government, "the Vice President has participated . . . in all of the consultative meetings that have been held." Nixon had "a full part in every principal discussion."17 These remarks were ignored by the papers. "If I had a week" was the lead story.

In addition, the President's position that Nixon should only serve as perennial campaigner, election advisor and congressional liaison, immeasurably hurt his ability to further his foreign relations reputation. Without Ike's permission, the Vice President could not gain the active role in government he constantly worked to attain. At the same time, Eisenhower's ambivalence was as great an obstacle to Nixon's goals as his active efforts to restrict the vice presidential role. Eisenhower was Nixon's nemesis.
ENDNOTES:


Box 8 Telephone Conversations Series January 2, 1958 - July 31, 1958. The Berlin Crisis is a good example of this practice. First, Nixon arranged the congressional meeting. Eisenhower attended the meeting, but made only over-arching comments. He left it to Nixon to discuss the particulars of the situation and placate the Congressmen.

8. Telephone call Dwight D. Eisenhower and Richard M. Nixon, 31 March, 1959 (11:02am), Eisenhower Library, Whitman File: DDE Diary Series, Box 39, File Telephone Calls March 1959; A Chronology of United State Foreign Relations During the Career of John Foster Dulles As Secretary of State. Compiled by Dr. Philip A. Croll: 3. I am not clear what happened with the Buenos Aires conference to which Eisenhower referred. It does not appear to have met. Certainly, Eisenhower was in the United States throughout April and the beginning of May, so he did not attend. Nixon talked of this conference with Dulles on April 4, 1959 (see chapter three), but otherwise did not make an issue of it.


11. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States Dwight D. Eisenhower. 1956. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961: 287; Stephen E. Ambrose, Eisenhower The President. Volume II. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1984: 391; Ambrose, Nixon Volume I: 321. As the election approached, Ike did issue a blanket order to Cabinet Secretaries encouraging them to "wherever possible give Dick Nixon a boost in his speeches." The recommended approach was to praise Nixon as wise, self-restrained, cleared headed, of great personal courage, "extraordinary patience and resilience, a man of boundless energy in the execution of an agreed plan." The memorandum stated "President Eisenhower has summer [sic] up his qualification very eloquently in these words: 'Never has there been a Vice President so well-versed in the activities of the government . . . Whatever dedication to country, loyalty and patriotism and great ability can do for America, Dick Nixon will do—and that I know . . . He is the most valuable member of my team.'" Officials could point to Nixon's personal history: son of a grocer, of the people, hard worker, etc. While the praise sounded good, it rang hollow and insincere to the reader. It was a campaign tactic, rather than a personal assessment by Ike. Memorandum from the White House, I. Jack Martin Administrative Assistant to the President to John Foster Dulles, 10 October, 1956, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library - John Foster Dulles Papers: Selected Correspondence and Related Material.

13. Robert Griffith, *Ike's Letters To A Friend*. Kansas: University of Kansas, 1984 137; Diary entry, 11 June, 1959, Eisenhower Library, Whitman File: ACW Diary Series; Ambrose *Eisenhower the President Volume II*: 203. In passing, Ambrose mentioned that Ike recorded many conversations in the Oval office. He had an activation switch under his desk. While he often forgot to turn the system on, Ambrose claimed Ike nearly always remembered to record Nixon. Eisenhower stated the equipment was installed because "there are some guys I just don't trust in Washington, and I want to have myself protected so they can't later repeat that I said something else."


15. Ambrose *Eisenhower The President Vol. II*: 537, 551-552; Memorandum Dwight D. Eisenhower to Richard M. Nixon, 8 December, 1959, Eisenhower Library, Whitman File: Administration Series Box 28, File Nixon, Richard M. 1958-61. Italy wanted to have a real say in the formation of Western policy. The Turks wished to improve economic development and requested assistance from the US. The Pakistani President had definite ideas for what his country needed. That Eisenhower choice to communicate with Nixon in December 1958, might have reflected Eisenhower's awareness of the Vice President's need to have the image of being informed and involved in the Administration. It might have, but it did not. For an indiscernible reason this document remained classified until May 1982. As such, it could not have been made public as an example of Ike's consultation with Nixon.


Conclusion: 
A Limited Role - Nixon Assessed

During his tenure as Vice President, Nixon logged more international miles than any member of the Administration, except perhaps Dulles. He visited at least 50 countries and took every opportunity to learn. He was an avid student of foreign relations.

His interest germinated from the 1947 Herter Committee trip. In Europe, Nixon came face-to-face with Communism. As he explored foreign lands, he followed his instinct and savored risk filled adventures. He observed and talked with the leaders of the free world, gaining a first hand awareness of the European situation, as the committee had been instructed. In the process, Nixon acquired his obsession with international relations and a body of knowledge on which he developed his foreign affairs expertise.

The Herter Committee did more than provide Nixon with information. It provided him with connections to influential people. The most beneficial association grew into a sincere friendship with John Foster Dulles. The Nixon-Dulles relationship fundamentally shaped Nixon's role in the Administration. Their first introduction, no doubt, came through Foster's brother Allen, whose acquaintance Nixon made on the Queen Mary. By the time both joined the Eisenhower Administration, they were well known to each other.

Dulles and Nixon shared a mutual respect that blossomed into admiration and friendship. As Ike's influential Secretary of State, Dulles used his position to help the Vice
President expand his foreign relations knowledge and reputation. The elder man also understood and sympathized with the political goals of his friend. If Dulles had anything to say about it, Nixon would be President in 1961. Without his friend to champion his cause, Nixon had few opportunities to display his foreign relations expertise.

