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Politics and Silenced Power of Eleanor Dulles: ‘Good Old Girl’ and ‘Great Woman’ History: From New Deal ‘Left’ to Cold War ‘Right’

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Politics and Silenced Power of Eleanor Dulles:
'Good Old Girl' and 'Great Woman' History:
From New Deal 'Left' to Cold War 'Right'

Some Americans know the name Dulles, particularly if they fly in and out of Washington, DC's smaller airport. Historians of the United States know the name because of the controversies surrounding the two brothers, John Foster and Allen. Under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, they served as Secretary of State and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, respectively. Debates abound about their role in the administration, from how much power they wielded over military decisions to their influence on the performance of national and presidential religiosity. Did the two brothers run the administration, particularly after Eisenhower's heart attack and before Foster died? Were Eisenhower and Foster playing good-cop/bad-cop in the international sphere? While Dulles recommended "limited nuclear attacks" to contain communism in Asia, Eisenhower famously delivered his "Atoms for Peace" speech at the United Nations, asking all to lay down arms and use the atom for good. Was the inclusion of "In God We Trust" on paper money, "Under God" in the pledge of allegiance, pre-cabinet meeting prayer, and even Eisenhower's late-life baptism seeded by the Dulles's generational understanding of the inalienable link between the rhetoric of American politics and religion? With the CIA-led coups in Iran and Guatemala, did the brothers wield military power and dominate the strategy of the president for whom they worked?

Yet the brothers had a sister, and she, too, was at the center of Europe's hotspots in wartime and Cold War. In 1917, Eleanor Lansing graduated from Bryn Mawr and promptly left

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for France to help in the war effort. Attending the treaty of Versailles with her brothers and uncle, Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State, she boldly critiqued John Maynard Keynes' use of statistical analysis to solve postwar economic problems. In 1927, she earned her Ph.D. at Harvard in economics and international monetary policy, and later worked for President Franklin D. Roosevelt to establish the Social Security Board. She moved to the State Department and attended Bretton Woods as Economic Attaché to Vienna, administered the Marshall Plan in Austria, and, after a brief hiatus, rejoined the State Department under Eisenhower, posted at the Berlin Desk before her brother Foster became Secretary of State. Rumour had it that he tried to get her fired. She became known as "The Mother of Berlin." After the death of her brother Foster, Dulles became disgruntled with Washington's German policies and left Berlin for intelligence work. With the new administration's youth and inexperience, Eleanor Lansing spoke out and President John F. Kennedy dismissed her along with her brother in the wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco. And yet we hear so little about her. Her ten books, two co-authored volumes, and even a play she authored all remain out of print. To an extent, this may be another case of historians overlooking women. But Eleanor's intent was to be overlooked, to be purposefully invisible. She wrote, in her out-of-print biography, "In order to take an authoritative position one has to arrange an invisible promotion."¹

The Dulles family biography establishes the siblings as staunch anti-communists during the early Cold War and an integral part of the American political elite. Their mother, Edith, was the daughter of John Watson Foster, Secretary of State under Benjamin Harrison in 1892. Edith's sister, known as "Auntie," married Robert Lansing, a conservative Democrat who became Secretary of State under Woodrow Wilson in 1915. Religion comfortably infused their Cold War anti-communist rhetoric. Their father was a Protestant bishop, and his father was a theologian

renowned as one of the founding figures of Union Theological Seminary. He had been born abroad: Eleanor Lansing's great grandparents had been missionaries. Indeed, her great grandmother's tenacity earned her a published biography in the early nineteenth century. Politics met religion in a family embedded in the story of elite power brokers in the United States.

