

EISENHOWER DOMESTIC POLICIES

Two Election Victories

- Eisenhower was persuaded to stand by friends and colleague in the Republican Party in Feb 1952 and ran a clever campaign, ignoring Stevenson and attacking Truman with his policy of K1C2 (Korean, Communism, Corruption).
- His promise to end the Korean War appealed despite a corruption scandal involving Nixon.
- Eisenhower made his own mistakes, choosing not to defend George Marshall who McCarthy had denounced, despite him being a greater war hero than himself.
- He celebrated success in the South, taking a larger percentage of the popular vote than any previous Republican in the South.

Eisenhower's Personality

- In 1952 Eisenhower ended 20 years of Democratic presidency with a landslide victory over Adlai Stevenson.
- Eisenhower was an American war hero, Supreme Commander of NATO and his biographer Peter Lyon described to never speak ill of anyone.
- 'Camp David' was named after his grandson who married Julie Nixon in 1968.
- Eisenhower had shown little interest in politics in his early life and had never voted in an election until 1948. He didn't even commit to a Party, refusing Truman's offers in 1947 and 1951 to stand for the Democrats.
- 55% voted for him.

Eisenhower's Re-Election

- Eisenhower's successful first term brought economic growth and an end to the Korean War which made him a firm favourite in the 1956 election despite suffering a major heart attack in September 1955.
- In the runup to the election Eisenhower dealt effectively with crises in both Hungary and Egypt, confirming his calm leadership.
- Eisenhower crushed Stevenson again in the election however it was Eisenhower that the electorate wanted, not the Republicans. The Democrats remained in control of Congress which they had secured in the 1954 midterms. He was the first candidate since 1848 to win the Presidency without a majority in either House.

Dynamic Conservatism

- As a former soldier, Eisenhower would focus on foreign affairs but he had big domestic plans.
- He described himself as 'conservative when it comes to money, liberal when it comes to people'. He recognised the popularity of the 'New Deal' and wanted to stimulate the economy as a 'moderate' Republican.
- He emphasised the need for a balanced budget which he achieved in 1956, 1957 and 1960, giving responsibility to states and local government and limited the armed forces. His main concern with spending was defence expenditure as this had risen by 300% in Truman's final 30 months of office, arguing there was no security in a country if the economy was not stable

The Interstate Highways Programme

- The 1956 Highway Act became the largest peacetime works project in American history, 41,000 miles of Interstate Highway was built over a 20 year period.
- After the Korean War ended, Eisenhower was worried about unemployment and was also concerned about the state of American roads.

Successful Domestic Policies

- Eisenhower created the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. It oversaw the polio vaccine in 1955 as there had been an epidemic in 1952 where over 57,000 Americans had died. Another development linked to health legislation was an increase of 500,000 acres to national park land in 1956.
- Social Security benefits were expanded to cover 10 million Americans and the minimum wage was increased by 25%.
- \$500 million made available for low income housing; although it was insufficient, it showed his desire to help the poor.
- He established a 'Soil Bank' to maintain food prices and conserve agricultural prices.
- He also admitted Alaska and Hawaii as states.

Eisenhower's Domestic Failures

- Eisenhower faced important, and at times, controversial issues in foreign affairs including the management of the economy through 3 recessions, civil rights problems and McCarthyism.
- Eisenhower's status protected him from the usual political criticism and he often enjoyed 70% approval ratings.
- In Congress, many felt that he had not used his powers as President effectively enough.

Economic Policies

- Eisenhower's plan was to create a middle path and this enabled him to work with the Democrat Congress for 6 of his 8 years as President. In that time only 10 of the 83 bills he sent to Congress were rejected.
- In his final years as President, however, the Republicans performed badly in the midterm elections of 1958 with only 34 of the 98 Senators and 154 out of the 436 seats in the House.
- The Administration was blamed for a 2nd recession in 8 years and a perceived space defeat with Sputnik in Oct 1957, and then a dog, Laika, in November 1957.

Poverty in America

- The South was home to almost half the country's poor, black and white.
- In the North poverty largely in inner cities for African Americans and Native Americans who the Eisenhower government unsuccessfully tried to assimilate into mainstream American society.
- This was attempted through the 1956 Indian Relocation Act, which encouraged them to move from reservations to cities.
- While Harrington's book had an effect on some, not all were sympathetic.

