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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

February 8, 2018

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.
SUITE 1203
27305 WEST LIVE OAK ROAD
CASTAIC, CA 91384

FOIPA Request No.: 1392530-001
Subject: DULLES, JOHN FOSTER

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

Records responsive to your request were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. Enclosed is one CD containing 39 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions. This release is being provided to you at no charge.

For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). See 5 U.S. C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)). This response is limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIAonline portal by creating an account on the following web site: <https://foiaonline.regulations.gov/foia/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing ogis@nara.gov. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D Hardy", is written over a horizontal line.

David M. Hardy
Section Chief,
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP

DATE 5/28/81 A.J.

CLASS. & EXT. BY 412/81
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW 4/12/91

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March 28, 1949

TOI/PA # 258647
APPEAL # 262122
CIVIL ACT. #
S.C. # 12356
DATE 11-7-86

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

RE: JOHN FOSTER DULLES

This memorandum is a resume of information contained in Bureau files concerning the above-captioned individual.

(A) Personal Background Data

John Foster Dulles was born on February 25, 1888, in Washington, D. C., the son of Allen Macy and Edith (Foster) Dulles.

He received a B.A. degree at Princeton University, in 1908, LL.B. degree, George Washington University, 1911; and LL.D. degrees at Tufts, 1939, and Princeton, 1946, Wagner College and Northwestern University, 1947. He studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, 1908-1909.

He married Janet Pomeroy Avery on June 26, 1912, and has two children. He began the practice of law in New York City in 1911. He is a member of the firm, Sullivan and Cromwell; Director, International Nickel Company and Bank of New York; a Trustee, Rockefeller Foundation; Chairman of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; member of the New York State Banking Board; Chairman, Federal Council of Churches' Commission on Just and Durable Peace. In addition, Dulles in 1907 was Secretary of The Hague Peace Conference. He served as a special agent, Department of State, in Central America, 1917; Captain and Major, U. S. Army, 1917-1918; Assistant to Chairman, War Trade Board, 1918; Counsel to American Commission to Negotiate Peace, 1918-1919; member, Reparations Commission and Supreme Economic Council, 1919; Legal Adviser, Polish Plan of Financial Stabilization, 1927. Mr. Dulles has served, in the diplomatic field, as American representative to the Berlin debt conferences in 1933; member United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference on World Organization, 1945; First Council of Foreign Ministers, London, 1945; and the Moscow meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, 1947.

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ENCLOSURE
162-84466-7

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THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES
TO BE DESTROYED AFTER ACTION IS TAKEN AND NOT SENT TO FILES

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CRIMINAL DIVISION
JAN 11 1949

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

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He is a Presbyterian and author of "War, Peace and Change." His home addresses are listed as 72 East 91st Street, New York 28, New York, and Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York. His business address is 48 Wall Street, New York 5, New York. (Who's Who in America, 1948-1949)

(B) Activities of Dulles

Dulles, according to Bureau files, has been associated with and interested in a variety of activities. They are being set forth as follows:

1) United Nations Activities

Assistant Director D. M. Ladd in a memorandum dated May 22, 1945, concerning the San Francisco United Nations Conference, advised that Mr. Tracy had stated, among other things, that there was a press leak the day before. "Stettinius" held a press conference and started to tell the press some things. One of them said they already had certain information and it was on the wire twelve minutes before. This aggravated Stettinius very much and he made the remark to Senator Vandenberg that he hoped for once to be able to give the newspapermen information they had not already received. Jerome Doyle secured the story on this and found that it was John Foster Dulles who gave out the information." (62-77787-958) //

TS [The San Francisco Division by letter dated June 6, 1945, furnished the Bureau information received from Confidential Informant [] on June 1, 1945, the day (u) following a dinner at which the informant conversed with Dulles. Dulles advised the informant that in his opinion there would be no permanent peace until the world had experienced two or three more wars, and without stating expressly, he indicated that there was a possibility that this country would have to go to war with the USSR. He said that there could be no understanding of the USSR until that country permitted closer scrutiny of its government and country as the United States does by permitting correspondents to report what they find in this nation. Dulles also told the informant that he had attended international conferences ever since he was a youth and had been puzzled as to the question of insuring peace of the world. He stated that about four or five years ago he came to the realization that

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religion was the answer to this question. He said that in an atheistic system, the state was aggrandized and this consequently led to trouble in the suppression of individual rights. He said that there must be recognized a law which was superior to that of the nation. After coming to this realization he became most interested in the Protestant Church and became active in this field. (62-77787-1037)

Confidential Informant SF-613 on June 6, 1945, reported that Bartley C. Crum, prominent San Francisco Attorney, in a conversation with William Schneiderman, State President of the CPA of California, advised that he was sending a confidential memorandum to President Truman that afternoon regarding two "very disturbing factors" at the San Francisco Conference. One of these factors, Crum stated, was that John Foster Dulles had been "leaking" all over the place and in fact was called the "leakerie" by the press representatives. SF-1040 furnished part of the text of the memorandum which included the statement: (U) (S)

"There is also great concern over the belief that Mr. John Foster Dulles is leaking information in setting the tone for many stories which are unfriendly to the USSR and which imply very strongly that most of the difficulties of the Conference come from the unyielding attitude of the Russians. From all that I can gather, with the exception of a few...the working press shares the view that Mr. Dulles does inspire stories which are unfriendly. Naturally, correspondents, as well as the Russians themselves, are aware of the identities of some of the clients of the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which Mr. Dulles is the head." (U) (S)

(62-77787-984)

New York Times on December 20, 1945, advised that John Foster Dulles of New York had been appointed an alternate American delegate by President Truman for the first part of the initial meeting of the UNO General Assembly which would convene in London January 10, 1946.

(62-77787-A)

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The Congressional Record for Thursday, December 20, 1945, reflected that the Senate on that date confirmed the nominations of representatives to the United Nations Organization. Among those confirmed was John Foster Dulles. (66-1731-892) (ppg. 12614-12624, Congressional Record)

The Washington Post on September 19, 1947, listed the names of individuals characterized by Andrei Y. ~~Vishinsky~~, Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister and Russian delegate to the United Nations, as "warmongers" in a speech delivered before the United Nations General Assembly in September 1947. Among those named as ~~warmongers~~ was John Foster Dulles. Vishinsky stated that ~~Dulles in a speech delivered on February 10, 1947, in Chicago urged "a tough foreign policy toward the Soviet Union' declaring that if the United States of America does not take up such a course, counting on the possibility of reaching a compromise with the Soviet Union, then the war is inevitable. In the same speech Dulles boasted that since the collapse of the Roman Empire no nation ever possessed such great superiority of material power as the United States, and urged the United States to utilize this power to promote its ideals."~~ (100-3-80-A)

A memorandum from Mr. Wall to Mr. Ladd dated June 4, 1948, in connection with the Loyalty Program, reflected that a review of Bureau files failed to reflect information of a disloyal nature regarding John Foster Dulles. The memorandum recommended that the loyalty form for Mr. Dulles be marked "Nothing Derogatory." A loyalty form had been submitted by the State Department on Dulles since he was serving as a United States representative to the General Assembly, United Nations. (121-0-1240)

2) Connections With Governor Thomas E. Dewey and the Republican Party.

Tristram ~~Coffin~~, in his book ~~"Missouri Compromise"~~ published in 1947 discussed the constitutional requirement that the Senate approve the foreign policy of the United States. He said that this responsibility rested in the hands of a few old men and has done so for generations.

