Chapter 6

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union stunned the world by sending an artificial satellite, "Sputnik I," into orbit around the Earth. This achievement was the first of its kind and followed the successful launch of a Soviet multistage intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) the previous August. It would be more than a year before the United States successfully tested an ICBM.[1] Suggesting a higher level of Soviet technological development than previously assumed, Sputnik I and the Soviet ICBM cast doubt on a key assumption that had shaped U.S. national security policy since World War II—that America's supremacy in science and technology gave it a decisive edge over the Soviet Union. Not since the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in 1949 had the United States seemed so unprepared and vulnerable. According to James R. Killian, Jr., President Eisenhower's assistant for science and technology, Sputnik I "created a crisis of confidence that swept the country like a windblown forest fire."[2]

A dramatic wake-up call, Sputnik was actually one of several indications of the larger strategic transformation taking place. Around the world, other forces were at work laying the foundations for a new international order in which the underdeveloped countries of the Third World would play a larger and more active part. The most striking changes were those resulting from the end of European colonialism and a rising tide of Third World nationalism and socioeconomic discontent. Starting in Asia, the process had spread to the Middle East and Africa by the mid to late 1950s, creating new security problems as it went along. Meanwhile, a surge of anti-Americanism in Latin America presented fresh challenges there. Most Third World countries were too preoccupied with internal difficulties or regional rivalries to take much interest in the ongoing ideological struggle between East and West. But they were not averse to playing off one superpower against another if they saw it to their advantage.

During this period of transformation, the need for reliable military advice and sound strategic planning continued to place heavy demands on the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Nonetheless, they were slow to rise to the challenge. Quarreling over Service functions and the allocation of resources continued to hobble their ability to

address problems of a cross-Service nature and to present consensus recommendations. Rarely did the JCS speak with a single voice on key issues of national strategy and military policy. Despite extensive organizational and administrative reforms introduced in 1958, the JCS system was slow to embrace more efficient and effective ways. While there was some progress toward improving operational planning, clashes and disagreements among the chiefs persisted. Frustrated, the President looked elsewhere for advice in addressing key politico-military problems.

EVOLUTION OF THE MISSILE PROGRAM

The most urgent question raised by Sputnik was whether the United States was as far behind the Soviets as it seemed. When the Eisenhower administration adopted the New Look in 1953, it assumed that while the Soviets would continue to modernize their armed forces, they would be in no position to rival U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons or sophisticated delivery systems for up to 5 years. The initial challenge to this assumption came almost immediately with the detonation of the Soviet H-bomb in the summer of 1953, a smaller-yield but more usable weapon than the H-bomb assemblies in the U.S. arsenal.[3] A year later, the first signs appeared that the Soviets might be developing a long-range heavy bomber force significantly larger than previously believed. Fears of a "bomber gap" eventually proved unfounded. But the episode drew attention to a potentially serious weaknesses in the administration's defense posture and its ability to assess Soviet capabilities. Never again would the Eisenhower administration be quite so sure of its long-term strategic superiority over the Soviets.

By the mid-1950s, concern had shifted from the Soviet Union's long-range bombers to its ballistic missile program. In assessing the Soviet missile effort, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, Admiral Radford, warned that it could pose "a major danger" to the continental United States and give Moscow sufficient leverage "to force a showdown" by the end of the decade.[4] To counter that threat, the JCS agreed that the United States needed to step up its development of offensive ballistic missiles, but they were at odds over the objective size and configuration of the U.S. missile force. Seeking to check further growth in the Air Force share of the budget, Army and Navy leaders favored a dispersed missile force tailored to a variety of strategic and tactical missions. For deterrence, they argued, the required force could be kept fairly small as long as it had a high degree of survivability against a Soviet attack and the ability to inflict unacceptable area damage against Soviet cities in retaliation, in effect a posture of "minimum deterrence" resting on "countervalue" targeting.

The Air Force took a more expansive view of missile requirements. Dismissing minimum deterrence as ineffectual, its leaders argued for a "counterforce" posture

composed of bombers and missiles that accorded first priority to the destruction of Soviet war-making capabilities. Air Force planners expected manned bombers to remain the principal weapon for this purpose for the foreseeable future, partly owing to a shortage of funds for missile development and also because the size and weight of nuclear weapons limited their application.[5] But with the confirmation in February 1954 by the Teapot Committee, an Air Force scientific advisory panel, that high-yield thermonuclear warheads could be miniaturized, Air Force attitudes began to change in favor of giving ballistic missiles a larger role.[6] Based on the Teapot Committee's findings, Trevor Gardner, the Secretary of the Air Force's special assistant for research and development (R&D), projected an initial operational capability (IOC) of 100 ICBM-type missiles deployed at 20 launch sites around the United States by the end of the decade.[7]

Limited intelligence left U.S. policymakers guessing about the status of Soviet ballistic missile development for most of the 1950s. Citing Moscow's reliance on German scientists to bolster native resources, the Intelligence Community routinely insisted that the Soviets could one day match the United States in missile technology. But lacking hard data, intelligence analysts hedged the date when the Soviet strategic missile program would pose a direct danger. Early estimates, calibrated from the progress in U.S. research programs, placed the IOC for a Soviet ICBM in the 1960–1963 timeframe.[8] But as they gradually pieced together the available information, analysts became concerned that the Soviets might be catching up faster than expected. Prior to the availability of U–2 photographs, practically everything the Joint Chiefs and senior policymakers knew about the Soviet missile program derived from a worldwide complex of seismic and infrared sensors built and maintained by the National Security Agency (NSA).[9] By the mid-1950s, the NSA had detected that the Soviets were testing an intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM), which many scientists considered the first step in developing an ICBM. In a national intelligence estimate (NIE 11-5-57) issued a few months prior to the Soviet ICBM test of August 1957 and Sputnik, the Intelligence Community predicted that by 1959 the Soviets "probably" would have an IRBM that could strike targets in Western Europe and Japan, and an ICBM prototype for limited operational use against the continental United States by 1960–1961.[10]

Accepting the need to accelerate U.S. missile programs, President Eisenhower decided in September 1955 to make the development of both an ICBM and an IRBM a top priority, but set no target date for acquiring either capability.[11] Later, the Air Force projected that it could have an IRBM ready for deployment in Europe and the Near East by mid-1959 and a small operational force of ICBMs by March 1961.[12] Eisenhower was a committed proponent of ballistic missiles, but not a very enthusiastic one. Hoping to avoid a costly missile competition with the

Soviets, he downplayed the need to preserve strategic superiority and publicly spoke of settling for a posture of "adequacy" or "sufficiency" in overall nuclear capabilities. Though the changes he had in mind were more matters of emphasis than substance, some observers detected the emergence of a "new" New Look that would no longer strive to maintain strategic superiority over the Soviets.[13] On several occasions, Eisenhower denigrated the military value of ballistic missiles and stated that he backed them only for their "psychological and political significance."[14] Other times, he questioned whether much more than a demonstration capability was needed and offered no objection when Secretary of Defense Wilson once estimated that, given the high yield of thermonuclear weapons, "one hundred and fifty well-targeted missiles might be enough." By and large, Eisenhower regarded long-range ballistic missiles as redundant. "We must remember," he told associates, "that we have a great number of bombardment aircraft programmed, and great numbers of tankers that are now being built, and we must consider how to use them."[15]

Eisenhower cautioned against overemphasis on ballistic missiles not only because they were a new and unproven technology, but also because he saw as yet no clear-cut assignment of Service responsibilities for their development and ultimate use. His main regret, he later admitted, was that he had allowed missile development to remain under Service control and had not made it a direct responsibility of the Secretary of Defense.[16] Under the original assignment of functions approved by Secretary of Defense Wilson in November 1955, the Air Force had developmental authority for two first-generation liquid-propellant ICBMs (the Atlas and a backup, the Titan) and an IRBM (the Thor). The Army and Navy were to share responsibility for a fourth missile, a 1,500-mile liquid-propellant medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) named Jupiter, for launch from land or at sea.[17]

Almost immediately, the Services quarreled over the allocation of resources and access to production facilities. Strife between the Air Force and Army was especially acute. Meanwhile, the Navy lost interest in Jupiter and within a year had shifted its attention to a new missile, the solid-propellant Polaris. More versatile than the Jupiter, the Polaris could be carried aboard submarines and launched from underwater, making the system practically invulnerable. Its principal drawbacks were a limited range (1,000 to 1,500 miles), a relatively small warhead, and questionable accuracy and reliability. Recognizing the advantages of solid-propellant missiles, the Air Force began developing several of its own, including a second-generation ICBM known as Minuteman.[18]

The Joint Chiefs ordinarily confined their participation in R&D to setting general goals and identifying broad categories for exploration. After the 1949 Navy and Air Force clash over airpower, the JCS shied away from participating in decisions assigning specific weapons-development responsibilities to one Service or another. But in

August 1956, with the missile program degenerating into a free-for-all, Secretary Wilson requested JCS help in sorting out functional responsibilities. Not since the Key West and Newport conferences of 1948 had a Secretary of Defense relied so heavily on the JCS to help him resolve a roles-and-missions question of such importance.[19]

Wilson was, of course, asking a lot, since the Joint Chiefs (except the Chairman) served both as military advisors to the Secretary and the President and as the uniformed heads of their Services, in which capacity they were under a moral obligation to defend the interests of their organizations. The ensuing deliberations yielded no consensus that might have pointed to a long-term solution, but they did find the Chairman, the Air Force, and the Navy in basic agreement that three strategic missile programs were too many and that the logical course was to eliminate or curb the Army program. Secretary Wilson agreed and in November 1956 set a range limit (loosely enforced) of 200 miles on future Army missiles and turned the Jupiter over to the Air Force.[20]

While Wilson's clarification of Service functions restored a semblance of order to the ballistic missile program, it left the door open to a resumption of conflict between the Air Force and Navy for control of the strategic bombardment mission. Clearly, the Air Force was in no immediate danger of being displaced. Nor was the Navy's Polaris force, once it became operational in the 1960s, apt to rival the Strategic Air Command's reach and striking power. But as the Services proceeded down the path laid out in the mid-1950s, the country was again heading toward the development of two strategic forces—one run by the Air Force and the other by the Navy—with all the overlapping and duplication of effort separate systems implied. The JCS had yet to address this issue, and, if the past were any guide, they would do everything in their collective power to avoid it. Yet sooner or later the day of reckoning would arrive.

THE GAITHER REPORT

With the U.S. missile program mired in inter-Service rivalry, feuding, and confusion, the task of formulating an effective response to Sputnik became all the more challenging. As it happened, it took an outside inquiry by a group of experts known as the Gaither Committee to break the logjam. The findings, summarized in a top secret report, reached the President and NSC in early November 1957, barely a month after the first Sputnik. Taking a broad-brush approach, the Gaither Committee confirmed the need for vigorous steps to counter Soviet progress in space and ballistic missiles and suggested that U.S. vulnerability might be even greater than previously supposed.

