



Declaration of Atlantic Unity, 1957-1959

Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórn­mál – Dómsmálaráðherra – Menntamálaráðherra – Henri Brugmans –
Alexander Jóhannsson – Walden Moore – Thor Thors – *Circular Letter to the Signees of the
Declaration* – Varnarmál

Tekið af vef Borgarskjalasafnsins

bjarnibenediktsson.is

Einkaskjalasafn nr. 360
Stjórn­málamaðurinn
Askja 2-22, Örk 3

©Borgarskjalasafn Reykjavíkur



C I R C U L A R L E T T E R

to the participants
in the Conference on Atlantic Community

No. 1

Bruges, February 1, 1958

Contents:

- I. Foreword
- II. Letter to Participants
by Hans KOHN
- III. Providing the West with a Programme
by Hendrik BRUGMANS
- IV. Summary of the activities of the
Standing Committee and Secretariat
- V. Request for collaboration

*

* * *

I. FOREWORD

"The Conference is over, long live the Conference." With these words one of the speakers in the Final Session expressed the thought in the minds of the participants in the Conference on Atlantic Community. The Bruges meeting in September 1957 was but the beginning of a dialogue of common enquiry. This "Circular letter" aims to provide one of the instruments of this dialogue and the means by which we wish to keep you informed on the activities undertaken since the Conference by the Standing Committee and its Secretariat to which you have entrusted the application of the resolutions and reports approved by the Plenary Session and the Commissions.

The "Circular letter" will be issued every two or three months according to need. It could appear more frequently and at greater length if participants make known their desire of using it not only as a means of information but also as the vehicle of a sustained dialogue.

*

* * *

II. LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

by Hans KOHN

Four months have passed since we met at Bruges. The Bruges Conference was a first attempt of independent "intellectuals" of the countries which share the traditions of modern Western civilization, to get together, without any connection with NATO or other official organizations, and to start a conversation and a possible meeting of minds about what constitutes this common modern Western civilization with all its differences, which are the outcome of historical traditions and geographic circumstances. Without facing and tackling this difficult question, modern Western civilization will hardly find the new vigor and awareness of itself which it needs. This need is as urgent today as it was in the 1920's and the 1930's. It has little to do with technological advances. It is a spiritual problem of the Western Community itself.

Most participants will agree that the Bruges Conference was a success. But it would be a mistake to look for immediate tangible results or ready solutions. The Conference was only a first attempt to meet fundamental issues. Ahead of us lies the long and patient work of preparing a true meeting of minds and an awareness of common values.

The task of the follow-up of the Bruges Conference goes even further. It has to prepare, and to enter into, a meeting of minds with other free peoples and free men and with those struggling to be free. The future of modern Western civilization, and the long-range outcome of the struggle which totalitarianism imposed upon it, will primarily depend upon our success in overcoming the feeling of alienation, distrust and frustration now dominant in the underdeveloped countries, independent and colonial alike.

We speak of the spirit of community. We have the opportunity to remain in close and permanent touch with those who attended the Bruges Conference, and to continue our conversation. This circle should be systematically widened in the years ahead; conferences and seminars should be held; problems should be discussed and clarified; thus the circle of persons who attended Bruges can become the core of a growing community.

Our task will demand great efforts. It would be a mistake to start with grandiose projects. The present

../..

international situation makes efforts in the coordination of scientific and technological research and in economic cooperation urgent. This is being realized by the governments of all NATO nations. It is of their domain to do something about it. They have the means and the men. We should concentrate on the cultural and spiritual issues, which are not of the domain of governments, and which have been overlooked or neglected. We are limited in men and means. But if we think our plans carefully through, we may go on from Bruges, in the spirit of Bruges, to continue and to widen the meeting of minds in the North Atlantic Community and to prepare, an even more difficult task, a meeting of minds between us and the non-totalitarian non-Western world, thus confirming our fundamental creed of an open society.

*

* *

III. PROVIDING THE WEST WITH A PROGRAMME

by Hendrik BRUGMANS

We are engaged in a world-wide civil war which Communism has declared upon us. To stress this fact is not to excite to hatred, but to bring our contemporaries back to a more realistic plane. The question is whether we will take up the challenge thrown out.

Such is hardly the case at present. Each time that we find ourselves faced with a provocation, an aggression, a subversion (or, on the other hand, a trap of amiability), we hastily improvise something. And every Atlantic country wants this "something" to carry its own national imprint, for we are suspicious of the neighbour and the ally. How many times, in the corridors of the Heads of Government conference in Paris last December, have we heard the words: "those" Americans, "those" British, "those" Germans, "those" Frenchmen ...

This will never provide us with an effective response. The prerequisite of "Western" success is to rise above Nationalism by thinking things through together. We hope we succeeded in launching this endeavour at Bruges, and we intend to carry on broadening and deepening the process.

..//..

But let us have no illusions. The elaboration of a long-term "Western" policy will not be achieved without friction. Such undertakings are never accomplished in unanimity. To think out together Atlantic problems supposes a common appreciation of the situation and a clear determination to arrive at conclusions acceptable to all. We shall work, of course, in the climate of intellectual honesty and free discussion which we hold dear. But this does not mean that we are sure in advance of always thinking in the same way.

But we must reach conclusions, for generalities are sterile. We shall refuse the temptation to slip into acrimonious debate, but our "Fabian Society" (to quote Mr. Willy Bretscher) will not thereby bog itself down in purely descriptive sundries.

We aim objectively to inform the West on the situation in which it finds itself and the problems with which it is confronted. But, above and beyond all this, it is our ambition to throw up new ideas and daring solutions. And we shall have achieved our aim, not when everyone regards us with indifference and respect, but when people are obliged to take account of what we say.

Let us begin, surely, with modesty. But let us not forget that the goal is vast: to endow the West with a programme.

*

* *

IV. SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE AND SECRETARIAT

Publication of documents on the Conference

Immediately after the Conference the Secretariat drew up a summary of the conclusions. This summary was published in English and French in the form of a little brochure which also contained the closing speech of M. P.-H. Spaak, and was sent to all participants and observers as well as to interested institutions and individuals. A number of these brochures remain available to those who would like additional copies.

../..

The Bruges Quarterly, the College of Europe review, is appearing with this "Circular letter". It contains in full the essential documents and principal speeches of the Conference. It is entirely in French because the Foreign Policy Research Institute of the University of Pennsylvania is making a simultaneous publication in English. Documents not included in the Quarterly may be obtained from the Secretariat on request.

Meeting of the Standing Committee

The first meeting of this Committee, created out of the former Steering Committees of the Conference in accordance with the resolution of the Plenary Session of September 13th, took place in Paris on 13th and 14th November.

The Committee first established some general principles:

The sponsorship of the University of Pennsylvania and of the College of Europe was considered essential to the maintenance, for future activities, of the strict scientific objectivity which characterised the Conference. The Committee is unanimous in the conviction that this spirit must reign in all our future activities.

The recommendation on the creation of the Atlantic Institute was without any doubt the most important of the Conference. But as the setting-up of this Institute will take a certain time, it is indispensable to begin with the realisation of certain recommendations within a shorter period. This is the reason for the drafting of the programme of activities under two headings: on the one hand the preparation and the creation of the Institute which will be the final instrument of the application of the Conference resolutions, on the other hand the statement of activities which must be undertaken, under the aegis of the Standing Committee, before the juridical existence of the Institute. The latter will enable the future Institute to begin with a work programme already well under way.

Three spheres of activity were defined as being of prime importance in the Conference follow-up:

1. The deepening of research into the cultural and philosophical bases of the Atlantic Community (the conclusions of the Commission on Religion and Spiritual Values), and the greater understanding of the essential pluralism of our society.

.../...

2. The understanding of the Communist state and society, its totalitarian character, and our common attitude in the face of the war which this state is waging on Western society.

3. The attitude to be adopted towards the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa. It will be one of our tasks to define what Mr. Bretscher called "the framework of general principles of our conduct on the problem of underdeveloped countries".

From now on three methods will be employed in order to work in these fields:

1. The setting up of groups of experts (advisory panels) in the various fields of activity. These experts will provide opinions, commentaries and elements of analysis which the Standing Committee will use for the drawing up of its programme and for placing proposals before the Atlantic Community. Such reports could also be presented to the leading policy-makers of the West.

2. The setting-up of continuous bibliographical studies in the above-mentioned spheres.

3. Preparation and organisation of specialised seminars in the various domains outlined above, and general international conferences.

A general conference similar to that held at Bruges should be convened in Philadelphia in Spring 1959. Its aim would be to continue the work begun in 1957, to evaluate results obtained from interim activities and to inaugurate the Atlantic Institute.

The final composition of the Standing Committee, whose next meeting will take place in April or May 1958, will be announced in the next "Circular letter".

