



Bréfa- og málasafn 1969, fyrri hluti

Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórnmal – Forsætisráðherra – Lyndon B. Johnson – Clarence K. Streit – Richard Nixon – Apollo 11 – Tunglferðir – Hvíta húsið – Forseti Bandaríkjanna

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Askja 2-36, Örk 4-1

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THE WHITE HOUSE

His Excellency
Bjarni Benediktsson
Prime Minister of Iceland
Reykjavik

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1969

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As I prepare to leave office, I want not only to say good-bye but also to thank you for helping to make possible cooperation for peace and progress between our two countries during my years as President. I know that the spirit of friendship and mutual respect on which this cooperation has been based will continue and that both our peoples will be the better for it.

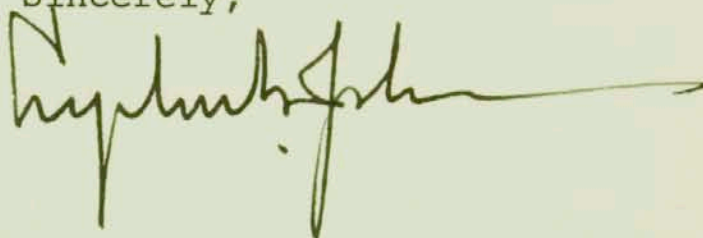
I also want to thank you for our personal association, which has been a source of special gratification. Through it, both of us were able to gain a better understanding of our nations' problems and aspirations.

As the enclosed photographs of our recent lunar flight suggest, this shrinking globe is rapidly becoming a single neighborhood. Even the most distant nations now live closer to each other than villages in a single nation did only a few centuries ago. Countries are learning that they must work together for common ends if any are to survive and prosper in the new world of interdependence which science and technology are helping to create.

We have made some progress to this end in recent years. New forms of international cooperation are evident in many areas. I believe that this progress will continue, and that one day an international community will come into being which is as solidly grounded in common interest and common institutions as national communities are today.

I know that both our countries will play a part in this great venture. Despite my retirement from the Presidency, my interest in Iceland's role and my friendship for its people will remain strong and undiminished, as will my dedication to the goals which both our countries share.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Ronald Reagan", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

His Excellency
Bjarni Benediktsson
Prime Minister of Iceland
Reykjavik

THE WHITE HOUSE

1909

Mrs. Bjarni Benediktsson



Mrs. Nixon

requests the pleasure of the company of

Mrs. Benediktsson

at a reception to be held at

The White House

Thursday, April 10, 1969

at four o'clock

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August, 1969

On behalf of my countrymen and the crew of Apollo 11, I would like to express my appreciation for the good wishes extended upon the occasion of the first moon landing. The men of Apollo 11 fulfilled a dream of all humanity by their difficult and dangerous mission. The knowledge which they gathered, and the knowledge which made the moon landing possible, belongs to all mankind. The men were sustained in their task by the support and participation of all who wished them well.

May we preserve and strengthen this spirit that united mankind on the twentieth of July, 1969, and enlist it in resolving our problems on Earth!



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1969

Dear Clarence:

I have given considerable reflection to your thoughtful and impressive letter of July 21, which as you know arrived after my departure for Asia and Romania. Arthur Burns forwarded your letter to me en route, but I have not had a chance to reply before now.

Of course I stand by my past expressions of support for the cause of Atlantic Union, and I wish you every success in this session of Congress with the resolution reintroduced by Representative Paul Findley. But I feel that it would not be proper for me as President to endorse the Atlantic Union Resolution personally.

I very much want the record of my Administration to be judged by its actions. I believe my actions in support of the North Atlantic Alliance are already firmly a part of the public record, as is my initiative to expand the scope of the alliance beyond defense cooperation on ways to improve the quality of life of the North Atlantic peoples. I see these as small, but pragmatic steps along the road leading toward your own ideal of a federation of the Atlantic community.

Sincerely,



Mr. Clarence K. Streit
President, International Movement
for Atlantic Union

Clarence K. Streit
The Ontario, 501
Washington, D. C. 20009

Sept. 26, 1969



Dear Mr. Benediktsson:

I'm happy to enclose our best news yet: A letter from President Nixon saying he wishes Congressional approval of the Atlantic Union resolution "this session" - thus greatly improving the outlook for it. Other enclosures bring out his letter's high importance, and our plans.