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Coffin stated that at the time of the book, Senator Arthur Vandenberg was the dominant figure and that he was influenced greatly by Dulles, who was described as the Republican expert on foreign policy.
(62-83503-7, Pg.7)

The Associated Press on May 6, 1948, quoted Governor Thomas E. Dewey as stating that, if elected President, he would appoint a Secretary of State able to say "no" to Joseph Stalin. The Associated Press item commented that, according to Dewey, two men could do the job, namely John Foster Dulles and Senator Arthur Vandenberg. Dewey in this connection was quoted as follows: "I know two men intimately who have said 'no' and one is John Foster Dulles, who is one of the closest friends I have in the world. He has been saying 'no' to Stalin."
(65-37939-A)

The July 2, 1948, issue of the U. S. News in an article entitled "Outlook for a New 'Brain Trust'" contained the following item on Dulles:

"In foreign affairs, John Foster Dulles, 60, will have dominant influence in a Dewey administration. Mr. Dulles, a New York lawyer is certain to be Secretary of State if he chooses. Although his approach to the task will be different from that of Secretary of State George Marshall, there will be no big shift in over-all policy.

"Mr. Dulles has a record that goes back to the founding days of the League of Nations as a participant in international conferences. He knows, from years of personal experience, what it takes to negotiate with a Stalin or a Molotov. He is a strong advocate of keeping party politics out of foreign affairs. Although he long has been Mr. Dewey's adviser on international relations, he has worked closely with the State Department and with Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who will be the Administration's foreign policy pilot in Congress if Mr. Dewey wins. The Dulles-Vandenberg team will control U. S. dealings with other countries."

(62-45146-125)

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3) Interest in Church Work

In literature issued by "The Friends of the World Council of Churches," John Foster Dulles is listed as an alternate on the Joint Executive Committee sponsoring the organization. Dr. William Adams Brown was listed as Chairman and Bishop Ivan Lee Holt and President A. R. Wentz as Vice-Chairmen. (100-0-3751)

On April 29, 1942, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State, by letter furnished the Bureau a list of organizations, "presumably working on post-war reconstruction plans." Among the organizations listed was "Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches," John Foster Dulles, Chairman, Reverend B. S. Abernethy, Secretary, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York." (62-39749-201X1)

The Philadelphia office by letter dated January 12, 1948, reported that John Foster Dulles on January 8, 1948, held a press interview in Philadelphia. Dulles was in Philadelphia for the purpose of attending a conference of the Department of International Justice and Good Will, Federal Council of Churches. During the interview, Dulles discussed general United Nations and international affairs. He was quoted, in the Philadelphia press, as stating that the purpose of the Council meeting was to "lay out a program for rallying our Christian people to more effective support of the United Nations and the European Recovery Plan." (100-353927-4)

An AP dispatch carried in the August 25, 1948, issue of the New York Star reported that on the previous day John Foster Dulles had addressed the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam. Dulles, speaking as a delegate for American Presbyterian Churches, was quoted, in part, as follows:

"The Soviet Communist regime is not a regime of peace and indeed it does not purport to be. It may not and I hope that it does not want international war. But if so,

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that is a matter of expediency, not of principle...Marxian Communism is atheistic and materialistic. Its leaders reject the concept of moral law. There is, says Stalin, no such thing as 'eternal justice.' Laws are merely the means whereby those in power carry out their will...." (100-231551-A)

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In the case entitled "Hungarian Intelligence Activities in the U. S., Internal Security-R" the files of the State Department, made available by confidential informant reflected a telegram from Seldin/Chapin, EE & MP, Budapest, Hungary, to the State Department. The telegram stated ~~10~~ Csornoky asked most solicitously re Szegedy-Maszhak's plans.

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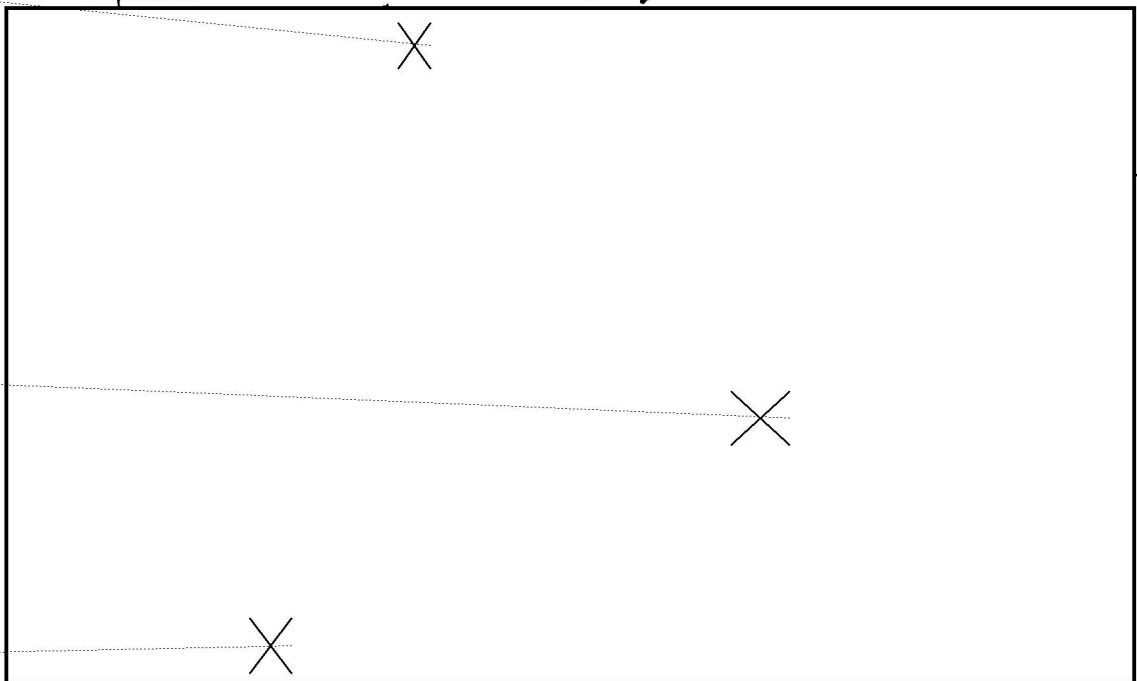
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and situation stating latter his best friend and inquired whether I could let him know anything later. He said he had discovered definite proof on his return to Budapest that ever since his arrival in Washington, Counselor Paul Marik had been reporting directly and secretly to Rakosi and presumably himself a Communist Party member. He also stated that he had been confronted by Rakosi with textual quotations from the confidential letter he had drafted for Mme Tildy in New York and which she had sent to John Foster Dulles. This letter was translated by Ivan Nagy (First Secretary, Hungarian Legation, Washington, D. C.) but no copy sent into the Hungarian Foreign Office or remained in the Legation, Washington. He was, therefore, convinced that Ivan Nagy had sent a copy direct to Rakosi. (S-2)(S)

(signed) Chapin" (100-354194-19)
(S-2)(S)

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5) Attitude Toward Mundt-Nixon Bill

In a pamphlet entitled "Hearings on Proposed Legislation to Curb or Control the Communist Party of the United States," before the Subcommittee on Legislation of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, a statement by John Foster Dulles dated February 3, 1948, was

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published. The statement, in the form of a letter to Honorable Richard M. Nixon, House of Representatives, asserted that he doubted "the efficacy of either of the two bills" proposed:

"largely because of the fact that the Communist Party is such a nebulous thing. In part it (Communist Party) is a clearly subversive organization subject to what Stalin calls the iron discipline of the party with respect to policies which are largely formulated by the Soviet Communist Party at Moscow. On the other hand, the Communist Party in some countries, notably France, Italy, and, to a lesser extent, the United States, draws into its ranks many who in no sense seek the revolutionary overthrow of our institutions as does the hard core of the Communist Party, but who look to the Communist Party as a method of reform which will cure evils.

"Those who accept the iron discipline of the party are, in a very real sense, the agents of foreign principals and hold doctrines which partake of treason. On the other hand, many others are finding in the Communist Party an outlet for a sense of grievance. But they are not in reality either agents of a foreign principal nor do they entertain treasonable plans. The difficulty is how to distinguish one from the other. That is a difficulty that I do not see clearly how to solve. The two groups are almost inextricably intermingled because, to use Stalin's words:

'The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work, to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.'

