

JIB (Continued)

(I need to insert the story of the Keil Landing)

(I need to insert the story of the Russen Riga Ship.)

Upon completion of the Command of the Dewey, I was ordered to the National War College at Ft. McNair in Washington, D. C. This College is the senior of the senior War Colleges among the services, *attended* annually by roughly 130 officers and civil servants. Roughly a quarter of these are Air Force, one quarter Army, one quarter Navy and Marine officers, and the other quarter consists of foreign service officers top flight civil servants from CIA, AID, USIA, etc. This is a wonderful opportunity through the commingling of the students ^{to} ~~who~~ obtain insights into the entire governmental process. In addition, the course features lectures almost every day from a distinguished member of Government, former members of Government, *U.S. Ambassador* ~~etc~~-demission, and many others who have insights ^{used} ~~er~~ used to the now fairly senior students. The most significant assignment to each individual student, in addition to the massive of general background reading, is an individual research project or thesis. My year there, from August 1961 until June 1962, gave me the opportunity,

through my individual research project, to study the Soviet Union in great depth. I selected for my thesis topic "The Problem of the Next Succession in the U.S.S.R." In this year's work, I analyzed the struggle among prospective Communist leaders to succeed Stalin after his death. I examined the policy and institutional conflict which took place from 1953 to 1957, and the intra-party consolidations which occurred from 1957 to 1961, in order to ascertain the variables involved in the success and dynamics of the Soviet Union. These data, I had compared with the earlier struggles to succeed Stalin which Khrushchev had won. I established the probability and the general nature of the success ^{10M} ~~and~~ struggle and then made predictions concerning the probable institutional conflict^s, the format, the leading contenders, and the possibilities for the West in the future struggle to succeed Khrushchev. During and after this study I had become friendly with Ambassadors Bohlen and Thompson, who were professional experts in the field of Soviet affairs, and had long conversations with them which further enlarged my insights into the Soviet system.

Upon graduation from the National War College, I had the great, good fortune to be assigned to the staff of Mr. Paul Nitze, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, who had heard of

my work at the National War College and asked for my services. This gave me the opportunity to continue my study of the Soviet system, power and policy. After an initial period of service as Desk Officer for Spain, France, and Portugal, Mr. Nitze assigned me to be his Director of Arms' Control. I had the responsibilities under ^{Paul Nitze} ~~"under"~~ "under him", for the Secretary of Defense, of participating in the effort to negotiate a test-ban treaty. In this connection, I went to Geneva in the Fall of 1962, to participate in the 18 Nation Disarmament Conference. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, Paul Nitze served as one of the members of the EXCOMM - President Kennedy's Executive Committee of the National Security Council - set up to handle this confrontation. I was one of several Staff officers assembled by Paul Nitze to assist him in the quick-reaction analyses needed for his participation in the fast-breaking events of those momentous days. During this period I worked for several weeks with Paul Nitze on a comprehensive analysis of the complexities of arms' control policies and negotiations with the Soviet Union, and also wrote a paper concerning alternative worlds that ^{might} eventuate pending on the ability of the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. to work out compatible arms' control arrangements for the differences in their societies and their governmental objectives.

As a result of these experiences, I had further prepared myself for the years of CNO. But the most educational experience of the period without a doubt was the opportunity to work with Paul Nitze himself, whose importance in my own life, and, more important, to the country's interests are so significant that I need to diverge from my story to describe him.

(Insert here a description of Paul Nitze's life.)

JIB

It is difficult to talk about Paul Nitze without getting lyrical. He is a man who has dedicated the last 33 years of his life to serving his country in one position after another. He was born in a family which was intellectually oriented, his father having been a professor at the University of Chicago, and he grew up on the campus there. He went to New York when he came to the attention, during his college years because of the research project he had done, of Mr. Dillon of Dillon and Reed, after having graduated from Harvard, cum laude, in 1928. By the time he left Dillon and Reed in 1941, he had been Vice President of that firm for a number of years and had earned his fortune. When Mr. Forrestal came to Washington to work in the White House when the war broke out, he soon sent for Paul Nitze to join him. After a stint on the informal White House Staff, from 1942 to 1943 Paul Nitze was Chief of the Metals and Minerals Branch of the Board of Economic Warfare, and later Director of Foreign Procurement and Development for the Foreign Economic Administration. In both of these capacities, he was instrumental in the preventive buying that denied precious resources to the enemy. During the period 1944-46, Mr. Nitze became Vice Chairman of the United States