Since we - and the President - still have to contend with State Department bureaucrats who profess that allied governments and public, especially in Europe, are hostile to the proposal (see enclosed "Reply to State Department"), any statement you can send me that would offset this view would be extremely helpful - particularly if we could use it publicly October 7th or later. If you wish all or part of any such message restricted to private use, you need only tell me to be sure of my discretion.

Anything you can do to assure a favorable official and/or press response to the Nixon letter would, of course, be very welcome, as would any advice or suggestions you care to give me. You will be informed of any release time change; none is expected.

I would like very much to discuss this new development with you while you are here to attend the ATA session in mid-October. In view of the number of IMAU Board and Council members attending it, we are planning an IMAU luncheon meeting in the early part of that week and earnestly hope you can attend. Notice of it is being sent you separately. With high regards,

Sincerely,

INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR ATLANTIC UNION
MOUVEMENT INTERNATIONAL POUR L'UNION ATLANTIQUE

INCORPORATED IN 1959

Secretariat for North America: 1736 COLUMBIA RD., N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009; Phone: ADams 4-2211; Cable: FEDUNION
Secretariat for Europe: 53 RUE MONCEAU, PARIS, 8e, FRANCE; Phone: 522.67-28

September 23, 1969

Dear President Nixon:

Your letter of September 8th was a tonic indeed to me. It will also be one, I'm sure, for all our supporters throughout Atlantica when they learn of it. I know that I can speak for them in expressing heartfelt appreciation of it, and gratitude to you for bringing us to the highest point we have yet reached in our 30-year campaign. Your courage gives us new courage.

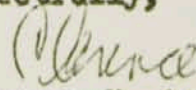
From inquiries made at the White House, I understand there is no objection to our releasing your letter in full. If that is the fact, we would like to make it public October 6th; we would of course send your secretary an advance release. Meanwhile we wish to keep the letter private while we alert and consult more of our key American, Canadian and European associates. I'm sure it will be warmly welcomed by them all - especially by my longtime friend, Maurice Schumann, who was chairman of our Movement until he entered the French Cabinet, and Paul-Henri Spaak, whose strong endorsement of the Findley Resolution and assurances that its passage would meet widespread favorable response in Europe (made last November in addressing the Federal Union Convocation) are attached for your convenience.

I am anxious both to do all I can to help the exploratory Convention proposal to gain the success you wish it this session - and also to avoid doing anything that might cause you difficulty. It would greatly help me in both aims, if you could spare me a few minutes off-the-record - preferably before the press conference release - so that I might understand the present situation better. I can imagine several problems you may face, but if I knew which were the real ones I could help more effectively in meeting them.

Believing that in this field I have to an unusual degree knowledge of the assets and liabilities, time to devote to your problems in it and incentive to solve or ease them, I feel I should leave no doubt, Mr. President, that these resources are at your disposition.

Profoundly appreciative of your high statesmanship and beholden to you for it, I remain

Most respectfully,


Clarence K. Streit

CKS/h
Enclosure

COMMENTS ON NIXON LETTER OF SEPT. 8, 1969 TO CKS:

FORMER AMBASSADOR THEODORE C. ACHILLES: "Having myself written scores of letters for signature by Secretaries of State and some by Presidents, all designed to make a favorable impression on the recipient with, in good causes, only an acceptable modest change in previous policy, I have studied the President's letter of September 8 to you with great care.

"On the favorable side is the fact that the letter was written at all, the 'Dear Clarence,' and the reference to your letter as 'thoughtful and impressive.' Substantively are his statements that he stands by his previous expressions of support for 'Atlantic Union' (no hedging in use of words), his wishing you every success 'in this session' for the resolution, and his characterization of his own actions as steps leading along the road toward federation. [In a phone talk, Ted agreed another favorable factor was that no restriction was placed on my use of the letter. -CKS]

"Against these are his statement that, 'as President,' he cannot endorse the resolution personally. (Why? Separation of powers? Commitment of U. S. prestige?) Also his characterization of his own actions as 'small pragmatic steps', perhaps implying that many more small pragmatic steps are needed.

"In any event, the important thing is that the President signed the letter and that it is as definitely favorable as it is. I fully agree that this is the highest point yet reached in the White House. Now the need is to carry it further, very carefully and discreetly."

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER: "I don't see how he could have gone further in his support."