"As you will see from the above, my thoughts are at the moment negative rather than positive. If I get any positive ideas while your hearings are still on, I shall not fail to let you know and take advantage of your kind offer." (61-7582-1505, pgs. 492 and 493)

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The Associated Press in an article carried in the May 17, 1948, issue of the Washington Star reported that John Foster Dulles, among others, according to Representative Nixon, Republican of California, had endorsed the Mundt Anti-Communist Bill. This bill would compel Communists to register and would make it a crime to take part in any activities intended to overthrow the United States Government in order to establish a totalitarian system dominated by a foreign country. Mr. Dulles, according to the dispatch, called the bill "a Praiseworthy attempt to deal honestly and in the American tradition with a very difficult and confused situation." (100-3-70-A)

6) Relations With Alger Hiss

An informant [redacted]

[redacted] advised the Bureau that he had been informed, in connection with Alger Hiss' s association with the Carnegie Institute for International Peace, that someone in the State Department had advised Dulles of the questionable background of Hiss and that Dulles had scoffed at the report, saying that he had enjoyed a favorable relationship with Hiss, particularly in Paris. According to the allegation Dulles was said to have expressed his faith in and reliance on Hiss. The informant further observed that the position which Hiss occupies (1) in the Carnegie Institute under Dulles and (2) in the estimation of Dulles, placed him in line to exert influence in foreign affairs of the U. S. The informant also referred to the potentiality of Dulles being selected as Secretary of State in the event of a Republican Victory in 1948. He said that in the event Hiss was still held in such high estimation by Dulles that Hiss might be able to "worm himself back into the Department of State." (101-2668-30)

On August 5, 1948, Mr. Gus Vanech (Department of Justice) contacted Assistant Director D. M. Ladd and stated he desired to ascertain who had assisted Alger Hiss in obtaining an appointment with Carnegie Institute. He stated that he thought Hiss had received support from John Foster Dulles. Ladd suggested that Vanech should check at the State Department to see what their records might show.

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Drew Pearson in his column "The Washington Merry-Go-Round," Washington Post, September 15, 1948, reflected that Governor Dewey had "received some firm but friendly advice from high-up Republicans to think twice before he appoints John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State." The article pointed out that the opposition to Dulles was partly on the ground that he was "one of Wall Street's most prominent lawyers" and partly because "of the disastrous role Dulles played in selling the American public on the now defaulted German bonds prior to 1938 when leading American economists were warning that they would be worthless paper." Pearson said that Senator Styles Bridges (N.H.), Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee, had cautioned Dewey about Dulles. Bridges raised a new objection, "namely Dulles' recommendation of Alger Hiss, alleged Communist, to be President of the Carnegie Peace Foundation." The Directors of the Foundation, Bridges recalled, were lukewarm about Hiss but were pressured into the appointment by Dulles." Bridges also reminded Dewey, according to Pearson, that Dulles might have difficulty in being confirmed by the Senate.

(94-8sub 350-A)

In connection with the Bureau's investigation of the Silvermaster Case, information was received on Hamilton Robinson of the State Department.

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Robinson was employed by the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell in New York and was under the immediate supervision of Dulles. Dulles described Robinson as being a very valuable and capable employee during Robinson's sixth year with the firm. Dulles stated that Robinson was intelligent, alert, trustworthy, and a gentleman at all times. Dulles further stated there was no question as to Robinson's loyalty and that he was ideally qualified for a position with the State Department. (65-56402-2243 pg. 93)

Assistant Secretary of State Peurifoy informed Supervisor Roach in February 1948, that Congressman Busbey's blast with regard to Hamilton Robinson had upset his plans of accepting the latter's resignation. Peurifoy stated that he consequently had to go through with the matter in an attempt to exonerate Robinson. He stated that he contemplated calling, among others, John Foster Dulles as a witness with regard to Robinson's character. (77-23624-27)

8) Office of Strategic Services

Colonel Carter W. Clarke, MID (in 1946), advised the Bureau that he was contacted periodically by an individual named George Michanowsky. Clarke, on one occasion, stated that Michanowsky reported that when (General William) Donovan was director of OSS he made all information available to Allen Dulles, who was one of his assistants. Dulles in turn made all information available immediately to his brother, John Foster Dulles. Subsequent investigation by the Bureau reflected that, according to the records of Local Board #31, New York City, Michanowsky was a psychoneurotic, classified 4-F due to physical unfitness. (100-344378-19,21)

On January 14, 1947, Special Agent Ralph R. Roach called on Mr. George Allen, (adviser to President Truman) and furnished him information concerning certain individuals, including Allen Dulles. In this connection Mr. Allen was informed that Allen Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles, was a friend of General William Donovan and an individual whom Donovan was sponsoring to become Executive Director of CIG and that should Dulles receive the job, he would undoubtedly be a "Charley McCarthy" for Donovan. (62-81909-11)

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9) Attitude of Gerald L. K. Smith

On August 20, 1944, Gerald L. K. Smith left Detroit, arriving at Washington, D. C. the following day. He claimed that his purpose for going to Washington was to insist that the "nationalists" be represented at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, having expressed himself to the effect that he thought the matter of John Foster Dulles' taking part in the conference was a "terrible hoax." In reference to Dulles, Ralph Baerman of Washington, D. C., allegedly expressed himself to the effect that he did not trust Dulles at all and had read articles indicating that Dulles does law business for the British Empire. (Data developed in case "Gerald L. K. Smith, was, The America First Party, Internal Security - G; Security Matter - Sedition") (62-43818-570 pg. 7)

[redacted] Informant [redacted] advised that Gerald L. K. Smith, (speaking before a convention of the America First Party held in Detroit, Michigan on August 29 and 30, 1944,) devoted several minutes to Dulles, stating that Dulles was an international lawyer and on the British payroll. Smith also attacked Governor Thomas Dewey and President Roosevelt. (62-43818-547)

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10) Miscellaneous Activities

In a report entitled "The America First Committee, A Study Under Section 101 of the Internal Revenue Code", it was reflected that an examination of the contributions over \$25 was made by Revenue Agent Mammel from the records of the America First Committee in California which reflected a contribution of \$500 by John Foster Dulles to the New York Chapter (America First Committee). (100-4712-528, pg. 308)

The name "John Foster Dulles - Cold Spring Harbor, L. I.," appeared in a 1940 diary maintained by Lawrence Dennis. (This data developed in the investigation of "Lawrence Dennis, was; Weekly Foreign Letter, Registration Act." - 97-218-82, pg. 22)

In the Gregory case, investigation was conducted to determine the correct name of an organization at

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598 Madison Avenue, New York City, inasmuch as it was believed that the organization had contacted Henry Hill Collins, Jr., a subject in the case. Inquiry at that address reflected that the American Federation for Overseas Blind, formerly known as the American Braille Press for War and Civilian Blind, occupied space at that address. The letterhead of the organization, which listed names of officers and members of the Board of Directors, contained the name of Dulles, among others. The purpose of the organization, as stated on the bottom of the letterhead, was "International distribution and circulation of Braille literature and music for war and civilian blind." (65-56402-1980, pg. 16)

John Foster Dulles, 72 E. 91st Street, New York City, was listed as a director in the Hansa Corporation, which was incorporated February 29, 1924, in Delaware for the purpose of dealing in securities, and dissolved on April 30, 1929. (The "Hansa Corporation; Gerhard T. Steinberg, et al, Espionage - G" investigation by the Bureau. 65-22385-16; pg.2)

In 1942 Jane Marie Constance Renard, Foreign Secretary to William Nelson Cromwell, senior partner, law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, New York City, made application to Department of State for a visa to enter the United States. Cromwell and Allen W. Dulles were sponsors. Cromwell enclosed a letter, in this connection, from John Foster Dulles, attesting to his good standing and character. The Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee considering the application voted 3-2 for an unfavorable recommendation, the FBI voting with the majority. However, the Board of Appeals subsequently overruled the majority and recommended favorably. (40-34540)

An informant advised that in the Fall of 1942 she had seen Mrs. Herbert Green, wife of the caretaker of the estate of John Foster Dulles, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, look over some of the papers of Dulles, in his absence, make a pencilled notation