Strategic Bombing Survey, where he had the opportunity to study the destructive effects of the aerial bombing in both Germany and in Japan, service for which he was awarded the Medal of Merit by President Truman. He then began a seven-year period of service with the Department of State, beginning in the position of the Deputy Director of the Office of International Trade Policy, later becoming the Deputy to the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, then the Deputy Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and finally the Director in 1950. During this period, he worked closely with Dean Acheson and was prominent in the formulation of the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. He and Dean Acheson became very close associates and dear friends. When Eisenhower was elected, John Foster Dulles, on arrival at the Department of State, sent for Paul Nitze and said to him, "Paul, obviously you can't stay on this job, we've just finished winning an election running against your policies." Paul Nitze said: "Fine, I'll be gone tomorrow." John Foster Dulles said; "No, I didn't mean you should leave the Government; I'd like to keep you in the Government. Let me talk to Charles (Engine) Wilson about the ISA job in the Pentagon." In a few days, Dulles sent for Paul Nitze and asked him to meet with Wilson who agreed that Nitze should be his

Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. Paul Nitze went to work awaiting Senate confirmation hearings. One day Charlie Wilson sent for Nitze and said: "It's been reported to me that you're a close associate of Dean Acheson." (This information had come to him from sources on the Hill who had expressed concern about Acheson policies.) Paul Nitze said: "I'm not only a close associate; I'm a close friend, and I'm very proud of it." Charlie Wilson said: "In view of that, I expect that dispenses with any requirement for your services." Paul Nitze left the State Department then in 1953, to go home and paint the barns on his farm, and soon thereafter took the position of President of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation in Washington, D. C., a position he held for nearly eight years until January of 1961. Charles Emmett Hughes reports in his book about the Eisenhower years that when Ike learned of the firing of Paul Nitze, he said: "What's the matter with those monkeys in the Pentagon; don't they know a good man when they see him." (These words need to be checked.) As Mr. Kennedy began to have Presidential ambitions, Paul Nitze began to write the foreign policy speeches that Jack Kennedy gave and they became fairly closely associated during the campaign which

led to the election of JFK. After the election, Kennedy asked Paul Nitze who he ought to appoint as Secretary of State. Paul Nitze recommended Dean Rusk. A few days later, Paul Nitze received a call from JFK saying: "Paul, Dean Rusk is here with me and he's just agreed to be a Secretary of State. He would like to have you be his Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs. But before you comment on that, let me tell you that I am also interested in you being the Deputy Secretary of Defense. Which would you prefer?" Paul Nitze said: "How much time do I have, Mr. President?" Jack Kennedy said: "Take all the time you want; but give me your answer before I hang up." Paul Nitze said: "All right, I've done the economic type before, and have had experience in the State Department. I think I'm more interested in taking the Defense job on in order to develop new areas of expertise." Jack Kennedy said: "Thank you very much," and hung up.

Two days later, the papers carried the news that Jack Kennedy had appointed Bob McNamara to be Secretary of Defense. A day or so later Paul Nitze received a call from Bob McNamara saying: "Paul, I'm calling to see if you'll be my Assistant Secretary of Defense for International

Security Affairs." (This is not the Deputy job which the President-elect had mentioned, but rather a distinct No. 3 job, and it is the job which Paul Nitze had held temporarily without confirmation in the Eisenhower Administration.) Paul Nitze said: "I'd like a day or so to think it over," to which McNamara agreed. Paul then called Florida to ask to speak to the President-elect. The answer came back that the President-elect was too busy. Paul Nitze said: "I knew then that my two choices were to take the Assistant Secretaryship or nothing." He called Mr. McNamara back and agreed to take the Assistant Secretary's job. Later, Mr. McNamara brought Roswell Kilpatrick in to be his Deputy. Roswell Kilpatrick had been in the same prep school as Paul Nitze when they were youngsters. Paul Nitze was his intellectual superior there and I've heard from others that a lifelong jealousy on the part of Kilpatrick toward Paul Nitze commenced at that time. During the period when Kilpatrick was Paul Nitze's senior, there were several newspaper stories printed based on background sources which denigrated Paul Nitze as a "cold fish," super-intellectual. I have been told that Kilpatrick was the source of these stories. They became particularly marked after Mr. Kennedy told

the Prime Minister of England on a trip to England that Kilpatrick's successor as Deputy of Secretary of Defense would be Paul Nitze. These stories and Kilpatrick's effort to head Paul Nitze off from the job

..... Paul Nitze had instructed me to get the special security clearances required for me to be his Executive Assistant in the job of Deputy Secretary of Defense. He had been told by McNamara that he would be his Deputy. At this time a spade of stories came out, backgrounded reportedly by Kilpatrick saying that Nitze was too much of a mere image of McNamara and too similarly cold and analytical and lacking in charisma to be a logical counterweight to McNamara. About the same time, Fred Korth, who was Secretary of the Navy, began to come under heavy fire for allegedly misusing the Secretary of the Navy's yacht, Sequoia, for old business associates. It became apparent that Fred Korth was going to have to be fired under the public hue and cry. Nitze was suddenly called to the White House and was asked by (the) President Kennedy to take the job of Secretary of the Navy. When he consulted with me about whether he ought to do so, I told him I thought it would be a better job than the Deputy at that time. I felt it would be "his own command," instead of requiring him