As much as one might like to imagine the family entrenched in the politics of the religious Right, some were indeed quite liberal. When Eleanor complained to Auntie that only the men were allowed to speak at the Sunday dinner table, at the next supper and thereafter, Auntie assigned most family members a dinner table topic. Eleanor's father would discuss religion, her mother flowers and planting. Foster, the eldest, spoke about diplomacy, and Allen, the youngest son, enjoyed history. Eleanor, as one of three sisters (the other two of whom did not speak), was tasked with discussing international monetary policy, her passion.²

Eleanor Dulles's political biography seems to exemplify the typical Cold War right-wing move from interwar socialist to anti-communist Christian cold warrior. While a traditional move from a liberal youth to a conservative elder defies historical periodization, the transition from young New Dealer to maturing Cold War McCarthyite seemed especially common in the US during the post-World War II period. In United States history, there is nothing better than a reformed young leftist to create the perfect right-wing elder.³ Dulles moved from working for Roosevelt to establish New Deal programs, to West Berlin under Eisenhower to "fight the Kremlin." Indeed, while at the State Department, she was the subject of her brother's McCarthyite investigations because she had implemented "socialist-type" programs with Roosevelt. An Army report finally cleared her because she was a good mother.⁴ Yet the nuanced story of Eleanor Dulles dismantles this neat narrative of the American liberal tradition and the

move from Left to Right, particularly when discussing women. Dulles demonstrates that the issues are shaded, complex, and deeply individual.

The historiography of women on the right is growing. Interestingly, the field has been defined by the approach of Marxist historians in the tradition of E.P. Thompson, i.e., from the bottom up. With the focus of historians ranging from “Republican motherhood” to “housewife activism” and “housewife populism,” there are few “Big Women” histories with the exception of Phyllis Schlafly, who is often posited as a housewife and not a member of the elite or certainly the intelligentsia.⁵ And there has been a stated blurring of terms. One historian writes, “I alternatively refer to [female] activists on the right as ‘conservative,’ ‘anti-communist,’ and ‘right wing,’ [and include the Christian right], to underscore the ideological contribution their work made to the ascendance of the American right.”⁶ Even more problematic, the author continues, “By no means audacious, the decision mimics the practice of women’s historians who describe women as feminists,” who either lived before the movement began or, like Eleanor Dulles, said “I am not a feminist,” directly, simply, and not to be misunderstood.⁷ While, as a historian trained by Marxist feminists, I deeply respect the work of authors who query groups and movements, as a traditionalist I argue that “Great Women’s History” must be queried in order to untangle these terms and make them descriptive rather than sticky phrases siloed in container-like meanings.

Dulles demonstrates that some anti-communists, who were deeply religious and behaved like missionaries for the American cause in the international Cold War, certainly were not anti-elitists, but rather believed in the power of the elite and ‘trickle-down diplomacy.’ As a powerful woman, politically and economically, she first sympathized with communism, was investigated for alleged socialist ties, and then would be adopted by the Right as she shaped anti-communist,

anti-Kennedy, and fiscally responsible ideals in avoiding the escalation of government debt; thus, she cannot be defined by congealed and comingled terms. She believed in the power of government to do good works, first as a New Dealer, then repairing the devastation of Europe after World War II in cities divided East from West, fighting the Kremlin in Moscow with food and architecture as diplomacy, as well as a few projects with Allen.

While, like Schlafly and her housewives, Dulles disavowed feminism, she believed in the power of women. She wrote, “Women already make a large share of the decisions in business and home life, and they can *learn*, be *taught*, the power issues.” Of her State Department work, she said, “I decided that if I were not promoted I would act as if I had been.” Yet she quickly added, “I am not a feminist.”⁸

While at Bryn Mawr from 1913 until 1917, she considered both communist and capitalist ideals and, despite showing some sympathy for the Russian Revolution, ultimately found both lacking. “I had some sympathy for the Russian Revolution,” she wrote. She questioned the Secretary of State about the war: “I said to Uncle Bert, What’s happening? What’s this War you people are starting?”⁹ In June 1917, a few days after graduation, she left for France to help with the war effort. She was “chased by a submarine, arrested as a spy by the French, shelled by the Germans” while she worked for relief organizations.¹⁰ With the Armistice and post-World War I negotiations at Versailles, Foster, who had served as a major in the army, and Allen, who worked in Switzerland to gather intelligence, met Eleanor at the famous Crillion Hotel in Paris as they worked on the peace treaty with their uncle. Eleanor listened to discussions with John Maynard Keynes and “found his statistics lacking,” concluding, “The mistakes made in the Paris conference in 1919 were to affect my entire life and the lives of my children and grandchildren.”¹¹

