



## Ráðstefnur og fundir 1957 – 1970, 2. hluti

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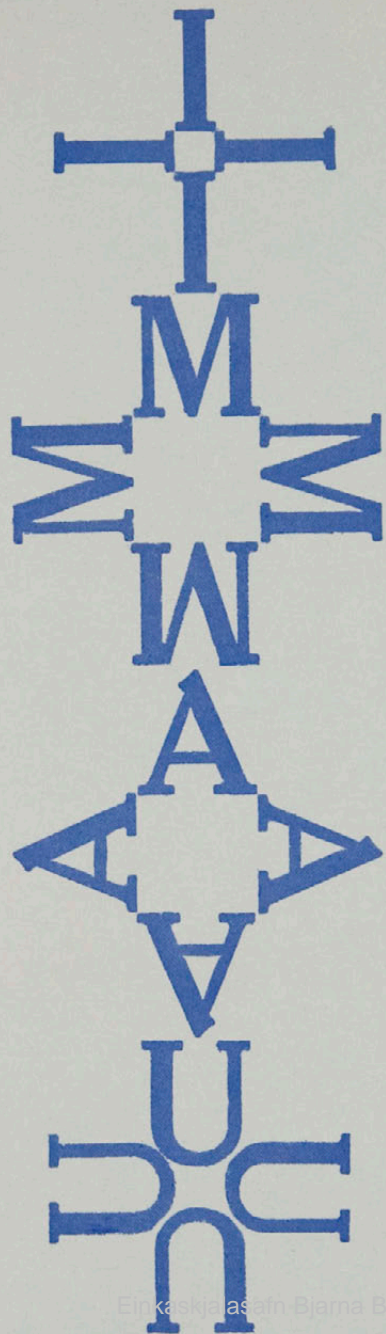
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## In Memoriam

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W. L. CLAYTON

*Under Secretary of State, U.S.A., 1880-1966*

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*Secretary of State, U.S.A.; 1895-1966*

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## FOREWORD

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The International Movement for Atlantic Union Inc. was founded in Paris on July 3-4, 1958 at a meeting of representatives of national Atlantic Union organizations. It was incorporated in New York State on August 19, as a "non-profit educational, cultural association for public service whose purposes are:

"1) To educate the people of the Atlantic Community in the need and best methods of uniting the free in an effective, democratic union with a view to advancing individual liberty, world peace and higher spiritual and material standards of living.

"2) To promote the diffusion of knowledge and understanding, to develop and coordinate to this end activities in the various parts of the Atlantic Community.

"3) To co-operate with educational, cultural, and economic organizations and government agencies in accomplishing its purposes."

The Movement also favors exploring "all possibilities for revising the North Atlantic Treaty" to improve political, economic, social, and cultural relations, and meanwhile doing everything possible under the present treaty to harmonize the foreign policies of member nations, exchange technical information and advance common measures against recession and for economic expansion.

The Movement is not meant to duplicate or compete with such existing organizations as the Atlantic Treaty Association (A.T.A.) or those favoring European Union, but to go beyond them.

The Movement is governed by a General Meeting which convenes at least once in two years, and meanwhile by a Board of Directors elected by it, composed of not more than forty members, which elects the officers and can elect Board members if the Congress does not fill all the seats. It has an Honorary and an Advisory Council.

A major aim of the Honorary and the Advisory Councils is to speed Atlantic federation by mobilizing leaders who believe in trying to achieve this in time to prevent catastrophe and build the higher civilization that is now in reach. Membership in these Councils enables such leaders to stand up effectively for this purpose and make their names count for it day in, day out—as did Washington, Franklin, and Hamilton when they identified themselves with federal union when confederation failed the 13 States.

Membership in both Councils is by invitation only, from the officers of the Movement. While the Movement hopes that all Council members will support its aims as actively as they can, it recognizes that many leaders already have heavy commitments, and does not limit membership to active supporters.

The Honorary Council is strictly confined to a very few members,

selected from those who have held very high office in their country or NATO or SHAPE, who have led in unifying the Atlantic community, and who wish to support the Movement's basic purpose. Membership is permanent.

The Advisory Council is broader in scope but carefully confined to: 1) influential leaders in one or more of a wide variety of activities (the aim is to make this Council a fair cross-section of Atlantica and its countries), who wish to make their names count for the Movement's basic purposes, and 2) those who have already contributed outstandingly to the advance of Atlantic Union.

The Movement's Board and Council members are its only individual members; it is primarily an association of national organizations for Atlantic Union, including affiliates in France, the German Federal Republic, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.A.—with others forming.

### Representative Cross-Section

The full list of the Movement's Board members, Honorary Council members and Advisory Council members—in all, more than 700 from 14 nations—forms an impressive cross section of Atlantica, for they come from many fields.

They include all 3 former Secretaries General of NATO; the Prince of the Netherlands; 9 Prime Ministers or former Premiers; 6 Foreign Ministers or former Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs; 41 other active or former Cabinet members; 94 other high national government officials, including members of legislative bodies and diplomats; 37 retired military officers, including 6 admirals and 17 generals; 32 high government officials in states and provinces, including governors, lieutenant governors, and premiers; 71 business executives of whom 56 are heads of corporations; 30 Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant church leaders; 171 educators, including 50 university and college presidents, 12 directors of schools of international studies; 30 from various cultural activities (artists, authors, film directors, etc.); 28 heads of farm, labor or other national organizations; 58 other organization executives, governmental or private; 45 members of the press and TV-radio (publishers, editors, columnists, etc.); 46 leaders in the legal profession; and 67 outstanding women. The Councils are still in process of formation.

All are members only in their private capacity, and many come from several fields. Space has severely limited identification of members.

### The Significance of Membership

The list gives impressive evidence that opinion-shapers are riper for transformation of the NATO alliance into an Atlantic Federal Union than is generally assumed.

We began our Advisory Council partly because experts warned that in the United States and Britain leaders would shy away from such aims as

union or federation, and Continental Europeans would balk at Atlantic Union, favoring Europe. We wanted to see for ourselves, and are immensely encouraged by the results, particularly because the wide assumption that "people are not ripe for this" is perhaps the main obstacle to Atlantic Union.

Many discount such Councils as "mere window dressing," because of those organizations which, to identify more "big names" with them, state their aims vaguely and ask little or nothing of those who give their names. But when we invite anyone to join our Honorary or Advisory Councils, we make clear that a "major aim" in creating them is "to speed Atlantic federation by mobilizing leaders who believe in trying to achieve this in time to prevent catastrophe." Far from watering Union down to "unity, community, partnership," we emphasize our federal aim.

Moreover, we expect members of our Advisory Council to pay annual dues—which is apparently even rarer in Europe than in the U.S.A.\*

All this adds greatly, we believe, to the evidence our Council gives of ripeness for Atlantic federation.

