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DULLES, JOHN FOSTER: Papers, 1950-1961

Accessions: A67-28 & A98-13
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The Papers of John Foster Dulles were transferred to the National Archives in 1961 and in August 1966 were deposited in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library. In March 1998 the Eisenhower Library received an accretion to the Dulles Papers consisting of photocopies of appointment schedules in the Dulles papers at Princeton University.

Linear Feet of shelf space occupied:	44
Approximate number of pages:	88,400
Approximate number of items:	50,000

In May 1958, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles donated his personal papers to Princeton University. His agreement with the Trustees of Princeton University established the Dulles Manuscript Committee and authorized it to control access to his papers. Any use of Dulles' personal papers including access, photocopying, note taking and publication could be granted only with written permission from this committee. In an April 1959 letter to Franklin Floete, the Administrator of General Services, Secretary Dulles specified that certain of his papers be deposited in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, subject to the control of the same Dulles Manuscript Committee. According to Dulles' agreement with Princeton University, restrictions on access to his papers were to be removed 25 years from the date of Dulles' death (May 24, 1959) and that the Dulles Manuscript Committee's powers would therefore terminate on May 24, 1984. As of May 24, 1984, literary property rights in the Papers of John Foster Dulles passed to the people of the United States.

Secretary Dulles declared that his papers to be deposited in the Eisenhower Library were "personal papers of mine." He considered these papers to be "strictly personal and neither suitable for nor properly to be considered as official records of the Department of State." Dulles recognized, however, that these personal papers contained information which "pertains to the most delicate matters of state" with many of these documents containing information "of comparable delicacy vis-à-vis the affairs of state to highly sensitive official information." He intended that his papers be preserved for history and safeguarded until they could be made available for research use "without injury or embarrassment to living persons or to existing institutions; and so that any legitimate concerns which the United States Government may have in their contents, arising from their intimate reflection of the affairs of state, will be fully safeguarded." In accordance with Secretary Dulles' intentions, the Dulles Manuscript Committee

in 1978 authorized the Library staff to process Secretary Dulles' papers. The staff reviewed the Dulles Papers with the understanding that certain information remaining currently sensitive required continuing closure. During this review, the staff withdrew from research use the following categories of documents:

1. Papers that contain currently sensitive national security information.
2. Papers which contain information or statements that might be used to injure, harass, or damage any living person.
3. Papers that contain information that if released could constitute an invasion of privacy of living persons.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The Papers of John Foster Dulles span the years from 1950 to 1961. The bulk of these papers fall into the period from 1953 to 1959 when Dulles was Secretary of State. A small series documents his service during the Truman Administration in 1950-52 when Dulles, as the President's Special Representative with the rank of ambassador, negotiated a peace treaty between the United States and Japan.

John Foster Dulles, born in Washington, D.C. on February 25, 1888, grew up in a family with a background of international service. His maternal grandfather, John W. Foster, was Secretary of State under Benjamin Harrison after having served as U.S. Ambassador to Russia, Spain and Mexico. Mr. Dulles' paternal grandfather, John Welch Dulles, was a Presbyterian missionary in China. His mother's sister was the wife of Robert Lansing, Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson. His father, Allen Dulles, was a Presbyterian minister in Watertown, New York and taught philosophy at Auburn Theological Seminary in Auburn, New York.

Dulles, when 16 years old, enrolled at Princeton University and in 1908 graduated with honors. After spending a year studying at the Sorbonne in Paris, Dulles returned to the United States and in 1911 received a law degree from George Washington University. The year 1911 was eventful for Dulles as he met Janet Avery, whom he married a year later, and began his association with the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. Starting as a junior clerk Dulles soon moved into positions involving the conduct of legal business for the firm, some of which took him abroad. He spent most of the next 40 years of his life with Sullivan and Cromwell, a powerful firm with connections to business, politics and finance.

In 1912 Dulles traveled to the British West Indies and began work with clients holding commercial and financial interests in Central America and the Caribbean. With World War I raging, Dulles made his first business trip to Europe in April 1915. His many World War I legal activities began what would later be a predominantly European focus of his legal career. While Dulles undoubtedly was exposed to international affairs as a child, his work abroad during the formative years of his life helped instill in him a strong interest in international affairs and sharpened his belief in trade liberalization. His initial involvement in diplomatic issues took him to Central America in 1916 where he contacted Nicaraguan presidential candidate Emiliano Chamorro and in 1917 when Dulles' uncle, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, sent him on a mission as a special agent for the State Department to Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama.