After the war, Dulles continued her schooling in the US and in Europe, taught at colleges, worked in heavy industry, and in 1926 was awarded a doctorate in economics from Harvard, writing her thesis on the French franc. In 1930, she received a General Electric grant to study reparation payments in Germany. While there, she became aware of the Nazi movement: “We had met many young German men on the rivers... They were anti-everything. They said, ‘The German soul must be re-created, German imperialism must be strengthened, we must have our place in the sun...’ and so on. This was Nazism in its beginning, when it spread from Hitler’s small group to the younger generations, and then gradually crept up through the older generations.” While on the research trip, she met with Joseph Goebbels, and became deeply concerned by Nazi ideology.¹² She understood it as a consequence of reparation payments and concluded, “The idea of economic opportunism as contrasted to economic morality [at Versailles] opened the way for Hitler’s plans for centralized control of the finances of Germany.”¹³ Astonished by the cultural, political, and economic implications of what she saw, she argued with brothers to intervene, but isolationism prevailed, in the isolationist moment, as during her lifetime, “Government intervention is a hot topic.”¹⁴ She believed in intervention as a leftist internationalist; her brothers did not.

Maintaining her work schedule after personal tragedies,¹⁵ of her work with Roosevelt and the New Deal in 1936, Dulles wrote, “Those on the Right of the political spectrum hated FDR and the growing interference by government in the life of the average citizen: to them this was a foretaste of socialism. Those on the Left welcomed the new measures, but they complained also, for they did not think the program went far enough.”¹⁶ In September 1942, she joined the Department of State, and in 1944 she attended the Bretton Woods Conference and became the US Financial Attaché in Austria. In 1947, she became fascinated by divided nations and went to

Vienna to work with Foster and George C. Marshall. Dulles deemed Austria “ripe for reconstruction” given the “total devastation” she saw, and she used the Marshall Plan funding to get housing, food, and fuel for the population.¹⁷ She recalled of the Soviet side: “The occupation was so chaotic that if one really wanted to do something, maneuvering was necessary. You can trade cabbages for horses, especially if you’re a woman.”¹⁸ While in Vienna, she watched the Berlin Blockade with horror. She feared for Austria, and grew to abhor Moscow’s tactics. While she worked in Vienna, her brother Allen’s arm of the government enacted “Operation Gold,” and built a tunnel under the city to spy on the Soviets.

In 1952, she joined the Office of German Affairs in the State Department shortly before Foster became Secretary of State. With a created position as head of the “Berlin Desk,” she travelled back and forth between Washington and Berlin. She successfully resisted Foster’s attempts to remove her from her position. She stayed planted in Berlin, believing that the situation of the city was “a unique barometer indicating the state of the Cold War and a significant demonstration of the will [of the West] to oppose the westward progress of communism.” She asked, “How can freedom and democracy develop in areas controlled by communism?”¹⁹ She concluded, “Berlin was a symbol of freedom on the continent.”²⁰

When she arrived, she was encouraged by American operatives to “put an American kitchen in the center of Berlin.” Thanking them for the suggestions, she said she would “add it to [her] list.”²¹ She did not. Dulles went to work “fighting the Kremlin” with food and buildings, such as Congress Hall, the Benjamin Franklin Medical Center, and student dormitories for Frïe University. She also celebrated the famous Liberty Bell in Berlin. For these projects, however, she needed money. Arranging an “invisible position,” she said that she was “never formally

posted in Berlin” and thus “often wrote responses from Washington since [she] made the requests and engineered the responses.” She explained,

I would write cables to Washington [from Berlin], making suggestions and proposals. All this would take a week or ten days, then I would fly back to the US. Before the cables [from Berlin] were decoded and acted upon in Washington, I would be back at my desk [in Washington] where I was responsible for drafting the answers. I would prepare a favorable answer to my own cable and write a brief, defending the request. I secured approximately a billion dollars for Berlin.” A billion dollars, even in 1959 dollars when she left, would be almost \$8.7 billion in 2019.²²

Indeed, she often intercepted “Eyes only, Dulles” classified and top secret memos, and remembers that she turned a fifteen-million dollar request for a project in Berlin into a \$250 million grant. She wondered if her brothers ever saw the memos: “All the work on the political, military, cultural, and economic aspects of Berlin were coordinated and to some extent synthesized at my desk.”²³ Indeed, Allen built another tunnel under Berlin, again to intercept messages from Moscow to the East Germans.