The Joint Chiefs resented intrusions by outsiders like the Gaither Committee but were virtually powerless to do much about it. The panel's origins lay in growing pressure from congressional Democrats who wanted the Eisenhower administration to do more in the area of civil defense against the threat of a Soviet nuclear attack. At issue was a Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA) plan, presented to the President in January 1957, urging large-scale civil defense improvements, including a $32 billion nationwide shelter program in lieu of a less expensive evacuation plan.[21] Some administration officials dismissed the shelters as a diversion of resources; others, including former Secretary of the Army Gordon Gray, now the director of the Office of Defense Mobilization (ODM), considered them a valuable contribution to deterrence.[22]

Adopting a neutral position, the Joint Chiefs concurred in the NSC Planning Board's finding that the shelter system needed further study. Seizing on this approach, President Eisenhower arranged in the spring of 1957 with H. Rowan Gaither, a West Coast attorney and chairman of the boards of the Ford Foundation and the RAND Corporation, to conduct an inquiry under ODM auspices. Officially designated the Security Resources Panel (SRP), the group was commonly known as the Gaither Committee. After Gaither fell ill in August, Robert C. Sprague, an electronics company executive who specialized in air and missile defense problems, and former Deputy Secretary of Defense William C. Foster, co-chaired the panel.[23]

Soon after agreeing to head the effort, Gaither persuaded the President's national security advisor, Robert Cutler, to expand the scope of the panel's investigation. Gaither argued that to place civil defense in its proper perspective, he and his committee needed to examine the whole range of the country's preparations for offensive and defensive strategic warfare, much as the Killian Report had done 2 years earlier.[24] Armed with an expanded writ, the SRP launched a wholesale inquiry into the country's strategic posture. Offering limited cooperation, the JCS turned down the committee's request for a list of documents but did provide three briefings—a general review of the Soviet threat, a status report on continental defenses, and an analysis of U.S. retaliatory capabilities.[25] For most of its data, the committee relied on the military Services, the Intelligence Community, and government "think tanks." James Phinney Baxter, the president of Williams College and author of the Pulitzer Prize–winning book, *Scientists Against Time* (1947), the official history of the Office of Scientific Research and Development in World War II, oversaw the preparation of the final report.

Unable to devote full time to the project because of his college duties, Baxter depended on two associates: Colonel George A. Lincoln, USA, a senior planner on General Marshall's staff in World War II and since 1947 a member of the U.S. Military Academy faculty, and Paul H. Nitze, who as director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff helped write NSC 68 and orchestrate the Truman rearmament

program. Lincoln was detached and impartial; Nitze was anything but. An outspoken critic of the Eisenhower administration's heavy reliance on nuclear weapons, he was a leading proponent of the emerging doctrine of flexible response that would reshape American defense policy during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations.[26]

Written in a style reminiscent of NSC 68, the Gaither Report examined the entire panorama of U.S.-Soviet relations. The heart of the report was its assessment of the ominous progress of the Soviet ICBM program, which in the committee's estimation exposed U.S. retaliatory forces to unprecedented risk. "By 1959," the report warned, "the USSR may be able to launch an attack with its ICBMs carrying megaton warheads, against which the Strategic Air Command (SAC) will be almost completely vulnerable under present programs." To address this threat, the committee recommended a $44 billion effort spread over 5 years—$19 billion to expand and upgrade offensive capabilities and $25 billion for active and passive defense programs—with future allocations giving roughly equal priority to offensive and defensive capabilities. Even with these improvements, the committee doubted that the United States could achieve complete security. Looking into the future, it predicted "a continuing race between the offense and the defense" and "no end to the technical moves and countermoves" to gain an advantage. Only through "a dependable agreement" limiting arms and "other measures for the preservation of peace" did the panel see any prospect of ending this vicious cycle.[27]

Despite the Gaither Report's foreboding tone, neither President Eisenhower nor his military advisors saw cause for panic. U–2 photographs (which were off-limits to the Gaither Committee because of their sensitivity) showed a Soviet ICBM capability limited to a single above-ground launch pad at a previously undetected test site near Tyuratam.[28] Whether this information would have changed the Gaither Committee's findings is uncertain. But it made a strong impression on the President's thinking. "Until an enemy has enough operational capability to destroy most of our bases simultaneously and thus prevent retaliation by us," Eisenhower believed, "our deterrent remains effective."[29] Having access to the same intelligence as the President, the Joint Chiefs agreed that the Gaither Committee had exaggerated the threat. Finding little new or unusual in the report, they dismissed its recommendations as excessive, overdrawn, and probably underpriced.[30]

THE "MISSILE GAP" AND BMD CONTROVERSIES

Though classified top secret, key findings of the Gaither Report soon "leaked" to the press, giving rise to speculation that the United States had fallen uncomfortably behind the Soviet Union in missile technology. Under pressure from Congress and

the media, President Eisenhower grudgingly requested small increases for missile development and other measures mentioned in the report. Hoping to keep critics at bay, he merely whetted their appetite for more. The ensuing controversy, known as the "missile gap," dogged the Eisenhower administration until it left office. A serious impediment to maintaining stability in military spending, the missile gap also became a major issue in the 1960 Presidential campaign. In fact, Soviet space and missile accomplishments tapered off after a second Sputnik launched in November 1957. However, a well-orchestrated propaganda and deception campaign spearheaded by Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev gave the impression that Soviet missiles were coming off assembly lines "like sausages" and could devastate the United States and Western Europe on a moment's notice. Eisenhower recalled that "there was rarely a day when I failed to give earnest study to reports of our progress and to estimates of Soviet capabilities."[31]

Struggling to hold the line, the White House received relatively little support or cooperation from the two sources—the Intelligence Community and the Joint Chiefs of Staff—that might have given the debate a more rational framework. Closely linked in their day-to-day activities, the JCS organization and the Intelligence Community used much of the same information but tended to interpret the data differently. While all agreed that that the United States still held a commanding lead in strategic nuclear power, there was no consensus on how long it would last. Sputnik had severely rattled the Intelligence Community, and in its aftermath intelligence analysts scrambled to figure out where they went wrong. Generally speaking, their assessment of the Soviet submarine-launched ballistic missile program was always fairly accurate.[32] But having underestimated Soviet ICBM capabilities earlier, they now compensated by overestimating what the Soviets could do. The most excessive estimates were those of Air Force intelligence, which depicted the Soviets as having a more robust missile program than the United States, purposefully designed to produce capabilities for launching a disarming first strike by the early to mid-1960s.[33]

Based in part on these divergent interpretations of intelligence, "splits" persisted among the Joint Chiefs over how the United States should respond in allocating resources. Though hardly conclusive, the best visual evidence the JCS found came from U–2 photographs. For diplomatic reasons, however, President Eisenhower decided in March 1958 to suspend U–2 flights over the Soviet Union, a suspension that lasted until July 1959.[34] Thus, the JCS for all practical purposes were "blind" to the progress in Soviet missile technology for well over a year. Even so, the evidence collected up until the suspension offered uneven support for the Air Force's high-end estimates and its contention that the Soviets were building the infrastructure for a first-strike ICBM force. Not only did launch facilities appear limited to a handful of above-ground pads, but also there was no designated organization to plan and

carry out nuclear delivery missions until the formation of the Strategic Rocket Forces (SRF) command in December 1959.[35]

A key figure in eventually settling these debates was General Nathan F. Twining, USAF, who succeeded Admiral Radford as CJCS in August 1957. Twining was not the most forceful or innovative Chairman, but he was well versed in strategic air warfare and did his best to function as an impartial arbiter in settling disputes. The Soviet missile program's ominous potential notwithstanding, Twining believed that the most serious threat to the United States was still the Soviet Union's long-range air force, estimated at 110–115 planes.[36] Looking at these numbers and at the U–2's findings, Twining agreed with his Army and Navy colleagues that there was no need for the "crash" program of ICBM development the Air Force favored. Offering an interim solution, he proposed allowing the missile program to proceed at a measured production rate until the United States had a better picture of the threats it faced and its strategic needs.[37] After further give and take, it was largely on this basis that the Eisenhower administration framed its response to the missile gap.[38]

Meanwhile, an even larger controversy was brewing over the allocation of resources for ballistic missile defense (BMD), one of the programs identified in the Gaither Report as being in urgent need of bolstering. Prior to Sputnik, the Defense Department supported two competing BMD systems: an Air Force program for wide-area defense known as "Wizard" and the Army's Nike-Zeus for point defense, the outgrowth of an earlier antiaircraft missile-radar system. Though both were essentially drawing-board concepts, the Army's was more refined, making it the frontrunner in the competition.[39] Alarmed by the success of Sputnik, Secretary of Defense Neil H. McElroy told President Eisenhower that it might be necessary to launch an initiative comparable to the World War II Manhattan Project to produce an anti-ICBM as quickly as possible.[40] Raising objections, the Air Force and the Navy argued that no program was as yet sufficiently advanced to warrant such action.[41] But with the pressure building, McElroy decided in January 1958 to end further debate by giving the Army primary responsibility for developing an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system.[42]

Having won the battle for control of the ABM mission, the Army now wanted Nike-Zeus elevated to the same national priority enjoyed by the Air Force and the Navy in offensive missile programs. Projecting deployment by the early 1960s, Army planners sought to move from R&D into full production as quickly as possible. But the high cost of a deployed Nike-Zeus system, estimated at $7 billion to $15 billion, invited further technical analysis which the JCS assigned to the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG). While WSEG found Nike-Zeus to have "significant" potential, it also cited the need for more information on technical problems, including the effects of high-altitude nuclear explosions, decoy discrimination, and the

vulnerability of incoming nuclear weapons.[43] Bowing to strong congressional pressure to overlook the system's shortcomings, an OSD technical steering group urged the Secretary of Defense in November 1958 to approve a limited production budget.[44] At this stage, a firm, unanimous, and unambiguous response from the Joint Chiefs might have settled the matter. But under the consensus rules that governed JCS deliberations, no such answer emerged. The only area of agreement among the chiefs was that there should be further R&D, a course that McElroy and Eisenhower, hard-pressed to hold down military spending, found more appealing than deployment.[45]

By chance, the President's decision to forego BMD production coincided with a surge in Soviet propaganda and assertions of nuclear superiority. Many Democrats in Congress and some members of the Intelligence Community accepted Soviet claims at face value. An added complication was that the Soviet Union carried out no ICBM tests between May 1958 and March 1959, a hiatus that produced new disputes among intelligence experts. The CIA and most other intelligence organizations interpreted the moratorium on testing as a sign that the Soviet program was having technical difficulties. Air Force intelligence disagreed, however, arguing that an equally plausible explanation was that the Soviets had ceased testing because they had solved their technical problems and were now gearing up for mass production.[46] To settle the matter, McElroy and Twining appealed to the President to resume U–2 overflights of the Soviet Union. At first, the President refused, fearing that the possible loss of a U–2 might provoke a diplomatic incident or worse. Apprised that the reconnaissance satellite project was "coming along nicely" and that the A–12, a faster and more sophisticated spy plane than the U–2, was waiting in the wings, he preferred to wait. But at the urging of both the CIA and State Department, the President changed his mind and in July 1959 authorized a single mission directed against the ICBM test facility at Tyuratam.[47]

The mission found no trace of launch sites other than at the Tyuratam test facility but could neither confirm nor deny whether the Soviets had a large-scale ICBM buildup under way. Still, the absence of new sites was reassuring news and led to a gradual reappraisal of the Soviet missile program. A new NIE, appearing in January 1960, downplayed the likelihood of a Soviet crash program to produce and deploy ICBMs. Based on these findings, George B. Kistiakowsky, the President's special assistant for science and technology, concluded that "the missile gap doesn't look to be very serious."[48]

The new estimate (NIE 11-8-59) projected a deployed Soviet force of 140 to 200 ICBMs by mid-1961, with the Joint Staff endorsing the higher number.[49] At the President's request, General Twining, Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr., and Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) Allen W. Dulles appeared before Congress to explain the new intelligence. All agreed that the fresh data cast doubt on the missile gap. Unfortunately, however, their testimony was poorly coordinated and diverged

on critical details, most notably the number of missiles the Soviets might deploy. In closed hearings, Gates and Dulles stressed the lower numbers while Twining stood by the Joint Staff's figures. Seizing on this and other discrepancies, some congressional Democrats questioned the reliability of the administration's assessments, keeping the missile gap controversy alive and well despite growing evidence that the Soviet lead was overblown.[50]