The Bibliographical Publications Project

Two to four times a year we aim to publish three separate bibliographical digests. The first will contain a critical bibliography (possibly with extracts) of books and articles on the problem of underdeveloped countries. The second will cover Communism, the third the basic values of the Atlantic Community. Special emphasis will be laid upon the relations between the Atlantic countries and underdeveloped countries or the Communist world respectively.

..//..

The "digests" will also contain accounts of the activity of organisations and institutes already working in these fields.

The first publication, appearing in May, will be a basic critical bibliography on underdeveloped countries. A similar work on Communism will appear in June. These will be kept up to date by continuous publications from September onwards.

The principal aim of the bibliographical digests is to be an independent publication at the service of Conference participants, students and research workers in the fields concerned, universities and institutes and personalities holding responsible positions in political, economic and cultural life in the Atlantic Community. These publications will provide them with a synthesis and a clear overall view of everything which appears in the fields covered, and gradually, a complete critical bibliography, an instrument of research or analysis relative to a particular or general problem, such as those touched upon by the Bruges Conference.

Preparation of the Atlantic Institute

We are postponing comment on this activity - doubtless the greatest practical task we have to undertake - until the next "Circular letter", when we shall be in a position to give more precise information than at present. Similarly with the setting-up of the advisory panels, the legal incorporation of the Conference intended by the Standing Committee, and the preparation of other general and specialised conferences. These questions will be discussed at the next meeting of the Standing Committee.

*

* *

V. REQUEST FOR COLLABORATION

We have said that the principal objects of this "Circular letter" were to provide information on our activities and to serve as an instrument of liaison and discussion amongst the participants in the Bruges Conference. The Conference owed its success in great measure to the interest manifested by the participants and to the atmosphere of

../..

understanding, frankness and co-operation which obtained throughout. We are convinced that this spirit will continue to flourish and ensure the success of our projects.

How can this dialogue and co-operation be brought about?

Your comments and suggestions with regard to this letter, its content and final form, are indispensable to us.

Such is also the case with the activities we have briefly described. A concrete case where the most extensive collaboration seems of prime importance is, for example, that of the bibliographical service. The two domains - relations with the Communist world and the underdeveloped countries - are so vast that we stand in absolute need of a network of correspondents to draw our attention to books, articles and activities which should be covered by the bibliography (especially for lesser-known publications and those not written in major languages).

The edition of the Bruges Quarterly sent you with this letter will recall to your mind the themes debated at Bruges. It will be clear to you that this was but the opening of discussion, and that many points were inadequately treated or even omitted. Further comments on the subjects discussed in Bruges may well be inserted in these "Circular letters" or later, when budgetary considerations permit, in a special volume.

Finally, there is one practical point for which we request your collaboration. This is the problem of finance. In order to realise our projects and to broaden their scope, we need the support of private funds in America AND in Europe. We have already had some assistance. Lists of public and private organisations, individuals or commercial and industrial enterprises who would be interested in our activities and who could contribute to their realisation by gifts, supporting subscriptions, sponsoring of specific projects, etc, are indispensable to us. Everything which you will be able to do for us or suggest to us in this connection will be of tremendous assistance.

All communications should be addressed

in Europe to:

Conference on Atlantic Community,
22A Naaldenstraat,
BRUGES, Belgium

in America to:

Conference on Atlantic
Community,
Room 203 - 133 South 36th St.,
PHILADELPHIA 4, Pa., U.S.A.

CONFERENCE ON ATLANTIC COMMUNITYBIBLIOGRAPHICAL DIGEST SERVICEExplanatory NotesINTRODUCTION

At its meeting in Paris on November 13th and 14th, the Standing Committee of the Conference on Atlantic Community proposed, as part of its interim activities prior to the establishment of the Atlantic Institute, that continuing bibliographical study should be undertaken in the following subjects:

- a) the cultural and philosophical bases of the Atlantic Community, and the pluralistic, open nature of its society;
- b) the totalitarian aspects of Communism, its strategy and tactics, and the common approach the Atlantic Community must make towards the danger it presents;
- c) the framework of general principles which should govern the dealings of the Atlantic Community with the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa.

At a later date, similar bibliographical study should be made of the role played by science and technology in Western civilisation, and also of the possibilities of economic co-operation within the Atlantic Community as a whole.

PROJECT

1. The Bruges Secretariat is taking steps to implement this proposal. Since it is felt that the field of the cultural and philosophical bases of the Atlantic community needs further definition if the bibliography relative to it is to have any degree of coherence, efforts will be concentrated at present on producing continuous selective critical bibliographies of standard and current literature on Communism and Underdeveloped Countries.

A series of bibliographies will be published for each of these two fields separately.

2. Each series will be launched with a volume listing a large and representative selection of books considered to be of fundamental importance for the understanding of the problems involved. These bibliographies will be classified under various headings, and each work analysed to provide both a brief outline of its scope and subject matter, and an appraisal of its value as a source of information and opinion.
3. The introductory volume of each series will be supplemented by quarterly publications. These supplements are at present envisaged as fascicules some forty sides in length, divided roughly equally into two sections. The first section will be devoted to a survey of the more important current periodical literature published in the field. The articles will be reproduced in full, in extract, or summarised, as warranted by originality and forcefulness of thesis or exposition. Indication will also be given from time to time of the activities and research being carried out by other interested organisations. The second section will comprise an analytical review of all relevant current literature of any merit, and extend and elaborate the various chapters of the introductory volume by continued exploration of older publications. The quarterly supplements may occasionally be devoted exclusively to the treatment of a special topic, and thus prove useful, for example, as preparatory surveys of relevant publications for specialised seminars and conferences.
4. An index of authors and subjects will be compiled annually for each series of bibliographies.
5. There will be no separate French and English editions of these publications. Both languages will be used on a more or less equal footing, articles and reviews received in French or English appearing as they stand, and those received in other languages being translated into either French or English.
6. The format of these publications will be small 8vo.
7. An Editorial Committee, at present consisting of Messrs. Brugmans (Co-president of the Conference Standing Committee and Rector of the College of Europe), Moulin (Member of the Standing Committee), and Drachkovitch, will supervise the compilation of the bibliographies, and have final discretion over all that is to appear in them.
8. M. Moulin has put at the disposal of the Bruges Secretariat a small research unit and the resources of the Service des Etudes Economiques of the Caisse Générale d'Epargne et de Retraite de Belgique for the series of bibliographies on Underdeveloped Countries. The emphasis here will not be

exclusively economic, and account will be taken of the psychological, social and political problems created by measures for economic development. Publication of the introductory volume is planned for the middle of May, and the first supplement is to appear in September.

The Editor of "Est-Ouest" has promised similar collaboration for the publication in June of the introductory bibliography on Communism, the first supplement of which will also appear in September. The main interest in this series will be centred on the external relations and ambitions of the Communist world.

9. A network of correspondents, individual and collective, is gradually being established in various countries to ensure as wide a coverage as possible of current articles and books appearing on Communism and Underdeveloped Areas in the less generally accessible languages of the Atlantic Community. The possibility is also being explored of contacting suitable correspondents in the underdeveloped areas themselves. The Correspondents will keep abreast of the relevant current literature appearing in their country or language, submit analyses and appraisals of books for publication in the digests, notify the Editorial Committee of articles they consider to be important for possible reproduction in full or in extract, and keep track of research being carried out by other organisations in their area. Their contributions will appear anonymously, though a list of correspondents will be printed in each number of the digest.

10. It is intended to publicise the digest service by printing 3,000 or more copies of the introductory bibliographies, and possibly also of the first one or two supplements in each series, for free distribution to the participants of the Conference, university research institutes, and other official or private bodies and individuals specialising in the fields of Communism and Underdeveloped Countries in Europe and North America. It is hoped eventually to build up a large body of regular subscribers not only in academic circles, but among persons holding responsible positions in the political, economic and cultural life of the Atlantic Community. The digest service will provide them, according to need, with a synthesis and clear overall view of everything currently appearing in the fields covered, as well as, in course of time, a complete critical bibliography, an instrument of research into general or particular problems such as those touched upon by the Bruges Conference.

1/58

Bruges,
22A Naaldenstraat

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

Room 203 - 133 South 36th St.
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

COLLÈGE d'EUROPE

Naaldenstraat, 22^A
BRUGES - Belgique
Tél. : 355.02 — Cables : COMAT

CONFERENCE ON ATLANTIC COMMUNITY
CONFERENCE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE ATLANTIQUE
Bruges, 3rd March 1958

Mr. Bjarni BENEDIKTSSON,
Haahlid 14,
Reykjavik

Dear Mr. Benediktsson,

The enclosed document gives a brief outline of the bibliographical research service being undertaken by the European Secretariat as part of the follow-up of the Bruges Conference, mention of which was made in the Circular Letter to Participants of February 1st 1958. As you will see, work has already commenced on the preparation of the series on underdeveloped countries and the relations between the Atlantic community and the Communist world. We now wish to start as soon as possible on the preparation of the continuous annotated bibliography on the Atlantic community itself. As far as we have been able to discover, very little bibliographical research has yet been undertaken in this field. What we have come across is either extremely specialised - for example, a bibliography covering the activities of NATO - or extremely diffuse and incomplete.