November, 1968

CLARENCE K. STREIT

\*Membership in the Advisory Council is on a continuing basis, renewable by payment of annual dues—\$10 a year in the U.S. and Canada; 2 guineas or \$6 in the U.K. and sterling area; elsewhere on the Continent 25 NF or \$5. This includes a subscription to *FREEDOM & UNION* (\$4 a year), published by the Movement's American affiliate, Federal Union, Inc. Checks should be made to "International Movement for Atlantic Union."

The dues may seem small compared to the greatness of the goal. They were set with a view of putting membership on a basis of equality, financially, and making it depend primarily on non-financial factors, and to avoid pricing the priceless.

#### KEY TO LISTINGS

Nationality of all except members from the U. S. is indicated after the name. † = deceased.

## ADVISORY COUNCIL

### A

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**Warren H. Atherton:** Past Natl. Comdr., American Legion; Calif.

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**Richard A. Bell:** Former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration; Ottawa, Canada

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**W. A. C. Bennett:** Premier of British Columbia; Canada

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**André Bettencourt:** Paris, France

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**Justin Blackwelder:** Dir., Atlantic Council of U.S.; former Exec. Sec., Atlantic Union Com.; D.C.

**Paxton Blair:** Solicitor General of New York

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**Thomas R. Byrne:** Mayor of St. Paul, Minn.

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**Jean-Eudes Dube:** Minister of Veterans Affairs; Pres. (1967), Vice Pres. (1968), North Atlantic Assembly; Ottawa, Canada

**Paul Duboscq:** Industrialist; France

**Eleanor Lansing Dulles:** Prof., Polit. Sci., Georgetown Univ.; former Special Asst., German Affairs, Dept. of State; Va.

**Willis F. Dunbar:** Chmn., History Dept., Western Mich. Univ.

**Andrew Duncan:** Pres., Cereal Inst.; Chicago

**A. Davidson Dunton:** Pres. and Vice Chancellor, Carleton Univ., Ottawa; Bd. Chmn., Canadian Broadcasting Corp.; Co-Chmn., Royal Commn. on Bilingualism and Biculturalism; Canada

## E

**Max Eastman:** Author; poet; editor; Mass.

**Seth Eastvold†:** Pres., Pacific Lutheran Univ.; Vice Pres., Evangelical Lutheran Church

**Dr. Ir. Ebbinge:** Dir., Billiton Maatschappij; The Hague, Netherlands

**Carroll A. Edson:** Exec., Social Security Admin.; Tucson, Ariz.

**Sigurbjorn Einarsson:** Bishop of Iceland

**Laurence H. Eldredge:** Attorney; Pres., Philadelphia Art Alliance; Pa.

**Mrs. R. T. Elligett:** V. Pres., Federal Union, Inc., educator, lecturer; Fla.

**Samuel H. Elliott:** Senior Vice Pres., Standard Oil Co., ret.; Cleveland

**Clyde T. Ellis:** Exec. Mgr., Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., ret.; D.C.

**Robert F. Ellsworth:** Natl. Political Dir., 1968 Nixon Campaign; Kansas

**Earl A. Emerson:** Pres., Armco Internatl. Corp., ret.; Va.

**Rt. Rev. Richard S. Emrich:** Episcopal Bishop of Michigan

**Lucien Emringer:** European Coal and Steel Community; on Directorate of Liberal Party; Luxembourg

**Geoffrey B. Engelmann:** Senior Investment Analyst, Bankers Trust Co.; N.Y.C.

**G. Erdmann:** Bd. Mem. Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände; Cologne, Germany

**Ernest Estwing:** Pres., Estwing Mfg. Co., Ill.

**Mark F. Ethridge:** Bd. Chmn., COURIER-JOURNAL and LOUISVILLE TIMES (Ky.); ex-Editor, NEWSDAY; N.C.

**Herbert E. Evans:** Pres., Broadcasting Corp.; Ohio

**Luther H. Evans:** Former Librarian of Congress; former Dir.-Gen., UNESCO; N.Y.C.

**Luther J. Evans:** Pres., Ft. Lauderdale Travel Service; Fla.

**L. A. H. van Eyseren:** Chmn., Netherlands Catholic Employers Assn.; Netherlands

## F

**Douglas Fairbanks, Jr.:** Producer; actor; Chmn., Norlantic Finance Co.; N.Y.C.

**Gotthard Freiherr von Falkenhäusen:** Banker; Chmn., Fedn. of Private Banks; Essen, Germany

**Joseph Fallon:** Former Pres., U.S. Youth Council; former Coll. Dir., Democratic Natl. Com.; N.Y.C.

**Eugene Shedden Farley:** Pres., Wilkes Coll.; Pa.

**Guy Favreau†:** Pres., Privy Council; former Minister of Justice and Attorney General; Canada

**Herbert Feis:** Mem., Inst. for Advanced Study, Princeton; former Econ. Advisor, Dept. of State; N.J.

**J. J. Fens:** Pres., 1959 Atlantic Congress; Past Pres., NATO Parliamentarians Conf.; Queen's Councillor; Breda, Netherlands

**Charles W. Ferguson:** Senior editor, READER'S DIGEST; N.Y.C.

**Mrs. Walter Ferguson†:** Syndicated columnist

**Moses I. Feuerstein:** Pres., Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; Mass.

**William N. Findley:** Prof., Engineering, Brown Univ.; R.I.

**Thomas K. Finletter:** U.S. Ambassador to NATO, 1961-65; Sec. of Air Force, 1950-53; N.Y.C.

**Louis Fischer:** Prof., Center of Internatl. Studies, Princeton Univ.; Mem., Inst. for Advanced Study; N.J.

**Wesley R. Fishel:** Prof., Polit. Sci., Michigan State Univ.

**Kenneth R. Fisher:** Exec., Fisher Flour Mills; Seattle, Wash.

**Nigel Fisher:** M.P.; former Parliamentary Undersecretary, Colonial Office; U.K.

**Howard M. Fitch:** Vice Pres., American Air Filter Co.; Louisville, Ky.

**John J. Fitzpatrick, Jr.:** Investment dealer; Alberta, Canada

**Julius Fligelman:** Pres., Los Angeles Period Furniture Co.; Calif.

**Ralph C. M. Flynt:** Past Pres., Atlantic Treaty Assn.; Assoc. Commr., Internatl. Edu., U.S. Office of Education; Va.

**Robert M. Fowler:** Canadian Co-Chmn., Canadian-American Com.; Pres., Canadian Pulp & Paper Assn.; Quebec, Canada

**Ernst Fraenkel:** Prof., Free Univ. of Berlin; West Berlin

**James Franck†:** Nobel Prize Physicist; Duke Univ.

**Herbert Frank:** Educator; Berkeley, Calif.

**Donald M. Fraser:** U.S. Congressman (D., Minn.); mem., Sub-Com. on Internatl. Organizations and Movements, House Foreign Affairs Com.