Determined to end the missile gap debate, DCI Dulles persuaded President Eisenhower to increase the frequency of U–2 flights over the Soviet Union. Even before the program began in 1956, Richard M. Bissell, Jr., the coordinator of the effort, had predicted that the U–2 would be able to fly over the Soviet Union with impunity for only about 2 years.[51] Hence, the development of the A–12, a faster plane that could cruise at 90,000 feet. Based on Bissell's estimate, by 1960 the U–2 was living on borrowed time. Increasingly uneasy, Eisenhower reluctantly supported Dulles in hopes of bringing the controversy to a definitive conclusion. The result was a new series of flights, culminating in Francis Gary Powers' ill-fated mission of May 1, 1960, which the Soviets ended abruptly with an SA–2 missile.[52] In addition to wrecking a summit conference between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, the downing of Powers' plane brought an immediate cessation of U–2 flights over the Soviet Union. Thus ended the most reliable source of information the Joint Chiefs and the Intelligence Community had on the Soviet missile buildup until the Discoverer satellite program began to provide detailed pictures later that summer.[53]

Even with the missile gap issue unresolved, the U.S. response was well formed, with much of it in place by the time the Eisenhower administration left office. Unable to agree on an overall strategic blueprint, the Joint Chiefs let the Services pursue their own often overlapping interests and left it up to the Secretary of Defense and the President to resolve conflicts. The result was a fairly predictable allocation of functions that essentially allowed each Service to push its preferred programs—ICBMs and IRBMs for the Air Force, Polaris for the Navy, and Nike-Zeus for the Army. A new strategic buildup driven by dynamic advances in missile technology and energized by arguable claims of Soviet accomplishments had begun.

REORGANIZATION AND REFORM, 1958–1960

The inter-Service rivalry and competition that plagued the missile program left President Eisenhower more convinced than ever that the Department of Defense—and in particular the Joint Chiefs of Staff—needed fundamental organizational reform. Despite the changes made in 1953, Eisenhower was far from satisfied with the results. While the 1953 reforms had streamlined and strengthened the Office of the

Secretary of Defense, they had produced only limited improvements in JCS performance. The central problems, in Eisenhower's view, continued to be the institutional weakness of the Chairman and the influence of "narrow Service considerations" in JCS deliberations. The "original mistake in this whole business," he believed, had been the failure to create a single Service in 1947.[54] Ideally, he wanted the Chairman to have broader powers and the authority to make decisions in the absence of unanimity among the chiefs. He also wanted to simplify lines of command and control, make the JCS members of the Secretary's staff, and turn the Joint Staff into an integrated, all-Service organization similar to the combined staffs he had commanded in Europe in World War II and at SHAPE in the early 1950s.[55]

The Joint Chiefs recognized that their internal differences threatened serious consequences for their role and influence. By failing to reconcile their differences, warned the Air Force Chief of Staff General Thomas D. White, the JCS were placing themselves in jeopardy of ceding important military policy functions to civilians in OSD.[56] Despite the risk, however, none of the chiefs, including White, favored a sharp departure from current practices and procedures; only the Chairman, General Twining, showed significant interest in organizational reform. The most determined of all to preserve the status quo was Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, who openly denounced "public pressures toward centralization and authoritarianism in defense."[57] To help make their case, the JCS in December 1957 appointed an ad hoc inter-Service panel headed by Major General Earle G. Wheeler, USA, who would later become Chairman of the JCS. Working quickly, the committee came up with an interim report in less than a month, but its findings, which were generally in line with the view that radical changes were to be avoided, proved too little too late to affect the ensuing debate.[58]

The opening salvo in the administration's drive to reform the Pentagon came on January 9, 1958, in the President's State of the Union address. Insisting that defense reorganization was "imperative," he called for "real unity" among the Services, clear subordination of the military to civilian control, improved integration of resources, simplification of scientific and industrial effort, and an end to inter-Service rivalry and disputes.[59] To translate the President's goals into specific recommendations, Secretary of Defense McElroy turned to Charles A. Coolidge, a former assistant secretary, who had worked on defense organizational problems in the past. For assistance, Coolidge formed an advisory group that included General Twining, his two predecessors, Admiral Radford and General Bradley, and General Alfred M. Gruenther, USA (Ret.), the former NATO commander and the first director of the Joint Staff.[60]

Drawing on the findings of the Coolidge group, Eisenhower submitted reform recommendations to Congress on April 3, 1958. Declaring that "separate ground, sea and air warfare is gone forever," the President called for legislation to facilitate closer

inter-Service unity and cooperation. Among the changes he sought were authority for the Secretary of Defense to transfer, reassign, consolidate, or abolish military functions; a simplified chain of command; enhanced authority for the Secretary to carry out military research and development through a director of defense research and engineering; removal of the ceiling on the size of the Joint Staff; and stronger powers for the Chairman, allowing him to vote in JCS deliberations and to select (subject to the Secretary's approval) the Joint Staff's director.[61]

Opponents of the President's plan rallied behind Democratic Representative Carl Vinson of Georgia, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and a longtime supporter of the Navy.[62] A critic of Service unification, Vinson knew that more power for the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman meant less power and authority for him and his committee. To blunt the President's initiative, he accused the administration of seeking a "blank check" to remake the Joint Staff and revived arguments that the White House was flirting with a Prussian-style general staff. Eventually, he sent proposed legislation to the House floor that fell short of meeting administration requests for changes. Stymied in the House, the administration relied on the Senate to produce a bill more to its liking and trusted a conference committee to iron out the differences in its favor. Although many in Congress shared Vinson's concerns to one degree or another, the overriding sentiment among legislators was that the Commander in Chief should have the latitude to organize the Department of Defense as he saw fit. The resulting compromise, signed into law on August 6, 1958, gave the President nearly everything he sought, but retained a ceiling on the size of the Joint Staff (increased from 210 to 400 officers) and banned its use in any capacity approximating "an overall Armed Forces General Staff."[63]

While most of the President's reforms required enabling legislation from Congress, those affecting the internal organization and operation of the JCS were largely carried out under the existing authority of the Secretary of Defense. Expressing no particular preferences, McElroy left the details to be worked out by the Joint Chiefs themselves. Foremost among the changes thus made was the creation of a conventional military staff structure, which replaced the Joint Staff's committee-group system. In April 1958, Director of the Joint Staff Major General Oliver S. Picher, USAF, suggested establishing functional numbered directorates: J-1 (personnel), J-2 (intelligence), J-3 (operations), J-4 (logistics), J-5 (plans and policy), and J-6 (communications and electronics). The most innovative feature under this arrangement was the creation of the operations directorate, J-3, which had no corresponding organization under the old group system. President Eisenhower had often said that he wanted the JCS more involved in operational matters, but he had never been specific.[64] Arguing that the Joint Staff would be exercising executive authority, Admiral Burke

and Commandant of the Marine Corps General Randolph McC. Pate objected to these new arrangements, but offered no alternative other than retention of the status quo. In view of the caveats inserted by Congress into the final legislation, Twining and McElroy agreed that the problems Burke and Pate envisioned appeared highly unlikely, and in late August 1958 they assured Eisenhower that the restructuring of the Joint Staff would proceed as planned.[65]

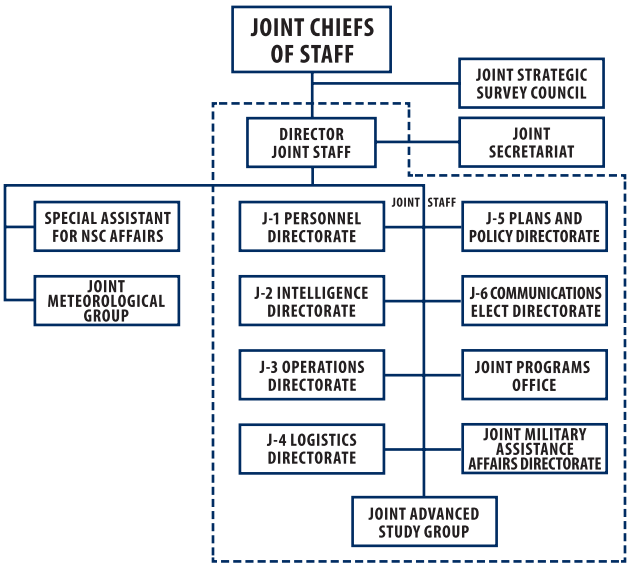
The 1958 amendments also streamlined relationships under the unified command plan. As the President had stated, a major goal of the reorganization was to establish a more direct chain of command by ending the designation of a military department as the executive agency for each unified command. Under the new law, the chain of command ran from the President to the Secretary of Defense to the unified and specified commanders. The intent was that all combatant forces should operate under the control of a unified or specified commander who would be responsible directly to the Secretary of Defense. The Secretary would exercise control by orders issued through the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In consonance with this intention, the 1958 amendments deleted existing provisions that had authorized a Service chief to command the operating forces of his Service. From this point on, each military department was to organize, equip, train, support, and administer combatant forces but not direct their operations.[66]

Implementing these provisions fell to Secretary McElroy, who issued a revised version of DOD Directive 5100.1, "Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components," on December 31, 1958. The directive designated the Joint Chiefs of Staff as the Secretary's "immediate military staff" and described the chain of operational command as extending from the President to the Secretary via the Joint Chiefs to the unified and specified commanders. In effect, the JCS became the conduit through which the National Command Authority, or NCA (i.e., the President, the Secretary of Defense, and the NSC), communicated with the combatant commanders. The new directive also charged the Joint Chiefs with responsibility for recommending to the Secretary of Defense the establishment and force structure of unified and specified commands, the assignment to the military departments of responsibility for providing support to these commands, and the review of the unified commanders' strategic plans and programs.[67]

No less important than the reforms enacted in 1958 was the creation, 2 years later, of the Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff (JSTPS). An administrative extension of the JCS, the JSTPS's function was to plan and coordinate strategic nuclear targeting, a key part of the Joint Chiefs' statutory responsibility for strategic planning. Though the majority of the officers serving on the JSTPS were from the Air Force, it also included naval officers and representatives from each major combatant command allocated nuclear weapons. The origins of the JSTPS lay in the growth of the missile program and the need for better command, control, and coordination of targeting. At issue was how

Figure 6–1.

