

Q: Is the Roman Catholic Church an impediment to solving population problems?

Piotrow: It probably will not be as much of a factor in the future. More and more people are tending to make up their own minds on this. Religious leaders, church leaders, tend to have more influence on the politicians and government leaders than they do on individuals, and this runs the risk of slower programs and less action like in Latin America, where the leaders of the Church are still pretty critical of family planning. Contraceptive use rates are becoming quite high. The problem is that there are still not very good government-supported programs, and women still go and get their abortions, and die, and fill up the hospital wards with victims of illegal abortions. So people are suffering as a result of Church policy, but the Church won't prevent birth rates from going down.

Q: In the CFR book *Six Billion People* you say that one of the countries which has had the most success with population policies is China. They use coercive methods. In the future, as the situation in the world gets worse, will more countries be forced to choose these coercive measure in the face of growing chaos and death?

Piotrow: It remains to be seen. The problems with most governments in developing countries is that they are not as strong and as tightly administered as the government of China. So that even if they wanted to do these programs, they probably couldn't. They would be overthrown, or like the government of India, kicked out of office. . . . It seems to me that it is far more likely that the population will take care of itself by the Four Horseman of the Apocalypse.

Q: You were very close to Gen. William Draper, Jr., who was quite outspoken on these issues for years and no one listened. Now you say people are still not listening.

Piotrow: We've made a tremendous amount of progress in the last 10 or 15 years. It is tremendous. I am not discouraged at all. I wish we could do more, and I am unhappy about the backlash against many programs. You can't expect 100 percent. Look at the number of countries where we have created substantial declines in fertility, 10 to 20 percent, it is really phenomenal. . . . The thing to keep in mind, of course, is that over the last decade we have had the oil crisis and that reduced population somewhat, but we have had pretty good years from an agricultural point of view. . . . There have not been disastrous droughts or floods in most of the food-producing regions. India is just now beginning to have trouble because of a bad monsoon this year, but India has had some terribly good years for awhile there. All it is going to take is a few years of bad weather, and then the thing will hit very hard. And then people will say that Draper was right. Not that I hope for that, but it is going to happen.

Book Review

The White House can learn from Ike

by Barbara Dreyfuss

The Declassified Eisenhower, by Blanche Weisen Cook, Doubleday and Company, New York 1981.

The Eisenhower Diaries, edited by Robert Ferrell, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 1981.

Eisenhower the President, by William Bragg Ewald, Jr. Prentice-Hall, Inc. New Jersey, 1981.

Eisenhower and the Cold War, by Robert Divine, Oxford University Press, New York, 1981.

Late in September, Caspar Weinberger asserted that another Dwight Eisenhower is now in the White House. Certainly, many of the millions of Americans who voted for Reagan out of disgust with the policies of the Trilateral Commission's Jimmy Carter hoped that Reagan's presidency would restore the Eisenhower era of American economic and military power.

Like Reagan, Eisenhower was surrounded by advisers from the Eastern Establishment, committed to brinkmanship with the Soviets and limits on U.S. economic growth. Yet Eisenhower proved himself unwilling to act as their complete captive. It was not that he was an intellectual giant, or that he came to the White House with a well-conceived plan of what he wanted to do. Ike rarely made major initiatives; he merely responded to world events. But when he did, he acted out of deep concern for world peace.

Eisenhower grew up when the nation was undergoing great industrial development, and at West Point he gained a sense of the scientific outlook responsible for that growth. He had served as aide to Douglas MacArthur in the 1930s, of course, but it was the World War II years that most shaped the General. By the time he reached the White House, he had overseen the largest, most intricate logistical deployment in history, and taken responsibility for the infinitely delicate diplomacy required to maintain the Allied war effort. And during those years he knew that millions of women, young people, and black Americans, who had never before been part of the industrial labor force, suddenly found them-



Eisenhower and Churchill in 1979, in John Foster Dulles's hospital room.

selves vital elements of a technologically advancing, morally imperative economic mobilization.

