Major Split Appears Among Joint Chiefs on Limited War Issue

Air Force–Alone–Rejects Change in Massive Retaliation Policy

EDITOR'S NOTE — This is the sixth article in a twelve-part series distributed by Associated Press based on Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor's new book, "The Uncertain Trumpet."

By GEN. MAXWELL D. TAYLOR
Retired

As the policy review proceeded in the spring of 1958, it was apparent there would be a major split within the JCS. The Army, supported this time by the Navy and Marine Corps, held that former statements of basic military policy were inadequate in an era of mutual deterrence and incouraged an undue reliance upon nuclear weapons, particularly upon large yield weapons, to the impairment of the conventional capabilities of all services.

The Air Force would have no part of such thinking. Some of its spokesmen went so far as to accuse advocates of the new philosophy of betraying the national interest. Such talk, they felt, would inspire doubt as to whether the U.S. was prepared to use the weapons in its nuclear arsenal. For them, the growth of the Soviet nuclear power changed nothing other than to accentuate the need for more atomic weapons and delivery vehicles to stay safely ahead of the Russians.

The split in the armed services was carried first to the Secretary of Defense and then to the National Security Council. Acting as spokesman for the Army, Navy and Marine Corps before the Council, I expressed our common feeling. There had been sufficient evidence of the deterioration of our international power position in relation to that of the Soviet bloc to convince us that a thorough reappraisal of our military strategy was essential.

The overall problem, as I saw it, was to readjust our strategy to a period of mutual deterrence. It could be assumed that the United States and the USSR would be increasingly restrained from deliberately initiating a general nuclear war. In such a situation, there was no place for a policy of massive nuclear retaliation except as a deterrent to total nuclear war or as a reprisal if one began. It was doubtful whether either the Soviets or our allies believed we would use our retaliatory power for anything other than to preserve our own existence.

A NEW IDEA

I stated our atomic deterrent forces would be the shield under which we must live from day to day with the Soviet threat. This shield would provide us protection, but not a means of maneuver. It was rather to the so-called limited war forces that we henceforth must look for the active elements of our military strategy.

The point that limited war forces had the active role to play in future military operations, and the atomic retaliatory forces a passive role was new. Initially, the concept had been that ground forces in Europe and the Far East were the shield behind which the U.S. could deliver the devastating blows of its atomic sword. Now the role was being reversed.

After I had finished my statement, Generals Twining and White presented the Air Force point of view, which was to retain unchanged the status quo of our military strategy. To my disappointment Secretary Dulles did not provide the strong support for a new strategy which I had hoped. The meeting broke up without a decision being announced but in reality our cause was lost for the time being. Soon after, Secretary McElroy issued a memorandum that there had been no changes to warrant any significant revision in the "Basic National Security Policy."

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GENERAL TAYLOR

Under these discouraging prospects for the proponents of change in national strategy, the formulation of the 1960 budget began in midsummer of 1958. In effect, the guidance was directed at maintaining approximately the same overall dollar ceiling for the defense budget as in 1959 and at retaining the same percentage allocations. From fiscal year 1955 these had been about 46 per cent for the Air Force, about 28 per cent for the Navy and Marine Corps, and some 23 per cent for the Army, with the remainder of the budget going to the Department of Defense itself. In the vital area of funds for the purchase of new equipment the Air Force had consistently received some 60 per cent of the available resources, the Navy and Marine Corps about 30 per cent and the Army about 10 per cent.

As Red Chinese guns bombarded the islands in the Taiwan strait, the budget debate carried forward. The renewed evidence of Communist readiness to resort to limited war measures had no effect on the issue. In the end, the budget went to the National Security Council without essential change.

All the services, particularly the Air Force and Navy, had embarked upon expensie programs for the production of heavy weapons such as the Atlas and Titan intercontinental ballistic missiles, the Thor and Jupiter intermediate range ballistic missiles, the Polaris submarine missile system, and the Bomarc surface-to-air missile. The early warning program was creating expenses beyond those anticipated. The Army also had Nike-Zeus antiballistic missile. To stay within the dollar limits of previous budgets required the elimination or the cutback of many of these programs. In the end the IRBM and the Nike-Zeus programs bore the most significant reductions.

The decision to hold back the Nike-Zeus program was particularly regrettable. This imposed a delay of at least one additional year on this unique weapon so essential to deterrence of atomic attack and to national survival if deterrence fails.

THE PUBLIC IS DISTURBED

The Joint Chiefs of Staff as a body took no part in the formulation of the 1960 budget—nor had they in previous years. This fact has often surprised Congress. But the secretary of defense has never given the chiefs as a body a clearly defined role in budget-making. This results in part from honest doubt as to the extent to which the chiefs should be drawn into fiscal matters, in part from a feeling they would ask for the moon.

In the usual way, each service produced its budget in isolation tween the secretary of defense, the department secretaries, and their chiefs of staff, at no time to my knowledge were the three service budgets put side by side and an appraisal made of the fighting capabilities of the aggregate military forces supported by the budget. It is not an exaggeration to say that nobody knows what we are actually buying with any specific budget.

As the budget neared its conclusion, Secretary McElroy apparently felt the need for some endorsement by the Joint Chiefs of Staff before sending it to Congress. After much discussion, we finally agreed on the following statement:

"The Joint Chiefs of Staff consider that the FY 1960 proposed expenditure figure of $40,945,000,000 is adequate to provide for the essential programs necessary for the defense of the nation for the period under consideration. They find no serious gaps in the key elements of the budget in its present form, but all have reservations with respect to the funding of some segments of their respective service programs."

Although this was rather tepid support, the secretary of defense elected to present it to Congress. This action boomerranged.

Senator Johnson's Preparedness Subcommittee pounced upon the memorandum and soon called us to express our views of the budget publicly under oath and later to file written statements. Despite a proper desire to avoid public criticism of our civilian supervisors, our testimony soon showed what we really thought of the budget. Noting the statement that the overall sum was sufficient but that our individual budgets were far below what was required, one senator dryly remarked that he didn't see how three insufficiencies could add up to a sufficiency.

The testimony revealed for the first time the extent of the schism within the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the division in their views on Massive Retaliation and related matters of strategy. This revelation profoundly disturbed many members of Congress as well as thoughtful citizens generally.

(Condensed from "The Uncertain Trumpet," © 1959, 1960 by Maxwell D. Taylor, published by Harper & Brothers.)

Accruing Interest

TULSA, Okla. (AP)—One of the world's richest men, J. Paul Getty, has a $12.50 government check waiting for him here. It is payment for a part of his land which the government wants.

2 Congressmen File in Salem

SALEM (UPI)—Oregon Democratic Reps. Al Ullman and Charles O. Porter filed Thursday for reelection. They had announced earlier they again would be candidates.

Richard "Dick" Hill filed as a candidate for U.S. representative on the GOP ticket in the third congressional district. Oregon Democratic Rep. Edith Green is the incumbent.

State Sen. Edwin Durno (R-Medford) has announced his candidacy against Porter. So far, Ullman is unopposed in his own party and by the Republicans.

Other filings included:

Benton County District Judge Robert L. Gilliland, Corvallis, reelection.

Clackamas County District Court Judge Howard J. Blanding, Oregon City, reelection.

Crook County District Attorney James B. Minturn, Prineville Republican, reelection.

Driver Fined $200 On Liquor Charge

Donald Davis Stringfield, 31, of 2435 Jefferson St., Eugene, changed his plea to guilty and was fined $200 Wednesday in Eugene Municipal Court on a charge of driving under the influence of intoxicating liquor.

Stringfield had pleaden innocent to the Jan. 9 charge after his arrest by Eugene police at W. Sixth Avenue near Olive Street.

Lectures Planned On U of O Museum

To acquaint the people of the state of Oregon with what is taking place in the University of Oregon museum of art, Rolf Klep, artist and alumnus of the University, has agreed to give a series of lectures on the museum and its collections, across the state.

Early in March, Klep, together with Mrs. Klep and Mrs. Virginia Haseltine, plan to visit a number of communities in the state to explain the program of the Friends of the Museum organization.

Kelp will lecture on the museum and show colored slides of the works of art in its collections.

Klep is a free-lance artist, with his working base at Surf Pines, Oregon.

Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 became the first American to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Loan Approved

TAIPEI, Formosa (AP) — The Nationalist government has approved a loan equivalent to $600,000 to the China Fishing Co. to help in the construction of two 550-ton trawlers that will operate in the Atlantic. The fishing boats will be Formosa's biggest.

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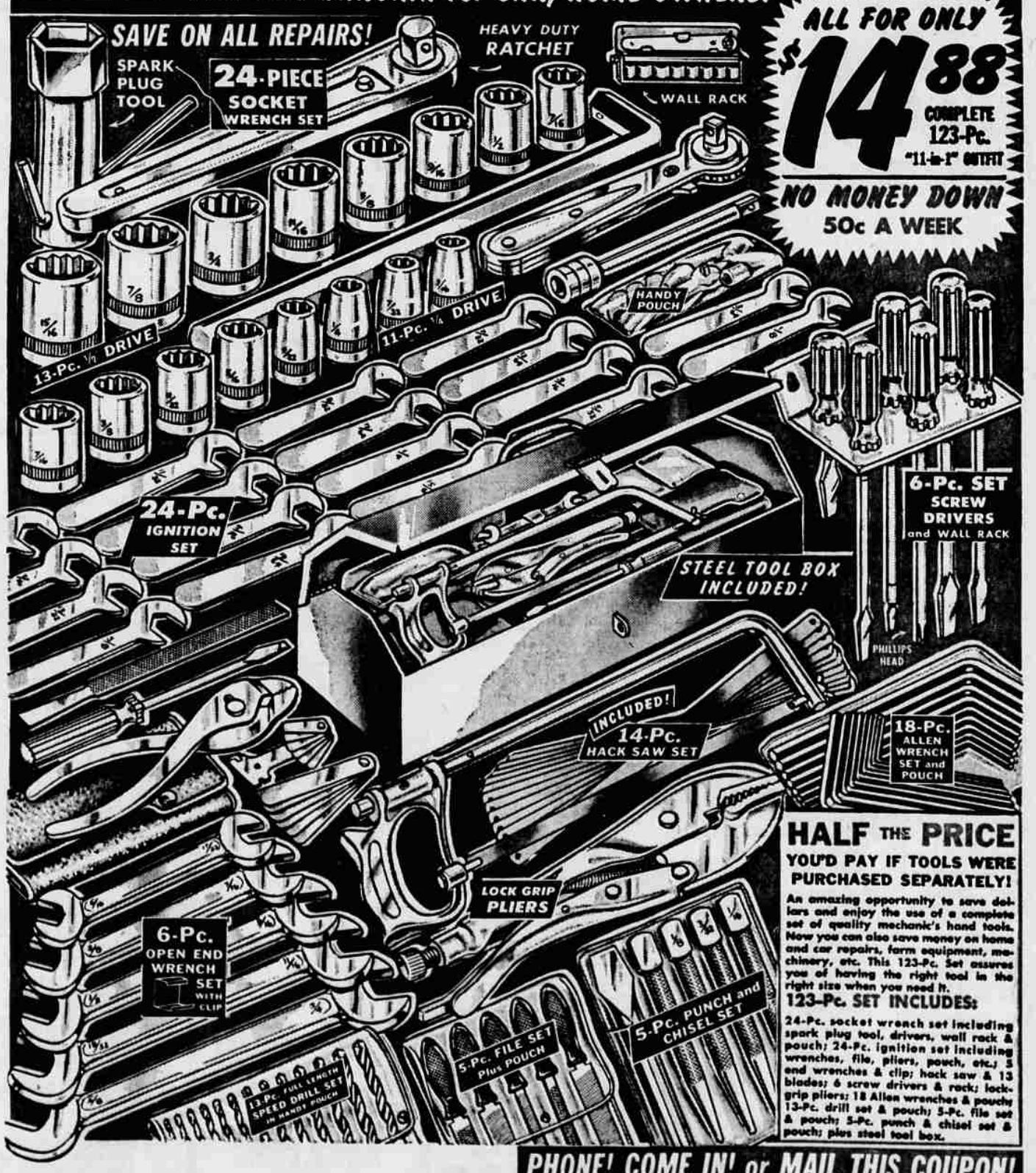

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