Economic Policies (Continued)

- Eisenhower struggled to reduce spending. Domestic spending rose from 31% of the budget in 1955 to 49% in 1961 and even with the consumer boom, not everyone prospered.
- 1 in every 4 (40 million) were living in poverty and were not benefitting from the minimum wage or Social Security increase.
- Frightened by Sputnik and the Cold War, improvements were made to courses such as science, maths and foreign languages. He continued the free lunch programme that Truman had introduced.

Eisenhower and Religious Leaders

- Eisenhower developed a positive relationship with Church leaders, changing US politics, and this relationship between the Church and Republicans lasted for the rest of the century.
- In 1957, 66% of the US population identified themselves as Protestant (26% Catholic, 3% Jewish).
- Amongst those over 50 this was even higher at 74%
- However, the US is a constitutionally secular state.
- Eisenhower's Administration drew closer to the Church than any other and he often invited evangelist Billy Graham to the White House.
- Eisenhower added the words 'under God' to the Pledge of Allegiance and Eisenhower made 'In God We Trust' the national motto.

Nixon as Vice-President

- Nixon had first come to the public's attention as the Congressman who had pursued the Alger Hiss case but Eisenhower chose him to balance the ticket.
- Nixon and Eisenhower shared a tense relationship, not helped with Nixon's reputation of corruption, undermining Eisenhower's desire for a 'clean' presidency.
- Nixon had acquired a reputation as 'Tricky Dicky' from his campaign in the 1950 California State elections.
- He was accused of using \$18,000 of political donations for personal use but his 'Checkers Speech' extracted him and so Eisenhower decided to keep him.
- The historian Irvin Gellman credits Nixon to be the first modern President.

The Republican Party

- Eisenhower received less support from his own Party and there hadn't been a truly Republican President since Theodore Roosevelt left in 1909.
- The Republican Party was divided into moderates and conservatives (such as Senator Taft and Senator Knowland). Eisenhower was in a constant battle to win over the 'Old Guard'. Senator Taft died in 1953, making it difficult for Eisenhower to win over the 'hardliners' of the party. He felt that there were 'too many turkeys sitting on a Republican ticket'. Eisenhower was often much more popular and Congress was rarely dominated by the Republicans in his term of office.

Nixon as Vice-President (Continued)

- Nixon had congressional experience and worked to help this relationship between the President and Congress. He also took a very liberal stance on civil rights. Eisenhower used him as a goodwill ambassador for other countries and frequently sent him to help him improve relations.
- Eisenhower gave Nixon the option to either gain further presidential experience in the executive (as Eisenhower was concerned about what would happen if he died) or to continue as running mate in the 1956 election. Nixon decided to continue his role as Vice President with 180 out of 203 votes. Nixon presided over the Presidency after Eisenhower's heart attack.

The Republican Party

- The 'Old Guard' won control of Congress in 1952 but only by narrow majorities - 3 seats in the House and 1 in the Senate. Some senior figures lost their seats such as Henry Cabot Lodge to John F. Kennedy.
- The loss of both Houses in 1954 kept the Party from Control of the Senate until 1980.
- Historian David Reinhard believed that voters liked Eisenhower but not the Old Guard.
- Eisenhower received backlash from conservative Republicans such as Barry Goldwater.

The End of McCarthyism

- Truman had failed to deal with the paranoia of McCarthyism, whose accusations had tainted Adlai Stevenson's bid for the presidency.
- Although Eisenhower's status as a war hero protected him but not immune from his influence.
- 1953 opinion polls suggested that half the population supported McCarthy and Eisenhower feared it would weaken his prestige.
- In 1954 the situation was brought to a head when McCarthy held TV hearings on Communist influences on the army. Eisenhower was outraged but McCarthy seemed to destroy himself as lawyer Joseph Welch asked 'Have you no sense of decency?'
- By the end of 1954, the Senate voted to censure McCarthy for ill conduct and he died of alcoholism in 1957

EISENHOWER CONSUMER SOCIETY

The End of McCarthyism (Continued)

- Eisenhower referred to McCarthyism as 'McCarthywasm'. He remained a controversial figure.
- Recent research by authors such as Medford Stanton Evans and historians including Arthur Hermon used released Soviet espionage archived to suggest that of the 159 people identified on McCarthy's lists, 9 had aided Soviet espionage efforts.