The Vice President and the Secretary created a complicated and intriguing relationship. Dulles was friend, mentor and superior to Nixon. Although he acted as a patron, he acted simultaneously out of enlightened self-interest. Foster Dulles benefited from the help he gave to his protégé. He used Nixon directly as an adjunct, field researcher, unofficial spokesman and loyal supporter. The Secretary's good auspices brought to the vice presidential doorway trips abroad, an unsanctioned advisory role and additional efforts to enhance Nixon's status. In doing this, Dulles assured Nixon's gratitude and indebtedness. Each assignment made the Californian a better aide to the State Department. Each success increased his reputation and his expertise.

Although Nixon needed Dulles' support, concurrently he hoped to create an autonomous role for himself. Repeatedly, the Vice President insisted that the President supervised and commanded him, not Dulles. He demanded that Eisenhower issue his orders, often pressing for a directive from the President, before he would undertake a project. While Nixon underscored that his authority emanated from Eisenhower, his overseas assignments originated from Dulles. And, when it came down to the line, Nixon owed his allegiance to Dulles. Whoever sponsored his travel, however, Nixon pressed for prestigious international trips instead of unglamorous foreign presidential inaugurations and goodwill tours.

In addition, the Vice President hoped to impress his colleagues with his foreign
expertise. In meeting after meeting, Nixon demonstrated his vast international affairs knowledge. He analyzed Soviet actions, discussed Africa and Latin America and openly pontificated on Asian policy. The efforts to convince fellow Administration members were intended to gain him a greater role in the decision-making process. Eisenhower, however, maintained a firm hold over who, when and how foreign relations policy was determined. Nixon's efforts, and those of Dulles, frequently had no tangible results.

The President never gave Dulles the latitude to grant his second-in-command a more important role in American foreign policy. Ike knew Nixon was politically motivated. The Vice President was a perennial campaigner, Republican partisan and anti-Communist demagogue. Thus, Ike assigned Nixon tasks that he thought best suited to the office of Vice President and the skills demonstrated. Also, Eisenhower had to consider his own reputation as a foreign relations expert. By the end of the Administration, the General was looking to posterity. His concerns turned to his own image as world leader and peace maker. Nixon's political ambition led him to attempt to project an aura of statesman that outshined the rest of the Administration. But, Ike would not allow his own reputation to be dulled by Nixon's growing image as world diplomat. Finally, Eisenhower refused to modify his international affairs formula to include Nixon, just to benefit the Vice President's political prospects. In short, Eisenhower did not sympathize with Nixon's goals.

Stephen Ambrose concluded that Nixon established his foreign policy tenets by 1954.\footnote{Ambrose may be correct in his general assessment. Nixon formed a basic formula as a Herter Committee member, and his experiences on the 1953 trip to Asia had a profound impact on him. But, in terms of international relations education - experience that colored his policy...}
ideas - Nixon expanded his vision with each expedition. While the 1947 Herter Committee
trip afforded him a taste of international subjects, the vice presidential tours allowed him to
gorge. Nixon learned new lessons about foreign relations, and applied older models to new
situations. These trips abroad represented a primary means by which Nixon attempted to
expand his role in the Administration and build a presidential resumé.

Nixon reinvented his position in a way none of his predecessors had managed. In
1956, Nixon disregarded Dulles' advice to abandon the vice presidency (in favor of a Cabinet
position) because it was not a good jump off point for a presidential campaign. Nixon applied
his political skills, and infinite ambition, to keep his name in the public eye. Unlike his
forerunners, he established a global reputation while Vice President. That fact altered the
role of the second-in-command for those who came after Nixon. By making the position an
active one, Nixon revolutionized the vice presidency. Nevertheless, the role Nixon managed
was not all he desired.

Nixon's efforts to portray his international travel as important were only partially
successful. And, his role within the Administration never grew as encompassing as he
wanted. He scratched a carefully crafted niche that gave him some say through Dulles and
the NSC. He concentrated his advice on South East Asia, with forays into Latin American
and Africa international relations. With Eisenhower primarily interested in European affairs,
Nixon took the opportunity to fill a void. His best option for a policy making role was in
Asia, where he stayed off of Ike's turf, but still in an area of US interest.

There is a good deal of irony to Nixon's efforts in the Eisenhower Administration.
The Vice President, primarily held back by the President, was also entirely beholden to him.
The opportunities that Nixon took advantage of, or tried to exploit, appeared because he was swept into office with Eisenhower. Those openings were restricted because of the same man. No matter what he tried, regardless of how much Dulles helped, Nixon could not overcome that obstacle.

Once in office, Eisenhower allowed Nixon a greater role in the Administration than any previous Vice President, and many since. That role concentrated on domestic politics. As much as Nixon longed for an international reputation, his political fortune was made because of his domestic wrangling. His work as primary Republican campaigner through the 1950s represented a new kind of vice presidential role, as well as a valuable asset during his own presidential bid. Nixon's annual campaigning supplied him with political allies in all parts of the country, allies that made a greater impact on his 1960 presidential bid, than his international relations reputation.

Nixon longed for a substantive role in American foreign policy. His education in international relations was motivated by both personal inclination and professional aspirations. In 1947, he developed a taste for foreign policy. As Vice President, he focused his attention on the subject whenever possible. And by 1956, he saw it as a political tool to bolster his image. Nixon constantly sought to expand his role in the Administration through foreign relations work. His success had its limits. His level of direct influence may not have been vast, but he clearly maintained a greater role than Eisenhower had anticipated, and any previous vice president had imagined. While that role did not bring him the presidency in 1960, its legacy did play an important factor in 1968.
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