Dulles continued his official connections with the government during the remainder of World War I, serving briefly in the State Department as "Special Counsel in Regard to Central American Affairs" before enlisting in the U.S. Army in September 1917 and being commissioned a captain in the Signal Officers Reserve Corps. For a few months he was head of the Economic Section of the Positive Military Intelligence General Staff. In March 1918 the Secretary of War appointed Dulles official liaison between the War Department and the War Trade Board and in July he became assistant to the Chairman of the War Trade Board. At the War Trade Board Dulles handled negotiations with neutral European states, designed to insure the effectiveness of the Allied blockade of the Central Powers. Dulles also participated in

negotiations involving the shipping of vital commodities and early in 1918 the Board participated in discussions in Washington regarding war and revolution in Russia. Board Chairman, Vance McCormick, appointed Dulles to a three-man committee to study Russian-American economic relations. Dulles' observations of conditions in revolutionary Russia may have influenced the development of his attitude toward the Soviet Union and communism.

Dulles continued his official connection with the United States Government as a member of the U.S. Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 where he dealt primarily with reparations questions. Dulles gained from the Paris Peace Conference experience in international financial negotiations and established contacts in public and private affairs both in the United States and abroad. He returned to Sullivan and Cromwell in 1919 where for the next several years he conducted legal work on behalf of major corporations. During these years as an international lawyer, Dulles spoke and wrote on international economics and on foreign affairs while expounding on various political theories. In 1939 as war threatened to break out in Europe, Dulles published War, Peace and Change, an expression of his views on the growth of fascism and the menace of war.

From 1940 to 1946 Dulles was chairman of the Federal Council of Churches' Commission on a Just and Durable Peace. During the course of his chairmanship, Dulles set forth abstract plans for preventing war in a report, "The Six Pillars of Peace." The war years saw changes in Dulles' view of the Soviet Union. Prior to World War II the Soviet Union was apparently only of marginal concern to Dulles. During the war he freely acknowledged Russia's contribution to the war effort and while seeing potential sources of friction between the United States and the Soviet Union, he did not appear to view these as unique but rather the types of controversies one could expect to arise among traditional powers. By 1946, however, Dulles in public described the Soviet Union as a great communist menace and a threat to western civilization.

Dulles' interest and involvement in politics waxed and waned during the 1920s and 1930s. After advising Democratic presidential candidate John W. Davis on foreign policy during the 1924 campaign, Dulles distanced himself from the political arena, limiting himself largely to making financial donations and writing occasional letters on specific campaign issues. Thomas Dewey revived Dulles' political interest as Dulles wrote speeches for Dewey and corresponded on his behalf during Dewey's campaigns for the presidency in 1940 and 1944 and the New York Governorship in 1942. Participating in Thomas Dewey's 1944 campaign for president as a major foreign policy advisor, Dulles displayed partisanship and what critics termed political opportunism as he and Dewey attacked the Roosevelt Administration on such issues as leadership and the alleged influence of communism in the Democratic Party. Despite Dewey's defeat in the 1944 election, Dulles emerged from the campaign with a power base for launching further efforts in the area of politics and public policy.

During the post-World War II years, Dulles participated in United States foreign policy as he served on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945. In 1946 to 1950 he was a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, an adviser to the Department of State, and attended sessions of the Council of Foreign Ministers. He continued to speak and write about the Soviet Union and what the United States should do about it, Eastern Europe, the future of Germany, and European recovery. He was invited to a 1948 Truman

Administration meeting discussing what became the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In 1948 he joined Thomas Dewey's team to campaign for the U.S. Presidency and Dulles was the acknowledged senior advisor to Dewey on foreign policy. Many historians believe that if Dewey had been elected President in 1948, Dulles would have been his Secretary of State. Dulles' participation in the 1948 Campaign was complicated by reports of his association with and support for Alger Hiss as President of the Carnegie Endowment. While Dulles believed Dewey's strategy of playing a statesmanlike role on foreign policy issues to be sound, Dewey lost the election to incumbent President Harry Truman in what has been termed a political upset.