JCS Organization Chart, 1959



Note: Only major organization entities shown. The designation "Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff" used to include the Joint Staff as well as the other offices, agencies, and groups supporting the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

to integrate the Navy's Polaris submarine fleet with other strategic forces when the Polaris boats began deployment in the early 1960s. Initially, there were two competing plans on the table—an Air Force plan to centralize the control of all strategic nuclear forces under an overarching U.S. Strategic Command that would replace SAC, and a Navy plan, supported by the Army and the Marine Corps, to place the Polaris boats under the command and control of unified commanders with major naval forces (Commander in Chief, Atlantic; Commander in Chief, Pacific; and U.S. Commander in Chief, Europe).[68] During the early months of 1959, the debate became, as one senior Air Force planner described it, "an all-out battle" that could shape budget shares and the control of forces and missions for decades to come.[69]

Despite the 1958 reforms, unity among the Joint Chiefs remained more a hope than a reality, frustrating the possibility of an early resolution of the Polaris issue. In May 1959, the Joint Chiefs notified the Secretary that they could only produce a split recommendation on command and control of strategic forces.[70] Absent on medical leave, General Twining had played no part in the chiefs' deliberations. When he resumed his duties that summer he set about finding a solution to the problem, which he identified as essentially the selection of targets, the development of appropriate plans, and the right allocation of resources.[71] Since the Strategic Air Command had

most of the assets and experience in these matters, Twining expected any solution to center around SAC. Viewing the creation of a new unified command as the last resort, he preferred to start with the development of a comprehensive target list and a jointly prepared single integrated operational targeting plan. All Polaris submarines would remain under the Navy's tactical control, but the targeting of their weapons would be a joint endeavor, to avoid overlap and unnecessary duplication with other forces. It was from this blueprint that the JSTPS eventually emerged.[72]

Twining urged the Secretary and the President to defer action until they had the results of an ongoing review of targeting priorities by the Net Evaluation Subcommittee (NESC), an inter-Service technical advisory body under the NSC. While the NESC had conducted limited inquiries of this nature before, this was the most in-depth examination of targeting policy since the Joint Chiefs systematized targeting categories in the summer of 1950. Such a review should have been an in-house function, but because of the Joint Staff's limited size, the JCS had yet to develop a war-gaming capability. For technical analysis, they relied on the NESC, WSEG, RAND, the Defense Atomic Support Agency (DASA), and the Services.[73] The key question was whether to concentrate strategic attacks against targets that were primarily military (the preferred Air Force approach), primarily urban-industrial (the Army and Navy view), or an "optimum mix." Toward the end of October 1959, the NESC recommended adopting the latter approach, thereby covering all bases.[74] At this point, a lengthy and acrimonious debate ensued among the Joint Chiefs over the organizational arrangements that should be adopted to implement the NESC report. Resisting pressure from the Air Force, Admiral Burke insisted that there should be no merger of strategic forces and that SAC should have no authority over Polaris.[75] To accommodate Burke's objections, the new Secretary of Defense, Thomas S. Gates, Jr., pushed the idea of a separate joint targeting staff—the JSTPS—responsible to the JCS. Gates told the President that, to reach this point, he had held 15 meetings with the Joint Chiefs.[76]

Patience paid off, and on August 11, 1960, despite continuing objections from Admiral Burke, President Eisenhower gave the go-ahead for the integration of strategic targeting. The decision came at the end of a contentious 2-hour White House meeting involving the President, Gates, and the Joint Chiefs. The most heated exchanges were between Twining, who accused the Navy of habitually operating on its own agenda and flouting the principles of unified command, and Burke, who counterattacked that the proposed targeting system undermined JCS authority and was nothing more than a thinly disguised attempt by the Air Force to seize control of Polaris. Agreeing with Burke that strategic targeting should remain a JCS responsibility, President Eisenhower reminded the chiefs that they should keep the

matter under close periodic review. But he found the behavior of all involved in the controversy appalling and admonished them "to try to make arrangements work."[77]

Activated about a month later, the JSTPS operated from Strategic Air Command headquarters at Offut Air Force Base near Omaha, Nebraska, where it had access to SAC's computers and vaults of targeting data. The head of the organization was the commander in chief, Strategic Air Command (CINCSAC), an Air Force four-star general who served as the director of Strategic Target Planning (DSTP). Under him was a Navy vice admiral deputy director in charge of day-to-day management. The JSTPS had an initial strength of just over 200 officers—half the size of the Joint Staff at the time—of which roughly 15 percent were from the Navy.[78] The DSTP communicated directly with the JCS through a liaison office in the Pentagon.[79] Broadly speaking, the JSTPS had two tasks: to maintain and update a comprehensive list of targets, known as the National Strategic Targeting List (NSTL); and to prepare a Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) for the execution of strategic operations against the Soviet Union, Communist China, and the Warsaw Pact countries of Eastern Europe.[80]

By the end of 1960, the JSTPS had produced the first SIOP, designated SIOP–62. A hurry-up job, it contained only one "plan," which was meant for execution as a whole. Though it supposedly conformed to the NESC "optimum mix" philosophy, SIOP–62 was essentially a recapitulation of previous SAC war plans, oriented toward massive retaliation, with the assets of available Polaris boats added in. Eighty percent of the planned attacks were against "military targets." These included not only atomic energy facilities, ICBM sites, air bases, and other military installations, but also factories turning out military equipment located in urban-industrial centers. Planners acknowledged that it was practically impossible to distinguish an attack against a military target from an attack against an urban-industrial target.[81]

Eisenhower's reaction to SIOP–62 was that it did not appear "to make the most effective use of our resources." He said that if the planning had been in his hands, he would have held the Polaris boats in reserve for follow-on attacks. Though Eisenhower still approved the plan, his science advisor, George B. Kistiakowsky, thought the next administration should subject it to a "thorough revision."[82] Herbert F. York, director of Defense Research and Engineering and a key figure in the development of strategic weapons, agreed. York recalled that the programmed attacks were so indiscriminate that their purpose seemed to be "simply to strip-mine much of the USSR."[83]

Eisenhower wanted the targeting controversy settled and the JSTPS up and running before he left office; he did not want to saddle his successor "with the monstrosity we now see in prospect as Polaris and other new weapons come into operating status."[84] But like other organizational reforms initiated toward the end of his Presidency, it was hard to predict how successful the new targeting procedures would be. As the inter-Service

quarreling over guided missiles and targeting policy demonstrated, it would take more than an act of Congress to instill unity of spirit and action among the Services. The 1958 reforms had taken the Joint Chiefs of Staff about as far as they could go without discarding the concept of an inter-Service corporate advisory body, creating a full-blown general staff, and giving the Chairman complete control. But at the same time, these reforms had not done much to make the JCS a more efficient and effective entity.

DEFENSE OF THE MIDDLE EAST

As the Joint Chiefs struggled with the impact of guided missiles, new security problems were emerging abroad. At the outset of the Eisenhower administration, the principal Cold War battlegrounds were in Europe and East Asia. But by the mid-1950s, attention turned increasingly to the Middle East, where continuing friction between Israel and the Arab states and a growing Soviet presence created new concerns. To the Joint Chiefs, the strategic importance of the Middle East was self-evident. It contained the largest petroleum reserves in the world, the Suez Canal, and ideal locations for military bases from which to launch strategic air and missile attacks against the Soviet Union in the event of general war. Were the Middle East to become part of the Sino-Soviet block, the results would doubtless have a seriously adverse impact on American interests and the strategic balance.

In considering defense arrangements for the Middle East, the Joint Chiefs moved with caution, partly because of limited resources and partly because British interests and influence predominated there. While the United States had formidable capabilities nearby—the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean and air bases in Morocco, Libya, and Turkey—the only U.S. forces assigned to the Middle East were the MIDEASTFOR, a task force of four or five ships in the Persian Gulf under the control of the Commander in Chief, U.S. Naval Forces, Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean (CINCNELM).[85] Considerably larger, the British presence included a network of military and naval bases, economic holdings, and intelligence assets scattered across the region. Most of the initial defense planning thus occurred in London, where the British Chiefs of Staff took the lead. The organizing concept that emerged from these discussions was the Baghdad Pact, a loose coalition created early in 1955 that included Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. With NATO to the west and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to the east, the Baghdad Pact completed "a globe-girdling wall of containment against communist expansion."[86] The JCS favored full U.S. adherence to the Baghdad Pact, but ran into opposition from the State Department, which worried that U.S. membership would complicate American efforts to

ease Arab-Israeli tensions. Eventually, the JCS had to settle for "observer" status, which gave them back-door access to the Pact's military planning.[87]

Conceived as an anti-Communist alliance, the Baghdad Pact's main military function was to block a Soviet invasion of the Middle East and Southwest Asia. At Iran's insistence, the Pact adopted a strategy to defend a line along the rugged Elburz Mountains stretching from the borders of Armenia to the Caspian Sea. JCS planners assessed the concept as "sound" in theory, but found it needing closer coordination than Alliance members seemed prepared to accept.[88] At bottom, the members of the Baghdad Pact had little in common other than their desire for U.S. military assistance, which Iran and Iraq appeared to want to prop up their regimes and preserve internal order rather than to fight the Soviets. Easily destabilized monarchies ruled in both countries, and neither was keen on developing a defense establishment that might become a rival for power. Rating Iran and Iraq of dubious reliability, the JCS viewed a successful defense of the Middle East as resting on Turkey (a NATO ally) and Pakistan, owing to their strategic locations, historic anti-Communism, and commitment to a strong defense posture.[89]

JCS efforts to fashion a credible defense under the Baghdad Pact were further complicated by the rising tempo of anti-Zionism in the Muslim world and the intensification of Arab nationalism. The leading political figure in the region was now Gamal Abdel Nasser, president of Egypt, who had maneuvered his way into power following a 1952 putsch that had toppled the dissolute King Farouk. Nasser aspired to unite the Arab world and mounted unrelenting propaganda campaigns against Israel and the Baghdad Pact. He also aided and abetted Palestinian guerrilla raids into Israel from the Gaza Strip and threatened major military action to wipe out the Jewish state. For support, he turned to the Soviets who obligingly sold him arms through Czechoslovakia. Recognizing Nasser's growing popularity in the Third World, Eisenhower thought it necessary to "woo" him and hesitated to put too much overt pressure on Egypt lest it provoke an anti-American backlash in the Muslim world "from Dakar to the Philippine Islands." Normally, the Joint Chiefs would have agreed. But according to Admiral Burke, the consensus among the chiefs was that one way or another Nasser needed to be "broken."[90]

Nasser's most audacious move was to nationalize the British-owned Suez Canal on July 26, 1956, in retaliation for the withdrawal of American and British financing of the Aswan Dam project. In Admiral Radford's view, Nasser was "trying to be another Hitler."[91] With tensions between Israel and Egypt also escalating, the JCS and the British chiefs quietly began staff talks on possible combined military action in the Middle East in the event of another Arab-Israeli war.[92] After nationalization, the British signaled that they would welcome a collaborative effort along these lines to regain control of the canal.[93] Assuming the President would support the

British, the JCS proposed moving ahead with contingency planning under which the United States would contribute economic and logistical support to a combined operation against Egypt in the event diplomacy failed. Should "third parties" (i.e., the Soviets) intervene, the JCS favored an immediate commitment of U.S. combat forces.[94] Eisenhower, however, refused even to look at such plans. Unless there was a major threat to the Persian Gulf oil fields, he could not perceive U.S. interests to be seriously at risk and had no desire to be accused of coming to the rescue of Anglo-French colonialism. While he acknowledged that "there may be no escape from the use of force" in the current crisis, he did not want the United States directly involved in a confrontation that could draw in the Soviets.[95]

Instead of direct military action, Eisenhower favored weakening Soviet influence and undermining Nasser's regime through covert operations under a combined Anglo-American plan (code-named OMEGA), which he sanctioned in late March 1956. Limited initially to political and economic pressure, the plan's purpose, as Eisenhower described it, was to "help stabilize the situation" in the Middle East and "give us a better atmosphere in which to work."[96] Though the JCS had no direct role in OMEGA, Admiral Radford was in on the planning and aware of the details practically from its inception.[97] OMEGA's chances of success, however, were far from certain, and as planning progressed there were veiled hints that the President's British counterpart (and personal friend) Prime Minister Anthony Eden might take preemptive action on his own. Months before the nationalization, Eden was "quite emphatic that Nasser must be got rid of." But despite their shared antipathy for Nasser, Eden could not persuade the President to participate beyond OMEGA.[98]

