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ABSTRACT

This document represents the fourth part of a five-part curriculum series on the life and times of Dwight D. Eisenhower covers Eisenhower's life from the end of World War II through the series of events that led him to accept the people's call to the presidency. This curriculum highlights Eisenhower's 2 terms of office as the 34th U.S. President. Through the use of these primary source materials students can come to know a portion of Eisenhower's postwar life and be inspired by his ability to move from a position of military authority to one of leadership of a nation. Students are drawn into the process of inquiry, searching, observation, analysis, and interpretation. This packet contains a sheet for evaluating a primary source, a guide for the teacher, and 13 learning activities. The packet's primary source materials are divided into four sections: (1) "The General"; (2) "The Candidate"; (3) "The President, Part 1"; and (4) "The President, Part 2." A resource list of books, videos, cassettes, organizations, and Web sites is included. (BT)

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

ED 469 559



SO 034 320

Called to a Higher Duty

1945 -- 1961

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Continuing the Legacy

September 19, 2001

Dear Educator,

It is with great pleasure that the Eisenhower Foundation presents to you the fourth in a series of posters and curriculum materials on the life and times of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

This year's edition, *Called To A Higher Duty: 1945-1961*, covers Eisenhower's life from the end of World War II through the series of events that led him to accept the people's call to the presidency. In addition, this installment highlights his two terms of office as the 34th President of the United States.

Through the use of these materials today's students will come to know a portion of Dwight D. Eisenhower's postwar life that has been extensively covered and be inspired by his ability to move from a position of military authority to one of moral leadership of a great nation.

These materials were made possible by funding from the Dane Hansen Foundation and the State of Kansas. We hope you will join us in thanking them for their support of this most worthwhile project.

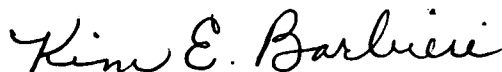
Sincerely,



Stewart R. Etherington
President
The Eisenhower Foundation



Lynda Scheele
Executive Director



Kim E. Barbieri
Education Specialist

Acknowledgements

“Called to a Higher Duty: 1945 - 1961” is the fourth in a five-part curriculum series that examines the life of Dwight D. Eisenhower within the broader context of United States history. Documents created during this period constitute an extensive and valuable historical record, revealing fascinating insights into both the era and Eisenhower, for most of these years leader of the Free World. Because it is very difficult – if not impossible! – for teachers to cover the entire scope of United States history in a single school year, the postwar years and the 1950s are often, unintentionally, given short shrift. This is unfortunate because many of the precursors of the events of the second half of the twentieth century are rooted in the early postwar era; the onset of the Cold War, the most obvious example.

The Eisenhower Foundation in Abilene, Kansas, is to be commended for its enthusiastic support of *The Eisenhower Life Series* curriculum. The State of Kansas and the Dane Hansen Foundation continue to provide the funding that underwrites the cost of printing and distributing of this curriculum. Working together, these entities ensure that the next generation will know more about Dwight D. Eisenhower and the era he helped to shape.

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks and appreciation to the administration, staff, and volunteers of the Eisenhower Library. Their expertise, assistance, and support contribute immeasurably to the quality of this project. In order for these curriculum materials to finally reach your classroom, there are an amazing number of tasks to be completed, requiring a small army of people. They provide expert advice; they locate, pull, and scan documents; they edit and proofread; and they package and prepare nearly 5000 parcels for mailing. And, of course, we are deeply appreciative of you, the teacher, who uses the curriculum in your classroom.

This year, 2002, is especially significant because it marks the 50th anniversary of the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as our nation’s 34th president. As classified records were opened and scholars began to dig deeply into the archives of the Eisenhower Library, a clearer and more accurate portrait of Eisenhower, the president, began to emerge. As the Chief Executive of the United States, there is now no doubt that Eisenhower was intensely engaged and clearly in command, vigorously exercising the powers and prerogatives of the presidency to the extent that he deemed constitutionally appropriate.

The Eisenhower Museum is currently undergoing a complete renovation of the Presidential Gallery, which will be dedicated on October 12, 2002. State of the art exhibits and interactive learning centers will tell the engaging and inspiring story of Dwight D. Eisenhower from 1945 to 1969 and will relate what life was like in the United States in the 1950s. We at the Eisenhower Library and the Eisenhower Foundation extend an invitation to you and your students to experience the new gallery and the rest of the Eisenhower Center.

Kim E. Barbieri
Education Specialist
The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

*Title: “Called to a Higher Duty” comes from a letter written by Dwight D. Eisenhower to George Arthur Sloan, January 3, 1952.
The actual quote is: “It seems to me that an individual can leave an important duty only when called to a higher one...”*

Cover: The cover photograph was taken at a television studio in Denver, Colorado.

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Teacher's Guide

INTRODUCTION:

The years immediately following World War II set the stage for the second half of the twentieth century and continue to impact our lives today. Through most of this era, from 1945 until approximately 1960, no single individual dominated the national and international scene as did Dwight D. Eisenhower. As escalating tensions of the Cold War polarized East and West, and the very real threat of nuclear annihilation entered the nation's and the world's consciousness, Americans, and many around the world, looked to Eisenhower for leadership and reassurance.

By 1945, General Eisenhower was well aware of the power of his stature and enviable popularity. Over and over again from 1945 to 1952, he heard the plea that he was “the only one” who could do the job whether it be at Columbia University, the Department of Defense, NATO, or the presidency. Yet, Eisenhower longed for an extended period of rest and leisure. Blissful ruminations of a tranquil and contented semi-retirement contrasted sharply with the reality of the grassroots political tsunami that would sweep him into the presidency within seven years.

“Called to a Higher Duty: 1945–1961” traces the events of Dwight D. Eisenhower's life from his two years as Army Chief of Staff—a job for which he felt little enthusiasm and from which he was relieved to retire—to his intermittent presidency at Columbia University. This was a job that he wished to do well, but found impossible to accomplish to his exacting standards. Repeatedly, he was called back to active duty, first to assist with the new Department of Defense and then to lend his reputation and abilities to the fledgling North Atlantic Treaty Alliance. Though he managed to squelch an “Eisenhower for President” movement in 1948, by 1952, the course of world events, and the incessant, impassioned appeals for him to consider a presidential run, forced him to reconsider his reluctance. For eight years, Dwight D. Eisenhower led the nation through the uncertain and perilous early years of the Cold War. Through it all, Eisenhower insisted that the security and prosperity of the United States rested on an engaged citizenship, a vital and expanding economy, responsible government spending, and military superiority. To that end, he worked tirelessly and selflessly—and often thanklessly—to serve the best interests of the American people.

THE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER SERIES:

The State of Kansas and the Dane Hansen Foundation provided funding for this project. The materials included are intended only as a starting point to learn more about the fascinating life and times of our 34th President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. “Dreams of a Barefoot Boy: 1890—1911” was the first in the series and focused on the boyhood years in Abilene, Kansas. “Duty, Honor, Country: 1911—1935” was the second and spans Eisenhower's life from West Point through his years in the War Department in the early 1930s. Part three of the series, “In the High Cause of Human Freedom: 1935—1945” recounts Eisenhower years in the Philippines and his leadership in World War II. The Eisenhower Foundation is very interested to know about your teaching experiences using these materials. Contact information is in the Resources section of these materials.

TEACHING WITH PRIMARY SOURCES:

The use of primary sources as an extraordinary method for learning history is gaining converts with each year. For students, the inclusion of primary source materials in the curriculum is often their first opportunity to discover that history really is a fascinating subject! Experts insist that the introduction of primary source

materials into the curriculum should begin early, in the elementary grades. Letters, diaries, photographs, oral histories, and artifacts are powerful catalysts for igniting student curiosity about the past. At each step along the way, they cannot help but begin to formulate the questions that propel them to search for answers which, in turn, lead to even more questions. Students themselves begin to piece together the puzzle of history. By actually “doing history,” they are drawn naturally into the process of inquiry, searching, observation, analysis, and interpretation. Primary sources have the power to transport us back in time, to make the people and events live again.

TEACHER PREPARATION:

1. Read as much as you can about the life of Dwight D. Eisenhower during this period, the events of the postwar era, and life in the 1950s.
2. Ask your school librarian and local historical society to help you put together a collection of resources for a “Learning Center” for this unit. Include historical fiction, nonfiction, reference materials, videos, slides, a vertical file, computer programs, posters, maps, documents, and artifacts.
3. Take the time to become familiar with the materials and try out the activities yourself before using the material with students. Consider introducing “Called to a Higher Duty” by sharing your own experiences and discoveries with the materials.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

1. Identify and explain the influences on Dwight D. Eisenhower during this time.
2. Describe the most important challenges and opportunities Eisenhower faced from 1945—1961.
3. Compare your life today with the lives of those who lived through the late 1940s and 1950s.
4. Relate that “what is history” is an ongoing, ever-changing process.
5. Appreciate the significance of primary sources in the study of history.
6. Demonstrate analytic and interpretative skills by using primary source materials to more fully understand a particular period of history.

NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR HISTORY:

“Called to a Higher Duty: 1945—1961” addresses many of the National Standards for History and is linked to them. A copy may be obtained online at www.dwightdeisenhower.com or by calling or writing the Education Specialist for the Eisenhower Foundation. Kansas teachers may obtain a copy of the unit’s links to The Kansas Curricular Standards for History through the same process.

THE EISENHOWER FOUNDATION:

The Eisenhower Foundation is a 501(c)3 public foundation established in 1946 to accept the Eisenhower family home on the death of Mrs. Ida Eisenhower. The Eisenhower Center, the family home and first museum, was founded in 1952 by the Foundation prior to the establishment of the presidential library system in 1954. The mission of the Eisenhower Foundation is to honor Dwight D. Eisenhower, perpetuate his important legacy, encourage and support educational activities relating to citizenship, and support the non-federally funded operation of the Eisenhower Center.

THE EISENHOWER CENTER:

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Museum, Home, Place of Meditation, and Visitors Center make up the Eisenhower Center. The mission of the Eisenhower Center is to acquire, preserve, and disseminate the records and material culture relating to the history of Dwight D. Eisenhower and his times through research, exhibits, public programs, publications, and outreach.

EVALUATE A PRIMARY SOURCE

1. Which selection from "Called to a Higher Duty" did you just read? _____

2. What are two things you learned about life in the United States during this period of history? _____

3. What are two things you learned about Dwight D. Eisenhower during this period of his life? _____

4. Look at the document you've been given. *What* type of primary source is it?

___ official record	___ photograph/film	___ cartoon
___ letter	___ map	___ poster
___ diary/journal	___ artwork	___ sound recording
___ reminiscence	___ advertisement	___ artifact
___ oral history	___ newspaper	___ book
5. Carefully examine the document and describe what you see (dates, stamps, names, notations, numbers, symbols, etc.). _____

6. *Who* created this document? _____
7. *Why* do you think this document was created? _____

8. For *whom* was this document intended? _____
9. List three things you learned about Dwight D. Eisenhower and this period of history by studying this document.
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____
10. Write three new questions that you now have about Dwight D. Eisenhower and this period of U.S. history.
a. _____
b. _____
c. _____

* This worksheet was modified from the original developed by the Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408.

Learning Activities

1. Acquire a classroom set of Dwight D. Eisenhower's White House Memoirs: *Mandate For Change: 1953-1956* and *Waging Peace: 1956-1961*.
2. Have students read Abraham Lincoln's "Address Before the Springfield Young Men's Lyceum of Springfield, Illinois," (January 27, 1838). Next, ask students to identify the main idea and supporting ideas it presents. A copy of this speech may be found at <http://speaker.house.gov/library/texts/lincoln/lyceum1.asp>. (See #3 below.)
3. Ask students to read Dwight D. Eisenhower's "Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Situation in Little Rock" (September 24, 1957). As in #2 above, have students identify the main and supporting ideas of the address. Finally, students should make a list of the differences and similarities between these addresses. A copy of this speech may be found at www.Tamu.edu/scom/pres/speeches/ikefederal.html.
4. "I Like Ike" is one of the most memorable campaign slogans in American history. Assign students to research a presidential campaign and the history surrounding it in order to write their own.
5. Using 1950s popular magazines, research product advertisements and compare them to today's magazine ads. Have students locate articles in women's magazines of the period that discuss the "proper" roles of family members.
6. There are many excellent web sites on the 1950s. Explore the following:
www.geocities.com/projectfifties.
www.fiftiesweb.com.
www.nhmccd.edu/contracts/lrc/kc/decade50.html.
7. Using "Called to a Higher Duty," ask students to write ten interview questions about life in the 1950s that they might use to complete an oral history assignment with their parents or grandparents.
8. During Eisenhower's terms of office, the nuclear arms race began. Ask students to complete research on what happened to the stockpiles of nuclear weapons that the United States and the Soviet Union acquired, now that the Soviet Union no longer exists.
9. President Eisenhower received approximately 600 documents to sign with his signature every day. Students may want to consider the time that this would take to accomplish and, in addition, they should question how a president can know what he or she is signing, since it is obvious there is not enough time in the day to read every document.
10. Students will find the following web sites excellent sources for information on elections:
www.debates.org.
www.pbs.org/30secondcandidate/.
www.historycentral.com/elections.
<http://cgi.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1996/debates/history>.
11. Investigate the origins of the Cold War at www.historyguide.org/europe/lecture14.html. You will find many other helpful history sources at www.historyguide.org.
12. Dwight D. Eisenhower was admired for his superior decision-making skills, both as a soldier and as a president. The model he used is a type of consensus decision making. Investigate this model for making group decisions and also "Groupthink," which is a faulty decision-making model that can result in inferior decisions. There are many books and web sites which explore these and other decision-making models.
13. Calculate today's equivalent cost of some the items found in "Called to a Higher Duty." Use the Consumer Price Index Conversion Factors found at these two web sites:
www.orst.edu/dept/pol_sci/fac/sahr/sahr.htm.
www.cjr.org/resources/inflater.asp.



The General:

“For myself, there is nothing I want so much as opportunity to retire”

Your conclusions concerning my attitude toward politics are 100 percent correct. When trying to express my sentiments myself, I merely get so vehement that I grow speechless, if not hysterical. I cannot conceive of any set of circumstances that could ever drag out of me permission to consider me for any political post from Dog Catcher to “Grand High Supreme King of the Universe.”

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

*Letter to “Swede” Hazlett, boyhood friend
March 13, 1946*

The United States: 1945—1951

As 1945 came to a close, there was every reason to believe that the world would now be a more peaceful place. The fighting was over, and the United Nations had been created to preserve the peace. Best of all, our “boys” were coming home. But unknown challenges lay ahead. A new kind of war, a conflict that would cast a dark shadow over American life for more than four decades to come, was already materializing.

Even though World War II ended in September 1945, the consequences of its destruction continued. Much of Europe and East Asia was destroyed, and millions—over 125 million in Europe alone—wandered aimlessly, homeless and starving. Great Britain was nearly bankrupt, and France teetered on the verge of political collapse. Nationalism and independence movements erupted throughout European colonies in Africa and Asia.

After Japan surrendered on September 2, 1945, the United States occupied Japan under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. A democratic constitution was written, the emperor

was stripped of power, and the military was abolished. A new Japan would be created in the image of the United States.

After the war, transporting millions of American servicemen home was a monumental operation. Impatient American troops in Europe and Asia began organizing protests, and near-riots broke out. On the home front a vigorous letter-writing campaign was launched to “Bring Daddy Home.” The deployment process was sped up, and, by April 1946, nearly 7 million American servicemen were home.

As the American economy adjusted from wartime to peacetime production, defense plants were reconverted to produce consumer goods. The great demand for homes, cars, and household appliances prompted dangerous inflation, threatening to wreck the fragile economy. Eventually, production began to catch up with the demand for consumer goods, but, because workers’ pay raises lagged behind price increases, strikes became common.

Continuing postwar domestic problems plagued the Truman administration. In the election of 1946, for the first time in 20 years, Republicans won control of Congress. The newly elected congressional leaders were determined to roll back Roosevelt’s New Deal. Congress passed the 22nd Amendment, limiting future presidents to two terms of office. In an effort to weaken labor unions, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 over a presidential veto. When Congress refused to act on the administration’s civil rights legislation, the president signed an executive order desegregating the armed forces and ending segregation in the federal civil service.

The wartime goodwill between the United States and the Soviet Union began to evaporate soon after the war. Although the Allies had agreed to hold

democratic elections in Eastern Europe at war's end, the Soviets instead installed a communist government in Poland in late 1945—a pattern that would be repeated in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary.

Truman vigorously condemned postwar Soviet aggression. In response, on February 9, 1946, Stalin criticized the West in a stinging speech. In early March, Winston Churchill lamented that an "Iron Curtain"* had descended across Europe, and called for a new Anglo-American alliance to check communist expansion into Western Europe. A little over a week later, Stalin compared the Anglo-American threat to that of the Nazis a decade before. The Cold War had begun.

During this period, the new American policy of containing communism emerged. In early 1947, the Truman administration pledged to provide military aid to governments fighting communist insurgents. This "Truman Doctrine" provided \$400 million in military aid to enable Greece and Turkey to defeat internal communist rebels. That same year, the National Security Act was passed, creating what would become the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, and the Central Intelligence Agency. In June, the Marshall Plan was introduced. It would rebuild Europe with billions of American dollars.

Once more the world was shocked when a Soviet-sponsored coup overthrew Czechoslovakia's democratically elected government in February 1948. Shortly thereafter, the American, British, and French zones of occupation were merged to create the German Federal Republic. Stalin retaliated with a blockade of Berlin. For nearly a year, the United States and Great Britain airlifted food and supplies to more than 2 million Germans.