The bibliography we envisage would fall into three main sections:

I. ATLANTIC CIVILISATION

- a) its philosophical, moral and religious foundations;
- b) a historical perspective of its impact on other cultures, and an assessment of its dynamism and viability in the context of these cultures today.

II. TENSIONS

The real or apparent contradictions of values and beliefs between the nations who have inherited this civilisation, and

their manifestation in international political tensions, and reciprocal mistrust and misunderstanding (the tensions between Europe and America, and their causes, etc).

III. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The movements towards integration within the Atlantic community: the nature and activities of official and private organisations for international cooperation in all spheres of life of the Atlantic community, suggestions for their improvement, for new initiatives.

It will be obvious that within the first section, especially, and also in the second, we shall be faced with the problem of what matter should be excluded from the bibliography. Only in the third section will the limits of our researches be more or less clear.

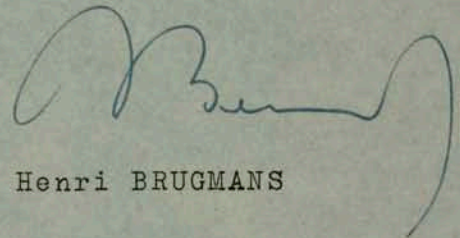
1. We should therefore be most grateful if you would give us your comments on the general organisation of our proposed bibliography, suggesting any improvements which may seem to you desirable.
2. Would you please define briefly what you think should constitute the field of our research, which aspects should be emphasised, what we may safely leave aside as not being of fundamental importance to a survey of literature on the Atlantic community?
3. To illustrate your argument, could you list, say, ten to thirty bibliographies, collections of works, books, periodical reviews, theses, papers or articles which, in your opinion, should appear in a bibliography on the Atlantic community as you would envisage it?
4. Would you please notify us of other organisations and research bodies which to your knowledge are interested in the same subject, and possibly pursuing the bibliographical work we envisage?
5. Would you be prepared to notify us from time to time of books, articles, and other organisational activities which you consider may be of interest to us in our work, and offer criticism and advice on our own publications?

We should like to emphasise that we regard this bibliography as an instrument for continuing in a more permanent form the discussions commenced in the relevant commissions of the Bruges Conference. As such it will be characterised by the same objectivity which informed our debates then, and avoid the sterility of research undertaken merely for its own sake, by promoting a wider understanding of those principles and values we all seek to defend and expand. With this in mind, we have decided to submit this project of a bibliography on the Atlantic community in the first instance mainly to those who participated in the Commissions on Religion and Spiritual Values, Tensions, and Institutional Framework at the Conference.

Awaiting with the greatest interest the pleasure of reading your views on the points raised in this letter,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,



Henri BRUGMANS

P.S. For your greater convenience the issues raised in this letter are reproduced in the form of a questionnaire, which you are invited to use in your reply.

February 14, 1958

Dr. Alexander Johannesson
Hringbraut 57
Reykjavik, Iceland

Dear Dr. Johannesson:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 20.

The enclosed letter to Ambassador Thors indicates the initiative we are taking with regard to Iceland-United States trade. While in Washington next week I hope also to discuss this matter with the competent people in our State Department.

Afterwards I shall report to you on the results of these conversations.

From the paper I have noted that the recent municipal elections in Iceland resulted in substantial gains for the Independence and Progressive Parties while the Socialists and especially the Communists lost heavily. I would very much like to know what, if any, effect these elections will have on the national political picture?

There is a possibility that I may go to Europe for a conference in May. If I do I shall certainly stop off for a few days in Iceland and will look forward to seeing you and my other Icelandic friends at that time.

Faithfully yours,

Walden Moore
Project Director

P.S. Lithgow Osborne gave me a translation of the Njals Saga and I have been reading it with the deepest interest. What do you consider the best book on Iceland in English?

Enc: Letter to Thors, February 14

February 14, 1958

Icelandic trade. The U.S.-Icelandic trade in 1957 was \$100 million. Iceland has sold fish and fishery products to the U.S. in 1957 for 100 million dollars and bought raw wool from the U.S. for 100 million dollars. The Soviet-Icelandic trade in the same year was 100 million dollars. - would it not be possible to increase this trade in order to prevent this situation?

His Excellency Ambassador Thor Thors
Icelandic Embassy
1906 Twenty-Third Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Last January 6 I sent you a copy of my report to the U.S. Sponsors of the Declaration on my visit to Iceland last August.

Since that time I read with some concern Mr. Hersteinn Falsson's report on Icelandic economy in the New York Times of January 7.

I was particularly alarmed about the concluding sentence: "Many (Icelanders) also think that the Western powers are letting Iceland down, letting her slip into the Soviet orbit."

On January 9 I wrote the Icelandic Sponsor of the Declaration Dr. Alexander Johannesson about this and concluded my letter as follows:

"We think one function the Sponsors of the Declaration can usefully perform is to call the attention of our governments and legislators to situations of this kind and, if possible, suggest remedies for them. The very fact that we operate outside regular diplomatic channels may, I think, have some value."

On January 20 I had a reply from Dr. Johannesson from which the following is an extract:

"The increasing trade with Soviet Russia and its satellites has been of serious concern to us. The great majority of the Icelanders is full of admiration for and gratitude to the United States. (President Roosevelt was first to agree to the formation of the Republic in 1944 and was represented at the ceremony by a special ambassador - without his support the final step in the struggle for independence might have been a more difficult one.) It has been my opinion as that of many other Icelanders that the United States might have prevented the present trend in Soviet-

His Excellency Ambassador Thor Thors

-2-

February 14, 1958

Excerpt
Fidelity Union Skin

Icelandic trade. The U.S.-Icelandic trade is quite insignificant to America. If Iceland has sold fish and fishery products to the U.S. in 1957 for 100 million kromur and bought American goods for 180 m.kr. whereas the Soviet-Icelandic trade had in the same year a turnover of 260/270 million kr. - would it not be possible and wise to exert some influence in order to reverse this proportion in favour of U.S.-Icelandic trade?"

I would like very much to discuss this matter with you and will be in Washington Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of next week (February 19, 20, 21).

I will phone your office for an appointment.

Meanwhile I enclose a summary of the accomplishments of the Declaration since its beginning in 1954.

With all best wishes, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Walden Moore
Project Director

Enc: Summary of accomplishments

December 31, 1958

Dr. Alexander Johannesson
Hringbraut 57
Reykjavik, Iceland

Dear Dr. Alexander Johannesson:

Thank you for your good letter of December 23 with its most welcome news of the formation of a new Icelandic government without Communist participation. Because of our newspaper blackout (now fortunately ended) I was not aware of that development until I received your letter.

One of the pieces of news that seeped through our blackout was that the British had offered to withdraw their armed forces from Icelandic waters provided Icelandic patrol boats would confine their police operations to six miles from the shore.

I would like to know 1) is this correct? 2) What is your personal opinion of this proposal? 3) What is the attitude of the new Icelandic government towards it?

With all best wishes for the New Year, I am

Faithfully yours,

Walden Moore

cc: Bjarni Benediktsson
Johan Hafstein



DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

51 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 2-2562

UNITED STATES SPONSORS

Will L. Clayton
William H. Draper, Jr.
Hugh Moore
Lithgow Osborne
Hans Christian Sonne

Walden Moore
Project Director

June 12, 1958

Mr. Bjarni Benediktsson
Morgunbladid
Adalstraeti 6
Reykjavik, Iceland

Dear Mr. Benediktsson:

I enclose a copy of a letter to Dr. Alexander Johannesson which is self-explanatory.

We would very much like to have your views on how the matter referred to might be adjusted and how the signers of the Declaration might assist in this process. In his informal talk Chris Herter mentioned it as one of the most serious inter-NATO disputes.

My wife and I plan to be in Iceland for about a week early in September, and we look forward to seeing you and Mrs. Benediktsson at that time.

