President Eisenhower believed developing new technology to deliver nuclear weapons would help prevent war. He also directed the CIA to use covert operations in the struggle to contain communism.

**Massive Retaliation**

**MAIN Idea** Eisenhower fought the Cold War by increasing the U.S. nuclear arsenal and using the threat of nuclear war to end conflicts in Korea, Taiwan, and the Suez.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know anyone who uses threats to get his or her way? Read further to learn about Eisenhower’s use of nuclear threats to achieve foreign policy goals.

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 people believed that Truman’s foreign policy was not working. The Soviet Union had tested an atomic bomb and consolidated its hold on Eastern Europe. China had fallen to communism, and American troops were fighting in Korea.

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. Stevenson had no chance against a national hero who had helped win World War II. Americans wanted someone they could trust to lead the nation in the Cold War. Eisenhower won in a landslide.

**“More Bang for the Buck”**

The Cold War shaped Eisenhower’s thinking from the moment he took office. He 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 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, was too expensive. “We cannot defend the nation in a way which will exhaust our economy,” the president declared. 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.”
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, wars 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. 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 reducing the size of the army, which was expensive to maintain. At the same time, he increased the U.S. nuclear arsenal from about 1,000 bombs in 1953 to about 18,000 bombs in 1961.

**Brinkmanship**

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

**Primary Source**

“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. During several crises, however, President Eisenhower felt compelled to threaten nuclear war.
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, 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. He was determined to bring the war to an end. 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 a 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 in Korea, which was very near the prewar boundary, became the border between North Korea and South Korea. A “demilitarized zone” (DMZ) separated them. American troops are still based in Korea, helping to defend South Korea’s border. There has never been a peace treaty to end the war.

The Taiwan Crisis

Shortly after the Korean War ended, a new crisis erupted in Asia. Although Communists had taken power in mainland China, the Nationalists still controlled Taiwan and several

Sputnik Launches a Space Race

As the United States began to develop ICBMs, Americans were stunned to discover that the Soviet Union already had them. On October 4, 1957, the Soviets demonstrated this technology by launching Sputnik, the first artificial satellite to orbit Earth.

Worried that the United States was falling behind, Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to coordinate missile research and space exploration. It also passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which provided funds for education in science, math, and foreign languages.

Sputnik marked the beginning of a new era—the use of satellites in space. Both nations in the Cold War began launching satellites to assist in communications and to spy on the other nation. Today, satellites are a vital part of modern communications and travel. They transmit television and cell phone signals, and the satellites of the Global Positioning System (GPS) help ships and airplanes to navigate. Hikers and drivers can also buy GPS receivers to help determine where they are.

ANALYZING HISTORY  Do you think missile and satellite technology helped prevent conflict during the Cold War or made the Cold War worse? Create a multimedia presentation on the Space Race and how it has changed American society.
small islands along China’s coast. In the fall of 1954, China threatened to seize two of the islands. Eisenhower saw Taiwan as part of the “anti-Communist barrier” in Asia that needed to be protected at all costs.

When China began shelling the islands and announced that Taiwan would be liberated, Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend Taiwan. He then warned the Chinese that any attack on Taiwan would be resisted by U.S. naval forces stationed nearby and hinted that they would use nuclear weapons to stop an invasion. Soon afterward, China backed down.

**The Suez Crisis**

The following year, a serious crisis erupted in the Middle East. Eisenhower’s goal in that region was to prevent Arab nations from aligning with the Soviet Union. To build support among Arabs, Secretary of State Dulles offered to help Egypt finance the construction of a dam on the Nile River.

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. The situation became even more dangerous when the Soviet Union threatened rocket attacks on Britain and France and offered to send troops to help Egypt. Eisenhower immediately put U.S. 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 pressure from the United States, 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.

**Covert Operations**

**MAIN Idea** Eisenhower directed the Central Intelligence Agency to use covert operations to limit the spread of communism and Soviet influence.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you enjoy reading spy novels? Read on to learn of the development and work of a spy agency in the United States.

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).

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.

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 ran covert operations to overthrow anti-American leaders and replace them with pro-American leaders.

**Iran and Guatemala**

Two examples of covert operations that achieved U.S. 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. The pro-American Shah of Iran tried to force Mossadegh out of office, but failed and fled into exile. The CIA quickly sent agents to organize street riots and arrange a coup that ousted Mossadegh and returned the shah to power.
The following year, the CIA intervened in Guatemala. In 1951, with Communist support, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was elected president of Guatemala. His land-reform program took over large estates and plantations, 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.

