

HISTORICAL RESOURCES IN THE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER LIBRARY RELATING TO URBAN WARFARE AND PEACE OPERATIONS

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, one of 10 presidential libraries currently operated by the National Archives and Records Administration, documents not only Dwight Eisenhower's two term presidency but also his lengthy and distinguished military career. In addition, the Library has, over the years, acquired personal papers, office files, duplicate sets of records, and other materials relating not only to Dwight Eisenhower and his specific offices and duty posts but also to a large slice of 20th Century military, political, diplomatic and social history. At present the Library holds an estimated 23,000,000 pages of manuscript material plus over 300,000 still photographs, more than 600 motion picture films, almost 200 video tapes, and over 2,600 audio tapes and discs. .

This large body of historical documentation includes much that is relevant to studies of urban warfare. Some of this is probably expected to be here; other of it perhaps not. Our holdings include manuscript and in some cases audio visual materials relating to conventional urban warfare in such cities as Aachen, Manila, and a host of others in Italy, France, Germany, and in Asia during World War II, occupational duties involving denazification in Germany, stabilization in Japan and counter terrorism in pre-1950 Korea, special operations in Vietnam in 1954 and 1955, overseas internal security programs in two dozen or so countries, contingency planning for a major war over Berlin, and of course the Eisenhower Administration's effort at peacekeeping in Lebanon during the summer of 1958. The Library's audio-visual holdings include such nuggets as a photo

album depicting the grim impact of war on Warsaw, Poland and a large file of U.S. Army Corps photographs illustrating the wartime destruction in Italy, France, Belgium and Germany.

Starting with conventional warfare in cities during World War II, a body of duplicate records (originals in the National Archives) entitled "US Army Unit: Records", constitute a key source of information. This 1600 box collection contains records of US Army units in Europe and Southwest Pacific Theaters with some units records more detailed than others. The bulk of the records fall into the World War II years, 1941-1945 but a significant portion of certain files of units serving on occupation duty after the war are dated from 1945-1948. These records include files of infantry, airborne and armored divisions, regimental components, tank destroyer battalions, and anti-aircraft artillery units. Although this large body of documentation is fully open for public examination, only portions have been arranged and described with descriptive finding aids available. In addition to the paper records the Library also holds microfilm copies of records of certain units including the First U.S. Infantry Division, the Fourth U.S. Infantry Division, and the 82nd Airborne Division. In order to use these records most efficiently, one should know the units, not only divisions but also regimental components and attachments. Published sources such as the Center of Military History's US Army in World War II Series, can help identify units and campaigns.

To illustrate the relevance of these records to the theme of this conference, I brought copies of a few documents. One of these is a report entitled "Historical Record

Fifth Cavalry: Luzon Campaign, Philippine Islands, Narrative and Reports". This report covers in detail the operations of the Fifth Cavalry, (a regiment in the First Cavalry Division) from January 27 to March 3, 1945 in which the Fifth Cavalry, along with other regiments in the First Cavalry Division, the 37th Infantry Division, the 11th AB Division, and other unit fought to liberate Manila from Japanese control. These narrate in detail daily operations, contacts with the enemy, casualties (US and Japanese) and contain descriptions of the fighting in and around Manila. For anyone wanting to study the Luzon Campaign or other campaigns in the Southwest Pacific Theater, records of units such as the Fifth Cavalry Regiment, the 37th Infantry Division and many others, offer much data.

It should not be surprising that these Records also document in detail the ground war in Northwest Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa. Many urban battles are documented in these records. I copied reports detailing the 26th Infantry Regiment's fighting in Aachen, the first major German city to be liberated by the Allies. These give one a description of infantry experiences in fighting within this city and record hour by hour operations .Similar records documenting operations in other European and Asian cities can be found in these unit records.