Congress Hall became the brainchild of her Berlin desk. Dulles had always been aware of the power of culture. In the early 1950s, she had watched as the communists planned the Stalin-Allee area of East Berlin, the zone occupied by the Soviets under the Four Power Agreement at the end of World War II. Centered around a broad avenue named in honor of the Soviet Union’s leader, architects designed eight-story apartment buildings in adherence to the Stalinist architectural style, or “socialist classicism.”²⁴ Despite the grand arches, this elaborate complex was trumpeted as housing for “the common man.” As the project proceeded, the East Berlin government mounted posters of the intimidatingly impressive buildings under construction alongside photographs of the charred parks and still-skeletal buildings of West Berlin. Indeed, the Western zone remained a barren, debris-strewn landscape. The once lavish Tiergarten was barren. The world-renowned zoo had only one elephant left, and the trees had been used as firewood. As an outpost of the West,

Berlin had become a propaganda nightmare.²⁵ Stalin-Allee became the flagship of Soviet power and East German reconstruction with its advertised “luxurious” apartments for “plain workers,” as well as shops, restaurants, cafés, a tourist hotel, and a cinema.

But the complex was not without controversy, which Dulles well understood. East Germany (the German Democratic Republic, or GDR) had borne the brunt of Stalinization exerted upon Soviet bloc countries. The regime’s critics met with systematic torture. In East Berlin, the “common man” suffered from a shortage of consumer goods and a ban on electricity in the evenings, and farmers had their land seized by the government. Emigration from the East to the West reached a peak in early 1953, and Berlin became central to the East-West crossing. In response to the crisis, the East German Communist Central Committee mandated increasingly systematic changes for workers building Stalin-Allee, including a ten percent increase in work quotas with no corresponding rise in salary. On June 16, 1953, with Dulles’s arrival, the workers rioted. Troops in the GDR, employing tanks mounted with large-caliber cannons and rotating guns, quashed the uprising with a violent show of force.

Nevertheless, in defiance, protests rippled through East Berlin and the East German countryside the next day. Using food stockpiles obtained through funds commandeered from her brother Foster in Washington, Dulles offered free food packages to anyone with an East German identity card. The East German government ordered its people not to take the handouts. Dulles understood that the propaganda worked either way: giving free food won hearts, minds, and stomachs; troops stationed to prevent people from obtaining much-needed sustenance could be photographed for American propaganda purposes.²⁶ “The Communists faced a dilemma,” Dulles remarked. It was a win-win. According to the Communists, Dulles herself had abetted these protests with her brother and the CIA, “stirring up new gangster acts of sabotage.”²⁷ She denied

the charges, citing her dedication to culture, the reunification of Germany, and the people of Berlin.

Dulles planned Congress Hall's location and architecture, but put men in charge. She found land in the Tiergarten just on the border between West and East, and in direct sight of the German Reichstag in the East, the symbol of Nazi power and oppression. With modernist architecture and an illuminated white curved roof, the building was her "City Upon a Hill" and a "shining beacon of freedom from the West." Religion met politics as it had with the founding of the United States. In 1630, John Winthrop had declared that the English Puritans would make a "City upon a hill" in America with religious freedom and freedom from tyranny and added, "the eyes of the world are upon us." as the building evoked the early Puritan settlers of the United States. Dulles had etched into the cornerstone: "God Grant not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man," echoing the Bible, "so that [he] may set his foot anywhere [on the earth's] surface and say, 'This is my country.'" The modernist architecture used glass to demonstrate the transparency of democracy, a reflecting pool, and large meeting spaces to encourage "democratic conversation." Congress Hall opened with great fanfare. A newspaper headline announced, "Berlin—A Symbol of the West."²⁸ Architect Hugh Stubbins's daughter cracked a champagne bottle against the Congress Hall cornerstone, christening the edifice the "house of free speech." Reporters called it "the first time in history" that a building was christened as if it were a new ship.²⁹ "Since Berlin was to be a symbol of freedom on the continent, we tried to get a special allotment for the [opening] celebration," Dulles wrote.³⁰ Indeed, the CIA-backed Congress for Cultural Freedom assisted with the festivities and programming. Operatives asserted that over twenty-five percent of the audience for the star-studded black-tie gala opening heralded from the East. A "Kongresshalle" stamp featured an elegant rendering of the building that transmitted its image from Berlin throughout West Germany.³¹ Yet the elite nature

of the space and the opening events drew attention from the press, and the hall was pictured in cartoons as a curved hat with flowers carried by Uncle Sam with the tag “A gift from our Uncle.” The building became known as “Eleanor’s Hat.”