CONGRESSMAN PAUL FINDLEY: "I am delighted. I feel sure that the President meant the letter to be published - and that adds greatly to its significance. It will have a lot of punch when published." [When I pointed out in our talk that publication would mean, if permitted by the President, that he was informally giving the endorsement (by the first sentence of his second paragraph which his next sentence said he felt it would not be proper for him to give "as President" formally), Paul said: "Perhaps this is his shrewd way of doing just that" - doing properly what he deemed improper otherwise. JKS]

FORMER AMBASSADOR LITHGOW OSBORNE: "(It) has indeed put new life in me - set up a new ball game, as you say. The letter is so important and commits Nixon so definitely that it is certain to become known to the public, one way or another, in time."

LIVINGSTON MERCHANT, FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS: "I am very pleased and encouraged by the President's letter to you."

REGARDING PUBLICATION OF THE NIXON LETTER:

Since the above comments were made, we have ascertained that Paul Findley's hunch was right: The letter was written with a view to its being published, whenever we wish to release it. This fact adds much to its significance to me, and to all whom I have sounded on this. We shall of course release it in full in due time; meanwhile we wish it to be treated as CONFIDENTIAL. - CKS Sept. 21/69

Another thing adding significance to the letter is that I have reason to believe that it is in answer not merely to my letter of July 21 but my "Open Letter" to him in June-July F&U which I called his attention to and enclosed. His statement, "Of course, I stand by my past expressions of support for the cause of Atlantic Union," evidently refers to my "Open Letter," for only in it did I touch on this (by reporting the skepticism I found in the Press and on the Hill.) Hence one needs to read both my letters, as he did, to judge his reply. CKS

Clarence K. Streit

[[On Second Thought]]

Liberty & Union Put Man on Moon—This Feat Can Now Federate Free

JUST AFTER SO many of us saw beings like us safely land, leave their footprints forever on the sandy Moon, and depart for their home and ours—the one oasis of living color in Space . . . right after that awesome uplifting experience I wrote President Nixon a letter. It dealt with the momentous opportunity which this prodigious achievement opens for man, and for the United States, all the Free and all mankind. Here is my letter:

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: *The letter he answers*

Remembering gratefully all the proof you have given me, personally and publicly, of your support of the Atlantic Union resolution, I am delighted to see the powerful position you now are in to attain its goal—thanks in part to our awesome achievements yesterday and today on the Moon. This comes, moreover, when your Administration must soon take its stand on this proposal, since it was re-introduced in Congress last month and sent by the House Committee to the State Department for its comment.

By taking prompt advantage of this God-sent conjuncture to get Congress to approve this resolution, you can gain two other of your longtime goals: 1) You can put Freedom's great expeditionary idea back on its peaceful march through the world; 2) You can begin to end the highly dangerous gulf between man's soaring technological advance and his snailish progress toward governing in freedom and peace the world he is creating at ever faster speed.

Moreover, by this move, which I hope you will make soon after your Earth-circling trip, you can de-fang your most venomous domestic and foreign problems. If their poison is not soon removed they can end your present opportunity to lead from decisive strength.

In re-introducing the Atlantic Union resolution, Rep. Paul Findley brought up powerful new arguments relating it to these problems. I am happy to enclose an advance copy of our June-July magazine featuring them—the happier for I deal with them too in my editorial, entitled, "An Open Letter to President Nixon." I want you to have an opportunity to read it before the public does.

I would not repeat that letter here, but would note that, though written before the triumph on the Moon, I stressed in it that I thought "you—and all the free—are now at the fateful point Shakespeare etched immortally" in the passage on "the tide in the affairs of men" which it cites in full. This is far truer now, the main difference being that you are now in far better position to take safely the tide that leads on to fortune.

Let me add briefly two reasons, not given in the Open Letter, for reaffirming thus your long support of this resolution—one on the foreign and one on the domestic side:

This move would be the strongest recognition of the essential role played in our achievements on the Moon expedition by our free institutions and by the free people of the Atlantic community with whom we share their development. Without the inventions and scientific discoveries that freedom has fostered there, we could not have done what we did. Our debt to Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the other Western Europeans in these respects is

immense—and Russia's is far greater.

In my book, *Freedom Against Itself* (1954) I made a study of 1,012 major inventions, discoveries and innovations in the 200 years between 1750 and 1950. I found that 92 per cent of them originated in the NATO nations, and only two per cent from Russia. We contributed a third of them; our NATO allies—especially Britain and France—the remaining two-thirds.

To recognize our debt to the other peoples of the Atlantic community at this time of times, and couple it with an offer to explore with them the time-tested federal way to assure each of them—and us—a fair, effective and democratic voice on our common affairs by the Senate-House balance—this would win their hearts and minds as nothing else could. At the same time it would make clear to all the world that the present issue is not between two nations, the U.S.A. and Russia, but between freedom and dictatorship.