The U.S. Army Units also document the role of United States forces in carrying out occupation duties in Germany, Japan and South Korea. These duties included counter-terrorism, working with indigenous police and constabulary forces and peacekeeping in general. G-2 periodic reports produced by the U.S. 6th and 7th Infantry

Divisions during their occupation duty in South Korea from 1945 to early 1949 record the seething tensions building within that country and include sections on operational intelligence, counter intelligence on terrorism and sabotage actions and civil actions. One can look at the troubles brewing in Korean cities such as Seoul and Pusan during this time. The potential for future trouble was certainly present and was picked up in these reports.

In December 1952, President-elect Dwight Eisenhower acted on a campaign pledge by traveling to war torn South Korea to observe the situation there as the Korean War continued to rage. Although records of this trip are generally scanty, the President's Press Secretary, James Hagerty, accompanying the President on the trip, wrote several lengthy letters to his wife, describing the situation existing in Korea at that time. He commented in one of his letters

There we really saw what war means. Seoul was a city of 1,200,000 souls before the war... At present there are 800,000 people living – or rather existing- in it. But it's a badly hurt city. It changed hands four times during the fighting and it shows it. On the outskirts you can see little damage but you can see the misery of its people. .. We saw hundreds, maybe thousands, of little fires—looked like campfires.. .they were the fires—cooking fires—of hundreds of thousands of refugees who, not permitted to enter Seoul because there was no place for them to go or live, were camped out in the open. They were living... in rubble..... As we drove into Seoul-... we saw the incredible damage

brought by war. Block after block of what has once been buildings were leveled flat...It was dark, quiet and dead.¹

At the time Dwight Eisenhower took the oath of office as President in January 1953, cold war tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, China and other communist nations were strong and rigid. The President and his national security team sought many means to maintain peace during these years. These efforts included of course maintaining strong, armed forces and a nuclear deterrent, development of intelligence collecting capabilities, conduct of special operations, and the use of military, economic and diplomatic resources to maintain order, counter subversion and keep the peace in many countries around the world. At the same time, elaborate contingency plans were developed involving such urban areas as Berlin. Events occurred around the world which plunged cities into conflict with Budapest, Hungary being a notable example. At the same time, President Eisenhower, albeit reluctantly, used the armed forces of the United States to enforce a court order and to maintain domestic peace at Little Rock, Arkansas in September 1957. The Library holds documentation for many of these topics with information on some of them, particularly the intelligence and special operations still remaining classified. I will now mention a few of these areas.

Much has been written about and much remains classified about one famous special Operation, Operation AJAX, involving the restoration of the Shah of Iran back to the throne in 1953. Although much of the documentary record of events in Iran during the

¹ Letter, James Hagerty to Marg [Hagerty], December 6, 1952, File Folder "Korean Trip 1952", Box 11, Papers of James Hagerty

turbulent summer of 1953 are either still classified or are not held by the Eisenhower Library, we do have a number of nuggets. One such example is a letter from Brigadier General Robert A. McClure, Head of the United States Military Mission in Iran. General McClure is one of the key practitioners of psychological warfare in recent United States military history, having directed the Psychological Warfare Branch in the Allied Forces Headquarters and the Psychological Warfare Division in the Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF), both of which were General Eisenhower's combined operational commands during World War II. During post-war years, General McClure was a leader in developing US Army psychological warfare doctrine. So General McClure, no stranger to special operations wrote to C.D. Jackson, another psychological warrior and reported developments in Iran as of mid September 1953. Although this letter is only a small piece of the record, it is an example of the kind of information one can find in the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library and in other presidential libraries as well.