'An Eisenhower, not a Haig'

Attention to the Eisenhower period has been heightened over the past seven months by the publication of four major works on the subject, following a relative dearth over the past decade. The recent availability of oral histories and diaries of prominent Eisenhower administration personalities, as well as the opening of new sections of Ike's personal papers and journals at the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, is partly responsible for the sudden proliferation of books; yet the need to educate Ronald Reagan and the American people was for some of these authors a further reason to publish their books now. "We need a General Eisenhower in the White House, not a General Haig, in order to avoid war," Mrs. Cook told me.

Eisenhower emerges from all four books as something other than the pawn of cold warrior John Foster Dulles, his Secretary of State, as has long been asserted. Using Ike's own words and those of administration officials, the books taken as a whole show that Eisenhower entered the presidency committed to American military supremacy, but also convinced that the U.S. and the Soviet Union could continue some approximation of the relationship that had existed during the war.

Relations with Moscow

Although he was committed to keeping America militarily superior to Moscow, Ike had worked closely with Soviet military leaders during the war and came to understand Soviet thinking. He knew intimately how the war's devastation of the Soviet Union had intensi-

fied Soviet leaders' nationalist commitment to protect their homeland and to prevent another war. He knew men like Marshal Zhukov. He had fought with them and, though they were his adversaries when the war ended, he never regarded them with blind ideological opposition. In December 1945 after the war had ended, Eisenhower wrote Zhukov, "I truly feel that if the same type of association that you and I have experienced . . . could be established and maintained between the 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 [Stalin] himself, constantly increased."

His belief that "Russia is not seeking a general war and will not for a long, long time, if ever," allowed Eisenhower to resist the pressures for confrontation from John Foster Dulles, Henry and Clare Boothe Luce, C. D. Jackson, and others.

Robert Divine's *Eisenhower and the Cold War* makes this point at length, showing how President Eisenhower, drawing on his own understanding of the Soviets and his own desire not to risk world war with every crisis, resisted the machinations of especially the crafty anglophile Dulles, for a tougher stance against Moscow.

Writes Divine: "He halted the Korean War six months after taking office. In the Middle East he had managed to contain the Suez crisis and restore temporary stability to that troubled region; in Asia, he had balanced the somewhat flamboyant rhetoric of his Secretary of State with his own restraint and achieved a delicate standoff between the Nationalists and the Chinese Communists in the Formosa Straits; in Europe, he had stood fast over Khrushchev's threats over Berlin, maintaining the American commitment to that city while avoiding a resort to force." And this during a period when, unlike today, the United States could back up its rhetoric with superior military force.

Nevertheless, though Ike did not go to the face-downs that Dulles and Clare Boothe Luce, for example, demanded, Eisenhower's administration was marked by creation of such groups as the National Committee for a Free Europe (NCFE), headed by C. D. Jackson, who was in charge of psychological warfare for the administration. NCFE and related groups like Crusade for Freedom, which Ike for a time was a part of, were dedicated to the liberation of Eastern Europe from the Soviet bloc, through propaganda campaigns, creation of emigré networks, and so forth.

But unlike C. D. Jackson, Eisenhower learned from the Soviet response to the 1956 Polish and Hungarian uprisings that Moscow would not tolerate the dissolu-

tion of the East bloc, and any clear U.S. backing for the opposition in those two countries could lead to a true, destructive crisis. As Blanche Wiesen Cook notes in *The Declassified Eisenhower*, "The events of 1956 seemed to end a Cold War era. Although Eisenhower never dismissed C. D. Jackson entirely, his own emphasis was now entirely different. After 1956, trade agreements replaced brinkmanship." Over the objections of Dulles and others, Ike then proposed initiatives such as large student exchange programs and increased trade agreements between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Britain and the United States

The war also taught Eisenhower, as it had FDR, that Britain was determined to use the United States to restore its own lost international clout. *The Eisenhower Diaries*, though it omits policy pronouncements by Eisenhower for the sake of anecdotal or mere review of well-known historical events, makes it clear that Eisenhower was constantly at odds with British military leaders during the war, especially over their efforts to stall the invasion of the continent.

