Modern Republicanism, 1953-1961

How Eisenhower Accepted the New Deal and Fought the Cold War using Nuclear Weapons and Reconnaissance, while intervening in the Third World using the “hidden hand” of the Central Intelligence Agency
Is your Cell Phone Turned On?

- CIA operative Kermit Roosevelt says

Please, covertly turn off your cell phone.
Themes and Topics

• **Empire**
  - Military and Diplomatic Strategies for Global Management, 1953-1963

• **Role of Government**
  - The Cold War: CIA Covert Operations in the Third World, 1950-1963
  - The Cold War: The Vietnam War, 1953-1963
  - Space Race Between USSR and USA, 1957-1961

• **Regional Differentiation**
  - Regional Economic Impacts of World War and Cold War Mobilization
  - The Nuclear West
Central Analytical Questions

- What were the results of the Election of 1952?
- Did the return of the Republican Party to national power in 1953 change the domestic role of government back to laissez faire?
- Who was Dwight Eisenhower?
- How did Eisenhower’s administration change American foreign policy?
Modern Republicanism, 1953-1961

- Election of 1952
- Eisenhower Profile
- “New Look” Defense
- Failure of Liberation in Eastern Europe
- Covert Actions
- Containment in East Asia
- Containment in Middle East

Dwight D. Eisenhower
34rd President of US
Election of 1952

Guess who won?

Ike and Dick
Election of 1952

House seats by party holding plurality in state

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>82nd Congress Senate Composition</th>
<th>83rd Congress Senate Composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Total Seats (change)</th>
<th>Seat percentage</th>
<th>Popular Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td>213 -22</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>1 +0</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican Party</td>
<td>221 +22</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
<td>49.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>435 +0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Color Key: Republicans Democrats Independent
Dwight David Eisenhower

- Background
  - Military manager
  - Non-politician
- Politics of Peace
- "Modern Republicanism" accepts the New Deal
- American conservatives in despair

A benign looking President, affectionately referred to as "Ike"
Ike’s Views of Laissez Faire

- Told his brother Edgar: "Should any political party attempt to abolish social security and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would never hear of that party again,". "There is a tiny splinter group that believes you can do these things... but their number is negligible and they are stupid."
The “New Look”

- Eisenhower's Defense Posture: Reliance on “massive retaliation”
- John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State
  - Liberation of captive peoples
- Allen Dulles, Director, CIA
  - Covert Operations in areas outside Soviet sphere of influence
## 1950’s Nuclear Deterrent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aircraft</th>
<th>Inventory High Point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B-29 Super-fortress</td>
<td>458 in 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-36 Bomber</td>
<td>219 in 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-47 Medium Bomber</td>
<td>1,502 in 1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-50 Bomber</td>
<td>245 in 1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-52 Strato-fortress</td>
<td>709 in 1963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-58 Supersonic Hustler</td>
<td>94 in 1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“Secret Empire”

- “Bomber Gap”
- Over flight Reconnaissance arrives
- U-2 Shoot down
- Birth of Satellite Reconnaissance
- New sources of stability and instability

U-2 Aircraft
Missiles and Warnings

- The “Missile Gap” and the 1960 Presidential election
- Eisenhower’s warning about the dangers of a military-industrial complex

Liberation in Practice!

- Hungarian Uprising, 1956
- Promises made by the Voice of America, were not matched by actions by the US government

Ike and John Foster Dulles
Covert Operations in the 1950s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Covert Ops Name/Motive</th>
<th>Targeted Country</th>
<th>Operational Plan</th>
<th>Short-term and Long-term Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Operation Prevent Nationalization of Oil</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Overthrow elected government</td>
<td>Success: replaced Mossadegh with Shah, US oil companies sign contracts with gov’t; Failure: Shah’s actions produce anti-American revolution in 1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Operation Success” Prevent Nationalization of land</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Overthrow elected government</td>
<td>Success: replaced Arbenz with Guzman, land nationalization dropped; Failure: Guatemala endures 30 years of civil war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent Communist victory in elections scheduled for 1956</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>Build an Anti-Communist South Vietnam</td>
<td>Success: foiled Geneva Accord Agreement, est. anti-communist gov’t South Vietnam; Failure: SV gov’t defense required massive escalation of US troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevent Communist Revolution in Cuba</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Train and deploy Cuban guerilla army for invasion</td>
<td>Failure: Cuba Revolution defeats invasion; Failure: Castro survives next 10 US presidents, threatened US in Cuban Missile Crisis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Faces of Friends and Enemies

Mohammad Mossadegh

Jacobo Arbenz Guzman

Ngo Dien Diem

Fidel Castro
Critical Thinking Exercise

• Anti-Communism appears very important in shaping the conduct of U.S. Foreign Policy during this period, but does ideology alone explain why American policy-makers did what they did? What other factors appear to be at work?

• Did Anti-Communism make sense in the Third World?
Containment in Asia

• In the wake of the Korean War
  ▪ The US signed bi-lateral treaties with Japan, the Republic of China (Taiwan), South Korea, and the territory of “South Vietnam”
  ▪ The US signed a collective security treaty with Australia, New Guinea, Thailand, and the Philippines
Containment in the Middle East

- Great Britain
- Turkey
- Iraq
- Iran
- Pakistan

Not Shown: USA
Conclusions

• Ike was intimately involved in nuclear escalation, secret spy empire, and covert operations, key features of his so-called “Hidden-handed Presidential style”

• Cold War orthodoxy precluded significant debate or discussion about US foreign policy