On the domestic side, you are in position to get this exploratory convention approved by Congress with relatively none of the difficulties you are having with ABM, Vietnam, inflation and other matters. As you know, leaders in all major sections of both parties have endorsed this resolution, but perhaps you do not realize that most of your leading Congressional opponents on ABM, Vietnam, etc. are longtime supporters of this proposal. And who can deny the need of moving thus prudently to reduce the gap between technological and political progress, or the cogency of your statement in 1966 urging approval of this resolution, now that Man has managed to land on the Moon and leave it?

If there are difficulties that make you hesitate to give this lead now, I would deeply appreciate an opportunity to discuss them with you and try to overcome them.

Respectfully,

CLARENCE K. STREIT

'United We Stand'—a Timely Book

WE BEGIN in this issue the serializing of an unpublished book, *United We Stand*, by Floyd F. Nesslein, which we heartily recommend to all our readers. In simple, easily readable language, it does a double service to freedom, peace and the Atlantic Federal Union way to achieve those goals. First, it presents afresh the case for that answer to the challenge. Then, in an "Epilogue" which fills more than half the book—a tail that some may think wags the dog—Mr. Nesslein tells the story of the 30-year campaign for Atlantic Union that began in 1939 in the United States. In both parts he makes a contribution that is not only significant but timely indeed, for several reasons.

To our many readers who have been part of this crusade for most of those 30 years—or all of them, as has Mr. Nesslein—his book will have no less interest, for other reasons. It will not only be a refresher course in their cause; it will let them relive those many years more happily than they did before. And part of their happiness will be the knowledge that now, when they need a fresh means of enlightening others and winning their support, they have in this book just what they have been wanting. They need only give it widely, and still more widely urge others to read it.

Atlantic Union Resolution (H. Con Res. 283) Text Essentially Same as One Nixon Urged in 1966

WHEREAS, the interdependence of the nations of the Atlantic Community has steadily grown with the increased mobility of capital and goods, while the revolutionizing speed of scientific, technological advance has outstripped the North Atlantic Treaty and made it necessary to forge new bonds to maintain the unity of these nations, so essential to international prosperity, peace and freedom;

WHEREAS, the defense of the nations of the Atlantic Atlantic Community against not only war but monetary crash and depression continues to be a mutual concern;

WHEREAS, the citizens of these free nations are already united also by a common devotion to democratic traditions and the rule of law;

WHEREAS, this common heritage enables and requires them, when facing such challenges as those now confronting them, to meet and explore together how best to enlarge and extend the rule of law to provide for effective democratic government and regulation of their common concerns;

WHEREAS, our Original States, when beset by divisive dangers under their Articles of Confederation, sent delegates to the 1787 Convention, who traced the trouble to the confederal structure and to replace it invented the federal system, which has effectively safeguarded member States from domination by one another, equitably apportioned among their sovereign citizens voting power on common concerns, assured each State of independent government of State affairs, met other challenges like those now facing the Atlantic allies and not merely worked but proved that free people can thus work marvels;

WHEREAS, a joining together for such purposes of the democratic nations of the Atlantic Community to create an Atlantic Union within the framework of the United Nations would reduce the cost of the common defense, provide a stable currency for world trade, facilitate commerce of all kinds, enhance the welfare of the people of the member nations and increase their capacity to aid the people of developing nations: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That (1) The Congress hereby creates an Atlantic Union delegation, composed of eighteen eminent citizens, and authorized to organize and participate in a convention made up of similar delegations from such North Atlantic Treaty allies as desire to join in this enterprise, to explore the possibility of agreement on:

(a) A declaration that the goal of their peoples is to transform their present alliance into a federal union;

(b) A timetable for the transition to this goal; and

(c) Democratic institutions to expedite the necessary stages and achieve the objective in time to save their citizens from another war or depression, and let them enjoy, as soon as possible, the greater freedom and higher moral and material blessings which federation has brought free people in the past;

(2) The convention's recommendations shall be submitted to the Congress for action by constitutional procedure;

(3) Not more than half of the delegation's members shall be from one political party, and all shall be citizens of high stature and wide influence, representing together a broad range of experience in the various major challenges facing this undertaking, and so conscious of its importance and urgency as to be willing to give it personally the necessary priority and time;

(4) (a) Six of the delegates shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, after consultation with the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, six by the President of the Senate, after consultation with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and six by the President of the United States.

(b) Vacancies shall not affect its powers and shall be filled in the same manner as the original selection.