The Growth of the American Society in the 1950s

- The USA experienced huge growth between 1950 and 1960. The GNP rose from \$355.3 billion in 1950 to \$487.76 billion in 1960. By 1960, families had 30% more purchasing power than in 1950. Between 1953-57 the cost of living rose by 2.8% but wages by 8.6%. Inflation and unemployment were low.
- Wages were rising, hours were falling and per capita income rose from \$1720 in 1940 to \$2699 in 1960.
- Overall the economy grew by 37% during the 1950s.
- Inflation was kept low because of Eisenhower's balancing of the budget, low taxes and increased public spending. Cheap oil also kept the US as the major supplier of manufactured goods.

Reasons for Economic Growth

- America had not been damaged by WW2 and so were in better economic conditions shape than countries Europe and Japan.
- American industry and transportation benefited from cheap oil. Research and technological advances increased productivity.
- There was a 'baby boom' from 151.7 million in 1950 to 180.7 million in 1960. American lifestyles were transformed by many industries, many from construction, car and service industries.
- The maturing of war bonds, government spending on the GI Bill and \$40bn spent on the military sector.

Cars

- There were tens of thousands employed in this industry.
- Most of the cars on American roads in the 1950's were manufactured in Detroit by the so-called Big Three: General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. In 1955 alone, 7.9 million new cars were manufactured, an average of 4.5 million cars were scrapped each year in the 1950's. Cars enabled suburban life to happen and people were more mobile.
- In 1952, the modern American motel chain was born when the first Memphis and by 1960, there were 228 McDonald's. The landscape changed; roads adjacent motels, restaurants and advertisements were revolutionary.

Construction

- 13 million new homes built between 1948-58, 11 million built in the suburbs. Employment rates soared in construction industry.
- Suburban growth encouraged 'white flight' white affluent people moved to escape the city with high taxes, crowded accommodation and growing ghettos.
- The Levitt Brothers created their own 'Levittown' in Hempstead, spreading around America due to their popularity. They created affordables house with the latest designs at only around \$8000.

Service Industries

- Service jobs were very poorly paid.
- By 1960, the 7.6 million service workers and 21.2 million workers not engaged in manual labour outnumbered the 25.6 million labour workers (blue collars) In the 1950s, the proportion of industrial workers workers fell from 39% to 36% of the workforce.

The Growth of the Media and Advertising

- The abundant resources of the US and explosion of advertising created a desire for glitz and glamour.
- Advertising grew from \$6bn annually in 1950 to more than \$13bn by 1963. Robert Sarnoff, President of the National Broadcasting Company said that 'Advertising is the foot on the accelerator, the hand on the throttle'.
- Politicians began to use adverts such as Eisenhower's 1952 'Eisenhower Answers America'.
- Televisions were a must-have; by 1960, 90% of homes had at least one. Polls revealed television was 50% of people's favourite leisure activity.

The Impact of the Consumer Society

- In 1959 Nixon and Khrushchev held an impromptu 'Kitchen Debate' in Moscow about the merits of capitalism. On a return trip to the US, Eisenhower arranged for Khrushchev to take a helicopter tour. When he returned home he demanded an increase in the production of consumer goods.
- The American Dream was promoted as part of Cold War propaganda.
- Not everyone benefitted from the Consumer Society. A quarter of Americans lived in poverty. These problems were exposed by Michael Harrington in his book 'The Other America'

Increased Availability of Credit

- Eisenhower focused much of his attention on balancing the federal budget,
- Cheap credit began in housing through the Federal Housing Administration and the Veteran's Administration which both offered low-interest homes. A building boom followed with large suburbs being built. Nixon boasted about Levittown when he met Khrushchev in Moscow.
- The first credit card launched in 1950 by the Diner's Club initially for restaurant payments. Others launched, such as American Express in 1958. Private debt doubled from \$104.8bn to \$263.3bn by 1960.