Dulles pushed forward and built the Medical Center, another modernist architectural innovation that served the people and brought experts to Berlin in medicine and science. Yet with the opening of the student dormitories at Freie university, Dulles was heckled as an American imperialist. After Foster died in 1959, Dulles became increasingly at odds with the new Secretary of State who she believed made “too many concessions to the Kremlin,” did not support to radio and other cultural efforts in Berlin, and would not support immigrants – or defectors.³² Dulles transferred from the Berlin desk to the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in Washington, DC.

Yet she continued her cultural work in Berlin, attaching herself to both Ronald Reagan and Eisenhower in the “Crusade for Freedom” campaign, which raised money for radio programming and other cultural events to thwart the spread of communism. Reagan made television ads asking Americans to donate “Truth Dollars”: one dollar would buy one hundred minutes of “Truth” broadcasts for bloc citizens, a penny a minute. Dulles arranged to have the Liberty Bell travel to Berlin. The Bell was cast with the words “Proclaim Liberty Throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants Thereof,” a biblical reference from the Book of Leviticus. As an iconic symbol of American independence from tyranny and religious righteousness, the Liberty Bell was used in Cold War campaigns on savings bonds and stamps to make the country “so strong that no one can impose ruthless, godless ideologies on us.” When the Liberty Bell arrived in Berlin, Dulles proclaimed, “This had been the gift of thousands of American schoolchildren contributing pennies.”³³ Indeed, unbeknownst to many at the time, the CIA provided most of the funding for the “Crusade for Freedom” activities. In Berlin, as Dulles looked on, East German and bloc defectors came forward to

tap the bell, an American photographer standing by, as a “symbol of hope and encouragement to their compatriots.”

When John F. Kennedy was elected, Dulles decried the young president’s lack of “quick response and clear-cut decisions.”³⁴ Although Eisenhower had planned the invasion of Cuba with Allen’s CIA, Kennedy altered plans and limited air support at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. According to Dulles, Kennedy’s show of weakness with the Soviets during the Bay of Pigs and at the Vienna Summit empowered “the Kremlin” to encourage the erection of the Berlin Wall in August. She denounced Kennedy and said, “If I had been in Berlin, I doubt the Wall would have gone up. I would have had the trucks drive back and forth in the city.”³⁵ Although Dulles used cultural diplomacy, she believed in hard power. Kennedy’s weak response to Soviet actions allowed the “defiance of the American government with impunity.”³⁶ After Allen “resigned,” Dulles read about her own “resignation” in January 1962. She retorted, “American inaction at the Wall led to the missile crisis in Cuba.”³⁷

While she linked to Eisenhower and Reagan in cultural diplomacy efforts, she believed in strong anti-communist actions. In addition, she was no fan of government debt. Yet she did not believe in cutting social programs. Of Reaganonomics she might well have said, “When critics promulgate doubts in the mind of the present or potential beneficiaries [of Roosevelt’s programs] they are causing irreparable damage.” She continued, “The fear generated [by cuts] is a destructive force, upsetting those who do not fully understand the protection they have been granted.”³⁸ In essence, she believed in government emergency measures for unemployed, homeless, hungry, sick, and elderly because it binds citizens to the nation. Of the programs, even in the stagflation and oil crises of the 1970s, she said, “Christmastime was busy and prosperous...because of Roosevelt.”³⁹ She concluded, “I hear many complaints [about social programs], but I am rarely given time to explain the intricacies of little-

understood provisions.”⁴⁰ On the left, Dulles was sympathetic to the Bolshevik revolution, believed in government emergency coverage, the power of women, government intervention internationally, peace, cultural diplomacy, cross-cultural marriages, and even living in sin. On the Right, Dulles was a staunch anti-communist, nationalist and internationalist, religious in her fervor, did not believe in government debt; she was pro-individualist, and anti-feminist.