(c) The Delegation shall elect a chairman and vice-chairman from among its members.

(d) All members of the Delegation, like the drafters of the United States Constitution, shall be free from official instructions, and free to speak and vote individually in the Convention.

(5) The Delegation shall cease to exist at the expiration of the three-year period beginning on the date of the approval of this Resolution.

Clarence K. Street
[[On Second Thought]]

Open Letter To President Nixon on Atlantic Union

NOW THAT 79 Congressmen from both parties have re-introduced (see page 3) the Atlantic Union resolution which you so wisely and courageously urged Congress to approve in 1966, you have a momentous opportunity. A quite exceptional opportunity, too: It is one by which you can meet major immediate and also longterm needs not only of our Republic, but of individual liberty in its citadel—the Atlantic community—of world peace and prosperity, and of your Administration.

Memorable, but Perishable. This opportunity, though one that will be long remembered if soon embraced, may well—if not—perish quickly. Perish because the exceptionally favorable conjuncture which you now enjoy can not, otherwise, last, and may swiftly deteriorate. To me, Mr. President, you—and all the free—are now at that fateful point Shakespeare etched immortally:

*Our cause is ripe:
The enemy increaseth every day;
We, at the height, are ready to decline.
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.*

To Be, or Not to Be Great? Some fear that, like many others, you will fail to recognize the stature of this opportunity. I have no such fear; I know—more directly than all but a few—how soon you recognized that Atlantic Union is no ordinary matter, and how carefully you considered it before you agreed in 1951, soon after you entered the Senate, to cosponsor the Kefauver bill for a Convention of NATO nations “to explore how far they can apply among them the principles of free federal union.”

Skepticism in Press and Congress. Nor am I among the skeptics who confidently expect you to turn your back on this opportunity. Doubt and disbelief are widespread that you, as President, will continue to urge Congress, as you did in 1966, to approve the current resolution for a NATO-wide Convention to explore the possibility of agreement that their goal is “to transform their present alliance into a federal union” by stages. As a long-time newsman myself, I must agree that, if this skepticism were not widespread in the press, the re-introduction of the Atlantic Union resolution, and the case for it made so cogently then by Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.), which we give on page 5, would have been played up in the mass media instead of played down—or ignored.

Sources of Skepticism. The disbelief that you will back the resolution as President seems to stem not from doubt of the present validity of your 1966 case for it but rather from doubts about you personally, which I deplore. Some of the skeptics I have heard cynically explain: “What he

said in 1966 was just campaign oratory.” This view is most widespread in the press and among your political foes who are always waiting to pounce on anything you do or fail to do that they can use to attack your integrity.

Others are skeptical from belief that you are “too cautious” or “not big enough” to give so great a lead as President. Still others think that fear of opposition from your conservative supporters will lead you to back down. They do not know that your strong 1966 endorsement, though frontpaged (even streamer-headed) in some conservative papers, caused no uprising, and very little editorial attack on you or the proposal. These skeptics are also surprised to learn that Barry Goldwater is among the endorsers of the resolution, and that his son was among the first to cosponsor the current one in the House.

1966 Case Stronger Now. Certainly the skepticism cannot be attributed to your 1966 position having since become untenable. You based it on two reasons. One was: “It is fitting that the United States, the world’s first truly federal government, should be a main force behind the effort to find a basis for a broad federation of free Atlantic nations.” Clearly this is as true now as then. Your other reason was:

“By anticipating the further shrinking of the world, the dialogue which this Resolution contemplates, will provide a resourceful tool for coping with the problems of a world which in 20 years will have undergone even more drastic changes than have occurred since World War II. . . . To be sure, the concept of an ‘Atlantica’ is at present only a dream, but *in the age of the rocket, dreams become reality with a speed which is difficult to imagine* [my emphasis]. The Atlantic Union Resolution is a forward-looking proposal which acknowledges the depth and breadth of incredible change which is going on in the world around us. I urge its adoption.”

Speed of Change Since 1966. Your reasoning, all will agree, is even more valid now. Rep. Findley cited it with understandable Republican pride in his statement to the House on introducing the resolution, and said:

“It is not 20, it is less than three years since that forecast was made. In that brief period the nuclear power of Red China raised the call for the production of the Sentinel missile system. Before it could be started, the multiple nuclear warhead produced by the Soviet Union has brought the need for the Safeguard missile system—and ABM controversy.