Faithfully yours,

Walden Moore
Walden Moore

- Enc: 1. Letter to Johannesson - June 12 - with attachment
2. Program for 1958-9

WM:ml

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION LISTED ON REVERSE SIDE

Einkaskjalasafn Bjarna Benediktssonar © Borgarskjalasafn Reykjavíkur

DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

PROGRAM FOR 1958-9

1. Work for the passage by Congress of Senate Concurrent Resolution 62 as reported out unanimously by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on April 22. The Resolution endorsed the unanimous request of the Third NATO Parliamentary Conference last November to their governments to hold a conference of leading representative citizens of the NATO countries, officially appointed but uninstructed by their governments, to explore and make recommendations on methods of developing greater cooperation and unity of purpose within the Atlantic Community. (A sort of Gaither or Rockefeller Committee on a NATO-wide scale.)
2. Secure the implementation of this Resolution by our own and other NATO governments.
3. Assist the NATO Parliamentary Conference in planning and putting on an Atlantic Congress of about 1,000 citizens of all NATO countries to be held in London in May 1959 - the tenth anniversary of NATO.
4. Suggest to these and other official and unofficial bodies means of strengthening NATO especially on the political, economic and cultural side.
5. Continue to work for the implementation by all NATO governments of the 1956 Committee of Three Report.
6. Secure the raising by all governments of the status and powers of their Ambassadors to NATO (Permanent Representatives) as suggested by President Eisenhower and others.



DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

51 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 2-2562

UNITED STATES SPONSORS

Will L. Clayton
William H. Draper, Jr.
Hugh Moore
Lithgow Osborne
Hans Christian Sonne

Walden Moore
Project Director

April 25, 1958

Mr. Bjarni Benediktsson
Morgunbladid
Adalstraeti 6
Reykjavik, Iceland

Dear Mr. Benediktsson:

Thank you for your good letter of April 11 with its very helpful review of the political prospects in your country.

The enclosed letter to Dr. Johannesson will tell you of our change in plans. We certainly hope that you and your charming wife will be in Reykjavik when we arrive there in September.

As a former Foreign Minister I hope you may be able to help persuade the Icelandic government to take a sympathetic attitude towards the enclosed proposal.

My wife joins me in sending very cordial greetings to you and Mrs. Benediktsson.

Faithfully yours,

Walden Moore

Enc: Letter to Johannesson - April 25
S. Con. Res. 62 - as amended

WM:ml

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION LISTED ON REVERSE SIDE

Circular Letter

June, 1957

To the Signers of The Declaration of Atlantic Unity:

You will recall the enclosed Declaration which you and 243 other leaders of nine NATO nations signed in 1954. Since that time leaders from Germany and Iceland have added their signatures and we hope soon to include the four other NATO members -- Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Luxembourg.

Since 1954 the signers and supporters of the Declaration both inside and outside their governments, have done much to implement its principles. A summary of developments in which they have played a significant role is attached as an appendix to this letter.

The recommendations of the Committee of Three (Foreign Ministers Lange, Martino and Pearson) were approved by the North Atlantic Ministerial Council on December 13, 1956, which called it "a major forward step in the development of NATO in the non-military field."

We concur in this view provided the report is implemented by our governments. We endorse the recommendations of the Committee of Three and urge our co-signers to the Declaration of Atlantic Unity to join us in giving them their active support with their respective governments and legislatures.

At the same time we call your attention to the following extracts from the introductory chapter of the Committee of Three Report: "North Atlantic political and economic cooperation, however, let alone unity, will not be brought about in a day or by a declaration, but by creating over the years and through a whole series of national acts and policies, the habits and traditions and precedents for such co-operation and unity This will not be the case, however, unless the member governments -- especially the more powerful ones -- are willing to work, to a much greater extent than hitherto, with and through NATO for more than purposes of collective military defense NATO must be used by its members, far more than it has been used, for sincere and genuine consultation and co-operation on questions of common concern. For this purpose, resolution is more important than resolutions; will than words It has not been difficult to make these recommendations. It will be far more difficult for the member governments to carry them into effect. This will require, on their part, the firm conviction that the transformation of the Atlantic Community into a vital and vigorous political reality is as important as any purely national purpose. It will require, above all, the will to carry this conviction into the realm of practical governmental policy."

It seems to us that we, the signers of the Declaration, are well fitted to initiate this task with our governments and legislators in our respective countries.

The rifts in the Atlantic Community during the past two years are too familiar to you all to require description here. Disputes between some members have embittered relations between them and paralyzed their will to cooperation. Some of these disputes have been taken outside NATO for settlement. Certain influential sections of opinion in several countries have expressed the desire to side-step their share in the burden of common defense and to trust in the dangerous idea of neutralism. Some member governments have declined to give adequate consideration to what their allies regard as their vital interests of national security or have taken sudden initiatives, affecting the whole alliance, without prior consultation.

Yet we agree profoundly with the Committee of Three that "No state however powerful, can guarantee its security and its welfare by national action alone," and we call upon all member governments to make NATO the center where Western policy as a whole is hammered out and globally implemented.

A great task of statesmanship is to rebuild the alliance on firmer foundations. There is no substitute.

In these dangerous times we call upon our fellow signers of the Declaration to support vigorously the recommendations of the Committee of Three including:

- a) "The discussion of problems collectively, in the early stages of policy formation, and before national positions become fixed."
- b) "Collective decisions" by the North Atlantic Council "on matters of common interest affecting the Alliance."
- c) The submission of disputes between NATO members "to good office procedures within the NATO framework before resorting to any other international agency."
- d) Continuous consultation on economic questions to insure "the greatest possible freedom in trade and payments and in the movement of manpower and long term capital."
- e) Improvement in the procedures of the North Atlantic Council and more responsible representation on the Permanent Council.
- f) Increased powers and responsibilities to the NATO Secretary General.
- g) Closer cooperation between NATO members in the cultural and information fields.

We also suggest your consideration of certain measures beyond the recommendations.

Included among these are:

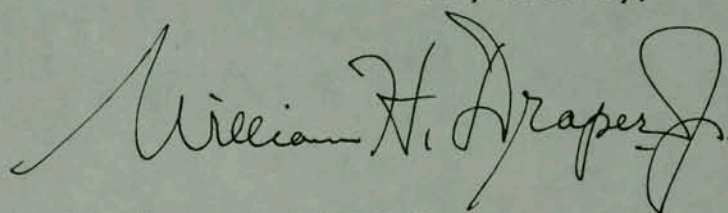
- 1) Wholehearted support by governments for the NATO Parliamentary Conference to the end that it become an effective continuing body for NATO support by the elected representatives of the Atlantic peoples.
- 2) The proposal of some legislators from Canada, France and the United States for the calling of a conference of leading NATO citizens to explore all means of obtaining closer unity.

We agree with the Committee of Three that "The moves toward Atlantic cooperation and European unity should be parallel and complementary, not competitive or conflicting." At the same time we suggest that present dangers should make Atlantic Unity the highest priority with all our governments.

It is our profound conviction that along this path lies the welfare and safety of us all. We therefore ask that you, our co-signers of the Declaration, give these proposals your thoughtful consideration and, in so far as you agree with them, your active support.

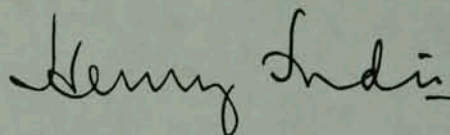
Yours very sincerely,

For the United States of America



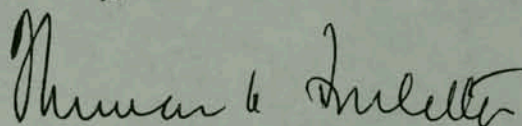
General William H. Draper, Jr.

Chairman, Mexican Light and Power Co.; former Special Ambassador to Europe and Permanent Representative on the North Atlantic Council; former Under Secretary of the Army, etc. (Republican Party)



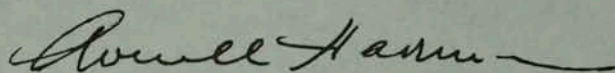
Henry Ford II

President, Ford Motor Company (Republican Party)



Thomas K. Finletter

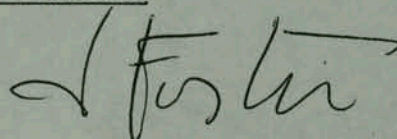
Attorney; former Secretary of the Air Force, etc. (Democratic Party)



Averell Harriman

Governor of New York, former Ambassador to Great Britain, the Soviet Union, etc.; former Director, Mutual Security Agency; former Secretary of Commerce; former Chairman, Union Pacific Railroad, etc. (Democratic Party)

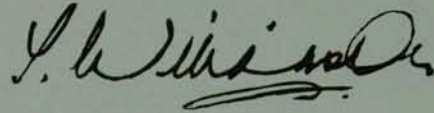
For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland



John Foster, Q.C., M.P.

