

Collective veto on nuclear force  
 → weighted voted system

Swiss

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion  
 will never happen.

Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO  
 we must think of new solutions.

Reformed NATO on the basis of those  
 nations willing to integrate military  
 force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,  
 Spain.

Denmark

Would like to participate in  
 integrated forces. NATO essential

U.K.

Military integration necessary  
 but founded on political consensus  
 — otherwise in crisis, nations will  
 simply opt out.  
 — I don't believe in forming  
 "in-groups" within NATO

U.K. cont.

Organization in all aspects must ~~be~~ embrace all its nations (leaving seat warm for the French).

▶▶ Europe has not got relatively stronger. U.S. has. Therefore, central strength in NATO is U.S. Some of the key organizations of NATO must operate in U.S. rather than Europe because that's where decisions will be made → and problems of the next 10 years are political, rather than military.

Norway

We must accept fact of  
american preponderance  
in next 10 years.

How can ~~we~~ we  
reform our organization  
so as to make that  
power hear our views better.

Nuclear ~~aspects~~ - recognizing  
U.S. preponderance. must  
work out method by which  
other nations may have "a real say"  
on strategy.

France

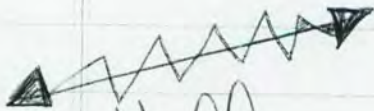
→ Situation has changed in  
last 15 years. vis a vis U.S.  
It is a mistake to insist on  
preponderant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinion have  
caused U.S. policy to be more  
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not  
the same as in war - we must  
recognize this & NATO ~~at~~ should

France cont

late political questions in  
mind. All problems are not  
military.

  
McClay

perhaps we should be thankful  
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and  
challenge on the table and in the  
open. We've known we had to,  
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to  
systems of Nationalism which in  
1914, and before, have been  
quite unproductive. I believe this  
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates  
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return  
to isolationist - but that we might  
withdraw from complexities of  
NATO situation that we might  
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you stress independence, flexibility  
and nationalism, you risk going  
back to pre-1914 "mish mash".

→ we can very easily go adrift here

if we don't have high degree  
of statesmanship & resist  
replying to nationalism.

→ another problem is with  
peoples of these countries. U.S.  
people are confused. In France  
the people misunderstand  
& seem to believe De Gaulle is  
right about "U.S. ordering our  
boys around".

De Gaulle says - no longer  
very menacing (Ahab's effect). I  
question that.

But remember, problems are  
not only military.

Problem is not so much military threats as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. May revive still-alive European nationalism. While in short-run re-enforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

➤ Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split.)

➤ Must take initiative for with East.

will not be sufficient just to try to preserve institution

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box \_\_\_\_\_ Folder \_\_\_\_\_

➤ Austria  
➤ NATO's continued strength a great concern for those who are not members.

Soviet military strength can be discounted for the time being (problems of Soviet previously mentioned) maybe this would have happened anyway - but with strong NATO these things may not have happened & definitely not so soon - Because of this infiltration and subversion had to be abandoned. Failure of Berlin takeover worsened Sino-Soviet relations because it forced Soviet back on co-existence.

U.S. should realize its strength and with self-confidence.

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box \_\_\_\_\_ Folder \_\_\_\_\_



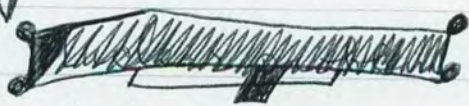
George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem  
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of  
military - ready to go, essential

Turkey



- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside  
matters or try to direct a  
conceived foreign policy.

## France (opposition)

still remains in alliance  
but outside organization -

This is difficult to do

do not see advantages

8) my government's position.

France now practically  
isolated by proper action of 14  
nations

NATO detection - will we lose?

loss of French command of

NATO - what about Germany

(French troops there?)

