brothers are no longer prominent figures in American culture, Dulles's legacy remains attached to Berlin and the buildings she helped fund.²

Dulles had four major accomplishments in her career. Although Dulles never considered herself to be a pioneer, she was an inspiration for women who sought higher education and civil service jobs. Dulles challenged the status quo at a time when other women, such as Frances Perkins, also received leadership positions which placed them at odds with men. Dulles succeeded in not only obtaining a doctorate in economics, but also in getting jobs that normally went to men. Dulles came from a privileged family, but she did not use privilege to get a job. Through hard work and determination, Dulles rose from a factory job to a prominent position at the Social Security Board and later the State Department. No one appointed Dulles to a position, but she received jobs which had a great amount of responsibility, such as the Berlin Desk at the State Department. However, those jobs came with discrimination issues. Her male co-workers at the State Department did not like the idea of a woman being in a position over men. During her time in Austria, Dulles had trouble with an assistant who hid paperwork from her. The assistant claimed that Dulles's gender was the reason "why he hid cables relative to [her] work." Discrimination followed Dulles from her job in Austria to the Berlin Desk. Her male assistants were told to not take Dulles seriously and her brother, the secretary of state, tried to push her out

² Stephen Kinzer, "The Dulles Brothers and the Airport Bust," January 5, 2015, *The History Reader Blog*, St. Martin's Press, <http://www.thehistoryreader.com/contemporary-history/dulles-brothers-airport-bust/> (accessed July 25, 2019).

of the State Department. Dulles refused to give into pressure and refused to be pushed out. Dulles later said it was “infinite patience” which kept her from being demoted from the Berlin Desk to a lower job. Not only did Dulles overcome challenges in higher level jobs, but she also put her name out in the American public through the publication of books and articles. By the time Dulles began her job at the Berlin desk, she had published books on international economic issues and journal articles on social security challenges. She was not a household name, but her books were well known among academic circles. Through research and professional experiences, Dulles became a recognized economist and expert in foreign affairs.³

A second accomplishment was Dulles’s use of soft power at the State Department. Dulles was never in a position to use hard power. But Dulles quickly discovered her ability to influence the decisionmakers and overcome discrimination from male co-workers with soft power. Dulles was not the first woman to use soft power. Throughout European history, it was not unusual for wives of men in diplomatic positions to wield influence over the decisions they made. Although officials could have easily dismissed Dulles because of her gender, they were attracted to her expertise in economics and international affairs. Using soft power, Dulles persuaded Austrian officials to adopt her ideas and encouraged American companies to invest in Austria. After Dulles moved to the Berlin Desk, she convinced the secretary of state and private donors to send more money to West Berlin. Not only did Dulles take advantage of soft power, but she also used different tools which came with this form of power. Dulles stressed the importance of West Berlin to Americans through speeches, newspaper interviews, and journal articles. Instead of dwelling on the negative aspects of the Berlin Wall, Dulles encouraged Americans and West Berliners to see that the city had a bright future. It had come a long way

³ Eleanor Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 228-230.

and could succeed as an island within communist East Germany. Dulles made a lasting impact on the city of West Berlin that is still evident today. From the first day at the Berlin Desk of the State Department, Dulles prioritized the needs of the war-torn city. Her first task was a trip to survey West Germany and West Berlin. During her trip, she was the first Dulles to meet with West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. She knew the city needed more jobs, improvements in education and healthcare. Through funding from the Marshall Plan and the Benjamin Franklin Foundation, West Berlin received a congress hall, a medical school, student dormitories, and infrastructure repairs. Dulles was responsible for bringing private funding from the Ford foundation to Free University. The funding came at a time when the city faced a population decrease as many West Berliners migrated from the city to West Germany. Not only did funding bring improvements to West Berlin, but it also encouraged West Germany to invest in the city. All of this occurred because of the efforts of Dulles advocating the importance of the city to American and West German officials.

Finally, Dulles was able to use soft power after leaving the State Department. West Berlin officials continued seeking Dulles's advice and she published books on the divided city. The construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 ushered in a *détente* for the city, but it was Dulles who kept the importance of West Berlin alive in American diplomacy. One of Dulles's books, *Berlin: The Wall is not Forever*, not only reached out to American readers, but its publication in German, *Berlin and the American (Berlin und die Amerikaner)* also helped her reach out to West Germans readers. Her books convinced American and German readers that West Berlin had a future and should not be dismissed as a lost cause. Dulles's book and her constant communication with West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, influenced *Neue Ostpolitik*

and trade negotiations with East Germany. Dulles use of soft power remained effective long after she left the State Department.

