



NATO ráðstefna í Brussel 1957

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Varnarmál – Utanríkismál – Kalda stríðið

Tekið af vef Borgarskjalasafnsins

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Einkaskjalasafn nr. 360
Stjórnmalamaðurinn
Askja 2-22, Örk 4

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CONGRESS OF EUROPEAN AMERICAN ASSOCIATIONS

(C. E. A. A.)

TABAKVEST, 1
ANTWERP-BELGIUM

FIRST REVIEW OF COMMUNISM AND MISCONCEPTIONS OF AMERICA IN EUROPE.

(Statements heard in anti-communist European circles)

- 1° Washington's Foreign policy is not sufficiently explained, and as Europe sees it, it is not understandable. The U.S. as new masters are extremely powerful, but young; they do not know their job as world rulers. They should be more respectful to European traditional thinking and experience. American policy looks like very changeable and incoherent and does not inspire any confidence nor respect.
- 2° Few Europeans believe that the American Government really wants peace. Does it not show signs of war-mongering? Who says that Europe would not have been able to live in peace with their neighbours, even with the communists, if the U.S. had not been there to mistrust all those who do not think like we. Only weapons and ammunition industries are ruling the U.S. and therefore a large part of the world.
- 3° The U.S. would like to be the champions of liberty, but Europeans see that a man sincerely adopting communist principles, is prosecuted in America. Many anti-communist Europeans would rather take the defense of communistic thinking people than to see the liberty of thinking being abolished. It is not by fighting this liberty that we can protect our civilization or make it progress.
- 4° We wonder whether the American assistance-program was not merely a way to economic imperialism.
- 5° America criticizes colonialism and would like to be the champion of equal rights and of the abolition of racial discrimination, but it is only because they have no colonies. On the other hand look at the way they treat the problem of racial discrimination in many of their States.
- 6° Instead of facing reality, America supports the puppet national Chinese Government. Everybody knows that Chang Kai Check will never undo what the communists in China have done. Europe does not understand the reasons why the U.S. chose red China's admission to the U.N.O.
- 7° Making enemies of the various groups of nations all over the world can only lead to another and even more frightful world war.
- 8° If the American films do not show the U.S. as they are and if filmstars, gangsters and materialistic industrialists only represent a small aspect of American life, why is it that so few presentations of a better America are produced? Films and art in general are the expression of the character of a nation.

ASSOCIATIONS

The way Europe thus sees the U.S. does not inspire any confidence nor admiration. It is not by such an America that Europe wants to be guided.

- 9° There is not American ideology: It is practical experiment in view of transforming men into material for profit seeking. If so many West-Europeans are communists it is not only because of the economic situation, but also or mainly because of the lack of another ideology fighting the communist one.
- 10° The U.S. does everything to open our frontiers in order to sell still more of their goods, but close their own borders to European goods. It is no more aid but trade Europeans want, and if America does not help enough in this respect, Europe will have to find a solution with the red nations.

CONFERENCE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE ATLANTIQUE

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

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CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Statement by the Committee on Religion and
Spiritual Values

Friday 13th September 1957

A. The Committee in attempting to define the specific values cherished by the Atlantic Community agreed first that it was not necessary to reaffirm their origin in Greco-Roman civilisation and Christianity, their flowering in Mediaeval times and the sudden wide expansion of range and self-confidence which has been termed the Enlightenment. All this could be accepted. Nor did they feel it was necessary even to stress the ties which link - whether they take pride in the fact or wish to forget it - the vast majority of Americans to ancestors who were Europeans. The ties binding the Atlantic Community were spiritual rather than racial; they stretched far afield and could be said to include for instance, the great Russian writers of the XIXth century.

The committee therefore sought to define the principles of the Atlantic community. These, they sought, might be grouped under six headings:

1) Firstly there is respect for the intrinsic value of the human being, transcending any doctrinaire and idolatrous conception of society.

2) Next is its affirmation of the liberty of a morally responsible individual who recognises the existence of a law superior to himself.

3) Thirdly there is the realisation that this liberty is inseparable from a sense of solidarity which admits its obligations to its fellow-men in the material and spiritual spheres.

4) Fourthly the community is - in a phrase of Gabriel Marcel - "une civilisation de dialogue". It believes in the patient discussion of differences and this implies tolerance or the free discussion of all opinions, although it cannot allow tolerance to be carried so far as to involve the destruction of those institutions which make liberty and tolerance possible.

5) Fifthly. The community is - or should be - perfectly aware that these values are not its exclusive possession, are not a monopoly, but may express themselves through a number of different civilisations.

6) Lastly the community is one which is fully aware of its need for self-examination and of the dangers which threaten the survival of its principles from a number of different quarters both within and without. It is therefore alive to the continual and urgent necessity of demonstrating the worth of these principles to successive generations and of embodying them as far as possible in its social structure.

B. The committee therefore urges the need : -

1. To maintain and promote the standards and principles of Atlantic civilisation by education, publications, lectures, radio, cinema and television.
2. To show how the failings of Atlantic civilisation are not the result of the application of these standards and principles, but ^{of} the departure from them.

3. To remind governments of their duty to promote and guarantee these standards and principles by their actions and institutions.
4. To defend these standards and principles within this community against tendencies towards intellectual and moral disintegration.
5. To strive to achieve an atmosphere of mutual comprehension between the members of the Atlantic community while respecting the diversity of their characteristics.
6. To convince the peoples of the underdeveloped countries that respect for these standards and principles is an indispensable precondition of the realisation of their aspirations, and to help them towards this end.

C. The commission feels that every effort should be made to induce a sense of common purpose and ideals among the peoples who form the Atlantic Community.

In order to achieve well-informed public opinion we should not immitate the methods of totalitarian propaganda but try to gain the free consent of each individual. The channels used will be many and various. For instance, all educational bodies should be asked to encourage a spirit of mutual friendliness and understanding, and to deprecate uninformed criticism and undue touchiness when criticism occurs. Another suggestion that the committee recommends is that consideration should be given to the award of two kinds of

prizes. The first should be a prize offered for an essay or treatise on a definite subject chosen by the standing committee and the second should be a prize for an already completed work in the fields of fiction, drama or the visual arts. Both prizes should be given to works corresponding to the general aims and essence of the Atlantic Community.

D. Finally the commission would like to put on record its conviction that the degree of accord and tolerance achieved in its own deliberations is equally possible wherever men are prompted by genuine goodwill, and that they regard this as a happy auspice for the success of the ideals which brought them to Bruges.

Version française

Le sous-comité, cherchant à définir les valeurs spécifiques qui sont celles de la Communauté Atlantique, a estimé d'abord qu'il n'était pas nécessaire de réaffirmer ses origines dans la civilisation greco-romaine et le christianisme, son épanouissement à l'époque médiévale et sa soudaine expansion au dix-huitième siècle. Tous sont d'accord là-dessus. Le sous-comité n'a pas senti non plus qu'il était nécessaire de souligner les liens - qu'ils s'en glorifient ou qu'ils cherchent à les faire oublier - qui unissent les Américains à leurs ancêtres européens. Les liens qui unissent les membres de la Communauté Atlantique sont plus spirituels que raciaux; leur champ ne doit

pas être limité; on doit dire qu'ils incluent par exemple des grands écrivains russes du XIXe siècle.

Par suite le comité a cherché à définir les principes de la Communauté Atlantique. Ceux-ci, pensent-ils, peuvent être groupés sous six chapitres.

1. Il y a d'abord le respect pour la valeur intrinsèque de la personne comme telle, valeur qui transcende toute conception idolatrique et absolue de l'Etat.

2. Vient ensuite l'affirmation que la liberté est inséparable de la responsabilité morale de l'individu qui suppose la référence à une loi supérieure, de quelque nom qu'on la nomme.

3. En troisième lieu la liberté est inséparable de la solidarité humaine et du devoir de faire accéder progressivement tous les hommes aux biens matériels et spirituels.

4. Ensuite la communauté est, selon le mot de Gabriel Marcel, une civilisation de dialogue, qui implique la tolérance et la libre discussion de toutes les opinions, mais ne peut permettre une telle extension de la tolérance à menacer les institutions qui rendent possible cette libre discussion.