“As for the advance in space, consider the highlights of only last month: Americans circled the moon repeatedly in Apollo 10, and we saw on TV in our homes the photographs they took of the earth rising over the bleak horizon of the moon—a most impressive proof of the ‘shrinking of our world.’ Truly, to quote the prophetic Nixon statement again: ‘In the age of the rocket, dreams become reality with a speed which is difficult to imagine.’

“And no less truly this applies to the dream of a federation of the Atlantic community . . . bridging the Atlantic Ocean by principles with which our fathers began spanning this continent . . . when the steam-electric age was dawning.”

Need for Convention has Grown Since 1966. Rep. Findley’s speech stressed some very timely new reasons

why you should now urge Congress even more than in 1966 to approve the proposed Convention. Please read and ponder his speech. You are faced with rising criticism in Congress, press and public of the ever-soaring cost of defence. No one before Mr. Findley, I believe, has contrasted what we are spending on the strength that comes from arms with that which proverbially comes from union. He quotes official figures that the U. S. has appropriated for armed power a total of \$959-billion since 1949—when our Government began the NATO alliance and rejected the first Kefauver resolution to explore the far greater power which the federal system offers. Nor, he continues, have we spent since 1949 anything at all even to explore it.

\$1 TRILLION More for Armed than for Federal Power. Rep. Findley drives home the appalling truth that in the past 21-year period the U. S. has appropriated nearly \$1 trillion more for armed power than for exploring the possibilities of Atlantic federal union. What an unanswerable argument this gives you to persuade Congress to seek substantial yet safe reduction of the arms burden on U. S. taxpayers by exploring at long last the Atlantic federal answer—which you had the foresight to urge as early as 1951! Nor is this the half of the Findley case.

Union's Soaring Power vs Galloping Armed Obsolescence. Rep. Findley adds a second telling reason. He notes that the power modern weapons give is not only increasingly expensive but—worse still—increasingly short-lived, doomed to instant or instanter obsolescence. Then he makes another new point: Just the opposite is true of the alternative you and he have urged Congress to explore with our NATO allies. The power that comes from federal union costs virtually nothing to put in operation and Time, instead of scrapping it quickly, makes it grow stronger and stronger in every way.

Meeting Inflationary Danger. One of the greatest challenges facing you is to turn back inflation's rising tide. The heavy non-productive expenditure on defense is a major source of this danger. There is no denying the need of defense expenditure. But there is no defending any portion of it that is wasteful, or that goes for power that could be gained otherwise at far less cost—that needlessly adds to the danger of communism winning through inflation of the dollar wrecking the world monetary system. Nor can one defend refusal to explore any reasonable hope of reducing the cost of defense substantially yet safely. The State Department has nonetheless blocked every proposal since 1949 to explore with our NATO allies the very reasonable hope that Atlantic Federation gives of greatly cutting the cost of freedom's defense while gratly increasing its defensive power.

You now have the opportunity, and responsibility, to end this indefensible policy. You can be the one to begin meeting the inflationary danger by having us cease to depend, as Rep. Fraser put it, "so exclusively on the kind of strength that costs most, only to turn quickly obsolescent, and seek instead the kind of power that costs virtually nothing, never becomes obsolete, grows only stronger as time goes on . . . this marvelous, priceless, ever-growing and ever-lasting, many-faceted strength which the Atlantic Union Resolution would have us explore now."

To End Recurring World Monetary Threat. That is but one of the ways by which you can, by reaffirming now

your long support of that proposal, effectively defend the Free from Moscow's hope of winning the world, without risking an MIRV exchange, by merely readying "first strike" capability, and arming North Vietnam and the Arabs. For it can thus hope to add to the strain on the dollar until its crash triggers world depression . . . and sets off the explosive situations in ghetto, campus, Latin America, Italy, France, Germany, Britain, Japan—to mention no more.

Disunion of the democracies caused the 1931 crash that led to Hitler and World War II; it is still the prime source of the monetary danger. Only Atlantic Federation can end it. By renewing now your recommendation of the convention, you can inspire enough confidence to avoid a dangerous crisis this Fall, and gain enough time for Federal Union to end the Red hope of winning by a crash. Continuation of doubt that you meant what you said in 1966 will, of course, speed a crash. To me, the most perishable element in your opportunity lies here, for the world monetary system is based on confidence in the U.S.; this has fallen badly in recent years; none knows when doubt will turn to panic.