Barrister; former Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations; Fellow of All Souls, etc. (Conservative Party)

(Signatures of Circular Letter - Continued)



Sir Thomas Williamson, C. B. E.
General Secretary, National Union of General and Municipal Workers (Labour Party)

For France



General Pierre Billotte
President, Mouvement Pour l'Union Atlantique; former (1955-6) Minister of National Defense; former Chief of Staff, Free French Forces, etc. (Independent Party)

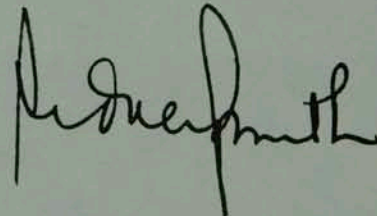


Pierre Olivier Lapie
Vice President, National Assembly; former Minister, etc. (Socialist Party)

For Canada



Wishart McL. Robertson, P.C.
Speaker of the Senate; first President, NATO Parliamentary Conference; Founder and first President, Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association, etc. (Liberal Party)



Dr. Sidney Smith
President, University of Toronto (Progressive Conservative Party)

Enc: Text: Declaration of Atlantic Unity

Appendix

Developments to which the Declaration Sponsors have contributed

NATO Parliamentary Conference

In July 1955 a Conference of 200 members of Parliament from all 15 NATO countries met in Paris and decided to form a permanent organization with a Standing Committee and a Secretariat and to meet annually. At its conclusion NATO Secretary General Lord Ismay, who had been familiar with its background, wrote the Declaration Sponsors as follows: "The July meeting of NATO Parliamentarians was an unqualified success and I feel great credit is due to you -- for the contribution you made towards it."

In 1956 the United States Congress passed legislation (Public Law 689) making the Congress a Permanent member of the NATO Parliamentary Conference. When the second conference met in November 1956 the United States delegation of 18 members included the Majority Leader in the Senate and the Chairmen of the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. Equally distinguished legislators attended from other countries including the leader of the Opposition in the British House of Commons. This Conference proved far more effective than the first one. With its theme "Towards an Atlantic Community" the delegates considered methods of improving political consultation and military, economic and cultural cooperation among the Atlantic allies. The Conference adopted resolutions on all these subjects and instructed its Standing Committee to report to the Third Conference, in September 1957, on "whether the Conference should seek advisory or consultative status."

North Atlantic Council

In December 1954 the Declaration was formally presented to the North Atlantic Ministerial Council by a distinguished international delegation.

In December 1955 the NATO Ministerial Council instructed the Permanent Council to study methods for increasing cooperative non-military action by NATO members. This resolution was introduced by two signers of the Declaration, Foreign Minister Gaetano Martino of Italy and Defense Minister Pierre Billotte of France.

Pursuant to this idea Secretary Dulles, on April 23, 1956, called for an exploration to "advance NATO from its initial phase into the totality of its meaning." On May 23 the NATO Ministerial Council appointed a Committee of Three Foreign Ministers "to advise the Council on ways and means to improve and extend NATO cooperation in non-military fields and to develop greater unity within the Atlantic Community."

The Sponsors of the Declaration then drew up a memorandum for the specific implementation of its five points. This memorandum was presented to the Committee of Three on September 18, 1956, by an international delegation representing the signers of the Declaration under the Chairmanship of General Billotte, the French Sponsor.

Of the twenty specific proposals in this memorandum, thirteen were recommended in whole or in part by the Committee of Three. A fourteenth is now being studied by the Standing Committee of the NATO Parliamentary Conference.

Declaration of Atlantic Unity

We 271 citizens of Canada, the United States, Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Germany, address this APPEAL FOR ATLANTIC UNITY to our fellow citizens and to our governments which are represented on the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

President Eisenhower has warned that "unity among free nations is our only hope of survival" and has declared that "NATO symbolizes the unity of free men in an age of peril." This is our conviction also. We must never forget that we are all bound together by our common belief in freedom under law.

The fourteen members of NATO have mutually guaranteed each other against armed aggression and merged under one command parts of their land, sea and air forces to make their pledge effective. NATO has succeeded in vastly reducing the danger of direct military attack in Europe. This success has caused the enemies of freedom to divert their military aggression to other areas and to concentrate on diplomatic manoeuvres to disrupt the unity of the NATO nations. Their efforts have been aided by voices of isolationism in each of our countries and by mutual recrimination. Thus, our peril from disunity has increased.

This is no time for half-hearted measures. While welcoming the progress made towards European union, we believe that nothing less than an effectively integrated Atlantic Community, which would include German defense forces, will in the end adequately meet the challenge of the times. Defense in today's terms extends beyond military requirements and into the political, economic and cultural aspects of our lives.

Yet NATO is still basically a military alliance. It is as long ago as 25 April, 1953, that the NATO Council of Ministers stated in their communique: "Convinced that in unity lies their greatest strength, they are resolved to broaden cooperation in every field, economic, political and social, as well as military, and so make the Atlantic Community a lasting reality." But little has since been done.

We call upon our governments to proceed now to redeem that pledge by initiating the following measures for which there is already authority under the North Atlantic Treaty:

1. The development of NATO as a central agency to coordinate the political, trade and defense policies of the member nations.
2. The elaboration, pursuant to Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, of a comprehensive mu-

tual program for lowering tariffs, freeing currencies and eliminating trade restrictions so that there may be established an adequate economic basis for the Atlantic Community and associated nations. Common economic action will give us not only better defense at less cost, but also the benefits of an expanding and thriving economy, thus raising the standards of living for the Atlantic Community and the whole free world.

3. The establishment by each of our legislatures of a parliamentary committee or association for NATO to further understanding in each member country of its progress and potentialities.
4. The creation of an advisory Atlantic Assembly, representative of the legislatures of the member nations, which would meet periodically to discuss matters of common concern. Observers could be invited from associated states.
5. The establishment by NATO of an Economic Advisory Council comprising representatives of employers and employees to advise the Council and other NATO bodies on the effect of their policies on the standard of living in the NATO countries, especially upon the working population.

We endorse the words of the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, spoken at Bonn on February 10, 1954:

"Perhaps the time has now come to consider whether some of the steps toward closer integration which we must take if our concept of civilization is not to perish, should be taken within the larger framework of the North Atlantic Community . . . many of us believe the peoples living about the great basin of the Atlantic Ocean might well seek the solution of their problems of economic betterment, political stability and self-defense in this closer integration of their national resources and of their machinery of government."

We remind our governments that NATO, in the words of its Secretary-General, "is something new and exciting and revolutionary, the most challenging and constructive experiment in international relations ever attempted."

We ask our fellow citizens to urge our respective governments to make this experiment succeed. We are convinced that in our ability to do so lies the well-being of us all.

First Issued OCTOBER 4, 1954

DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

Petition to the Atlantic Congress

We, the undersigned signers of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, call upon the Atlantic Congress to endorse the following proposals designed to strengthen NATO and to unify the Atlantic Community:

Political Proposals

1. Endorsement of the unanimous resolution of the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in 1957 that the NATO governments "bring about, in accordance with the constitutional and governmental processes of their countries, a conference composed of leading representative citizens selected on a non-partisan basis and directed to convene as often as necessary in order to examine exhaustively and to recommend how greater cooperation and unity of purpose, as envisioned by the North Atlantic Treaty, within the Atlantic Community may best be developed." (Unanimously approved by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1958.)

2. Meetings of the Heads of the NATO Governments, similar to the one held in December, 1957, should take place annually.

3. The Permanent Representatives on the North Atlantic Council should be given higher status equivalent to that of Cabinet Ministers.

4. To carry out its accepted principle of inter-dependence, the North Atlantic Council should, on certain questions, reach decisions by less than a unanimous vote. Our governments should proceed immediately to negotiate an agreement as to what kind of questions are suitable for such decisions and the weight to be given to the vote of each member country.

5. The North Atlantic Council should appoint a small group of qualified men of wide experience, who would represent the Atlantic Community as a whole instead of their governments, to advise the Council on measures which might advance the common interests of the Atlantic Community.

6. The NATO governments should seek to coordinate their policies within the United Nations and other international agencies on all questions of common concern.

7. The North Atlantic Council should officially recognize the right of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference to advise the Council on political, economic, cultural and social questions and to receive an annual report from the Secretary General.

Economic Proposals

1. The elaboration, pursuant to Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, of a comprehensive mutual program for lowering tariffs, freeing currencies and eliminating trade restrictions so that there may be established an adequate economic basis for the Atlantic Community and associated nations.

2. The creation of more adequate machinery for economic cooperation such as an Atlantic Economic Council. An alternative means to this end could be the inclusion of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in an Organization for Atlantic Economic Cooperation (OAEC) in which Canada and the United States would be full members.

3. An Atlantic Investment and Development Fund should be established to assist underdeveloped countries, either directly or through other international agencies.

Cultural Proposal

1. The financing and establishment of an Atlantic Institute which would serve as a research center and clearing house for the Atlantic peoples, promote a greater sense of community among them and discover and develop Atlantic leadership adequate to these tasks.