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on a piece of paper and leave the room. The informant believed Mrs. Green to be of German background. An investigation by the FBI reflected that Mr. and Mrs. Green had been employed by Dulles since 1929, were of Swedish origin and had good reputations in the community. The case was closed. (105-3000)

The Cleveland Weekly Dirva, (Lithuanian language newspaper), a Smetonist paper, according to "News Notes," issued by the Foreign Nationalities Branch, Office of Strategic Services, headed "Non-Communist Lithuanian-American Papers Skeptical of Dumbarton Oaks," and dated September 18, 1944, attacked John Foster Dulles for saying that the Baltic States should play "an international role as a part of the Soviet Union." (100-13227-39)

In 1945 Irmengard von Wangenheim, secretary to Gerhart Westrick, was interviewed in Germany by the SCI. She advised that Westrick apparently carried out some mission for the German foreign office during a visit to the United States in 1940 and was in contact with German diplomatic and consular officials in San Francisco, New York and Washington. Two days after the interview von Wangenheim sent the SCI a letter in which she listed a number of people, whom Westrick apparently had contacted in the United States. Among these were John Foster Dulles and Edsel Ford. (65-55967)

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A pamphlet entitled "Trends in Russian Foreign Policy Since World War I: A Chronology of Events from March 15, 1917, to January 1, 1947," prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, for the use of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations quoted an excerpt from an article by Dulles entitled "Soviet Foreign Policy" published in Life Magazine, June 3, 1946. The quotation concerned Russia's interest in maintaining a "friendly belt" of countries on its frontiers. (100-352906-1, pg. 56)

George Cushing, moderator of the program "In Our Opinion" broadcast over Radio Station WJR, Detroit, by letter dated October 18, 1946, furnished the Bureau with a mimeographed copy of the program broadcast on October 13, 1946. This program featured Louis Francis Budenz on the subject of "Communism." Cushing, in his

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introductory remarks, quoted Mr. Hoover as stating that "the Communist Party in this country is not working for the general welfare of all our people-- it is working against our people. It has for its purpose the shackling of America and its conversion to the Godless, Communistic way of life." Cushing also quoted "another widely-known Protestant layman," John Foster Dulles, as recently saying, "The Soviet Communist Party challenges the supremacy of the so-called Christian world." (100-63-180)

According to a CIG report received in March 1947, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was rumored as going to be appointed as the Ambassador to Russia from India. She remarked that she had thought highly of John Foster Dulles at the UN meeting but could not understand his recent remark that India was under the influence of Russian Communism. She felt that his speech to this effect was inspired by reactionary circles in the present Government of the United States. (S) u

(U) [105-8802-2] (S)

The United Press in a dispatch published in the Washington Times Herald on May 7, 1948, reported that John Foster Dulles on the previous day, in a speech before the Bond Club of New York, called for a counter-Cominform in the United States to combat Communist propaganda around the world. Dulles, according to the dispatch, urged that the United States set up a new department of non-military defense to expose Communist activities at home and abroad. "We need an organization to contest with the Communist Party at the level where that Party is working and winning its victories," Dulles said. "If a house is menaced by the inroad of mice, wise men do not burn it down to get rid of the mice; or go on expending big sums to keep in repair what is being gnawed away. They get a cat." (100-3-70-A)

(C) Attitude of Communists Toward Dulles

A great number of the references to Dulles in Bureau files pertain to Communist attacks, in the form of statements and articles by Communist functionaries or party-liners or Communist newspaper accounts against him. They are, to the last line, hostile to Dulles, accusing him

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of being an "American imperialist" intent on crushing Soviet Russia and Communism and conquering the world for American cartels and big business interests. The Communist attitude toward Dulles has been divided into the following salient categories:

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1) Statements of Communist Party Leaders

The May 21, 1945, issue of the Daily Worker reported Eugene Dennis (General Secretary National Communist Party) as stating, in reference to the proposed Mundt Bill to outlaw the Communist Party, that many people believed that the bill would not pass. Dennis pointed out, however, that these individuals "forget that John Foster Dulles, who has given the Mundt Bill his blessing, is a character with some influence in Republican circles and an authoritative spokesman for Vandenberg and Dewey."
(100-3-70-A)

A mimeographed copy of a speech made available by Confidential Informant [] headed "Radio Speech by Fred Williams, Communist Party of Michigan, Saturday, October 13, (1945) Station WWJ--Detroit," and entitled "The Crisis in International Relations," reflected that Williams asserted that Secretary of State Byrnes, in his "lengthy explanation of the failure of the conference," (first session of the London conference of Foreign Ministers) gave "the real tip" when he spoke "so gallantly of Mr. John Foster Dulles, the Wall Street gentleman, who was to be the Secretary of State if Governor Thomas Dewey, Republican, had been the President." Williams, in the mimeographed speech, added that the American people repudiated both Dewey and Dulles in the 1944 Presidential election "because the people wanted a foreign policy leading to lasting peace with security."
(U) (100-235070-237)

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The Daily Worker on October 18, 1945, reflected that William Z. Foster, National Chairman, Communist Party, USA, testified on that date before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Foster asserted, among other things, that in the American imperialist drive to dominate the world "the characteristic spokesmen are Herbert Hoover, Tom Dewey, John Foster Dulles, and Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg."
(61-7582-A)

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Eugene Dennis (Executive Secretary National, CP) in a report before the National Plenum, Communist Party, USA, held in New York City November 1945, accused Secretary of State Byrnes and John Foster Dulles, in collaboration with (Ernest) Bevin and (Clement) Atlee of "torpedoing the London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers." He said that Washington was attempting to get tough with Moscow and promoted and encouraged anti-Soviet hostility and designs. (100-3-4-4911)

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Max Weiss, (Secretary of Agitprop Department, National Communist Party and editor of Political Affairs,) in a speech delivered at the National CP Committee plenum held at Hotel St. George, Brooklyn, New York, July 1946, on the topic of "The Struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Program on the Ideological Front," asserted that the clearest expression of this ideological pattern with which monopoly sought to impregnate the masses had been given by such voices of imperialism and pro-Fascist circles of American life as Virgil Jordan, President of the National Industrial Conference Board, John Foster Dulles, and others. According to these individuals, Weiss stated, America emerged from the war encircled by Socialist states. "This Socialist encirclement threatens free enterprise in America -- threatens American economic and political institutions. American imperialism must destroy this encirclement and impose its institutions upon the rest of the world or else the rest of the world, because of its -- because of the Socialist encirclement of America, will invoke America and impose upon it the Socialist institutions which prevails in the rest of the world." (100-3-1505, pg. 123)

On January 26, 1947, at a Lenin Memorial meeting sponsored by the Communist Party of Los Angeles, according to Confidential Informant [] John Williamson, (Labor Secretary, National Communist Party) attacked John Foster Dulles for his espousal of a European Western bloc in opposition to the Soviet Union. (100-92526-931X1)

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A Confidential Informant advised that Robert Minor, (National Communist Party functionary) in a speech at a Communist Party rally held at []

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Bohemian Hall 29-19 - 24th Avenue, Astoria, Long Island, New York, on March 28, 1941, attached John Foster Dulles "as a money messenger of the Rockefeller crowd." (X) (100-3-4-6247, pg. 20)

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The Communist Party of Bridgeport, Connecticut, staged a demonstration on October 2, 1947, which was the day the Freedom Train visited that city. John Goldring, a known Communist, opened the meeting with an address. In describing the sponsorship of the Freedom Train, he specifically mentioned Winthrop Aldrich, President of the Chase National Bank of New York, and Dulles, identified as an adviser to the high ranking Republican Policy Committee, among others, as sponsors. With these individuals as sponsors, Goldring pointed out, the train represented nothing but a capitalistic sponsored drive, which carried a select group of documents which would be of material propaganda assistance to the capitalists. (65-37534-27, pg. 26)

2) English Language Communist Press (Worker and Daily Worker)