In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was created to check Soviet expansion into Western Europe. When the Soviets exploded an atomic bomb later that year, lagging congressional support for a NATO military force was pushed forward. In China, the

communist forces of Mao Zedong prevailed, and the Truman administration was blamed for "losing" China.

In September 1950, President Truman approved National Security Council (NSC) plan 68 that called for a massive increase in the defense budget and the maintenance of a strong peacetime military force. North Korea's invasion of South Korea on June 25, 1950, seemed to justify the Truman administration's request for large defense appropriations and the creation of a new role for the United States as guardian of the free world

As Cold War tensions heightened, a new Red Scare took hold in the United States. In response, the government began to investigate anyone with connections to the Communist party or the political far left. Truman responded to the internal communist threat with the Federal Employee Loyalty Program in 1947. The Republican Congress began its own loyalty program: the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

Two high-profile cases whipped up a national anticommunist frenzy: Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs. Hiss, a high-ranking State Department official, was accused of spying for the Soviets. Convicted of perjury in 1950, he was sentenced to four years in prison. That same year, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, accused of giving atomic secrets to the Soviets during World War II, were convicted of espionage.

A Republican senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, saw political opportunity in the national mood of panic. In 1950, he claimed to have a list of 205 known communists working in the State Department. The accusations proved false, but that did nothing to dampen the enthusiasm for his crusade. The rise of Senator McCarthy's political star had only just begun.

*From a speech delivered at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER: 1945—1951

THE GENERAL

For Dwight D. Eisenhower, the immediate postwar years were filled with change, new challenges, and frustrations. Throughout this entire period, the American people made it clear that they wanted Ike as their president, but he was yet to be convinced. Each time, as he prepared to retire, he was called back to service by his sense of duty.

From 1946 to 1948, Ike served as U.S. Army Chief of Staff before retiring from active duty. In 1948, he accepted the presidency of Columbia University. Then, once again, in 1950, President Truman asked him to return to active military service as the first military commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

When Ike became U.S. Army Chief of Staff in 1946, the Pentagon was newly constructed. It was an enormous place, interwoven with a maze of corridors that seemed to have no end. (In fact, Ike once became lost and had to ask directions back to his office; the incident made national headlines.) Immediately upon assuming this position, demobilization was his most pressing responsibility.

Ike's next task was equally difficult—to reorganize the new postwar army. He believed that every 18-year-old male should serve one year of compulsory military service and that the regular peacetime army should be made up entirely of volunteers. To his great disappointment, neither idea was adopted.

Another postwar battle Ike fought and lost was the unification of the various branches of the armed forces. In the meantime—despite his impassioned arguments to the contrary—Congress slashed military budgets and greatly reduced the size of America's postwar fighting force.

With disappointment and sadness, Ike observed the unfolding Cold War. He regretted the country's growing reliance on nuclear weapons, but saw no realistic alternative. On one point he was absolutely

certain—a restored and vital Europe was key to our own national security. Too much had been sacrificed to win the war only to allow Europe to collapse now.

As he prepared to retire, Ike was physically and mentally tired. He and Mamie dreamed of buying a ranch near a small college town where he could teach and write, but it was not to be. When he was approached, for a second time, to accept the position of president of Columbia University, Ike thought about the idea long and hard before saying, "Yes." But first he had to schedule some time to write his memoirs of the war.

It had not been easy to convince Ike to write *Crusade in Europe*. There had been countless opportunities presented to him after the war, and he had turned them all down. To have served his country had been a great honor, and he refused to exploit it for personal gain. Finally, the argument that he had a duty to future generations to leave behind an accurate accounting of his experiences during the war convinced him to undertake the project.

On October 12, 1948, in a ceremony befitting a head of state, Dwight D. Eisenhower was inaugurated as president of Columbia University. Characteristically, he threw himself into his new job, determined to learn everything he could about the university and its operation. At the request of President Truman, he agreed to provide much needed leadership to the new Department of Defense as well. The work was too much, and on March 21, 1949, he collapsed with a severe attack of ileitis and was hospitalized. After a long recovery period, Ike was relieved to wrap up his work in Washington. He was eager to focus all his energies on his work at Columbia University.

In October, 1950, when President Truman summoned Ike to the White House it was because Ike was the unanimous choice of NATO members to lead its combined military force. Truman insisted that Ike was the *only* one who could make it work. Would he serve? As he prepared to leave for Europe, Ike offered to resign his position at

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Columbia. Instead, the Board of Trustees persuaded him to take an indefinite leave of absence.

Before leaving for his new post, Ike met privately with Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, hoping to convince him to support NATO. But the meeting ended without any commitments. As Ike assumed his duties in Paris in January 1951, the threat of a Soviet attack on Western Europe seemed imminent. Ike believed that if western civilization was to survive, NATO, especially its military force, must succeed. Back home, however, sentiments for postwar isolationism were gaining momentum.

The Eisenhower Family

The Eisenhowers' personal lives were also undergoing transition. Ike now led a very public life, surrounded by a staff and personal aides who catered to him. Mamie regretted that the war had hardened her husband. She noted that he was more abrupt and impatient and overly serious. On her part, Mamie had become far more independent in Ike's absence. Each found the changes in the other unfamiliar and uncomfortable. It would take time and patience to become a close couple again.

In September 1946, while Ike was Chief of Staff, word arrived that his mother, Ida Stover Eisenhower, had died peacefully at age 84. Ida's death was a devastating blow. All five Eisenhower brothers returned home to Abilene for her funeral. Then in the summer of 1951, while the Eisenhowers were living in France, John Sheldon Doud, Mamie's beloved "Pupah" died.

After World War II, son John remained on duty in Germany and, in early 1946, was reassigned to Vienna. It was there, in late October 1946, that he met Barbara Jean Thompson, daughter of an army colonel. On June 10, 1947, John and Barbara were married in a ceremony befitting the son of the Chief of Staff. Dwight David Eisenhower II was born in 1948; Barbara Anne arrived one year later. (Eventually there would be four children.) Now in their 50s, Ike and Mamie were thrilled to become

grandparents and would develop close relationships with their grandchildren.

In 1948, while the Eisenhowers were at Columbia University, Thomas E. Stephens painted a portrait of Mamie. Ike watched in total fascination. When Stephens finished, Ike himself tried painting. From then on, he rarely missed an opportunity to paint, usually in the late hours of the night. Painting, along with reading westerns and playing golf, allowed him to escape momentarily the ever-present stresses of his life.

After the war, the Eisenhowers never again lived in "ordinary" housing. Their homes were official residences where they were expected to entertain. While Ike was Chief of Staff, they lived in stately Quarters #1 at Fort Meyer. Sixty Morningside Drive, their official Columbia University residence, was a four-story mansion of marble and brick. While at Columbia, the Eisenhowers bought their first home, near Gettysburg. Here they would retire. Their NATO residence was a newly renovated 14-room villa outside of Paris.

Throughout the period 1945-1951, Mamie shared the limelight with her famous husband, and everything about her was scrutinized. She had always loved clothes and had developed her own sense of style. Mamie Eisenhower was no "fashion snob," however. She was equally at ease in a dress straight off the rack from J.C. Penney's as in a designer gown. When letters and articles suggested that she should try a new hairstyle—minus her trademark bangs—she paid little attention. Mamie liked how she looked and had no intention of changing.

Recommended Readings from *At Ease: Stories I Tell to Friends*: 315-335; 336-362.

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Letter from Dwight D. Eisenhower, December 6, 1945
to Marshall Georgi Konstantinovich Zhukov

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Russia

RUSSIA:
✓ ZHUKOV, Marshal of the Soviet Union

6 December 1945



Dear Marshal Zhukov:

You may be aware of the fact that I was prevented, because of sickness, from returning to Europe late last month. One of the things I was particularly anxious to do was to see you, for several reasons.

Firstly, I wanted to assure you of my very deep appreciation for your friendly and cooperative attitude toward me during the months since the German surrender. It was an association that was most valuable and satisfactory from my viewpoint and I truly hope you feel the same. I hope you will always permit me to call you "friend".

Secondly, I wanted to say goodbye to the principal members of your staff, particularly those with whom I have frequently come in contact, and had hoped personally to introduce my successor to you and to them.

Finally, I wanted to tell you again of my hope that you would find it possible to visit our Country next Spring.

I truly feel that if the same type of association that you and I have experienced over the past several months could be established and maintained between large numbers of Soviet and American personnel, both military and civil, we would do much in promoting mutual understanding, confidence and faith between our two peoples. I know that during the entire period my own admiration, respect and affection for the Red Army and its great leaders, and for the Russian people all the way up to the Generalissimo himself, constantly increased.

I should like to request that at any time you feel that I might do anything for you personally or that I might be helpful in promoting the friendships that I feel are so valuable to the world, I will be more than glad to respond to your suggestions, so far as it is in my power to do so.

Again goodbye and good luck.

Very sincerely,

DDE
(Sgd) DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Marshal of the Soviet Union
Georgi Konstantinovich Zhukov
Commander-in-Chief,
Soviet Forces in Germany
Berlin.

*cc: Gen. L. D. Clay - see clay's memo in his file 12/11/45
disp. 12/7/45 by DDE plane OCS*

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General Lauris Norstad Oral History, 1976

Pages 16-18:

SOAPES: When you got to NATO, at the beginning, what was there? Was it really starting completely from scratch?

NORSTAD: It was absolute scratch. To give you an idea—there had been a military organization of the European nations, Western European Union, with Field Marshal (Bernard) Montgomery in command, but that didn't have much flesh and blood on it. It was an organization; it made some contribution; it made it somewhat easier, but it was not a pattern. It had to be made, and General Eisenhower, of course, worked on this personally, with key people. And I can remember one very dramatic meeting when he had all those who were going to be his top commanders, in a meeting at the Astoria and we'd had about ten days, two weeks, and we were to talk about the strategy—what were we going to do? What was the general objective going to be? And each one of us had to make a report to him, and I've never heard more crying in my life. Everybody crying, they didn't have much they didn't have anything. They had to have this and this and this—how weak they were. And I could see General Eisenhower becoming less and less impressed with this very negative approach and finally he just banged that podium—he was standing at the podium, got red faced—and he banged the podium. And he said in a very firm voice that could have been heard, I'm sure, two or three floors below, that he knew what the weaknesses were. We didn't have to emphasize that to him. And he said, "I know there are shortages, but " he said, "I myself make up for part of that shortage—what I can do and what I can put into this—and the rest of it has to be made up by you people. Now get at it!" And he banged the podium again and he walked out. Just turned around, didn't say another word, just walked out. And believe me there was a great change in attitude. Right away there was an air of determination—we *will* do it, *we'll* do it. We are the difference. We, the commanders, are the difference. And this is quite typical of the way he would handle people under circumstances of this kind.

Pages 19-20:

SOAPES: In regard, again, to the general situation that you were encountering, you were starting from scratch. What were the major Department problems that you recall? I'm thinking in terms of nationalistic problems as well as logistic.

NORSTAD: We've touched briefly on that—there was a certain amount of jockeying, in some cases, for position to be sure that there was adequate staff or command representation at various levels. And, of course, General Eisenhower was very gifted at handling that type of thing because he would come in and he'd blow. If people were quarreling and continuing to quarrel on some picayunish thing, he'd come in and blow all the opposition away, just by talking to them positively. But actually I found that, within my personal domain, that by going to the authorities and explaining, that the oppositional problems were quickly eliminated. And this is, I think, the place where we all learn from General Eisenhower, because he liked people. He liked dealing with these various countries, and it was quite clear that was quickly reciprocated—these people wanted to be helpful. They wanted to be constructive. So we all learned that we should get to know the country. And he used to tell us, "Get to know these people. You'll find it's much easier if you know the people and understand their problems. And don't just talk to the government; talk to the opposition as well. Get to know them as well. And explain to them and see what you can do to help them because sometimes they have political problems accepting things. See what you can do to help them with their political problems to make it easier for them to do what you want them to do." Of course, he was a master at getting people together, people who had never been together, never worked with anyone as a matter of fact and between whom there were great barriers of history.

Letter from Dwight D. Eisenhower, February 6, 1948
to Colonel P.A. Hodgson, West Point roommate

6 February 1948

Dear P. A.:

Tomorrow, the 7th, I quit the job of Chief of Staff -- that is, unless some most unexpected catastrophe happens in the meantime. Bradley is taking over, a circumstance which is of great gratification to me. Throughout the war he was not only an outstanding commander, but he was my warm friend and close advisor. I think I may claim some right to at least a casual recognition in the field of strategy, organization, and in developing Allied teamwork. Bradley was the master tactician of our forces, and in my opinion will eventually come to be recognized as America's foremost battle leader.

I shall not go to Columbia until the first of May. In fact, until that time there will be no place in New York for me to live. However, I shall not get to use the intervening period for the complete and absolute rest that I had always hoped to have. I am going to plunge into the preparation of a memoir -- a job that has already been developed to a fair degree -- and these coming three or four months will be the only ones that I will have free for this task. Because, however, I shall for once in my life be working for myself and on an entirely different type of job, I think the general effect will be almost as good as a complete avoidance of all work.

Until May 1st, therefore, my address will be Fort Myer, Virginia. After that, it will be Columbia University.

Our household is practically a hospital. Mamie has been quite ill, but today shows improvement. She had a streptococcal infection in her throat. Her father and mother are both ill, the former, seriously. His difficulty is a heart ailment complicated by age. We will not be able to move him at all for several weeks. After that, he will have to get on to his feet quite slowly and carefully. It is a godsend that we do not have to get out of our house until May 1st.

We are glad, of course, that Anne is better. Give her our love, and with warmest regards to yourself,

As ever,

Colonel P. A. Hodgson, retired
1530 Kalmia
San Mateo, California

Original dispatched from GCS 2/7/48
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General Henry S. Aurand Oral History, 1968

Pages 15-17:

AURAND: While Ike was Chief of Staff, in addition to my assigned problems of keeping the scientists happy and working out the separation agreements between the Army and the Air Force, he had a good many other things on his mind. He had a habit of buzzing one of the top staff people and having them come down to his office, and I can only tell you my own experiences in this. He'd buzz my buzzer, and I'd answer and say, "Yes, sir?" and he'd say, "Dutch, get down here at once." So I'd go down at once, and sit down. He'd be walking up and down the room, and he would start talking about the problem of which he was thinking at the moment. And I might sit there 15 minutes, I might sit there 30, maybe I would get a word in edgewise, maybe I wouldn't—Then he would say, "That's all."

Q: Just trying it out on you?

AURAND: No, he seldom asked for my opinion about what he said. He seemed to like to think out loud and he didn't want to talk to himself. I presume that was it, I don't know. Anyway, I think it was helpful to have somebody there who was a friend, who wasn't going to go around and spill it to everybody—you know—so he could let himself go to.

One subject I remember he talked about to me. I think he talked several times to me about this. It was the proposition of taking the presidency at Columbia. He would say, "I don't want to be an administrator, I want to be a teacher. I want to have a group of intelligent kids that I can talk to, and who can talk back to me. I want to find out what they're thinking about. I can't do that if I'm president of the university."

This isn't a quote, but this is the gist of what he would say. I believe he took the presidency of Columbia with some reluctance—this is my own feeling. He would much rather have had—well, perhaps what I was offered, a chair of military history or something like this, where he was going to be in contact with students.

There was another thing about his running staffs that appealed to me to no end, and I learned from it, and in my only remaining command, which was USARPAC in Hawaii (US Army Pacific), I used it, and I also used it in my own staff division while Bradley was chief. Ike said that in a staff, the buck is passed down and down and down until you finally get a guy who can't pass it down any further. Then it has to bounce back up—and he called this "the plane of last rebound."

One day we had a briefing. It was rather a sad affair. There were quite a few of the staff chiefs and others in his office, and it was made by a staff chief. Ike asked some pertinent questions, and the staff chief didn't know the answer. Ike said, "Hereafter I want the guy on the plane of last rebound who prepared the paper to make the presentation. Everybody in the echelons above him can be present to tell me differently after he's through, but I want him to present his original paper."

So I did that. I don't know whether the others did, but I did that with him on every briefing, and he enjoyed it, because this fellow on the plane of last rebound answers, he'd done the research, and we superiors who had just passed on it didn't.



The Candidate:

“I occupy the enviable position of a man who wants nothing”

It is difficult for many people—particularly those who have led a political life or are engaged in newspaper or radio work—to believe anyone who disclaims political ambition. Even though they may accept without the faintest hint of challenge any statement a man might make about any other subject in the world, on this one thing they maintain a position of doubt, not to say suspicion.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

Letter to “Swede” Hazlett, boyhood friend
August 25, 1947

The Election of 1952

After the turmoil of World War II, Americans were eager to reestablish peaceful and normal lives. The rising tensions and growing fears of the Cold War made that difficult, if not impossible. For Americans beginning the second half of the twentieth century, the election of 1952 was a pivotal point in the nation’s history. Its outcome would determine what role the United States would assume in the postwar world.

To put the election of 1952 in perspective, it is helpful to look back four years to 1948. As that election approached, it appeared almost certain that President Truman could not be reelected. Public opinion polls indicated that General Dwight D. Eisenhower was the nation’s first choice for president, but the general declined to run.

Republicans had triumphed in the mid-term elections of 1946 and expected to win the White House in 1948. Despite predictions that he would lose, President Truman was confident that he could win. To prove it, he set out on a two-month, 20,000 mile “Whistle-Stop” campaign.

In his colorful and feisty campaign style, Truman virtually ignored the Republican candidate, Thomas E. Dewey. Instead, he targeted Republican leaders in Congress. Calling them “good-for-nothings,” Truman added, “If you send another Republican Congress to Washington, you’re a bigger bunch of suckers than I think you are.” Campaign crowds urged him on with shouts of “Give ‘em hell, Harry!”

Pollsters and political pundits predicted a Dewey landslide in November 1948. Nonetheless, in one of the great political upsets of American history, it was Truman who defeated Dewey. The Republican Congress would make his next four years as miserable as possible.

The Republicans had not won a presidential race since 1928; they were determined that 1952 was to be their year. Republican leaders blasted Truman, blaming him for the stalemate in Korea and government corruption scandals, and they charged that his administration had been soft on communism. When Truman’s popularity dropped below 30 percent in the spring of 1952, he decided that he would not run for reelection.

Senator Robert Taft, Republican from Ohio and oldest son of President William Howard Taft, was expected to win the party’s 1952 presidential nomination. As “Mr. Republican,” Taft led the conservative wing of the party. He and his colleagues were critical of a postwar American foreign policy that supported the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, and NATO. Postwar isolationism was emerging under his leadership. Eisenhower disagreed.

Once Truman was out of the 1952 presidential race, the Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson II, governor of Illinois. Stevenson—an articulate,

intelligent, and sophisticated man—came from a privileged background. His grandfather, Adlai E. Stevenson I, had been Vice-President of the United States under Grover Cleveland in the 1890s. Stevenson had been reluctant to accept the nomination because he expected that it would be difficult for the Democratic party to win in 1952.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, celebrated allied commander of World War II, rose to prominence from modest beginnings. He came to the election of 1952 in the enviable position of genuine American hero and the most admired man in the world. For nearly a decade, he had shunned the political arena.

As 1952 began, the hard-fought contest between supporters of Taft and Eisenhower for the Republican nomination intensified. Under tremendous pressure to enter the presidential race, Eisenhower retired from active military duty in May 1952. When Eisenhower officially entered the race in early June, he and Taft were virtually tied. After a bitter primary contest and divided party convention, Eisenhower emerged victorious.

Both Stevenson and Eisenhower used radio and television political ads effectively during the general campaign. Eisenhower appeared in a series of short spots where he addressed the concerns of ordinary Americans. Stevenson found it difficult to adapt his sophisticated speaking style to what we would call “sound bites” today. By election day, November 4, 1952, the Eisenhower campaign had spent \$5.03 million compared to Stevenson’s \$6.61.

The Eisenhower campaign was temporarily sidetracked in mid-September; vice-presidential candidate Richard Nixon was accused of having a secret expense fund. Many within the campaign believed that Nixon should be dropped from the ticket. Fearing that would spell defeat in November, Eisenhower decided to let Nixon try to save himself. In a televised appeal to the nation, Nixon focused on one political gift: a black and white cocker spaniel named “Checkers” which belonged to his young daughters. It was a masterful strategy that worked; thousands of letters of support poured into campaign headquarters.

Eisenhower recognized in Stevenson a formidable opponent. On the campaign trail, Stevenson’s thoughtful and elegant speeches did not always connect with his audience. As a result, the Republicans were successful in stereotyping him as an “egghead.” A father of three, Stevenson was also divorced—a considerable political liability in the family-conscious era of the 1950s.

President Truman took to the campaign trail once more in an attempt to shore up the Stevenson campaign. He charged that Eisenhower had “lost” Berlin to the Soviets in the last days of the war and that the general was nothing more than a “dupe of Republican isolationists.” Eisenhower, stung by the accusations, fired back, charging that the Truman administration was corrupt; that it had lost China to the communists; and that it was responsible for the stalemate in Korea.

Eisenhower’s lead was narrowing with a month until election day. Victory was virtually guaranteed, however, when, on October 24, he made his “I Shall Go to Korea” speech in which he pledged to personally evaluate the situation before taking office. Rumors began to circulate that Ike had a secret plan to end the war.

In the final analysis, the outcome of the election of 1952 rested more on Eisenhower the man than on any campaign issue. Voters lined up outside polling places before dawn on November 4. Thirty-four million votes were cast for Eisenhower; 27 million were for Stevenson. The electoral college registered a landslide 442 votes for Eisenhower to 89 for Stevenson. Republicans narrowly held on to both houses of Congress. And, for the first time in two decades, Republicans controlled both the executive and legislative branches of government.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER: 1951—1953

THE CANDIDATE

By mid-1951 Ike was in Paris, hard at work laying the groundwork for a new military alliance destined to protect Western Europe from Soviet-advance. He was a grandfather, now 60 years old, and wanted nothing more than to complete his NATO mission, return to Columbia University, and—at some point—retire. Yet, he was very worried for the future of his country in the uncertain atmosphere of the postwar era.

As early as 1943, Ike's name had been casually linked with the highest office in the land. By 1948, public opinion polls indicated that he was America's first choice for President of the United States. That same year, President Truman offered to run as his vice-president on an Eisenhower-Truman Democratic ticket. In the summer of 1949 and again in the fall of 1950, Governor Dewey of New York, approached Ike about a presidential bid. Ike made it clear: he was not interested.

The "Eisenhower for President" campaign took shape in the summer of 1951. Ike's closest friends and prominent Republicans worked behind the scenes to organize a campaign and raise money. Even earlier, grassroots volunteers began to organize under the umbrella of "Citizens for Eisenhower." "Ike Clubs" sprouted across the country. There were "Volunteers for Eisenhower," "Mothers' Clubs for Ike," and even "Democrats for Eisenhower." One Los Angeles group took out a political ad declaring themselves "Democrats Anonymous for Ike," adding, "May our ancestors forgive us—we're going Republican." Campaign buttons, clothing, banners, toys, stationery—all appeared emblazoned with "I Like Ike."

Pressure for Ike to agree to run intensified. On his 61st birthday, October 14, 1951, he finally wrote a confidential letter to his closest supporters. In it he stated reluctantly that, if there were a clear call to duty from the American people, he felt he had no choice but to serve. And, if drafted as the

presidential candidate at the Republican convention, he would run.

As 1951 came to an end and 1952 began, the pressure on Ike continued to build. Just before Christmas 1951, a letter from President Truman arrived offering his support if Ike would run as a Democrat. For Ike, it was a stressful and uncertain time as he did his best to focus on his duties at NATO. He told his supporters that he would do nothing to hinder their efforts, but that was all he would do.

In early January 1952, the "Eisenhower for President" campaign made public a letter announcing that Eisenhower was a Republican and a presidential candidate. Ike was furious! He wrote a letter of reply stating that, although he had voted Republican, he was not interested in a presidential bid.

On February 8, an event took place at Madison Square Garden, New York, that convinced Ike, beyond any doubt, that the American people really wanted him. An "Eisenhower for President" rally attracted a crowd of 40,000 wildly enthusiastic supporters. Three days later, the Eisenhowers and friends watched the film of the rally at their home outside Paris. It was a sobering and emotional moment for Ike.

On March 11, 1951, while still in Paris, Ike won the New Hampshire primary handily. One week later, he nearly won the Minnesota primary though his name was not even printed on the ballot. More than 128,692 voters had spelled "Eisenhower" correctly in a remarkable write-in campaign. Meanwhile, Senator Taft was steadily accumulating Republican delegates. A "Draft Eisenhower" strategy at the convention in July would be too little, too late. If Ike wanted the nomination, he would have to return home and fight for it.

On June 1, 1952, Eisenhower made good on his promise to return home to fight for the Republican nomination. He traveled first to Abilene to announce his candidacy on June 4. In the weeks that followed, he met with delegates all across the

country. As the Chicago Republican national convention neared, the party was split much as it had been in the famous election of 1912. On the eve of the convention, the Associated Press estimated 530 delegates for Taft and 427 for Eisenhower. The Republican nominee would need 604 votes to win.

A number of states sent two sets of delegates to the convention in July: one for Taft and one for Eisenhower. Taft's people controlled the convention machinery, and they had no intention of seating the Eisenhower delegates. But Ike's supporters challenged the convention's leadership with a "Fair Play" amendment. Taft's supporters fought hard, but Fair Play was passed; the nomination belonged to Ike on the first ballot. Richard Nixon was picked for the vice-presidential spot. He was only 39 years old but appeared to balance the Republican ticket perfectly.

The general campaign began in early September. On a 19-car train, the Eisenhower Special, Ike, Mamie, and more than 35 campaign advisors, staff, and reporters traveled for two months on the last great "whistlestop" campaign in American history. By train and airplane, Ike logged more than 50,000 miles. To everyone's delight, Mamie proved to be a natural campaigner. Soon campaign buttons appeared exclaiming, "I Like Ike, but I LOVE MAMIE!"

The 1952 presidential campaign was one of the nastiest in American history. President Truman took to the campaign trail in support of Stevenson. At one stop, a boy in the crowd shouted out, "We want Ike." Truman fired back, "Well, why don't you go get him, and you'll get what's coming to you." He accused Eisenhower of being cozy with the Russians after the war and charged that Ike had been a poor Army Chief of Staff.

For his part, Ike denounced the Democrats for the Potsdam and Yalta agreements and blamed them for China's fall to the communists. Further, he charged, the Truman administration was rife

with corruption and had been soft on communism. If Truman had confronted the communist threat effectively, he argued, the Korean War might have been avoided.

No sooner had the fallout from the September Nixon calamity settled than a second crisis erupted for the Eisenhower campaign in early October. Throughout the campaign, Eisenhower wanted nothing more than to distance himself from Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin whom he personally found repugnant. However, all along the campaign trail, reporters pressed the issue with probing questions, especially after McCarthy began to criticize Ike's mentor and friend, George C. Marshall.

Against his better judgment, Ike was persuaded to eliminate praise for Marshall in a speech he was scheduled to give in McCarthy's home state. The text of the original speech was leaked to the press, and the omission was painfully obvious. The public reaction was immediate, and Eisenhower staffers began to refer to it as "that terrible day." Ike regretted this mistake for the rest of his life.

On October 24, Ike's "I shall go to Korea" speech in Detroit set the Eisenhower campaign back on track. Election day was less than two weeks away.

November 4, 1952, proved triumphant for the Republican party; their candidate had won decisively. And, for the first time since post-Civil War Reconstruction, a number of southern states had voted Republican. More than anything else, election day was a great personal victory for Dwight D. Eisenhower. He had long ago earned the respect and trust of many Americans. They looked to him now to do his best to lead them safely through the uncertainty ahead.

The Eisenhower Family

By 1951, Ike and Mamie Eisenhower were at a comfortable stage in their lives. Retirement to their new farm in Gettysburg was in the not-too-distant future. They had adapted to living a very public life and looked forward to being private citizens one day. In their home outside of Paris, they received a steady stream of visitors from the United States. The message was always the same: Ike must return home; the country desperately needed him.

At Christmas time in 1951, close friends arrived in Paris to share the holidays. When the guests arrived for Christmas dinner wearing "I Like Ike" ties, hats, and campaign buttons, Ike turned red with embarrassment, but Mamie burst out laughing. The nicest gift of all that Christmas was word that they had a new granddaughter, Susan, born December 31.

Mamie loved their life in Paris. She and Ike had traveled widely and included among their friends heads of state and royalty. Their new home, Marnes-La-Coquette had been newly renovated and the grounds were beautiful. To pack up once more to begin a demanding presidential campaign was not an idea that either relished.

Through the spring of 1952, Mamie felt the pressures on her husband intensify. Sensing his mixed feelings, she wanted nothing more than to ask him to bow out of a possible presidential run. Yet, she knew that the decision must be his to make.

Throughout the Republican primary contest, the Eisenhowers endured stinging personal attacks. Because Ike was a national hero, Mamie more often was the target of nasty rumors. She continued to be criticized for her hairstyle, and during the general campaign so many letters were received that a special form letter was created to answer them.

In the beginning, political advisors and staff tried to squeeze Mamie out of her husband's inner campaign circle. But she stood her ground. In the end, Mamie proved to be a valuable asset to the campaign. She granted daily interviews and dictated thousands of letters. Ike appreciated her input as he crafted his speeches for a particular crowd. The American people adored her—so much so that two campaign songs were written in her honor, "Mamie" and "I Want Mamie." One reporter following the campaign declared that she was worth at least 50 electoral votes.

Though the campaign schedule was exhausting for Ike, Mamie thoroughly enjoyed the fanfare, the noise, and the excitement. As she looked out over the faces of ordinary Americans, she was uplifted and felt a profound sense of responsibility. When the campaign train finally rolled to an end, Mamie realized, with surprise, that she would miss it.

Just as the Republic National Convention ended in July 1952, John left for Korea. Some of Ike's advisors feared that having John on the frontlines would make him vulnerable to capture. However, Ike supported his son's decision. Privately, he cautioned John that capture was not an option.

Arriving in Korea on July 27, John's destination was the rear headquarters of the Eighth U.S. Army. Next, he was transported to headquarters north of Seoul, where he narrowly escaped friendly-fire. From there, John was sent directly to the front. Here he celebrated his 30th birthday. In early September, John was ordered to the 3rd Infantry Division headquarters for a new assignment. It was here he learned the results of the presidential election. Though happy that his father had won the presidency, he knew that all their lives would be forever changed.

Recommended Readings from *At Ease: Stories I Tell To Friends*: 363-380.

Recommended Readings from *Mandate for Change*: 3-25; 26-75.

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Dwight D. Eisenhower and Senator Robert Taft, Sept. 1952

Photograph #68-91-2



Photograph courtesy Eisenhower Library

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Memo from Dwight D. Eisenhower, August 27, 1952
to Governor Sherman Adams

Memorandum

August 27, 1952

To: Governor Adams
From: General Eisenhower

These are a few ideas about the functioning of our organization after we once start barnstorming by train.

- (a). I think we will feel the need of a rather strong political group on the train itself.
- (b). At the same time you, as my Political Chief, will want to be strongly represented in Washington with people of your own choosing. From what I have heard you say, you will possibly want to leave Ralph Cake and Fred Seaton in Washington, with an appropriate staff.
- (c). On the train itself, I think Senator Carlson will be particularly useful in the post he has always had -- that is, head of the Visitors' Bureau. Everybody is his friend -- everybody likes him. Moreover, he likes everybody else.
- (d). I have an idea that Arthur Summerfield would like to feel that he was represented in some definite way on our train. To satisfy this consideration and at the same time to provide yourself with the kind of political advice and experience that you would trust, I propose that you get Sinclair Weeks to go to Arthur Summerfield, and between them, to make recommendations to you as to two or three assistants (at least one or two of whom would be with you all the time to accompany you on the train). This would be a good stunt even if Sinclair Weeks himself is one of the men, because Arthur Summerfield would have felt that he had a hand in doing it. In this way you would have available each evening some one to talk over with you matters from a political standpoint. I use the word "political" in its doctrinal sense, but not in its actual operational sense.
- (e). Secretarial and personal staffs should be adequate. While of course we will be crowded for space and we will be tempted, therefore, to cut down on help, I am convinced that the one thing we should not do would be to grow unhappy for lack of the kind of assistants for which we will feel daily need. For example, Mamie has just about persuaded me that she and I ought to take an osteopath.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

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(f). I am still hoping that what we might call our "specialty" staff can be bolstered up at once. Among other things, I would include in the requirements:

- (1). Some fattening up in Mrs. Howard's activities. She herself ought to be in the papers more, both by way of statement and pictures, and there ought to be more women coming in to see her. There ought to be more evidence of her informally in the whole picture.
- (2). So far as I know, there is no one in our top echelon that is a representative of the Catholic or of the Jewish faith. I think we ought to have a prominent individual from each faith. This is not to say that brains and ability necessarily are measured in such terms, but there are many people who will be afraid that we fail to understand their position unless we do something of that sort. I do not know whether I could get Cardinal Spellman to advise me as to the proper Catholic layman to request as advisor, but I am quite sure that Attorney General Goldstein of the State of New York would give us some very shrewd observations concerning a Jewish representative.

(g). Finally, I believe that we should have all our arrangements concerning the train, our movements and our activities, well understood two or three days before we leave New York. Advance preparation saves wear and tear on the nerves.

I scarcely need to remind you that all the above is intended as suggestion only -- you, of course, must make the decisions.

D.D.E.



Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

Jacqueline Cochran Oral History*, 1968

Pages 24-28:

I left there about 2:30 and I was out at the house where they lived in Paris at five o'clock. And they had a theater in the house, regular seats and everything, and I was sitting with General and Mrs. Eisenhower in the front row. General Gruenther was sitting directly behind us and there were a lot of people in the room. I don't know how many. And of course, there were many diplomats in the room, I don't know how many. And, of course, there were many duplicates in the film, there had to be duplicates because it hadn't been cut, it hadn't been edited in any way, shape or form or fashion. And the General was just absolutely flabbergasted with what he saw. So was I, I knew it was good but I didn't know it was that good. It looked better even on film that it did in reality. And I think it is usually the other way around. It's got to be awfully good to look good on film and it can be pretty sorry looking if it isn't good. Well, this was just fabulous! So I said, Well, I knew it was good but I didn't know it was this good." And he said, "Well, it's pretty exciting." And I said, "Yes sir, I think so too. So the film was over and everybody just dissolved as though they had gone through the floor and I found myself standing there with General and Mrs. Eisenhower and he said, "Would you like a drink?" And I said, "Yes, I would. I think I need one." So we went into another room and they brought a drink and I held up the drink and I said, "To the President." I was the first person to ever say this to him and he burst into tears. Maybe this is the wrong thing to say and maybe it should be cut out but this is exactly what happened. Tears were just running out of his eyes, he was so overwhelmed and so overcome with the public demonstration that he had had of his value and the love the American people have and had, thank God it's both. So then he started to talk about his Mother, his Father, and his family, but mostly his mother. And he probably talked about her for about an hour and this was the greatest thing that I think in my opinion that's ever happened to this man, this public demonstration that happened in Madison Square Garden. Now it was not that difficult to get all these people, they wanted it very badly. I just happened to by accident, I suppose by accident, gotten involved with it. So he went on talking and I said, "Well"—He calmed down a little bit and I said,

*Ms. Cochran flew from New York to Paris with the film of the February 8, 1952, Madison Square Garden Rally immediately after the event. This excerpt from her oral history begins as she arrives at the Eisenhower residence outside of Paris to show the film to the Eisenhowers and a few close friends.

"May I say one thing? If you think you're going to get the nomination without going back and working for it, and I am not a politician, then I don't think you are going to get it. You're going to have to declare yourself, you're going to have to, I don't know what the timing should be on this, but you're going to have to go back to America and you're going to have to work for this." Do you want to stop now? "I'm as sure as I'm sitting here and looking at you that Taft will get the nomination if you don't declare yourself. There's not going to be a draft of you sitting here in Paris, as much as people like you, I don't think politics work that way from the little bit of talk that I've heard from the great pros and the knowledgeable people." And he said, "Well, with whom have you talked?" "Well," I said, "I've talked to Mr. Whitney, who got me involved in this in the first place, and several politicians." I said, "I don't even know their names now I just sat in the meetings with these people and I didn't pay much attention, I was just trying to put on a show." And I said, "Actually it was almost folded at the beginning." And I told him about holding the crowd in Madison Square Garden and I had 50,000 people instead of 18,000 on my hands practically, I said, "it was just incredible because the people from the street came in too." And I said, "Everybody was yelling and running around yelling 'I want Ike,' 'I want Ike'" So he looked at me very seriously, very calmly and I want to inject this—Mrs. Eisenhower sat there and she never opened her mouth, she never said one word, she never missed a word that was said, I've never seen a human being so interested. Now don't forget this movie started at five o'clock, we broke up it was after ten o'clock at night and none of us had had anything to eat and the one drink. So he looked at me and he said, "Well, I think you're right." And he said, "I've been very impressed with what you've said today about the economics of the country, I don't follow it very much." He said, "I've just been a military man." And I said, "No, you can't be just a military man because you have already been in Columbia University, I think you've a great deal of influence even on our economic set-up already even if you don't realize it." And he said, "Well, anyway, I'll come back." "Now," he said, "this is what I want you to do." We could have been in a private room that was sealed like some of the rooms are sealed for security. He said, "I want you to go and see General Clay and tell him to come over and see me." He said, "You can go tell Bill Robinson that I'm going to run.

Eisenhower Campaign Chronology

July 11 - October 3, 1952

Research Division
Republican National Committee

November 1952

EISENHOWER CAMPAIGN CHRONOLOGY July 11, 1952 - November 10, 1952

(Includes statements, public appearances, meetings with prominent individuals and a listing of whistle-stops, as reported by the press.)

- July 11 Speech accepting the Republican nomination for the presidency.
 International Amphitheater, Chicago, Illinois.
- July 26 Statement on Democratic party nominees, Denver, Colorado.
- July 30 Statement on support of Republican Congressional candidates, Denver,
 Colorado.
- August 6 Speech to Veterans of Foreign Wars, Los Angeles, California.
- August 7 Statement against appeals to prejudice and bigotry, Denver, Colorado.
- August 9 Statement on expansion of the social security law, Denver, Colorado.
- August 10 Remarks to 31st Inter-Tribal Ceremony, Gallup, New Mexico.
- August 19 Remarks to luncheon of fifteen Republican women leaders, Denver,
 Colorado.
- August 20 Conference in Boise, Idaho, with nine Republican governors of Western
 States.
 Speech to Boise citizens on "The Middle Way."
- August 21 Conference at Kansas City, Kansas, with 150 Republican Party leaders
 from Kansas, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, Iowa and
 North Dakota. Question and answer period on Korea, farm policy,
 social welfare, etc.

Campaign 1952

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

DDE's Campaign Chronolgy, 1952, cont.

2.

- August 22** Press conference in Denver, Colorado, with statement on defense of General George C. Marshall.
- August 23** Final press conference in Denver and farewell to Denver staff.
- August 25** Speech to American Legion Convention, Madison Square Garden, New York City, on liberation of captive peoples and other topics.
- August 26** Conference with Roy Wilkins and Theodore Spaulding of N.A.A.C.P. on F.E.P.C. and other civil rights topics.
- August 30** Labor Day Pledge
Message to members of armed forces on importance of voting.
Visit with Bernard Baruch at Baruch's apartment in New York City.
- September 1** Speech to National Association of Letter Carriers at Manhattan Center, New York City, containing pledge to Civil Service workers, pledge to improve mail service and reference to Kansas postal service campaign incident.
Luncheon with Cardinal Spellman at the Cardinal's residence in New York City.
- September 2** Speeches at Atlanta, Georgia, at Jacksonville, Florida, and at Miami, Florida, chiefly on the "Mess in Washington."
- September 3** Speeches at Tampa, Florida, at Birmingham, Alabama, and at Little Rock, Arkansas, on corruption and general campaign topics.
- September 4** Speech at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on Ten-Point Program for Peace.
- September 5** Conference in Chicago with 80 Republican Party leaders from Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, including statement on possibility of a Negro in the cabinet.
- September 6** Speech at National Plowing Contest, Kasson, Minnesota, on agriculture.
Telegram to Cook County, Illinois, Republican Party leaders.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

DDE's Campaign Chronolgy, 1952, cont.

3.

- September 8 Informal address and question and answer period at Cleveland, Ohio, at meeting of Republican Party leaders from Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.
Luncheon with members of Indiana Republican Editorial Association.
- September 9 Speech at Butler University Field House, Indianapolis, Indiana, refuting Democrats' "Don't Let Them Take It Away" theme.
- September 10 Speech at Republican National Committee Headquarters, Washington Hotel, Washington, D.C.
- September 12 Conference with Senator Taft at Eisenhower residence, New York City. Informal talks to New York State Bankers' Association and Graduate School of Business, New York University, at the Commodore Hotel, New York City.
Luncheon with N. L. Goldstein and Jewish leaders.
- September 13 Speech to Citizens for Eisenhower and Nixon, Park Lane Hotel, New York City.
- September 14 Statement on socialized medicine.
Starts on whistle-stop trip to Mid-West and South.
- September 15 Whistle-stop speeches at Fort Wayne, Plymouth, La Porte, Warsaw, Notre Dame University at South Bend, Indiana Harbor, and Gary, Indiana, and at Englewood, Joliet, Aurora, Wheaton, and Ottawa, Illinois. Said he sees nothing funny about campaign issues of 1952.
- September 16 Speech at St. Paul, Minnesota, on general campaign topics. Motorcade through Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota.
Whistle-stop speeches at Albert Lea, Owatonna, Fairbault, and Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota.
- September 17 Speech at the A.F.L. Convention at the Commodore Hotel, New York City, on labor policy.
Statement on Rosh Hashana, the Jewish New Year.
Message to Columbia University freshmen.
- September 18 Whistle-stop speeches at Davenport, Des Moines, Iowa City, Newton, Council Bluffs, Atlantic, Grinnel, Wilton, West Liberty, Marengo, and Brooklyn, Iowa.
Speech at Omaha, Nebraska, chiefly on agriculture.
- September 19 Speech at Kansas City, Missouri, on waste, corruption and inflation. Whistle-stop speeches at Plattsmouth, Nebraska City, Auburn, and Falls City, Nebraska.
Remarks on Nixon Fund.
- September 20 Speech to National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs, St. Louis, Missouri, chiefly on waste.
Whistle-stop speeches at Jefferson City, Sedalia, Pleasant Hill, California, Hermann, and Washington, Missouri.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

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DDE's Campaign Chronology, 1952, cont.

4.

- September 22** Speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, on War and Peace.
Whistle-stop speeches at Carmi, Illinois, Evansville, Indiana,
Henderson and Owensboro, Kentucky.
Message to railroad engineer at Owensboro thanking him for quick-
thinking in avoiding an accident.
Statement after phone conversation with Senator Nixon.
- September 23** Speech at Cleveland, Ohio, on Nixon episode. (Did not deliver prepared
speech on inflation).
Wire to Senator Nixon to meet him at Wheeling, West Virginia.
Whistle-stop speeches at Columbus, Middletown, Dayton, Springfield,
Delaware, Galion, and Wellington, Ohio.
- September 24** Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, on general campaign topics.
Meeting with Senator Nixon at Wheeling airport.
Whistle-stop speeches at Parkersburg, St. Mary's, Sistersville, New
Martinsville, Benwood, Point Pleasant, and Kenova, West Virginia,
and at Portsmouth, Chillicothe and Ironton, Ohio.
- September 25** Speech at Baltimore, Maryland, on National Defense.
Whistle-stop speeches at Keyser and Martinsburg, West Virginia, and
at Cumberland, Hagerstown, Frederick, Point of Rocks and Silver
Spring, Maryland.
- September 26** Speech at Richmond, Virginia, on general campaign topics.
Whistle-stop speeches at Salisbury, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, North
Carolina, and at Lynchburg, Roanoke and Petersburg, Virginia.
- September 27** Letter to town meeting, Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, on
topic of enslaved peoples.
- September 30** Speech at Columbia, South Carolina, on general campaign topics.
- October, 1952** Statement on child welfare and education in Parents' Magazine.
- October 1** Speech at Flint, Michigan, on bi-partisan foreign policy.
Whistle-stop speeches at Bay City, Saginaw, Lapeer, Lansing, Jackson,
Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Michigan.
- October 2** Speech at Peoria, Illinois, on National Economy.
Whistle-stop speeches at Bradley, Champaign (containing reference to
"let Asians fight Asians"), Tolono, Decatur, Springfield (homage
at Lincoln's tomb), Bloomington, and Pekin, Illinois.
- October 3** Speech at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on Communism.
Whistle-stop speeches at Green Bay, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Weenah-
Menasha, and Appleton, Wisconsin.
Telegram to Hugh Gallagher, president of the Propeller Club of the
United States, on the merchant marine.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library



The President, Part I:

“I would do my best . . . to serve the people as a whole”

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower
“A Chance for Peace”
August 16, 1953

The Eisenhower Years: 1953-1957

Dwight David Eisenhower was sworn in as the 34th President of the United States on January 20, 1953. Enormously popular, he was swept into office armed with the trust and goodwill of the American people. Eisenhower was determined to bring a new style of leadership to the White House, one that emphasized a more limited view of the powers of the presidency. Describing his political philosophy as the “middle way,” he intended to lead his nation into a new era of global leadership.

“The affection and esteem that people had for him went beyond mere popularity.”

— Geoffrey Perret

The Eisenhower administration set out to reduce the role of the federal government in the nation’s economy. The new president wished to cut taxes, reduce federal spending, balance the budget, and keep inflation in check. At the end of the first term, he could claim success in all areas except lowering taxes. An economic recession beginning

in 1953 and continuing through 1954, was an unwelcome complication.

One of the reasons Eisenhower finally agreed to run for the presidency was his desire to slow down the rapidly expanding role of the federal government in American life—what he liked to call “statism.” Unlike Republican leaders in Congress, he had no intention of actually dismantling the New Deal. This view frequently put him at loggerheads with the Republican Old Guard.

Under Eisenhower’s initiative, a new cabinet department, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), was created in 1953. A woman, Oveta Culp Hobby, became the first Secretary of HEW. Social Security benefits were expanded to 10 million Americans, and the minimum wage was increased 25 percent during the first Eisenhower term. The president battled with congressional Republicans over the issue of funding for urban renewal. Ultimately, more than \$500 million was invested in low-income public housing.

The long-neglected interstate highway construction program became a national priority with Eisenhower’s leadership. The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956 was the largest peacetime public works project in American history. Likewise, Eisenhower lent his prestige to the construction of the U.S.–Canadian St. Lawrence Seaway, which was finally completed in 1959.

By 1953, the Cold War had simmered for seven years. Both as Army Chief of Staff and NATO commander, Eisenhower had played a central role in implementing Cold War policies. The Eisenhower administration not only adopted the Truman policy of containment, but it was also broadened eventually to include Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The first major contest of the Cold War had begun with Korea in June 1950 with North Korean forces invading South Korea. By the presidential election of 1952, the American people were clear that they wanted the war to end. True to his campaign promise, Eisenhower made the Korean War his first priority and brought the fighting to an end with an armistice in July 1953. The 38th parallel would become the permanent boundary for the divided nation.

Eisenhower was convinced that a vibrant American economy more than anything else would ultimately win the Cold War. In the meantime, a modern military force would be needed. Yet, the president insisted on cuts in the defense budget and emphasized a reliance on nuclear rather than conventional weapons. His “New Look” defense policy enlarged the roles—and budgets—of the Air Force and Navy, while making deep cuts in the Army’s budget.

With the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin on March 5, 1953, Eisenhower seized the opportunity for better relations with the Soviet Union. On April 16, Eisenhower extended an olive branch in a speech he entitled “A Chance for Peace.” He lamented the horrendous costs of the arms race and urged an easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Some Soviet leaders recognized Eisenhower’s overture to peace, but they were far too occupied with internal politics to give it much consideration.

By 1953, the world’s two superpowers had enough firepower to level a major city with a single bomb. Eisenhower created “Operation Solarium” in the summer of 1953 with the purpose of developing a new policy toward the Soviet Union. Three teams worked independently, and, by combining all three plans, a new policy emerged. As a deterrent to Soviet attack, the United States would continue to enhance and enlarge its nuclear arsenal. If challenged, the nation would be prepared to take the enemy to the brink of war. Should deterrence fail, the nation was prepared to strike back with “massive retaliation.”

On December 8, 1953, the president made a second appeal to the Soviets with “Atoms for Peace,” a speech he delivered to the United Nations. At the point where he called for the creation of an international body to explore peaceful uses of nuclear power, Eisenhower received a standing ovation. To his great disappointment, however, the idea never took hold to the degree that he had hoped.

Over time, Nikita Khrushchev emerged as the successor to Stalin. When he introduced the phrase “Peaceful coexistence,” there was hope of a possible shift in Soviet policy. In mid-July 1955, Eisenhower and Khrushchev met at a summit conference in Geneva, Switzerland. They discussed disarmament and German unification. In a moment of surprise, Eisenhower unveiled his “Open Skies” proposal. He suggested that each nation—the United States and the Soviet Union—allow the other to use aerial surveillance to gather military information. Believing they had little to gain, the Soviets rejected the proposal. Unknown to them, eight months before departing for Geneva, Eisenhower had approved plans to monitor Soviet military installations with a new reconnaissance aircraft—the U-2.

Cold War crises erupted across the globe from 1953 through 1956. First was the East German uprising against communist domination in June 1953, which was decisively crushed by the Soviets. Then in 1956, the same sequence of events played out in Hungary. In both instances, Americans were sympathetic to the plight of East Europeans under Soviet authoritarian rule. The Eisenhower administration was unwilling to provoke a war with the Soviet Union in her own backyard, however.

The responses of the United States to communist threats in Iran in 1953 and Guatemala in 1954 were very different from those in Eastern Europe. In both Iran and Guatemala, new leaders were developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union. For that reason, Mossadegh of Iran and Arbenz of Guatemala were considered threats to American interests in their respective regions. Each was

overthrown in a coup by opposition forces supported and encouraged by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

The Eisenhower administration confronted two crises from the autumn of 1953 to the spring of 1955, first in Southeast Asia and then in East Asia. In the case of the colonial French fighting nationalist forces—supported by the Communist Chinese—in Vietnam, the president was unwilling to commit American troops to the conflict. French troops surrendered to the forces of the nationalist Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu on May 8, 1954. At the Geneva Conference on Indochina, Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel. Later, the United States would agree to train the South Vietnamese army, now under the anticommunist leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem.

Late in the summer of 1954, fighting broke out between Nationalist Chinese and Communist Chinese over the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, just off the Chinese mainland. Determined to protect Nationalist-Chinese Formosa (Taiwan) and avert a larger conflict, President Eisenhower openly discussed the use of tactical atomic weapons. The Communist Chinese ultimately pulled back and ceased the shelling of Quemoy on May 1, 1955.

In 1956, the United States faced yet another crisis—this time in the Middle East. Nationalist Egyptian leader, Abdel Nasser, bought arms from communist Czechoslovakia, and, in return, the United States revoked an agreement for aid to build the Aswan High Dam. Nasser next nationalized the Suez Canal, a British possession. Great Britain, France, and Israel invaded Egypt in late October, expecting American support. Instead, President Eisenhower called for a UN resolution demanding a cease-fire and withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli forces from Egypt. The British and French government were furious, but Eisenhower would not support such an obvious colonial power play.

The Cold War created domestic crises as well. Just as the Eisenhower administration took office, the United States was in the middle of an

expanding Red Scare, the second of the twentieth century. Convicted spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had been on death row for two years in 1953. When the Rosenbergs sent a plea for clemency to the new administration, government attorneys suggested that Ethel, the mother of two, might submit a separate plea to save herself. She refused, preferring to die with her husband. The Rosenbergs were executed at Sing Sing prison on June 19, 1953.

The sensationalism and the notoriety of the McCarthy hearings consumed the attention of the nation as the Eisenhower administration took office. But the spring of 1954 would prove a turning point as the televised Army-McCarthy hearings were broadcast across the country. The American public was shocked at McCarthy's reckless behavior and viciousness, and from that point forward, his influence began to wane. In December, the Senate voted to censure him by a vote of 64 to 23. McCarthy died three years later, a broken man, ostracized by his colleagues.

On September 24, 1955, the nation was shocked to hear that the president had suffered a severe heart attack. Once it became apparent that he would recover, this question arose: Would he—or should he—run for a second term? In February 1956, Eisenhower announced to the nation that he would seek his party's nomination for the presidency, virtually guaranteeing a second Eisenhower term of office. As they had in 1952, the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson. Following a rather unremarkable campaign season, on November 6, 1956, Eisenhower won by twice the margin he had had in 1952. The Republicans, however, failed to regain either house of Congress, and the Democrats enlarged their majority.

A Decade of Dreams and Change

The 1950s are often described as the decade of “Peace and Prosperity” and “Happy Days.” A closer look reveals that the decade was far more complicated. Just under the surface, Cold War tensions were intensifying, and Americans were anxious and fearful. And while the nation’s focus was riveted elsewhere, the modern civil rights movement gathered momentum for challenges that would rock the nation to its core.

From 1945 to 1960, American purchasing power grew by an amazing 22 percent. For the first time in American history, the majority of families owned their homes and furnished them with modern appliances such as refrigerators and freezers, washer and dryers, and television sets. Americans bought cars and household appliances “on time.”

Corporate America doubled their advertising dollars in the 1950s, and Americans purchased what they saw in magazines and on television. Styles and designs changed often, prompting a consumer appetite for “the latest.” “New and Improved” became a leading advertising slogan, and the more buttons a gadget had, the better it sold. For the first time in American history, teenagers emerged as a unique social and economic group with their own preferences in clothing styles, music, food, and entertainment.

The American middle class spent more money and time on leisure than ever before. People bought sports and camping equipment. In the summer, they took to the open road, bound for national landmarks and amusement parks such as Disneyland. Travel-related businesses mushroomed along America’s highways. Gas stations, restaurants, fast food stops, and motel chains made travel convenient and adventuresome.

Still, there were a significant number of Americans who did not live a life of material comfort and opportunity in the 1950s. African Americans in decaying inner cities, subsistence farmers and miners in Appalachia, and migrant

workers eked out a livelihood in pockets of poverty. The elderly struggled on fixed incomes, and some workers in declining industrial cities were also among those who did not experience a higher standard of living.

America’s workforce changed through the 1950s. A nation of small farmers and laborers became one of white-collar clerical workers and professionals. Too, the American economy was shifting from industrial production to a service economy. Automation began to replace human beings in the automobile and steel industries, and some jobs disappeared forever. However, it was also the era of powerful labor unions that improved working conditions and salaries for many blue-collar workers.

Agribusiness revolutionized American agriculture in the 1950s. The introduction of modern machinery, hybrid seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides made farming potentially more profitable. To remain competitive, farmers had to farm more acreage. The size of the average farm doubled, but modern farming required more operating capital. As a result, corporate farming began to replace the traditional family farm at a rapid rate.

The fifties were also a decade of unparalleled corporate expansion and innovation. Break-throughs in science and technology created a revolution in electronics, plastics, and chemicals. Having learned the hard lessons of the Great Depression, businesses hedged their risks by diversifying their products. A new business concept, the franchise system, was born in the 1950s. Soon, franchises like McDonalds began to pull business away from family-owned stores in America’s downtown areas.

The United States of the early 1950s was largely a segregated society. In the landmark case, *Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896*, the Supreme Court had made “separate but equal” the law of the land. Therefore, African Americans (and all people of color) had been forced to accept segregated—but inferior—public facilities including restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, and drinking fountains.

Throughout the South, they were barred from voting through the use of poll taxes and literacy tests.

Since the 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had attempted to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson* with legal challenges. Finally, in 1954, with the case of *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, the cause was advanced all the way to the Supreme Court. On May 17, 1954, racially segregated public schools were declared “inherently unequal.” In a related decision in 1955, the Court ordered local school boards to desegregate “with all deliberate speed.”

The focus of the civil rights movement shifted in December 1955. The Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott was set in motion when Rosa Parks challenged segregation in public transportation. A total of 50,000 African Americans participated in a year-long boycott of Montgomery’s city buses under the leadership of a 26-year-old Baptist minister, Martin Luther King, Jr. Non-violent resistance would be the agent of change for the emerging civil rights movement.

The 1956 school year began with mob violence in a number of southern cities as school officials tried to comply with court-ordered integration. In September 1957, the governor and an enraged mob tried to stop the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. Before it was over, President Eisenhower federalized the Arkansas National Guard and sent in 1000 paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division to ensure that Central High School would be integrated without violence.

An effort to pass a substantive civil rights bill began with Eisenhower’s Attorney General. The final legislation, passed in 1957, was a watered-down version of the original. In the Senate, the powerful Southern Democrats who chaired the committees weakened the enforcement power of the original bill considerably. Although Civil Rights leaders were divided in their support, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was signed into law in September 1957.

America’s migration to the suburbs began immediately after World War II and continued

through the 1950s. The postwar baby boom created an acute demand for new housing. Enterprising developers like William Levitt began a building boom in rural areas surrounding cities. As part of the GI Bill, veterans were eligible for low-interest mortgages, making new homes affordable.

Through the decade, 1.25 million houses were built each year, most in the burgeoning suburbs. Using mass production and standardized materials, whole neighborhoods sprouted up, seemingly overnight. The majority of the new homes were identical, small, ranch-style houses, painted in a rainbow of pastel colors.

Life in the suburbs made car ownership and good roads necessities, resulting in a boom in automobile production and highway construction. In 1956, the Interstate Highway Act made way for an eventual 40,000 miles of divided interstate highways that would crisscross the nation. In case of a Soviet nuclear strike, modern highways would provide for the rapid evacuation of cities and quickly transport military equipment and personnel.

In the early days of the suburban boom, consumers returned to the city to shop. Before long, stores, too, moved out to the suburbs, creating shopping centers and enormous parking lots. In 1956, the first modern shopping mall opened. Industrial parks and office buildings soon followed, forming the new “edge cities.” As suburbia sprawled, some of the problems of the cities followed such as traffic jams, noise, crime, and pollution. But for those left behind, trapped in the central cities, the challenges were greater and the problems far worse: poor housing, few jobs, inadequate public services, a disappearing tax base, and a growing crime rate.

The Eisenhower White House

The weeks between Dwight D. Eisenhower's election to the presidency and Inauguration Day were filled with activity. His first task was to find top people for cabinet positions and White House staff. On November 18, the president-elect met with President Truman in the Oval Office. The wounds of the recent campaign were still fresh, making the meeting uncomfortable for both men.

As November turned into December, Eisenhower fulfilled his campaign promise to go to Korea. For three days, he toured the frontlines, talked to soldiers and commanders, and met with South Korean President Syngman Rhee. Despite intense lobbying from Rhee, General Mark Clark, and John Foster Dulles for a bold new offensive in Korea, Eisenhower remained firm—he would strive to end the war as he had promised.

On the morning of January 20, 1953, President-elect Eisenhower was driven to the White House to pick up President Truman. The two men barely spoke on the drive to the Capitol. After taking the oath of office, the new president walked over to the new first lady and kissed her. Then he offered a prayer before beginning his lengthy speech. The Inaugural Parade which followed lasted six long hours.

On January 21, 1953, Dwight Eisenhower entered the Oval Office, better prepared than many who had come before him, to begin his first day as President of the United States. He reflected on the gravity of the moment, later writing in his diary, that, in many ways, the presidency represented “a continuation of all I've been doing since July 1941—even before that.”

*“Small attacks
on small hills would
not end this war.”*

— Dwight D.
Eisenhower

Dwight D. Eisenhower came to the presidency not only well prepared to assume the weighty duties of the office, but also already accustomed to public life. As an international celebrity, he had long ago adapted to living a very public life. For years it had been impossible for him to enjoy simple pleasures like eating in restaurants or going to the movies. Eisenhower had learned to live in a world of aides and assistants; he had not been behind the wheel of a car in at least ten years. He had never dialed a telephone (Dials were then a modern feature.) or shopped in a supermarket. He did not even write his own checks. Possibly the only change that truly unsettled him when he became president was when lifelong friends addressed him as “Mr. President.”

Eisenhower typically began his day early, about 6:00 a.m. After reading the morning's intelligence reports and major newspapers, he had breakfast at 7:15. By 8:00 a.m., he was seated at his desk in the Oval Office, a daunting stack of paperwork in front of him. Lunch was with his wife and a few members of Congress. Then at 3:30 in the afternoon, he would break away for about 30 minutes to practice golf shots on the South Lawn. Afterwards, he would return to his desk for another two hours. Before supper, the president sometimes met informally with leaders of Congress. Finally, at 7:00, he joined the first lady for the evening meal.

The executive branch of government had not been reorganized since the days of Herbert Hoover. So, in the first weeks of his presidency, Eisenhower set out to do just that. By delegating duties to competent staff and clearly outlining a strict chain of command, he would ensure that his energy and time were saved for only the most pressing problems of government.

He organized two staffs: a small personal staff and a larger official staff. Then he created the position of staff secretariat to coordinate the offices of the executive branch. Eisenhower preferred one-page summaries of documents to help him decide which needed more of his personal attention. Additionally, each day, he received a list of the most important actions taken by all three branches of government the day before. Letters from members

of Congress were reduced to a list of one-line summaries. It was a simple thing, but by signing official papers with “DE” or “E”—rather than with his entire name—enormous amounts of time were saved.

Those who worked with President Eisenhower on a daily basis in the Oval Office were his secretary Ann Whitman; Assistant to the President, Sherman Adams; Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles; and Press Secretary Jim Hagerty.

Mrs. Whitman—conscientious, loyal, and extremely hardworking—had a ringside seat to all that went on in the Oval Office. No one met with the President without the

approval of Sherman Adams, who guarded the President’s time and energy zealously. Eisenhower and Foster Dulles, shared a deep mutual respect and worked extremely well together. However, there was never any doubt as to who was president. Jim Hagerty became Eisenhower’s trusted confidant and friend.

Eisenhower practiced a unique decision-making style. Unlike many in positions of authority, he expected staff members to express their opinions freely, and he encouraged them to do so. It was not surprising that, initially, they were less than enthusiastic about disagreeing with the President of the United States. Once a decision had been reached, however, Eisenhower expected all staff to support it absolutely.

Eisenhower established regular Friday morning cabinet meetings. He expected cabinet members to consider what was best for the nation as a whole, not their particular departments. As with White House staff, he encouraged cabinet members to state their opinions and to debate openly. The president often sat silently, head down, doodling on his paper, yet missing not a word. Occasionally, he would look up, point with his pencil, and ask someone for an opinion or join in the discussion. At the end of the meeting, he generally called for a vote, thanked everyone, and then announced his

“Eisenhower was the best administrator I have ever known.”

— Aruther Burns,
Chairman, Council of
Economic Advisors

decision. On other decisions, he retired to his office to consider the issue further.

In the days of World War II, Eisenhower had learned the wisdom of nurturing good rapport with the press. He viewed press conferences as an effective method of keeping in touch with the American people. If a direct and candid answer to a reporter’s question might, in some way, compromise security or be inappropriate, Eisenhower was the master of the non-answer. He would launch into a convoluted, rambling reply that left reporters looking confused. A skilled writer and speaker, Eisenhower used the English language to accomplish specific objectives with a particular audience.

As the first “television president,” Eisenhower understood its power to communicate directly with the American people. Though an experienced public speaker, looking straight into the lens of a television camera was uncomfortable for him. After actor Robert Montgomery tutored Eisenhower, the president’s performance improved, especially once the camera was hidden behind a curtain. He even agreed to wear a light blue shirt, but he drew the line at tampering with his usual haircut.

To a much lesser extent than do presidents today, Eisenhower consulted public opinion polls as a measure of the public’s approval of his performance. Throughout his presidency, he consistently earned a 70-75 percent approval rating. Occasionally, it dropped a little below that. Following the 1954 election, he faced a Democratic Congress in addition to a split Republican party. The continued respect and high opinion that the American people had for him were essential to his leadership.

The Republican presidential contest in 1952 had divided the party, but Eisenhower was committed to unifying it once again. If he wished to see his programs become law, he would need Congress. Too, the Senate had the power to approve or reject his presidential appointments. Senate Majority Leader Robert Taft was gracious and generous with

his help. But when Taft died of cancer in the summer of 1954, everything changed. The new Majority Leader, William Knowland of California, had little interest in mending fences. Members of the president's own Republican party often proved more difficult than the Democrats.

National Security Council (NSC) meetings, like cabinet meetings, were held once a week every Thursday morning. Eisenhower rarely missed one. To help coordinate the work of the administration, the new post of "special assistant to the president for national security" was created. In addition to the president and vice-president, there were eight permanent NSC members. Eisenhower expected a spirited, factual airing of the issues among the members of the Council; he had little patience for lectures or speeches by its members. At some point in any discussion, the president would pose the question: "What's best for America?" After the formal meeting ended, a select few usually carried the debate into the Oval Office. Often the president participated with such intensity that his staff worried about his health.

In September 1955, Eisenhower was enjoying a well-earned vacation in Denver. In the early morning hours of September 24, he awakened with what he thought was a bad case of indigestion. Later that morning, his doctor admitted him to the hospital for tests. The president had suffered a serious heart attack. He was unable to resume a normal schedule until January 1956. Convinced that his temper had contributed to the heart attack, he resolved to learn to deal better with daily frustrations and to work more relaxation into his day. He was not pleased, but complied, when the doctor ordered a nap after lunch.

Since 1956 was an election year, and the question of the president's health and whether or not he would run for a second term was a national preoccupation. When Eisenhower had agreed to run in 1952, he had planned to step down after one term in favor of a younger moderate Republican. To agree to serve another four years was not an easy

decision. Eisenhower sought the counsel of family, friends, and advisors. In many respects, he was as torn as he had been four years earlier.

There were valid concerns among Republicans that if Eisenhower did not run in 1956 the Republicans would lose the White House. Eisenhower finally made up his mind; he felt he had no choice but to serve his country for four more years. In a televised message to the American people in February, he explained his decision and gave an update on the state of his health.

The 1956 Republican national convention was scheduled for August in San Francisco. Then, on June 6, a severe ileitis attack threatened the president's life. Surgeons operated. Eisenhower was hospitalized for three weeks, and because it was so soon after the heart attack, his recovery was slow. Nonetheless, he felt well enough to attend his party's convention where he was nominated by acclamation.

Eisenhower had warned that he would not campaign as actively as he had in 1952. His record would have to stand on its own. On Election Day, November 6, the choice of the American people was clear; they wanted their president for another four years. Eisenhower was reelected in a landslide, even more popular than he had been in 1952. Although he did not yet know it, in so many ways the next four years would prove even more difficult and exasperating than the first.

The Eisenhower Family

The Eisenhowers would spend eight years in the White House, living there longer than anywhere they had lived before. For Mamie, especially, this was a happy time because Ike was never far away. White House staff observed that the Eisenhowers were an affectionate and sentimental couple. Mamie was devoted to her husband, and he, in turn, pampered her. A woman of her time, Mamie's career was her husband, something of which she was very proud.

Mamie Eisenhower was well prepared to take on the duties of first lady. For more than 35 years she had been an army officer's wife and for ten of those at the highest levels of military life. Long ago she had adapted to the many demands made on her because of her husband's position. Mamie was accustomed to public life; she knew how to manage a large household and staff and she knew how to entertain graciously on a grand scale.

As first lady, Mamie received as many as 1000 letters a month, and she insisted that each one deserved a reply. In her eight years as first lady, the White House Social Office received 500,000 letters. During her husband's first term of office, she shook hands with an estimated 100,000 people. Each person that she greeted felt that he or she had been singled out for special attention from Mamie Eisenhower.

Mamie believed in courtesy and good manners. No matter how seemingly small the gesture, she always thanked everyone. Mamie had a reputation among Washington society for avoiding gossip and was considered a model of politeness. While first lady, she always remembered White House staff and their family members on their birthdays with a cake and gift. If someone was ill, she sent flowers. At Christmas, she was a legendary gift-giver. Even more importantly, she took the time to get to know her staff and their families personally and keep up on the news of their lives.

Mamie kept up a busy public appearance schedule. She was involved with up to five special causes per week. As first lady, she knew that she had the power to make things happen for worthy individuals and causes. Where she could make a difference she did not hesitate to do so.

The Eisenhower White House was noted for its elegant, formal entertaining. The Eisenhowers hosted events for more heads of state from all over the world than any presidential couple before them. In many instances, guests were old friends like Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle, Queen Elizabeth II, and Bernard Montgomery. An evening at the Eisenhower White House was memorable, marked by high style, lavish entertaining, and warm hospitality.

The Eisenhowers often did not see each other until the evening. (Mamie was in the Oval Office only four times in 8 years!) They ate supper together, usually on trays in front of the television, while they watched their favorite programs. Mamie's mother lived for extended periods with them in the White House, and she joined them for the evening meal. Two or three nights a week, they watched a movie in the White House theater—usually a western. While Ike painted late into the night, Mamie was usually nearby reading or writing. Before falling asleep, Ike liked to read western novels because they relaxed him.

Ike spent long demanding hours at his desk in the Oval Office. So, as often as he could, he got away to play golf. (Ike's love of golf helped to make it a sport of the middle class.) Now and then, his close friends, "the gang," would receive a morning phone call from Ann Whitman that the president wanted to play golf and the gang would be in Washington that afternoon. Ike's close friends became even more important now that he lived and worked at "the loneliest job in the world."

The Eisenhowers vacationed with friends in Augusta, Georgia, in the winter, where Ike played golf, and in Colorado, in the summer, where he fished. When they were in Colorado, the

Eisenhowers stayed at the Doud's home at 750 Lafayette Street, which became a summer White House. Until their Gettysburg home was ready, they spent weekends together at Camp David, named for their oldest grandchild.

Mamie's sister "Mike" (Mabel Frances) and Ike's brother Milton lived in Washington. Mamie was close to Mike's four children, and, in fact, one of her nieces was named for her. Mike shopped for her sister and ran special errands. Milton was very close to his brother, the President, and they shared many of the same opinions. Often Milton traveled as the special emissary of the president, especially to Latin America. When Milton's wife Helen died suddenly in 1954 at the age of 49, it was a terrible blow to the family.

Mamie was anxious to finish their Gettysburg home so that she and Ike could spend weekends there. Most of the original farmhouse had to be demolished and the house rebuilt. Mamie had collected furnishings for nearly forty years, most of which was in storage. She was excited and impatient to decorate her first real home. When the house was finished in 1955, the Eisenhowers celebrated by hosting two parties for the White House domestic staff so that everyone could attend.

Ike's heart attack in September 1955 had been traumatic for Mamie. But she had surprised those around her with her resiliency and strength. For her ailing husband, she was a source of comfort and calm. Ike received more than 11,000 get-well letters and cards, and Mamie replied personally to each one. When Ike recovered, he gave Mamie a gift of a gold medallion that he designed especially for her.

From the time that his father won the Republican nomination in July 1952 until a year later, John Eisenhower was on active duty in Korea. When the president-elect visited Korea after the 1952 election, his son John accompanied him on his tour of inspection. When John returned to Korea after his father's Inauguration, Barbara and the children lived in the White House.

The Secret Service agents assigned to the Eisenhower grandchildren were dubbed the "diaper detail." In order to have around-the-clock protection for each of the four children—the youngest, Mary Jean, was born in 1955—12 agents were necessary. Though not easy to do, John and Barbara insisted on carrying on as normal a family life as possible. The agents did their best to incorporate their jobs into the children's everyday activities.

The third floor of the White House became a play area for the Eisenhower grandchildren. There were a canary and two parakeets. As well, there were tricycles, bicycles, and a miniature electric car that the children were allowed to ride in the hallways of the first floor after the day's tour groups had departed. Her four grandchildren called Mamie "Mimi." They were allowed to visit her in her bedroom and delighted in searching the nightstand drawers for special trinkets that Mamie placed there for them. On the other hand, Mimi expected only the best behavior. Inside the White House the grandchildren were not allowed to run, slide down the stairway banisters, or leave sticky fingerprints on the walls.

When Ike's heart attack was followed by a very serious ileitis attack nine months after, Mamie had understandable concerns for her husband's health. Despite her own misgivings and worry, she knew her husband too well to encourage him to retire. Too, she accepted that he wanted to complete what he had set out to accomplish. As Ike was reelected in November 1956, Mamie celebrated her 60th birthday knowing that there were yet four more years of duty ahead.

Recommended Readings from *Mandate for Change*:
76-101; 107-124; 170-191; 223-236; 547-565.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Jim Hagerty's Diary, March 24, 1954



WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1954

282 Days
to come

In at 8 AM - Had better argument with Pines on Pres. up-coming comment on Mr. Coakley at Pines Conference - having better at taking any stand on question of whether Joe should stay or not stay on committee, or whether Pines ought to Conscienceless witnesses - concluded it was matter for Senate and Pines should not "get into it" - having as much he didn't come to staff meeting but his argument taken up by Kurylo, Winters and Juncos - C. D., Cutler and I, Kurylo, argued Pines was also moral leader and would get involved if didn't express himself on question - I didn't argue too much because I knew how Pines felt - at Pines. brief; Cutler came in with Kurylo + I, also Pines, Kurylo and Winters - Pines stopped them dead in tracks by saying, "Look, I know exactly what I am going to say. I'm going to say he can't not a a judge and that the leadership conduct that responsibility. I'm making up my mind - you can't do business with us and to back out any attempt to compromise" Other items at brief; included Dick Chavis, H. Frank on Jay Johnson, NATO Commitments, Rusk's report, March on India for general emergency, programs for unemployment, Iowa, et al.

On way over to conference Pines laughed and said "The two things didn't look very happy this morning." When I checked this, he said "I know, Jim. Listen, I'm not going to compromise my ideals and personal beliefs for a few study votes. To hell with it" - I told him "Mr. Pines. I'm proud of you."

Had reaction good in press conference - also good reaction from Sen. Hall who was in at 9 to no comment Pines. Pines. House for their vote on tax bill - Pines. chief

Senate cut excise taxes to 5% - lot of our boys went over to Dem. - yellow and couldn't stand head into the House still - no guts in Senate leadership - (how I talked around next.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Jim Hagerty's Diary, March 24, 1954

Transcribed Version

In at 8 AM – Had bitter argument with Persons on Pres. Up-coming comment on McCarthy at Press Conference – Jerry bitter at taking any stand on question of whether Joe should stay or not stay on committee, or whether have right to cross examine witnesses – contended it was matter for Senate and Pres. should not “get into it” – Jerry so mad he didn’t come to staff meeting but his argument taken up by Morgan, Martin, and Gruenther – C.D., Cutler and I, Murray, agreed Pres. was also moral leader and would get murdered if didn’t express himself on question = I didn’t argue too much because I knew how Pres felt = at Pres. briefing Cutler came in with Murray & I, also Persons, Morgan and Martin = Pres. stopped them dead in tracks by saying “Look, I know exactly what I am going to say. I’m going to say he can’t sit as a judge and that the leadership can duck that responsibility. I’ve made up my mind you can’t do business with Joe and to hell with any attempt to compromise.” Other items at briefing included Indo-China; H-bomb on Jap fisherman; NATO commitments [sic]; Randall report; March as index for gov. emergency programs for unemployment; taxes, et al.

On way over to conference Pres laughed and said “The two Jerrys didn’t look very happy this morning.” When I ducked this, he said “I know, Jim. Listen. I’m not going to compromise my ideals and personal beliefs for a few stinking votes. To hell with it”—I told him “Mr. Pres. I’m proud of you.”

Hill reaction good on press conference – also good reaction from Len Hall who was in at 9 to recommend Pres. praise House for their vote on tax bill – Pres. did

Senate cut excise taxes to 5% — lot of our boys went over to Dems. –yellow and couldn’t stand heat like the House did – no guts in Senate leadership – How Halleck stands out.

Dwight D. Eisenhower and The Shah of Iran, 1954

Photograph #73-880-15



Photograph courtesy Eisenhower Library

Letter to Dwight D. Eisenhower, October 4, 1956
from Miss Daira Dirnkens

10
P.M. 10-11-56
ack'd
10/15/56
G.M.R.

Dear President Eisenhower,

I am a fourteen year old girl from Latvia. We were driven out by the communists in 1944. We took refuge in America in 1950. We aren't citizens of U.S.A yet, but my parents and hundreds of other Latvians would cast their votes for you. We think you wonderful and one of the greatest presidents that ever lived. I have millions of people to back me up on that. Personally I just worship you. You have been doing a wonderful job in foreign affairs. You understand us and our desire for our country.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

to be full and have world
peace. Thank you for
hanging the picture of
Rigas towers in your
cabinet to remind you of
country's enslaved by the
communists. You have a
tough job ahead of you.
But we all love you, for
you done so much for us
and the whole world.
Every one should thank God
we have such a wonderful
president.

sincerely yours
Barbara Pinkens

P.S. I have a big favor
to ask you. Could you send me a big
picture of you autographed personally.
I would like to hang it in my
room. Thank you!

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

Letter from Dwight D. Eisenhower, October 15, 1956
to Miss Daira Dirnkens

P.P.F.

28-B
R

RECEIVED
OCT 22 1956
CENTRAL FILES

October 15, 1956

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Dear Daira:

It was certainly nice of you to let me hear from you. For a ~~fourteen-year-old~~ you have had a very eventful and exciting life. I try never to forget the desire for freedom of your country and of all the others that have come under communist rule.

x 07133 - E - 1

You say some very nice things about me which I will try hard to live up to, I promise you.

x PP720 - D "D"

I am happy to send you a photograph as you request.

x PP71 - D "D"

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



(Sgd.) Dwight D. Eisenhower

x
x
Miss Daira Dirnkens
3633 Sixth Avenue
Sacramento
California

gmr

7

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

Dr. Milton Eisenhower Oral History, 1975

Pages 22-24:

EISENHOWER: President Eisenhower was completely opposed to our participation in the Vietnam War and so was I. I felt it was an intrusion into essentially a civil war. It was a war that couldn't be won and it was futile. And great sacrifices were made unnecessarily and fatefully. He said publicly at least three times during his presidency that we would not go into that war. He sent Secretary Dulles to the Senate Foreign Relations committee to assure them that we would not go into the war. The war was started, so far as President Kennedy concerned us late in '61 and early 1962 and of course was greatly increased under President (Lyndon) Johnson. President Johnson was a friend of mine even though we differed on politics and on political philosophy. And he kept saying that "All I'm doing is carrying out the policy of President Truman, President Eisenhower and President Kennedy," when the criticism of the Vietnam War increased—. So one time he sent his helicopter for me and I went down to discuss a problem in which he was interested. When we finished I said to him, "Mr. President, I must correct you on what you're saying about my brother's policy with respect to the Vietnam War." I went right down the line historically, citing my brother's statements day by day and month by month.

He said to me in astonishment, "Well I accept the facts that you're saying. But why then has he been supporting me now that we're in the war?"

I said, "Well, being in the war is different from getting into it. Once you resort to military power, there is no higher authority in the world. And you have a different problem on your hands."

Further, President Eisenhower, in retirement felt that if he spoke out in opposition—he still had such respect on the part of the American people and around the world—that he might prolong the war if the North Vietnamese could say that the former President of the United States and a man greatly respected in his own country is against it—that would give comfort to the Viet Cong and the North Koreans and might prolong the war. Further, I don't know that anyone else in the world—

EISENHOWER: The most he inherited from Truman is this: We had a limited number of military men in South Vietnam for training purposes only. Nothing else. That training was continued.

Pages 33-34:

IVANOV: Well why you and General Eisenhower were against the second term for Dwight Eisenhower? Only because of his health?

EISENHOWER: Yes.

IVANOV: At the second time.

EISENHOWER: Well, he'd had a heart attack and an ileitis operation. And we felt that his leadership on the allied side in World War II and in one term, we felt he had done his duty to his country and that he was under no moral obligation to go any farther. But he finally decided himself—he was absolutely devoted to doing anything he could to bring us a little closer to peace in the world. And since he knew practically all the world leaders personally, and they were friends, I think he felt he was in a rather unique position because of this relationship, to do more than anyone else he saw in sight who might take his place. And so he told the American people, "Now, if you re-elect me, don't expect me to be making a vigorous campaign, going all over the country, and I'm going to have to take it easier in the second term because if I'm going to be President, I'm going to be here to make the decisions." And the people accepted it, and as I say he got more votes the second time than he did the first.



The President, Part II:

"I'm not unhappy in this job, but it is the lonliest job on earth"

There must be respect for the Constitution—which means the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution—or we shall have chaos. We cannot possibly imagine a successful form of government in which every individual citizen would have the right to interpret the Constitution according to his own convictions, beliefs and prejudices. Chaos would develop. This I believe with all my heart—and shall always act accordingly.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

*Letter to "Swede" Hazlett, boyhood friend
July 22, 1957*

The Eisenhower Years: 1957-1961

When the second Eisenhower administration began on January 20, 1957, the United States was much changed from what it had been only four years before. Americans had prospered, and there had been peace since the end of the Korean War. On the other hand, the world had become a far more dangerous place. A decade of Cold War had intensified the arms race. As he took the oath of office for a second time, President Eisenhower was determined to pursue disarmament and peace.

Nationalism was a powerful international movement by the mid-1950s. Eisenhower insisted that the United States must do everything possible to convince emerging new nations that democracy and capitalism were preferable to communist authoritarianism. Foreign aid to Third World nations was a good investment toward winning the Cold War. Neither the American people nor Congress was as enthusiastic as the president might have wished.

In his 1957 State of the Union address, the President urged Congress to pass the administration's civil rights bill that had been introduced in 1956. Eisenhower had been appalled to learn that as few as one percent of otherwise eligible African American voters in some southern states were allowed to vote. Devices such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and outright intimidation kept them from the polls.

On June 18, 1957, the administration's civil rights bill was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas cautioned Eisenhower that Southern Democrats (powerful committee chairmen at the time) would defeat the bill as it then read. Only if Title III, the federal enforcement provision, were removed was there a chance of its passage.

A "jury trial" amendment to the bill was passed on August 2 by a vote of 51 to 42*. Twelve Republicans had voted with Southern Democrats; Eisenhower was disgusted. Five days later a "gutted" Civil Rights bill was passed 72 to 18. Some civil rights leaders such as Jackie Robinson and A. Philip Randolph did not endorse it. Others, among them Martin Luther King, Jr., reasoned that it was better than nothing and urged Eisenhower to sign it. The President was criticized by some for not providing more forceful leadership for the civil rights bill, but others blamed recalcitrant Southern Democrats who then controlled the Senate. On September 9, 1957, with reservations, Eisenhower signed the bill into law.

Just five days before, on September 4, Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas deployed the Arkansas National Guard to resist the court-ordered

*An all-white jury in the South was unlikely to convict one of its own charged with breaking a civil rights law.

integration of Little Rock's Central High School. A defiant mob surrounded the school, intent on keeping the African American students out.

When a federal judge ordered the governor to cease his interference, Faubus threatened to remove the Guard and leave the school to the fury of the mob. After speaking with Faubus, Eisenhower believed he had the governor's word to cooperate. But Faubus had no intention of complying with the court order. On the morning of September 23, the racist mob grew even more violent, threatening to lynch the African American students. Eisenhower immediately ordered 1000 paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division to Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard. The crisis was over; the mob dispersed.

The next crisis erupted on October 4 1957, when the world's first manmade satellite, *Sputnik I* was successfully launched into earth's orbit by the Soviet Union. The reaction in the United States was utter shock and disbelief. Not only had the "commies" beat us (the world's number one nation!) into space, but also our government had been caught by surprise.

Although Eisenhower reassured the public, it was not enough to calm the fears. The nation's top scientists were brought to the White House for consultations, and the President's Science Advisory Committee was created. Out of this committee came recommendations for new science, math, and technology programs, and for increased defense spending.

Then on November 3, 1957, the Soviets launched a dog, Laika, into space aboard *Sputnik II*. When the United States launched its own Vanguard rocket carrying a small satellite, the rocket lifted off its pad, only to fall back to earth in a fiery spectacle. American newspapers lead with headlines that read "Flopnik," "Dudnik," and "Kaputnik."

Politicians and the public were ready to spend whatever it took to move ahead of the Soviets in the space race. With reservations, the president

supported a new four-year, billion-dollar education program that would provide funds for promising college students to go to graduate school. The whole nation sighed with relief when the American satellite *Explorer* was launched on January 31, 1958. A year after the launch of *Sputnik I*, under great political pressure, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), a civilian agency, was approved by Congress in 1958.

Throughout his second term, Eisenhower continued to battle with the Pentagon and Congress to hold down defense spending. From 1953 to 1958, the United States had produced more than two nuclear bombs each day. The president argued that it was irresponsible spending that could not be justified. Eisenhower insisted that Western Europe take on more of its own defense. He wanted to reduce the number of American troops stationed abroad and brought 100,000 American troops home from Germany, Japan, and elsewhere in the world. Looking to the future, Eisenhower worried about the ability of future presidents, possibly with less knowledge of the military than he, to stand up to the growing power of the defense establishment.

Because 1957 had been a recession year, the federal government brought in less revenue. As a result, the balanced budgets of 1955 and 1956 were followed by deficits in 1957 and 1958. Due largely to the President's efforts, however, 1959 was a \$1 billion surplus budget. As he looked ahead to 1960, Eisenhower held firm at \$40 billion for the Department of Defense budget, though the Joint Chiefs of Staff insisted that \$50 billion was necessary. Ultimately, the 1960 budget carried a \$1 billion surplus.

Attempts in early 1958 for a U.S.-Soviet nuclear test ban treaty fizzled. Then in April 1958, Eisenhower appealed to Khrushchev once more. At the same time, U.S. and Soviet technical experts were in Geneva, Switzerland, attempting to hammer out an inspection system to monitor a possible test ban. In August, an agreement on a system accepted by both parties appeared likely. Meanwhile the Department of Defense asked for even more

nuclear bombs. Whereupon, Eisenhower asked, just how many times did they desire to destroy the Soviet Union?

At the end of October, the Conference on the Discontinuation of Nuclear Weapons Tests began. The Soviets wanted an unsupervised test ban, but the United States insisted on an inspection system. At impasse, Eisenhower offered a three-year ban of atmospheric tests even if the Soviets would not comply. Anticipating a future ban, both sides completed a record number of tests through the rest of 1958.

Then, in January 1959, scientists reversed their previous recommendation and advised the president against a test ban. The president was, understandably, exasperated that they would change their minds after so much work had already been accomplished.

Unexpectedly, in November 1958, Khrushchev demanded that the allies pull out of West Berlin by a deadline of May 27, 1959. Eisenhower believed that the Soviets were bluffing. The situation quickly ballooned into a national panic as Americans prepared for a showdown with the Soviets. The president reassured the public and our allies that there was no basis for the alarm. In the end, the deadline date passed without incident.

Hope for improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were high when Nikita Khrushchev accepted an invitation to visit the United States in September 1959. Before the Soviet leader's visit, Eisenhower traveled to Great Britain, France, and West Germany to reassure the allies that they had nothing to fear from the upcoming visit. After a couple of days of talks and formal dinners in Washington, D.C., Khrushchev toured the country. On the 25th he returned to Washington, D.C. for a helicopter ride to Camp David with Eisenhower. As Khrushchev prepared to leave, he and Eisenhower agreed that after the upcoming summit in Paris in May 1960, the Eisenhower family would visit the Soviet Union.

While the United States was negotiating with the Soviet Union for a test ban treaty through 1958, Egypt's Abdel Nasser was intent on destabilizing the Middle East. In January 1958, he was actively supporting revolutionary movements throughout the Middle East. Jordan, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia were targeted because they were friendly to the West. The Eisenhower administration was concerned that, through Nasser, Soviet influence might grow in the Middle East.

On July 14, pro-Nasser forces carried out a coup in Iraq, assassinating the royal family. In response, President Chamoun of Lebanon invited American troops into that country. The U.S. Marines went ashore on July 15 to "stabilize" the area. The result was two-fold. First, Nasser realized that the United States would intervene in the Middle East if American interests were threatened. And, second, the Soviets signaled that they would not challenge the Americans there.

On January 1, 1959, the Eisenhower administration's focus turned to Latin America. Fulgencio Batista, corrupt dictator of Cuba, was overthrown by a revolutionary movement led by Fidel Castro. The United States recognized the new government. By mid-February, Castro made himself Premier, legalized the Communist Party, and began a series of anti-American speeches. One year later, the Eisenhower administration was discussing how to get rid of Castro.

Though extremely hostile to the United States, Castro was very popular in Cuba, and the Eisenhower administration lacked proof that he was setting up a Communist government. On July 6, 1960, the United States reduced its Cuban sugar quota, and in 1961, sugar imports stopped altogether. On January 2, 1961, Castro ordered most of the United States Embassy personnel out of Cuba. Discussions on what to do about Castro intensified.

Almost since the moment they began, the Soviets had known about and secretly protested American

U-2 spy plane flights. On March 7, 1958, Eisenhower made it clear that he wanted the flights halted. The flights were not stopped, but they were limited to one per month by the spring of 1960, the president personally approving each one. Eisenhower authorized one last flight sometime in late April. That flight was postponed until May 1. That afternoon, the U-2, flown by Francis Gary Powers, did not return.

On May 5, Khrushchev announced that the Soviets had shot down a plane, and Eisenhower approved a statement that it was a research airplane to study weather at high altitudes and had unintentionally flown over Soviet airspace. Two days later the Soviet government announced that they had the pilot and wreckage of the plane. When the United States would not admit publicly that the U-2 was a spy plane, Khrushchev threatened to bomb U-2 bases and put Powers on trial.

On May 14, Eisenhower flew to Paris for the still-scheduled summit. There the Soviet leader demanded that the American president condemn the flights, stop them, and punish those responsible. Then the Soviet delegation stormed out. By August, the United States had deployed reconnaissance satellites, and U-2 flights would become obsolete.

The 1958 mid-term elections had been a disaster for the Republican party; the new Congress had two Democrats for every Republican. The Democrats had hounded the Republicans on the issues of the recent farm bill veto, Little Rock, and *Sputnik*. In addition, they accused the Eisenhower administration of allowing a dangerous “missile gap” to develop.

The 1960 presidential race centered on the arms and the space races. The American public was scared, convinced that the United States had fallen behind the Soviets. Richard Nixon was nominated by the Republican national convention in the summer of 1960, and Henry Cabot Lodge completed the ticket. The Democrats chose John F. Kennedy, a young senator from Massachusetts.

Lyndon Johnson, who himself had presidential ambitions, was the surprise pick for vice-presidential running mate.

Nixon ran on the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administrations—peace and prosperity. Kennedy claimed that the nation was “drifting,” he would get it “moving again.” From late September through October, the candidates appeared in four televised debates. In the first, Kennedy appeared fit, confident, and aggressive. Nixon, recently hospitalized, had refused make-up and looked like he had not shaved. His light gray suit blended into the background. Kennedy looked presidential, Nixon did not. Ultimately, the vote on November 8, 1960, was extremely close. Kennedy emerged the winner by 34,227,096 million votes to Nixon’s 34,108,546. The electoral vote was more decisive at 303 to 219.

On January 17, 1961, President Eisenhower bade farewell to the nation. He had kept the peace, yet, despite his best efforts, disarmament and an end to the Cold War remained illusive. The nation’s budget was in the black, and of that he was justifiably proud. As he finished his address, he warned of the growing influence and power of what he called the “military-industrial complex.”

On a snow-covered day, January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy took the presidential oath and became the 35th President of the United States. At that moment, the Eisenhower era passed into history.

Living in the Fifties

In nearly every respect, the 1950s were the decade of the family. Society's roles for men and women were rigidly defined and enforced. It was an era when Americans returned to their churches in record numbers. Although it was a period that embraced tradition and conformity, it also spawned revolutions in popular music, art, and entertainment.

After World War II, Americans tended to marry at an earlier age than had previous generations. The birth rate skyrocketed and would continue to do so for the next 20 years. An intense focus on family life was evident in every aspect of American culture from magazine articles and advertisements to television programs. One consequence was a decline in the divorce rate throughout the decade.

As the veterans returned from the war, women were expected to return to the home. For many women, life's goal was to marry, move to the suburbs, manage a home, and raise a large family. Popular culture reinforced that notion. Hit television programs like *Leave it to Beaver* and *Father Knows Best* portrayed women who did housework and prepared meals in full make-up, high heels, swishing skirts, and pearls. Housewifery was elevated to a modern and glamorous career.

Boys, on the other hand, were encouraged to get a good education in order to land a lucrative job one-day. When they married, men were expected to support a wife and children. Men's lives were focused outside the home in the larger social, economic, and political community. Many who lived in the suburbs were commuters who took the train into the city to work and returned home to their families at night.

Families became more child-centered in the 1950s. In his groundbreaking book, *Common Sense Book of Baby and Childcare*, Dr. Benjamin Spock advised young parents, particularly mothers, on how

to raise happy, healthy, and stable children. Women were encouraged to make a career of staying home with their young children and most were happy to do so.

Religion and church membership enjoyed a revival throughout the fifties. People joined churches, in part, to recreate the close communities they had left behind in city neighborhoods. Also, the culture of the Cold War emphasized that the root evil of communism was atheism. Church attendance was closely linked with patriotism. Evangelists such as Billy Graham became national figures, leading religious crusades utilizing radio and television.

In 1951, a new kind of music burst onto the scene. It would revolutionize both personal music preferences and the music industry. Alan Freed, a disk jockey, was the first to use the term "rock and roll." It was a blend of country music, gospel, and the blues. The first rock and roll hits were written and recorded by African American artists. When white performers like Elvis Presley and Bill Haley adopted the new musical style, popular music underwent a revolution.

Young people were attracted to rock and roll's distinctive beat, blended harmonies, and volume. Adults complained that the melodies were repetitious and the lyrics were hard to understand and sometimes indecent. A new popular culture was developing around rock and roll included hairstyles, clothing, and dance styles. Older Americans feared that their children would be led down the path to juvenile delinquency.

Elvis Presley was considered the most provocative artist of all with his suggestive movements and "sexy" appearance. Other early rock and roll stars were Jerry Lee Lewis, Chuck Berry, and Buddy Holly. In 1955, the movie, *Blackboard Jungle*, made a spectacular hit of the song "Rock Around the Clock" sung by Bill Haley and the Comets.

The postwar period introduced changes in art as well. Abstract expressionism was a sensation in the

art world. With this new technique, artists used color and movement to express their “inner-most feelings.” Jackson Pollack was the most famous of this school, applying his famous “drip and splash” technique to his canvases. Another style that emerged in the late fifties was “pop art,” which would become famous in the 1960s. Objects such as soup cans were painted with a technique that resulted in photographic precision.

Television was first developed in the 1930s; by the mid-1950s, it was an indispensable fixture of American life. In 1950 there were approximately 100 commercial television stations, but ten years later, that figure had skyrocketed to nearly 600. Early television was live, but, by 1956, videotape introduced a recorded format. Networks sold advertising time to pay for programming. Soon television product slogans and musical jingles were prominent in popular culture.

By 1955, the average American family watched their black and white television programming for four or five hours a day. Critics labeled the medium the “boob tube” or a “vast wasteland.” Occasionally the evening meal even moved from the dining room to trays in front of the television set. Food manufacturers invented a new product, the frozen “TV dinner,” which could be cooked and eaten without interrupting the family’s television viewing.

There was something for everyone in television programs of the fifties. Children delighted in watching *Howdy Doody Time*, *The Mickey Mouse Club*, *Roy Rogers*, and *Davy Crockett*. Situation comedies such as *I Love Lucy*, *Gunsmoke*, and *The Honeymooners* had a loyal adult following. *See It Now*, also very popular, was an early version of today’s news-magazine format and its host, Edward R. Murrow, explored controversial contemporary issues.

The general climate of the Cold War affected the types of movies that Hollywood produced. Controversial films with social or political content were avoided unless they had an anticommunist theme. Hollywood, like other American

institutions, was scrutinized for signs of communist influence. Films such as *The Red Menace* in 1949 were followed by others that reinforced and expanded the Cold War climate of anxiety and fear. Some kinds of censorship were relaxed in the 1950s as violence and sexual content in movies became more acceptable.

As the number of American homes with television sets grew, people chose to stay home instead of going out to a movie. In response, American movies were marketed to an overseas audience. For domestic audiences, the movies of the fifties became “lavish productions” to better compete with television. Theaters brought in wide screens, stereophonic sound and novelties such as 3-D projection.

The decade of the fifties is often described as the age of conformity. After fifteen years of economic depression and war, it is not surprising that a generation craved a more predictable and stable environment. But others, including the Beat Generation “beatniks,” scorned what they observed as middle-class conformity and materialism.

“Beatniks” were counterculture writers and artists in the 1950s. Recognizable in their dark clothing and an unkempt “artsy” appearance, beatniks frequented coffeehouses where they recited poetry and pondered the “deep questions” of life. Allen Ginsberg, a leading “Beat” poet, wrote of his disdain for conformity and materialism. In 1957, Jack Kerouac, the spiritual leader of the beatnik generation, wrote *On the Road*, on a roll of toilet paper. Other authors and books were critical of other aspects of life and work in the 1950s, among them, *The Organization Man*, *The Lonely Crowd*, *The Catcher in the Rye*, and *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*.

The Eisenhower White House

If Dwight D. Eisenhower had known in 1956 how contentious and difficult his second term would be, he might have been even more reluctant to consider reelection. From Election Day 1956 until he left office on January 20, 1961, it seemed that his job was one crisis after another.

Eisenhower lost two valued members of his team during his second administration: Sherman Adams and John Foster Dulles. Adams was both liked and respected by the White House staff for his extraordinary management and organizational skills. Considered a “scrupulously” honest man, Adams, nevertheless, made the mistake of accepting gifts from a friend, a wealthy New England industrialist.

Adams, “informally, the president’s White House chief of staff,” had acquired an impressive list of enemies in Congress and among some of Eisenhower’s close friends. When they learned of his indiscretion, it was only a matter of time before Democrats in Congress began demanding his resignation. By early September 1958, the clamor had reached a pitch that Eisenhower could not ignore. Five days after meeting with the president, Adams submitted his resignation. Wilton B. Persons, Adams’ second in command, replaced him. Adams’ New England reserve and bluntness were replaced by the warmth of Person’s southern charm and sense of humor.

In late 1958, John Foster Dulles was 70 years old. He had been treated for cancer before and now underwent additional medical tests to uncover the source of new pain. Although the cancer had come back, Dulles put off treatment to continue his work until early February 9, 1959. Finally, in late February 1959, Dulles took a leave of absence to enter the hospital.

Throughout the spring, Dulles remained in the hospital; Eisenhower called him daily to report on the progress of the test ban agreement. Eisenhower was incensed that a number of Democratic senators, knowing that Dulles was literally on his deathbed, chose this time to criticize his policies and demand his resignation.

After a slow and painful decline, on May 24, 1959, John Foster Dulles died. Dulles had been the president’s closest advisor, an able and devoted colleague. His knowledge of every aspect of public affairs and his lifetime of experience were irreplaceable. Eisenhower felt his loss acutely. Under Secretary of State Christian Herter became the new Secretary of State on April 20, 1959.

For President Eisenhower, 1957 was a nearly impossible year. First, the struggle and the political expediency necessary to secure civil rights legislation had disgusted him. Before it was even signed, the school desegregation disaster at Little Rock was upon him. Immediately after, *Sputnik* threw the nation into a crisis of self-confidence and worry with demands for education reform, fallout shelters, space exploration, and even more unnecessary—in his opinion— weapons. The president had done his best to reassure the American people that the United States was secure and to keep the lid on a defense establishment that threatened to spent the country into oblivion. Then in November, just before Thanksgiving, he had suffered a minor stroke. To make things even worse, 1957 was a recession year.

Despite doing all he could to keep the nation at peace, secure and prosperous, the criticism gathered momentum every day by the end of 1957. Newspaper columnists, particularly, had begun to question how well he had done his job. The president was criticized for the Civil Rights Act and for the recession. What cut most deeply, however, were charges that he had “lost” the space race to the Soviets and had allowed them to pull ahead in the arms race. Moreover, Dwight D. Eisenhower still had three more years to endure.

The president had been working at his desk on November 25, 1957, when he suddenly lost the ability to hold objects or to speak. President Eisenhower, age 67, had suffered a stroke. For several days, he was unable to communicate intelligibly, but he quickly recovered. Though not obvious to others, after the stroke, he sometimes switched syllables in words. That winter was frustrating, and the subtle effects of the stroke on his health made his job even more demanding.

A year later, as 1958 turned to 1959, Eisenhower had just two years left in his term. He planned to use them to establish a legacy of peace. As he looked forward to taking on his new objective, his characteristic optimism returned. He planned to do all that he could to accomplish a nuclear test ban with the Soviets and move toward a disarmament that might offer a future peace.

President Eisenhower would complete three arduous goodwill tours in the last two years of his presidency. The first lady had been concerned about the effects of the trips on his health. She would not accompany him, however, as she had health concerns of her own. But Eisenhower was resilient. During one of the trips, a reporter traveling with the president wrote to tell her that, at 68 years old, he was holding up far better than the press!

The first trip in 1959, to the Middle East, India, and Europe, was an overwhelming success as would be the rest. The crowds cheered President Eisenhower in welcome. Queen Elizabeth II even sent him a handwritten note of congratulations. In late February 1960, he made a second tour, this time to Latin America, that lasted two weeks and made thirteen stops. Eisenhower met with four presidents and made a total of 37 speeches. The last goodwill tour, June 1960, lasted two weeks. The president made eight stops in the Pacific and East Asia, and visited Alaska and Hawaii, which had only the year before become new states in the Union.

Just one month before the May 1960 Paris summit with Khrushchev, Eisenhower's high hopes for détente with the Soviet Union and possible progress towards disarmament and peace were dashed. The U-2 incident had taken place just before the much-anticipated summit. Although it was clear that Khrushchev had made up his mind to scuttle the peace talks even before that, the U-2 fiasco had further complicated the picture and set back U.S.–Soviet relations.

As the 1960 presidential year neared, questions arose as to Eisenhower's successor. Richard Nixon had been a member of the Eisenhower administration for eight years. The vice-president had performed well and had been a loyal team member. Yet Eisenhower and Nixon were not particularly close nor was it a comfortable relationship for either man.

“Eisenhower was ambivalent toward Nixon; Nixon was deeply resentful of Eisenhower.”

— William Bragg Ewald Jr.

Back in 1952, Nixon had expected more support from Eisenhower during the Checkers crisis. When it came only *after* his triumphant speech, he had felt some resentment. Over the years, the vice-president had played an active role in the administration and he was willing to do more. Nixon attended high-level meetings such as those of the National Security Council and had contributed to the discussions. He had even traveled as a special representative for the president on a number of occasions. When Eisenhower had his heart attack in 1955, everyone judged that Nixon had responded admirably and responsibly. Nonetheless, Eisenhower had lingering concerns about whether his vice-president was ready to take on the responsibilities of the presidency.

Even if Eisenhower harbored irreconcilable doubts about Richard Nixon, he determined that the Democratic ticket was far worse. Moreover, the goals for the two men in early 1960—or even as early as 1959—were at odds. Eisenhower was

focused on building his legacy and, understandably, Nixon was preparing for his own presidential run.

