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SECTION 4 Eisenhower's Policies

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

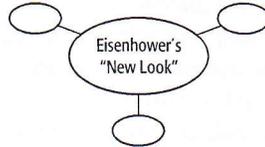
As president, Eisenhower developed plans to reduce world tensions while containing and competing with communism.

Key Terms and Names

massive retaliation, *Sputnik*, brinkmanship, covert, Central Intelligence Agency, developing nation, military-industrial complex

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about Eisenhower's presidency, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in aspects of Eisenhower's "New Look".



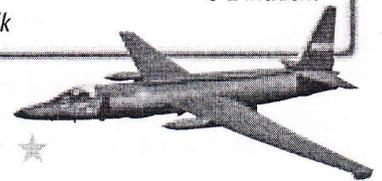
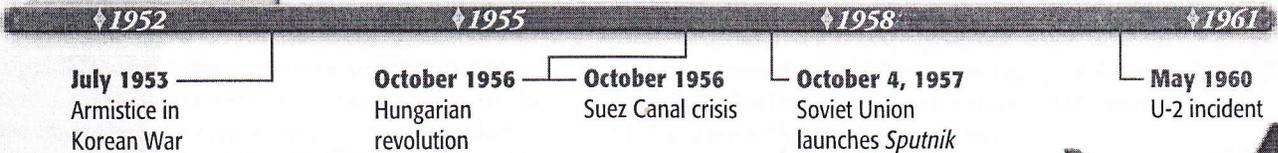
Reading Objectives

- **Evaluate** Eisenhower's military policy known as the "New Look."
- **Debate** the effectiveness of Eisenhower's foreign policy.

Section Theme

Science and Technology Nuclear technology enabled Eisenhower to change American military policy, while new missile technology marked the beginning of the space age.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Francis Gary Powers

On May 1, 1960, CIA pilot Francis Gary Powers sat in the cockpit of his U-2 spy plane, flying at more than 60,000 feet over Afghanistan. His mission was to fly over suspected Soviet missile bases and photograph them.

As Powers passed over the forbidden border into the Soviet Union, he felt a familiar thrill. "There was no abrupt change in topography," he remembered, "yet the moment you crossed the border, you sensed the difference. . . . Knowing there were people who would shoot you down if they could created a strange tension. . . . I wondered how the Russians felt, knowing I was up here, unable to do anything about it. . . . I could imagine their frustration and rage."

Suddenly, Powers heard a dull thump. A surface-to-air missile exploded nearby in a flash of orange. The plane's wings snapped off, leaving the spinning aircraft plummeting down towards the earth. Powers screamed, "I've had it now!"

The downing of Powers's plane set off one of the major confrontations of the Cold War during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

—adapted from *May-Day: The U-2 Affair*

Eisenhower's "New Look"

By the end of 1952, many Americans were ready for a change in leadership. The Cold War had much to do with that attitude. Many Americans believed that Truman's foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had acquired the atomic bomb and consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe. China had fallen to communism, and American troops had been sent across the Pacific to fight in the Korean War.

Tired of the criticism and uncertain he could win, Truman decided not to run again. The Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson, governor of Illinois. The Republicans chose Dwight D. Eisenhower, the general who had organized the D-Day invasion.

Despite Stevenson's charming personality and skilled speech making, he had no chance against a national hero who had helped win World War II. Americans were looking for someone they could trust to lead the nation in its Cold War struggle against communism. Eisenhower won in a landslide.

"More Bang for the Buck" The Cold War shaped Eisenhower's thinking from the moment he took office. Eisenhower was convinced that the key to victory in the Cold War was not simply military might but also a strong economy. The United States had to show the world that free enterprise could produce a better and more prosperous society than communism. At the same time, economic prosperity would prevent Communists from gaining support in the United States and protect society from subversion.

As a professional soldier, Eisenhower knew the costs associated with large-scale conventional war. Preparing for that kind of warfare, he believed, would cost far too much money. "We cannot defend

the nation in a way which will exhaust our economy," Eisenhower declared. A "New Look" in defense policy was needed. Instead of maintaining a large and expensive army, the nation "must be prepared to use atomic weapons in all forms." Nuclear weapons, he said, gave "more bang for the buck."

Massive Retaliation The Korean War had convinced Eisenhower that the United States could not contain communism by fighting a series of small wars. Such wars were unpopular and too expensive. Instead, they had to be prevented from happening in the first place. The best way to do that seemed to be to threaten to use nuclear weapons if a Communist state tried to seize territory by force. This policy came to be called massive retaliation.