The English language Press has vigorously and constantly attacked Dulles, accusing him of being a "Fascist", a "war-monger", and "a friend of the trusts." In foreign affairs, the Worker and Daily Worker have condemned Dulles as being an advocate of a "get-tough-with-Russia" policy, based on the formation of a West European bloc and the reestablishment of the Nazi-German business cartels. Comments from the press have been set forth under the following headings:

a. "Get-Tough-With-Russia" Policy

(U) Joseph Starobin, writer for the Daily Worker, according to confidential informant (X) addressed a Queens County Wide CPA Rally, Lost Battalion Hall, Queens Boulevard, New York, on May 22, 1945. Starobin commented that he had just returned from the San Francisco United Nations Conference and had not even made a report to his newspaper. In his speech, according to the informant, Starobin stated that the American delegation was advised by Senator Vandenberg who in turn was advised by John Foster Dulles and that (Secretary of State Edward R.) Stettinius turned out to be only (X) (U)

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a mouthpiece for both Vandenberg and Dulles, who tried to disrupt the conference by their attempt to discredit the delegates from the Soviet Union. (100-3-4-4670)

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The Daily Worker on June 6, 1945, in an article entitled "Dulles Uses His Frisco Post to Inspire Anti-Soviet Tales," asserted that the connection between John Foster Dulles, adviser to the American delegate in San Francisco, and the most recent wave of hysterical anti-Soviet articles in the American press had become a major topic of conversation in the UNCIO press room. The article further accused Dulles of "leaking" information to the press. (62-77787-A)

Adam Lapin writing in the October 14, 1945, issue of the Worker commented that six months after the death of Roosevelt the United States Government was abandoning the foreign policy for which he lived and died. According to Lapin, the United States has adopted a new foreign policy -- the foreign policy of an aggressive American imperialism determined to dominate the world. "It is essentially the foreign policy of Herbert Hoover and Thomas E. Dewey -- and of John Foster Dulles who would have been Secretary of State if the GOP had won the election but who is virtually filling the same office anyway." (100-3-A)

An article in the September 16, 1947, issue of the Daily Worker headed "What Hurts the UN?" asserted that there was a man sitting next to Secretary Marshall when the latter delivered an important speech in the United Nations. That man was, according to the article, John Foster Dulles. The Daily Worker then sets forth Dulles' "record" as follows:

"America Firster, partner with big German bankers in pre-war deals, and leading architect, along with Herbert Hoover, of the 'let's-have-

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war-with Russia' line now unfortunately dominating Washington's actions.

"What's wrong with our country's actions in the UN is that Roosevelt's policy has been replaced by the Dulles-Hoover line.

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"Dulles advocated, from 1933 on, appeasing the Hitler Axis.

"Today, he advocates ganging up against any kind of post-war peace settlement on the theory that the U.S.A. must 'halt communism,' a phrase that conceals an alibi for aligning the U.S.A. with Germany, Japan, and reactionaries everywhere." (100-3-80-A)

The Daily Worker on September 20, 1947, in an article entitled "The Dulles Conspiracy", accused Dulles of "master-minding the 'let's-have-war-with-Russia' program which so dangerously dominates Washington's words and deeds." (100-3-81-A)

b. Apologist and Friend of German Nazi Trusts

The Worker on February 23, 1947, in an article entitled "How Dulles Helped a Nazi Control U. S. Firm," basing its statements on information furnished by Russ Nixon, Washington representative, UERMWA, CIO, asserted that there was a legal complaint pending in the United States District Court in Washington, "which-if it ever comes to trial-will reveal how John Foster Dulles, GOP foreign policy adviser, collaborated with Swedish bankers to cloak and conceal German ownership of an important American war industry." The article asserted that Dulles favored the revival of a strong Germany in conjunction with a western bloc which would be dominated by American Big Business, adding, "Dulles, a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, was under fire in the 1944 campaign for his long record of sympathy to Germany in the Hitler days." (100-3-A)

The March 9, 1947, issue of the Worker carried an article by Art Shields entitled

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"The Record of Dulles." It stated that in 1907 Dulles began his diplomatic career "as a highly respectable foreign agent." A Princeton undergraduate of 19, he went to the Hague Peace Conference with his grandfather, General John W. Foster, the former Republican Secretary of State. It was indicated that later, after studying in Paris, Dulles became a member of the richest law firm in Wall Street and as head of Sullivan and Cromwell, "he had organized more trusts than any other legal outfit in America." By 1927, the article said, Dulles "had become one of the chief architects of the rising European cartels" and that "friends like Herbert Hoover were helping Dulles during these maneuvers." The article continued by denouncing Dulles as a friend of Fascist imperialism. (100-3-81-A)

The January 4, 1948, issue of the Worker pointed out that the "big lie", which it defined as the theme that the Soviet Union, "which played the biggest part in destroying Hitler, has now taken his place as the 'aggressor,'" would be used against the Wallace movement. The article commented that the "big lie" came from "just those men in American life who were themselves the biggest appeasers of German Hitlerism - Herbert Hoover and John Foster Dulles." (100-3-81-A)

According to the "Daily Worker" of August 30, 1948, the United States Department of Justice was investigating the complex wartime deal between the German Robert Bosch Company and the Swedish Enskilda Bank which affected the American branch of the Bosch Company in Springfield, Massachusetts, and the Bosch patents in the United States. It is stated that Dulles, as head of the Wall Street Sullivan and Cromwell law firm, which represented the Enskilda Bank for the past 20 years, played a prominent part in the deal and that the Justice Department had been trying hard to put all the responsibility on the Enskilda Bank and absolve Dulles entirely. (65-17390-A)

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An article entitled "The Revival of Munich" in the October 1, 1948, issue of "Daily Worker" asserted that on the tenth anniversary of the "notorious Munich Pact" signed September 29, 1938, "a new and more horrible Munich is being prepared as Washington and London are rushing the revival of Nazi war power in Western Germany."

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It asserted that "among the leading Munich-men of the U.S.A. were John Foster Dulles, Sen. Vandenberg, Herbert Hoover, with lesser lights like Norman Thomas, Linbergh, Sen. Harry Truman." (100-3-81-A)

c. Miscellaneous

The Daily Worker on January 6, 1948, in an article entitled "DeGaulle Spills the Beans" pointed out that General DeGaulle recently announced his desires to replace French trade unions with "corporative labor bodies." The article characterized this plan as "the easily recognizable pattern of Italian, German and Spanish fascism." The article goes on to explain that DeGaulle apparently feels certain of Truman-Marshall backing. "He had a private conference recently with John Foster Dulles, one of the chief authors of the Marshall Plan, and the agent of Herbert Hoover and the Wall Street banks in the State Department." (100-3-81-A)

The "Worker", in an article headlined "Byrnes, Dulles Pocket Africa Spoils" on January 25, 1948, commented that John Foster Dulles, along with others, including James F. Byrnes, were interested in directing companies profiting from "inhuman exploitation of African miners." It said Dulles was connected with Rhodesian copper interests. (100-3-81-A)

An article entitled "'Cold War' Against Babies" in the August 12, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker dealt with the alleged Borden-Sheffield Milk Trust. It was indicated that "no doubt, the same people who run these pick-pocket corporations are violently opposed to

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'Communism.'" The article further stated: "In fact, we are sure they are, since the lawyer for the Sheffield Milk Trust is John Foster Dulles, one of the chief advocates of the 'cold war' against the Soviet Union and one of the main sponsors of the Mundt Bill outlawing the Communist Party and Socialism. The milk trust is waging 'cold war' against our babies." (100-3-83-A)

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3) Communist Line Foreign Language Newspapers in the United States.

These newspapers generally pursue the same attitudes as expressed in the Worker and Daily Worker.