Dulles served briefly in the United States Senate from July 7, 1949 to November 8, 1949 when New York Governor Thomas Dewey appointed him to serve the remainder of retiring Senator Robert Wagner's term. Dulles campaigned unsuccessfully for election for a full term in the Senate, losing to Herbert Lehman. Following this disappointing defeat, Dulles kept himself publicly active in political and foreign affairs. In 1950 he wrote his second book, War or Peace, a critical analysis of United States global policies. Although he was a Republican, Dulles maintained contacts with the Truman Administration and spoke and wrote on the need for bipartisanship in foreign policy. His efforts paid off in April 1950 when Secretary of State Dean Acheson appointed Dulles as an advisor on foreign policy.

The fall of China to communist control and other developments in the Far East in 1950 made it imperative to the Truman Administration that the United States negotiate a peace treaty with Japan in order to enhance the security of that country. On May 18, President Truman appointed Dulles as Special Representative with the rank of Ambassador, and gave him the responsibility for negotiating a peace treaty between the United States and Japan. Dulles was in Japan conferring with Japanese officials and with General Douglas MacArthur when North Korea invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950. While Dulles offered his own opinions on the U.S. decision to resist North Korean aggression, his primary task continued to be negotiating a peace treaty with Japan and he believed that the outbreak of open hostilities in Korea increased the urgency of prompt United States action on Japan. On July 24, 1950, President Truman authorized Dulles to proceed with the negotiation of a treaty with Japan.

Dulles consulted allied nations in the Far East with security concerns regarding Japan, conferred with Supreme Allied Commander, Douglas MacArthur, and persevered with negotiations while buffeted by crises stemming from Chinese intervention in Korea and the Truman Administration's removal of MacArthur as Supreme Allied Commander. He also talked to Japanese Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, granted concessions to Great Britain and other countries in order to gain their support for the treaty and, most importantly, periodically briefed leaders in the U.S. Congress on treaty negotiations. Bowing to pressure from the British, Dulles left it up to Japan to decide its China policy. On September 8, 1951 representatives of 48 countries, including the United States, signed the Japanese Peace Treaty. The U.S. Senate ratified the peace treaty on March 20, 1952 along with three accompanying security pacts the United States had negotiated with the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand and Japan.

Dulles, believing that the Republican Party might win the Presidency in 1952, resigned from his State Department position in order to participate in the election. In May, he published in Life magazine an article entitled "A Policy of Boldness" which criticized the Truman

Administration's containment policies and enunciated alternate policies to insure a more sound U.S. strategic posture. In this article Dulles stated a strategic concept which became known as the policy of massive retaliation. Dulles then drafted language for a foreign policy platform on which either major Republican candidate, Dwight Eisenhower or Robert Taft could run. After Eisenhower received the Republican nomination in July, Dulles actively worked in Eisenhower's campaign and addressed politically profitable but also controversial issues such as liberation of Eastern European nations from communist rule. On occasions Dulles' rhetoric conveyed a harsh and belligerent tone, a problem which Dulles continued to face as Secretary of State. Despite Dulles' controversial phrases and his image as a zealous cold warrior, Eisenhower respected Dulles' intellect and experience and after the 1952 election, decided to appoint Dulles Secretary of State.

To adequately describe Dulles' activities as Secretary of State would be tantamount to summarizing the foreign policy of the Eisenhower Administration from 1953 to 1959. Dulles regarded himself as the principal advisor to the President on foreign policy and staunchly guarded that role. In this position Dulles dealt with virtually all major policy issues and international crises during his tenure as Secretary of State from January 1953 until April 15, 1959 when he resigned because of declining health. Early on he helped formulate the Administration's basic national security policy which was eventually dubbed "The New Look." Ending the Korean War was a major priority for the Administration as was solidifying Western European unity in the face of the threats posed by the Soviet Union and communist controlled China.

Each year of the Eisenhower Presidency brought new international problems. In 1953 it was Korea, the New Look, the changing of the leadership in the Soviet Union, uprisings in Eastern Europe and the restoration of the Shah in Iran. The year 1954 saw a crisis in Indochina climax with the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu. Afterwards, Eisenhower and Dulles made decisions regarding Southeast Asia with long lasting consequences for the United States. In Central America, Foster Dulles and his brother, Allen, planned an operation which they believed quelled the threat of communism in Guatemala. Late in 1954 and continuing into 1955, China posed military and rhetorical threats to Taiwan with the Eisenhower national security team formulating a strategy to contain the situation there. The phrase "brinkmanship" is sometimes associated with Dulles' actions during the Formosa Straits Crisis and was articulated in a Life magazine article in early 1956. Nineteen Fifty-five also was marked by the Geneva Four Power summit conference which brought the heads of the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union together in July. The "spirit of Geneva," however, seemed to dissipate rapidly as cold war tensions continued.