In Vietnam, Too, Opportunity may Soon Perish. The promised troop withdrawal from Vietnam, guarded though it is, may soon bring irresistible pressure to "get the boys back" quickly—and increasingly determine Hanoi to convert this into debacle more humiliating than the defeat of France, with far worse results for peace and freedom. No one needs warn you of the danger, Mr. President. I fear instead that concentration on it may keep you from seeing the importance of urging Atlantic Union now, and the great but perishable opportunity this offers you in Vietnam. Please ponder the advantages there of this Atlantic move.

The State Department's 20-year opposition to exploring the federal alternative has convinced many, here and abroad, that no President will ever offer this, before catastrophe. By urging it now, you will surprise the world—the best way to win in war . . . and peace. You will do more than divert attention from Vietnam. Atlantic Union will give Freedom far more power than even LBJ hoped from Vietnam. By thus winning the cold world war, you can afford to lose the costly Vietnam battle—yet hope to win it, too. Sooner than most Americans, the Kremlin will see that this move wins the world. If anything can lead it to force Vietnam to negotiate, the hope of thus removing U.S. incentive to federate Atlantica will. If not, you still win the world.

You Win Youth, Too. The Vietnam war and its accent on our arms of mass destruction have made U.S. youth skeptics, when not rebels. They must be restored to the faith in America that made your generation, and mine, ready at their age to die for it. In his statement, Paul Findley notes that the 21-year period, in which the U.S. spent nearly \$1-trillion for ephemeral strength by arms, while refusing to explore the old U.S. way to power by Union of the Free—these 21 years are the entire life-time of most students. They know no other America.

You and I, all Congressmen, Senators, policy-makers in Defense, State, Treasury, Press, TV—and most voters—grew up in a different America than we gave our children. You can be the President who gave them proof that the old American dream still lives, still makes marvels, by leading its Federal Union of the Free on to the oceanic stage.

My Only Doubt About You, Mr. President, is that you may fall into the trap I've seen FDR, HST, Ike, JFK and LBJ fall into—as nearly all of us do. They, and we, let the urgent elbow out the important, let day-to-day trivia, as well as necessities, blind us to life's potentials. This is the test that separates the Buchanans from the Lincolns, the Arnolds from the Washingtons. May you meet it as did those two heroes.



Nixon: U. S. Should Push Atlantic Federation

"It is fitting that the United States, the world's first truly federal government, should be a main force behind the effort to find a basis for a broad federation of free Atlantic nations.

"Although the accomplishment of the ultimate goal of the Resolution may well be impossible to attain for many years, recent events of history and numerous scientific and technological advances of the past 20 years point the way in this direction. It would be foolish for us to ignore the fact that science and history are even now fatefully combining to accomplish the same goal. Perhaps, by anticipating the further shrinking of the world, the dialogue which this Resolution contemplates will provide a resourceful tool for coping with the problems of a world which in 20 years will have undergone even more drastic changes than have occurred since World War II.

"I have been deeply disturbed of late by the trend of events in Europe. The renewed nationalism of France has for the moment halted the pace at which the nations of Western Europe were moving toward becoming a unified and federated community. By adopting a measure such as the Atlantic Union Resolution we could give new impetus to the spirit of federalism in Western Europe.

"To be sure the concept of an 'Atlantica' is at present only a dream, but in the age of the rocket, dreams become reality with a speed which is difficult to imagine. The Atlantic Union Resolution is a forward-looking proposal which acknowledges the depth and breadth of incredible change which is going on in the world around us. I urge its adoption."—Richard Nixon

Statement, Sept. 1, 1966, to House Foreign Affairs Committee.



HUMPHREY

"We stand now at the threshold of a new age—an age in which all of us along the Atlantic basin . . . all of us who share a common heritage and common values will be able to work together, freely yet effectively, toward man's final

liberation around the world. Let the course ahead be clear. We shall not achieve great goals with limited investments. We shall not achieve mighty purposes with petty actions. We shall not find our way guided by small dreams. While a Senator I was among the sponsors, from 1949 on, of all the resolutions for an Atlantic Convention to explore with our NATO allies a federal union answer to the challenge of how to unite effectively and democratically the great moral and material strength of these free peoples. And so I heartily welcome the impressive support the pending resolutions to do this have gained."—May 7, 1968, to F&U.

Statements Endorsing Atlantic Union Resolution



McCARTHY: "Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) That—1) the Congress create an Atlantic Union delegation . . . to organize and participate in a convention made up of similar delegations from such NATO allies as desire to join in this enterprise, to explore the possibility of agreement on—(a) a declaration that the eventual goal of their States is to transform the Atlantic Alliance into a federal union, (b) a tentative timetable for the transition to this goal, and (c) the creation of interim democratic institutions to hasten the process of integration. . . ." From S.C.R. 13, introduced in the Senate March 1, 1967 by Senators McCarty and Carlson as chief co-sponsors.