to be Executive Officer under a very powerful skipper. He had several talks with others and with his family, and finally decided to take the job. He held it from 1962 until 1966, and when it became apparent that Mr. Vance was going to leave to return to civilian life, again for the third time was one of the candidates to be Deputy Secretary of Defense. Suddenly, there began to be a state of rumors that McNamara was leaning toward John McNaughton. Numbers of people who knew them both went to great lengths to insure that McNamara knew the high regard in which Paul Nitze was held. By this time Bob McNamara apparently shared their views and, notwithstanding some Congressional resistance, finally selected Paul Nitze to be his Deputy. This turned out to be a very fruitful association. Paul Nitze proved, in the Deputy job, as he had as the Secretary of the Navy, that he could be a very effective manager in a job which gave very little time for the kind of thoughtful and analytical work that he had done in his earlier professional assignments. He continued to serve as Deputy when Clark Clifford came aboard as Secretary of Defense, and finished out the Lyndon Johnson Administration in that job. I was in Saigon by the time he finished. He sat down the day after he left office

and wrote me a long letter of his experiences in the job, (I need to try to find this letter.) which was reflective of the basic optimism and ebullience that he brought to every job.

Shifting back now to my own experience with Paul Nitze. He first learned about me when he came to the National War College in 1961-1962 to give a lecture. The Commandant of the National War College, Lieutenant General Griswold, of the U.S. Air Force, nettled Paul Nitze somewhat by talking a great deal about the speech that I had given the day before as part of my annual research project. Nitze could not Griswold to discuss with him how he should handle the prospective discussions since Griswold only wanted to talk about how much he liked my speech. Finally Nitze asked again what my name was and when he went back to the office, he instructed his Executive Officer to see if he couldn't arrange to get me into that office for duty when I completed my year. I arrived there in August of 1962, after having a great deal of difficulty in persuading my detailer that was a good nomination. My detailer wanted me to work on the Joint Staff, instead. Soon after I arrived, Paul Nitze assigned me to the job of Desk Officer in Charge of Spain, France and Portugal. Within a month I was able to do a piece of work which he considered extremely useful

and shortly thereafter he elevated me to the job of Director of Arms' Control, which had normally been assigned to people of much greater seniority. In this position he used me not only to deal with the problems of the Test Ban Treaty, but all other arms' control issues. He also consulted with me about general foreign policy problems, crediting me with being an expert on the Soviet Union, which was probably a generous evaluation of my competence at that time. I continued to do papers for his personal use and saw a great deal of him during the ensuing year, which led to his decision to take me with him to be his Executive Officer when he thought he was going to be the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and then when he did become the Secretary of the Navy. Among these papers were the.....

(Now bring this entry down from up above.)

Paul Nitze is a man of brilliant intellect. As one who has associated quite closely with the man who is considered today's foreign policy genius, Henry Kissinger, I have to place Paul Nitze head and shoulders above him. Unlike Henry Kissinger, he is a man who has absolutely no personal hangups. He doesn't mind reversing his opinion when a better argument for a better alternative position can be given. He doesn't hesitate to have anything

that he has written to be used by others. He doesn't hesitate to adapt things that others have written to papers on which he is working. More than any man I have ever known, he is a sincere seeker of the truth, and he is willing to get there by a series of the best known approximations, using his own and others minds to generate these truths. He is deeply patriotic and has chosen to devote himself to public service, whether in or out of Government, ever since coming to Washington as a young man in the early war years. He does not enjoy small talk in the normal sense. However, he will sit down and converse for intense periods with people of all levels of sophistication, age, and background, if they ^{appear to} have interesting experiences or insights from which he can learn. He has read all the great philosophers and can converse at length about them. He has become a great admirer of the mind of Tschuhkin, the 70-year old intellectual in the Soviet SALT Delegation, and has done some beautiful memoranda for the record of their conversations. He has a very talented and charming wife, Phyllis, and four brilliant children, two boys and two girls, and a number of grandchildren, to ^{of} all/whom he is very devoted. My three-year apprenticeship under Paul Nitze was an equivalent of a Ph.D in foreign policy. Under

him I learned the art of breaking foreign policy problems down into their several parts, analyzing them in detail with great care, examining the assumptions, questioning the assumptions, carefully stating the assumptions which were considered, integrating the several subsets of the problems into the overall whole, and then walking all around it and examining it again in the broad to insure that the very best available light had been brought to bear on the subject. From him I learned the importance of increasing the breadth of one's observations by going beyond the conventional intelligence of the day and talking to informed persons at all echelons in and out of Government and the various nations with whom we must deal. From him I learned the importance of checking the original, first material to insure that secondhand judgments had been properly derived. And from him I acquired a depth of historical background of the previous twenty years of close Government service and observation that made it possible for me to get the running start of continuity toward that moment in history when I would be called upon to lead.