## De Gaulle's reasons

### 1. Psychological

France would do better  
not linked or subordinated  
to U.S. command when  
military conflict in Asia  
may expand and those involved  
French in war in Far East.  
(I don't think this risk exists  
because NATO pact has no  
competence here)

2. Detente with Soviet Union  
will be more achievable when Atlantic  
Union becomes weaker



Force opposite  
condemned

(my reply - detente was result of western union. NATO was the shield which put an end to Soviet subversion. Fragile beginning of co-existence is product of atlantic cohesion — NATO can be source of dialogue for more flexible relations with East)

### 3. Contradiction between sovereignty of states and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized with to french people for building separate nuclear force that U.S. come into WWI in 1917 and WWII in 1941 —

We must point out to public ~~op~~ opinion that this need for automaticity is what NATO can answer

Period of nationalism is a dangerous game. No fear now, I trust, but eventually Germany may become nationalistic also, and imitate France's desire for a free hand, also.

opposite  
 Grand continued

U.S. should please think  
 in future of strengthening common  
 management.

I hope Europe will have  
 greater share in management  
 and military responsibilities  
 of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at heart  
 of present trouble — we  
 mustn't just say we're  
 against proliferation — but  
 must give Europe more  
 hand.

NATO should be continued and  
 I hope France will one  
 day take up its place  
 in it.

~~Germany (Socialist)~~

If U.S. came late in  
2 wars - why not  
keep them here?

also, I'm afraid  
French nationalism may lead to  
greater nationalism on the part  
of Germany.

Integration - means preparation  
in peace time for common defense.  
also, common strategy in nuclear  
field. This is necessary to  
maintain credibility of deterrent.  
more difficult and expensive, but  
necessary, without France.

Belgium

Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just military integration.

We cannot isolate a treaty or organization to one area of the world.



Frankel

1. Deterrence no longer is military on ground but U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and usefulness.

Gowrie

Suggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups  
on a functional or regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

- McNamara Committee
- Collective Atlantic force
- European force

3. East-West policy

(trade, credit, arms control, diplomatic activity and German unity.)

- policy making body on a continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

A. Responsibility in other parts of the world

- developing nation
- containment of Chinese aggression

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box \_\_\_\_\_ Folder \_\_\_\_\_

Netherlands

→ France is engaged in "diplomacy by statement."

→ There will be repercussions in the common market.

→ There should not be bilateral dealings with France outside NATO. Council should be kept in Paris. Military might well have to be moved. Should not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K. (latter would give impression that in conflict mainland might have to abandon) (not to U.S. because takes European defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention <sup>now</sup> to nuclear attraction, especially by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to France of their policy which will tend to produce post-1914 conditions.

Collection \_\_\_\_\_ Series \_\_\_\_\_ Box \_\_\_\_\_ Folder \_\_\_\_\_

France (opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated by one man. I see nothing wrong with some bilateral conversations.



Gilpatric (U.S.)

Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

no hurry because U.S. & Soviet can push on bilateral pressure and therefore, we shouldn't wait on this problem's solution to get at NATO problems.



Holfield

nuclear sharing



What is desired by Germany  
if not complete sovereign  
control

U.K.

Germany is not represented  
at SAC headquarters,  
Special Committee of  
McNamara is only an  
exploratory committee

— this is not enough  
to reassure a European  
non-nuclear nation.

Germany

→ We have never asked for control  
over nuclear weapons. We  
want to participate in  
budgeting, nuclear planning —  
our say in the decision making  
process.

→ We doubt the McNamara committee  
can give us sufficient weight.

Erlar (Socialist)

Reunification of Germany would be such a major change in world politics, I am convinced it cannot come about except with major political, nuclear & military changes toward nuclear disarmament.

■ But need more sharing of control on this continent  
more cooperation.







Morse



Nuclear proliferation

— NATO can have new meaning by helping to solve this.



U.S.

nuclear control

Bowie

Most Europeans want to have more than information ~~at~~ grace. They want to be in on things as a matter of right.

