

The Eisenhower Years... All Over Again

BOOKS From *DL*

a hawk as Kennedy, Johnson or Nixon. If there was a difference in style, it would probably be mostly in contrast to Johnson. Eisenhower was dead set against a big land involvement. The Nixon policy of ordering bombing while talking peace probably would have appealed to him more, and the early Kennedy policy of secret raids most of all—except that Eisenhower always seemed skeptical of how well such secrets could be kept. His explicit skepticism about the U-2 overflights was, of course, brilliantly justified.)

Beyond his fervent anti-communism, there is another aspect to Eisenhower that might mark a very special (and necessary) place for him in our country's development: his total visceral and intellectual commitment to the tech-

side of American corporate enterprise as he understood it from his closest friends, all big businessmen—disposed him to believe that the expansion of capitalist enterprise around the globe would ultimately beat back the Communist menace by putting it to shame.

Although Eisenhower is justly famous for having said that we must hold onto Indochina because of its raw materials, he should be equally famous for the much more sophisticated notion, emphatically repeated to him in this book of war, to assure the freedom of American corporations to export capital abroad to buy as much of the Soviet as possible, as a basic extension of U.S. foreign policy and hold war strategies. This, I think, would have saved the world. Why he had the occasion of others than corporate enterprise

into the ownership of the world, the great financiers and industrialists who supported Eisenhower (while making entrepreneurs and big-time conservatives de-manded, time after time, that they take necessary steps to safeguard the expansion of their business interests under three other presidents, into the age of the multinational corporation.

This brings up the most perplexing of all Eisenhower's speeches, which he gave in a town hall in 1954, in which he said that he wanted to become the dominant force in American policy-making.

Why was the man who was prepared to oust Communists, dispatch Marines, and talk of massive retaliation over the U.S.S.R., and an ally with anyone tried to tell him how to run

Army—why was such a man so concerned at the end of the war about the military, the men who had faithfully served and in many instances had painstakingly supported? Parmenter's book is not only

wealth the cities. If that is the case, the conditions are set for a new era of growth through the collection of facts. On the other hand, the speech in the book spelled out the increase to be that of a technological and not just the military. To him, it meant the big owners, the big folks whom he thought so much as personal before the gunting, Communists, who shot to the top, under Kennedy, apparently, fashioned a capitalist system never to be troubled by the

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thought that the new... in all-based... would... into policy... positions. Also... the possibility of a... totally domi... defense budget... by the... most ordinary Amer... by the financial... who already does own... of most the capital... industry as well as... of those who make... Maybe that just seemed... to the General Pres... dent.

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EISENHOWER: And the American Crusades. By Herbert S. Parmenter. (Macmillan, \$59 pp. \$12.95)

Reviewed by Karl Hess

The reviewer, who served briefly on special assignment at the White House during the Eisenhower administration, is a visiting fellow at the Institute for Policy Stud-

answer. But because he is such a voracious reader and studious observer, the clues are all there.

First, there is Eisenhower the anti-Communist. Like Kennedy-Johnson-Nixon, Eisenhower saw the confrontation with communism both apocryphally and apocryphically Eisenhower's New Look defense policy, diplomatically extended through John Foster Dulles' brinkmanship, meant to deter the Soviets and the Chinese, at least, from big moves in the world by rattling the sword of nuclear retaliation. As Parmenter meticulously accounts—without seeming to be impressed—Eisenhower's notion about the New Look was seriously compromised by the old look of some of his crucial actions: when he Janded Marines in Lebanon for instance.

If you want to relive the Eisenhower years, this is the book for you. It has what seems to be 40 million useful references to Eisenhower sources, piled up as the foundation for what is almost a daily log of the General's years in the White House, and the several immediately before, as he digested and filled about feeling what eventually became to see as his bounden duty to lead the nation.

Also, when Eisenhower supported the covert U.S. operation that overthrew the Guatemalan government, he was well into a world of old-fashioned, even if newly-equipped, coup and counter-coup, terror and covert warfare. That as a matter of fact, is just the way Eisenhower wanted to fight the war in Indochina—secretly and discreetly. But he did want to fight it. On that he was as dedicated

It cites dozens of interviews. It obviously is written by a man who has read hundreds of hours in his subject but who, at the end of it all, simply says that to call Eisenhower "a great or good or even a weak President misses the point. He was merely necessary."

See BOOKS, p. 11, Col. 1