SIGNERS OF THE PETITION

From the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Sir GEORGE AYLWEN, *Baronet; former Lord Mayor of London*
The Very Reverend Principal, Dr. JOHN BAILLIE, C.H., M.A.,
D. Litt., D.D., S.T.D., *Chaplain to Her Majesty the Queen in
Scotland; a President of the World Council of Churches;
former Principal of New College, Edinburgh and Dean of its
Faculty of Divinity*

DAVID BARTON, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY;
Certified Accountant; Chairman, Federal Union, Ltd.*

Air-Vice Marshal DONALD C. T. BENNETT, C.B., C.B.E.,
D.S.O., *Former Liberal Member of Parliament; former Chair-
man, Executive Committee, United Nations Association*

The EARL of BESSBOROUGH (formerly *Viscount Duncannon*),
*Former President, Council of the Atlantic Treaty Association;
President and Chairman, European-Atlantic Group*

Lord BOOTHBY, K.B.E. *A Conservative Member of the House
of Commons 1924-58 and for ten years a Member of the
Council of Europe; Rector, University of St. Andrews*

Sir ADRIAN C. BOULT, D. Mus., *Chairman Board of Trustees
of London Philharmonic Orchestra*

THOMAS CHRISTOPHER BOYD, M.P.

ALAN BULLOCK, *Censor, St. Catherine's Society, Oxford*

Professor A. K. CAIRNCROSS, C.M.G., *Glasgow University;
former Economic Advisor, O.E.E.C.*

Mrs. ELMA DANGERFIELD, *Editor, European and Atlantic
Digest; Hon. Director, European-Atlantic Group*

The Rt. Hon. CLEMENT DAVIES, P.C., Q.C., M.P., *Former
Leader of the Parliamentary Liberal Party*

JOHN FOSTER, Q.C., M.P. *Former Under Secretary of State,
Commonwealth Relations Office*

The Rt. Hon. Sir OLIVER FRANKS, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.B.,
C.B.E., M.A., *Chairman, Lloyds Bank; former Ambassador to
the United States, etc.*

JOSEPH GRIMOND, M.P. *Leader, Parliamentary Liberal Party*

Professor H. C. HANBURY, D.C.L., *Fellow of All Souls, Oxford*

ARTHUR HENDERSON, P.C., Q.C., M.P.

Mrs. EVELINE HILL, J.P., M.P.

CHARLES R. HOBSON, M.P.

GRAHAM HUTTON, O.B.E., *Author; Economist*

ERIC S. T. JOHNSON, M.C., M.P.

Sir WILL LAWTHORPE, J.P., *Former President, National Union
of Mineworkers; former Chairman, General Council, Trades
Union Congress*

E. H. C. LEATHER, M.P. *Founder Member and Member of
Executive Committee, Friends of Atlantic Union*

Sir FREDERICK W. LEITH-ROSS, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., *Deputy
Chairman, National Provincial Bank; former Chief Economic
Adviser to the British Government*

Captain B. H. LIDDELL HART,
Former Military Correspondent, Times and Daily Telegraph

GILBERT LONGDEN, M.B.E., M.P. *Delegate, Council of Eu-
rope, Western European Union, United Nations*

R. W. G. MACKAY, M.P., *Author; Delegate, Council of Europe;
former Member of Parliament*

STEPHEN McADDEN, M.P.

MARTIN MADDAN, M.P.,
Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

Lord MERTHYR, T.D., *Deputy Speaker, House of Lords*

ISAAC PITMAN, M.A., M.P.

ROY H. THOMSON, *Chairman, The Scotsman Publications Ltd.*

E. M. W. TILLYARD, C.B.E., Litt. D.,
Master, Jesus College, Cambridge

JOHN D. TILNEY, J.P., T.D., M.P.
Vice-Chairman, Inter-Parliamentary Union (British Group)

DONALD WADE, M.A., M.P.

SAM WATSON, C.B.E., D.C.L., D.L., J.P.,
Secretary, Durham Miners Association

Sir THOMAS WILLIAMSON, C.B.E., *General Secretary, Na-
tional Union of General and Municipal Workers*

From Canada

The Reverend J. M. BELANGER, *Director, School of Political,
Economic and Social Sciences, University of Ottawa*

PERCY BENGOUGH,
former President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

GEORGE BURT,
Canadian Director, United Automobile Workers, C.I.O.

J. S. DUNCAN, *Chairman, Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Com-
mission; Former President, Massey-Harris-Ferguson, Ltd.*

GEORGE FERGUSON, *Editor, Montreal Star*

CHARLES D. GONTHIER,
Canadian Institute of International Affairs

The Honorable Senator L. M. GOUIN,
Former Chairman, Senate External Relations Committee

Right Rev. Dr. WASYL KUSHNER, *Winnepeg*

Professor A. R. M. LOWER, *Queens University; Historian*

Dr. N. A. M. MacKENZIE,
President, University of British Columbia

WILLIAM MAHONEY,
Canadian Director, United Steel Workers of America

The Honorable PAUL MARTIN, M.P., *Deputy Leader of the
Opposition; Minister of National Health and Welfare 1946-57*

PATRICK NICHOLSON, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC
UNITY; Political Columnist and Broadcaster*

The Honorable LESTER B. PEARSON, M.P., *Leader of the Op-
position; President, Atlantic Treaty Association; Recipient,
Nobel Peace Prize 1957; Minister of External Affairs, 1948-
57; Member, Committee of Three Foreign Ministers to Rec-
ommend Development of NATO on the Non-Military Side,
1956; President, United Nations Assembly 1952-53*

ELMORE PHILPOTT,
Former Member of Parliament (Liberal Party)

The Honorable Senator WISHART McL. ROBERTSON, P.C.,
*Lifetime Honorary President, NATO Parliamentarians' Con-
ference; Speaker of the Senate 1953-57; Government Leader
of the Senate 1945-53*

ALISTAIR STEWART, *Chartered Accountant; former Member
of Parliament and Foreign Affairs Spokesman for Cooperative
Commonwealth Federation*

K. R. THOMSON, *President, Thomson Newspapers*

WILLSON WOODSIDE, *National Director, United Nation's
Association in Canada; former Editor and Commentator on
Foreign Affairs*

From the United States of America

- HERBERT AGAR, *Historian and publisher; author "A Time for Greatness", "The Price of Union", etc.*
- ELLIOTT V. BELL,
Chairman, Executive Committee, McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.
- ROBERT WOODS BLISS, *Ambassador to Argentina 1927-33; Special Assistant and Consultant to Secretary of State 1942-45*
- The Honorable CHESTER BOWLES, M.C., *Member, House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee; Ambassador to India 1951-53; Governor of Connecticut 1949-51*
- HARRY A. BULLIS, *Chairman of the Board, General Mills, Inc.*
- WILL L. CLAYTON, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Vice-President, Atlantic Union Committee; Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs 1946-49; former Chairman, Anderson, Clayton & Co.*
- NORMAN COUSINS, *Editor, Saturday Review of Literature; Honorary President, United World Federalists*
- COLGATE W. DARDEN, *President, University of Virginia; Governor of Virginia 1942-46; Member of Congress 1933-41*
- MARK ETHRIDGE, *Publisher, Louisville Courier-Journal*
- THOMAS K. FINLETTER,
Attorney; Secretary of the Air Force 1950-53
- HENRY C. FLOWER, JR.,
Vice Chairman, J. Walter Thompson Co.
- JOHN GARDNER,
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York
- W. ST. JOHN GARWOOD,
Associate Justice, Supreme Court of Texas 1948-58
- JOSEPH C. GREW, *Under Secretary of State 1924-27; Ambassador to Japan 1931-41; Ambassador to Turkey 1927-31*
- LEARNED HAND, *Chief Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, 1924-51*
- W. AVERELL HARRIMAN, *Governor of New York 1955-59; Director, Mutual Security Agency 1951-53; Secretary of Commerce 1946-48; Ambassador to United Kingdom 1946; Ambassador to the Soviet Union 1943-46; Chairman of the Board, Union Pacific Railroad 1932-46*
- ALBERT J. HAYES,
International President, International Association of Machinists
- The Rt. Rev. HENRY W. HOBSON,
Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Southern Ohio
- ERNEST M. HOPKINS, *President Emeritus, Dartmouth College*
- PALMER HOYT, *Publisher and Editor, The Denver Post*
- The Honorable HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, *United States Senator from Minnesota; Member, Foreign Relations Committee*
- LEROY JOHNSON, *Member of Congress from California 1941-55*
- ROBERT L. JOHNSON, *President, Temple University; Chairman, Citizens Commission for Reorganization of the Government (Hoover Commission) 1949-53*
- ERIC A. JOHNSTON, *President, Motion Picture Association of America; Chairman, International Development Board*
- MEYER KESTNBAUM, *Chairman, Hart, Schaffner and Marx; Chairman, Commission on Intergovernmental Relations 1954-57; former Chairman, Committee for Economic Development*
- HERBERT H. LEHMAN, *United States Senator from New York 1949-57; Governor of New York 1932-42*
- THEODORE R. MCKELDIN, *Governor of Maryland 1951-57*
- HUGH MOORE, *Sponsor of the DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; former Chairman of the Board, Dixie Cup Company; Member of the Board, St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation*

