

all engineers scheduled to go to graduate schools to pursue engineering studies. It was General Norstad's idea that we should keep in touch with him and with one another. In this way, we could continue to participate in his dream sessions. However, the Army was opposed to sending us to school to pursue international relations, saying it was not part of the Army's mission. They didn't have the money and couldn't see how it could be done.

Yale University

Nevertheless, we all managed to go to graduate school on the Engineer Corps' program. The plan was to pursue studies in engineering and piggyback additional studies in international relations. In Andy Goodpaster's case, he finished his studies in engineering and then pursued international relations under a Princeton University grant. Colonel Stanley Dziuban was able to work out a similar scheme with Columbia. Like Goodpaster, he stayed on for three years instead of two. In my case, I could not get a separate grant from Yale, but I had to pursue both courses of studies simultaneously. At the end of two years, I earned both a master's degree in engineering and a master's degree in international relations.

In retrospect, I believe I was the most fortunate of those of us officer students at that time. Yale had the country's largest collection of strategic thinkers. They tried to design ways in which atomic weapons could advance our national objectives. Our professors included Bernard Brodie, Klaus Knorr, William Kaufman, Arnold Wolfers, and W. T. R. Fox. During the time I was there Brodie was writing *The Absolute Weapon*. Among my classmates were Ray Garthoff, Dixie Walker, Lucian Pye, and Roger Hilsman. Our class was a small one, only about 15 in size. We critiqued the draft of Brodie's seminal book in our graduate seminars. I like to think some of my ideas are contained in the book.

Q: Let me return to General Marshall. Why do you suppose he was interested in moving U.S. troops out of Europe so fast? Would you say that he was opposed to it himself and was ordered to do so by Roosevelt, or was this his own view?

A: I don't know what happened at the higher levels. But in our internal discussions and in talking to people who were closely associated with General Marshall, I came to the conclusion that this was his personal philosophy. I believe he considered that military forces were to be used only for fighting wars and had limited value in peacetime. I think he felt that a war should be terminated at the earliest possible date and the troops immediately demobilized. I don't know how President Roosevelt felt about it, but from Roosevelt's broader perspective and experience, I would guess that he would have gone about demobilizing the Army more slowly.

But I do know that Marshall had a great influence on General Eisenhower, who admired and respected Marshall. At any rate, after Marshall left the Pentagon, Eisenhower pursued the idea of demobilizing troops rapidly after VJ Day.

Q: What was General Norstad's thinking about rapid demobilization?

A: Norstad did not think rapid demobilization was a wise policy. He believed that the military had important political goals to achieve following our having won the war. He believed that defeating the enemy was only part of what the military needed to do. Norstad thought what we should do was to assess where we were and how to position ourselves for the next round of political objectives. He believed you either had to fill power vacuums or prevent a potential enemy from filling them.

Norstad had very much in mind, of course, what the Soviet leaders planned to do. His ideas had a great deal of appeal for us in the Strategic Plans Section. We felt that the military in general, and the Army in particular, had not really assessed the proper role of military force and how it should be used in the postwar period. We believed that it was essential that the U.S. win the war as quickly and efficiently as possible. But we also believed we should posture ourselves to prevent a future war or be in a position to win one if it occurred. We agreed with Norstad that our mission was to try to anticipate what would happen in the world and to use our military force to enhance U.S. political objectives. We believed that a great power like the United States should play an active role in world affairs and not simply leave things to chance. The United States had gotten into World War I and World War II by not positioning itself properly, we did not use our military force to the best advantage in peacetime. These ideas appealed to me particularly. It was the main reason I wanted to study international relations.

There was another aspect to our postwar situation. We realized that the atom bomb would change the influence our of warfare and influence our strategy. Having atomic weapons would open up an entirely new relationship with other nations. In the mid-1940s we had proposed the Baruch Plan under which we would put our nuclear weapons under the control of the United Nations. But the plan was torpedoed by the Soviet Union. Now, in the late 1940s we began to study how best to integrate nuclear weapons into our foreign policy.

There was still another important development underway which had its genesis in the War Department's Operations Division IOPD]. OPD sowed the first seeds of the Marshall Plan which General Marshall, as Secretary of State, carried out. Andy Goodpaster was brought back from Princeton and made an assistant to General Gruenther [Alfred M., Class of 1919]. Gruenther traveled throughout

Europe and discussed with European leaders many of the ideas which were later incorporated into the Marshall Plan.