The new policy enabled Eisenhower to cut military spending from \$50 billion to \$34 billion. He did this by cutting back the army, which required a lot of money to maintain. At the same time, he increased America's nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961.

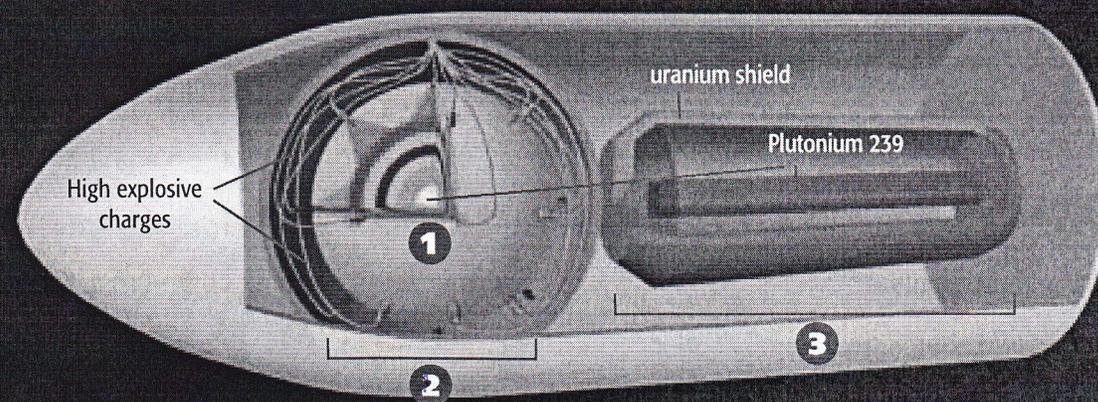
The Sputnik Crisis The New Look's emphasis on nuclear weapons required new technology to deliver them. In 1955 the air force unveiled the huge B-52

TECHNOLOGY & History

The Hydrogen Bomb

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 had an explosive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. As devastating as that bomb was, the hydrogen bomb was exponentially more powerful. Designed by Edward Teller and Stanislaw Ulam, the hydrogen test bomb, nicknamed "Mike," was first detonated on November 1, 1952. Its explosive force was equal to 10 million tons of TNT. *How did the two explosive devices combine to create an explosion?*

1 The plutonium core provides the radiation from plutonium essential for a fusion reaction.



2 The primary device sets off a smaller atomic explosion that creates x-ray radiation pressure.

3 In the secondary device, the fusion process begins when pressure builds inside the bomb casing from the release of radiation.

bomber, which was designed to fly across continents and drop nuclear bombs anywhere in the world. Because bombers could be shot down, Eisenhower also began development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) that could deliver bombs anywhere in the world. He also began a program to build submarines capable of launching nuclear missiles.

As the United States began to develop long-range nuclear missiles, Americans were stunned to discover the Soviet Union had already developed their own. On October 4, 1957, the Soviets launched *Sputnik*, the first artificial satellite to orbit the earth. This technological triumph alarmed Americans, who took it as a sign that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in missile technology.

Eisenhower insisted he was not worried just because the Soviets “put one small ball into the air.” Members of Congress, on the other hand, feared the nation was falling behind in scientific research. The following year, Congress created the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)** to coordinate research in rocket science and space exploration. It also passed the **National Defense Education Act (NDEA)**, which provided funds for education and training in science, math, and foreign languages.

Reading Check **Summarizing** How did Eisenhower alter the nature of defense spending?

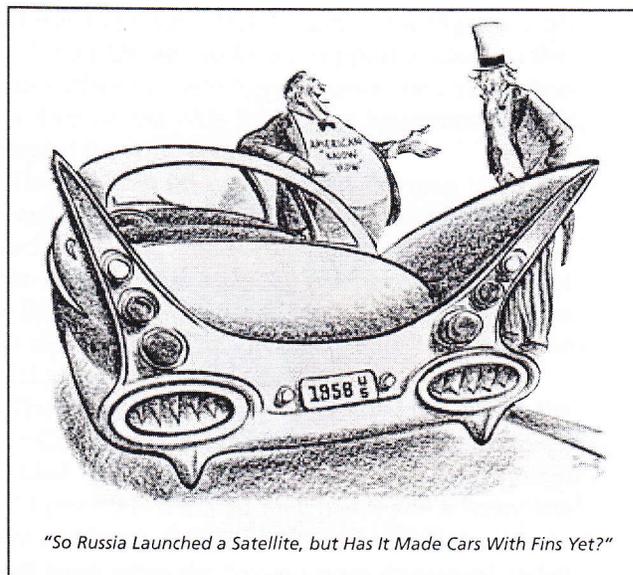
Brinkmanship In Action

President Eisenhower’s apparent willingness to threaten nuclear war to maintain the peace worried some people. Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles**, however, the dominant figure in the nation’s foreign policy in the 1950s, strongly defended the policy:

“You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. . . . If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost. We’ve had to look it square in the face. . . . We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action.”

—quoted in *Rise to Globalism*

Critics called this brinkmanship—the willingness to go to the brink of war to force the other side to back down—and argued that it was too dangerous.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Cold War Worries The speaker here is comparing American prosperity with the Soviets’ launching of *Sputnik*. What is the cartoonist’s intent?

Several times, however, President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war during a crisis.

The Korean War Ends During his campaign for the presidency, Eisenhower had said, “I shall go to Korea,” promising to end the costly and increasingly unpopular war. On December 4, 1952, just weeks after his election, he kept his promise. Bundled against the freezing Korean winter, the president-elect talked with frontline commanders and their troops.

Eisenhower became convinced that the ongoing battle was costing too many lives and bringing too few victories. “Small attacks on small hills,” the former general declared, “[will] not end this war.” The president then quietly let the Chinese know that the United States might continue the Korean War “under circumstances of our own choosing”—a hint at nuclear attack.

The threat to go to the brink of nuclear war seemed to work. In July 1953, negotiators signed an armistice. The battle line between the two sides, which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A “demilitarized zone” (DMZ) separated them. There was no victory, but the war had at least stopped the spread of communism in Korea—the goal of containment. American troops are still based in Korea, helping South Korea defend its border.

The Taiwan Crisis Shortly after the war ended, a new crisis erupted in Asia. Although the Chinese Communists had taken power in mainland China, the Chinese Nationalists still controlled Taiwan and several small islands along China's coast.

In the fall of 1954, China threatened to seize two of the islands from the Nationalists. Eisenhower saw Taiwan as part of the "anticommunist barrier" in Asia. When China began shelling the islands and announced that Taiwan would soon be liberated, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan.

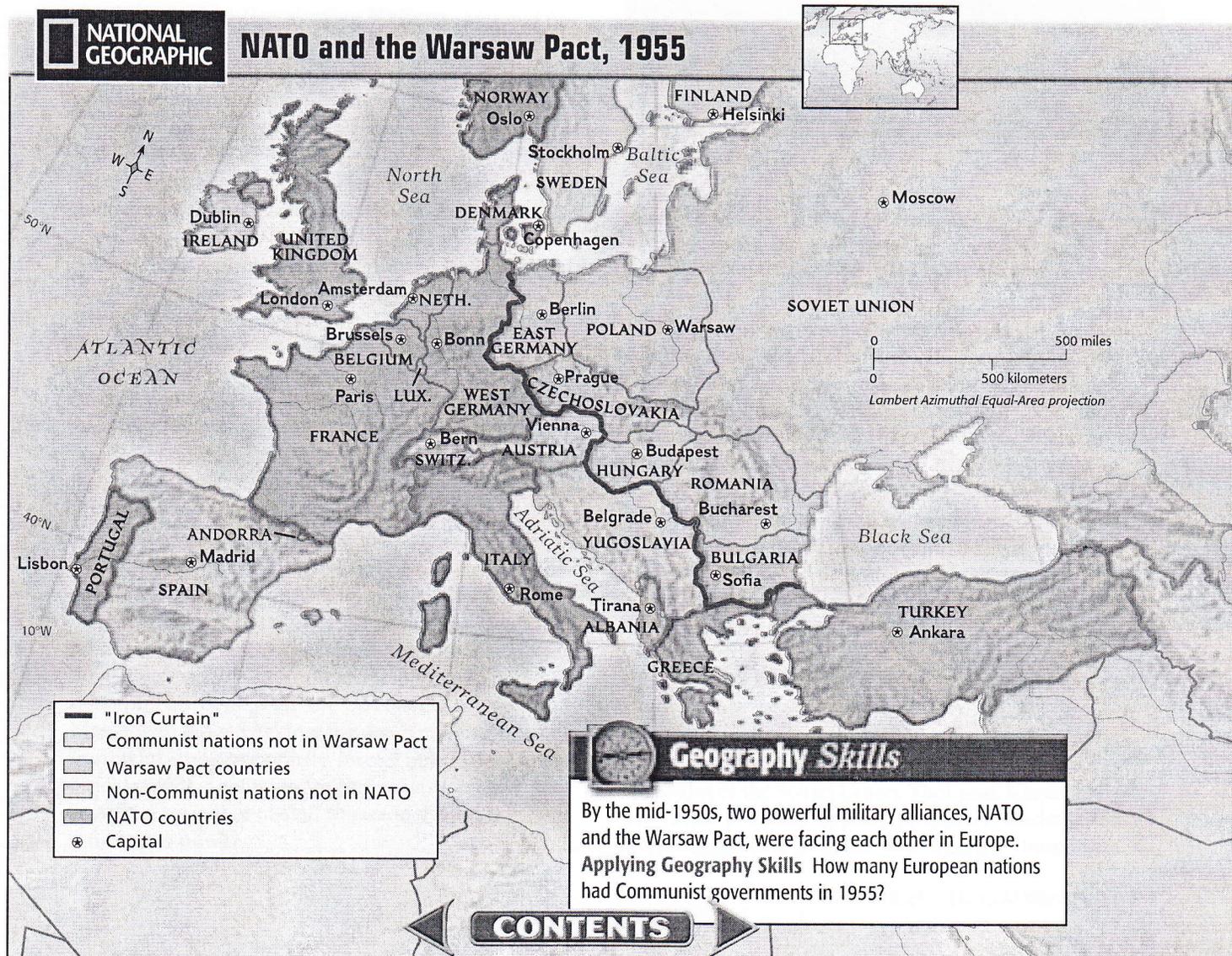
Eisenhower then warned the Chinese that any attempt to invade Taiwan would be resisted by American naval forces stationed nearby. He and Dulles hinted that they would use nuclear weapons to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