LITHGOW OSBORNE, *Chairman, American-Scandinavian Foundation; Ambassador to Norway, 1944-46*

- Mrs. ROBERT P. PATTERSON
- WILLIAM PHILLIPS, *former Under Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Italy, etc.*
- PHILIP D. REED, *Chairman of the Board, General Electric Company 1940-57; President, International Chamber of Commerce 1949-51; Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY 1954-57*
- ELMO ROPER, *Public Opinion Analyst; Chairman, Fund for the Republic; President, Atlantic Union Committee*
- HARRY SCHERMAN, *Chairman, Book-of-the-Month Club*
- Professor ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.,
Historian; author, "The Age of Jackson", etc.
- GEORGE N. SHUSTER, *President, Hunter College; Land Commissioner for Bavaria 1950-51*
- HANS CHRISTIAN SONNE, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Financier; Chairman, National Planning Association*
- ROBERT GORDON SPROUL,
President, University of California 1939-58
- ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *Leader of the Democratic Party; Candidate for President of the United States, 1956, 1952; Governor of Illinois 1949-53*
- Miss ANNA LORD STRAUSS, *President, League of Women Voters 1944-50; Delegate to United Nations Assembly 1951-52*
- CLARENCE K. STREIT, *President, International Movement for Atlantic Union; editor, Freedom and Union; author, "Union Now"*
- HENRY M. WRISTON, *President, The American Assembly; President, Council on Foreign Relations; President, Brown University, 1937-55*
- HARRY S. TRUMAN, President of the United States 1945 - 1953**

From France

- Professor MAURICE ALLAIS, *Chief Engineer; Professor at the National School of Mines; Economist*
- RAYMOND ARON, *Commentator, Figaro; Professor at the Sorbonne and at the National School of Administration*
- JACQUES BARDOUX, *Member Institut de France; former Vice-President, Commission on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly*
- PHILIPPE BARRÈS, *Member, Paris Municipal Council; former Member National Assembly*
- General PIERRE BILLOTTE, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Chairman, International Movement for Atlantic Union; Minister of Defense, 1955-56; Chief of Staff to General DeGaulle during World War II*
- EDOUARD BONNEFOUS,
Member of the Institute; Senator; former Minister
- Count ROBERT DE DAMPIERRE,
Former Ambassador to Chile and to Sweden
- E. GISCARD d'ESTAING,
President of the International Chamber of Commerce
- PIERRE OLIVIER LAPIE, *Attorney; former Vice-President, National Assembly; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1946-47; Minister of National Education 1950-51*
- ANDRÉ MAUROIS, *Member, Académie Française; Biographer*
- EMMANUEL MONICK, *President, Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; former Governor, Banque de France*
- JULES ROMAÏNS, *Member, Académie Française; Writer*

From the Netherlands

- Miss J. F. M. BOSCH, *Secretary, State Mediation Board*
- Miss J. J. Th. TEN BROECK HOEKSTRA, *Member of the Second Chamber of the States General; Member of the Town Council of The Hague*
- D. A. DELPRAT, *Chairman, Chamber of Commerce, Amsterdam; Member, First Chamber of the States General*
- Professor G. GONGGRIJP,
former Professor, Rotterdam School of Economics
- Admiral C. E. L. HELFRICH, *Former Commander-in-Chief, Royal Netherlands Navy; Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY 1954-56*
- Miss G. JANSSEN-GILLEBAARD, *President, Netherlands Christian Women's League, Section The Hague*
- K. P. VAN DER MANDELE,
Chairman, Chamber of Commerce, Rotterdam
- Dr. Ir. J. G. J. C. NIEUWENHUIS, *Chairman, Netherlands Association of Transport Organizations*
- P. F. S. OTTEN,
Chairman of the Board, N. V. Phillips' Industries
- M. RUPPERT, *President, Netherlands Protestant Trade Union*
- Dr. PAUL RYKENS, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; former Chairman of the Board, Unilever, N. V.*
- K. SCHOLTENS, *President, Shell-Nederland*
- Professor G. A. PH. WEYER,
Chairman, Association of Commerce and Industry

From Denmark

- NIELS HASAGER, *Editor-in-Chief, Politiken*
- Professor ERIK HUSFELDT, M.D.,
Professor, University of Copenhagen
- HALFDAN LEFEVRE, M.D., *Author*
- HENNING ROHDE, *Chief of Bureau, Ministry of Education*
- Honorable H. P. SOERENSEN,
Formerly Lord Mayor of Copenhagen
- EIGIL STEINMETZ, *Editor-in-Chief, Nationaltidende*
- TERKEL M. TERKELSEN, *Editor-in-Chief, Berlingske Tidende*

From Norway

- LEIF HOEGH, *Shipowner*
- SJUR LINDEBRAEKKE, *President, Bergens Privatbank*
- FINN MOE, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Storting; Editor, Arbejderbladet*
- TORALLV OEKSNEVAD, *Chief, International Department, Norwegian Broadcasting System*
- TERJE WOLD, *Justice of the Supreme Court*
- JACOB S. WORM-MUELLER, *Professor, University of Oslo*

From the Federal Republic of Germany

- Colonel FRITZ BERENDSEN, *Member of the Bundestag; Vice-President, NATO Parliamentarians' Conference since 1955; Vice-President, German Atlantic Society*

Dr. FERDINAND FRIEDENSBURG, *Member of the Bundestag; President, German Institute for Economic Research 1946-51, Burgermeister in Berlin*

Dr. EUGEN GERSTENMAIER,
President of the Bundestag since 1954

Dr. PAUL MARTINI, *Head of Bonn University Clinic*

Dr. HANS SCHLANGE-SCHOENINGEN, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; former Ambassador to the United Kingdom; former Minister of Food and Agriculture, etc.*

General WALTHER WENCK,
Managing Director, Dr. C. Otto and Co.

HANS WENDT, *Journalist and Political Correspondent*

From Belgium

FRANZ VAN CAUWELAERT, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Minister of State; Vice-President, NATO Parliamentarians' Conference; President, Chamber of Representatives 1939-54*

Senator ET. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN

AUGUSTE de SCHRYVER, *Minister of State; International President, Union of Christian Democrats*

PAUL VAN ZEELAND, *Member of the Board of the "BRU-FINA"; Prime Minister 1935-37; Foreign Minister 1949-54*

H. FAYAT, M. P., *Rapporteur, Political Committee, NATO Parliamentarians' Conference*

From Italy

GIUSEPPE BETTIOL,
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies

Cav. Lav. ALBERTO PIRELLI, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Industrialist; Chairman, Institute per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale*

QUINTO QUINTIERO,
Vice-President, Italian Federation of Industry

From Greece

PANAYOTIS PIPINELIS, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1950; Permanent Representative to the NATO Council 1952-56; former Under-Secretary of State; former Ambassador to Hungary, Bulgaria and Poland*

PANAYOTIS YOKAS, *Member of Parliament; Head of Greek Delegation to the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference 1955-58*

From Turkey

General ALI FUAD CEBESOY, M.P. *President, Turkish National Committee for the Atlantic Congress; former President, Great National Assembly*

Professor AHMET SUKRU ESMER, *Director, Foreign Relations Institute, University of Ankara*

From Iceland

Dr. ALEXANDER JOHANNESON, *Sponsor, DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY; Rector Emeritus, University of Iceland*

DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

Explanatory Notes on Petition to the Atlantic Congress

Political Proposals

1. The Atlantic Congress, comprising 650 members and meeting for only five days, cannot "examine exhaustively" the possibilities of achieving greater unity. The Congress, however, could very effectively bring home to the Atlantic peoples the urgent need for such an examination.

The Conference proposed in this resolution, which would comprise less than 100 members and which would "convene as often as necessary" to complete its task, would be an appropriate and exceedingly valuable follow-up of the Congress. Its endorsement by the Congress might prove to be the most constructive accomplishment of the Congress.

2. The value of such a meeting of Heads of Governments has been evident from the impact of the first one in December 1957 and from the emphasis given it subsequently in NATO publications.