**W. Lionel Fraser†:** Chmn., Thomas Tilling, Ltd.; U.K.

**Ronald Fredenburgh:** Dir., Current Affairs Unit, English-Speaking Union; London, U.K.

**Northrop Frye:** Principal, Victoria Coll., Univ. of Toronto; del., Atlantic Convention, 1962; Canada

**Carlton P. Fuller:** Vice Pres., Polaroid Corp., ret.; Cambridge, Mass.

**Richard Furuholmen:** Industrialist; Pres., Spanish-Norwegian Chamber of Commerce; Oslo, Norway

## G

**Margaret Gage:** Philanthropist; Los Angeles

**Stephen Galatti†:** Dir. Gen., American Field Service

**A. R. Gale:** Pres., Studebaker Corp. Internatl., ret.; Ind.

**Roland Gammon:** Pres., Editorial Communications, Inc.; N.Y.C.

**David C. Garroway:** Radio and Television star; N.Y.C.

**Ellen Clayton Garwood:** Author, *Will Clayton—A Short Biography*; civic leader; Tex.

**W. St. John Garwood:** Justice, Supreme Court of Texas, ret.

**Innocenza Gasparini:** Administrator, Univ. of Venice and Luigi Bucconi Commercial Univ.; Milan, Italy

**Artemus L. Gates:** Former Under Sec. of Navy; N.Y.C.

**Gen. James M. Gavin:** USA, ret.; Bd. Chmn., Arthur D. Little, Inc.; former Ambassador to France; Cambridge, Mass.

**Gustav-Adolf Gedat:** Pres., Internatl. Christian Leadership for Germany; former mem., Bundestag; Dir., Internatl. Forum, Burg Liebenzell; Germany

**H. Gelissen:** Former Minister of Econ. Affairs; Breukelen, Netherlands

**John Gellner:** Editor, COMMENTATOR; author, *North America and NATO*; military analyst; Toronto, Canada

**Marie-Thérèse Génin:** Publisher; Paris, France

**Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld†:** Washington (D.C.) Hebrew Congregation

**Richard G. Gettell:** Pres., Mt. Holyoke Coll.; Mass.

**Harry D. Gideonse:** Chancellor, New School of Social Research; former Pres., Brooklyn Coll.; N.Y.C.

**Julius E. Giebler:** Educator; Mo.

**Chloe Gifford:** Past Pres., Gen. Fedn. of Women's Clubs; Lexington, Ky.

**Philip R. Giles:** Exec. Sec., Joseph Priestly District, Unitarian Universalist Assn.; former Vice Pres., U. U. Assn.; Md.

**Guy M. Gillette:** Former U. S. Senator (D., Iowa)

**Arthur Gilson:** Former Minister of Interior; Brussels, Belgium

**Arnold Gingrich:** Publisher, ESQUIRE; N.Y.C.

**Emile Girardeau:** *Membre de l'Institut*; Paris, France

**Gylfi Gislason:** Minister of Education; Iceland

**Col. Edward J. Glavin:** USA, ret.; Asst. to Pres., Univ. Coll. of New York; Plattsburgh

**Kenneth P. Goepfert:** Managing Dir., Belgian Branch, Twin Disc Clutch Co.; Wisc.

**James B. Goetz:** Lieut. Governor of Minnesota

**Harry L. Golden:** Former editor and publisher, THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE; author; N. C.

**Arthur Goldsmith†:** Investments; N.Y.C.

**Elliot R. Goodman:** Prof., Polit. Sci., Brown Univ.; author, *Soviet Design for a World State*; R.I.

**Alfons Goppel:** Minister President of Bavaria; Munich, Germany

**Lewis J. Gorin, Jr.:** Sec., Reynolds Internatl.; Va.

**Henry B. Gotten, M.D.:** Civic leader; Memphis, Tenn.

**Leon M. Gouin:** Chmn., Senate Foreign Affairs Com.; Canada

**Laurence M. Gould:** Former Pres., Carleton Coll., Minn.; Ariz.

**Samuel B. Gould:** Chancellor, State Univ. of New York; former Chancellor, Univ. of California; N.Y.C.

**Rémy Goussault:** Econ. Counselor; Paris, France

**Charity Grace†:** Actress; Calif.

**Rosa L. Gragg:** Pres. Emeritus, Natl. Assn. of Colored Women's Clubs; Detroit

**Pierre Grégoire:** Minister of Natl. Education; Luxembourg

**William G. Gridley:** Exec. Dir., U.S., English-Speaking Union; N.Y.C.

**Allen Griffin:** Editor, publisher, MONTEREY PENINSULA HERALD; Calif.

**Ernest S. Griffith:** Dean Emeritus, School of Internat. Service, American Univ.; D.C.

**Chauncey L. Griggs:** Dir., Export Pacific, Inc.; Tacoma, Wash.

**The Rt. Hon. J. Grimond:** M.P.; Bd. mem., MANCHESTER GUARDIAN; former leader of Liberal Party; U. K.

**Hans von der Groeben:** Mem., Commission of European Economic Community (Common Market); Germany

**Aristid V. Grosse:** Pres., Research Inst., Temple Univ.; Pa.

**Edmund A. Gullion:** Dean, Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Tufts Univ.; former U.S. Ambassador to Congo; Mass.