The Narodni Glasnik (Croatian language, Communist line newspaper) on November 2, 1944, in an article entitled "Dewey and Our Foreign Policies" by Max Gordon, in discussing Republican policy toward Japan asserted, "John Foster Dulles, the present advisor to Dewey in matters of foreign policies, made speeches in which he condemned every idea that Japan would ever declare war on us and defended the Axis tyrannies of other nations." (100-10123-114, pg. 586)

The June 7, 1945, issue of Narodni Glasnik reported that the relations between John Foster Dulles and recent hostile articles in American newspapers against the Soviet Union had become the main subject of discussion in the "Journalistic Office of the United Nations Conference for International Organization." The article added, "Dulles is not only teaming with the enemy but also with open hatred against the Soviet Union representatives and friends and is doing his utmost to turn all delegates at the conference against the Russians." (100-10123-156X, pg. 438)

In the March 7, 1947, issue of The German-American, an item entitled "The Fox Set to Keep the Geese" was carried, which pointed out that John Foster Dulles would be sent by the United States government to Moscow as a member of the American delegation. The article then commented, "Mr. Foster (Dulles) recently expressed his views concerning the necessary treatment of Germany. He wants nothing other than to rearm Germany and make it an active partner in an anti-Soviet bloc. Has Chamberlain already been forgotten?" (100-279704-83, pg. 9)

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The German-American on March 21, 1947, reported that Howard K. Smith, CBS correspondent in Moscow, in his radio report on March 16 (1947) accused Secretary of State Marshall of not giving the impression of holding the initiative in the formation of American foreign policy. He stated that he (Marshall) seemed to be following stronger influences within his delegation, namely that of John Foster Dulles, the delegate from the Republican Party. (100-279704-85, pg. 3)

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The September 11, 1948, issue of Romanul American (Romanian Language Communist line newspaper) in an article entitled "The Amsterdam Congress," stated that the march of progress towards a popular democracy would continue in spite of all obstacles, sabotage, and sinister plans which might come from the Vatican or from Amsterdam or any other reactionary centers and in spite of the "advice given by John Foster Dulles, the Wall Street Attorney." (100-264688-33)

4) Russian Newspapers (In Russia)

The American Embassy, Moscow, reported to the State Department that the Russian paper "New Times", on February 21, 1947, carried a first installment article by Leonidov, "International Role Anglo-American German Bank of Schroeder", which asserted that the international activities of this concern were part of a monopolistic plot to create an anti-Soviet bloc under the guise of European federation. (S) u

The article claimed the bank was the organ of a rich financial oligarchy and was closely affiliated with the "Rockefeller dynasty," Standard Oil Company leadership of Republican Party, German steel trust, OSS, and Anglo-American military administration in Germany. It added that the real source of its influence was the USA and that its American connections were under charge of the firm Sullivan and Cromwell whose "real director during last ten years has been American political figure, John Foster Dulles." (100-338951-9)

Leontiev, writing in Pravda, as reported by Tass on June 23, 1947, asserted that Dulles, in a speech delivered at "Evanston University"...

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"told his audience how and why he hates the Soviet Union. He does not like the Soviet system. Neither does he like the new democratic systems in many countries of Eastern Europe. And he finds consolation in various fabrications. The facts show, for instance, that the overwhelming majority of the peoples in Eastern European countries are supporting their Governments, chosen in a democratic manner. But Dulles refuses to recognize this simple and clear-cut fact, and explains it exclusively as post-war hardships." On another occasion, Tass reporting on September 25, 1947, from Prague, asserted, "this is how Andre Simon describes one of the warmongers, John Foster Dulles. Wall street, No. 25, is the address of the huge legal organization 'Sullivan and Cromwell', which is the property of 20 people." The article asserted that the permanent clients of this corporation are Standard Oil and Chase National Bank. "Among the clients of this society there is also the Bankers' Corporation of Schroder, the main centers of which are in Cologne, London, and New York. Kurt von Schroder is well-known for the fact that in January 1935, he organized a meeting between Hitler and Von Papen, after which meeting Hitler became Reichschancellor." (62-84466-1 and 3)

The Daily Worker for November 20, 1947, in an article datelined Moscow, November 19 (1947) reported that the Literary Gazette demanded that the United Nations establish courts for international trial of alleged "war incendiaries." The incendiaries named by the Literary Gazette included, among others, John Foster Dulles. (100-3-80-A)

5) Attitude of Foreign Communists (X) 4

(U) [A confidential informant (Report of John F. Simons dated October 25, 1948, at Santiago, Chile, entitled "Partido Comunista de Chile (Communist Party of Chile) aka Partido Progresista Nacional (National Progressive Party)" reporting on the Communist Party line in Chile relative to international affairs, asserted "strong criticism was accorded to Secretary of State Byrnes whom the Communists hold responsible for failure of the London Conference of Ministers. To a lesser degree, (Georges) Bidault, John Foster Dulles and (Ernest) Bevin are also held responsible for (X) 4

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alleged failure to abide by the terms of the Potsdam Agreement." (64-200-207-178, pg. 1)

On October 28, 1945, "Hoy" (newspaper in Havana, Cuba) printed an article entitled "American Century vs. International Cooperation." The article asserted that it was reported in the United States that the appointment of (James F.) Byrnes as Secretary of State was a "concession to the feudal pro-slavery South and to Wall Street. Mr. Truman has taken a backward step and had deviated from the Rooseveltian course. That that is true is shown by the fact that Mr. Byrnes' principal adviser in London was John Foster Dulles, Republican lawyer whom Dewey had in mind for Secretary of State and who has been and is an element connected with the great monopolists, an isolationist, a fanatic anti-Rooseveltian, a friend of the Nazis and a rabid imperialist." (100-341613-3 pg. 5 and 6)

On November 19, 1946, an article entitled "The American Empire vs Waving a Big Stick" by Joseph Starobin, foreign editor, New York Daily Worker, appeared in the "Tribune," the Sydney organ of the Australian Communist Party. In this article, under the subheading "Monopoly Men", Starobin asserted that the "ideas men" of the "big attempt to run the whole world" were such Republicans as Arthur Vandenberg, "notorious agent of the Dupont and General Motors interests in Michigan," and John Foster Dulles, "High Churchman, senior member of the powerful Wall Street law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell." Starobin's article was furnished to the Bureau by the office of the "Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Canberra, A.C.T.," by letter dated November 27, 1946. (100-51287-40)

The July 1, 1947, issue of "Demokratische Post," Mexico City, in an article entitled "Concerning the Pacification of Europe," discussed American policy toward Germany. It explained that the second stage in this policy was distinguished by the "imperialistically war-teeming plan of the Republican economic advisor, Dulles. At the basis of his proposals lay purely power -- political motives and the formation of a Western European bloc against the Soviet Union. In reality he did not demand separate reconstruction of German heavy industry and armament industry in the English-American zone and the separation of this region from Germany, the creation of a form of State under the control of England, France, and Belgium by incorporation into the sphere of power of the U.S.A.

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Again it was European countries, especially France and Belgium, which opposed such a plan since the Third World War was written too unmistakably in it." (100-72924-828, pg. 4)

The United States Embassy, Oslo, Norway, reported that the September 29, 1947, issue of ~~Friheten~~, a Communist periodical, in an article entitled "Intensification of Anti-Communist Fight an Expensive Affair for the United States," commented that Dulles, a delegate to the United Nations, was "a noted Wall Street lawyer, having intimate connections with most of the Wall Street magnates." The article pointed out that Dulles had been an aggressive advocate of a Western bloc based upon a strong, capitalist Germany. (64-200-260-77)

The "Weekly Intelligence Summary," issued by the Headquarters, U. S. Army, Caribbean, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Military Intelligence, Quarry Heights, Canal Zone, dated February 5, 1948, carried the following item: (S-2)(S)(u)

"On 16 January Mauricio Gondola, youthful leader and member of the Teachers' Union of Colon, was the principal speaker on the radio broadcast, who explained that the AJP was an association of progressive youth whose aim was the betterment of Panama. Gondola read a questionnaire prepared and addressed to all candidates for the Mayorship of Colon, requesting these candidates to list all proposed activities and what action they believed necessary for the betterment of Colon. He then read a letter that had been written by Materno Vasquez, leader of the People's Party (Communist) and principal organizer of the AJP, in which Vasquez attacked John Foster Dulles, of whom nothing is known, for his attitude regarding world affairs, particularly Panamanian. Gondola continued by attacking all Presidential candidates and discussing each individual candidate and his faults." (S-2)(S)(u)