Unable to enlist anything other than nominal American support, Eden turned to the French and Israelis and began secretly organizing a military operation against Egypt. Known as MUSKETEER, the British plan called for Israel to feign an invasion of Egypt, giving France and Britain an excuse to intervene, take control of the Suez Canal, and install a new regime in Egypt "less hostile to the West."[99] As preparations for the operation unfolded, the National Security Agency intercepted a new and unfamiliar French code, followed by a "vast increase" in cable traffic between the French and the Israelis.[100] Suspecting something was afoot, President Eisenhower authorized U–2 flights that detected unusual concentrations of British forces on Malta and Cyprus and early signs of Israeli mobilization.[101] An elaborate deception plan mounted by British intelligence sought to convince the CIA and President Eisenhower that the Israeli mobilization was aimed against Jordan, not Egypt, and that the British buildup was to protect Jordan, with whom the UK had a security treaty. Eventually, the Intelligence Community and the Joint Chiefs uncovered the ruse, but by that time it was too late to make much difference.[102]

The invasion began on October 29, 1956, when an estimated six Israeli brigades crossed into the Sinai, breaking through Egyptian defenses. Shortly after hostilities commenced, the Joint Chiefs increased the alert status of selected U.S. forces and deployed additional naval units to the eastern Mediterranean, some to assist in the evacuation of U.S. citizens from Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and Syria. But beyond this, the JCS adopted a low profile and played a limited role in the crisis. In line with declarations from the White House calling on the invaders to cease and desist, the JCS were careful to avoid giving the appearance that the United States was taking sides. Still, the mere presence of increased American forces in the region had the de facto effect of working to the advantage of the Anglo-French-Israeli coalition.[103]

Initially, the attack was a stunning success. Within days, having easily routed the Egyptians, the Israelis were astride the Suez Canal. But after the landing of British and French troops at Port Said on November 6, the invasion began to lose steam. Eden assumed that once the operation was under way, Eisenhower would see the opportunities it presented and throw his support to Britain, France, and Israel.[104] Eden, however, was wrong. The fatal flaw in the allies' plan was that, while the operation seriously crippled Nasser's military machine, it failed to undermine his popularity or bring down his regime. Persuaded that Nasser would survive the setback and that further efforts to unseat him could only harm U.S. interests in the Third World, Eisenhower insisted that the coalition halt its operations, accept an immediate ceasefire, and promptly withdraw. Eden reluctantly agreed, knowing that he would be admitting defeat and have to resign his premiership with no chance of ever regaining control of the canal.

The Suez crisis coincided with two other major events: a popular uprising in Hungary against Soviet domination, which eventually failed to dislodge Communist rule; and the Presidential election in the United States, which Eisenhower won handily. As it turned out, the Hungarian uprising kept the Soviets so preoccupied that they were in no position to provide much help to the Egyptians. Based on the information available at the senior levels in Washington, there was little likelihood that Moscow would intervene on Egypt's behalf. Though Moscow at one point rattled its nuclear sabers against the invaders, Eisenhower dismissed the threats as bluster aimed more at shoring up Moscow's bona fides with Nasser than at influencing decisions in London, Paris, or Tel Aviv. As a precaution, the Joint Chiefs recommended to the President on November 6—election day—that the Strategic Air Command increase its readiness status for an emergency. Eisenhower, however, saw no need.[105]

In the aftermath of the Suez crisis, there emerged a politico-military vacuum in the Middle East which the United States and the Soviet Union rushed to fill—the Soviets by stepping up arms aid and political backing for their major clients, Egypt and Syria, and the United States by offering similar benefits and planning

advice to the members of the Baghdad Pact. The operative U.S. policy, unveiled in January 1957, was the "Eisenhower Doctrine," a broad promise of economic and military help for any Middle East country threatened with a Communist takeover.[106] Developed to give the President greater leverage in a future Middle East crisis, the doctrine emerged without even a pro forma review by the Joint Chiefs and had only tepid support in Congress. Even so, it filled an obvious void and gave the JCS a better idea of how far they could go in formulating plans and strategy.[107]

With British influence on the wane, the United States emerged as the de facto leader of the Baghdad Pact. By the summer of 1957, JCS representatives were working directly with pact planners to coordinate defense of the region with assigned taskings for U.S. forces under the Joint Strategic Capabilities Plan. While offering air and naval support, the JCS sought to avoid a commitment of U.S. ground troops and looked to indigenous forces, primarily those of Turkey and Pakistan, to lead the fight on the ground.[108] However, the CINCNELM, Admiral Walter F. Boone, who exercised operational planning responsibility for the region, envisioned a significantly broader U.S. commitment. Citing the Eisenhower Doctrine, Boone requested authority at the first signs of escalating tensions to insert elite combat forces and enlarged military advisory units into the Middle East.[109] In preparation, Boone held exploratory talks with Army commanders at his headquarters in London in September 1957, and in November he hosted a joint conference of Army, Navy, and Air Force representatives to develop joint plans for airborne operations and air transport support in the Middle East.[110]

Several members of the Joint Chiefs expressed concern that Boone was moving too far too fast. Citing the limited availability of resources, the Army and Air Force chiefs of staff questioned the feasibility of Boone's plans and suggested that he had exceeded his authority by presuming to interpret U.S. policy needs under the Eisenhower Doctrine.[111] In February 1958, Boone and the JCS reached an understanding that restricted CINCNELM's planning for intervention to Lebanon and Jordan. Later, the JCS extended this mandate to include the prevention of a coup d'état, rumored to have Egyptian support, aimed at toppling the government of Saudi Arabia.[112]

The first test of these plans came in Lebanon where in May 1958 a Muslim-led revolt broke out against the pro-Western Christian government of Camille Chamoun. Earlier that same year, Egypt and Syria had joined forces to form a United Arab Republic (UAR). Suspecting UAR involvement in the disturbances, President Eisenhower ordered Marines with the Sixth Fleet to be prepared to intervene. But by the end of the month, tensions in Lebanon had eased and U.S. forces stood down. Fearing the unrest would resume and spread, King Hussein of Jordan requested assistance from his cousin, King Faisal II of Iraq. Faisal ordered the Nineteenth Brigade to go to Hussein's aid. Instead of marching on Jordan, dissident units loyal to Brigadier

Abdul-Karim Kassim staged a rebellion in Baghdad against the monarchy. On July 14–15, the insurgents murdered Faisal, his family, and Premier Nuri al-Said and established a military regime allied with Egypt and Syria. Alarmed, Chamoun requested immediate U.S. military intervention under the Eisenhower Doctrine, and on July 15 a Marine battalion landing team went ashore south of Beirut in the first phase of Operation *Blue Bat*. At the same time, demonstrating that it was still a power to be reckoned with, Britain deployed 3,000 paratroopers to Jordan to shore up Hussein's rule.

In contrast to the debates over Korea, Indochina, and the Chinese off-shore islands, the decision to launch Operation *Blue Bat* was relatively quick and easy. Having ironed out most of their differences during the planning phase, the Joint Chiefs were able to move promptly when the time arrived. Though there was some talk of mounting a combined operation with the British, events moved too quickly for the necessary arrangements to be finalized and put into effect. While briefing congressional leaders immediately before U.S. troops landed, General Twining speculated that involvement in Lebanon might require intervention elsewhere in the region.[113] Still, the uneasiness of Congress over an expanded operation, the absence of overt Soviet, Egyptian, or Syrian involvement, and President Eisenhower's own reluctance to make open-ended commitments confined the operation to Beirut. Finding no concrete evidence of Communist involvement, the President declined to justify U.S. intervention as a function of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

The Lebanon incident was the only time during his Presidency, other than during the final months of the Korean War, that Eisenhower resorted to the use of military power. Among other things, Operation *Blue Bat* served to rebut critics (including Army Chief of Staff General Maxwell D. Taylor) who argued that the administration's cutbacks and reallocation of military resources under the New Look had eviscerated the country's conventional forces. To be sure, some of the equipment used in the operation was obsolescent. But within 2 weeks, the JCS were able to deploy the bulk of the Sixth Fleet off-shore and a division-equivalent of Marines and Army troops in and around Beirut, with two more Army divisions standing by in Germany.[114] Initially, Admiral James L. Holloway, Jr., who had succeeded Admiral Boone as CINCNELM in February, directly commanded the entire operation.[115] Evolving quickly into a joint enterprise, the growing scale and scope of the intervention necessitated an expanded command structure, with an Air Force major general in charge of tactical support and air transport operations and an Army major general commanding ground forces ashore. Holloway remained in charge overall.[116] As historian Stephen E. Ambrose later observed: "Lebanon, in short, was a show of force—and a most impressive one."[117]

The Lebanon intervention was the final episode in a fast-paced 2 years since the Suez crisis that witnessed dramatic changes in the political, strategic, and

military makeup of the Middle East. From this point until the Six Day War of 1967, the Middle East seemed to quiet down. Even so, the alignment of Egypt and Syria with the Soviet Union, the overthrow of the pro-Western government in Iraq and, with it, the effective collapse of the Baghdad Pact (replaced by a rump alliance calling itself the Central Treaty Organization, or CENTO, in 1959), and continuing tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbors, all made for a sensitive situation that the Joint Chiefs continued to watch carefully. The United States had yet to make a major military commitment to the Middle East. But from the seeds sown in the 1950s, something along those lines seemed unavoidable sooner or later.

CUBA, CASTRO, AND COMMUNISM

Like the Middle East, Latin America experienced growing social, economic, and political turmoil during the 1950s. Building steadily as the decade progressed, these pressures culminated in 1959 in the Cuban revolution, which brought to power a Marxist regime under Fidel Castro. Denouncing the United States, Castro eventually aligned his country with the Soviet Union. At the time these events were taking shape, the Joint Chiefs of Staff had one overriding strategic concern in Latin America—the security of the Panama Canal. They also assisted in training military officers at Defense Department schools and in establishing military advisory programs to assist friendly governments. But as a rule, the JCS dedicated few forces to the region and exercised limited influence over U.S. policy there during the Eisenhower years. If the President needed advice or information, he usually relied on a small circle that included his brother, Milton Eisenhower, a specialist on Latin America, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and Allen W. Dulles, the Director of Central Intelligence.

Throughout Eisenhower's years in office, it was axiomatic that a Communist presence in the Western Hemisphere would be intolerable and that the United States should do all it could to prevent Moscow from making inroads. The preferred approach was to use diplomatic channels or covert operations. Prior to the Cuban revolution, the most serious challenge to U.S. policy came from Guatemalan strongman Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán, a former military officer with leftist political sympathies. Installed as president in 1951 after a controversial and violent election, Árbenz adopted tolerant policies toward Communists and made overtures to the Soviet Union, which reciprocated by sending Guatemala a shipload of small arms. Convinced that Árbenz was "merely a puppet manipulated by Communists," Eisenhower gave the Central Intelligence Agency the go-ahead to mount a "black" propaganda campaign against Árbenz's authority and to organize and arm a paramilitary group that ousted Árbenz from power in June 1954.[118]

Following the overthrow of the Árbenz regime, the Eisenhower administration set about bolstering anti-Communist governments in Latin America through, among other things, expanded military training and assistance.[119] The Joint Chiefs supported the administration's overall goal but objected to State Department efforts to micromanage these programs.[120] As time went on, friction over this issue centered increasingly on assistance to Cuba, where dissidents under Fidel Castro, a lawyer turned revolutionary, had been waging a guerrilla war against the country's heavy-handed dictator, Fulgencio Batista, since 1953. Having lost confidence in Batista's honesty and leadership, the State Department charged him with improperly diverting American aid earmarked for hemispheric defense to internal security functions, mainly to fight Castro. In March 1958, without consulting the JCS, State suspended all arms shipments to Cuba.[121] A furious Admiral Burke accused the State Department of committing an "unfriendly act" toward the Cuban government that amounted to aiding the rebels.[122] However, legislators on Capitol Hill supported the State Department, and in the summer of 1958 Congress tightened the terms under which American military assistance could be used for internal security functions in Latin America. The JCS hoped to work around these restrictions, but by the end of the year the tide had so turned in Castro's favor that lifting the arms embargo would have had little effect. On January 1, 1959, Batista fled the country, leaving it in the hands of the rebels.[123]

Castro's almost overnight rise to power ushered in a turbulent era in Cuban-American relations, leading to mutual hostility that would outlive the Cold War. Citing Castro's Marxist rhetoric and anti-American diatribes, the Joint Chiefs were inclined from the beginning to regard him as a Communist who would someday ally himself with the Soviet Union. Others, however, including key figures in the Intelligence Community, found the evidence inconclusive. Not until early 1960, when Cuba and the Soviet Union concluded a series of trade and technical support deals, was Castro's alignment with the Eastern Bloc confirmed beyond all doubt. From that point on, the United States and Castro's Cuba were in a virtual state of war.