**William B. Gunther:** Former Swiss textile manufacturer; exporter-importer; N.Y.C.

**Count Philippe de Gunzbourg:** Paris, France

**A. B. Guthrie:** Author; Great Falls, Mont.

## H

**William Haber:** Economist; former Dean, Coll. of Lit., Sci., and the Arts, Univ. of Michigan

**Mrs. Alexander M. Hadden†:** Founder & Pres., Inst. of World Affairs; N.Y.C.

**Victor Haflich†:** Pres., Kansas Council on World Affairs; past pres., UNESCO in Kansas

**Robert Hale:** Ex-Congressman (R., Me.)

**Andrew G. Haley†:** Pres., Internat. Astronautical Fedn.

**G. van Hall:** Former Burgomaster of Amsterdam; Netherlands

**Kay Halle:** Mem., Advisory Bd., Natl. Cultural Center; writer; lecturer; Cleveland

**Morton H. Halperin:** Deputy Asst. Sec. of Defense, Internat. Security Affairs; author, *China and the Bomb*; D. C.

**Rev. Richard C. Halverson:** Exec. Dir., Internat. Christian Leadership; D.C.

**Charles D. Hamel:** Attorney; D.C.

**George H. Hand:** Former Vice Pres., Prof., Econ., Southern Illinois Univ.

**Urban Hansen:** Lord Mayor of Copenhagen; Denmark

**William Haralson:** Judge; Mississippi

**Grace C. Hardy, M.D.:** Civic leader; Jacksonville, Fla.

**James M. Hare:** Sec. of State of Michigan

**Richard F. Harless:** Ex-Congressman (D., Ariz.)

**Heber R. Harper:** Former Chancellor, Univ. of Denver; founder, Social Sci. Found.; Denver, Colo.

**Duncan G. Harris:** Realtor; N.Y.C.

**Rufus C. Harris:** Pres., Mercer Univ.; former Pres., Tulane Univ., and Council of Southern Universities; Macon, Ga.

**Vance Hartke:** U.S. Senator (D., Ind.)

**Livingston Hartley:** Assoc. Dir., Declaration of Atlantic Unity; author, *Atlantic Challenge*; D.C.

**Manou J. A. Hasser:** Journalist; Luxembourg

**Paul Swain Havens:** Pres., Wilson Coll.; Pa.

**Albert J. Hayes:** Pres., Internat. Assn. of Machinists, AFL-CIO; D.C.

**Leland Hazard:** Dir., Consultant, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.; Pa.

**D. N. Heineman†:** Banker, manufacturer; Conn.

**Frederick Heldring:** Senior Vice Pres., Philadelphia Natl. Bank; Pres., Internat. Hospitality Assn.; Philadelphia

**Heinrich Hellwege:** Former Minister President of Niedersachsen; Germany

**Dr. and Mrs. David Hellyer:** Ranch owners, civic leaders; Wash.

**Paul T. Hellyer:** Minister of Transport; former Minister of Natl. Defense; Ottawa, Canada

**Horace E. Henderson:** Exec. Dir., World Peace Through Law Center; former Deputy Asst. Sec. of State for Internat. Organization Affairs; former Vice Pres., Internat. Jr. Chamber of Commerce; D.C.

**Loy W. Henderson:** Dir., Center of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy, American Univ.; former Deputy Under Sec. of State; D.C.

**Sven Henningsen:** Prof., History, Univ. of Copenhagen; Denmark

**Gerald B. Henry:** Manufacturer; Buffalo, N. Y.

**Ferdinand A. Hermens:** Prof., Research Inst. for Polit. Sci. and European Problems, Univ. of Cologne; Germany

**Joseph L. Herold:** Netherlands

**Conrad N. Hilton:** Pres., Hilton Hotels Corp.; Calif.

**William Ernest Hocking†:** Alfred Prof. Emeritus of Philosophy, Harvard Univ.; author, *Strength of Men and Nations*

**Miss J. J. Th. ten Broecke Hoekstra:** Mem., Town Council of The Hague; Netherlands

**J. van der Hoeven:** Rector Pres., Univ. of Amsterdam; Netherlands

**Trygve J. B. Hoff:** Publisher and editor, FARMAND; Oslo, Norway

**Stanley Hoffmann:** Prof., Govt., Harvard Univ.; co-author, *In Search of France*; Mass.

**Gen. W. M. Hoge:** USA, ret.; Comdr. in Chief, U.S. Army in Europe, 1953-1955; Cleveland

**F. Q. den Hollander:** Ex-Pres., Dutch Railways; Netherlands

**Raleigh W. Holmstedt:** Pres., Indiana State Coll.

**Prynce Hopkins:** Univ. lecturer, ret.; Santa Barbara, Calif.

**Bruce C. Hopper:** Prof., Govt., Harvard Univ., ret.; Mass.

**Francis H. Horn:** Pres., Commn. on Independent Colleges and Universities, N.Y.; former Pres., Univ. of Rhode Island; N.Y.C.

**F. J. M. A. H. Houben:** Former Governor of Limburg; Netherlands

**Mrs. Hiram C. Houghton:** Past Pres., Gen. Fedn. of Women's Clubs; former member-at-large, Natl. Commn., UNESCO; Iowa City, Iowa

**Frederick L. Hovde:** Pres., Purdue Univ.; Ind.

**Arthur Howe, Jr.:** Pres., American Field Service—Internatl. Scholarships; former Dean of Admissions, Yale Univ.; N.Y.C.

**Rev. Duncan Howlett:** Former Minister, All Souls Church, Unitarian; D.C.

**Gen. Hamilton H. Howze:** USA, ret.; Comdr.-in-Chief, U.N. Command, and U.S. Forces, Korea, 1963-1965; Fort Worth, Tex.

**Mrs. Earl Hubbard:** Vice Pres., Federal Union, Inc.; Pres., Deerfield Found.; editor, CENTER LETTER, Center of American Living; Conn.

**Earl Hubbard:** Artist; Lakeville, Conn.

**Sarah T. Hughes:** Federal District Judge; Past Pres., Natl. Fedn. of Business & Professional Women's Clubs; Dallas, Tex.

**H. E. Humphreys, Jr.†:** Chmn., Exec. Com., U.S. Rubber Co.; N.Y.C.

**Ch. M. J. H. Hustinx:** Former Burgomaster, Nijmegen; Netherlands

**Martin B. Hutchinson:** Manufacturer; Detroit

**Harry Hynd:** M. P.; London, U.K.

**Margaret P. Hyndman:** Barrister; Past Pres., Internatl. Fedn. of Business & Professional Women's Clubs; Toronto, Canada

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## I

**Daniel K. Inouye:** U.S. Senator (D., Hawaii)

**Richard K. Irons:** Head, History Dept., Groton School; Mass.

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## J

**Rabbi David Jacobson:** Temple Beth-El, San Antonio; Tex.

**Richard Jaeger:** Minister of Justice; former Vice Pres., Bundestag; Bonn, Germany

**F. Cyril James:** Former Pres., Internatl. Assn. of Universities; Principal Emeritus and Vice Chancellor, McGill Univ.; U.K.

**Jacob K. Javits:** U.S. Senator (R., N.Y.)

**Herman F. Jessen:** Mem., Democratic Natl. Com.; Wis.

**Alexander Johannesson†:** Rector Emeritus, Univ. of Iceland

**Robert Johns:** President, Sacramento State College; Calif.

**Eldon L. Johnson:** Former Pres., Great Lakes Coll. Assn.; former Pres., Univ. of New Hampshire; Ill.

**Jed Johnson, Jr.:** Former U.S. Congressman (D., Okla.); Past Pres., U.S. Youth Council; bd. mem. U.S. Comm. for U.N.; Okla.