Much of the Eisenhower Library's documentation reflect President Eisenhower's efforts to maintain the security of the United States through military and economic strength, diplomacy, intelligence collection and special or covert activities. National Security Council policy papers on National Security such as NSC 5440, issued in December 1954, pointed out the threats posed by subversion especially in Southeast Asia and other underdeveloped areas of the world. Seeing Southeast Asia as being particularly vulnerable to communist aggression, President Eisenhower endeavored to prevent Indochina from falling entirely under communist control. With the erosion of the

French position in Indochina following the battle of Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva Conference, the United States endeavored to build a sound non-communist state in South Vietnam. In October 1954, President Eisenhower appointed General J. Lawton Collins as special representative with the rank of Ambassador. In this capacity General Collins was directed to go to South Vietnam, spend time observing the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, assist in building viable South Vietnamese armed forces and constabulary forces, and cooperate with the French until they withdrew. During the six months he was in Vietnam from early November 1954 through April 1955, General Collins undertook to study the Vietnamese political situation, attempt to help stabilize the government there and to advise in the building of the Vietnamese army. Apparatus for collecting intelligence and conducting special operations had been present in Saigon prior to Collins' visit. General Collins thus used this machinery as he carried out his duties. His papers provide a detailed look at six months of the history of the South Vietnamese regime as Collins sent and received numerous cables, prepared memoranda for the record, received intelligence reports and produced various reports on specific matters. For students of urban warfare wanting to look at special operations in urban settings, there is undoubtedly relevant material in Collins files. Much has been declassified in full or in part so that much of the reporting on sects and other elements of instability in Saigon can be examined, but much of the file on the Saigon mission relates to intelligence and special operations and is therefore still security-classified. Edward Lansdale's name pops up frequently in documents in the Collins Papers which include Lansdale's memoranda of conversations with President Diem. An example of the type of documentation one can find in Collins' Vietnam file is a memorandum sent by Frank G.

Wisner, Deputy Director Plans (CIA) to Collins outlining CIA recommendations and urging Collins to encourage Colonel Lansdale to devote more time and attention to combating the subversive activities of the Viet Minh and working with the Vietnamese Army² I have a copy of this memorandum plus a few others to use as illustrative examples of the Papers of J. Lawton Collins as a source of information for studying special operations in Saigon and elsewhere in South Vietnam during the mid 1950s.

While the United States undertook its nationbuilding and pacification efforts in South Vietnam, it also tried to develop programs intended to “...develop constabulary forces to maintain internal security and to destroy the effectiveness of the Communist apparatus in free world countries vulnerable to communist subversion.”³ Pursuant to this directive, the Operations Coordinating Board, a part of the National Security Council, composed of representatives of various agencies, formed working groups to oversee the development of internal security forces in some two dozen countries around the world. Thus, the NSC 1290-d Program or Overseas Internal Security Program as it was officially called, constituted one of the U.S. Governments’ counter-insurgency efforts during the 1950s. The Library’s holdings contain hundreds of pages of reports, memoranda, tables, and other data documenting this program. This documentation, much, although not all, of which has been declassified, should offer students of special operations in urban

² Memorandum, Frank G. Wisner to General Collins, November 2, 1954, File Folder: “Monthly Papers November 1954”, Box 25, Papers of J. Lawton Collins

³ NSC Record of Actions taken at 229th meeting, December 21, 1954 . NSC Action, paragraph d contained this language. Thus the program became known as the NSC 1290-d program. Box 1, NSC Series, Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Papers as President (Ann Whitman File). Also printed in the United States Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States . 1952-54, Volume II Part I: National Security Affairs. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984, p. 844.

environments much background information and should be studied to help understand later programs developed in the 1960s and afterwards.