The Suez Crisis The year after Eisenhower went to the brink of war with China, a serious crisis erupted in the Middle East. Eisenhower's goal in the Middle

East was to prevent Arab nations from aligning with the Soviet Union. To build support among Arabs, Dulles offered to help Egypt finance the construction of a dam on the Nile River. The Egyptians eagerly accepted the American offer.

The deal ran into trouble in Congress, however, because Egypt had bought weapons from Communist Czechoslovakia. Dulles was forced to withdraw the offer. A week later, Egyptian troops seized control of the Suez Canal from the Anglo-French company that had controlled it. The Egyptians intended to use the canal's profits to pay for the dam.

The British and French responded quickly to the Suez Crisis. In October 1956, British and French troops invaded Egypt. Eisenhower was furious with Britain and France. He declared they had made a "complete mess and botch of things." The situation became even more tense when the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France and offered to send troops to help Egypt. Eisenhower immediately put American nuclear forces on alert, noting, "If those



fellows start something, we may have to hit them—and if necessary, with everything in the bucket.”

Under strong American pressure, the British and French called off their invasion. The Soviet Union had won a major diplomatic victory, however, by supporting Egypt. Soon afterward, other Arab nations began accepting Soviet aid as well.

Reading Check **Identifying** What was brinkmanship?

Fighting Communism Covertly

President Eisenhower relied on brinkmanship on several occasions, but he knew it could not work in all situations. It could prevent war, but it could not, for example, prevent Communists from staging revolutions within countries. To prevent Communist uprisings in other countries, Eisenhower decided to use covert, or hidden, operations conducted by the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**.

Containment in Developing Nations Many of the CIA’s operations took place in developing nations—nations with primarily agricultural economies. Many of these countries blamed European imperialism and American capitalism for their problems. Their leaders looked to the Soviet Union as a model of how to industrialize their countries. They often threatened to nationalize, or put under government control, foreign businesses operating in their countries.

American officials feared that these leaders might align their nations with the Soviet Union or even stage a Communist revolution. One way to stop developing nations from moving into the Communist camp was to provide them with financial aid, as Eisenhower had tried to do in Egypt. In some cases, however, where the threat of communism seemed stronger, the CIA staged covert operations to overthrow anti-American leaders and replace them with pro-American leaders.