**Leon H. Johnson:** Pres., Montana State Univ.

**Robert L. Johnson†:** Former Chancellor, Temple Univ.; Republican Natl. Committeeman

**Robert S. Jordan:** Asst. Dir., Program in Policy Studies in Sci. and Tech., George Washington Univ.; D.C.

**Walter H. Judd, M.D.:** Lecturer; ex-Congressman (R., Minn.); former Del. to U.N.; D.C.

**Harald Jürgensen:** Prof., Inst. für Wirtschaftsintegration, Univ. of Hamburg; Germany

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## K

**Herman Kahn:** Dir., Hudson Inst.; author, *On Thermonuclear War*; N.Y.

**Reuben L. Kahn:** Bacteriologist, Univ. of Michigan; Consultant, U.S. Naval Medical School; Mich.

**Sidney S. Kallick:** Attorney; Los Angeles

**Jacob M. Kaplan:** Pres., SW Sugar and Molasses Co.; N.Y.C.

**Joseph H. Keenan:** Head, Dept. of Mechanical Engineering, Massachusetts Inst. of Tech.

**Mrs. Estes Kefauver**†: Advisor on Fine Arts, U.S. State Department; widow of Senator Kefauver (D., Tenn.)

**Oliver J. Keller:** Pres., Radio WTAX; Springfield, Ill.

**Frank J. Kelley:** Attorney General of Michigan

**Nicholas Kelley**†: Ex-Vice Pres., Chrysler Corp.

**Lady Kelly:** Del. to A.T.A. Assembly; widow of Br. Ambassador to Russia; Kent, U.K.

**Henri I. Keus:** Ex-Pres., Heemaf, Inc.; Netherlands

**Leon H. Keyserling:** Chmn., Council of Econ. Advisers to President Truman; D.C.

**The Rt. Hon. Dowager Baroness of Killearn:** Past Pres., British Red Cross & Y.W.C.A. in Egypt; widow of Br. Ambassador to Egypt; London, U.K.

**Adm. Thomas C. Kinkaid:** USN, ret.; D.C.

**Murray D. Kirkwood:** Dir., Public Relations and Advt., ITT World Communications, Inc.; N.Y.C.

**Henry A. Kissinger:** Assoc. Dir., Center for Internatl. Affairs, Harvard Univ.; author, *A Reappraisal of the Atlantic Alliance*; Mass.

**Benjamin H. Kizer:** Attorney; civic leader; Spokane, Wash.

**Philip M. Klutznick:** Former Ambassador (ECOSOC & UNESCO) to U.N.; Chicago

**Douglas M. Knight:** Pres., Duke Univ.; N.C.

**O. A. Knight:** Pres., Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, AFL-CIO; Ariz.

**Alfred A. Knopf:** Chmn., Alfred Knopf, Inc.; N.Y.C.

**Klaus Knorr:** Dir., Center of Internatl. Studies, Princeton Univ.; Consultant, U.S. Exec. Depts.; N.J.

**Horace H. Koessler:** Pres., Inter-mountain Lumber Co.; Mont.

**Hans Kohn:** Prof. of History Emeritus, City Univ. of New York; Philadelphia

**Josef Korbel:** Dir., Univ. of Denver Social Sci. Found.; Colo.

**L. Kos-Rabcewicz-Zubkowski:** Faculty of Law, Univ. of Manchester; former Pres., Can. Assn. of Slavists; U.K.

**Theodore J. Krepes:** Prof., Economics, Stanford Univ.; Calif.

**Otto P. Kretzmann:** Pres., Valparaiso Univ.; Ind.

**Morris Kruger:** Bd. Mem., Maryland C.P.A. Assn.; Baltimore

**Gen. Hendrik J. Kruls, ret.:** Editor, NATO's FIFTEEN NATIONS; The Hague, Netherlands

**J. Kymmell:** Prof., Netherlands School of Economics; Rotterdam, Netherlands

## L

**Alice Lachmund:** Federal Union leader; St. Louis, Mo.

**Gen. Hellmuth Laegeler, ret.:** Military advisor to Baden-Württemberg; Germany

**Bronson Cutting La Follette:** Attorney General of Wisconsin

**Judy V. LaMarsh:** Former Minister, Natl. Health and Welfare; Ottawa, Canada

**F. Gilbert Lamb:** Past Pres., Natl. Frozen Food Packers Assn.; Portland, Ore.

**Austin Lamont, M.D.:** Past Vice Pres., Federal Union, Inc.; Philadelphia

**Bart Landheer:** Dir., Library of Internatl. Court of Justice at The Hague; Prof., Internatl. Relations, Groningen Univ.; Netherlands

**Air Commodore W. Langdon:** Dir., British Atlantic Com.; London, U.K.

**William L. Langer:** Coolidge Prof. of History, Emeritus, Harvard Univ.; former Chief, Research Analysis Branch, OSS; author, *The Challenge of Isolation*; Cambridge, Mass.

**P. O. Lapie:** Mem., the High Authority, European Coal and Steel Community; former French Minister of Education; Luxembourg

**Cloyd Laporte:** Pres., Phi Beta Kappa Associates; Chmn., Bd. of Ethics of New York City; Past Pres., N.Y. State Bar Assn.

**Mrs. Albert D. Lasker:** Philanthropist and civic leader; co-founder, Lasker Found.; N.Y.C.

**Perry Laukhuff:** Pres., U.S. Com., Dag Hammarskjöld Found.; former Dir., German Political Affairs, Dept. of State; Conn.

**Lord Layton**†: Chmn., THE ECONOMIST; Vice Chmn., DAILY NEWS; ex-Vice Pres., Consultative Assembly of Council of Europe; Vice Pres., British Atlantic Committee; U.K.

**Pierre Lazareff:** Dir. Gen., FRANCE-SOIR; Paris, France

**Sir Edwin H. C. Leather:** Former M.P.; London, U.K.

**Joshua Lederberg:** Nobel Prize, Genetics; Prof., School of Medicine, Stanford Univ.; Calif.



**Mme. Marie-Hélène Lefauchaux**†: Pres., Internatl. Council of Women; Del. to U.N.; France

**Very Rev. Henri F. Légaré**: Former Rector, Univ. of Ottawa; Canada

**Henry Smith Leiper**: Ex-Assoc. Gen. Sec., World Council of Churches; Princeton, N.J.

**Helmut Lemke**: Minister President of Schleswig-Holstein; Germany

**Abba P. Lerner**: Prof., Economics, Univ. of California

**Jean Lesage**: Former Premier of Quebec, Canada

**Victor de Lesseps**: Paris, France

**Bernhard Leverenz**: Minister of Schleswig-Holstein; Germany

**Dorothy Lewis**: Hon. Pres., Internatl. Assn. of Women in Radio and TV; N.Y.C.

**Rt. Rev. William F. Lewis**†: Episcopal Bishop of Olympia

**André Lichwitz, M.D.**: Paris, France

**John V. Lindsay**: Mayor of New York City

**M. Albert Linton**: Ex-Pres., Provident Mutual Life Ins. Co.; Pa.

**Jean de Lipkowski**: Former Deputy; diplomat; Paris, France

**Edward H. Litchfield**†: Chancellor, Univ. of Pittsburgh

**Lawrence Litchfield, Jr.**†: Chmn., Aluminum Co. of America

**Norman M. Littell**: Former Asst. Attorney General; D.C.

**Robert Littell**†: Senior Editor, *READER'S DIGEST*

**Mrs. David E. Lombardi**: Exec., San Francisco Council of World Affairs

**Scott Long**: Past Pres., Assn. of American Editorial Cartoonists; Minneapolis

**Gilbert Longden**: M.P.; Vice Chmn., British Section, Interparliamentary Union; former del., Council of Europe; author, *Change Is Our Ally*; London, U.K.