Criticisms of the Consumer Society

- Harvard University economist John Kenneth Galbraith's 'The Affluent Society' argued that consumerism and materialism were undermining 'traditional American values' such as hard work and careful money management.
- Historian and sociologist Lewis Mumford (The City in History, 1961) believed the consumer society contributed to the standardisation and the conformity.
- Socialist David Riesman believed the Consumer Society undermined traditional American values.
- In 1954, Yale University historian David Potter claimed that advertisements was as socially influential as education and religion.

Entertainment and Leisure

- Entertainment grew at the expense of cinema although Disney company remained successfully especially with souvenirs and consumer items.
- The first climate-controlled indoor shopping mall opened in Minnetonka, Minnesota, in October, defying the harsh temperatures. It had 72 stores with 5200 parking spaces.
- Rapid development of the fastfood industry, pioneered by White Castle in the 1920s, Ray Kroc's McDonald's and Burger King in 1950.
- Artists like Bob Dylan and actor James Dean alarmed the government.

Economic Growth (Continued)

- Eisenhower tried to control government spending which rose 11% during his presidency.
- The increased productivity of agriculture created problems leading to the setting up of the Soil Bank as the real prices of food dropped, requiring federal subsidies to farmers of \$5.1bn in 1960, up from \$1bn in 1951 to avoid a dangerous crash in prices.

Economic Growth

- The Eisenhower years saw 2 recessions, a minor one in 1954 and a more serious one in 1958 which saw 5 million Americans unemployed and production fall by 14%. This damaged the Republican reputation and contributed to Kennedy's election win.
- On average, however, unemployment remained low at 4.5% in 1957. Inflation also remained low, averaging at 2%.
- Eisenhower scaled back many of the aspects of the New Deal such as reducing the subsidies to the Tennessee Valley Authority from \$185 million in 1952 to just \$12 million in 1960.
- Eisenhower also changed many aspects of the energy generation industry. He sold off power plants and allowed the money from drilling rights to go to the States rather than the federal government.

Results of the Consumer Boom

- Teenagers gained huge freedoms and opportunities, with part time work enabling them to have more disposable income.
- The Middle Class as a whole grew with increased employment and the rich grew richer.
- For some, though, the boom merely highlighted the inaccessibility of the American Dream.
- Many women had lost their jobs to men and were suffocating in suburban life.
- The elderly became increasingly isolated as families move to suburban towns.
- Ethnic minority workers were more vulnerable due to the industrialisation of many manual jobs.

EISENHOWER'S FOREIGN POLICY

Superpower Rivalry With The USSR

- On 5th March 1953 Stalin died. After a power struggle, Nikita Khrushchev emerged as undisputed leader. In 1956 he delivered a 'Secret Speech' in which he denounced Stalin's cult of personality and called for a 'peaceful co-existence' with the West.
- Eisenhower had also made a 'Chance for Peace' Speech to support his policy of cutting the defence budget from the \$50 billion a year that Truman was spending. He declared 'we must not go broke' and a 'bankrupt American is a defenceless America'.

Eisenhower's Foreign Policy

- As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during the war, Eisenhower was expected to cope well with foreign relations.
- He appointed John Foster Dulles as his Secretary of State, an anti-Communist and advocate of 'massive retaliation'. Dulles also believed that some issues,, such as covert operations, were too sensitive to be discussed by the full NSC.
- The CIA, headed by Alan Dulles, was created by Truman as part of the 1947 National Security Act. In 1948 it was given authority to carry out covert operations.

The Space Race

- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) made the Cold War morph into other spheres, principal amongst these was the Space Race.
- On 4th October 1957 the Soviets released Sputnik, a 58cm metal sphere that orbited until 5th January 1958. Eisenhower was aware of the project and it seemed that America's position as the technological leader was put into doubt. This was made worse with the launch of Sputnik II on 3rd November 1958, containing a dog, Laika.
- The US vanguard N3 rocket satellite then blew up after only climbing 4ft, causing an embarrassment of 'Flopnik' in the media.
- Eisenhower then relied more heavily on the former Nazi scientist, Werner Von Braun. Eisenhower then set up NASA.