Q: Did you have any impact in planning for the postwar Army?

A: *Yes*, I think I did. I worked with several officers in the Strategic Plans Section, Bob Wood, Bob Porter, Ted Conway and others, on the future structure of the *Army*. We saw a big role for the Army and didn't want to let the Army dwindle in size to a point where it would have little influence. We didn't want to contemplate an Army which again would be caught by surprise and be forced to mobilize in a hurry. We thought it best to take a preventive attitude and station Army forces in the right places around the world. We wanted to influence the worldwide situation consistent with U.S. goals and objectives. We also wanted to train a ready reserve in the U.S. and provide it with strategic mobility. These were the kinds of things we were planning after the war. It was a very exciting time, especially since we were fighting the battle of roles and missions. On the one hand, we fought the Navy so an Air Force could come into being. On the other hand, we had our problems with the new Air Force which was trying to be bigger than the Army and Navy combined.

Q: After you went off to Yale did you come back from time to time to attend General Norstad's dream sessions?

A: Yes. Those of us who had been sent off to study came back periodically to attend General Norstad's dream sessions. Norstad saw to it that we got copies of studies drawn up in the Army. They were classified and had to be hand-carried to us by couriers. We had great difficulty in finding safes to keep them secure. It was an interesting extracurricular duty for us to comment on these studies. On occasion, we would travel to Washington and dictate our views to a stenographer who would type up our views and distribute them throughout OPD.

We also reported to General Norstad on what we were studying at our respective universities. In my case, I discussed the ideas Bernard Brodie was developing for his book, *The Absolute Weapon*. One of Brodie's points was that the Air Force couldn't do in World War II what Douhet claimed it could because we lacked the type of weapons that could do the job. But now, Brodie said, nuclear weapons were making Douhet's theories workable.

At Yale I had my feet in two camps. With one foot I tried to influence the Brodies and other professors who were developing a postwar strategy. They would supplant the need for large armies and navies, by asserting that we could win wars

with atomic bombs. With a foot in the other camp, I tried to influence future strategy in the Pentagon. It was a fascinating time and I was in the center of most of the finest intellectual activity going on at the time.

Always thinking ahead, General Norstad was responsible for getting Goodpaster, and later me, into NATO. When I came to NATO in 1955, Colonel Goodpaster had already served a tour under Norstad and had gone off to command a division in Europe. General Norstad was then a deputy to General Gruenther and later took over from Gruenther and became the Supreme Commander. For the first 18 months of my tour I served as the secretary of the general staff to General Gruenther. I kept the same job under General Norstad when he became SACEUR [Supreme Allied Commander, Europe]. What had started out as a number of ideas at dream sessions turned into opportunities to carry out those ideas in practice in NATO.

Q: You said that at Yale you studied international relations and nuclear strategy. Did you study in other fields?

A: At Yale I took the standard courses in international relations such as diplomatic history, international law, and political science. The international relations course was largely devoted to the role nuclear weapons would play in the future. Our principal teacher in this area was Bernard Brodie who was then writing his book, *The Absolute Weapon*. Brodie had cut his eyeteeth in the Navy, writing a book on the influence of steam power on naval strategy.

Yale was a particularly interesting place at that time. Of the 20 or so people in the country who were experts on the future of nuclear strategy, probably a dozen were at Yale. In addition to Brodie, who later went to RAND, there was Klaus Knorr, who later went to Princeton; J. T. R. Fox, who went to Columbia; and Bill Kaufman, who went to MIT. Another professor, Arnold Wolfers, started the strategic studies branch of Johns Hopkins in Washington. Wolfers had written a definitive work on French and United Kingdom policies after World War I. Others at Yale were Gabe Almond, Fred Barghom, and several others. Probably one of the reasons I didn't get to stay on for my Ph.D. at Yale was that the professors all went in different directions. There were so many talented and high-spirited professors in one place that there was an explosion of personalities—they exceeded the critical mass. All went their separate ways with only a few staying behind. Among those who stayed behind were Gabriel Almond, who worked on public diplomacy, and Fred Barghom, who was a leading Sovietologist. Once the others scattered and went their separate ways, Yale was no longer the exciting place to study as it was when I first went there.