(100-7660-4453, pgs. 4 and 5)

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6) Attitude toward Dulles' Interest in Church Work

V. J. Jerome, in a pamphlet entitled "A World Christian Front" and "The Anti-social Ethics of Red Baiters," published by "New Masses," New York City, condemned Dulles for attempting to ally the World Council of Churches with the Vatican. Jerome contended that the Vatican and its collaborationists in the Protestant midst were bent on establishing a world Christian front which was drawing together forces of ultra-reaction, feudal remnants, Fascists, and bellicose imperialists in a 20th Century crusade against the "infidel" -- the Soviet Union and every nation that has taken an anti-imperialistic course. (100-3-86-233, pg. 11)

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In an article headed "Council of Churches Hails Moscow Pact" the November 19, 1943, issue of the Daily Worker commented that the Federal Council of Churches declared that the Christian people in the United States could "be grateful that their Government has cooperated with the Governments of Great Britain, Russia and China" in the drawing up of the Moscow declaration. The article quoted John Foster Dulles, Chairman of the Federal Council's Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, as stating that the Moscow declaration was "a notable step" toward realizing international order and peace and was "a great development from the Atlantic Charter." (100-97-A)

In the investigation of the case entitled "~~The Protestant~~, formerly known as ~~The Protestant Digest~~, Internal Security - C," it was learned that the People's Voice issue of August 17, 1946, mentioned that Kenneth ~~Leslie~~, editor of "The Protestant," scored John Foster Dulles for false leadership in advocating united action with the Vatican in world problems. Leslie called for Dulles' resignation from the Chairmanship of the Conference of International Church leaders. (100-60523-106, pg. 13)

George A. ~~Marston~~, identified as a Communist writer for the Daily Worker, reporting on a National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, held February 18 - 20, 1947, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, under the sponsorship of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, reflected that the "markedly progressive social and economic program" adopted by the Conference was "wholly at odds" with the policies of the Council. He asserted that Dulles virtually dictated the previous policy statement of the Council, which Mr. Marston characterized.

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as "a shrewd defense of Big Business and American world domination." (100-50869-47)

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The Daily Worker on June 5, 1947, carried an article headed "Churchmen Ask Dulles Ouster" which stated that the Chicago Association of Congregational and Christian Churches, by resolution, had urged the ouster of John Foster Dulles from his post as chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches. The resolution adopted by the Association's conference on social action charged Dulles had expressed "such positive misgivings of the purposes and good faith of the Soviet Union as to create attitudes in the minds of the American people which this conference feels... are not compatible with the purposes of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace." (100-50869-A)

In an article entitled "What Dulles Means by 'Peace'" the August 29, 1948, issue of the "Worker" asserted that the ending of consular relations between the United States and the USSR was another fruit of the Truman-Dewey-Dulles "get tough" policy and illustrated dramatically "how this policy and its wild Soviet-baiting accompaniment is leading to a constant worsening of relations, not to 'peace'." The article accused Dulles of trying to sell this policy to the Amsterdam Assembly, World Council of Churches, as one which would prevent war. It added, in this connection, "the international cartel lawyer invoked the spirit of the bloody crusades of the Middle Ages in his address to the Church Assembly. Under the guise of spreading Christianity's moral law as the sole path to peace, he called for a marshaling of the forces of Christianity in a new 'holy' adventure to secure and expand the world economic hold of his Wall Street clients, and to preserve the colonial empires that keep the great majority of the world's population in bondage." (100-3-81-A)

7) ~~National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Incorporated.~~

Life Magazine of June 3 and 10, 1946, carried articles on Russia by Dulles in which he urged, according to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a "get tough with Russia" policy. The "Reporter," the official organ of the National Council,

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devoted its entire issue of June 15, 1946, in refuting Dulles' arguments. (100-146964-1209, pg. 28)

(U) Confidential Informant NYT 310 on June 18, 1946, reported that Richard A. Morford (Executive Director, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.) and William Howard Mellish (Chairman, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.) in a conversation, referred to having members of the American Youth for Democracy distribute copies of "The Reporter," a publication of the National Council at the College of the City of New York graduation exercises. John Foster Dulles was the principal speaker at this graduation. (100-146964-873)

The Bureau in a letter to the Attorney General dated September 23, 1946, furnished information concerning a dinner held September 18, 1946, in New York City under the sponsorship of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. The letter pointed out that one of the speakers Albert E. Kahn, identified as "the writer, who is reported to be a Communist and...to have close contact with responsible Communist officials," stated that Winston Churchill, Herbert Hoover, John Foster Dulles and certain unnamed members of the British Foreign Office and the U. S. State Department had conspired against the Soviet Union, thus giving rise to Hitler and the Second World War. Kahn said that these same elements desired another war involving the United States and England against the Soviet Union. (100-146964-948)

(U) Confidential Informant NYT 310 advised that Dorothy E. Rodin (Secretary, Cleveland Chapter, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship) in a conversation with Richard A. Morford (Executive Director, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship) on January 3, 1947, inquired as to the advisability of sending to all (Cleveland) schools the "reply of ours" to the Dulles (John Foster Dulles) article appearing in Life Magazine. Morford cautioned her against doing this. (100-49075-30, pg. 2 and 3)

Richard A. Morford, Executive Director, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, spoke at a meeting sponsored by the York County, Pennsylvania, Council of this agency June 3, 1947, in York, Pennsylvania. Morford was very critical of Dulles' speech on January 18, 1947, before the National Publishers Association. He stated that Dulles manifested himself

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as the architect of American foreign policy since the war and he stated "he controls it tonight." He claimed that Dulles was speaking directly to George Marshall and told Marshall in effect to advocate a "get tough with Russia" policy. Morford claimed that Marshall went to the Moscow Conference under mandate of policy already laid down by Dulles. He alleged further that Marshall complained upon his return that he was confined by the dictates of policy issued by Dulles. (100-146964-1238)

8) Attitude of Progressive Party Elements

The Independent Citizens Committee for Arts, Sciences and Professions sponsored a forum at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York on June 26, 1946. During the course of this meeting Dulles and others opposed to the Soviet aggressive policies were lambasted as Fascist sympathizers from whom little humanitarianism could be expected. (100-338892-64)

On September 12, 1946, according to an informant, there was an anti-Dewey rally at Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the National Campaign Committee of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, Inc. Jack Kroll, (Chairman of the CIO-PAC), was one of the speakers, as was Senator Pepper of Florida. The latter inquired what one could expect of a foreign policy which really meets the approval of Senator Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles. (100-338892-76)

The Conference of Progressives held a meeting at the Hotel Continental, Chicago, Illinois on September 28 and 29, 1946. In a speech before this meeting Senator Pepper described John Foster Dulles as being an international cartelist. (100-346777-4, pg.5)

Senator Glen Taylor, Idaho, speaking on December 12, 1947, before the National Council for Prevention of War in Washington, D. C., asserted that American foreign policy had been formulated by Wall Street cartels and the military. In the former group he included John Foster Dulles and Secretary of National Defense James Forrestal. (61-6991-63)

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9) Other Communist and Communist Line Statements

An outline entitled "The International Situation and United States Foreign Policy," issued by the

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State Education Department, Communist Party of New Jersey, (in 1947) strongly criticized a number of individuals, associated with the determination of American foreign policy, for their connections with American capitalists. Among those criticized was John Foster Dulles. (100-3-28-907, pg. 46)