Iran and Guatemala Two examples of covert operations that achieved American objectives took place in Iran and Guatemala. By 1953 Iranian prime minister Mohammed Mossadegh had already nationalized the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. He seemed ready to make an oil deal with the Soviet Union. In 1953 Mossadegh moved against the pro-American Shah of Iran, who was temporarily forced into exile. Dulles quickly sent agents to organize street riots and arrange a coup that ousted Mossadegh, and the Shah returned to power.



Picturing History

Distinguished Brothers John Foster Dulles (right) became secretary of state under Eisenhower; his brother Allen Dulles (center) was director of the CIA in the 1950s. With what policy is John Foster Dulles associated?

The following year, the CIA acted to protect American-owned property in Guatemala. In 1951 Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán won election as president of Guatemala with Communist support. His land reform program took over large estates, including those of the American-owned United Fruit Company. In May 1954, Communist Czechoslovakia delivered arms to Guatemala. The CIA responded by arming the Guatemalan opposition and training them at secret camps in Nicaragua and Honduras. Shortly after these CIA-trained forces invaded Guatemala, Arbenz Guzmán left office.

Uprising in Hungary Covert operations did not always work as Eisenhower hoped. In 1953 Stalin died, and a power struggle began in the Soviet Union. By 1956 Nikita Khrushchev had emerged as the leader of the Soviet Union. That year, Khrushchev delivered a secret speech to Soviet leaders. He attacked Stalin’s policies and insisted there were

many ways to build a Communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA obtained a copy. With Eisenhower's permission, the CIA arranged for it to be broadcast to Eastern Europe.

Many Eastern Europeans had long been frustrated with Communist rule. Hearing Khrushchev's speech further discredited communism. In June 1956, riots erupted in Eastern Europe. By late October, a full-scale uprising had begun in Hungary. Although Khrushchev was willing to tolerate greater freedom in Eastern Europe, he had never meant to imply that the Soviets would tolerate an end to communism in Eastern Europe. Soon after the uprising began, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and crushed the rebellion.

Reading Check Explaining Why did Eisenhower use covert operations?

Continuing Tensions

The uprising in Hungary forced Khrushchev to reassert Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Previously, he had supported "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism. Now he accused the "capitalist countries" of starting a "feverish arms race." In 1957, after the launch of Sputnik, Khrushchev boasted, "We will bury capitalism. . . . Your grandchildren will live under communism."

In late 1958 Khrushchev demanded that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw their troops from West Berlin. Secretary of State Dulles rejected Khrushchev's demands. If the Soviets threatened

Berlin, Dulles announced, NATO would respond, "if need be by military force." Brinkmanship worked again, and Khrushchev backed down.

To try to improve relations, Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in late 1959. The visit went well, and the two leaders agreed to hold a summit in Paris in 1960. A **summit** is a formal face-to-face meeting of leaders from different countries to discuss important issues.

Shortly before the summit was to begin, the Soviet Union shot down the American U-2 spy plane piloted by **Francis Gary Powers**. At first, Eisenhower claimed that the aircraft was a weather plane that had strayed off course. Then Khrushchev dramatically produced the pilot. Eisenhower refused to apologize, saying the flights had protected American security. In response, Khrushchev broke up the summit.

In this climate of heightened tension, President Eisenhower prepared to leave office. In January 1961, he delivered a farewell address to the nation. In the address, he pointed out that a new relationship had developed between the military establishment and the defense industry. He warned Americans to be on guard against the immense influence of this **military-industrial complex** in a democracy. Although he had avoided war and kept communism contained, Eisenhower admitted to some frustration: "I confess I lay down my official responsibility in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. . . . I wish I could say that a lasting peace is in sight."

Reading Check Evaluating Why did Eisenhower warn Americans about the military-industrial complex?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** massive retaliation, brinkmanship, covert, developing nation, military-industrial complex.
- Identify:** *Sputnik*, Central Intelligence Agency.
- Reviewing Facts** What was the significance of the Soviet Union's launching of *Sputnik* in 1957?

Reviewing Themes

- Science and Technology** How did technology shape Eisenhower's military policy?

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** Do you think Eisenhower's foreign policy was successful? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list Eisenhower's strategies for containing Communism.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Maps** Study the map on page 678. How many nations belonged to NATO? How many nations belonged to the Warsaw Pact? Which nations did not belong to either NATO or the Warsaw Pact?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are a member of Eisenhower's cabinet. Defend or attack brinkmanship as a foreign policy tactic. Be sure to provide specific reasons for your point of view.