ROCKEFELLER: "Our generation is called on for a pioneering act of political creativity and economic construction—on an intercontinental scale. . . . The practical first step would be to form a federal political structure for the North Atlantic area.*** The time has come for us and our Atlantic allies to take the leadership by appointing a preparatory convention of delegates to work out answers. . . ." November 20, 1964. "I am wholeheartedly in favor of the purposes set forth in these resolutions . . . a practical first step toward forging a Union of the Free . . . Enactment would be a historical milestone in the annals of human freedom and world peace." March 2, 1966.



KENNEDY: "The fulfillment of which I then spoke [6 years ago] could well take the form of a federal union of the Atlantic nations. The Atlantic Union Resolution affords us the opportunity to study this intriguing concept. I urge the proposal's adoption. We live in a world whose transformation is often swift and cataclysmic.***Political federation often has its roots in economic reciprocity. Our own Constitutional Convention in 1787 sprang from a desire to banish obstacles to trade . . . among the 13 . . . American states. To fail to study this concept . . . would be to turn our back on the lessons of history."—April 8, 1968.

Private

REPLY TO STATE DEPARTMENT VIEW OF THE ATLANTIC UNION DELEGATION RESOLUTION

Before the Nixon letter of Sept. 8, the lower level of the State Department policy-forming bureaucracy apparently aimed to answer the Foreign Affairs Committee request for the Administration's position on the current Atlantic Union Delegation resolution by opposing it as before. Its Director of NATO and Atlantic Affairs, replying to citizens who asked for State's views, put it thus in a letter written July 14:

"We consider that the notion of a federal union is incapable of realization in the near future. There is no indication that either allied governments or Europeans generally are prepared to surrender national prerogatives to the extent that federalism would demand. Moreover, it is clear that our European allies are wary of proposals for Atlantic Union which threaten to dilute efforts to strengthen already existing European institutions, such as the European Communities. These considerations have led the Department of State to withhold support for Congressional resolutions calling for a federal union of NATO nations."

Consider the above reasoning, sentence by sentence:

1. The resolution does not call for "realization in the near future" of a "federal union," but only for a convention "to explore the possibility of agreement on: a) A declaration that "the goal" is eventual "federal union;" b) A timetable for the transition to this goal; and c)"Democratic institutions to expedite the necessary transition stages." This clearly precludes realization of a federal union in the near future - the straw bogeyman which the Department's letter's first sentence sets up.
2. The second sentence continues to dodge the issue. The real question is: Will allied governments be prepared to explore, A) the possibility of agreement to some degree on the three points to which the resolution limits exploration by B) the kind of convention it proposes, viz., one composed of "eminent citizens" who "shall be free from official instructions," and hence unable to commit their government, C) if the U. S. is prepared to and invites them to name delegations to the convention. The Department's letter instead of facing this issue diverts attention to its bogeyman.
3. Its third sentence adds more straw. The resolution neither proposes nor threatens to dilute efforts to strengthen the European Communities. It would have, in fact, the opposite effect, according to the Nixon statement in 1966 to the House Committee urging approval of the resolution. In it he said: "By adopting a measure such as the Atlantic Union Resolution we could give new impetus to the spirit of federalism in Western Europe." The Department's letter ignores this. Certainly our European allies have no cause to be "wary" of the Convention for they will form the majority in it and be in strong position to have it recommend - if they so desire after full discussion there - that the strengthening of European institutions to whatever degree they deem necessary be one of the transition stages to Atlantic Union.
4. The Department letter's last sentence rounds out its bogeyman. The fact is that all the resolutions from which the Department "withheld support" (a euphemism for its opposition to them) called only for a Convention to explore Atlantic Union. No resolution "calling for a federal union of NATO nations" has ever been introduced in Congress.

* * *

Now that the President has spoken, and the Department is headed by his trusted friend, Secretary Rogers, it is to be hoped that those in it who oppose the resolution will use their persuasive powers to achieve the President's wish for Congressional approval of it "this session" - not to thwart him. To do the latter would expose him and the Secretary to charges of bad faith or inability to command their staff. The Department bureaucracy, however, is deeply habituated to the negative not only on this proposal but in general - as more than one President has complained. It would seem prudent for all those who are concerned to be on guard.

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Sept. 26, 1969