Best regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

or Hans J. Morgenthau
f New York



Morgenthau Kissinger Archive

HANS MORGENTHAU

&

HENRY KISSINGER

A collection of over 100 items from Hans Morgenthau relating to his longtime friend and protege, Henry Kissinger.



This archive holds substantial research value on multiple levels. These letters, documents, and mementos offer an intimate window into the professional and personal relationship between two prominent German Jewish Emígrés. Through seasons of both partnership and contention, the archive traces a friendship between the intellectual father of Political Realism (Morgenthau) and the foremost practitioner of "Realpolitik" in modern diplomacy (Kissinger). The formative role of Morgenthau on one of the most influential diplomats in modern history is such that Barry Gewen devoted over 100 pages strictly to Morgenthau in his recent book on Kissinger. Most importantly, multiple letters in 1968 relate a pointed and public disagreement over Vietnam war policy, showing both a strain in their personal relationship as well as deep division in the *Realpolitik* approach associated with their names.

PROVENANCE: From Hans Morgenthau's daughter, Susanna Morgenthau.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
LITTAUER CENTER
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

31 December 1958

Professor Hans J. Morgenthau
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Morgenthau,

It was very kind of you to have the Center in Chicago send me a copy of your recent article 'The New United Nations'. As always I agree with what you have to say.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Henry A. Kissinger

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1974

Dear Hans:

I have followed your recent statements on the Middle East with great interest. I attach great weight to them because of my respect for your judgment. It is clear that we disagree on many of the issues. It is also possible that you have a mistaken impression of the premises and objectives of our policy. In any case, I would very much welcome a chance to talk about this with you.

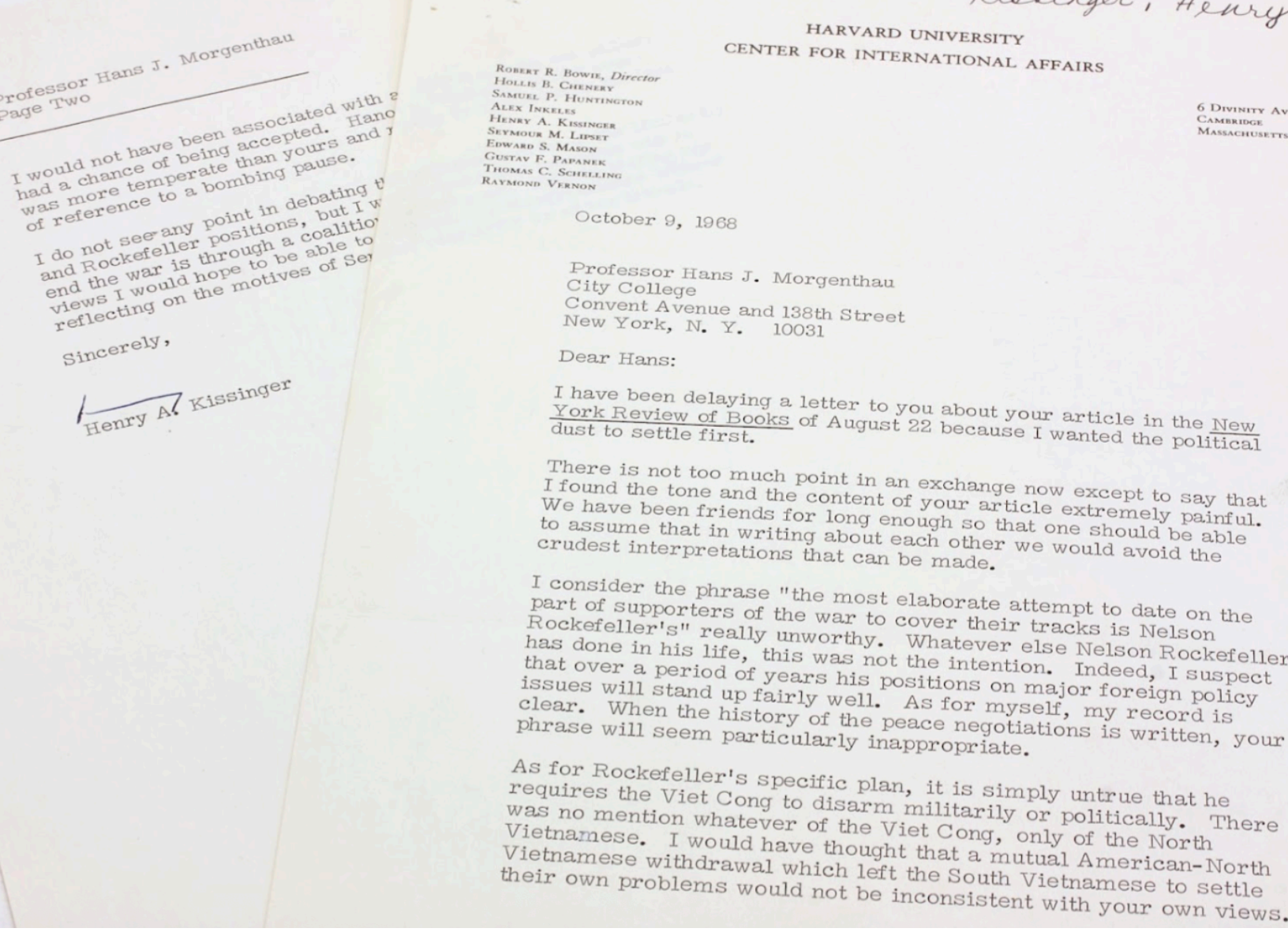
If this is agreeable, please write me or call my personal assistant at the State Department, Richard Campbell, at (202) 632-9630. We will arrange a mutually convenient time.

I hope this is feasible and I look forward to having a chance to exchange views.

Best regards,

Henry A. Kissinger

Professor Hans J. Morgenthau
City University of New York
134 West 51st Street
New York, New York 10036



Professor Hans J. Morgenthau
Page Two

I would not have been associated with
had a chance of being accepted. Hano
was more temperate than yours and
of reference to a bombing pause.

I do not see any point in debating t
and Rockefeller positions, but I w
end the war is through a coalitio
views I would hope to be able to
reflecting on the motives of Se

Sincerely,

Henry A. Kissinger

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Robert R. Bowie, *Director*
Hollis B. Chenery
Samuel P. Huntington
Alex Inkeles
Henry A. Kissinger
Seymour M. Lipset
Edward S. Mason
Gustav F. Papanek
Thomas C. Schelling
Raymond Vernon

6 Divinity Av
Cambridge
Massachusetts

October 9, 1968

Professor Hans J. Morgenthau
City College
Convent Avenue and 138th Street
New York, N. Y. 10031

Dear Hans:

I have been delaying a letter to you about your article in the New York Review of Books of August 22 because I wanted the political dust to settle first.

There is not too much point in an exchange now except to say that I found the tone and the content of your article extremely painful. We have been friends for long enough so that one should be able to assume that in writing about each other we would avoid the crudest interpretations that can be made.

I consider the phrase "the most elaborate attempt to date on the part of supporters of the war to cover their tracks is Nelson Rockefeller's" really unworthy. Whatever else Nelson Rockefeller has done in his life, this was not the intention. Indeed, I suspect that over a period of years his positions on major foreign policy issues will stand up fairly well. As for myself, my record is clear. When the history of the peace negotiations is written, your phrase will seem particularly inappropriate.

As for Rockefeller's specific plan, it is simply untrue that he requires the Viet Cong to disarm militarily or politically. There was no mention whatever of the Viet Cong, only of the North Vietnamese. I would have thought that a mutual American-North Vietnamese withdrawal which left the South Vietnamese to settle their own problems would not be inconsistent with your own views.

At the center this correspondence lie three letters: two TLS from Kissinger and one onionskin carbon copy of a typed letter from Morgenthau. The correspondence relates to a heated conflict over US Vietnam Policy. The conflict had been simmering for some time and came to a boil with Morgenthau's public denunciation of a peace-plan Kissinger had formulated for presidential hopeful, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Item 9 [Vietnam]. Kissinger Typed Letter Signed. October 9, 1968. On "Harvard University Center for International Affairs" letterhead. Addressed to Morgenthau at City College, NY. Responding to Morgenthau's August 22 NYRB article in which Morgenthau denounces Governor Nelson Rockefeller's "deceptive and unworkable … four-stage peace plan reputed to be the brain-child of Professor Kissinger." Kissinger writes that he delayed response "because I

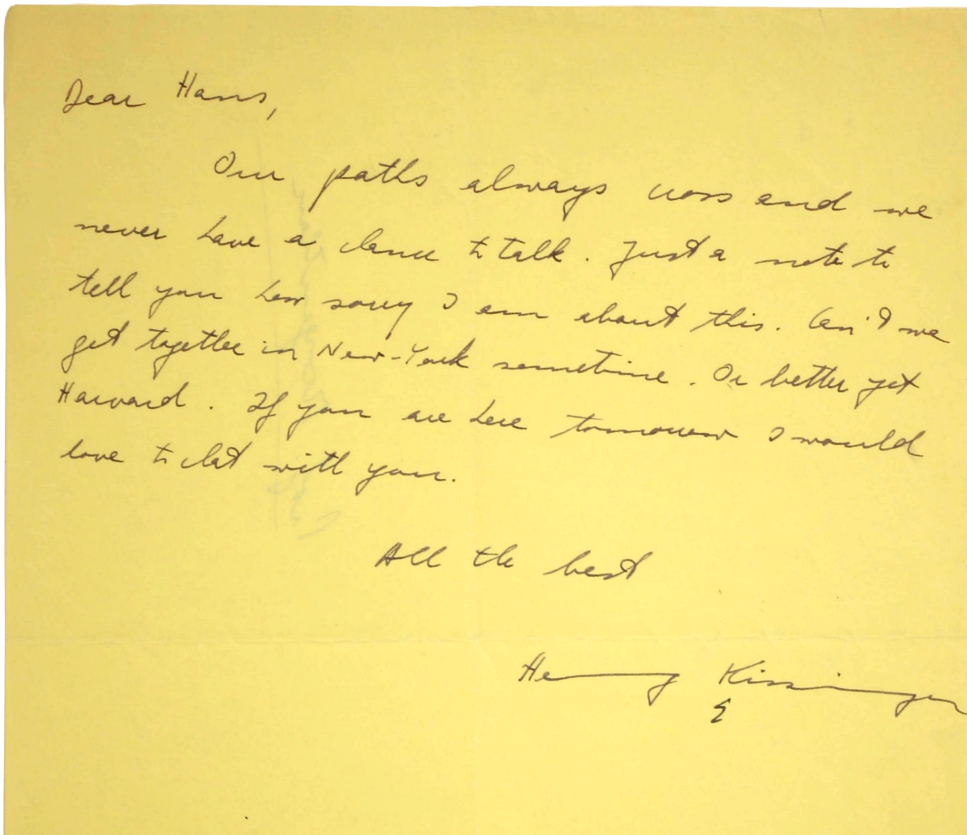
wanted the political dust to settle first." A display of wounded emotions and ego from being called out in public by his friend and mentor. Kissinger writes, "*There is not too much point in an exchange now except to say that I found the tone and the content of your article extremely painful. We have been friends for long enough so that one should be able to assume that in writing about each other we would avoid the crudest interpretations that can be made. … Hanoi's reaction, in any event, was more temperate than yours and really criticized only the lack of reference to a bombing pause.*"

Contextualizing the letter--to which he was given private access by Susanna Morgenthau--Barry Gewen writes, "In October 1968, when Henry Kissinger was serving as a foreign policy adviser to Nelson Rockefeller, he and Morgenthau had a tense exchange of letters on the subject of Vietnam. Seeking the Republican presidential nomination, Rockefeller staked out a position on the war that had been molded by Kissinger. It called for an 'honorable peace' to be achieved by a mutual withdrawal of North Vietnamese and American troops, allowing the South Vietnamese to settle the conflict themselves and determine their own destiny. By now a veteran of the protest movement, with dozens of articles and speeches behind him, Morgenthau proclaimed the Rockefeller proposal unworkable. Kissinger took the criticism personally; he thought he deserved better from his colleague and mentor." (*Kissinger,* 259).

Item 10 [Vietnam]. [Carbon Copy] Typed Letter. October 22, 1968. Addressed to Kissinger at the Harvard Center for International Affairs. Responding to an earlier letter in which Kissinger shares hurt feelings over Morgenthau's public critique of K's Vietnam policy. "*I sincerely regret the pain which my comments have caused you. Let me say also emphatically that I did not intend to question your… motivations. What I intended to question was your political judgment. I have conclude (sic) that your proposal is as unrealistic as all the others which have been advanced by the supporters of the war. For they try to* [PAGE 2] *combine the faulty assumptions upon which the support for the war was based with attempts at liquidating it. This inner contradiction negates the practical effect of the proposals. It can be overcome only by admitting the faultiness of the original assumptions. By not doing this while advocating for peace now, one indeed tries to cover one's tracks in an intellectual sense: one seeks to appear to be wise now, while actually whatever wisdom one might have acquired through bitter experience is vitiated by the insistence on one's original errors.*"

Item 11 [Vietman]. Kissinger Typed Letter Signed. November 13, 1968. On "Harvard University Center for International Affairs" letterhead. Addressed to Morgenthau at City University of New York. "*One is always more sensitive to attacks from friends.*" A response in an ongoing correspondence sorting out personal hurts and professional disputes. Kissinger claims he never supported the war in public and furthermore that he was convinced from his first visit to Vietnam in 1965 that "*what we were doing was hopeless. I then decided to work within the government to attempt to get the war ended.*"

SIGNIFICANCE: It is difficult to overstate the formative influence of Morgenthau's writings and personal mentorship for Kissinger. One of the most influential diplomats and policy advisors of the Twentieth Century, Kissinger's entire worldview was developed under Morgenthau's tutelage. Barry Gewen's recent book, *Kissinger: The Inevitability of Tragedy*, devotes over 100 pages to Morgenthau, arguing that a deep understanding of Morgenthau's vision of power, tragedy, and realism are essential prolegomena to understanding Kissinger's political and diplomatic orientation. (Gewen was in fact given private access to the letters in this collection by Susanna and makes use of them in his book.)

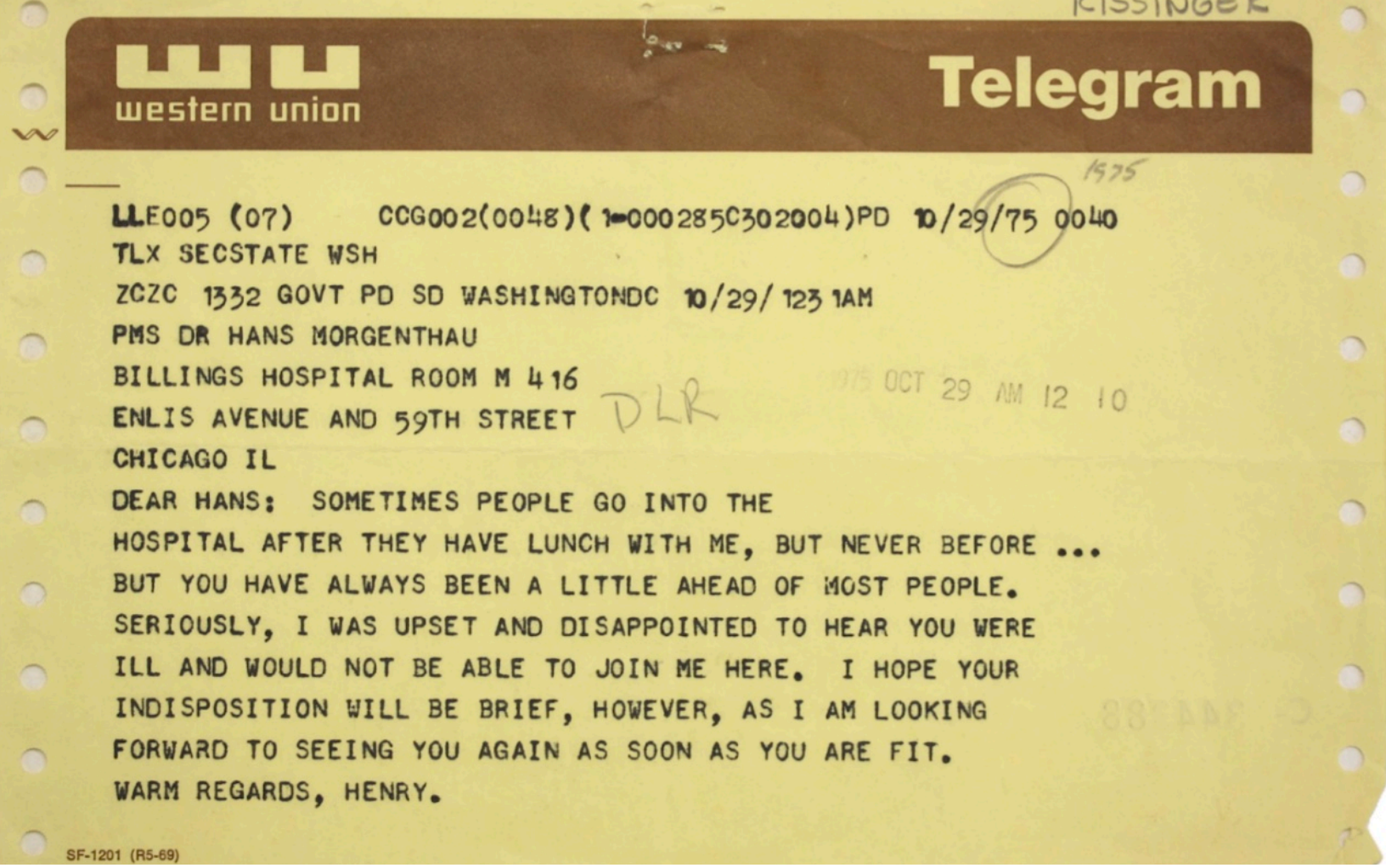

Dear Hans,

Our paths always cross and we never have a chance to talk. Just a note to tell you how sorry I am about this. Can't we get together in New York sometime. Or better yet Harvard. If you are here tomorrow I would love to chat with you.

All the best

Henry Kissinger

In the letter to Richard Neuhaus (forwarded to Morgenthau) declining to review the latest edition of *Politics Among the Nations*, Kissinger writes, "I have the highest regard for Professor Morgenthau's scholarship and intellectual insights. His textbook is truly a classic." The regard



western union

Telegram

1975

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TLX SECSTATE WSH
ZCZC 1332 GOVT PD SD WASHINGTONDC 10/29/ 123 1AM
PMS DR HANS MORGENTHAU
BILLINGS HOSPITAL ROOM M 416
ENLIS AVENUE AND 59TH STREET
CHICAGO IL
DEAR HANS: SOMETIMES PEOPLE GO INTO THE
HOSPITAL AFTER THEY HAVE LUNCH WITH ME, BUT NEVER BEFORE ...
BUT YOU HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A LITTLE AHEAD OF MOST PEOPLE.
SERIOUSLY, I WAS UPSET AND DISAPPOINTED TO HEAR YOU WERE
ILL AND WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO JOIN ME HERE. I HOPE YOUR
INDISPOSITION WILL BE BRIEF, HOWEVER, AS I AM LOOKING
FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN AS SOON AS YOU ARE FIT.
WARM REGARDS, HENRY.

DLR

OCT 29 AM 12 10

SF-1201 (R5-69)

was mutual. Political and Legal Scholar, D. B. Klusmeyer writes, "Even when criticizing his policies, Morgenthau ranked [Kissinger] as one of the most knowledgeable and skillful secretaries of state in American history." ("Vietnam Writings and the National Security State" in *Hans J. Morgenthau and the American Experience.*)

Morgenthau was one of the earliest and most influential critics of US policy in Vietnam. Gewen writes, "Hans Morgenthau represented the greatest challenge [to LBJ's escalation], in part because he couldn't be dismissed as simply a fringe dissenter. His anti-Communist credentials could scarcely have been firmer, his commitment to an American presence in the world and his support for a strong American military a matter of ongoing public record. His influence on foreign policy was widespread and palpable. He was no isolationist…. Indeed, his academic critics charged him with being a 'mouthpiece' for the Cold War. *Yet, unlike nearly every other expert on foreign policy, Morgenthau was never tempted to support the Vietnam War.*" (*Kissinger,* 242; italics mine) Political scholar, Jennifer See writes, "Morgenthau in fact played an important role

in opening public space for opposition to the Vietnam War. He was one of the first to perceive the dangers the United States faced; to expose the fallacies of applying Cold War assumptions to Southeast Asia's revolutionary, anticolonial realities; and, most importantly, to express his views publicly. In light of recent scholarship on the war, some may find his predictions prophetic." ("Prophet Without Honor: Hans Morgenthau and the War in Vietnam, 1955–1965")

While he had been a valued advisor and consultant with the Kennedy administration, his refusal to soften his denunciation of the political folly and moral turpitude of the Vietnam war led to his permanent exile from the halls of power. His stand on the war exacted a great toll on his personal life in addition to political damage, leaving him alienated from a great many longtime friends. Chief among these was Henry Kissinger, who Morgenthau more or less charged with prioritizing his career over an honest reckoning with what he privately acknowledged to be an unwinnable war.

Despite this, following Vietnam, we see Morgenthau's continued support for Kissenger as the most capable statesman on the American scene (see Item 67, "Letter to the Editor"). This willingness to lend credence to establishment politicians – particularly conservatives, from his support of Nixon in 1968 on – led Morgenthau to similarly be ostracized by the anti-war movement as well.

See explains,"As a nationally known intellectual, Morgenthau's views helped shape public opinion and policy in the 1950s. By the end of the 1960s, however, he found himself ostracized by an establishment bent on victory in Vietnam as well as by a radical antiwar movement that distrusted intellectual liberals and realist theories. Thus, Hans Morgenthau became an outcast in a world he had helped create, a prophet without honor in his own house. Since 1955 he had devoted thousands of words to criticism and warning about the disaster that awaited the American commitment in Vietnam, yet he proved unable to change the policies he opposed. Instead, he watched as his warnings went unheeded, his prophecies came to pass, and his own ideas and beliefs were held responsible." ("Prophet without Honor.)

western union

Telegram

TIB 194(1120)(4-019406S203)PD 07/21/80 1120
ICS IPMMTZZ CSP
2028720300 TDMT WASHINGTON DC 71 07-21 1120A EST
PMS MRS SUZANNA MORGENTHAU RPT DLY MGM, DLR
838 WEST END AVE APT 9B2
NEW YORK NY 10025

TIME DEL'D

I WAS DEEPLY SADDENED TO LEARN OF HANS'S PASSING. HE WAS A CONSTRUCTIVE AND CHALLENGING CRITIC, A BRILLIANT AND WISE TEACHER AND A CHERISHED FRIEND. I AM ONLY ONE OF MANY WHO LEARNED FROM HIM NOT ONLY ABOUT HISTORY BUT ABOUT INTEGRITY. TWO GENERATIONS OF SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS OF POLITICS WERE SHAPED BY HIS EXAMPLE OF RIGOR, HONESTY AND HUMANITY. THIS IS A LASTING LEGACY. PLEASE ACCEPT MY HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES. WARM REGARDS

HENRY A KISSENGER
SUITE 520 1800 K ST NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON DC 20006

SF-1201 (R5-69)



An Evening to Honor

HENRY A. KISSINGER

The Board of Directors, Friends and Guests

of

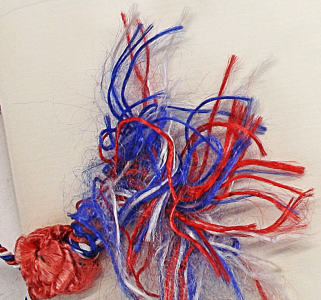
The Foreign Policy Association

present

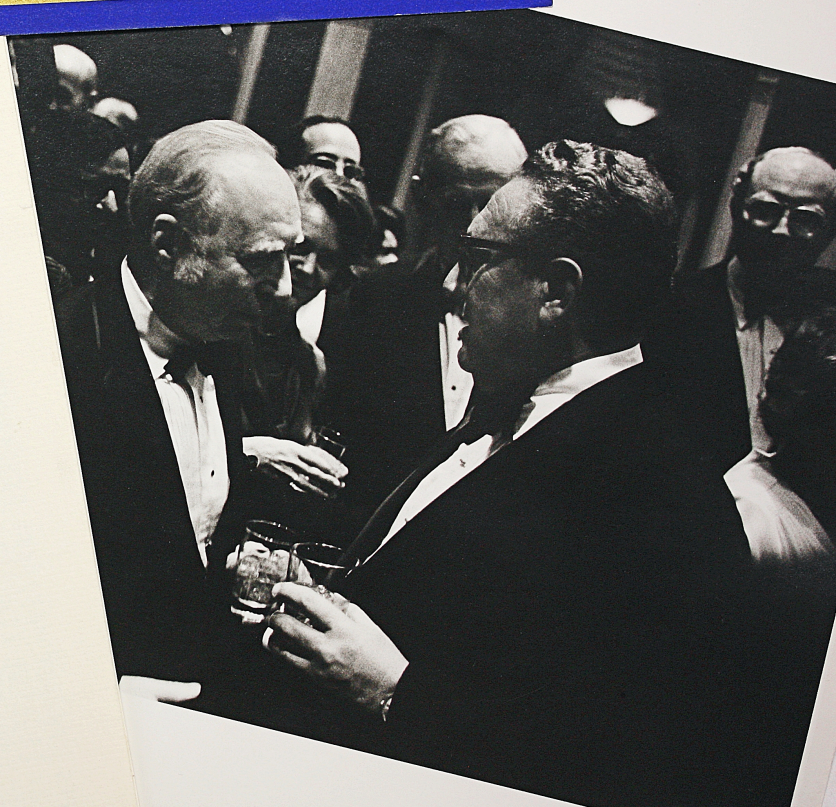
a reception and dinner

with

The Secretary of State and Mrs. Kissinger



January 11, 1977
The Waldorf-Astoria
New York City



CONTENTS: These letters and documents cover a period of nearly 30 years from the early days of their relationship in 1957 up through a condolence telegram sent to Morgenthau's daughter, Susanna, following his death in 1980. The archive is includes 59 items of original correspondence:

- 39 copies of letters, mostly Morgenthau's (onionskin carbon-copy and Xerox)
- 9 Kissinger Typed Letters Signed [TLS]
- 2 Kissinger Autograph Letters Signed [ALS]
- 3 Kissinger Original Telegrams
- 3 Secretarial Letters Signed
- 3 Holiday Greeting Cards are included, including an early card from 1957 which is signed by Kissinger.

Among other mementos is a copy of the menu from Morgenthau's 1976 birthday party signed by Kissinger and stained with (Morgnethau's?) coffee. Morgenthau also kept business cards and a correspondence card from Kissinger updating his personal address in Washington DC along with a hand-written unlisted telephone number.

A few newspaper clippings are included—notably two of Morgenthau's own letters to the editor publicly stating Morgenthau's support and respect for Kissinger. Morgenthau's personal copies of Kissinger's two statements to the Senate Armed Services Committee on the "SALT" Treaty on Strategic Arms Limitation, outlining the practical initiatives for "*détente"* policy which Kissinger had initiated as Nixon's Secretary of State; as well as Morgenthau's copy of Kissinger's Address to the Annual Convention of the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

A signed letter from Mordecai Cohen, president of the American Society for Crippled Children in Israel, accompanies copies of his correspondence with Kissinger, attempting to honor him with their first Humanitarian Service Award.

3 original large-format B/W photographs of Kissinger with Morgenthau are included in the portfolio program for the "Great Decisions Award" bestowed on Kissinger at a banquet held by the Foreign Policy Association.

A personal coda: Kissinger's RSVP declining an invitation to Susanna Morgenthau's wedding in 1984

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