The February 1947 issue of the Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs mentioned a speech given by Dulles before the National Publishers Association. The speech, according to Steel, "was tantamount to a declaration that Republican policy is based on a premise of two worlds, each out to destroy the others...The Dulles speech, which was cleared with Dewey and Vandenberg will some day rank high in the literature of economic imperialism. It is the blueprint for the establishment of a Western European economic unit organized around the industrial potential of the Ruhr, in which German monopoly capitalism functions as the subsidiary or junior partner in the Anglo-American cartel combine." (100-2267-176)

Special Agents Richard W. Dow and Louis H. Beigbender of the Boston Office attended a meeting at the Old South Meeting House, Boston, on June 5, 1947, sponsored by the Samuel Adams School for Social Studies. The chief speaker, Johannes Steel (writer) in discussing American foreign policy, condemned the activities of the American Press at Moscow (Moscow Conference) and stated that John Foster Dulles was actually the power behind Secretary Marshall. He said that Dulles more specifically represented the money interests of the world and that his predominate motive was in the unification of Europe's cartels with the Anglo-American cartels. (100-336131-11, pg. 7 and 8)

The December 1947 issue of the Johannes Steel Report on World Affairs reported that General Charles De Gaulle, in a highly confidential talk with John Foster Dulles, demanded among other things, that he be recognized not only as the future head of a dictatorial regime in France but also as the future Generalissimo of the Allied Forces in the "inevitable" war against the Russians. Dulles, according to Steel, apparently approved of De Gaulle's demands and aims. The French General after the conference remarked that he was "most satisfied" and expressed the hope that Dulles would be Secretary of State by the time he (De Gaulle) was in power. (100-2267-165)

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The New York Times on December 12, 1947, carried an article reflecting an interview with Frank Rosenblum, Secretary Treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, CIO, and Vice President of the World Federation of Trade Unions, upon Rosenblum's return from Paris. Rosenblum in this interview urged that the United States follow a constructive policy abroad in order to enable democratic elements to triumph over both Communism and Fascism. He cited also as a serious blunder the conference held a short time previously between John Foster Dulles and General Charles De Gaulle, stating that this conference helped encourage the impression that the United States was favoring the forces of reaction. (100-260007-347)

In March 1948, the Communist Party of New Jersey issued an eight page statement on the Marshall Plan, which it called a Taft-Hartley measure for the world. Under a section entitled, "Who Runs Our Foreign Policy," the names of prominent individuals in the State Department were set out. These individuals included, among others, John Foster Dulles. (100-3-28-949, pg.63)

(D) Relations With The FBI

The files fail to disclose any connections between Dulles and the FBI. Likewise, no information exists to indicate that Dulles either has commended or expressed derogatory comments regarding the Bureau.

Respectfully,

[Handwritten signature]
M. A. Jones
[Handwritten initials]

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

John Foster Dulles

November 3, 1953

4/4/81
CLASS. & EXT. BY 3949RM/npms
REASON: FCIM II, 1-2.4.2, 2.3
DATE OF REVIEW 4/8/91

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

MR. LADD

MR. BELMONT

On October 29, 1953, at the request of Secretary of State Dulles, I called at his office. Mr. Dulles handed to me a memorandum prepared by the President, marked "~~Top Secret~~ For Eyes Only," which dealt with a conversation the President had had with Mr. Leroy Lincoln of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company concerning the desire of Mr. Raymond P. Quinn of New York City to arrange for a meeting between the top level member of the Russian Delegation to the United Nations and the President.

The President had instructed the Secretary of State to call upon the FBI to interview Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Quinn and obtain such information as they might have and report back to the Secretary of State so that the President could then evaluate the situation more intelligently.

I told the Secretary of State I would handle this matter in line with the President's wishes. The Secretary of State expressed some skepticism about the outcome of any such proposed meeting but felt it was at least worthwhile to get the facts which were in the minds of Messrs. Lincoln and Quinn. Upon my return to the office, I turned over the letter to Mr. Belmont who will handle the same in line with my conversation with the Secretary of State.

During the course of my visit with the Secretary of State, I called to his attention the report which had been made by Mrs. Elvina Rybar, widow of the former Yugoslavian Minister to Norway. I told the Secretary of State that Mrs. Rybar had reported to the Yugoslav Embassy certain comments allegedly made by Mrs. John Foster Dulles about the Trieste issue. This is covered in more detail in a memorandum addressed to me by Mr. Ladd under date of October 28. I cautioned the Secretary of State that this would have to be treated with the greatest of confidence but I thought that he should at least know the talk being indulged in by Mrs. Rybar. (S)

I took occasion to also advise the Secretary of State of the Lectern Operation in the Russian Embassy upon which we have been working recently and he expressed the hope that we would be successful in obtaining information of value therefrom. (S)

Very truly yours,

NOT RECORDED

NOV 9 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson _____
Ladd _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Clegg _____
Glavin _____
Harbo _____
Rosen _____
Tracy _____
Gearty _____
Mohr _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
 Sizoo _____
Miss Gandy _____

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-10122-218

NOV 12 1953

66-84466-18

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: July 31, 1958

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach

SUBJECT: CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Nease _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 Clayton _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

On July 30, 1958, James Angleton and Colonel Sheffield Edwards, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), advised Agent Papich that Dulles had appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to testify concerning CIA's coverage of the Middle East situation. Edwards and Angleton stated that they had not received any details but Dulles returned to his office and commented that he had not been treated roughly. Dulles allegedly did not make any excuses for failure to give advance information on the Iraqi revolt.

ACTION:John Foster

The above should not be construed as an accurate report of what actually happened before the Senate Committee. The Liaison Agent will be on the alert for any additional information of interest to us.

SJP:bjt ljk
 (5)

- 1 - Mr. Nease
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Papich

per CIA Review
 of 6/12/94
 SP7 CJC/AM
 10/13/94 C.A. # 98-1826

9803 RDD/MG
 4/28/93 C.A. #88-1826

SP4 elw/mg
 12/19/89 C.A. #88-1826

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DATE 4/3/81

BY SP4 GRM/2pm

AUG 15 50 6H 28

EBI - 7021105
 REC'D REIN LIAISON

67 AUG 11 1958

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

DATE: February 14, 1959

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach *Ro*

SUBJECT: JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 DeLoach _____
 McGuire _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

Last night James Angleton, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), advised Agent Papich that he had just returned from a conference with Allen Dulles who had been visiting his brother at the Walter Reed Hospital. Dulles advised Angleton that the Secretary of State was rapidly recovering from the hernia operation but Allen Dulles was gravely concerned about the possibilities of "further complications in the intestinal tract." It was Angleton's understanding that the intestine is badly inflamed and there is a strong possibility that cancer has returned. Angleton commented that he had never seen the CIA Director so depressed.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

SJP:bjt *lgt*

(5)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Fitzgerald
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Papich

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 DATE 4/3/81 BY SP4GRM/rpm

57 FEB 25 1959 *181*

62-84466-47

23 FEB 19 1959

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *AB*

DATE: February 18, 1959

FROM : Mr. R. R. Roach *RR*

SUBJECT: JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
DeLoach	_____
McGuire	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Trotter	_____
W.C. Sullivan	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

James Angleton, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), advised Agent Papich on February 17, 1959, that he had occasion to have a lengthy conversation with Mrs. Allen Dulles on the morning of February 17, 1959. Mrs. Dulles was on her way to Walter Reed Hospital. She advised that everybody was deeply depressed because it definitely appeared that the spread of cancer could not be arrested. Mrs. Dulles indicated that the Secretary of State was rapidly losing what energy he had and it was extremely doubtful that he would ever return to active duty. Angleton received the definite impression from talking to Mrs. Dulles that the Secretary of State's condition was much more serious than indicated in the press.

Angleton pointed out that Allen Dulles has been taken back by developments, particularly since he has looked at John Foster Dulles as his "big brother" and so far he has not been able to adjust himself to the fact that the Secretary of State may not live very long.

It is not known if Angleton received the following information from any top flight source but, interestingly, Angleton commented that Thomas Dewey looked like a good bet for the job of Secretary of State.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

SJP:bjt
(4)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Papich

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DATE 4/3/81 BY SP4GRM/kpm

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