Trouble in Eastern Europe

Covert operations did not always work as Eisenhower hoped. Stalin died in 1953, 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 officials. He attacked Stalin’s policies and insisted that there were many ways to build a communist society. Although the speech was secret, the CIA obtained a copy of it. 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 the region. Soon after the uprising began, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest, the capital of Hungary, and crushed the rebellion.

The Eisenhower Doctrine

The United States was not the only nation using covert means to support its foreign policy. President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt had emerged from the Suez crisis as a hero to the Arab people, and by 1957 he had begun working...
with Jordan and Syria to spread pan-Arabism—the idea that all Arab people should be united into one nation. Eisenhower and Dulles worried about Nasser’s links to the Soviets and feared that he was laying the groundwork to take control of the Middle East. In late 1957 Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize the use of military force whenever the president thought it necessary to assist Middle East nations resisting Communist aggression. The policy came to be called the Eisenhower Doctrine. It essentially extended the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment to the Middle East.

In February 1958 Eisenhower’s concerns appeared to be confirmed when left-wing rebels, believed to be backed by Nasser and the Soviet Union, seized power in Iraq. Fearing that his government was next, the president of Lebanon asked the United States for help. Eisenhower immediately ordered 5,000 marines to Lebanon to protect its capital, Beirut. At the same time, British forces went into Jordan at the request of King Hussein to protect his government. Once the situation stabilized, the U.S. forces withdrew.

A Spy Plane Is Shot Down

After the Hungarian uprising, Khrushchev reasserted Soviet power and the superiority of communism. Although he had supported “peaceful coexistence” with capitalism, he began accusing 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.”

Late the following year, Khrushchev demanded the withdrawal of Allied 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.

At Eisenhower’s invitation, Khrushchev visited the United States in late 1959. After the success of that visit, the two leaders agreed to hold a summit in Paris. 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 in 1960, the Soviet Union shot down an American U-2 spy plane. 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 influence of this military-industrial complex in a democracy. Although he had avoided war and kept communism contained, Eisenhower was also frustrated: “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.”

Vocabulary
1. Explain the significance of: massive retaliation, brinkmanship, covert, Central Intelligence Agency, developing nation, Sputnik, military-industrial complex.

Main Ideas
2. Summarizing Why did Eisenhower want to depend on nuclear weapons instead of traditional military approaches to war?
3. Defining What was the goal of the Eisenhower Doctrine?

Critical Thinking
4. Big Ideas How did technology shape Eisenhower’s military policy?
5. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list Eisenhower’s strategies for containing communism.

6. Analyzing Visuals Study the photograph of Khrushchev on page 558. How does this photograph illustrate the U.S. and Soviet relationship at this point in the Cold War?

Writing About History
7. Persuasive Writing Suppose that 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 opinions.
Causes of the Cold War

Long-Range Causes
• Both the United States and the Soviet Union believe their economic and political systems are superior.
• Defeat of Germany creates a power vacuum in Europe and leaves U.S. and Soviet forces occupying parts of Europe.
• The U.S. wants to rebuild Europe’s economy and support democratic governments to ensure peace and security.
• The USSR wants Germany weak and believes nations on the Soviet border should have Communist governments.

Immediate Causes
• At Yalta, Soviets promise to allow free elections in Eastern Europe but instead gradually impose Communist regimes.
• At Potsdam, Soviets want German reparations, but the U.S. supports rebuilding Germany’s economy.
• Soviet troops help Communists in northern Iran, but U.S. pressure forces a withdrawal.
• George Kennan sends the Long Telegram to U.S. officials, explaining that the Soviets need to be contained.
• Soviets send aid to Communist rebels in Greece and demand Turkey share control of the Dardanelles with the USSR; Truman issues the Truman Doctrine and sends aid to Greece and Turkey.

Effects of the Cold War

Effects in Europe
• U.S. launches the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe.
• Germany is divided into two separate nations.
• The USSR blockades Berlin; U.S. organizes the Berlin Airlift.
• The U.S. creates NATO; the USSR creates the Warsaw Pact.

Global Effects
• When China falls to communism, the U.S. responds by helping Japan build up its economy and military.
• When Communist North Korea invades South Korea, the U.S. organizes an international force to stop the invasion.