3. Whatever their status, the Permanent Representatives on the Council will still be subject to the instructions of their governments. But the higher their status is, the more scope will be given them in respect to decisions and the more influence their views will have upon their governments. For example, the U. S. Permanent Representative could be accorded the status and the position now possessed by Ambassador Lodge at the United Nations.

4. The principle of inter-dependence has been accepted by the Council, yet every member of the Council still possesses a veto. To implement this principle as regards decisions, it would seem necessary to provide that at least some questions can be decided by less than a unanimous vote.

It is obvious that only certain questions would now be regarded as suitable for any form of weighted majority vote, comparable to that provided for in the new European institutions. What these questions are, and how votes might be weighted, are problems which only governments can decide. Should such a system work successfully on certain types of questions, it seems likely that it would be extended to include other types of questions.

There is wide recognition that any attempt to revise the North Atlantic Treaty at this time would be unwise. Consequently, it is proposed that the member governments should proceed by negotiating an agreement, which could be supplementary to the Treaty.

5. The Permanent Representatives on the Council and all their assistants represent their governments. Today only the Secretary General and the International Staff represent the Atlantic Community as a whole.

This proposal would bring about the creation of a small group of outstanding men, whose function would be only advisory, to represent the interests of the Atlantic Community as a whole. Their advice on problems before the Council could point the way to policies and actions which would be beneficial to this Community and should make it more difficult for any government to block action which would promote the general interest.

6. "Coordinate" is used here because obviously "concerted" policies might in some cases evoke antagonism on the part of friendly governments which are outside NATO.

7. The fourth proposal in the *Declaration* advocated an advisory Atlantic Assembly. In recent years parliamentarians and others have suggested that the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference should be transformed into a formally constituted Consultative Assembly, comparable to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.

The Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference resolved in 1957 that it should receive an annual report from the NATO Secretariat for discussion and that a link should be set up between its Standing Committee and the North Atlantic Council. This proposal is more specific in advocating such an official "link" and reiterates the request for an annual report. It could be implemented simply by a resolution of the Council.

Economic Proposals

1. This text is taken from point 2 of the *Declaration* itself.

2. The Report of the Three Wise Men of 1956 concludes that NATO is not an appropriate agency for administering development programs or even for concerting national economic policies. These tasks can more effectively be carried out in the Atlantic area by some specialized economic agency. This purpose might best be achieved by creation of a new agency, or, if that should not prove practicable, an existing agency should be adapted.

The principal economic agency in Western Europe, or in the entire Atlantic area, is OEEC, which includes Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Eire as well as the European members of NATO. The United States and Canada have been associate members of OEEC since 1950. This organization has a Council as well as a highly qualified Secretariat and has during the last decade developed efficient teamwork.

At this time OEEC needs a wider field of activity. Since European and Atlantic economic cooperation involves so many interlocking problems, a practical way of providing adequate Atlantic machinery for economic cooperation appears to be the inclusion of OEEC in a larger framework as proposed. This would allow OEEC to continue to deal with European problems yet make its machinery and qualified personnel available for economic cooperation on an Atlantic basis.

3. This proposal has considerable support in NATO and OEEC circles. While uncommitted countries might be reluctant to seek aid from such a Fund if it were either a part of NATO or were representative primarily of "colonial" powers, such reluctance is less likely if the countries participating in the Fund include a large proportion of "non-colonial" nations. This would be the case if they comprised the members of an OAEC, in which the "non-colonial" majority would be about two-thirds.

One advantage of such a Fund would be to demonstrate to the uncommitted nations that the peoples of the Atlantic Community have a real and tangible interest in their welfare. This would be evident regardless of whether actual aid were furnished directly or indirectly.

As compared with United States assistance of the same type, such a Fund would have a further advantage. It could employ a large proportion of qualified European personnel instead of Americans, thereby diminishing the overhead costs of assistance and avoiding antagonisms which American personnel have created in some under-developed countries, due to inability to speak languages and disproportionately high living standards.

Cultural Proposal

1. An Atlantic Institute would do, for the entire Atlantic Community, what such bodies as the Royal Institute for International Affairs, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Centre d'Etudes de Politique Etrangère do for their respective countries. Sub-committee A-3 of the Atlantic Congress will deal specifically with this question.

DECLARATION OF ATLANTIC UNITY

Petition to the Atlantic Congress

We, the undersigned signers of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity, call upon the Atlantic Congress to endorse the following proposals designed to strengthen NATO and to unify the Atlantic Community:

Political Proposals

1. Endorsement of the unanimous resolution of the Third NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in 1957 that the NATO governments "bring about, in accordance with the constitutional and governmental processes of their countries, a conference composed of leading representative citizens selected on a non-partisan basis and directed to convene as often as necessary in order to examine exhaustively and to recommend how greater cooperation and unity of purpose, as envisioned by the North Atlantic Treaty, within the Atlantic Community may best be developed." (Unanimously approved by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1958.)

2. Meetings of the Heads of the NATO Governments, similar to the one held in December, 1957, should take place annually.

3. The Permanent Representatives on the North Atlantic Council should be given higher status equivalent to that of Cabinet Ministers.

4. To carry out its accepted principle of inter-dependence, the North Atlantic Council should, on certain questions, reach decisions by less than a unanimous vote. Our governments should proceed immediately to negotiate an agreement as to what kind of questions are suitable for such decisions and the weight to be given to the vote of each member country.

5. The North Atlantic Council should appoint a small group of qualified men of wide experience, who would represent the Atlantic Community as a whole instead of their governments, to advise the Council on measures which might advance the common interests of the Atlantic Community.

6. The NATO governments should seek to coordinate their policies within the United Nations and other international agencies on all questions of common concern.

7. The North Atlantic Council should officially recognize the right of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference to advise the Council on political, economic, cultural and social questions and to receive an annual report from the Secretary General.

Economic Proposals

1. The elaboration, pursuant to Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, of a comprehensive mutual program for lowering tariffs, freeing currencies and eliminating trade restrictions so that there may be established an adequate economic basis for the Atlantic Community and associated nations.

2. The creation of more adequate machinery for economic cooperation such as an Atlantic Economic Council. An alternative means to this end could be the inclusion of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in an Organization for Atlantic Economic Cooperation (OAEC) in which Canada and the United States would be full members.

3. An Atlantic Investment and Development Fund should be established to assist underdeveloped countries, either directly or through other international agencies.

Cultural Proposal

1. The financing and establishment of an Atlantic Institute which would serve as a research center and clearing house for the Atlantic peoples, promote a greater sense of community among them and discover and develop Atlantic leadership adequate to these tasks.

85TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. 62

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 13 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 10), 1958

Mr. GREEN (for himself, Mr. KEFAUVER, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. HUMPHREY) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentarians' Conference, at the third annual conference held in Paris, in November 1957, adopted unanimously a resolution, part of which required implementation by the governments of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and

Whereas that portion of the resolution containing such recommendation and disposal for action, reads as follows:

“This Third Annual Conference of North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentarians—

“Recommends that their governments, in consultation with the standing Committee and Political Committee of the Conference, bring about, in accordance with the constitutional and governmental processes of their countries, a conference composed of leading representative citizens selected

on a nonpartisan basis and directed to convene as often as necessary in order to examine exhaustively and to recommend how greater cooperation and unity of purpose, as envisioned by the North Atlantic Treaty, within the Atlantic community may best be developed,

“Proposes that to fulfill this purpose the members of the conference should, as far as possible, be officially appointed but should act in accordance with their individual convictions and that the findings and recommendations * * * of the conference proposed be reported to the appropriate Committees of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Parliamentarians’ Conference, to the North Atlantic Council and to member governments for consideration and appropriate action in accordance with the constitutional processes of each member country”: Now, therefore, be it

- 1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
- 2 *concurring), That the President is requested to use his best*
- 3 *efforts to implement, in cooperation with other governments*
- 4 *of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the recommenda-*
- 5 *tion and proposal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-*
- 6 *tion Parliamentarians’ Conference, as set forth in the above*
- 7 *resolution adopted at the third annual conference in Paris on*
- 8 *November 16, 1957.*

- 1) That it is the sense of the Congress that at the appropriate time a conference of leading representative citizens for the purposes set forth in the above resolution adopted at the Third Annual Conference of NATO Parliamentarians in Paris on November 16, 1957 would contribute to greater cooperation and unity of purpose among the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
- 2) That the President is requested to arrange for the participation of private American citizens in any such conference.

(Unanimously reported to the Senate with a recommendation for favorable action April 22, 1958)

85TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. 62

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To request the President to use his best efforts to bring about a meeting of representative citizens from all the North Atlantic Treaty Organization nations to examine ways to promote greater cooperation among those nations.

By Mr. GREEN, Mr. KEFAUVER, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. JAVITS, and Mr. HUMPHREY

FEBRUARY 13 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 10), 1958
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations