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THE  
DECLASSIFIED  
EISENHOWER

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A STARTLING REAPPRAISAL OF THE  
EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY

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the global imperative. The Soviet Union monitored and publicized pictures of children who were cursed, struck, and spat upon trying to get into school. America's racial customs represented wretched political warfare. By executive order, Eisenhower integrated the armed forces, veterans hospitals, the District of Columbia, and Red Cross blood plasma. He appointed Nixon to head a commission to investigate withholding government contracts from companies that blocked civil-rights efforts. He assigned Maxwell Rabb, secretary to the Cabinet, to improve public relations in this area. Rabb worked hard at his job and was responsible for significant changes in America's official race relations. His efforts on behalf of voting rights for black Americans prompted Eisenhower's 1957 Civil Rights Act. Although Eisenhower was persuaded by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover that sit-ins, bus boycotts, and public protests were unjustified, illegal, and the work of communist terrorists, Eisenhower did send the troops to Little Rock to enforce the law.<sup>48</sup> Eisenhower's attitude toward "the race issue" remained entirely ambiguous. To Justice Warren's chagrin, the President never once said a public word to support school integration:

With his popularity, if Eisenhower had said that black children were still being discriminated against long after the adoption of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, . . . and that it should be the duty of every good citizen to help rectify more than 80 years of wrongdoing . . .—if he had said something . . . , we would have been relieved, in my opinion, of many of the racial problems which have continued to plague us.<sup>48</sup>

On the contrary, in 1956 Eisenhower called Attorney General Brownell during the Republican Party convention. Ann Whitman monitored the call:

His quarrel was with efforts to insert the words "The Eisenhower Administration . . . and the Republican Party have supported the Supreme Court" in the desegregation business. He wanted the words Eisenhower Administration deleted.

Eisenhower reminded Brownell that he had consistently "denied that the Administration took a stand on the matter." He pointed out that "it had never come before the Cabinet" and asked if Brownell could "imagine what a storm Mrs. Hobby would raise, had it?" The United States' Secretary of Health, Education and

Welfare was, after all, president of the *Houston Post* and a proud Texan. Eisenhower told Brownell "to talk to Bush and Dirksen and if they did not come around, he would refuse to 'go to San Francisco.'" Subsequently, Eisenhower refused to accept the word "concur" but agreed to "the Republican Party accepts."<sup>49</sup>

Every racial outrage was publicized around the world. It was hard to lead the free world when so many instances occurred that enabled Soviet propaganda agencies to highlight the "inhumanity of the American system." The U.S. embassy in Moscow urged the United States Information Agency to be more aggressive about "American Negro progress." Eisenhower carefully observed all public statements that might be noticed abroad. In March 1957, he corrected a speech to be given by his brother Milton:

You speak of the "Judaic-Christian heritage." I would suggest that you use a term on the order of "religious heritage"—this for the reason that we should find some way of including the vast numbers of people who hold to the Islamic and Buddhist religions when we compare the religious world against the Communist world.<sup>50</sup>

When Nelson Rockefeller replaced C. D. Jackson as Eisenhower's special assistant for the Cold War, Eisenhower specifically instructed him to work to overcome America's dysfunctional reputation in this area:

It is my conviction that all the peoples of the world share the same human cravings for freedom and for opportunities to win economic and social advancement. In keeping with our heritage we seek to join with all peoples in a common effort to achieve and sustain the basic essentials of human dignity. . . .

So that these matters may have the increased degree of attention they deserve . . . I hereby appoint you as Special Assistant to the President. I shall look to you for advice and assistance in the development of increased understanding and cooperation among all peoples. . . .<sup>51</sup>

Rockefeller was to attend meetings of the Cabinet, the National Security Council, the Council on Foreign Economic Policy, and the Operations Coordinating Board.

The National Security Council and the Operations Coordinating Board were fully developed during Eisenhower's presidency to administer political, economic, and psychological warfare. To be-



come the key institutions of the Cold War, they were to oversee the activities of the CIA, the USIA, and all cabinet departments. During Eisenhower's presidency, C. D. Jackson, Nelson Rockefeller, General Robert Cutler, chairman of the Old Colony Trust Company of Boston, and Gordon Gray, political warrior and college president, were the most notable special assistants to administer national security strategy. Their purpose was to destabilize communist leaders; liberate communist countries; encourage defection, dissension, and upheaval in the enemy camp; defend the nation's security; and in every way feasible enlarge the "free world." The national security establishment defined and designated the target areas for Eisenhower's missions of peace and political warfare. It was responsible for the globalization of America.<sup>52</sup>

These agencies absorbed the work of the Psychological Strategy Board, established in 1951. For Eisenhower and his national security staff, psychological warfare was "more than the use of propaganda to win over . . . minds and wills." According to General Robert Cutler, appointed executive of the National Security Council, "Every significant act of government should be so timed and so directed . . . that it will produce the maximum effect. All agencies and departments must be brought together into concerted action under an over-all scheme of strategy. We must adapt our foreign policy to a 'cold war' strategy that is unified and coherent. We must realize that as a nation everything we say, everything we do, and everything we fail to say or to do, will have its impact in other lands; it will affect the minds of men and women there."<sup>53</sup>

To develop that effort, Eisenhower created the International Information Activities Committee, chaired by William Jackson. Known as the Jackson Committee, its recommendations would influence United States foreign policy for decades. "The United States as the center of power in the free world is the principal obstacle in the path of the Soviet drive."

The Kremlin will intensify its efforts to isolate the U.S. and to promote dissension within and between the free nations by political warfare methods, including propaganda, subversion, and penetration, economic pressures and inducements and the instigation of violence. . . .

In the face of this Soviet drive the U.S. and allied nations must continue to strengthen their military capabilities until . . . the Soviet

Union is unwilling to risk general war, has abandoned its goal of world domination, and will live up to . . . the Charter of the United Nations. . . .

Specifically, the committee pointed out that there is a "psychological" element "to every diplomatic, economic, or military policy and action." "'Cold War' and 'psychological warfare' are unfortunate terms. They do not describe the efforts of our nation and our allies to build a world of peace and freedom. They should be discarded. . . . New terms are needed to express the solidarity of freedom-loving men and women everywhere." "The efforts of all media—radio, press, and publications, motion pictures, exchange of persons, and libraries and information centers—" should be used to persuade "the peoples of other nations that their own aspirations for freedom, progress and peace are supported and advanced by the objectives and policies of the U.S."<sup>54</sup>

C. D. Jackson was the first political warrior appointed to administer this task. He was delighted with the job; and delighted with Eisenhower's enthusiasm for and "understanding of the art" once called psychological warfare. Jackson wrote that Eisenhower believed it was "just about the only way to win World War III without having to fight it." "He is convinced that psychological warfare should not be the pet mystery of one or more Departments of the Government, but should be the entire posture of the entire Government to the entire world." That, wrote Jackson, all added up "to The Great Opportunity."<sup>55</sup>

It was for Jackson the culmination of many years' work to develop "an integrated United States psychological warfare program." In May 1952, representatives of the State Department, CIA, National Committee for a Free Europe (Radio Free Europe), the Psychological Strategy Board, and members of MIT's Center for International Studies (CENIS), a CIA think tank created by Truman, met at Princeton to establish "overall policy" and present a "blue-print" for activity to Eisenhower. The conferees agreed that the Truman-Acheson policy of "containment" or "holding the line against further Soviet expansion" had outlived its time, "and should be replaced with a more dynamic and positive policy. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

For C. D. Jackson, the "three big ingredients of psychological warfare are (1) money, (2) no holds barred and (3) no questions