In the middle, by the end of the twentieth century, Eleanor Lansing Dulles was ignored by both Left and Right as a member of America’s elite in the political, religious, economic, cultural, and clandestine realms. Yet she always had the individual in the streets in mind with her work; she believed in the power of what she called “moral economics.” She believed in freedom and the rights of the individual, if she would also use all means in her powers to achieve these ends.

Endnotes

¹ Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime, a Memoir* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 265.

² Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 163.

³ James Wiltgen and Robin Mackay, “Introduction: Cold War/Cold World – A Project of Reason?” *Cold War/Cold World: Knowledge, Representation and the Outside in Cold War Culture and Contemporary Art*, ed. Amanda Beech, Robin Mckay, and James Wiltgen (Falmouth, UK: Urbanomic, 2017), 1.

⁴ Eleanor Dulles, FOIA request, Victoria Phillips Collection, Library of Congress, box 1.

⁵ Linda Kerber, “The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective,” *American Quarterly*, 28, no. 2 (Summer 1976): 187-205; Michelle M. Nickerson, “Introduction,” *Mothers of Conservatism: Women and the Postwar Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

⁶ Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*.

⁷ Nickerson, *Mothers of Conservatism*; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*.

⁸ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 238, 239.

⁹ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 46, 207, 48.

¹⁰ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 50.

¹¹ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 68, 69.

¹² Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 180.

¹³ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 125, 131.

¹⁴ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 131.

¹⁵ In 1931, Dulles met her future husband in Paris. A renowned Romance scholar at Johns Hopkins, he was also Jewish. Her brothers told her to “live in sin” because the marriage would kill their father. When he died in 1932, Dulles married. In 1933, she published her first book *The Dollar, the Franc and Inflation*, based on her dissertation, and in 1934 she became pregnant. When she was in her second month, her husband committed suicide by gassing himself in their oven while she is on her way home from work. She wrote, “In the end for him there was peace.” She wrote about her work as a mother, but sent her two children to boarding schools as she went into recovering battle zones.

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- ¹⁷ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 183.
- ¹⁸ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 193.
- ¹⁹ Dulles, *One Germany or Two* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1970), 1.
- ²⁰ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 261.
- ²¹ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 284.
- ²² Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 249.
- ²³ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 243.
- ²⁴ Mariusz Czepczyński, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-Socialist Cities: Representations of Powers and Needs* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 90.
- ²⁵ Armin Grünbacher, *Reconstruction and Cold War in Germany, 1948–1961* (London: Ashgate, 2004).
- ²⁶ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 255-256.
- ²⁷ “Official Correspondence and Reports, 1931–1968,” “Clippings,” box 11, folder 1953, ELD/EPL; Christian F. Ostermann and Malcom Byrne, *Uprising in East Germany, 1953: The Cold War, the German Question, and the First Major Upheaval Behind the Iron Curtain* (Washington, DC: Central European University Press, 2003), 138, 163; Alison Smale, “60 Years Later, Germany Recalls Its Anti-Soviet Revolt,” *New York Times*, June 18, 2013, A4; Bernard Wasserstein, *Barbarism and Civilization: A History of Europe in Our Time* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 494.
- ²⁸ Scrapbooks 1, 36, Hugh S. Stubbins Collection, Special Collections, Harvard University.
- ²⁹ Dance Panel/International Exchange Panel Minutes, May 1957, Cultural Collection, University of Arkansas; Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 46; “Fairy Tale Magic,” *Nachtdepesche*, Sept. 20, 1957, 57, USIS translations for ELD, Congress Hall Scrapbook, Sept. 1957 (2), box 13, ELD Collection, Eisenhower Presidential Library, Abilene, KS.
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- ³¹ Kongresshalle, B Rep. 166-02, Nr. 1, Landesarchive, Berlin.
- ³² Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 276.
- ³³ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 295.
- ³⁴ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 273.
- ³⁵ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 272.
- ³⁶ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 222.
- ³⁷ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 222.
- ³⁸ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 149-150.
- ³⁹ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 156.
- ⁴⁰ Dulles, *Chances of a Lifetime*, 149-150.

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