5. Il est essentiel que les membres de la Communauté se rendent compte que ces principes ne sont pas uniquement à eux, mais sont partagés par d'autres civilisations.

6. Enfin la communauté est consciente de la nécessité de faire constamment sa propre autocritique, et des dangers qui menacent, à la fois au dedans et au dehors, la survivance de ces principes. Elle insiste dès lors sur la nécessité continue et urgente de les démontrer aux générations successives, et de les incorporer dans ses institutions.

B. Par conséquent le comité insiste sur le fait qu'il faut :

1. Maintenir et promouvoir les valeurs et les principes de la civilisation atlantique par l'éducation, les publications, les conférences, la radio, le cinéma, la télévision.

2. Montrer comment les déficiences de la civilisation atlantique ne sont pas les effets de ces valeurs et de ces principes, mais de leur abandon.

3. Rappeler aux gouvernements leur devoir de promouvoir et de garantir ces valeurs et ces principes par leurs actions et leurs institutions.

4. Défendre ces valeurs et ces principes, à l'intérieur de cette communauté, contre les tendances de dissolution intellectuelle et morale.

5. S'efforcer d'établir un climat de mutuelle compréhension entre les membres de la Communauté Atlantique, dans le respect de leur diversité.

6. Montrer aux peuples sous-développés comment le respect de ces valeurs et de ces principes sont la condition indispensable de la réalisation de leurs aspirations et les aider dans cette réalisation.

C.I.3 - F.R.

(With annex and three
supplements)

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

13 september 1957.

Final report of the Working Groupe on Scientific and
Technological Advance and Economic Problems of Western
Civilisation.

FINAL REPORT

Annex: "Essential elements of an Atlantic Economic Community"

Supplement No. I "Exchange of Persons"
by Mr. G. GLISENTI

Supplement No. II. "Scientific Capital in Europe"
by Mr. H. RIEBEN

Supplement No. III. "The Importance of Science and
Technology to the N.A.C."
by Mr. G.P. HARNWELL.

(with annex and three
supplements)

The nations and peoples of the Atlantic Community should strengthen their economic co-operation because they can thereby expand their economic welfare and raise their standard of living. This is not merely a matter of increasing trade across the North Atlantic as such trade, undertaken in response to the incentives of a free market, will provide consumers with a wider variety of goods of better quality at lower cost. To take full advantage of the benefits of trans-atlantic economic co-operation there must also be a freer exchange of all kinds of knowledge and ideas about business, technology, and scientific research, a greater opportunity for capital to establish itself in the most efficient locations and more mobility of personnel particularly those with technical and administrative skills.

Nevertheless, an increase in economic welfare, important though it is, is not the only, nor even the most significant reason for strengthening Atlantic economic co-operation. If the North Atlantic should become, and remain, a barrier to trade instead of the highway along which it flows ever more freely, freedom itself, the most precious possession of the Atlantic peoples, would be in jeopardy. Western civilisation rests upon a liberal and open economic system.

Moreover, the Atlantic association for security and defence could not survive if Western Europe and North America should become antagonistic economic blocs. On the other hand, with growing prosperity the Atlantic Community will increasingly become a powerful centre of attraction.

An international economic association cannot stand still. It will either move forward and become stronger or retrogress in weakness and the process is cumulative both ways. Restrictions lead to other restrictions and eventually to economic warfare; liberalisation leads to greater freedom and eventually to economic community. The ultimate goal of the Atlantic peoples must be

nothing less than an Atlantic economic community.

This community can be defined by four freedoms. It would mean the elimination throughout the Atlantic area of all barriers to the movement of goods, capital, technology and people. But breaking down these barriers, essential though it is, will not by itself create an economic community. Indeed, it cannot be done without positive measures to ensure that the free market will be established and maintained. Distortions such as subsidies or taxes which unfairly affect competition must be eliminated. Competition must be strengthened by international co-operation to prevent agreements in restraint of trade. National economic policies must be concerted and exchange rates properly aligned so that the convertibility of currencies can be maintained. The prevention of unemployment resulting from the initial stage of competition in the community market and of the shifting of firms to new products, as well as the cost of re-training or re-allocating workers will be a responsibility of the community as a whole. Special investment must be arranged in areas within the community which are afflicted with chronic unemployment or whose economic development lags behind. Finally, an institutional structure capable of carrying out all these tasks must be established. The institutions there in must have the power of taking difficult decisions vitally affecting the economic well-being of all the members of the community. They must therefore be responsible to a representative democratic community assembly.

An outline of the essential elements of an economic community is given in an annex.

An economic community, thus defined, should be established as the long-term goal of the Atlantic peoples. Such a community is already accepted as a practical objective by the peoples of the Six to be achieved according to a definite time-table. It is likely that a more limited objective, but one still beyond the reach of the Atlantic countries, will soon be accepted by the free European countries to be associated in a free trade area.

Progress towards a European economic community may therefore proceed well in advance of that towards an Atlantic economic community. This is not only a matter of fact, but even desirable. Economic integration among a smaller group of Western nations should not not be held up because all can not join equally in the advance.

The institutions of the European economic community are inspired by principles analogous to those which characterize the economic structure of the United States of America. Such a community placing itself within a zone of free economic intercourse as wide a zone as possible, will greatly further the establishment of an Atlantic economic community.

The promotion of an Atlantic community based on the foregoing principles, is a step toward the establishment of a broader world community into which other nations and groups of nations will be welcomed when they indicate their desire to adhere to the principles of the community.

Though practically the European economic community will advance more quickly than co-operation on the Atlantic scale, it is urgent and practicable to aim immediately at a parallel development of the Atlantic economic community.

A significant increase in the exchange of technology and capital between the partners across the Atlantic and in the exchange and training of skilled personnel could be undertaken immediately. The tendency of the European Common Market to raise productivity would be further strengthened.

By these and other measures convertibility of European currencies into dollars will become an easier task.

The steps by which an Atlantic economic community will be achieved cannot be foreseen in detail at the present time. It is nevertheless important to initiate not only specific actions leading to this goal, but also constant study of the problem. A study group could be charged with the tasks of:

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(with annex and three
supplements).

1. defining more concretely the characteristics of an Atlantic economic community;
2. recommending specific measures which should be undertaken in the near future;
3. establishing priorities and time-tables for later measures;
4. recommending means to deal with the problem of equitable treatment for trading partners not included in the community and their eventual adherence to the community thus established.
5. considering and recommending feasible measures contributing to the establishment of the necessary conditions of an Atlantic economic community by producing wide-spread understanding and support for its concepts. Among these measures shall be considered
 - a. the exchange of persons for technical training
 - b. the exchange of persons with the purpose of transmitting economically important principles
 - c. the creation of an efficient organisation to promote exchange of the above mentioned nature.

All these specific proposals should be placed in the framework of the whole of the Conference's recommendations for the defence and the promotion of Atlantic civilisation, with a view to making them acceptable by public opinion.

Annex: "Essential elements of an Atlantic
Economic Community"

Economic co-operation, whether European or Atlantic, can
be considered according to the following categories:

1. Elimination or reduction of barriers to:
 - a) Movement of goods
 - i) tariffs
 - ii) quotas
 - iii) exchange controls (convertibility of currencies)
 - b) Movement of capital
 - i) transfer of income
 - ii) transfer of principal
 - iii) access to other national capital markets
 - iv) right of establishment
 - c) Movement of people
 - i) labour
 - ii) professional and technical personnel
 - iii) transfer of social security and other national benefits
 - d) Movement of ideas and technology
2. Elimination or reduction of distortions unfairly affecting competition
 - a) Subsidies
 - b) Taxes
 - c) Conditions of work and social security
3. Strengthening of competition by international agreements prohibiting:
 - a) Agreements between firms fixing prices
 - b) Agreements to control production or divide markets
 - c) Agreements to discriminate in favour of particular suppliers
 - d) Tied sales

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4. Co-ordination of national economic policy
 - a) Exchange rates
 - b) Credit and budgetary policy (inflation - deflation)
 - c) Mutual aid credits to member countries in balance of payments difficulties
5. Easing of burden of adjustments to free international market
 - a) retraining of labour
 - b) relocation of labour
 - c) loan or subsidies to enable industries to adjust to international competition
 - d) financing of these burdens
6. Problem of chronic unemployment or lack of development in particular areas.