By necessity, the Eisenhower Administration focused much attention on the Middle East. Dulles announced in 1955 a policy initiative aimed at alleviating the Arab-Israeli conflict but to no avail as the Middle East exploded in conflict over Suez in 1956. Meanwhile unrest in Eastern Europe brought resistance to Soviet rule in Poland and an armed uprising in Hungary which Soviet military forces suppressed. In 1957 President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles developed the Eisenhower Doctrine in order to resist aggression in the Middle East. The Administration applied this in 1958 when Lebanon threatened to disintegrate into chaos. Meanwhile the nuclear arms race continued to be a source of great concern to President Eisenhower. Negotiations aimed at

limiting nuclear testing and slowing down the arms race would continue through most of the remainder of the Eisenhower Administration and into the next several presidencies. The Soviet Union applied pressure over Berlin resulting in a major crisis. The United States then engaged in extensive military contingency planning with its Western European allies, the United Kingdom and France, in order to counter possible Soviet aggression against Berlin. During the entire period, Eisenhower and Dulles worked to maintain close relations with the United Kingdom under Prime Ministers Winston Churchill, Anthony Eden and Harold Macmillan while also attempting to retain the support of French President Charles DeGaulle for NATO. Eisenhower, and particularly Dulles, also developed a close working relationship with West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

Dulles struggled with his health periodically during his tenure as Secretary of State, having experienced a bout of cancer in November 1956 during the height of the Suez Crisis. In 1959 as tensions over Berlin increased, Dulles' health declined and on April 15, 1959, he resigned as Secretary of State but continued to serve as long as he could as a special advisor to the President. On May 24, 1959 John Foster Dulles died of cancer.

Dulles experienced controversy as Secretary of State. He spoke and wrote extensively and on occasion made statements which, whether intended or not, had the effect of reflecting a belligerent attitude toward the Soviet Union, China and communism in general. Such phrases as "brinkmanship," "massive retaliation" and "agonizing reappraisal" are generally associated with Dulles' policies. Another phrase connected with Dulles, "positive loyalty," reflected his ventures into the treacherous area of loyalty-security and is connected with the elimination from the U.S. Foreign Service of diplomatic personnel whose loyalty was questioned by Senator McCarthy and other politicians obsessed with the perceived threat of communism. While appearing, sometimes, to yield to the pressures of the so-called "Old Guard" wing of the Republican Party, Dulles also acted on occasions contrary to the positions of many Republican conservatives such as, for example, by supporting the nomination of Charles Bohlen as U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and opposing efforts by Senator John Bricker and others to limit the President's treaty making power. Throughout the controversies, however, Secretary Dulles appears to have always retained President Eisenhower's respect. It is likely that a thorough study of Dulles as he is reflected in his papers, the Papers of Dwight Eisenhower and other major national security related collections at the Eisenhower Library will find Dulles to be a more complex individual in terms of his thoughts and actions than many critics have portrayed him.

The Papers of John Foster Dulles deposited in the Eisenhower Library are arranged into eleven series which total over 88,000 pages. One of these, the Appointment Schedules Series, consists of 3,128 pages of copies of the original appointment schedules deposited at Princeton University. All other series were originally deposited at the Eisenhower Library with copies of most of the series purchased by Princeton University as they were processed. Descriptions of each series along with shelf lists can be found in alphabetical sequence within this guide.

In general, the Dulles Papers consist of copies of outgoing correspondence and memoranda originated by Secretary Dulles or his staff, memoranda of Secretary Dulles' telephone conversations prepared by his staff, and a limited quantity of incoming correspondence from the President, the White House staff, members of Dulles' staff, other Department of State officials

and occasionally individuals elsewhere within the government and in the private sector. There is also a small quantity of letters from the heads of foreign governments, foreign ministers and other foreign officials. There are, however, few Department of State cables. While Secretary Dulles' letter of gift described these papers as personal in nature and not official records of the Department of State, they indeed reflect John Foster Dulles' activities as Secretary of State in terms of his working relationship with President Eisenhower and the White House Staff. The papers may be deemed "personal" in a legal sense or at least as Dulles defined them, but there is little information reflecting John Foster Dulles' personal life in these papers. The collection reflects official U.S. Government business and primarily U.S. Department of State and Eisenhower Administration business. One must look in the Dulles Papers at Princeton University for information on personal and non-official aspects of Dulles' life and in the records of the Department of State for his daily functioning as Secretary of State.

Secretary Dulles was a security conscious man and his correspondence and memoranda appear to have been prepared with care in covering certain sensitive issues. In other words, many of these documents are general in nature and it appears that the Secretary did not preserve written records of many of his private meetings with the President. One will find scanty detail on certain U.S. government intelligence activities such as those involving Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954. Despite gaps in the documentation such as these, there is much information on the foreign policies of the Eisenhower Administration in these papers, including intelligence information. The Telephone Calls series, for example, includes 13,000 pages of memoranda of telephone conversations covering topics ranging from international crises to loyalty-security matters and patronage issues. These include telephone conversations with his brother, Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency and here one can find a number of items regarding Guatemala. The White House Memoranda Series includes numerous memoranda of Dulles' conversations with the President and a file of memoranda of conversations between Allen and John Foster Dulles on intelligence.

John Foster Dulles often drafted what he called "think pieces" on various national security issues, particularly nuclear and strategic posture questions. Many such "think pieces" can be found in his papers, particularly in the Subject Series. Dulles' input into major Presidential speeches such as Eisenhower's Chance For Peace speech of April 16, 1953 can be found in these files. Loyalty-security issues are documented in many places in his collection as are personnel matters relating to the staffing of the Foreign Service, appointment of Ambassadors, political patronage, and appointments of members of minority groups to Foreign Service posts. The most detailed documentation of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, Indochina, the Formosa Straits, and Korea can be found in the Subject Series, White House Memoranda Series, the one box of memoranda of conversations in the General Correspondence and Memoranda Series and in the Telephone Calls series. Dulles' thinking on overall national security policy is documented in the Subject and White House memoranda series.

One series, the Gerard C. Smith Series, pertains to Gerard Smith's work as Director of the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff but was sent to the Library with the Dulles' Papers and is therefore included in the Dulles Papers. The Gerard C. Smith Series is a particularly good source of documentation on U.S. strategic posture including nuclear strategy, Berlin, and arms control talks in Geneva with several items on other issues such as the Formosa Straits, and events

in 1960 and 1961. References to Dulles can be found in this series in the materials for 1957 through early 1959 but the emphasis here is on Smith's views.

The Dulles Papers were processed over a period of several years with most series opened for research between 1978 and 1985. The Gerard C. Smith Series, however, was processed in 1997 and reviewing of the Personnel Series was not completed until December 1999. During the reviewing certain documents were withdrawn for reasons of national security or because of personal privacy. The Dulles Papers have been subjected to onsite declassification reviews by the staff as well as researcher initiated mandatory declassification review requests placed in accordance with Executive Orders 12356 and 12958. Materials closed for privacy reasons have been and continue to be subject to researcher-initiated re-reviews. Numerous formerly withheld documents have therefore been released as a result of these various actions. As of July, 2001 an estimated 800 pages remain security classified either in full or in part and possibly 200 pages remain closed for privacy reasons. Withdrawal figures for each series are included in the respective series descriptions.

DULLES PAPERS AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

The 44 linear feet of the Papers of John Foster Dulles deposited in the Eisenhower Library constitute only one relatively small, although historically significant, portion of Dulles' Papers. While he was Secretary of State, Dulles decided to donate his personal papers to his alma mater, Princeton University. He also arranged to have selected official Department of State files relating specifically to his functions as Secretary of State, to be microfilmed so that microfilm copies of these records could also be deposited at Princeton. His plans touched off a series of negotiations with U.S. Government agencies and discussions at Cabinet meetings on the handling of the papers of U.S. Government officials. One outcome of these negotiations was an amendment to Executive Order 10501 to permit Secretary Dulles to deposit these materials, including security-classified microfilm copies, at Princeton.

The Papers of John Foster Dulles deposited at Princeton is a large collection (over 600 boxes) which spans the years from 1896 to 1959. This collection consists of selected correspondence, apparently with individuals in and out of government service with whom Dulles communicated frequently. The next series consists of general alphabetical correspondence, "Get-Well" messages, letters of condolence and undated correspondence. This is followed by diaries and journals for the period 1907 to 1938, articles, papers and reports, speeches, statements and press conferences, books by Dulles, appointment schedules, writings about Dulles, clippings, official publications, photographs, recordings and motion pictures, awards, medals, treaty pens and other memorabilia, card name files and files for Dulles' wife, Janet Avery Dulles. A shelf list to this collection is available at the Eisenhower Library.

The other major collection of John Foster Dulles materials at Princeton consists of 192 reels of microfilm, totalling about 131,000 microfilm frames. These files consist of Department of State documents which were identified and microfilmed by trained personnel employed by Princeton University during the years 1956-1961. This collection includes records of conferences with foreign nations, negotiations with foreign powers, general foreign relations materials, official

memoranda of Secretary Dulles' conversations, Daily Staff Summaries and Afternoon Summaries, the Daily Summary, minutes of the Secretary's staff meetings, telegrams, a log of documents and a card catalogue. A general description of this microfilm collection and shelf list is available at the following site:

http://infoshare1.princeton.edu:200...e/rbsc/finding_aids/dullesfilm.html. For further information about both collections of Dulles' materials at Princeton University, please contact:

Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library
Princeton University
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Princeton University arranged with the Eisenhower Library to obtain copies of each series within the Papers of John Foster Dulles deposited at the Eisenhower Library as it was processed. Consequently, Princeton now holds copies of most series in the Dulles Papers. This arrangement covers only unclassified materials. Procedures are in place to copy documents declassified through mandatory review from the Dulles Papers and send them to Princeton on a quarterly basis. There may be time lags of several weeks to a few months before such shipments are sent and undoubtedly some time before the materials are incorporated into the files of copies at Princeton. Also, documents declassified by the Library staff onsite through systematic declassification review have not been consistently copied as part of this arrangement. As of July 2001, details for copying the most recently processed series in the Dulles Papers, the Personnel Series, had not yet been worked out. Researchers should, therefore, not assume that Princeton University now holds everything in the Dulles Papers that the Eisenhower Library does. At present, Princeton holds much, but not all, as indicated above. Questions regarding the status of this copying arrangement may be addressed to the Seeley Mudd Library at Princeton and to the Eisenhower Library.

RELATED COLLECTIONS IN THE EISENHOWER LIBRARY

Documentation on John Foster Dulles can be found in most major collections in the Eisenhower Library pertaining to the formulation and conduct of the Eisenhower Administration's national security policies including particularly, Dwight D. Eisenhower's Papers as President, the White House Central Files, the Records of the White House Staff Secretary and the Records of the White House Office of the Special Assistant For National Security Affairs, the National Security Council Staff Papers and the personal papers of Christian Herter and C.D. Jackson. Since these contain records of National Security Council discussions, Cabinet discussions, conferences with the President, country and trip files and correspondence with or concerning Dulles, all such collections should be consulted by anyone seriously interested in researching the role of John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State. In addition, the collections and series listed below merit specific mention.

Dulles-Herter Series (Part of Eisenhower, Dwight D.: Papers as President) (Ann Whitman File). The Dulles-Herter Series consists of 13 boxes of telegrams, messages, memoranda, memoranda of conversations, briefing memoranda and related materials spanning the period from late 1952 to 1961. The first 10½ boxes pertain to Secretary Dulles' interaction with the President. Although there are copies here of items in Dulles' Papers, most of this material is not duplicated in Dulles's Papers. Therefore, this series should be examined as well as Dulles' Papers. Princeton University acquired declassified copies of the Dulles portion of this series and these should be readily available at Princeton.

Eleanor Lansing Dulles Papers: 1880-1984. The Papers of Ms. Eleanor Lansing Dulles, sister of Allen and John Foster Dulles, contains correspondence, interview notes, printed materials regarding her brothers and correspondence, drafts, and research notes for many books Ms. Dulles wrote including John Foster Dulles: The Final Year. Also of possible interest is the file of diaries and letters written by Ms. Dulles' grandmother, Mary Foster, her aunt Eleanor Lansing and her parents Allen Macy and Edith Foster Dulles. This segment includes materials dated as early as 1880 and correspondence through 1919 with a few items dated later.

John W. Hanes Jr. Papers: 1950-1970. John Hanes was a Special Assistant to Secretary of State Dulles from 1953 to 1957 and held other positions within the Department of State until 1961. He also served on the Manuscript Committee established by John Foster Dulles to exercise control over the Dulles Papers after Dulles' death. While the Hanes papers contain a small file of speeches and articles relating to John Foster Dulles, the collection is of particular interest because it documents the negotiations begun by John Foster Dulles to deposit his papers at Princeton University and the Eisenhower Library.

Carl W. McCardle Papers: 1953-1957. Carl McCardle was Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs from 1953-57. His papers contain press releases, press conference transcripts, letters, memoranda regarding John Foster Dulles' major trips and conference, copies of Dulles statements and press conferences and correspondence and printed material pertaining to Dulles including his health.

For additional information concerning the Dulles Papers, see John W. Hanes Jr.'s "The Dulles Papers –Landmark of History" Foreign Service Journal XXXVI, (October 1959), 21-23; and John E. Wickman's "John Foster Dulles' 'Letter of Gift'," The American Archivist, 31 (October 1968), 355-62.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

- February 25, 1888 Born in Washington, D.C.
- 1908 Graduated from Princeton University and spent year studying at Sorbonne in Paris
- 1911 Received LL.B degree, George Washington University
- 1911 Began association with Sullivan and Cromwell law firm in New York
- June 26, 1912 Married Janet Avery
- 1916-17 Sent on special missions in Central America for the State Department
- 1917-1918 Worked with U.S. Army intelligence and served as an assistant to the Chairman of the War Trade Board
- 1918-1919 Member of U.S. Delegation to Versailles Peace Conference; headed U.S. delegation to the Reparations Committee
- 1919 Returned to Sullivan and Cromwell
- 1930s Lectured and wrote on foreign affairs
- 1939 Published War, Peace and Change
- 1940 Became chairman of Federal Council of Church's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace
- 1944 Participated in Thomas Dewey's unsuccessful presidential campaign as a foreign policy adviser
- 1945 Member of U.S. Delegation to UN Conference in San Francisco
- 1946-1950 Delegate to UN General Assembly and Adviser to U.S. Department of State
- 1948 Adviser to Republican presidential candidate, Thomas Dewey
- 1949 Served briefly in U.S. Senate, filling the unexpired term of U.S. Senator Robert Wagner. Ran unsuccessfully for election to full term
- 1950 Published War or Peace

1950	Appointed by President Truman as Special Representative with rank of Ambassador, responsible for negotiating a peace treaty between the United States and Japan
September 8, 1951	Representatives of 48 nations signed peace treaty with Japan in San Francisco. Treaty ratified by U.S. Senate in March 1952
May 1952	Published article "A Policy of Boldness" in <u>Life</u> magazine
1952	Participated in Dwight Eisenhower's campaign for President
November 1952	President-elect Eisenhower offered Dulles post of Secretary of State
December 1952	Participated in national security discussions with President-elect Eisenhower and others on cruiser <u>Helena</u>
January 20, 1953	Sworn in as Secretary of State
January 12, 1954	Gave speech to Council on Foreign Relations calling for U.S. Reliance on deterrent of massive retaliatory power
January-February 1954	Attended Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference
April 1954	Published "Policy for Security and Peace", <u>Foreign Affairs</u> , April 1954
April 24, 1954	Arrived at Geneva Conference on Korea and Indochina
September 8, 1954	Signed Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty in Manila
December 2, 1954	Signed Mutual Defense Treaty between United States and Republic of China in Washington, D.C.
May 15, 1955	Signed Austrian State Treaty
July 18-23, 1955	President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles attended Geneva Heads of Government Conference, Geneva, Switzerland
August 26, 1955	Outlined plan for Arab-Israel peace settlement in speech before Council on Foreign Relations
January 16, 1956	<u>Life</u> magazine published James Shepley article based on interview with Dulles, "How Dulles Averted War" with Dulles commenting on getting to verge or brink of war without actually getting in

- July 19, 1956 Dulles rescinded U.S. offer to finance construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt
- August 1-2, 1956 Secretary Dulles attended London Three Power Conference to discuss Egyptian nationalization of Suez Canal. Additional Conferences regarding Suez held in London in August and September 1956
- November 3, 1956 Undergoes operation for cancer
- January 5, 1957 President Eisenhower outlines “Eisenhower Doctrine” in special Message to Congress on the Middle East
- October 1957 Dulles published “Challenge and Response in United States Policy” in Foreign Affairs. Article discussed U.S. strategic posture and nuclear weapons
- May 24, 1959 Died of cancer, Walter Reed Army Hospital, Washington, D.C.