Because his doctor advised against it for health reasons, Eisenhower campaigned for Nixon only on a limited basis for most of the presidential campaign in 1960. Too, it was important for the vice-president to distance himself from the criticism directed at the Eisenhower administration and to establish himself as a presidential candidate in his own right. When Eisenhower did campaign, he tended to focus on the accomplishments of his own presidency rather than Nixon's qualifications to be president. The worst gaffe occurred when Eisenhower was pushed one time too many by reporters for a specific example of something that the vice-president had contributed to the Eisenhower administration. Eisenhower, extremely irritated at the never-ending interrogation, answered, "If you give me a week, I might think of something. I don't remember." He had not intended to insult the vice-president, but the damage to his campaign was the same.

Eisenhower advised Nixon that he should not participate in the 1960 presidential debates. The president felt that Nixon had little to gain and it would give Kennedy too much attention. Nixon decided to go ahead anyway. Before the first debate, Eisenhower counseled Nixon to present himself as more a statesman than a partisan. As a result, Nixon came across as too mild when compared with Kennedy's more aggressive style. With the campaign coming to a close and the picture not looking good for the vice-president, Eisenhower campaigned more vigorously.

When John F. Kennedy was elected in 1960, Eisenhower viewed it as a rejection of his own presidency. He was very depressed by the outcome. For the past eight years, he had worked ceaselessly on behalf of the American people, and, to his way of thinking, this was a rejection of all he had accomplished at a great cost to his health and reputation.

On December 6, 1960, Eisenhower met with President-elect Kennedy at the White House to brief him on policies and problems that he would have to deal with soon. Though Eisenhower had had little regard for candidate Kennedy, he changed his opinion, at least temporarily, after this meeting. Kennedy had impressed him with his earnestness and his questions. The meeting between the two men ended on friendly terms. They would meet once more, on January 19, the day before the Inauguration.

That night, Washington, D.C. experienced such a snowstorm that much of the White House Staff, unable to get home, had to bunk in the bomb shelter of the White House basement. The next morning, Eisenhower, for the first time in eight—or even nineteen—years, had little work waiting for him. He spent much of the morning reminiscing with his secretary Ann Whitman. When it came time for the Eisenhowers to say farewell to the White House domestic staff, there were many tears as each member of the staff received a personal goodbye.

The Eisenhowers hosted a coffee for the Kennedys and the Johnsons and other Democratic leaders, at the White House before Eisenhower and Kennedy took the traditional drive down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. At noon, Chief Justice Earl Warren swore in the new president, the youngest ever elected to office. After the ceremonies, the Eisenhowers slipped away to join friends and, now former, cabinet members for a luncheon. Afterwards they would drive home to Gettysburg. Dwight D. Eisenhower, for the first time in decades, was now a private citizen. He looked forward to the freedom and leisure of a long-awaited and much-deserved retirement.

The Eisenhower Family

Ike often felt discouragement and disappointment during his second term in the Oval Office. His family and friends and weekends at the Gettysburg farm sometimes seemed to be life's only pleasures as he confronted one crisis after another. The promise of the peace and quiet of retirement he had been craving since 1945 kept him moving forward and provided an occasional bright spot when he needed it the most.

At the Gettysburg farm, Ike could relax. He took much pleasure in overseeing the tending of the cattle and horses and supervising the work in the garden. Best of all, he worked on his "short game" and gave golf lessons to his grandchildren on his putting green in the backyard. Only a very few close friends received invitations to spend the weekend at Gettysburg. But when they did, Ike usually initiated a game of bridge. He was a "no nonsense" player with little toleration for a recreational effort or average-playing ability.

Meanwhile, Mamie worked on the final decorating touches to the home she had waited for so long. When foreign dignitaries were visiting Washington, D.C., Ike liked to take them to the farm for a tour that usually included the Pitzer Schoolhouse which John and Barbara bought in 1957 and converted into a home. A road was built between the farmhouse and the one-room schoolhouse.

During her husband's second administration, Mamie Eisenhower continued to be an active first lady. She welcomed many women's clubs, organizations, and special groups to the White House. Some she even sponsored. The American Heart Association, not surprisingly, was an organization to which she devoted her efforts and personal attention. As first lady, she reinstated the White House Easter Egg Roll, which, she insisted, would be attended by children of all races. At a time when integration was a controversial and

sensitive subject, she hosted a White House reception for the National Council of Negro Women and became an honorary member. Mamie once even offered a short campaign speech for a woman congressional candidate that she personally supported.

After her husband experienced a mild stroke in 1957, Mamie became even more protective of his health. She did her best to make sure that he did not overextend himself—not an easy thing to accomplish. It could not have pleased her to know that because Ike did not like all the restrictions that his doctor placed on him, he often ignored them.

Whenever he broke away from work for a trip to Newport, Rhode Island, or Augusta National Golf Club in Georgia, Mamie was relieved*. Here, too, Ike played bridge with old friends like General Alfred Gruenther and members of "the gang," men such as Bill Robinson, Clifford Roberts, and Pete Jones. When the Eisenhowers were at Augusta, they stayed at "Mamie's cabin," a three-story home that friends had built for them at a cost of \$450,000.

By the autumn of 1958, Ike was desperately anticipating retirement. He would be 68 years old on October 14, 1958, and 70 years old when he left office, the oldest serving president up to that time. Ike was

"Unless each day can be looked back upon as one in which you have had some fun, some joy, some satisfaction — that day is a loss."

— Dwight D. Eisenhower

extremely tired and his health had suffered. And, although 1957 had been a very bad year for him, he declared 1958 "the worst" of his life.

By mid-1959, Ike was making plans for his retirement. As a former president, he would receive a \$25,000-a-year pension plus a \$50,000 yearly allowance to finance an office and staff. The Gettysburg farm was paid for, and the remainder of the money he had received for *Crusade in Europe*

*After his 1955 heart attack, Ike was cautioned to avoid high altitudes so the Eisenhowers made Newport the summer White House instead of Denver.

had been invested for him. It seemed that every publishing house in the country wanted to handle his White House memoirs. The Eisenhowers would be financially secure in their retirement.

Ike and Mamie were also giving thought to where they would be buried one day. Among the sites they considered were Arlington National Cemetery, West Point, and Abilene. Ike favored his boyhood hometown, Abilene. Upon his mother's death in 1946, the family home had been deeded to the Eisenhower Foundation, and the Eisenhower Museum, just five years old, was located nearby. His future presidential library would be built in the same general area.

From 1957 to 1959, John Eisenhower worked in the White House. In the beginning, he was on temporary duty working in the area of national security. As a part of his job, he sat in on some high-level meetings. Next, he worked in the Pentagon in the Joint War Plans Branch. The younger Eisenhowers lived nearby in Alexandria, Virginia. This close proximity to Washington, D.C. made it convenient for the young family to attend an occasional White House function such as the state visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip in 1957.

In the autumn of 1958, the White House Staff was reorganized, and John began a new duty—working in the White House. One of John's responsibilities was to give his father daily intelligence briefings. Like anyone else, he had to schedule his time with the president. When John and Ike were alone, John called him "Dad," but when others were present, he addressed him as "the Boss" or "the President."

With only a year remaining in the Eisenhower presidency, John became a member of the advance team that traveled to set up the many details for upcoming presidential trips. Also, in the spring of 1960, John began his last major project—planning for his father's post-presidential years at Gettysburg. On January 20, 1961, John would retire from the army, the same day his father retired from the presidency.

December 1960 was the last Eisenhower Christmas in the White House. Mamie decorated the White House as never before; she wanted it to be a Christmas that her family would remember forever. (Mamie's mother had died just three months before, and this was Mamie's first Christmas without Nana.) With their mother's help, the grandchildren put on a Nativity play, wearing elaborate costumes made from the exotic fabrics Barbara had brought back from the Middle East. The grandchildren remember it as an "enchanted Christmas."

By early January 1961, Mamie had made sure that the Gettysburg household was set up, and the farm was ready and waiting for them. After nearly 45 years of moves that had taken them to nearly every region of the United States and to places around the globe, this move would finally take them to their first permanent home.

After the pomp and ceremony of the Kennedy Inauguration, the Eisenhowers drove home to Gettysburg. John was at the wheel. Along the way, groups of ordinary American citizens gathered, standing in the deep snow, to honor the former president and first lady with respectful applause. Arriving at Gettysburg, they were met with a "Welcome Home" rally in the town's square. When their car finally pulled up to the gate of the farm, Ike hopped out to open it himself. Ike and Mamie were delighted to be home.

Recommended Readings from *Waging Peace*. 148-176; 205-226; 227-235; 305-326; 543-559; 590-619.

Letter from Ann Whitman, December 1, 1957
to Captain "Swede" Hazlett

December 1, 1957.

PERSONAL



Dear Captain Hazlett:

All week I have wanted to write you this note, not that I can add anything to the news I know you get daily about the President, but to try to reassure you -- and myself at the same time -- that the President is really going to be all right again. Incidentally, just in case you didn't see it, I am enclosing a copy of an editorial in the New York Times of yesterday that has touched me more than anything else these last difficult days.

You remember, of course, the President's letter from Augusta. Now that I think back I could have offered a minority report. I only knew then that I was fighting a losing battle against the pace that the President seemingly had compulsively set for himself. We had all ignored those hard lessons of the heart attack aftermath and everybody seemed to be dumping all the unsolvable problems squarely in his lap. With the Sputniks and Little Rock and the failures of the last Congress still fresh, there wasn't ever for the President, here in Washington at least, a moment that he could use to think. He was, furthermore, wrestling with speeches at all hours of day and night, and under great pressure. For instance, a concrete example of what I mean was the Oklahoma speech. I had no plans to go on that trip, but at noon that day the speech was still far from final. So typewriters were dumped on the plane and somehow or other we finished it. All that tends to build up in me and must for the President be magnified a thousand times, a tenseness that means loss of sleep, and a feeling always that you are not doing the job right because there simply isn't time.

On the plus side, I think the high government officials and the President's staff have learned, this time, that they must stand on their own feet. I believe the President is the only person who can save the world today for a future that surely could be bright. If we can un-clutter his desk with the trivia (and I take that back, it really isn't trivia) but the less of the more important, I think he is the only person who can weld our friends into a cohesive group and overcome the suspicions of our potential enemies.

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

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And certainly he has the courage and will to do his best, despite all these blows that fate throws him.

I seem to have wandered far from what I meant to be a reassuring note to you. I know how worried you are. These are little simple things: The President has called me on the phone several times since last Monday. He has seemed absolutely perfect in his speech. There is positively no loss of anything except this business of trying to find the right word, and that occurs only when he is tired. One of his friends from New York saw him yesterday at the farm, and reported that he looked just fine.

We had an alert out at Bethesda, but apparently you did not go there for the overnight checkup that you wrote the President. Please let us know if you go through Washington, if only so that Captain Crittenberger or I can bring you fully up to date on the President.

Don't think of answering this; it does me good to write to someone as close as you are to the President. And please forgive my bad (Sunday, let's call it) typing.



Sincerely,

Ann C. Whitman

P. S.: Couldn't you have been generous and let Army (and the President) win yesterday?

Dwight D. Eisenhower and Nikita Khrushchev, September 25, 1959
Photograph #67-309-3



Photograph courtesy Eisenhower Library

Memorandum of Conference with the President, October 8, 1957

~~SECRET~~

October 9, 1957

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT
October 8, 1957, 8:30 AM

Others present:

- Secretary Quarles
- Dr. Waterman
- Mr. Hagen
- Mr. Holaday
- Governor Adams
- General Persons
- Mr. Hagerty
- Governor Pyle
- Mr. Harlow
- General Cutler
- General Goodpaster



Secretary Quarles began by reviewing a memorandum prepared in Defense for the President on the subject of the earth satellite (dated October 7, 1957). He left a copy with the President. He reported that the Soviet launching on October 4th had apparently been highly successful.

The President asked Secretary Quarles about the report that had come to his attention to the effect that Redstone could have been used and could have placed a satellite in orbit many months ago. Secretary Quarles said there was no doubt that the Redstone, had it been used, could have orbited a satellite a year or more ago. The Science Advisory Committee had felt, however, that it was better to have the earth satellite proceed separately from military development. One reason was to stress the peaceful character of the effort, and a second was to avoid the inclusion of materiel, to which foreign scientists might be given access, which is used in our own military rockets. He said that the Army feels it could erect a satellite four months from now if given the order -- this would still be one month prior to the estimated date for the Vanguard. The President said that when this information reaches the Congress, they are bound to ask why this action was not taken. He recalled,

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, Sec. 11

~~SECRET~~

MR 76-49 DOCUMENT # 65
By J.W. Date 11-17-76

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

Memorandum of Conference with the President, November 24, 1954

~~TOP SECRET~~

November 24, 1954

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT
0810 24 November 1954



Others present: Secretary of State
(for part of meeting)
Secretary of Defense
Mr. Allen Dulles
Secretary of Air Force
General Twining
Lt. General Cabell
Lt. General Putt
Colonel Goodpaster

Authorization was sought from the President to go ahead on a program to produce thirty special high performance aircraft at a cost of about \$35 million. The President approved this action. Mr. Allen Dulles indicated that his organization could not finance this whole sum without drawing attention to it, and it was agreed that Defense would seek to carry a substantial part of the financing.

The Secretary of Defense sought the President's agreement to taking one last look at the type of operations planned when the aircraft are available. The President indicated agreement.

To a question by the President, the Secretary of State indicated that difficulties might arise out of these operations, but that "we could live through them."

In summary, the President directed those present to go ahead and get the equipment, but before initiating operations to come in for one last look at the plans.


A. J. Goodpaster

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12065, Sec. 3-204

MR 80-234 14
By DJH Date 3/11/82

Document courtesy Eisenhower Library

67

Memorandum for the Record, February 8, 1960

~~TOP SECRET~~

February 8, 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD:

In the meeting of the President and his Board of Consultants on Foreign Intelligence Activities on February 2, there was discussion of the question of overflights. The group had proposed that this source of intelligence be utilized to the maximum degree possible. The President commented that this is one of the most "soul-searching" questions to come before a President. General Hull said he recognized the difficulty but pointed out that, for example, we had saved ourselves a lot of money through the knowledge that the Bison aircraft was not being produced in the quantities originally estimated. He added that a recent flight disclosed military deployments and dispositions that gave no sign of a slackening off in Soviet military power, as might have been suggested by the "spirit of Camp David."



The President stated that he knew of no "spirit of Camp David." What was accomplished was frank and respectful discussion of important issues, and a mutual recognition of the overriding importance of avoiding general war. He added that every bit of information he has seen corroborates what Khrushchev told him at Camp David -- for example regarding the Soviet cut-back in surface ships, aircraft, atomic power production, etc. Khrushchev added that he was not too much interested in short-range missiles. The President said he recognizes that intelligence has value, but in today's circumstances the ICBM is taking on central importance. If the Soviets concentrate on big missiles they have only one mode of action -- to attempt a knock-out blow, and to receive such a blow in return.

General Hull mentioned that there are a great many unknowns in the equation of Soviet military strength and preparation.

The President said that he has one tremendous asset in a summit meeting, as regards effect in the free world. That is his reputation for honesty. If one of these aircraft were lost when we are engaged in apparently sincere deliberations, it could be put on

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display in Moscow and ruin the President's effectiveness. He recalled the adverse impact of the display by the Soviets some years ago of the U. S. reconnaissance balloons they captured.

General Doolittle stressed the importance of determining what is the mode of operations the Soviets intend to employ in connection with their guided missiles. He said that SAC people had told him that in six flights they could obtain full coverage.

The President said that this is always an agonizing question. He felt he cannot dissipate his reputation for a different mode of behavior from that of Khrushchev in international affairs.

General Hull said that the time remaining during which such reconnaissance flights can be conducted is very limited because the Soviets are catching up to the capabilities of our aircraft. At the President's request I recalled that there is a new generation aircraft under development which will fly much higher and much faster and have a much lower radar cross-section. General Doolittle pointed out that the reliability of a new airplane is bound to be much lower. This is a special factor in this connection, since the embarrassment to us will be so great if one crashes.




A. J. Goodpaster
Brigadier General, USA

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VIDEOS:

- Dwight D. Eisenhower: Commander-in-Chief*, A&E Biography, (middle school to adult)
- The American Experience: Eisenhower*, PBS, (middle school to adult)
- Ike and Abilene*, Kansas Heritage Center, Lending Catalogue (all ages)
- In Quest of Peace*, In Kansas, check your school and/or public library. (all ages)

CASSETTES:

- Ambrose, Stephen. *Character Above All*, Barnes & Noble, (adult)

*May be ordered from the Eisenhower Center Gift Shop. There are many resources available there for teaching more about Dwight D. Eisenhower. Call 785-263-4751 or mail in an online order form available at the Eisenhower Center web site @ <http://www.eisenhower.utexas.edu/>. Click on Gift Shop.

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Memorandum for the Record, April 25, 1960

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April 25, 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD:

After checking with the President, I informed Mr. Bissell that one additional operation may be undertaken, provided it is carried out prior to May 1. No operation is to be carried out after May 1.



A. J. Goodpaster

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The Eisenhower Center: <http://www.eisenhower.utexas.edu/>

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Encarta Online: <http://encarta.msn.com/find/concise> (Search: Eisenhower)

Dwight D. Eisenhower: http://history.hanover.edu/20th/eisenhower.htm

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Federal Resources for Educational Excellence: <http://www.ed.gov/free> (Search: Eisenhower)

National Archives and Records Administration's documents online: www.nara/searchnail.html.

The Eisenhower Era (curriculum materials): www.ikeonline.org

The Eisenhower Academy: www.nps.gov/eise/instit.htm

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