The Arms Race

- Following the detonation of the atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the arms race had begun with the Soviets successfully testing their nuclear bomb in 1949.
- By 1953 both sides had developed hydrogen bombs and by 1955 the US was keeping a third of its nuclear bombers ready at 15 minutes notice.
- In 1957 the USA had a stockpile of 5543 nuclear weapons compared to the USSR's 650, showing Kennedy's accusation of a 'missile gap' was ludicrous.
- Concerns came with the development of ICBMs

Developments in Europe - Hungary

- By 1956 Khrushchev had control of the USSR and had denounced Stalin's methods to begin a process of 'de-Stalinisation' in the USSR.
- The reaction in Eastern Europe was immediate as news of the speech leaked out, helped allegedly by the CIA, and people realised they were potentially free.
- There were riots in Poland against the Communist government.
- Protests in Hungary led to the withdrawal of the hard-lined leader Rakosi and his replacement with Imre Nagy who promised free elections, the restoration of farmland to private property and neutrality in the Cold War. He also declared Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact, established in 1955.

The 'New Look' Defence Policy

- Eisenhower wanted less ground troops and instead wanted to follow a policy of 'massive retaliation'.
- Dulles persuaded Eisenhower to build up nuclear weapons, intended to be a cost-saving measure to ensure the economy was not overstretched - 'more bang for your buck'.
- It was another act of brinkmanship.

Hungary

- There was widespread belief in Budapest that not only was Khrushchev open to gradual relaxation of Stalinist control, but also that Eisenhower would support Hungary.
- However, the prospect of a hope in the 'Iron Curtain' was too much for Khrushchev, who sent 250,000 troops and tanks to Budapest in 1956. 3,000 Hungarians were killed whilst 200,000 fled to Austria and thus to the West.
- Khrushchev quickly re-established control by installing Janos Kadar who crushed resistance.
- Eisenhower claimed there was nothing in the Truman Doctrine about states rebelling and that as a landlocked country it was 'as inaccessible as Tibet'. He did not act on Republican promises of 'rollback'.

Berlin

- Khrushchev felt that he had won the battle over Hungary and began to look at Berlin and the long-term aim of removing the West.
- On 10th November 1958, Khrushchev demanded that the Western powers pull their forces out of Western Berlin within 6 months.
- Eisenhower was aware that a repeat of the 1948 Airlift was impossible due to the growth of the city but knew that Berlin was a symbol of the fight against Communism.
- The lack of border meant that 20% of the population of East Germany had escaped to the West by 1961.

The 1960 U-2 Crisis

- Eisenhower's visit to Moscow became virtually impossible after the Soviets shot down a U-2 spy plane on 1st May 1960. Khrushchev, who felt had had a close personal bond with Eisenhower, thought that Alan Dulles was responsible for the flights, especially as the US declared that it was a weather mission, thinking that the pilot would have been killed.
- When Khrushchev announced that he had the pilot, Gary Powers, and plane in tact on 5th May, Eisenhower was forced to admit that he had ordered the spy missions, calling them a 'distasteful necessity'.
- Khrushchev shouted anti-American abuse at a subsequent meeting in Paris for 45 minutes and suggested that the **conference should be postponed 6 months for a new President.**

Berlin (Continued)

- Eisenhower was unwilling to give into Soviet demands when talks were held in Geneva in 1959. Progress was limited but sufficient to invite Khrushchev for further talks.
- Khrushchev arrived in the US on 15th September 1959 for an 11 day tour. He met Eisenhower at Camp David where the two agreed that there would be no long-term deadline to solve the problem of Berlin but agreed that Eisenhower would visit Moscow in the following year.

Communism in Asia - Ending the Korean War

- Eisenhower went to Korea on 2nd December 1952 and decided that drastic action was required.
- Combining diplomacy with a clear statement of intent about US military power over the next 7 months brought about negotiations.
- An armistice was signed on 27th July 1953, leaving the Korean peninsula divided at the 38th Parallel.
- Dulles claimed that threatening to use nuclear weapons, an act of brinkmanship, ended the war. It ensured that the military build-up outlined in NSC-68 could continue.
- This re-established Eisenhower on a world stage and gave heart to the NATO alliance.