**J. W. Loudon**: Agronomist; landowner; Netherlands

**Rt. Rev. Henry I. Louttit**: Episcopal Bishop of South Florida

**Jay Lovestone**: Dir., Dept. of Internatl. Affairs, AFL-CIO; N.Y.C.

**Isador Lubin**: Econ. Consultant, 20th Century Fund; Arthur T. Vanderbilt Prof. of Public Affairs, Rutgers Univ.; author, *Our Stake in Foreign Trade*; N.Y.C.

**Henry Luce, III**: Publisher, *FORTUNE*; N.Y.C.

**Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey**: Archbishop of San Antonio; Vice-Pres, Catholic Assn. Internatl. Peace; Tex.

**F. Edward Lund**: Pres., Kenyon Coll.; Ohio

**Msgr. I. Lussier**: Rector, Univ. of Montreal; Canada

**Pierre Lyautey**: Administrator, Banque Commerciale du Maroc; Paris, France

**Lauren D. Lyman**: Vice Pres., United Aircraft Corp.; East Hartford, Conn.

## M

**Colin Mackay**: Pres., Univ. of New Brunswick; Canada

**J. Keiller Mackay**: Former Lieut.-Governor of Ontario; former Justice, Supreme Court of Ontario; former Vice Pres., Canadian Inst. on Public Affairs; Canada

**James A. MacLachlan**†: Prof., Law School, Harvard Univ.

**Charles H. Malik**: Former Prime Minister, Lebanon; former Pres., U.N. Assembly; former Lebanese Ambassador to U.S.; Lebanon

**Marya Mannes**: Author; essayist; N.Y.C.

**Alexandre Marc**: Dir., European Federalist Movement; Paris, France

**Max Mark**: Prof., Polit. Sci., Wayne State Univ.; author, *Beyond Sovereignty*; Detroit

**René Massigli**: Former Ambassador to London; Paris, France

**Col. John A. Mathews**: USAF, ret.; Dir., House Republican Task Force for Western Alliances; D.C.

**Allan F. Matthews**: Internatl. Relations Officer, A.I.D., Dept. of State; former editor, *Minerals Yearbook*, Dept. of Interior; D.C.

**Dorothy S. McAllister**: Past Chmn., Natl. Consumers League; Mich.

**S. M. McAshan, Jr.**: Chmn., Anderson, Clayton & Co.; Houston, Tex.

**Susan McAshan**: Civic leader; Houston, Tex.

**Richard D. McCarthy**: U.S. Congressman (D., N.Y.)

**John W. McConnell**: Pres., Univ. of New Hampshire

**E. M. McConney**: Past Pres., Soc. of Actuaries; former Bd. Chmn., Drake Univ.; Ore.

**Leo H. McCormick**: Pres., McCormick & Co., Insurance; Baltimore

**Gale McGee**: U.S. Senator (D., Wyo.)

**Ralph McGill:** Publisher, THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION; Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1965; Ga.

**George McGovern:** U.S. Senator (D., S.D.)

**H. T. McIntosh†:** Editor Emeritus, ALBANY HERALD

**Thomas Hudson McKee:** Public relations consultant; Dallas, Tex.

**Theodore R. McKeldin:** Former Governor of Maryland; former Mayor of Baltimore

**Mrs. Irvine McQuarrie:** Past Pres., League of Women Voters of Minnesota; Minneapolis

**Charles K. McWhorter:** Attorney; N.Y.C.

**Edward J. Meeman†:** Editor Emeritus, MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR

**The Rt. Hon. Lord Melchett:** Dir., M. Samuel & Co.; London, U.K.

**Thomas C. Mendenhall:** Pres., Smith Coll.; Mass.

**W. Alexander Menne:** Chmn., Com. on Econ. Affairs and Foreign Trade, Bundestag; bd. mem., Farbwerke Hoechst A. G. Chemical Corp.; Bonn, Germany

**Yehudi Menuhin:** Concert violinist

**Burgess Meredith:** Actor-Director, stage, screen, TV; N.Y.

**Lee Metcalf:** U.S. Senator (D., Mont.)

**Franz Meyers:** Minister President of North Rhine Westphalia; Germany

**Pietro Micara:** Senator; Pres., NATO Parliamentarians Conf., 1961; Vice Chmn., Atlantic Convention, 1962; Rome, Italy

**Donald N. Michael:** Resident Fellow, Inst. for Policy Studies; Ex-Dir., Peace Research Inst.; Mich.

**Gordon E. Michalson:** Pres., MacMurray Coll., Ill.

**Baroness Emily Michiels van Kessenich:** Founder, Dutch "family adoptions" of U.S. soldier graves; Netherlands

**Joe J. Mickle†:** Former Pres., Centenary Coll. of Louisiana

**Mies van der Rohe:** Architect; Chicago

**Arthur Selwyn Miller:** Prof., Law School and Graduate School of Public Law, George Washington Univ.; D.C.

**Col. Francis P. Miller:** USA, ret.; D.C.

**Harlan Miller:** Columnist, DES MOINES REGISTER & TRIBUNE; Iowa

**Maj. Gen. Walter I. Miller:** USAF, ret.; Vt.

**Mrs. Harold Milligan†:** Past Pres., Natl. Council of Women of U.S.

**Clark B. Millikan†:** Dir., Graduate Aeronautical Laboratories, California Inst. of Tech.

**Max Millikan:** Dir., Center for Internatl. Studies, Massachusetts Inst. of Tech.

**John S. Millis:** Pres., Western Reserve Univ.; Ohio

**Emile Mireaux:** Former Senator; Mem. and Permanent Sec., Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Institut de France; Paris, France

**Finn Moe:** M.P.; Norway

**Lloyd A. Moll:** Former Pres., Georgia SW Coll.; Pa.

**Hugh Moore:** Ex-Chmn., Dixie Cup Co.; del., Atlantic Convention; Pa.

**Rev. Phillip S. Moore, C.S.C.:** Academic Asst. to Pres., Univ. of Notre Dame; Ind.

**Roy W. Moore:** Chmn., Canada Dry Corp.; N.Y.C.

**Henri Moreau de Mélen:** Vice Pres., Senate; former Minister, Natl. Defense; Vice Pres., North Atlantic Assembly, 1967; Belgium