In light of the Castro regime's hostility toward the United States and reliance on the Soviet Union, the Joint Chiefs began looking at military options, with Admiral Burke and the Navy in the forefront of advocating a forceful policy. Convinced that a Communist Cuba would be anathema to U.S. interests across the Western Hemisphere, Burke saw military action against Cuba as practically unavoidable, and in February 1960 he suggested that the JCS consider steps to topple Castro's regime. Burke envisioned three possible scenarios: unilateral overt action by the United States; multilateral overt action through the Organization of American States (OAS); and covert unilateral action.[124] The JCS agreed that Burke's suggestions merited a closer look, and by mid-March the Joint Staff had generated preliminary plans to reinforce the

defenses around the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay while initiating a naval blockade of Cuba and landing an invasion force of two Army airborne battle groups.[125]

Like the Joint Chiefs, President Eisenhower wanted Castro—a "little Hitler" as he called him—out of the way and was not averse to "drastic" action to achieve his goal.[126] Realizing, however, that Castro appeared as "a hero to the masses in many Latin American nations" and the "champion of the downtrodden," he feared an ugly anti-American backlash across Latin America if U.S. forces became directly involved in Castro's overthrow.[127] Alerted to Eisenhower's concerns, the CIA in January 1960 began assembling plans and supervisory personnel for covert action against Castro, using the Árbenz operation as a model. The original concept envisioned a modest venture in which a small force of Cuban expatriates would invade the island, establish a perimeter, and hold until a provisional government could declare itself and be recognized. Other guerrilla forces would intensify their operations in anticipation that these activities, coupled with unspecified U.S. pressure, would produce a mass uprising leading to Castro's ouster. At a White House conference on March 17, 1960, attended by Admiral Burke, President Eisenhower approved the CIA's plan in principle, noting that he knew of "no better plan for dealing with the situation." It was from this decision that the ill-fated Bay of Pigs operation evolved a little over a year later.[128]

Coordination and oversight for planning Castro's overthrow fell to the supersecret 5412 Committee. Composed of the President's assistant for national security affairs, Undersecretary of State, Deputy Secretary of Defense, and Director of Central Intelligence, the 5412 Committee routinely reviewed and advised on covert operations. Despite earlier discussions of including the JCS in the panel's deliberations, President Eisenhower had seen no need, apparently hoping to keep the committee's activities as closely held as possible.[129] From the outset of planning, the JCS were excluded from direct involvement in the operation. The division of labor that emerged over the summer and autumn of 1960 gave the CIA exclusive jurisdiction over organizing, training, and arming the Cuban exile force, while the Joint Chiefs concentrated on improving security around Guantanamo and in the adjacent airspace. On August 18, 1960, President Eisenhower approved approximately $13 million for the operation and sanctioned the limited use of DOD equipment and personnel for training purposes. At the same time, he reiterated his firm opposition to involving the United States in a combat role.[130]

The Joint Chiefs were finally "read into" the CIA's plans for Cuba on January 11, 1961. Now scheduled for March, the operation had grown from a limited paramilitary venture meant to arouse opposition to the Castro regime into a full-blown invasion involving a "brigade" of 600 to 750 Cuban exiles with their own air support. An ambitious enterprise, the CIA's plan had yet to identify who would take power

in Cuba should the invasion succeed, or how to deal with the situation should it fail. At this point, the Joint Chiefs were convinced that a Communist Cuba would pose an intolerable situation and that a failed invasion, leaving Castro in place, would make matters worse. Persuaded that the current plan was seriously flawed, they ordered the Director of the Joint Staff to prepare an alternative course of action. Drawing on Admiral Burke's earlier plan and inputs from the Air Force, the Joint Staff recommended closer politico-military coordination and a reassessment of U.S. military support to assure the operation's tactical success.[131] With a new administration about to take office, however, and with pressure building to move ahead, it was unclear what impact the JCS proposals would have. Eisenhower had set the wheels in motion; it would be up to John F. Kennedy to make the decision to proceed.

BERLIN DANGERS

At the same time the Joint Chiefs were contemplating actions against Cuba, they faced renewed Soviet pressure on Berlin, a source of East-West friction since the city was placed under four-power rule in 1945. The most serious flare-up had been the blockade crisis of 1948–1949, which had nearly provoked a nuclear response from the United States. Since then, even though tensions had eased, the status of the city remained one of the most contentious issues of the Cold War. "Berlin," Nikita Khrushchev reportedly said, "is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to make the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin."[132]

The source of pressure this time was the Soviet Union's demand of November 27, 1958, that the Allies terminate their occupation of Berlin within 6 months and convert the city into a demilitarized zone. If not, the Soviets threatened to conclude a separate agreement with East Germany, end the occupation, and nullify allied access rights to the city. In light of the recent apparent surge in Soviet missiles and nuclear power, it looked as if the Kremlin was trying to flex its muscles and test how far it could go in using its newly found power to exact concessions. Refusing to be blackmailed, the Western powers issued a stiff diplomatic rejection and invited the Soviets to explore a peaceful resolution of the problem through negotiations.[133]

Should diplomacy fail, it would be largely up to the United States to take the lead in formulating a fall-back position. Existing preparations for a replay of the Berlin crisis centered on a set of contingency plans maintained by the U.S. European Command (USEUCOM). Derived from policies adopted in the National Security Council, these plans reflected U.S. thinking at the time that limited wars were to be avoided and that the threat of massive retaliation should be the primary deterrent to aggressive Soviet behavior. Approved by the Joint Chiefs in May 1956, USEUCOM's

plans envisioned a narrow range of American and/or allied responses. Assuming that another full-scale airlift would be impractical, USEUCOM proposed to mount a limited resupply by air and initiate a test of Soviet intentions using a platoon of foot soldiers. Rather than risk a firefight that might escalate, the platoon would have orders to withdraw at the first sign of trouble.[134] But by late 1958–early 1959, the Service chiefs regarded these plans as obsolete. Basking in the success of the Lebanon operation, they saw a reemerging role for conventional forces as a means of applying pressure without threatening all-out nuclear war. Urging a policy of firmness in the current crisis, they recommended heightened security along the Autobahn into Berlin and a large-scale mobilization of conventional forces by the Western Allies to demonstrate resolve.[135]

Both the JCS Chairman, General Twining, and President Eisenhower were skeptical of this assessment and did not believe that a conventional buildup would do much to impress Soviet leaders. Both felt that it might instead inadvertently result in a confrontation that could escalate out of control. Convinced that the Service chiefs—Taylor especially—favored a buildup for budgetary reasons, the President dismissed their advice as self-serving and alarmist and told Twining to remind his JCS colleagues that they were "not responsible for high-level political decisions." Adopting a low-key approach, the President authorized limited military preparations, sufficient to be detected by Soviet intelligence but not so great as to cause public alarm, and declared his intention of relying on a combination of diplomacy and deterrence based on "our air power, our missiles, and our allies."[136]

Instead of the JCS, Eisenhower looked to General Lauris Norstad, USAF, the NATO Supreme Commander (SACEUR) since 1956, to handle further military planning. The architect of NATO's air defense system and a key figure in planning NATO's nuclear-oriented New Approach, Norstad stood very high on Eisenhower's list of talented officers. Indeed, when scandal forced his top administrative aide Sherman Adams to resign in September 1958, Eisenhower considered bringing Norstad into the White House as his chief of staff. He realized, however, that Norstad was more valuable in Europe where he enjoyed the absolute trust and confidence of the NATO allies. An ardent proponent of giving NATO its own nuclear stockpile, Norstad treated the New Approach as the first step in that direction. But he also recognized that overreliance on nuclear weapons could have drawbacks and worked assiduously throughout the Berlin crisis to develop and refine other options that would satisfy the both White House and the Joint Chiefs.[137]

Norstad's mechanism for dealing with the crisis was a tripartite (U.S.-UK-French) planning body known as "Live Oak." Established in April 1959, with offices at USEUCOM headquarters outside Paris, Live Oak reported directly to Norstad and operated on its own, separate from NATO, the Joint Chiefs, or any national

command structure. Recognizing that the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) had a major interest in the outcome, Norstad and his Live Oak staff maintained close liaison with West German military planners through the FRG's representative to SHAPE.[138] While Norstad endorsed the concept of a military buildup, he proposed confining it to a token increase of 7,000 troops.[139] Like the Chairman and the President, he was concerned that a large augmentation of allied forces would appear provocative and exacerbate tensions. Above all, he wanted the authority to coordinate the operation as he saw fit and to use minimal conventional force to keep access routes open. He repeatedly cautioned, however, that any military action had to be backed by nuclear weapons and the willingness to use them to be effective.[140]

By late summer 1959, Live Oak's planning was starting to bear fruit. Many of the measures Norstad endorsed avoided the direct use of military power and applied pressure on the Soviets through other means, including covert operations and stepped-up propaganda. Norstad wanted to divert Soviet attention from Berlin by sowing unrest and political instability in the East European satellite countries. Convinced that direct retaliatory measures would only escalate the conflict, he preferred to respond with naval operations that harassed Soviet shipping in a tit-for-tat fashion. Norstad had no doubt that sooner or later a sizable military buildup followed by an "initial probe" might be necessary to determine the extent of Soviet and/or East German resistance should traffic into Berlin be impeded. But he wanted to explore other avenues first to throw the Soviets off balance.[141]

The Service chiefs, meanwhile, continued to take an opposing view. Believing that Eisenhower and Norstad both underestimated the seriousness of the Soviet threat, they were averse to risking nuclear war without a back-up plan. Even though a nuclear confrontation might eventually prove unavoidable, they could see no better way of avoiding one than through a conventional buildup—a concrete demonstration of the West's resolve to defend its rights. But until such time as their advice carried more weight, their only choice was to bide their time and treat Norstad's recommendations as "a suitable basis" for further planning.[142]

Whether the Live Oak plans would be used remained to be seen. Letting the 6-month ultimatum deadline pass without taking action, Khrushchev accepted an invitation to visit the United States, where he and Eisenhower conferred for 2 days in September. While generally unproductive, the meeting seemed to signal a mild improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations and a cooling-off of the Berlin crisis. In January 1960, however, Khrushchev revived his threat to sign a separate peace treaty with the East Germans. A quadripartite summit meeting, held in Paris in May, ended in disarray over the U–2 incident and Khrushchev's tirade denouncing the United States for clandestine overflights of the Soviet Union. Berlin thus became one of a list of high-profile Cold War issues—others being Cuba, the smoldering

Middle East, tensions in Asia, and an escalating competition in ballistic missiles—that the Eisenhower administration passed to its successor.