Taiwan

- The Korean War made Taiwan strategically important for the US despite the fact that Mao claimed that it was part of China.
- Jiang Jieshi's willingness to allow Taiwan to be used as a base for US naval operations ensured a degree of protection, vital when Mao ordered the shelling of two islands, Quemoy and Matsu, controlled by Taiwan but closer to the Chinese mainland, in 1954.
- The JCS pushed Eisenhower to act so he secured the Formosa Resolution, providing defence for Taiwan, in January 1955 with only 6 of the 2494 members of Congress voting against it.
- Dulles followed this up by suggesting that the US was considering a nuclear attack on China, with the same response in 1958.

Vietnam (Continued)

- On 20th July 1954, it was agreed that Vietnam would be split into 2 states with reunification in July 1956.
- However, when Ngo Dinh Diem, a committed anti-Communist took power in fraudulent elections in 1955, the US supported his regime, turning a blind eye to injustices against the Buddhist population because of his anti-Communism.
- Eisenhower had avoided intervention in Vietnam and hoped that SEATO (created in 1954) would be sufficient to contain Communism in Asia.
- His 'Domino Theory' speech in April 1954 highlighted his concerns about the spread of Communism in South-East Asia.

Vietnam

- By 1954 the Vietnam War between Ho Chi Minh's forces and the French had clearly turned against the Europeans with French public support decreasing. Truman had given \$2bn to help the French.
- Eisenhower agreed to covert air support provided by B-26 bombers, whilst Dulles suggested providing the French with a nuclear device.
- Eisenhower also gave orders to plan for Operation Vulture, US intervention in Vietnam, supported by Nixon but eventually rejected by Eisenhower himself.
- Ho Chi Minh was in a strong position when peace talks began in Geneva in May after a crushing defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu.

Responses to Crises in the Middle East

- Truman's recognition of the new state of Israel in May 1948 had caused much tensions in the Middle East as the land had previously belonged to the Arab state, Palestine.
- These tensions were worsened by the increasing of the Western powers on Middle Eastern Oil.
- The area was also strategically key to Dulles' plan to encircle and contain the Soviet Union with a series of Treaty Organisations.
- NATO had served to good effect in Europe, SEATO in South-East Asia and so the Middle East was the only area not covered by a treaty backed by US military power.
- In the Middle-East, left-leaning leaders like the democratic leader of Iran, Mossadegh, was seen to be susceptible to Communism.

Iran

- In 1951, prime minister Mohammad Mossadegh seized the British owned Anglo Persian Oil company. British and American oil companies and the CIA assured Eisenhower that Iran might turn communist.
- Eisenhower used the CIA to encourage Iranian coup in 1953 this restored the authority of the dictatorial, pro - American Shah (Emperor) who gave US oil companies 40% of Iranian oil.

The Suez Canal Crisis

- Eisenhower promised Egypt financial and technical aid to build the Aswan Dam. However, Egypt's leader Colonel Nasser brought Soviet-supplied arms from the Czechs, recognised China and seemed to be trying to create a neutral bloc in the Cold War. With Eisenhower hospitalised with an intestinal obstruction, Dulles withdrew the aid offer in July 1956.
- In January 1956, the Egyptian leader Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, a key navigational area run by the British and French.
- Britain and France retaliated by striking a deal with Israel, who would attack Egypt, the European powers would call for a ceasefire and then would bomb Cairo trying to force peace.

CENTO

- In 1953 Dulles was able to create CENTO, a 2nd NATO parallel made up of Iran, Iraq, the UK, Pakistan and Turkey.
- However Dulles' policy failed when the Iraqi monarchy was overthrown in 1958 and the Soviets began to develop friendly relations with the new non-aligned Iraq, along with Syria, Egypt and Libya.

The Suez Canal Crisis (Continued)

- All 3 powers were convinced that they would have the support of Eisenhower but given that he was seeking re-election, he did not want to be seen to supporting imperialism and instead used financial pressure to force the British and French into a humiliating withdrawal. Nasser's clever decision not to side with either the Soviets or the USA meant that both were willing to help him with arms sales and he hoped to get US financial aid to help build the dam.
- To avoid the issues in Hungary, in January 1957 Eisenhower committed the USA to help against armed aggression by Communist forces. Congress agreed to fund \$200mn for this.
- The Lebanese government was concerned about Arab Nationalism and so sought US help though they never fired a shot and exited within a month.