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(With annex and three
supplements)

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS

In addition to the report of the Working Group several members submitted the following additional statements :

Supplement N° I "Exchange of Persons"

By Mr. G. GLISENTI

Supplement N° II "Scientific Capital in Europe"

by Mr. H. RIEBEN

Supplement N° III "The Importance of Science and
Technology in the N.A.C."

by Mr. G.P. HARNWELL.

The Working Group transmits these statements for the information of the Steering Committees of the Conference.

"Exchange of Persons" by Mr. G. GLISENTI

The exchange of qualified persons is already practiced in large measure between Europe and United States.

There are several limits to the effectiveness of this exchange

a) if it is carried out with the aim of supplying a general idea of the political, economic and cultural structure of the United States, it can affect a quite considerable number of persons, but it then risks adding only a superficial and short-lived incidence.

b) if it is carried out with the aim of a further acquisition of knowledge it can only affect a very limited number of persons.

c) contacts with the milieu of production, with administrations, factories and business executives etc... are in any case very limited.

On the other hand, it is noticeable that the most lasting and profound comprehension of the American mentality and way of life is acquired by those who can come into direct contact with active life in the United States, and, above all, by those who have made acquaintance with the American system through professional contacts

This has seemed to be true for persons coming from very different background and having different standards of culture (engineers, business executives, workers). This is explained by the fact that a common technical vocabulary, common professional problems, common practical or theoretical outlooks, in short, a common professional basis, reduces the importance of ideological differences and makes it easier to grasp the essential thought of the milieu in which contact is made.

It would appear therefore that the most effective contacts can be made on a level of the immediate professional interests of the individual. This form of contact is also more effective because of its after-effects : it leads to the maintenance of professional contacts between Europeans and Americans.

For these reasons, it is proposed to establish if possible within an already existing organization a section specialising in the professional training of economic personnel including under this heading administrative civil servants, production engineers and foremen.

This training could be given in cooperation with European and American industrial enterprises, and universities on both sides of the Atlantic for technical and administrative personnel, and in co-operation with European and American centers of professional training for workers.

What is essential in this training is precisely its professional character and not merely the aspects of information. With this aim the European training programmes for the different categories of persons mentioned above should include a period of training undergone in the United States.

The details of this proposal will have to be submitted for study.

"SCIENTIFIC CAPITAL IN EUROPE"

by Mr. H. RIEBEN.

In the Atlantic Community, we are at present faced with a general dearth of properly trained scientific minds, and a glaring disproportion in the use we can make of them both in Europe and the United States.

To eliminate this shortage would tangibly strengthen the Atlantic Community, by providing its partners with the possibility of mutually beneficial exchanges, and making it a centre of enlightenment for the rest of the world.

The effects of the general shortage are considerably increased in Europe by a shortage of research equipment and by the outdated structure of European research institutes. This situation is the reason for the relatively inefficient employment of scientific capital in Europe.

One of the aims of the Atlantic Community must be to define the means which, along with those about to be employed by the European Economic Community and Euratom, will resolve this problem on both sides of the Atlantic, and bring into being a living Atlantic Community on a footing of equality.

"The importance of science and technology to the

North Atlantic Community" by Mr. Harnwell

Science and technology have been major components in the development of human communities at all stages of history. Larger communities become more dependent upon the application of science in the form of engineering because of their dependence upon power sources and distribution systems, because of industry's dependence upon materials and devices, and because of the need for rapid and effective means of communication and transportation if men who are widely distributed geographically are to participate together as members of a single community. The present stage of our knowledge and of its reduction to practice is an important factor in the uniting of the North Atlantic peoples. We have however made but a beginning toward an understanding of natural phenomenon and formation of a larger cultural community can greatly promote scientific advance through the free and efficient exchange of things, people, and ideas. This in term can bring nearer the attainment of a world community.

Technology is a tool which determines the effectiveness of human beings and the efficiency of communities. The major technological advances upon which civilization depended for agriculture, husbandry, architecture, fabrication, defense, etc. until two centuries ago were of prehistoric origin. The plow, the wheel, the lever and the arch are woven into the earliest pattern of human associations. Minor technological advances have had major effects upon the development of civilization. The slow achievement of higher temperatures extended the availability of metals from gold through silver, copper, and tin to iron, with the associated advantages to their possessors which determined the course of history. The potentialities of gaseous liquid and solid fossil fuels have determined the progress in power sources beyond those available from animals, wind, and water. The promise of nuclear fuels and those which may be directly synthesized from solar energy is very great for special applications in all communities and for general use in those areas deficient in fossil fuels. The potentialities in further improvement in electrical distribution system

are again of importance in providing flexibility in the growth of industrial communities. Our progress in the field of materials and devices, through impressive, is still in its early stages and in practice lags behind basic knowledge already in our possession. Metallurgy is only beginning to reflect the possibilities of which we have learned from scientific laboratories and high purity alloys will make structures and devices available which we need but do not yet possess. The development of heat resistant materials will permit the useful achievement of higher temperatures and greater thermal efficiencies the possibilities in the achievement of greater strength, lightness, and versatility of devices through the availability of new materials and greater ingenuity in their employment are unlimited.

Because of man's limited natural abilities in locomotion, communication, and the movement of materials the techniques of communication and transportation are particularly important for the evolution of larger communities. There are great advances to be made in safety, speed, reliability, versatility, and convenience in methods of transporting men and goods. Even surface transportation on land and sea can be very much improved, our conquest of the air is in the infancy, and the possibilities for economy, reliability, and security for subsurface oceanic transportations have yet to be even explored. This could be of particular importance to the North Atlantic Community. Our technical proficiency in electric signalling and communication has increased phenomenally in the past fifty years and are essential to our communities as we now know them. The developments of information theory are pointing the way to more efficient transmission of message material. However the potentialities for the contribution of technology to communication in its broadest sense are very much greater. The coordination of oral and visual communication and the interconvertability between these forms, the more efficient storage and retrieval of information, the evolution of common alphabets and languages with the utilitarian objective of factually informing rather than the traditional one of emotionally influencing or coercing can all contribute enormously to the evolution of a larger viable community.

The benefits to human physical welfare that can accrue from an advancing technology which would be promoted by the establishment of a true community of the North Atlantic peoples is itself an argument for such a community. Progress in the basic physical sciences is of direct benefit to individuals but their applications to the biological sciences

and in turn the application of all science to medicine has even more appeal through the amelioration and lengthening of life and the improvement of bodily and mental efficiency. To a considerable extent broad intellectual stimulus is furnished by an energetic and effective program of research and development. Progress in these areas is obvious and easy to be seen by everyone, it constitutes a new frontier which challenges ingenuity and enterprise. It promotes obsolescence which in turn stimulates industry. If our forms of government must employ the delegation of individual responsibility in their conduct, contrary to the spirit of the Greek inventors of democracy, we have in the manual and intellectual participation in technological progress a productive community activity in which all can participate.

Finally the obviousness and impersonality of technology makes it easy to share between national communities and very attractive and appealing to the less advanced nations whom it is very objective and far removed from inherited traditions and prejudices which tend to inhibit the acceptance of other forms of foreign culture. It represents an area of education and training in skills which is least controversial or contrary to local customs and dogma. It is not a competitor with old ideas but in general a welcome addition which can, or can appear to be, absorbed with the least dislocation of established cultural habits.

Science and its technique of thought disciplined by demonstrable fact and recourse to experiment, as opposed to material technology, has also a contribution to make to the North Atlantic Community. It is however more difficult to share within a community science dealing as it does with ideas, methods, and concepts as contrasted with the objective things and materials of technology. It is less generally understood at present. Also as it is concerned with new disciplines of thought and ideas it tends to be deprecated or rejected by traditional ethical, aesthetic, or religious instincts and social patterns. The communication of the spirit and principles of science is particularly difficult because the medium of communication is habitual common language in which the words carry emotional connotations inimical to the dispassionate conveyance of simple information.