At the outset of his Presidency, Eisenhower was cautiously optimistic that he could rely on the Joint Chiefs to play a major role in national security affairs, from participating in crisis management to meeting the "long haul" needs of the Cold War by developing a defense posture that would not cripple the economy. But by the end of his administration, he had practically given up using the JCS for those purposes. Increasingly, he turned elsewhere for politico-military advice and assistance that the JCS should have rendered. One side effect was to nudge the administration toward covert operations and the use of surrogates, recruited and organized by the CIA, in lieu of regular military forces and military planners. Though the chiefs had some notable successes (e.g., Lebanon), they were too few and far between to alter the overall picture. Far more typical were the fractious debates that accompanied the Joint Chiefs' deliberations on the guided missile program and related issues like nuclear targeting. The reforms of 1953 and 1958 notwithstanding, there was more dissatisfaction with the Joint Chiefs' performance by the end of the Eisenhower administration than at any time to that point in their history.

NOTES

1 The Air Force flight-tested an Atlas ICBM for the first time in June 1957, but the launch went awry and technicians had to destroy the missile after less than 1 minute in the air. On November 28, 1958, the Air Force finally conducted a fully successful Atlas test that covered a 5,500 nm range.

2 James R. Killian, Jr., *Sputnik, Scientists, and Eisenhower: A Memoir of the First Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1977), 7.

3 David Holloway, *Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 303–312.

4 Radford's comments in Memo of Discussion, June 4, 1954, "200th Meeting NSC, June 3, 1954," Eisenhower Papers, Ann Whitman File, NSC Series.

5 Jacob Neufeld, *The Development of Ballistic Missiles in the United States Air Force, 1945–1960* (Washington, DC: Office of Air Force History, 1990), 95–118. George F. Lemmer, "The Air Force and Strategic Deterrence, 1951–1960" (USAF Historical Division Liaison Office, December, 1967), traces the evolution of Air Force strategic conceptual planning in the 1950s.

6 Max Rosenberg, "USAF Ballistic Missiles, 1958–1959" (USAF Historical Division Liaison Office, July 1960), 2–3; Robert Frank Futrell, *Ideas, Concepts, Doctrine: Basic Thinking in the United States Air Force, 1907–1984*, 2 vols. (Maxwell AFB: Air University Press, 1989), I, 489–490.

7 Memo, Trevor Gardner to Talbot and Twining, March 11, 1954, "Intercontinental Ballistic Missile System Acceleration Plan," Nathan F. Twining Papers, Library of Congress.

8 See Peter Hofmann, "The Making of National Estimates during the Period of the 'Missile Gap,'" *Intelligence and National Security* 1 (September 1986), 336–356.

9 Thomas R. Johnson, *American Cryptology during the Cold War, 1945–1989*, Book I, *The Struggle for Centralization, 1945–1960* (Washington, DC: National Security Agency, 1995), 177 (declassified).

10 John Prados, *The Soviet Estimate: U.S. Intelligence Analysis and Russian Military Strength* (New York: Dial Press, 1982), 35–36; NIE 11-5-57, "Soviet Capabilities and Probable Programs in the Guided Missile Field," March 12, 1957, in Donald P. Steury, ed., *Intentions and Capabilities: Estimates on Soviet Strategic Forces, 1950–1983* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1996), 59–62.

11 NSC Action No. 1433, September 13, 1955, *FRUS, 1955–57*, XIX, 121.

12 Robert J. Watson, *Into the Missile Age, 1956–1960* (Washington, DC: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1997), 166–167.

13 See *Eisenhower Public Papers, 1955*, 303; *Eisenhower Public Papers, 1956*, 463–466; NSC 5602/1, March 15, 1956, "Basic National Security Policy," *FRUS, 1955–57*, XIX, 246–247; and Samuel P. Huntington, *The Common Defense: Strategic Programs in National Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 88–105.

14 Memo of Discussion, December 2, 1955, "Meeting of the National Security Council, December 1, 1955," Eisenhower Papers, Whitman File, NSC Series.

15 Memo by Goodpaster, December 15, 1956, "Meeting with SECDEF Wilson and Others, December 7, 1956"; and Goodpaster Memcon, December 20, 1956, "Conference with the President December 19, 1956," both in DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

16 Memo by Goodpaster, February 6, 1958, "Conference with the President, February 4, 1958," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

17 Neufeld, 119–147.

18 Harvey M. Sapolsky, *The Polaris System Development: Bureaucratic and Programmatic Success in Government* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 21–34; I.J. Galantin, *Submarine Admiral: From Battlewagons to Ballistic Missiles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 227–232; Neufeld, 182.

19 K. Condit, *JCS and National Policy, 1955–56*, 71. Advising the Secretary on Service functions was not a JCS statutory responsibility; it was an assigned function under the 1948 Key West agreement, reaffirmed in DOD Directive 5100.1, March 16, 1954, "Functions of the Armed Forces and the Joint Chiefs of Staff." Since Key West, however, Secretaries of Defense had rarely approached the JCS to help resolve roles and missions questions.

20 K. Condit, 66–72; Memo, SECDEF to AFPC, November 26, 1956, "Clarification of Roles and Missions," in Alice Cole et al., *The Department of Defense: Documents on Establishment and Organization, 1944–1978* (Washington, DC: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1978), 311.

21 Harry B. Yoshpe, *Our Missing Shield: The U.S. Civil Defense Program in Historical Perspective* (Washington, DC: Federal Emergency Management Agency, 1981), 225–234.

22 Memo of Discussion, 318th Meeting NSC, April 4, 1957, *FRUS, 1955–57*, XIX, 460.

23 Morton H. Halperin, "The Gaither Committee and the Policy Process," in Thomas E. Cronin and Sanford D. Greenberg eds., *The Presidential Advisory System* (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 185–187; David L. Snead, *The Gaither Committee, Eisenhower, and the Cold War* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 43–49.

24 Robert Cutler, *No Time for Rest* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), 354–355.

25 Prados, 69; Snead, 97.

26 Paul H. Nitze, with Ann M. Smith and Steven L. Rearden, *From Hiroshima to Glasnost: At the Center of Decision—A Memoir* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1989), 166–167.

27 Security Resources Panel of the Science Advisory Committee, *Deterrence & Survival in the Nuclear Age* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1976), 14, 17, and passim.

28 Gregory W. Pedlow and Donald E. Welzenbach, *The CIA and the U–2 Program, 1954–1974* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 1998), 135–139.

29 Memo by Goodpaster, February 6, 1958, "Conference with the President, 4 February 1958," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

30 Memo, JCS to SECDEF, December 4, 1957, "Report to the President by the Security Resources Panel of the ODM Science Advisory Committee," with appendix, JCS 2101/284.

31 Michael Mihalka, "Soviet Strategic Deception, 1955–1981," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 5 (March 1982), 40–48; Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Waging Peace, 1956–1961* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 390.

32 Peter J. Roman, *Eisenhower and the Missile Gap* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 46–47.

33 Prados, 66–95; Lawrence Freedman, *U.S. Intelligence and the Soviet Strategic Threat* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986; 2d ed.), 74–77.

34 Pedlow and Welzenbach, 144.

35 Johnson, *Struggle for Centralization*, 175–177.

36 Memo by John S.D. Eisenhower, February 10, 1959, "Conference with the President, February 9, 1959," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

37 CM-407-59 to SECDEF, October 12, 1959, "Minuteman Program," 1st N/H to JCS 1620/277.

38 Watson, 363–379; Fairchild and Poole, *JCS and National Policy, 1957–60*, 45–51; Snead, 137.

39 Benson D. Adams, *Ballistic Missile Defense* (New York: American Elsevier Publishing, 1971), 22–27.

40 Memo by Goodpaster, October 11, 1957, "Conference with the President, October 11, 1957," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

41 Memo, JCS to SECDEF, December 16, 1957, "Anti–Intercontinental Ballistic Missile Developments, JCS 1899/372.

42 *History of Strategic Air and Ballistic Missile Defense: Volume II, 1956–1972* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, ca. 1975, reprint), 179–182; Adams, *Ballistic Missile Defense*, 27–28; Donald R. Baucom, *The Origins of SDI, 1944–1983* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 11.

43 Appendix, "WSEG Final Report No. 30: Offensive and Defensive Weapons Systems," [July 15, 1958], 10, JCS 1620/189.

44 Watson, 379.

45 Memo, JCS to SECDEF, November 24, 1958, "Guided Missile Systems," JCS 1620/204; Memo by John S.D. Eisenhower, December 9, 1958, "Conference with the President November 28, 1958," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

46 Freedman, 70.

47 Pedlow and Welzenbach, 159–163. David Robarge, *Archangel: CIA's Supersonic A–12 Reconnaissance Aircraft* (Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2007), treats the origins and development of the A–12, precursor of the SR–71. Neither the A–12 nor the SR–71 was ever used for its intended purpose: reconnaissance over the Soviet Union. The A–12 was retired in the mid-1960s; the SR–71 continued to fly until 1997.

48 George B. Kistiakowsky, *A Scientist at the White House: The Private Diary of President Eisenhower's Special Assistant for Science and Technology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 219.

49 NIE 11-8-59, February 9, 1960, "Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Attack Through Mid-1964," *FRUS, 1958–60*, III, 378; Steury, *Intentions and Capabilities*, 71–107.

50 Watson, 354–355; Roy E. Licklider, "The Missile Gap Controversy," *Political Science Quarterly* 85 (December 1970), 608–609.

51 Pedlow and Welzenbach, 148.

52 Ibid., 165–177. The suspicion at the time was that the Soviets had shot down Powers' plane with a surface-to-air missile. Confirmation came in March 1963 when the U.S. air attaché in Moscow learned that that the Sverdlovsk SA–2 battery had fired a three-missile salvo which, in addition to disabling Powers' aircraft, also scored a direct hit on a Soviet fighter aircraft sent aloft to intercept the U–2.

53 Discoverer was one of two U.S. spy satellite programs at the time. The other was SAMOS (Satellite and Missile Observation System). Between October 1960 and December 1961, there were five SAMOS launchings, only two of which went into orbit. The pictures they provided were of poor quality. See Freedman, 72–73.

54 Memo by John S.D. Eisenhower, July 6, 1960, "Conference with the President: Secretary Gates, July 6, 1960," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

55 Memo for the Record by Goodpaster, November 6, 1957, [Meeting of November 4, 1957, with JCS and Service Secretaries], Eisenhower Papers, Ann Whitman File, Diary Series; Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 245–250; Watson, 247–248.

56 CSAFM-306-57 to JCS, December 10, 1957, "Reorganization of the Department of Defense," JCS 1977/24.

57 Watson, 249–251.

58 Report by Ad Hoc Committee to JCS, January 24, 1958, "Organization of the Department of Defense," JCS 1977/26; Fairchild and Poole, 5; and Watson, 250, 252.

59 "Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union," January 9, 1958, *Eisenhower Public Papers, 1958*, 7–9.

60 Watson, 251–252. Gruenther served only in a part-time capacity.

61 President's Message, April 3, 1958, in Alice Cole et al., *The Department of Defense: Documents on Establishment and Organization, 1944–1978* (Washington, DC: Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1978), 175–186.

62 Years later, in recognition of Vinson's faithful service, the Navy named a nuclear-powered supercarrier in his honor.

63 DOD Reorganization Act of 1958, August 6, 1958 (PL 253), Cole et al., *Defense Documents*, 218. Watson, 264–275, summarizes the legislative origins of the 1958 amendments.

64 As J-3 evolved, its principal functions were to synchronize operational planning and to monitor the execution and conduct of military operations.