EISENHOWER CIVIL RIGHTS

Political Change

- In the House of Representatives Adam Clayton Powell and William Dawson were joined by Charles Diggs representing Michigan and Robert Nix Jr representing Pennsylvania but the Senate remained entirely white.
- Malcolm X featured on the July 1959 'The Hate That Hate Produced' which covered the NOI. It began with an extract from Louis X (Louis Farrakhan, who had been an assistant minister to Malcolm X at the Harlem NOI temple). The effect of the programme was to terrify white views and Malcolm X became a celebrity figure. He was cast by the media as the antithesis of MLK and was the spokesperson for people in the North.
- Ralph Bunche became the first black person to win a Nobel [Peace prize in 1959](#).

The Situation in the North

- In the North de facto segregation remained despite the limited efforts of the Truman Administration.
- Organisation like the National Urban League campaigned for integration in the racist trade unions but without the spectacles of Southern groups.
- CORE, which had grown to 53 national chapters by 1960, was beginning to challenge de facto segregation in Chicago schools and took on its Democratic Mayor, Richard Daley.
- The problems of inner cities remained with clear divisions between the whites and blacks, such as the 8 Mile Road in Detroit. Black people often did not have access to cars so paid more for local shops. Rents increased, jobs were low-paid and non-unionised and there was always a threat of violence.

The Situation in the South

- The war had heightened black awareness of injustice but it was not until Eisenhower's presidency that the Civil Rights Movement truly began to take off.
- A combination of court victories for the NAACP against Jim Crow Laws and the *Plessy* ruling along with the media helped the movement. Over 50% of US households owned a TV by 1955.
- A US census revealed that 56% of blacks were in poverty compared to 18% of whites.

The Civil Rights Movement - Education

- While schools were de facto segregated in the North, they were de jure segregated by Jim Crow Laws and the 1896 *Plessy* ruling in the South.
- Eisenhower was aware of the progress of the Supreme Court case that had become known as the *Brown V. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. Here the NAACP's legal team, headed by Thurgood Marshall, presented legal and psychological evidence that schools were unequal.
- On 17th May 1954 Chief Justice Earl Warren announced that the Court had ruled in favour of *Brown*. The victory was a landmark in US legal history but created problems for Eisenhower who later said that appointing Warren after the death of Fred Vinson in 1953 was his biggest mistake.

Desegregation of Schools

- In 1955 the Supreme Court had been forced to follow up the original *Brown* ruling with a second, known as Brown 2 when the NAACP sought to establish a timescale for school desegregation with 'all deliberate speed'.
- This left room for Southern state officials to implement delaying tactics such as in Virginia where Senator Harry Byrd committed the segregationists to adopt a strategy of 'massive resistance', including closing down schools completely.
- Despite opposition, desegregation of schools began.
- In Tennessee, Governor Frank Clement vetoed a bill introduced in the state legislature to preserve segregation and in September 1956 used the National Guard to protect the first black students to enter Clinton High School.

Response to the Brown Ruling

- White Citizen's Councils were formed and by 1956 boasted 250,000 members. The KKK revitalised, growing in membership.
- The Southern Manifesto was drawn up and signed by 101 Dixiecrat members, threatening to use 'all lawful means' to oppose the decision on the grounds of States' Rights. In February 1956, four Southern state legislatures passed interposition resolutions that said that the Brown ruling had no effect in their states.
- Eisenhower wanted to avoid another Civil War but was reluctant to use federal power to enforce the ruling. He avoided commenting on all subsequent events, such as the murder of 14 year old Chicagoan Emmett Till in 1955 in Mississippi and when the University of Alabama expelled its first student, Autherine Lucy in 1956 despite the NAACP winning the *Lucy V. Adams* 1955 case.
- Emmett Till's open casket funeral was a media sensation as his body was highly wounded.