While Robert Farrell's *Diaries* does not discuss the reasons behind the British thinking, Cook, in the *Declassified Eisenhower*, evaluates the war in detail. Using memoirs of leading contemporaries of Ike, she concludes that Britain ran its war policy to resurrect its lost empire. "If the Communists and the Fascists destroyed each other in Central Europe then the 'free world' could return to its traditional pursuits, at home and abroad. . . . Sir Alan Brooke, chief of Britain's Imperial General Staff, whose position paralleled General George Marshall's during World War II, hoped, for example, that the Nazis and the Red Hordes would destroy each other so that 'Britain might dominate an exhausted Europe.' "

Eisenhower's distrust of British motives continued throughout his life. William Bragg Ewald's *Eisenhower the President*, which gives a very personal account of the daily workings and relationships of the administration since Ewald served on the White House staff, notes Eisenhower's view of British efforts to continue their colonialism. On May 25, 1955 writes Ewald, "Eisenhower had a long talk, recorded on tape, with *Newsweek's* Malcolm Muir on colonialism and Nehru. Eisenhower told Muir of his failure to convince Churchill that colonialism was dead and that Britain could capitalize on its death by insisting that all its colonies have the chance to decide for themselves whether or not to remain part of the British Empire."

Jim Hagerty captured this sentiment in his diary account of Churchill's visit to Ike in 1954, as Ewald notes. "Dulles said he was sure . . . the British were going to make a plea for a differentiation between French colonialism and British colonialism. The Presi-

dent interrupted to say, 'Sure, the British always think their colonialism is different and better. Actually, what they want us to do is go along to help keep their empire.' "

In his diary entry for Jan. 6, 1953, Eisenhower, after meeting with Churchill, set down what he thought of the British oligarchy: "Winston is trying to relive the days of World War II. In those days he had the enjoyable feeling that he and our President were sitting on some rather Olympian platform with respect to the rest of the world and directing world affairs from that point of vantage. Even if this picture were an accurate one of those days, it would have no application to the present."

Eisenhower acted on his decision not to back British imperial aims in his famous decision not to back the French, British, and Israeli invasion of Egypt. Eisenhower refused to allow foreign governments to run America's foreign policy on their behalf: "We cannot and will not condone armed aggression—no matter who the attacker, and no matter who the victim."

Economic policy

Although these four books focus largely on Eisenhower's foreign policy, one gets a clear picture that Eisenhower was surrounded by economic advisers, like Arthur Burns, who were committed monetarists. Especially in the *Diaries* one sees Ike continuously demanding that the Fed loosen up money for productive investment and lower interest rates. "In the meantime I talked to the Secretary of the Treasury in order to develop real pressure on the Federal Reserve Board for loosening credit still further," reads one entry.

But under the policies of Burns and Fed Chairman William McChesney Martin, the U.S. economy during the Eisenhower years suffered from alternating tight and loose monetary policy which, nostalgia to the contrary, helped cause the lowest rate of industrial capital formation and productivity growth of all the major industrial powers.

With greater success, Eisenhower also cautioned the David Stockmans of his administration and the ideological conservatives that they could not, in their frenzy, wield the knife against some fundamental programs.

What might prove to be Eisenhower's most prophetic piece of advice to the Reagan administration came in a letter to Ike's brother Edgar. Ike declared, "Should any political party attempt to abolish Social Security and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history. There is a tiny splinter group, of course, that believes that you can do these things. Among them are H. L. Hunt, a few other Texas oil millionaires, and an occasional politician and businessman from other areas. Their number is negligible and they are stupid."