**Olivier Moreau-Néret:** Membre de l'Institut; Honorary Pres., Credit Lyonnais; France

**Arthur E. Morgan:** Former Dir., Tennessee Valley Authority; Pres. Emeritus, Antioch Coll.; Ohio

**Hans J. Morgenthau:** Dir., Center for Study of American Foreign Policy, Univ. of Chicago

**S. F. B. Morse:** Chmn., Del Monte Properties Co.; Calif.

**A. J. Mosby:** Pres., KSMO-TV; Mont.

**Frank E. Moss:** U.S. Senator (D., Utah)

**Robert Mosse:** Law Prof.; Grenoble, France

**Marius Moutet:** Senator; France

**Bishop Reuben H. Mueller:** Past Pres., Natl. Council of Churches; Ind.

**Earl R. Muir:** Chmn., Louisville Trust Co.; Ky.

**Comdr. Hugh Mulleneux:** Royal Navy, ret.; U.K.

**Herbert J. Muller:** Distinguished Service Prof., English and Govt., Indiana Univ.; author, *Freedom in the Ancient World*

**Steven Muller:** Vice Pres. for Public Affairs, Cornell Univ.; N.Y.

**Frank Munk:** Prof., Assoc. Dir., Central European Studies Center, Portland State Coll.; author, *Atlantic Dilemma: Partnership or Community?*; Ore.

**Forrest D. Murden, Jr.:** Pres., Murden & Co., Internatl. Counselors; N.Y.C.

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## N

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**Maurits Naessens:** Dir., Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas; Brussels, Belgium

**Arthur Naftalin:** Mayor of Minneapolis

**John W. Nason:** Pres., Carleton Coll.; ex-Pres., Foreign Policy Assn.; Minn.

**Gaylord A. Nelson:** U.S. Senator (D., Wis.)

**M.F.F.A. de Nerée tot Babberich:** Former Sec.-Gen., European Parliament; Netherlands

**Floyd F. Nesslein:** Author; former prof., European History; Mo.

**Robert G. Neumann:** U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan; former Dir., Inst. of Internatl. and Foreign Studies, Univ. of California

**Margrethe Nevald:** Pres., Natl. Fedn. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Denmark; Odense

**Allan Nevins:** Pulitzer Prize for biography; Pres., Soc. of American Historians; Pres., Natl. Academy of Arts and Letters; San Marino, California

**Herschel D. Newsom:** Master, National Grange; Past Pres., Internatl. Fedn. of Agricultural Producers; D.C.

**Rt. Rev. S. H. Nichols†:** Episcopal Bishop of Kyoto

**Mrs. Shirley Hall Nichols:** Community leader; N.J.

**Thomas S. Nichols:** Chmn., Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.; N.Y.C.

**Robert L. Nicholson:** Prof., History, Univ. of Illinois; Chicago

**Rev. Charles C. Noble†:** Dean of Chapel, Syracuse Univ.; N.Y.

**Ferdinand Ernst Nord:** Dir., Stifterverband für die Deutsche Wissenschaft; Essen, Germany

**F. S. C. Northrop:** Sterling Prof. of Philosophy and Law Emeritus, Yale Univ.; author, *The Taming of the Nations*; Conn.

**Garrison Norton:** Ex-Chmn., Inst. for Defense Analyses; former Asst. Sec. of State; former Asst. Sec. of Defense; D.C.

**Richard W. Norton, Jr.:** Oil producer; La.

**Baron Pierre Nothomb†:** Vice Pres., Foreign Affairs Com., Belgian Senate

**John Nuveen†:** Investment banker; former Minister and Chief, ECA Mission to Greece; Chicago

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## O

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**George W. Oakes†:** Author

**J. Leonard O'Brien:** Former Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick; Canada

**Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham:** Episcopal Bishop of Albany, ret.; Conn.

**Maj. Gen. George H. Olmsted:** USA, ret.; Chmn., Internatl. Bank; D.C.

**Alec G. Olson:** U.S. Congressman (D., Minn.)

**C. J. Oort:** Prof., Economics, Univ. of Utrecht; Netherlands

**Friedrich Carl Freiherr von Oppenheim:** Banker; Cologne, Germany

**Winfried H. Oppenheimer:** Partner, Oppenheimer, Newborg & Neu, Members N.Y. Stock Exchange; Bd. mem., Federal Union, Inc.

**John K. Ormond, M.D.:** Surgeon; Detroit

**Lithgow Osborne:** Former Chmn., American-Scandinavian Found.; former Ambassador to Norway; N.Y.

**Stefan Osusky:** Former Czech Ambassador to Paris; del. to League of Nations; exile leader in U.S.; D.C.

**Mrs. A. G. Otto:** Past Pres., Netherlands Fedn. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Amsterdam

**Jan Johan Oyeveaar:** Pres., Advisory Council for Economics and Commerce; Netherlands

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## P

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**J. Percy Page:** Former Lieut.-Governor of Alberta, Canada

**J. P. Palewski:** Deputy; Vice Pres., French Mouvement pour l'Union Atlantique; del., Atlantic Convention; France

**E. S. Pallay:** Economist; former Chief Counselor, Royal Hungarian Govt.; since 1959 observer NATO Parliamentarians Conf.; France

**Hazel Palmer:** Past Pres., Natl. Fedn. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Mo.

**James Patton:** Pres., United World Federalists; Past Pres., Natl. Farmers' Union; D.C.

**Hattie May Pavlo:** Lecturer; former Bd. mem., Atlantic Union Com.; Nev.

**Endicott Peabody:** Former Governor of Massachusetts

**David W. Peck:** Attorney; former Presiding Justice, Appellate Div., Supreme Court of New York; Past Pres., N.Y. State Bar Assn.; N.Y.C.

**J. Donald Phillips:** Pres., Hillsdale Coll.; Mich.

**Lorne Pierce†:** Editor Emeritus, Ryerson Press; Canada

**L. J. Pieters:** Partner, Hudig & Pieters, shipping; Rotterdam, Netherlands

**Bernard Piganeau:** Paris, France

**Rt. Rev. James A. Pike:** Mem., Center for Study of Democratic Institutions; former Episcopal Bishop of California

**Frederick J. Piotrow:** Dean, School of Internat. Service, American Univ.; D.C.

**Ralph D. Pittman:** Attorney; del., Atlantic Convention; D.C.

**Edward R. Place:** Past Pres., Phi Beta Kappa Assn. of D.C.

**Maj. Gen. E. C. Plow:** Former Lieut-Governor of Nova Scotia; Canada

**H. Ladd Plumley:** Past Pres., Mem. of Senior Council Bd., Chamber of Commerce of U.S.A.; Mass.

**Louis F. Polk, Jr.:** Vice Pres., General Mills; Minneapolis

**Carel van de Poll:** Ex-del., OEEC and NATO; Netherlands

**Wolfgang Pollak:** Past Pres. of Konvent, Free Univ. of Berlin; del., Conf. on Atlantic Community, Georgetown Univ., 1965; West Berlin