While the Eisenhower Administration attempted to wage peace through policies of deterrence as well as through nation building and counter-subversion programs, armed conflicts did, nevertheless break out. In late October, 1956, Budapest, Hungary became the scene of bloody fighting in the streets as Soviet armed forces crushed the Hungarian uprising against the Soviet controlled Hungarian regime. Newspapers of the day carried details of the day-to-day fighting in this stricken city and the world observed the Soviet crushing of the uprising and the inability of the United States to prevent this from happening. Our holdings contain a few items which reflect the crisis and tragic drama of this time such as a series of telegraphs sent from the United State Legation in Budapest to the Department of State. These also show the confusion and lack of information immediately available to our legation staff during this turmoil with comments such as the following: "... A big battle has just took place in front of Legation seems to have gone toward Parliament (actual text) American apartment house Szeichenyi sprayed with Russian machine gun fire due to presence of insurgents firing from roof. Legation wife observed at 1045 local time 76 Soviet trucks fully loaded with troops field kitchens towing howitzers proceeding from east in direction of Parliament. At noon today the square before the Hungarian Parliament was strewn with dead and dying Hungarian men and women shot down by Russian tanks. The massacre in front of Parliament occurred after some hundreds of demonstrators had come to it in trucks armored cars and even riding on top of Russian tanks. They shouted to this correspondent "The Russians are

with us. They say they don't want to shoot down Hungarian workers. The Russian tank crews seemed to corroborate this statement when they smiled and waved, But this love feast became first a disappointment and then a tragedy. Some ten minutes later another Russian tank roared up and opened fire on the crowd. This correspondent saw some dozens of prone bodies and saw a number of wounded men and women being carried away by rescuers who had to run the gauntlet of Russian fire...This is a battle situation and we have no idea what is going to happen.... So far as we know there have been no American casualties, but our information is very meager".⁴

But urban turmoil was not confined to such places as Hungary or Southeast Asia. In September 1957, President Eisenhower with great reluctance, mobilized U.S. Army troops and sent them to Little Rock, Arkansas to enforce a United States District Court order in the face of defiance by the Governor of Arkansas. Thus with soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division present, nine African-American students entered Little Rock Central High School with the troops holding in check threatening mobs. Much has been written about the Little Rock Central High School Desegregation Crisis of 1957 and a good portion of the documentary record of daily life at Little Rock Central High during this crisis time was maintained by the Army. The Library now holds daily situation reports covering the period from September 1957 through – March 1958. These reports document troop movements, actions taken, incidents, force levels and other details of peacekeeping operations in a domestic urban setting.

⁴ Telegrams from US Legation in Budapest, October 25, 1956, File Folder "Hungarian Crisis", Box 32, Confidential File Series, White House Central Files

Turmoil in the Middle East formed the setting for the largest international peacekeeping operation of the Eisenhower Administration – the sending of United States armed forces to Lebanon in July 1958. The part of the world popularly known as the Middle East or Near East rapidly became important to American economic and military security following World War II. Certainly President Eisenhower was convinced of the region's strategic and economic importance and his papers are rich in documentation relating in one way or another to United States efforts to protect its interest in the area. Early actions included the previously mentioned operation to restore the Shah to power in Iran but also included the development of psychological analyses of the Middle East (PSB D-22), National Security Council Policy Papers outlining overall US regional policies (NSC 5428, 5820, 6011), contingency planning such as the plans for denial of oil resources to hostile powers (NSC 26 Series, 176, 5401 and 5714) and efforts to alleviate the Arab-Israeli conflict (Project Alpha).

In January 1957, President Eisenhower sent a message to Congress, emphasizing the critical importance of the Middle East to the United States and its European allies while pointing out Russia's interest in the region. The President requested Congress to authorize Presidential use of US economic and military assistance to protect the independence of nations, requesting such aid from aggression by communist dominated states. Congress approved this application of United States power which has become known as the Eisenhower Doctrine. During 1957 the United States and the United Kingdom increased joint contingency planning dealing with possible crises in the Middle East.

Lebanon became the laboratory for the application of this experiment in international peacekeeping. On July 14, 1958, President Chamoun of Lebanon requested Eisenhower to send US forces to Lebanon to help maintain security and to demonstrate the US concern for Lebanon's integrity and independence. This followed a coup in Iraq. The President met with his national security team and then with Congressional leaders before deciding to act. Later in the day Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval operations ordered CINCNELM and Commander 6th Fleet to land marines and on July 15 a battalion of marines went ashore 4 miles south of Beirut. There were periods of confusion as the CINCNELM, Admiral Holloway had been in Washington and had to return hurriedly . Army battle groups from Germany were prepared to participate in landings and in deed did so Army reinforcements from Europe included dual capable Honest John rockets. By August 5, a total of 5, 842 Marines and 8, 515 Army troops had landed in Lebanon. This was the peak of US strength. The crisis appeared to ease within a few days and the US began withdrawing forces in order to avoid tying them down in static occupation duties. The last US troops left Lebanon on October 25. ⁵

As indicated above, the Lebanon operation was the major international peacekeeping undertaking of the Eisenhower Administration. Extensive documentation exists at the Library and undoubtedly at the National Archives and other institutions to study this operation. While the diplomatic aspects of the operation are covered in the United States Department of State's Foreign Relations of the United States, 1958-1960

⁵ Robert Watson, Into the Missile Age, 1956-1960 (History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense series), Washington, DC: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1997, pp. 203-219

Volume XI: Lebanon and Jordan and Robert Watson's Into the Missile Age, 1956-1960

provides useful information on high level military decisions in the crisis, one should examine the daily situation reports issued by the Joint Chiefs of Staff from July 15 through October 25, 1958 when Situation Report Numbered 102 reported the final departure of US forces from Lebanon and the completion of the Lebanon operation. Each report gives data on force deployment, incidents, general situation in the region, actions of neighboring countries and maps.⁶ In retrospect, it appears that the operation went well but we can never know what might have happened if some of the warring factions had systematically mounted a strong resistance to the landings. Copies of a few of these situation reports are on hand for anybody wishing to see them.

In November 1958, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev made a speech in which he claimed the Western Allies had forfeited their legal basis to remain in Berlin and that they should in effect give diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic and deal directly with regarding Berlin. This speech touched off a flurry of communications among the Western European countries, West Germany and the United States. As tensions between the USSR and the US and its NATO allies continued to build, the US, UK and France began developing contingency plans within a quadripartite headquarters code named LIVE OAK to deal with possible Soviet actions ranging from probes to full scale assaults on the city. Thus we have documents concerning the problem of planning for the defense of a major city surrounded by hostile (East Germany) territory. Several collections in our holdings contain rich documentation on this major crisis with perhaps

⁶ Situation Reports 1-102, File Folders Joint Chiefs of Staff Volume II (1-9) and Volume III (1-4), Boxes 4-5, Subject Series, Department of Defense Subseries, Records of the White House Office of the Staff

the Papers of General Lauris Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (SACEUR) from 1956 to 1962, containing a particularly detailed body of records spanning the period from 1958 to 1962. So we have contingency planning beginning in the Eisenhower Administration and continuing in the Kennedy Administration and General Norstad's communications with both presidents and with officials in both administrations. Much of this documentation is now declassified although certain files, specifically those items marked as "LIVE OAK" documents and certain details of contingency plans involving nuclear matters, remain classified..

Also of interest in connection with Berlin and with other areas was the reports in 1958 and 1960 by an Interdepartmental Study Group to assess US and Allied capabilities for limited military operations in various locations including Berlin, the Taiwan Straits, Iran, Korea and Southeast Asia. These studies, although depicting hypothetical scenarios offer insights into the military planning and war gaming process and may be of interest to military historians studying the Eisenhower Era.

This is a brief survey covering much territory. Hopefully, it has conveyed the message that the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library holds much historical documentation of interest to students of urban warfare during World War II, Korea, early Vietnam period, and in counter-insurgency and counter-subversion activities, peacekeeping and nationbuilding. During the 1950s. In short, the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library has much to offer military historians and we certainly believe the Library holds significant materials pertinent to the theme of this conference. I will be glad to answer any questions

anyone may have and I do have with me copies of selected documents covering a few of the issues discussed herein. These are intended to whet your appetites for research so please feel free to examine these document copies.