Effects on the United States
• Soviet spies are arrested.
• A new Red Scare leads to laws restricting the Communist Party in the U.S. and to investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senator Joseph McCarthy.
• Americans practice civil defense; some build bomb shelters.
• President Eisenhower orders the development of new rockets, bombers, and submarines that can carry nuclear weapons.
• Eisenhower uses the CIA to covertly contain communism.
Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. After World War II, the Soviet Union wanted to establish a buffer zone of ________ on its European border.
   A developing nations
   B capitalist nations
   C satellite nations
   D demilitarization

2. The policy of ________ became the main approach in U.S. foreign policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War.
   A democracy
   B limited war
   C free trade
   D containment

3. Once the Soviet Union tested an atomic bomb, Americans began to fear the effects of ________, assuming they initially survived a nuclear attack.
   A fallout
   B censure
   C subversion
   D duck-and-cover

4. In his farewell address, President Eisenhower warned the American people about the dangers of ________.
   A the Central Intelligence Agency.
   B massive retaliation.
   C the military-industrial complex.
   D brinkmanship.

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 532–537)

5. Which of the following was a major outcome of the Yalta Conference?
   A the division of Germany
   B the terms of Germany’s surrender
   C the establishment of satellite nations
   D the establishment of NATO

6. At Potsdam, the main conflict was over which of the following?
   A the United Nations
   B the invasion of Japan
   C German reparations
   D nuclear weapons

Section 2 (pp. 538–545)

7. George Kennan first suggested which foreign policy?
   A brinkmanship
   B containment
   C massive retaliation
   D the Marshall Plan

8. Which of the following events set off the Korean War?
   A The Japanese invaded South Korea.
   B Soviet-controlled North Korea invaded South Korea.
   C Chinese-controlled North Korea invaded South Korea.
   D The Soviet Union invaded North Korea.
9. What was the underlying goal of the Marshall Plan?
   A to contain Soviet expansion in the Middle East and Asia
   B to rebuild European economies to prevent the spread of communism
   C to monitor the growth of the military-industrial complex in the United States
   D to Americanize Western European nations

Section 3 (pp. 546–553)
10. After World War II, the purpose of HUAC was to
    A hold public hearings on Communist subversion.
    B locate chapters of the Communist Party.
    C administer the loyalty review program.
    D create the McCarran Act.

11. The McCarran Act required
    A every government employee to take a loyalty oath.
    B all Communist Party chapters to disband.
    C all Communist organizations to register with the government.
    D the censure of members of Congress who would not support HUAC.

Section 4 (pp. 554–559)
12. Eisenhower’s administration developed an approach to foreign policy based on the threat of nuclear attack, known as
    A containment.
    B massive retaliation.
    C subversion.
    D duck-and-cover.

13. The Eisenhower Doctrine extended the Truman Doctrine to which region?
    A Asia
    B Eastern Europe
    C South America
    D the Middle East

Critical Thinking
Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 15.

14. Why was Stalin initially able to control access to West Berlin?
    A West Berlin was in the Soviet Union.
    B West Berlin was ruled by Communists.
    C West Berlin was in the Soviet sector of Germany.
    D West Berlin had been invaded and occupied by the Red Army.

15. Why did Stalin order a blockade of West Berlin?
    A West Berlin was primarily agricultural and would help feed the Soviet army.
    B Stalin wanted to unite Berlin and organize free elections for Germany.
    C Stalin was afraid of the U.S. nuclear technology and wanted a larger buffer zone.
    D Stalin wanted the United States to abandon West Berlin.

If You Missed Questions . . . 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
Go to Page . . . 540 547 550 554–555 558–559 560–561

562 Chapter 15 The Cold War Begins
16. One historical lesson from the McCarthy era is the realization that
A loyalty oaths prevent spying.
B communism is attractive in prosperous times.
C Communist agents had infiltrated all levels of the U.S. government.
D public fear of traitors can lead to intolerance and discrimination.

17. In this cartoon, the cartoonist is expressing
A pride in America’s technological know-how.
B anxiety that America is behind in the space race.
C a wish for larger, more elaborate cars.
D the need to share auto technology with Russia.

18. In the speech, Smith expresses anger with whom? Why?
19. According to Smith, who is really dividing the nation?

20. Many factors contributed to the development of the Cold War, but could it have been avoided? Write a persuasive essay arguing that actions of the United States or the Soviet Union following World War II might have prevented the Cold War, or that it was inevitable.