In the 1970s, Dulles's soft power diplomacy transitioned into memory diplomacy. She was no longer responsible for obtaining funds for West Berlin, but Dulles had the responsibility of overseeing the completion of projects. She oversaw the completion of Free University's medical school and student village. Many of those buildings are still in use today. The medical school, Steglitz Hospital (*Klinikum Steglitz*), is a branch of the Charity University Medical Center of Berlin (*Charité- Universitätsmedizin Berlin*) and has underwent major renovations in the last few years. The original Benjamin Franklin Campus building serves as a medical school for Free University and Humboldt University. The medical school gave West Berlin the opportunity to bring healthcare services to the city and train medical professionals. The medical school achieved those goals and continues benefiting the city today. In the 1980s, Dulles soft power became memory diplomacy. Dulles did not participate in all events which involved West Berlin during the early days of American occupation, but West Berliners invited Dulles to attend ceremonies in commemoration of events such as the Berlin Airlift. Dulles represented what the United States had accomplished in restoring West Berlin and protecting it from communist control.⁴

Dulles used soft power and memory diplomacy to preserve important buildings in West Berlin. When the roof collapsed on the congress hall in 1980, Dulles used her past connection and soft power to remind West Berlin officials of the building's importance to the city. The congress hall represented America's close relationship with the city and how far the city had come in the first decade after the Second World War. The building brought science and

⁴ "History of the Campus Benjamin Franklin," Charity- University Medical Center of Berlin, <https://www.charite.de/en> (accessed July 20, 2019).

technology conferences to the city and Dulles believed it still had a future. Dulles's persistence in renovating the congress hall reminded West Berlin officials of her connections to the city's past. Berlin's former congress hall serves today as a House of World Cultures (*Haus der Kulturen der Welt*). Dulles and other participants in the Benjamin Franklin Foundation intended for the congress hall to be a place for conferences on science and technology. The House of World Cultures remains a meeting place for cultural events. The Student Village (*Studentendorf Schlachtensee*) is a final example of Dulles's legacy. Originally built to house international students and students from East Germany, the student village Dulles helped establish continues to serve as a home for American students who are attending universities in Berlin. The student village gives American university students a place to stay and experience the culture of another country while attending universities in Berlin. It became a German National Heritage Site in 2006. All these structures represent the lasting impact of Eleanor Dulles in West Berlin. Yet, her legacy goes far beyond brick and mortar in West Berlin. It represented not only America's promise to protect West Berlin, but also the efforts Dulles undertook in carving a career in a world dominated by men.⁵

Dulles's vision of a united Berlin and Germany came into fruition after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. During the 1990s, Germany overcame several challenges in reunifying a nation that had been separated for over forty years. After the end of the Berlin Wall and communism, West Germany faced the task of acquiring back the other half of its nation and merging it into one country. Many East Germans, in 1989, were ready for reunification. East Germany faced severe food shortages and many of them believed that escaping to West

⁵ "The Site and Its History," House of World Cultures, https://www.hkw.de/en/geschichte/ort_geschichte/org.php (accessed July 20, 2019); "The Studentendorf Schlachtensee – a reflection of the history of the Federal Republic," Student Village, <https://www.studentendorf.berlin/about-us/history/> (accessed July 20, 2019).

Germany, or the end of communism, was the only way to end their economic problems. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the government responded by reopening the Brandenburg gate to traffic on December 22, 1989. However, West Germans faced a daunting task in reunification. They inherited a former East Germany with a crumbling infrastructure and a devastated economy. In 1990, East Germans adopted the *Deutsche Mark* and held new government elections. The German government responded to the economic devastation by investing in infrastructure repairs and restoring control. Former government owned companies were sold to private investors, but many sales came with a major price. Many private investors agreed to buy the former government-controlled companies if the current German government helped them modernize the factories.⁶

In addition to massive investing in former East Germany, the government faced criticism because of a culture gap. Earlier in 1982, author Peter Schneider, in his famous fiction book *The Wall Jumper*, concluded, “It will take us longer to tear down the Wall in our heads than any wrecking company will need for the Wall we can see.” This turned out to be a true statement in the early 1990s. Many West Germans criticized the government’s efforts to heavily invest in former East Germany and called for Bonn to remain the capital city. Despite widespread criticism, the German Parliament (*Bundestag*) voted to restore Berlin as the capital city and continued investing money in the former East Germany. Dulles did not live to see Germany become a major economic power in Europe, but the reunification of Germany and Berlin is a testament to her use of soft power in American diplomacy. It represented the decades of hard

⁶ David Large, *Berlin*, 533-538, 550-552; Dietrich Orlow, *A History of Modern Germany*, 354-360.

work Dulles put into rebuilding Berlin and her encouragement of West German officials to invest in their half of the city.⁷

⁷ Peter Schneider, *The Wall Jumper: A Berlin Story*, first translated edition printed by Random House in 1983 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 119.

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