The Little Rock Crisis

- In Sept 1957 Central High School in Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, was due to accept its first 9 black students.
- The Governor, Orval Faubus, had already desegregated the bus system but decided to encourage opposition to students as he wanted to gain re-election.
- Faubus appeared on TV warning that a riot may occur but this served to bring protests out to block the students out, leading to controversial scenes. Faubus mobilised the National Guard to turn students away. The scenes were played on national TV and became a source of embarrassment for Eisenhower, forcing him to federalise the National Guard and dispatch the 101st Airborne to protect the students - the first President to send troops to the South since the Civil War.

Results of Little Rock

- Soldiers escorted the students each day but could not stop the intimidation, including stabbings and threats to burn the students alive.
- The following year Faubus closed all of the state schools in Little Rock, claiming that the city had to assert its rights over federal decisions. This became known as the 'lost year' as African-Americans could not afford private schools.
- Faubus was re-elected as Governor 4 times and later voted as one of the 10 most admired men in a 1958 Gallup poll.
- Harry Ashmore, the editor of the Arkansas Gazette, who won a Pulitzer prize for his coverage, maintained Faubus did it for political gain. Eisenhower reinforced that a President had to support Supreme Court decisions.

Policies and Attitudes of the Republicans

- Although from Kansas and raised as a Republican, Eisenhower was aware of how divisive the issue of civil rights was, despite how damaging the media coverage of segregation was in the Cold War. He was aware of how divisive the issue was however he not won any of the states in the Deep South in the 1952 election so was not dependent on the Dixiecrats in the way that the Democrats were and he disliked large-scale intervention.
- He believed that 'it is difficult through law and force to change a man's heart' and, like many, had a fear of miscegenation (mixing differing races)
- Eisenhower had 1 African-American on his staff, ex-NAACP worker E. Frederic Morrow who considered the administration ignorant of civil rights

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

- Following the arrest of Rosa Parks, an NAACP activist in Montgomery, Alabama, for sitting in the white section of a city bus, a boycott was organised, based on a shorter but successful boycott in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in 1953.
- A new minister to the city, MLK was asked to lead the boycott and succeeded in prolonging it past the plan of a single day to 381 days, costing the bus company 80% of their costs per day.
- Whilst the boycott continued, the NAACP took the *Browder V. Gayle* case to the Supreme Court, ruling in December 1956 that bus segregation was unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment.
- The boycott has perhaps gained more attention than it deserves; although it highlighted the effects of non-violent protest, it only partly influenced the Civil Rights Acts.

The 1957 Civil Rights Act

- Inspired by a desire to win the black vote in the 1956 election year, the Eisenhower administration drew up a civil rights bill that aimed to ensure black voting rights as around 80% of Southern African-Americans were not yet registered.
- Eisenhower publicly praised the bill, expressing 'shock' that only 7,000 of Mississippi's 900,000 black population were registered.
- Nixon had met MLK in March 1957 in Ghana and he invited him to discuss the bill on his return. Nixon worked hard on the bill, setting himself against Segregationists such as Richard Russell, the Dixiecrat Senator for Georgia.
- Eisenhower admitted he did not understand the detail of the bill.
- Adam Clayton Powell called it the 'Second Emancipation'.

The 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts

- The 1957 Bill was undermined by Dixiecrats both in Congressional Committees and by filibustering. Strom Thurmond filibustered for 24 hours and 18 mins to obstruct it.
- The weakened legislation did little, adding only 3% more black voters to the South by 1960. Eisenhower failed to protect the bill but praised by historian David Nichols as it was the first civil rights legislation since the Civil War.
- His 2nd Civil Rights Bill took shape from 1958 as he became concerned with violence and bombings in the Deep South. It was again watered down at the Committee stage and little was done to enforce the ruling that obstructing desegregation was a federal crime.

The Response of State and Federal Authorities

- Eisenhower believed in a gradual response to Civil Rights Campaigns and was unwilling to back campaigners or condemn actions such as the Southern Manifesto. He only intervened when federal authority was put into questions.
- Unlike the Democrats, he did not need the South and had only won Louisiana out of the 7 Deep South States in either of his elections. This effectively eliminated the already limited influence of black Congressmen.
- Jim Crow Laws and opposition to Brown continued. Segregationist governors remained popular such as Marvin Griffin, who became Governor of Georgia.