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Finally the obviousness and impersonality of technology makes it easy to share between national communities and very attractive and appealing to the less advanced nations whom it is hoped eventually to draw into a larger community. It is very objective and far removed from inherited traditions and prejudices which tend to inhibit the acceptance of other forms of foreign culture. It represents an area of education and training in skills which is least controversial or contrary to local customs and dogma. It is not a competitor with old ideas but in general a welcome addition which can, or can appear to be, absorbed with the least dislocation of established cultural habits.

Science and its technique of thought disciplined by demonstrable fact and recourse to experiment, as opposed to material technology, has also a contribution to make to the North Atlantic Community. It is however more difficult to share within a community science dealing as it does with ideas, methods, and concepts as contrasted with the objective things and materials of technology. It is less generally understood at present. Also as it is concerned with new disciplines of thought and ideas it tends to be deprecated or rejected by traditional ethical, aesthetic, or religious instincts and social patterns. The communication of the spirit and principles of science is particularly difficult because the medium of communication is habitual common language in which the words carry emotional connotations inimical to the dispassionate conveyance of simple information.

Science however presents the greatest promise of any technique of which we know for the transference of rational methods to human problems and concerns. Quoting from Anatol Rapoport of the Mental Health Institute of the University of Michigan in an article on "Scientific Approach to Ethics" (Science Vol 125, p.796 (1957)): "These then are the ethical principles inherent in scientific practice : the conviction that there exists absolute truth; that there exist rules of evidence for discovering it; that on the basis of this objective truth unanimity is possible and desirable; and that unanimity must be achieved by independent arrivals at convictions, that is by examination of the evidence, not through coercion, personal argument, or appeal to authority".

If this point of view is combined with a definition of truth such as that due to Charles Pierce as "the concordance that can be achieved between an abstract statement and the conclusion to which a scientific observer is lead as a result of indefinite observation and experiment" and also with the concept of procedural definition that we owe to Bridgeman, one has the beginning of a system of disciplined thought which if it necessarily reduces the universe of discourse of the venerable subject of philosophy it considerably increases the quantity of significance in human communication. Such an objective can be of the greatest importance in the growth of unity among men.

The method of promoting the evolution and propagation of the scientific outlook is very imperfectly understood or practiced at the present time in any community. Educational systems and programs could be greatly improved with this in mind. Inclusion of science and technology both as cultural and utilitarian factors can improve student motivation and assist in providing a more adequate range of opportunity suited to potential attainment from the extremes of mere manual dexterity to basic research extending the frontiers of scientific knowledge. Such programs are not only of community benefit but are exportable as technical assistance beyond the community to draw people spontaneously together in thought and attitude by a basic commonality of method.

Though a vigorous common development of science and technology is highly relevant to the successful growth of larger human communities the time scale is a different one than for immediate political and commercial objectives. The inhibiting of the growth of small communities from families and tribes due to the narrowness of primitive religious practices and difficulties presented by the handling of private property has been a matter of millenia and vestiges are still to be observed in our era. The

problems of citizenship, property, and religion again impeded the formation of larger national aggregates and centuries of conflict almost to exhaustion were required to achieve the present limited concept of human communities. The disassociation of common boundaries of religion and nationalism, the relative improvement of material welfare and prosperity, the presently accepted variation among the patterns of national government, all should contribute to an accelerated rate of acceptability of larger communities.

The contributions of technology represent another factor tending likewise to foster and promote a more rapid drawing together of peoples of widely different traditions and cultural heritages. Industry, communication, and transportation have indeed through the extensive interpenetration of goods and technical information among all nations already brought about a global if very limited and unrepresentative contact of cultures. This is not a world community formation. A commonality of scientific and technical development and the sharing of its fruits can be a most potent factor in promoting the rapidity of formation of the North Atlantic Community and in ensuring its eventual intimacy and fruitfulness.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

13 september 1957.

Final report of the Committee (I.2.) on
Education and Language.

I. The Committee approved the proposal for a North Atlantic Institute, drafted by the Joint Sub-Committee on Education and Language and Institutional Framework, but suggested that paragraph IV. (1), should be rephrased as follows :

"The Conference should adopt the formation of such an Institute as a principal objective."

II. The Committee examined and approved a proposal by Professor FBB, intended as a means of re-establishing that intellectual community which existed in the past in Europe, but which is now lacking between the nations of the Atlantic. It recommended that all encouragement be given to the formation of small groups of eminent persons with different intellectual training and background. One of the first tasks of such groups would be to rethink and formulate the underlying principles of free Western culture, and to demonstrate its value by their own works, conceived under its inspiration. These groups would function in complete freedom, should be permanent and characterised by the strict absence of self-interest. Their continuity and renewal would be effected through a process of co-optation.

III. In addition, the Committee reviewed, without thorough discussion, a certain number of points, which may be grouped under the following headings:

a. Secondary Education

The Committee warmly supported the principle of the judicious unburdening of present curricula. It was in favour of increasing the efforts now being made in the revision of history text-books; in the teaching of modern languages, and in the exchange of secondary school pupils and teachers. The Committee adopted the re-

vised draft of Mr. A.D.C. PETERSON's statement, which appears as annex I to this report.

b. Higher Education .

Both the American and European members of the Committee deplored the excessive specialisation at this level; and hoped for close, permanent contacts between scholars of different faculties and branches.

The Committee in addition emphasised the necessity of:

1. establishing an effective collaboration between the universities and industry;
2. underlining the importance of perfecting a system of equivalence between the university qualifications of the constituent countries of the Atlantic Community;
3. promoting and expanding within the Atlantic Community the existing programmes of exchange at all levels;
4. exploiting to the full all the available resources of the Atlantic Community, including those of the universities, for the training of civil servants and technicians for underdeveloped countries, by the creation of appropriate institutes in those countries.

c. Mass Education.

1. The Committee, considering that books form an essential part of the bonds of a community, and especially of the Atlantic Community, welcomed the proposal concerning the preparation and publication of an Atlantic Atlas.

2. The Committee approved the revised draft of Mrs. CULBERTSON's statement, which appears as annex II to this report.

3. The Committee urged that an effort should be made to strengthen the forces of adult education and integrate local community development within the Atlantic Community, in the explicit spirit of Atlantic Solidarity; and that machinery should be set up for the exchange of information in this sphere.

In general, the Committee was of the opinion that the aim of education should be two-fold : to develop the spirit of initiative and creativeness; to inculcate faith in an ideal, and the spirit of sacrifice. In this respect, the importance of properly training our teachers, impressing upon them the idea of Community seemed fundamental. In order to achieve this task, more should be done, through better education, to promote understanding of the strategy and tactics of world communism for the defence of our own Western values.

Finally, the Committee expressed the desire that the cultural budgets of the governments of the Atlantic Community should be considerably increased, their present provisions being ridiculously inadequate.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Annex I - Revised Statement prepared by A.D.C. Peterson

It is generally agreed that throughout the Atlantic Community the programme of academic work in secondary schools is overloaded in different ways in Europe and America. This overloading deprives the young of the time for living experience which they essentially need and in particular it makes it unnecessarily difficult for them to spend part of their school-days in a school of another country ; an experience which could be immensely fruitful in preventing the growth of "insularity" and stimulating that early love of one other country on which a genuine loyalty to the wider community can be founded.

In lightening these programmes it will probably be advisable to retain for the great majority of pupils a sufficient element of the natural sciences to enable them to proceed to higher scientific or technological education; but it is most important that the education of all pupils should contain a substantial element of the humanities as a training in moral, logical and aesthetic judgement. It would be valuable if there could be as much consultation as possible between the educational authorities of member states at this moment when the reform of the secondary curriculum is under discussion so that while preserving the greatest diversity of studies the greatest practicable degree of equivalence in qualifications may be achieved. An ultimate ideal might be a European baccalauréat, accepted by the Universities of America as a qualification for entry.

Annex II to the Final Report of the Committee on Education and Language.

Revised Statement by Mrs. Culbertson.

Since the Atlantic Community countries have pioneered the way of all civilisation in the twentieth century in the relation of all the media of mass communication to education compatible with freedom, as opposed to the totalitarian use for conditioning men's minds, special and continuing study of their development and control, both in terms of public policy and of cultural impact must be a matter of common concern. The impact of the West on the East and in Africa has probably been as much EFFECTED by the cinema, the phonograph, and the radio as by the direct contacts of peoples and cultures.

The use of films and radio for educational programmes still has vast areas of improvement open for their better employment as educational tools, even within the Atlantic countries, which are the most advanced in these media. But the use of television by the nations of the North Atlantic Community offers them an added and a unique opportunity :

1. By a harnessing of educational resources to the better understanding of the uses and abuses of mass media, and by wise programming, to enlarge and enrich among the nations of the Community that sense of common heritage and purpose so necessary if we are successfully to meet the threat of communism;
2. To bring to those areas in which there is a drastic shortage of teachers and facilities (for example, southern Italy) the classroom, to both adults and schoolage children, through the medium of television;
3. To provide guidance, both conceptual and technical, for underdeveloped nations which will soon be using television on a vast scale for adult and schoolage education. The North Atlantic Community has a vital interest in the purposes to which television, for educational purposes, is put in those nations not, as yet, firmly committed to the ideals of the Community.
4. To encourage and assist the development of national, and of annotated and selective North Atlantic Community catalogues of existing films, kinescopes, and video-tapes, that the nations of the Community, and elsewhere, may mutually benefit from the

intelligence and creative abilities of many nations. Creating a well-selected film library or even a centrally available catalogue would be of unquestioned value both to existing educational institutions and broadcasters, and provide aid and standards for those nations only recently committed to the concept of universal education.

To achieve these purposes, and others which the future will reveal, the proposed North Atlantic Institute should assist the creation, as one of its functions, of a special communications department, provided with a small, permanent staff devoted to research and recommendations in the whole field of the educational uses of the mass media of communication. It should especially serve as a clearing-house to evaluate and make generally available both technical possibilities and studies of public policy and educational experiences in the new and portentous field of educational television.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITYThe Causes of Tension.FINAL REPORT. - & FOLLOW-UP PROPOSAL No. 7.

The Commission on Tensions, believing in the necessity of a North Atlantic Community, recognises that tensions exist between country and country at different social and cultural levels, and involving not only realistic factors but misunderstandings and emotional prejudices; the Commission also recognises that these tensions militate against the development of a North Atlantic Community, but that they must nevertheless be regarded in the wider context of the creative aims of such a community. It, therefore, recommends that an organisation be set up to investigate such tensions and make recommendations as to the best means of relieving them. Such an organisation would wherever feasible make use of existing and correlate research facilities.

The Commission further recommends that a Committee of Action or 2 Committees of Action, one in the United States and one in Europe, be set up to consider such matters as communications between constituent countries, whether by press, radio, television, special publications, diplomatic channels, the organisation of seminars, the creation of a special institute or any other means, and to take such immediate action as may be feasible to advance the aims of the North Atlantic Community in these directions.

PROFESSORE FRAENCKEL CONTRADICENTE.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.

The Causes of Tension
Second Meeting - Tuesday 10 September

I. Anti-Americanism in European countries.

In addition to the report of Mr. Benediktson the influence of anti-Americanism in various countries was discussed:

a) Iceland: Here, anti-Americanism has never really been serious; it is, however, existing but those who are against the USA have hardly any decisive influence in the country.

There is no rational reason for the anti-Americanism in Iceland. The Americans behave loyally, they do not try to influence the population. But anti-Americanism is a slogan. If there would be an Atlantic spirit, this slogan could not be as strong.

b) Germany: The tensions between Germany and America are a result of the strong unity between these two countries. It becomes evident that the conceptions of life ask for new forms. These have still to be found.

c) Berlin: In Berlin there is hardly any anti-Americanism existing caused by the troupes placed in this city. We have two reasons for this fact: The air lift and the menace of the iron curtain.

d) Italy: Here anti-Americanism was not really based on the American occupation army. Many Americans were either Italians by origin or they were nigros, and both of them are here very popular. There is, however, a profound feeling against some American institutions which have an important influence on the country and which can spoil the whole relationship.

e) Japan: In Japan a very interesting study has been made on the influence of anti-Americanism. (It has been found out that there is no direct influence of the press on the population. Virtually no Japanese journalist is pro-american. Yet, after ten years of occupation, the majority of the population is in favour of the US army.)

II. Reasons for Anti-Americanism.

1. The American Troupes.

Switzerland is supposed to be the most pro-American country because it has never experienced an American army

but only American tourists. The transport of troupes into other parts of the world, even into other parts of the own country has always caused many tensions. Alcohol and girls have not improved this situation. The problem raised by the stationing of American troupes in Europe could be diminished, if NATO would take over this task. Especially in a member country of this organisation, many tensions would no more be as serious as they are to-day.

2. Underestimation of American civilisation.

Many serious tensions are rooted on the deep cultural prejudices of the Europeans. The European Continent has hardly noticed the existence of an American civilisation yet. If the Europeans would only see that civilisation does not only contain music and literature! America is so often called a vulgar country - but the Europeans do not see that they are inferior to America in other things which belong to civilisation as well: Government, economics, constitution, law, technics. The emphasis on the various aspects of civilisations is different in the two continents. We, therefore, can find in the United States a certain inferiority complex as far as the culture in the European sense is concerned. On the other hand, in technics etc. Americans feel quite superior. We, therefore, have to analyse our own attitude towards the other continent. At the present moment our attitude is based on an *idée fixe* (films, prix Nobel), which makes it difficult to understand each other.

3. Practical experience - Education - Press.

The experience of the Berlin air-lift has shown that a positive practical experience can have a greater influence on the people than all modern means of University education and press together. Education and press, however, may not be neglected either, research programs must be prepared, the own attitude has to be analysed, the old way of newspaper reporting has to be overthought. But the greatest value lies in new symbols, created through an impressive human action.

The United States have not stressed an educational system for an elite but introduced an educational mass-system. With this vast system they were able to educate enough people about the dimensions of the world. At the beginning of the first world war there was enough knowledge in the States that the importance of a change of American tradition could be seen: America has assisted Europe. And now, after two world wars, Europe turns towards

the States and says: You have no culture! Here is a very tragic misunderstanding.

European papers intend to stress and to inflame all American enoyances, as if to console the European people for the loss of their greatness of the 18th and 19th century. Here, something practical has to be done. The old technics of the press, which reports only the detrimental things is very unfortunate. America and Europe must not propagandize each other, but they have to be fair: The good as well as the bad must be said. In the USA the election speeches can have a similar influence on Europe: The candidates do not always realise that their words are heard in the whole world.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Friday 13th September

Institutional Framework

Terms of reference

What should be the ultimate institutional framework of the Atlantic Community, based upon Britain, an integrated continent of Europe and North America and how should they fit in the framework of world-wide organisation ?

1. NATO as a military body
2. NATO as a political instrument
3. NATO parliamentary Conference
4. Economic and Social tasks
5. A sense of urgency
6. Summary of recommendations

I. After careful examination, the Commissions reaffirms its belief in NATO as the most effective instrument in existence for the achievement of the Atlantic Community. It notes the habits of co-operation developed in the military sphere and in the NATO Defence College. It particularly suggests the widening of the size and scope of this College so that selected non-official as well as further official persons can participate.

NATO was established, in conformity with article 51 of the United Nations, for the defence of the West. This definite objective has so far been successfully achieved. But with a widening of the area of conflict and the development of new war-like weapons and the increased dangers of political subversion and economic penetration, the Commission feels that NATO must extend its powers and face a new situation which is beyond the emergency that brought it into being. Accordingly, it believes that both in the military sphere and in others there must be a further co-ordination of the efforts of member-countries to defend the free world.

II. But this supposes a common foreign policy, at least among Atlantic countries. As recent events have proved, this is not yet achieved. But the Committee of Three have made strong recommendations to strengthen the NATO council as a political

instruments. The Commission records its support of all measures to make the political functions of NATO more effective, for example by strengthening the political section of the NATO-secretariat. The Commission recommends that the information division of the NATO-secretariat be strengthened by substantially increasing its budget, widening its scope and improving the support given to the national NATO information effort by the member-countries.

The majority of our Commission wish to give representatives on the NATO council the different status more political and less ambassadorial. The Commission believes that more active support of NATO at the fifteen national levels is the heart of the matter.

III. The position of the Atlantic Community will be further strengthened by the progress in development of European unity. The Commission believes that appropriate means will have to be found to enable the organs of that unity to play their part in the institutions of the Atlantic community.

We strongly support the NATO Parliamentary Conference. The facts of geography raise difficulties of arranging frequent regular meetings, but we consider the Conference a most valuable method of enlarging public interest in developing the work of NATO. We would like to see its budget enlarged, its procedure regularised and its status confirmed, both by national governments and by NATO itself. There now exist European Assemblies of the Council of Europe and the Coal and Steel Community but they have different origins and functions. We look forward to an ultimate framework uniting European and North American Parliamentarians in many common tasks to achieve an Atlantic Community.

IV. Meanwhile, there is a multitude of other tasks, economic, social and cultural, pressing for development. Here there is some division of opinion. At the European level there are many economic, social and cultural bodies; at the United Nations level there are Specialised Agencies in all these and other fields. Before making the decision to persuade NATO to create further institutions at the Atlantic level, more investigation survey and research are required.

We are convinced that the proposal for an Atlantic Institute, as set out in the Appendix should be adopted by the Conference. We are most interested in the establishment of Atlantic schools and commend this idea for study and sympathetic consideration. Other proposals such as an Atlantic Citizens

Convention, an Atlantic exploratay Convention, a meeting of Heads of NATO governments could not be considered by the Committee owing to lack of time.

V. Everything depends on our sense of urgency. We are aware of estimable voluntary associations, some of them assisted by NATO and/or national governments. These are doing valient work. Our sole desire is to strengthen all such efforts, to give them a starker Atlantic focus and to inspire new study and research leading to more effective action. Our task is to translate the language of spiritual values into living action. We are only interested in institutions, if they are able to do a job.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Follow-up Proposal No. 5

By the Working Groups "Education and Language" and
"Institutional Framework" (C.I. 2./IV)

13th September 1957

AN ATLANTIC INSTITUTE

I. AIMS AND PURPOSES:

To promote and develop:

1. A sense of community among the Atlantic peoples and all others who share their basic ideals.
2. The revitalisation of Western cultural and spiritual values and of the social institutions of the Atlantic Community.
3. The harmonisation of the long term interests of the Atlantic Community with those of developing countries.
4. Its own function as a focal point for the Atlantic Community's cultural response to the challenge of Communism and other forms of totalitarianism.
5. The discovery and development of Atlantic leadership adequate to these tasks.

II. ORGANISATION

1. One governing board of eminent citizens of the Atlantic Community, with an active executive committee.
2. So constituted and incorporated that it can receive funds from foundations, individuals, institutions, and governments.
3. Independent of any other institution.
4. Two centers of activity, one on either side of the Atlantic.
5. Facilities for study and research, workshops and seminars. Access to a major library.
6. Advisory panels of experts, as necessary.

III. PROPOSED WORKING METHODS

In general,

1. The Institute would make a preliminary investigation of problems of the Atlantic Community and, as appropriate, either pursue these further itself or refer them to more suitable institutions.
2. The Institute should encourage and assist the development appropriate institutions, especially those with the function of education, with consultation to prevent unnecessary proliferation and duplication of efforts.
3. The institute would seek to translate the results of findings into action, either directly or through other national or international organisations.
4. Seek to accomplish the informing of public opinion.
5. Offer its services as a clearing house for any activities compatible with the purpose of the Institute.

IV. IMMEDIATE STEPS

1. The Conference should adopt this proposal for an Institute as a chief objective.
2. The Conference should empower its standing committee, in consultation with the members of the Conference and other interested persons and organisations, to develop the idea, give it precise form, and seek to achieve the establishment of such an Institute.

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITYThe North Atlantic Community and TotalitarianismFINAL REPORT.

Friday, 13th September 1957

Definition : the Problem before us

1. The Committee has accepted the following definition as the starting point of its deliberations : a totalitarian society is that in which the state is at once the absolute power-holder in politics, the only employer in the economy, the director of public opinion and education in the cultural field, and the god of a new secular religion in the spiritual realm.

Although some existing or recently-deposed undemocratic regimes have been unmistakably totalitarian, that does not mean that there are no tendencies and possibilities of drift towards totalitarianism in other countries more or less democratic. That tendency depends on several objective and psychological conditions which should be separately and closely examined.

Totalitarian communism

2. Since after the destruction of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, the communist regimes are the most prominent form of totalitarianism, the Committee has devoted its principal

attention to the study of actual communist regimes and policies in their various manifestations.

The Committee has decided not to make a theoretical analysis of Communism and its doctrine and claims, but to examine the most of Communism concrete aspects and problems of the challenge which communism offers to the free world - and especially the peoples of the Atlantic Community - above all in the fields of ideology, internal political and social orders, and international power-politics.

The Committee was particularly aware of the fact that communism represents at the same time an ideology with universal appeal and response and a system of totalitarian states, some powerful and imperialistic in the sense of last events in Hungary.

3. A careful study of the course of events in the communist world since the death of Stalin in March 1953, reveals an impressive series of occurrences, whose basic meaning may be condensed in the following two statements.

From an objective interpretation of all basic events and from a study of available data, one may conclude that the strategic objective of world domination, and the tactical devices for destroying political adversaries, and the basic totalitarian features of communist regimes and parties remain in their essence the same as they were during the era of Stalin. Since, however, it was impossible to reign without Stalin using the methods of this among most unusual dictators in the world's history, his successors found it necessary to introduce some internal modifications and some of the more dangerous tyrannical features and some of the more dangerous internal tensions of Stalin's absolute totalitarian system.

These reforms, serving as a kind of safety valve for the post-Stalin communist regime in USSR, have had as a consequence, however, a series of events giving evidence of a profound crisis within the communist system, a crisis whose most conspicuous features have been or are:

- the multiplication of revolutionary centers and diminution of monolithic communism;
- the increasing internal contradictions of a new communist class-society;
- the desperate aspirations of peoples in satellite countries to achieve their human freedoms and national independence;

- the decreasing influence of communist ideology to capture and satisfy the minds and the hearts of youth;
- the growing disaffection of intellectuals, tired of empty dogmas and amorality of communist policies.

4. The evidence of crises in communist regimes should not hide the following two essential facts:

first, all these reforms fail absolutely and certainly intentionally, to touch the vital point: the monopoly of political power by the Communist party, where lies the basic strength of the totalitarian structure;

second, the transformation of communism from the movement within one country, driving towards the revolutionary conquest of power, into a political and military strategy of one or more great communist states, whose expanding policy is based less on ideological appeals than on their own power prestige and political and diplomatic ability to make a profit from the weakness of their actual rivals and potential victims.

There is slight chance that a totalitarian system could collapse as a consequence of its internal crisis when it is able to achieve great technological and military successes (the inter-continental missile, for instance) and to win a promising diplomatic victory (in Syria).

5. The Commission has carefully studied the phenomenon of so-called "national communism". It has first of all considered that it is an illogical and inappropriate appellation, rejected by Tito himself. It has established also the fact that the titoist heresy did not spread like Asiatic 'flu and that Tito himself in his interview on the American TV network on the 30th of June 1957 had stressed his complete solidarity with the communist world. On the basis of the report of one of its better-informed members, the Committee did agree that notwithstanding the existence of a lot of objective factors which could lead China towards a kind of independent communism, the evidence of the situation during the most recent past indicates that there are very slight chances that Mao Tse Tung's particular interpretation of Marxism could lead to "national" communism.

The Committee has taken into consideration some particular aspects of "national" communism, i.e.: economic and administrative decentralization; relaxation of state control; rehabilitation of the trade unions as active claim-negotiating bodies and

partners in enterprise-management; relaxation of collectivisation of agriculture; extension of free market for consumer goods; pseudo political pluralism; strong reactions against the Soviet neo-colonialism (liquidation of mixed companies, etc.); revival of light industry; limited freedom of thought, etc.

At the same time, however, the Committee has been strongly aware of some other facts: that all these reforms are not basically opposed to the strict orthodox interpretation of Leninism; that they do not remove the total political domination of communist parties; that they could be very useful for the moral and political disarmament of popular oppositional forces; and, last but not least, that the "national" communism could far better penetrate in some non-communist areas of Asia, Africa, and South America, than under its former and intransigent Stalinistic form.

6. The Committee has charged two of its prominent members, one socialist and the other an active trade unionist, to formulate the basic reasons which make the communist system unacceptable to the peoples of the Atlantic Community. Here, summarized, are their findings:

- The enslavement of a growing number of nations as the more or less docile instruments of the USSR;
- the intervention of the Red Army in the internal affairs of Hungary and the violation by the USSR of its international engagements, refusing to evacuate Hungarian territory as recommended by the Assembly of the United Nations;
- the fact that, following its Leninistic teaching, the communist movement represents an organized conspiracy, trying to penetrate, under the cover of economic missions or "front" organizations, into those countries that neglect the lessons of very recent history;
- despite the professions of present leaders of USSR, the totalitarian regime which still prevails there has condemned and executed a large number of innocent citizens for the mere "offence" of expressing an opinion. The most inhuman proceedings have been applied in order to maintain the discipline of the work in factories. That has been the consequence of the fact that the trade unions have lost all real influence and any right to participate in the control of economic activity.
- the communist regime, which is evidently the negation of liberal democracy, represents also the denial of socialism by its incapacity to increase harmoniously

the production, to better the standard of living of the masses, and to assure a just distribution of national income;

- that all these elements are the inevitable result of a system which ignores political pluralism and the effective control of the political power by public opinion. A small minority of privileged bureaucrats, who exercise the monopoly over education and impede every criticism of ideas, maintain their domination through the means of a secret police and the fusion of the party and the government.
- that for all these reasons, communism represents a permanent threat to peace and to the independence of peoples, to their standard of living, and to freedom of soul.

7. In the light of these previous considerations, the aim of the Committee was not to make any kind of anti-communist propaganda, but to show the main features of the totalitarian danger which still threatens, from outside and from inside, the countries of the Atlantic Community, after having already swallowed up one third of humanity. The Communist danger is tremendous because it combines and exploits several and often contradictory elements: political, as well as social and psychological. However, what is even more important is the fact of what one may call the "Leninist neo-machiavellism", or the full and conscious acceptance of the postulate that the final aim justifies all the immoral means.

This means that the communists, everywhere in the world, animated more by Leninistic precepts of political warfare than by abstract principles of Marxism, and even though divided among themselves, wage an implacable war against the powerless peoples they have subjugated and the nations still free. This struggle is the primary contest of our time of troubles. The contest between the totalitarians and the defenders of order, justice and freedom transcends national frontiers and old national rivalries.

8. A very good illustration of this fact is the communist infiltration in underdeveloped countries. There, where following the peculiar local situation, the communists would not have any normal democratic chance of success, they spread their influence not through ideological penetration, but through the search and exploitation of any potential ally against the Western powers. Absurd as it may be, the fact is that the USSR is succeeding in exploiting the outburst of nationalism of many peoples in Asia and Africa and their legitimate aspiration towards a better standard of living through industrialisation. The Committee was not

able to enter into many details concerning that complex problem, but its members, in full agreement, felt that not only the old patterns of colonialism are dead, but that it is a vital concern for the future, to find ways and means for the political emancipation of former colonial peoples or for the further strengthening of newly established states; and that through the elimination of politically reactionary and economically feudally-minded rulers, through the help of establishing new and representative regimes and through the finding out of imaginative solutions in the sense of federalism in order to canalize the disruptive effects of nationalism and xenophobia in those regions. In that perspective, and without exaggerated optimism, the Committee thinks that communist infiltration may still be successfully checked through a new general political order and a social transformation through industrialization.

9. The Committee thought necessary, for many obvious reasons, to avoid the use of terms as "West" and "East" as representing definitive and clear-cut entities. Would not some of the basic conceptions of peoples forming the Atlantic Community be shared by some peoples in Central and Eastern Europe if they could freely express their feelings? In the same sense the Committee was of the opinion, that it is both a factual inaccuracy and a psychological mistake to identify the Russian people with the Soviet regime. One should always remember that the Bolshevik revolution was directed against the democratic kind of government and that since 1917 the peoples of Russia have never had a chance of choosing freely the government of their own. Identifying a totalitarian regime with the people which it oppresses, would be the greatest service the free world could render the totalitarians. Yesterday in Italy and Germany, today in communist countries.

Problem of neo-fascism and neo-nazism

10. The Committee has exchanged views as to the chances of a revival of totalitarian movements of the right in Germany and Italy. According to competent observers, the Committee concluded that, practically speaking, at this very moment the danger of neo-nazism in Germany is very small. In Italy, however, where the neo-fascist party exists, its relatively small strength results from substantial financial aid obtained from some powerful vested interests and from parliamentary combinations with centrist forces. As a movement of ideas neo-fascism does not represent anything more than the nostalgia for a very well-known past and socially speaking it still conserves some strongholds, especially in the South.

The Committee agreed that any serious threat of rightist totalitarianism depends on concretely existing political, economic

and international situations. Comparing the general conditions in Italy and Germany before 1922 and 1933 with those of today, the Committee concluded that the democratic political and social order seems to be far more consolidated now and that, combined with the memory of fascist and nazi tyranny, it is a strong bulwark for the preservation of constitutional democratic order in both countries.

11. The Committee also examined the political regime in Spain, strongly disapproving its dictatorship, and at the same time finding clear evidence of its growing internal weakness and of increasing popular dissatisfaction. Anxious not to see an opposite dictatorship replace that of Franco, the Committee believes that the Spanish people has the absolute right to express its actually mute will and that the governments and peoples of the Atlantic Community have the moral duty in the name of their own principles to help the Spanish people achieve their internal right of self-determination.

12. As far as a general political situation in all the countries of the Atlantic Community is concerned, the Committee believes that the chances of the renewal of an actual neo-fascist threat are diminishing in direct proportion to the strength and vigilance of democratic societies and institutions. What particularly should be checked are the attempts to recreate a kind of neo-fascist and neo-nazi international organization.

Totalitarian roots in democratic societies

13. The Committee has also examined some of the already existing or potential dangers of totalitarianism working within democratic societies. It has heard almost all of its members discussing the attractions of communism in free societies and the strength of communist parties in various countries. It has particularly enumerated some objective and some irrational reasons explaining the success of communism in some countries, like France and Italy. Among objective reasons one may quote the peculiar features of political histories and socialist traditions in these countries, the weaknesses of the democratic state and parliamentary system, the economic shortcomings and injustices of existing orders and the fascination exercised by some Soviet methods and achievements. Among irrational reasons, communism presents for some individuals, especially those psychologically and socially non-integrated, a kind of religious appeal. Some others are attracted by the communist vision of total social transformation or its unity of aim and action. For some others, the communist regime would realize their own personal and social resentments. Yet others, finally, are attracted by the historical progress of communism,

believing in its final victory.

14. The members of the Committee have discussed also the specific problem of communist parties. Here they have arrived at a double conclusion: that the latest events within the communist world have had as their repercussion an internal crisis in almost all communist parties, with such manifestations as a more marked political isolation, loss of party membership and influence among trade-unions, defection of a certain number of intellectuals. However, the communist parties in France and Italy especially still remain powerful political blocs, with a strongly organized party apparatus, which, follows faithfully the political line prescribed by Moscow. Thus they remain as a potential threat for the democratic order.

15. Communism, being nowadays the most concrete totalitarian threat, is certainly not the only one. Besides what we have already said about neo-fascism, there are several other potential sources which should be mentioned and about whom the Committee exchanged ideas and experiences. The first one could be called the ideological danger, or that conception of totalitarian democracy, where the government is identified with the general will and the political society with the society itself. The second danger is technological, resulting from the "managerial revolution", in which all the humanistic values would be sacrificed in favor of a mechanistic society, whose terrifying picture Aldous Huxley has anticipated in his famous "Brave New World". The third danger is represented by the overwhelming bureaucratization of society, as well in political, social or cultural life as in the corporations and labor unions on both sides of the Atlantic. The steady growth of any one of these factors, or worse, their combination, in our mass society, could lead towards the extinction of personal and other freedoms and consequently towards the transformation of the democratic into a totalitarian system.

Democratic antidotes to totalitarianism

16. After the enumeration and examination of all these dangers and possibilities, the members of the Committee wished to stress very strongly that they do not believe that there is any fatality and inevitability leading mankind towards totalitarianism, and that men still remain free to make any use of the tremendous material and technological powers they now actually have in their hands. Without entering into details, here are some elements, some antidotes which if properly used or realized, could prevent the course of Atlantic civilization towards totalitarianism. Let us consider, respectively, some of these antidotes within our own countries and then what the Atlantic community can do for peoples

already victims of totalitarianism.

17. Although, properly speaking, it is not the task of this Committee, its members wished to express their belief in the decisive importance of the following elements and institutions:

- the vital need for the maintenance of an open and pluralistic society, whose political institutions would guarantee local autonomies and corporate and personal freedoms. Besides that we know now not only that it is a moral duty of a free society to foster social progress, but that we are entering into an epoch in which the extinction of material misery is a concrete possibility. Should the free men miss such an achievement?
- the mere institutional framework and even the fabulous material realizations, would have meaningless results if a kind of higher values were missing. Aware of the fact that the perfect society can never be achieved and that in the last instance the full meaning and satisfaction in life of every man can be only individually appreciated, we believe that some kinds of solidarities make civilized life worthwhile. There is a never-ending process of conditioning by the family, school, church and work toward self-disciplined behavior, the individual being responsive to appropriately constituted community authority on the one hand and to the dictates of conscience and intelligence on the other. Rejection an aggressive type of nationalism, we believe in the solidarity of citizens in their historical fatherlands as well as we aspire to the full establishment of the solidarity of nations within the Atlantic community. In the same way, the Committee stresses with confidence and hope some concrete progress already accomplished towards European integration.
- we attribute the highest value to education in a democratic society. We know now from the experiences of nazi or communist states where attempts completely to condition youth through an education system whose aim is an indoctrination lead. But the human person cannot be transformed into a closed system. Using some fundamental biological laws of growth and development of the young, we may teach the children how to achieve their goals democratically without recourse to authoritarian behaviour. In the second place, we believe that democratic society as it exists now must devote the greatest effort in the sense of civic education, if the involvement of the greatest possible number of citizens into the concrete responsibilities in the life of the community, on all its ladders.

- finally, the political sagacity, force of character and principles, the ability of the political leadership is another essential condition for the existence of democracy. Concretely speaking, if the leaders of democratic countries have carefully read the basic books of Hitler and Lenin, all the course of human history would be different and we probably would not even have to discuss the mortal danger of totalitarianism.

18. If the free peoples intend to remain faithful to their own basic principles and if they realize the challenge of Soviet imperialism, they will be increasingly interested in the destiny of peoples behind the Iron Curtain, who since the end of World War II have never, or rarely, been asked to say under which political and social regime they would like to live. The dramatic events of last autumn in Central Europe have clearly indicated at least two things: the truly totalitarian nature of communist tyranny and the evidence of a tremendously important fact that the best allies of the nations of Atlantic community are the enslaved nations in Eastern Europe. Consequently, the principles and the interests of Atlantic nations should at least oblige them not to forget their Eastern European brothers and not to accept any arrangement with the present communist rulers, which would consecrate the existing status quo as a definitive legal and moral political solution.

19. As the last consideration, the Committee would like to stress emphatically its unshakable belief in the superiority of democracy, government by consent, over any and every totalitarian regime. We are not blind to the shortcomings of our society and we certainly do not believe that everything is already perfect. Furthermore, we, the members of this Committee, share very different views on religious, social, political and other problems. We are liberals, social democrats, conservatives, catholics, protestants, humanists, we support our governments or criticize them, we like or dislike everything we read, or hear, or see, and very often even in this Conference, perhaps because we are free, we doubt in our own freedom, in our civilization, in ourselves. And, however, in greatest objectivity, our imperfect democracy can victoriously bear comparison with their perfect totalitarianism. We know that we are living in a chaotic and dangerous world and that there is not a single easy solution for the problems of that world. And, did we forget that everything great, and pure, and noble in our civilization has been a product of humanity's faith in an ideal. That and humanity's will to achieve that ideal are perhaps the key notions for the final result of our struggle with totalitarianism and for the final destiny of the Atlantic community.

September 13, 1957

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITYUnderdeveloped Countries

Recommendations to the Plenary Session

1. It is in accordance with the general principles of the Christian and humanist origin of the Atlantic world that the peoples of the underdeveloped areas should be assisted in their effort to secure, on the basis of a better material well-being, the human values the Atlantic world stands for, in particular individual freedom, peace and tolerance.
2. The aim should not be merely to increase production by all means but to develop an international order which also protects and promulgates individual freedom.
3. While economic progress depends in the first instance on the domestic efforts and policies of the peoples concerned, it also will be greatly speeded by an expansion of world trade and private and public investment. Since some of the countries concerned, even with the utmost effort can, in the near future, only increase their savings by a modest amount, the total flow of funds into underdeveloped areas should be substantially increased, quite probably by several billions ("milliards") of dollars.
4. The programme of co-operation should be carried out in the spirit of a common effort and in agreement with the underdeveloped countries themselves. In addition to material investments, attention should in particular be devoted to the development of numerous skills and attitudes, such as initiative and sound judgment and to certain institutions and principles vital to sound development, such as healthy monetary and fiscal systems, a competent public administration and respect for law.
5. While public investment will be needed for the infrastructure, private investment can and should make a great contribution to the development of directly productive equipment.
6. One of the reasons preventing a substantial increase in the flow of private foreign investment into underdeveloped countries is the existence of differences regarding the conditions set from both sides for its co-operation. It is recommended that the Standing Committee investigate the possibility of an informal and frank discussion of this issue at a later conference of representatives from both groups of countries.

7. There is a need for further co-operation and co-ordination in the field of capital transfers and technical assistance in all forms. Such co-ordination should take place both at regional and at world levels.

8. The institution of the Investment Fund of the Euromarket should not absolve the countries concerned from participating in the financing of Asian or world development.

Conference on North Atlantic Community

Underdeveloped Countries

Rec. to the Plenary Session

Statement by Mr. Jan van Sickle

For improved production to realize the high hopes of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries it is essential that they have assured access to international markets, as respects their exports quite as much as their imports. Multilateral and non-discriminatory trade based, as has already been stated, on the principle of comparative advantage; and conducted with the aid of reliable and convertible currencies constitutes the most effective means of creating such international markets. It is important for the people of the Atlantic Community to realize that the creation of such markets requires that they accept over the years an increasing volume of imports from the now underdeveloped countries, some of which will be competitive with their own domestic products. As these imports grow, the peoples of the underdeveloped countries will not only be able to buy more goods and services, but also to establish the lines of credit which will enable them to secure foreign private capital.

Since we regard a large and continuing flow of private capital as essential, to the ultimate success of our efforts to assist the underdeveloped countries, we do not hesitate to say that in the long run one of the greatest, if not the greatest contributions the people of the Atlantic Community can make, will be the removal of high and discriminatory duties on products originating in the underdeveloped countries.

SP-7

August 31, 1957

CONFERENCE ON NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

HIGHER EDUCATION AND HUMAN COMMUNITY

by

John U. Nef

Let us take as an example our understanding in the matter of religious faith. These men and women of two centuries ago worshipped in different churches, while some of them did not worship at all, they had clear notions, at least, of what is mindful of what it means to be a Christian, a Mohammedan, an agnostic, a deist, a Roman Catholic or a Protestant. They could discuss their disagreements in terms that were intelligible, because each of these men used words in such the same sense. It was rather a common moral philosophy and a common view of human history such as Rousseau, for example, had set forth in his "Histoire naturelle". When the very old heroine of Alphonse Daudet's novel, "Sir Charles Grandjean", found it difficult to marry because one was a Roman Catholic and the other a Protestant, this was because of profound religious differences that divided them in the intimate recesses of their inner lives, upon which the success or failure of a love much depends. When today, as often happens, obstacles arise to a marriage between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant, this is less because of profound convictions held over religious issues by the two persons involved. The obstacle usually relates to family traditions, to technical questions of the right to divorce