If (U.S. & France) get special standing in NATO because they have nuclear weapons → then other nations sooner or later will demand such weapons.



In answer to Holiifield  
Italy (Secy General Martelli) What about a European nuclear force with U.S. veto?  
Couldnt U.S. come up with such a suggestion & pass it through their Congress.

## Canada

We do not wish nor intend to produce nuclear weapons, though we have the power to do so — This should not stand in the way of expanding peaceful use of nuclear power.

① → we reaffirm our support of NATO which still has 15 members.

② Let's keep alliance together & strengthen & make it more effective — we need more political consultation to promote political unity, (we must remember it was not to be a world-wide political instrument) linked to geographical concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Reuther

There is <sup>an</sup> overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because common fears are reduced.  
Success

- ⇒ WE need a new sense
- 1) historic purpose
  - 2) what's unfinished job
  - 3) Atlantic Community?
    - building community
  - 4) peace.

⇒ nationalism is dangerous

Without written permission, this material may not be copied or reproduced in any fashion, nor placed in any other repository.

Harris

Countries act  
general on their  
own self interest

Much has been said  
about unfortunate  
isolation of U.S.

must be kept  
for Defense & deterrence

unified  
military  
machinery

dialogue offensive

NATO must not be  
isolationist  
nor militaristic

I hope I  
will not  
opend  
- but I'm not  
talking about  
becoming more  
involved in  
preventing wars

involve  
conflicting  
interests  
specially  
those matters  
we should  
talk about

- 1. greater detente  
with Soviet union  
& Eastern Europe. (expanding  
its machinery  
for political  
dialogue &  
policy making)
- (can do this  
multilaterally)
- 2. Greater involvement  
with the  
developing world

alliances must  
respond to real  
desires  
real  
desires

we are rich & we are  
strong  
social world obligations

We should not be bound by what  
we are against alone.

1. greater detente with Russia  
& the Eastern world

2. preventing causes of war in the  
third world

All countries, including  
France, will see ~~NATO~~  
Atlantic alliance as once again  
serving their most vital interests

This is a photocopy of materials held by the Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma, Monnet Hall, Room 202, 630 Parrington Oval, Norman, Oklahoma 73019-4031.



de Santo Silva

← Comment on statements of Sen. Harris  
on expansion of NATO to matters of  
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made  
potential enemies more active  
in other parts of the world. NATO  
members should show more  
understanding of members' problems  
in other parts of the world. This  
would show NATO solidarity.

Nuclear control

Tutthill (U.S.)

Walter Reuther — "The idealists are the  
pragmatists of our day?"



Agree with Murphy, Duffin  
' Secy-General of NATO — we  
should concentrate on NATO's  
original mission as a  
military alliance.

aid to developing  
countries should not be a  
role of NATO, but of other existing  
agencies.

neither of helping with  
detente is not NATO's role.  
Detente is not helped but  
made more difficult by  
Francis' action. NATO has already  
been a strong instrument  
of detente.

### Portugal

Involvement in other parts of  
the world and make common  
approach to Eastern Europe and  
Soviet Union. Should not  
overload NATO in other parts of  
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved for  
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough  
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach  
to East — because it would be unsuccessful  
because it has military image. Countries

Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own  
approaches through its best  
channels.

De Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get  
involved in problems of Angola. What  
I would like is NATO members  
to have a better understanding  
and some kind of moral  
solidarity on these problems  
which involve western  
civilization.

Canadian

nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO  
Councils ~~now~~ France has made it  
impossible to make much headway  
here - But, now, couldn't the  
remaining 14 make some progress.

Ambassador McFhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republic. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action increases Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second class member of the Alliance

2. Scope of NATO - Sen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation. U.S. is now involved. Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ We are the only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. If nations of Europeans individually and their collective agency doesn't take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?



Cong. Holifield nuclear

Special McNara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine developments.

