

6 February 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Proposed Kissinger Article for FOREIGN AFFAIRS

At your request I spoke to Dillon Anderson about the article by Henry Kissinger which is scheduled to appear in FOREIGN AFFAIRS. I told him that you had called Mr. Armstrong, had indicated the concern that was felt in Washington about the attribution to the President of the position that "there is no alternative to peace" without further elaborating what the President had said, and that you had indicated that Mr. Anderson might call him. Mr. Anderson is somewhat reluctant to call Mr. Armstrong, whom he does not know, particularly in view of the fact that Mr. Stassen has sent him a long telegram (a copy of which is attached hereto). Mr. Anderson said that he was quite willing to call Mr. Armstrong if you felt that he should. I told him that I did not think you would urge him to call, but had merely paved the way in case he wanted to. I think Dillon Anderson will probably talk to you on the telephone again about this matter.

I have read the article quite carefully. The phrase "there is no alternative to peace" is attributed to the President on page 1 and is used a number of times throughout the article, (pages 4, 5, 13, 24 and 27) although it is not again attributed to the President. The phrase used is a shorthand statement of an argument which is the main object of Kissinger attack. Fully stated the argument would be something like this:

"Any future hostilities in which both sides have, or have access to, nuclear weapon systems will inevitably involve the use of such weapons and such hostilities will develop into an all-out nuclear war. Such an all-out nuclear war is so unthinkable destructive that it cannot be contemplated except in the most extreme circumstances. Therefore it is necessary to avoid any hostilities, i. e., 'there is no acceptable alternative to peace.'"

Kissinger argues that the acceptance of this thesis does away with all flexibility in policy or diplomacy. He argues for a doctrine which would provide for "graduated employment of force" and against an "all or nothing" position. The "graduated employment of force"

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position would involve not only the capability of engaging in limited hostilities, which might or might not involve the use of nuclear weapons, but also making it clear to potential enemies that unconditional surrender is not the only objective which we can seek, i. e., that we will not consider that national survival is involved in every issue. The principal statement of this thesis starts on page 19 of the draft and runs on for 8 or 9 pages.

It seems to me that the article is both interesting and useful although there were a number of aspects of it which one could quarrel with. The principal difficulty is that he pins on the President the sponsorship of the line of argument which he summarizes by the phrase, taken out of context, "there is no alternative to peace." It would seem to me that any objection to the article would be removed if Kissinger deleted this attribution, although obviously it is for him a handy way to highlight the line of argument which he wishes to attack.



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Special Assistant to the Director

Attachment