65 Memo by Goodpaster, August 30, 1958, "Conference with the President, August 28, 1958, Following Cabinet Meeting," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers. See also Fairchild and Poole, 6–7.

66 JCS Chronology, "Substantive Changes to the Unified Command Plan, 1958–1969," undated, 1–2, JHO 7-0014.

67 DOD Directive 5100.1, December 31, 1958, "Functions of the Department of Defense and its Major Components," Military Documents Collection, Pentagon Library.

68 Fairchild and Poole, 51–52; David Alan Rosenberg, "The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945–1960," *International Security* 7 (Spring 1983), 60–61.

69 Letter, Maj. Gen. Hewitt T. Wheless to Maj. Gen. Charles B. Westover, May 12, 1959, Thomas D. White Papers, Library of Congress.

70 JCSM-171-59 to SECDEF, May 8, 1959, "Concept of Employment and Command Structure for the POLARIS Weapon System," JCS 1620/257.

71 "History of the Joint Strategic Planning Staff: Background and Preparation of SIOP–62" (History and Research Division, Headquarter, Strategic Air Command, n.d.), 7 (declassified).

72 CM-380-59 to SECDEF, August 17, 1959, "Target Coordination and Associated Problems," JCS 2056/131.

73 Watson, 479. In 1960, to fill the gap, the Joint Chiefs established the Joint War Games Agency which operated outside the Joint Staff. In 1968 it became part of J-5 and in 1970 it merged with the Chairman's Special Studies Group to form the Studies, Analysis, and Gaming Agency (SAGA), reconstituted as the Joint Analysis Directorate (JAD) in 1984.

74 Net Evaluation Subcommittee, National Security Council, "Appraisal of Relative Merits, from the Point of View of Effective Deterrence, of Alternative Retaliation Efforts," October 30, 1959, Enclosure to JCS 2056/145; Fairchild and Poole, 52.

75 Rosenberg, "Origins of Overkill," 4–5, 61; Watson, 485–490.

76 Fairchild and Poole, 52–53; Memo by John S.D. Eisenhower, July 6, 1960, "Conference with the President: Secretary Gates, July 6, 1960," Eisenhower Papers, Ann Whitman File, Diary Series.

77 Memo by Goodpaster, August 13, 1960, "Conference with the President, August 11, 1960," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers; Rosenberg, "Origins of Overkill," 3–4.

78 "History of the JSTPS and SIOP–62," 14. Considered a separate entity, the JSTPS did not fall under the personnel ceiling that governed the size of the Joint Staff.

79 Memo, SECDEF to CJCS, August 16, 1960, "Target Coordination and Associated Problems," Enclosure A to JCS 2056/164.

80 SM-810-60 to DSTP et al., August 19, 1960, "Implementation of Strategic Targeting and Attack Policy," Enclosure C to JCS 2056/165. See also Desmond Ball, "Development of the SIOP, 1960–1983," in Desmond Ball and Jeffrey Richelson, eds., *Strategic Nuclear Targeting* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 58–61.

81 See "Briefing for the President by CJCS on the Joint Chiefs of Staff Single Integrated Operational Plan 1962 (SIOP-62)," September 13, 1961, JCS 2056/281 (sanitized).

82 Memo by Goodpaster, December 1, 1960, "Conference with the President, November 25, 1960," DDE Diary Series, Ann Whitman File, Eisenhower Papers.

83 Herbert F. York, *Making Weapons, Talking Peace* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 185.

84 Goodpaster Memcon, August 13, 1960, loc. cit.

85 Michael A. Palmer, *Guardians of the Gulf: A History of America's Expanding Role in the Persian Gulf, 1833–1992* (New York: Free Press, 1992), 46–49. Known as the Middle East Force (MEF), the U.S. flotilla operated out of a British base in Bahrain.

86 Fairchild and Poole, 167.

87 K. Condit, 151–160.

88 Report by JSPC to JCS, June 29, 1956, "Force Requirements for Defense of the Baghdad Pact Area," JCS 1887/220.

89 Memo of Discussion, 231st Meeting of the NSC, January 13, 1955, *FRUS, 1955–57*, XII, 687.

90 Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower: The President* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), 331; Memo by Goodpaster of Conference with the President, July 31, 1956, *FRUS, 1955–57*, XVI, 64.

91 Memo of Discussion at 292d Meeting of the NSC, August 9, 1956, *FRUS, 1955–57*, XVI, 174.

92 K. Condit, 169–174.

93 Cole C. Kingseed, *Eisenhower and the Suez Crisis of 1956* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 47.

94 Memo, JCS to SECDEF, July 31, 1956, "Nationalization of the Suez Maritime Canal Company by the Egyptian Government," JCS 2105/38; Memo, JCS to SECDEF, August 3, 1956, "Nationalization of the Suez Canal; Consequences and Possible Related Actions," JCS 2105/39.

95 Letter, Eisenhower to Anthony Eden, September 8, 1956, in Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 669–671.

96 Memo, Dulles to Eisenhower, March 28, 1956, "Near Eastern Policies," *FRUS, 1955–57*, XV, 419–421; Diary entry, March 28, 1956, in Robert H. Ferrell, ed., *The Eisenhower Diaries* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), 323–324.

97 See *FRUS, 1955–57*, XV, 421–424.

98 W. Scott Lucas, *Divided We Stand: Britain, the U.S. and the Suez Crisis* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1991), 109–113 and passim; Diary entry, March 12, 1956, in Evelyn Shuckburgh, *Descent to Suez: Diaries, 1951–56* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), 346.

99 Lucas, 160.

100 Ambrose, 353; Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 82.

101 Pedlow and Welzenbach, 112–117.

102 Ricky-Dale Calhoun, "The Musketeer's Cloak: Strategic Deception During the Suez Crisis of 1956," *Studies in Intelligence* 51, no. 2, 47–58 (unclassified edition); K. Condit, 185.

103 Watson, 60–61; K. Condit, 186–188.

104 Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1996), 227.

105 K. Condit, 189.

106 "Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East," January 5, 1957, *Eisenhower Public Papers, 1957*, 6–16.

107 Ambrose, 381–383; Fairchild and Poole, 135–136.

108 Report by Joint Middle East Planning Committee, "Strategic Guidance and Concept for the Development and Employment of the Middle East Baghdad Pact Forces," October 18, 1957, and decision on October 23, 1957, JCS 2268/6.

109 CINCNELM, "Annual Report 1 January 1959 to 31 December, 1959," 2–4, copy in JHO Collection, summarizes the scale and scope of planned operations. CINCNELM was the Navy component commander to USCINCEUR; he functioned also as Commander in Chief, U.S. Specified Command, Middle East (CINCUSSPECOMME). In February 1960 CINCNELM became Commander in Chief U.S. Naval Forces Europe (CINCNAVEUR) and CINCSPECOMME was discontinued.

110 "The U.S. Army Task Force in Lebanon" (Headquarters, U.S. Army, Europe, 1959), 9.

111 Memo, CNO to JCS, November 7, 1957, "Draft CINCSPECOMME Operation Plan 215-58," JCS 2034/34; CSAM 183-57 to JCS, November 14, 1957, same subject, JCS 2034/36; CSAFM 291-57 to JCS, November 20, 1957, same subject, JCS 2034/38.

112 Report by JSPC to JCS, January 31, 1958, "Military Planning for the Middle East," and decision on February 5, 1958, JCS 1887/433; Message, JCS to USCINCEUR et al., March 22, 1958, enclosure A to JCS 1887/438; Fairchild and Poole, 140–142.

113 Memo of Conference with the President, July 14, 1958, *FRUS, 1958–60*, XI, 225.

114 H.H. Lumpkin, "Operation Blue Bat" (Paper Prepared by Office of Command Historian, USEUCOM, November 4, 1958), 2–3, JHO Collection.

115 Holloway's son, James L. Holloway III, also participated in the Lebanon operation as a naval aviator. Later, from 1974 to 1978, he served as Chief of Naval Operations and a member of the JCS.

116 Fairchild and Poole, 156–158; Bernard C. Nalty, "The Air Force Role in Five Crises, 1958–1965," USAF Historical Division Liaison Office, June 1968, 13.

117 Ambrose, 472.

118 Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change*, 421–427; Richard H. Immerman, "Guatemala as Cold War History," *Political Science Quarterly* 95 (Winter 1980–81), 629–653.

119 NSC 5432/1, September 3, 1954, "United States Objectives and Courses of Action With Respect to Latin America," *FRUS, 1952–54*, IV, 81–88.

120 *FRUS, 1955–57*, VI, 266–268, 270, 294–295, 297–298; *FRUS, 1958–60*, VI, 117–119.

121 Jules R. Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 151–153.

122 Memo, CNO to JCS, April 19, 1958, "Suspension of Delivery of Military Equipment and Military Sales to Cuba," JCS 1976/243; Memo of Discussion at DoS–JCS Meeting, June 27, 1958, *FRUS, 2958–60*, VI, 118.

123 Fairchild and Poole, 179–180.

124 Memo, CNO to JCS February 19, 1960, "U.S. Action in Cuba," JCS 2304/2.

125 Memo of Discussion 437th Meeting of the NSC, March 17, 1960, *FRUS, 1958–60*, VI, 857; Watson, 763–764.

126 Ferrell, ed., *Eisenhower Diaries*, 379; Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only*, 252.

127 Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 525.

128 Goodpaster Memo of Conference with the President, March 17, 1960, *FRUS, 1958–60*, VI, 861–863. For the approved plan, see 5412 Committee Paper, March 16, 1960, "A Program of Covert Action Against the Castro Regime," ibid., 850–851.

129 Ambrose, 507.

130 Memo of Meeting with the President, August 18, 1960, *FRUS, 1958–60*, VI, 1057–1060; Watson, 764.

131 Report by Director, Joint Staff to JCS, January 24, 1961, "U.S. Plan of Action in Cuba," JCS 2304/19.

132 Khrushchev quoted in Gaddis, *We Now Know*, 140.

133 Jack M. Schick, *The Berlin Crisis, 1958–1962* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 10–27 and passim.

134 Fairchild and Poole, 125–126.

135 See JCSM-16-59 to SECDEF, January 13, 1959, "Berlin Situation," JCS 1907/162; JCSM-82-59 to SECDEF, March 11, 1959, "U.S. Position on Berlin," JCS 1907/175; Talking Paper Approved by JCS for Conference on March 14, 1959, JCS 1907/179; and JCSM-93-59 to SECDEF, March 16, 1959, "Statement of Policy on Berlin and Germany," JCS 1907/180. See also Fairchild and Poole, 126–129.

136 Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 341; Memo by John S.D. Eisenhower of Conference with the President, March 9, 1959, quoted in Ambrose, *Eisenhower the President*, 515–516. See also Fairchild and Poole, 128.

137 Eisenhower, *Waging Peace*, 318. Robert S. Jordan, *Norstad: Cold War NATO Supreme Commander: Airman, Strategist, Diplomat* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 103–136.

138 H.H. Lumpkin, "Live Oak: A Study in Thirty Months of Combined Planning: February 1959–September 1961" (Study prepared at Headquarters U.S. European Command, August 19, 1961), 25–26; Jordan, *Norstad*, 157.

139 *FRUS, 1958–60*, VIII, 423.

140 Jordan, 155–166.

141 Live Oak Planning Group Paper, July 24, 1959, "Berlin Contingency Planning: More Elaborate Military Measures," JCS 1907/231.

142 JCSM-355-59 to SECDEF, August 21, 1959, "Berlin Contingency Planning: More Elaborate Military Measures," JCS 1907/237.

Confrontation in Berlin, 1961