NATO was in disarray for several years before DeGaulle. It had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret~~ weapons.

Netherlands

on the whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. We must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.

Holifield's Nuclear  
 By change of law and otherwise, were given much (listed) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies — all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved, in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

Morse amendment of McMahon act highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K. - Nato's role in keeping peace in world is attractive, but not very practical.  
 → we don't have the ships and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.  
 → I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus) —  
 I believe that is role of U.N. and its decline worse than De Gaulle's action.



U. R.

Europe's world should not be as a blood donor in the developing world.

McThee

Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.

I don't see how a group of people in the world with serious and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

Holyfield

I disagree with Cong. Morse (Repub) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress would not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

France opposition

Quotes Lippman for prockially  
 opproving De Gaulle's position.  
 because ~~total~~ equilibrium of  
 power is established by U.S.

France is to get most  
 of advantages geography ~~not~~ allow  
 it.



~~Section~~

also

Soviet Union believes  
 France's independence is a  
 bad example for the countries of  
 Eastern Europe.

Johnson (U.S.)

I think Mc Ghee's position is  
 not as good as Buchan's <sup>(U.K.)</sup> about  
 U.N.'s role

but one of problems in  
 U.N. is that every one has a  
 block except Atlantic  
 community - this lack of  
 unity in U.N. among us  
 is striking. we do not work  
 one policies in U.N. ~~or what~~  
 nearly as much as we can  
 and we should. we ought  
 to do a better job than we can.

McGhee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's axiomatic that it can't function in cold ~~war~~ war situations.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consensus NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agree

Soviet posture has changed since creation. Over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disappeared there would be a very dangerous situation, attract new Soviet expansionist policy, military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

HRH cont.

not solved

Should we ~~not~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~not~~ want to.

Large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact.

Large opinion that smaller groups should be avoided.

2. Nuclear sharing  
enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals for Cong. Holifield's questions as to how they may be done.

3. no answer whether  
just security or stronger effort for common posture vis a vis the outside world.

Sir Andrew

Widening gap between developing & developed nations is dangerous, not only because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

needs (between donors)

1. Arrangements & recipients for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations. Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reduction. We must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this) International organizations can impose conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together much more closely with coherent plans, for working out priorities. U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but we need this on cooperative basis among us all.



① OECD Development  
 assistant Committee must  
 be made more of than we have  
 to date. This is the means  
 by which the Atlantic Community  
 could do more together in  
 aid.

② More attention to technical  
 assistance, training, transfer of  
 know-how. Bound to be effective  
 and successful. U.K. ~~is~~ has  
 given absolute priority here and  
 we're expanding. (Has advantage  
 of course, of being chiefest).

③ Concentrate on points of  
 breakthrough in science & technology,  
 desalinization, pest control  
 above all: population control. Letter  
 is an important form of aid.

④ Support International aid  
 Programs. (will by 1970 have gone  
 from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development  
 Association funds must be  
 replenished shortly - U.N. <sup>(development)</sup> program  
 must be supported  
 world Bank must continue to be in a  
 leadership program.



my questions

What percentages of  
GDP or other measures  
are 15 NATO members  
devoting to aid.

What about China and  
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CATT)

EEC is not coming  
to grips with  
their responsibility  
with impending failure  
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy.  
It ought to be considered as a  
matter of national interest, an  
integral part of national policy.

Developing



Greater cohesion & building  
on Article 2 or some other  
solution - or else

"common bat will continue  
to spring leaks & perhaps be  
hopelessly wrecked"

— paraphrasing Lincoln — "the world  
cannot long endure half rich  
and half poor, particularly  
if the rich are getting richer  
and the poor are getting poorer."

Property

H

Federal Republican

## 1. Integration essential

→ reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more facile joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

(we accept non-proliferation)

but we want participation

in every decision-making stage

→ collective system

- U.S. veto

- European veto

→ more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination aid to underdeveloped world.