**Paul A. Porter:** Attorney; former Ambassador to Greece; D.C.

**Paul R. Porter:** Pres., Porter Internat. Co.; former Chief, U.S. Delegation, Econ. Commn. for Europe; D.C.

**Georges Portmann:** Senator; former Senate Vice Pres.; del., Atlantic Convention; Paris, France

**R. E. Powell:** Pres., Aluminum Co. of Canada, Ltd.; Montreal

**Comdr. Frederick D. Powers:** USN, ret.; Calif.

**Charles H. Prange:** Pres., Austenal, Inc.; N.Y.C.

## Q

**Albert H. Quie:** U.S. Congressman (R., Minn.)

**William Francis Quinn:** Pres., Dole Co.; former Governor of Hawaii

## R

**Adm. Arthur W. Radford:** USN, ret.; Chmn., U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff 1953-57; D.C.

**Lucien Radoux:** M.P.; Brussels, Belgium

**Martha Ragland:** Former Bd. Mem., League of Women Voters of U.S.; former Democratic Natl. Committeewoman; del., Atlantic Congress; Nashville, Tenn.

**Ivan C. Rand:** Former Justice of Supreme Court of Canada; former Dean, Faculty of Law, Univ. of Western Ontario; Canada

**C. J. A. de Ranitz:** Burgomaster of Utrecht; Netherlands

**Elmer E. Rasmuson:** Pres., Natl. Bank of Alaska; Anchorage

**Sylvia Ravitch:** Civic leader; N.Y.C.

**Dowager Marchioness of Reading:** Chmn., founder, Women's Volunteer Services; first Life Peeress; London, U.K.

**Harold W. Reed:** Pres., Olivet Nazarine Coll.; Ill.

**Mamie B. Reese:** Past Pres., Natl. Assn. of Colored Women's Clubs; mem., Georgia Commn. on the Status of Women; Albany, Ga.

**Whitelaw Reid:** Former Pres., N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE; N.Y.C.

**Scott Reiniger:** Advanced Programs Mgr., Bendix Corp.; N.Y.C.

**Stanley Resor†:** Corporation Director

**Victor G. Reuther:** Dir. Internat. Affairs Dept., United Auto Workers; D.C.

**Charles S. Rhyne:** Chmn., Exec. Com., World Peace Through Law Center; Past Pres., American Bar Assn.; D.C.

**John S. Rice:** Pres., Rice Truck Lines and Chemical Transport; Mont.

**Warner G. Rice:** Chmn., Dept. of English Language and Literature, Univ. of Michigan

**Winfield W. Riefler:** Mem. and Asst. to Chmn., Federal Reserve Board, ret.; Fla.

**Barthold W. F. van Riemsdijk:** Dir., Graphic Plant; Haarlem, Netherlands

**David Riesman, Jr.:** Henry Ford II Prof., Social Sciences, Harvard Univ.; Mass.

**Paul Rijkens**†: Chmn., Unilever; Netherlands

**Mrs. Louis Robbins**: Pres., Natl. Council of Women of U.S.; N.Y.C.

**Walter S. Robertson**: Former Asst. Sec. of State for Far Eastern Affairs; former Del. to U.N.; Va.

**Wishart McL. Robertson**†: Speaker, Canadian Senate; Life Pres., NATO Parliamentarians; Charter Vice Pres., IMAU; Canada

**Louis J. Robichaud**: Premier of New Brunswick; Canada

**Franz-Josef Röder**: Minister President of the Saarland; Germany

**Felix Rohatyn**: Partner, Lazard Frères; N.Y.C.

**Karl F. Rolvaag**: U.S. Ambassador to Iceland; former Governor of Minnesota

**Frank A. Rose**: Pres., Univ. of Alabama

**Louis Rosenberg**: Chmn., Conf. on the Atlantic Community, Georgetown Univ., 1965; Chicago

**Ludwig Rosenberg**: Pres., Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund; Germany

**Leo Rosten**: Special editorial advisor to *LOOK*; Deputy Dir. of War Information and Special Consultant to Sec. of War, W.W. II; N.Y.C.

**Eugene V. Rostow**: Under Sec. of State for Polit. Affairs; former Dean, Law School, Yale Univ.; D.C.

**Jean de Roualle**: Paris, France

**Louis Rougier**: Prof.; author; Paris, France

**William Ruder**: Former Asst. Sec. of Commerce; N.Y.C.

**Adm. Friedrich Ruge, ret.**: Tübingen, Germany

**Marinus Ruppert**: Mem., State Council; Netherlands

**Perry Ryan**: M.P.; Head, Canadian Delegation, North Atlantic Assembly, 1967; Canada

## S

**The Rt. Hon. Lord Salter, P.C.**: Former Minister, Econ. Affairs; U.K.

**Walter E. Sandelius**: Chmn., Commn. on Constitutional Revision, Kansas; Chmn., Dept., Polit. Sci., Univ. of Kansas

**Parker D. Sanders**: Owner, Sanders Farms; Minn.

**Francis B. Sayre**: Former Asst. Sec. of State; D.C.

**Ernest Scharnowski**: Mem., House of Deputies; West Berlin

**Dore Schary**: Playwright; director; N.Y.C.

**C. F. Scheffer**: Pres., Economics Inst., Univ. of Tilburg; Pres., European Univ. Soc. for Financial Research; Netherlands

**Harry Scherman**: Chmn., Book-of-the-Month Club; N.Y.C.

**John Jay Schieffelen**: Former Exec. Dir., English-Speaking Union of U.S.; N.Y.C.

**Frederik A. Schiøtz**: Pres., Lutheran World Fedn.; Pres., American Lutheran Church; Minneapolis

**Arthur M. Schlesinger**†: Francis Lee Higginson Prof. Emeritus of History, Harvard Univ.

**Rudolf B. Schlesinger**: William Nelson Cornwall Prof., Internat. and Comparative Law, Cornell Univ.; N.Y.

**L. G. A. Schlichting**: Head, Dept., Polit. Sci., Univ. of Nijmegen; former editor, *DE TIJD*; Netherlands

**John F. Schmidt**: Co-author, *The New Federalist*; attorney; Peoria, Ill.

**Bernadotte E. Schmitt**: Andrew Macleish Distinguished Service Prof. Emeritus of European History, Univ. of Chicago; Special Advisor to Sec.-Gen. of San Francisco Conf. on Internat. Organization; Va.

**K. Scholtens**: Former Chmn., Iranian Oil Exploration and Producing Co. and Iranian Oil Refining Co.; The Hague, Netherlands

**James S. Schramm**: Bd. mem., Com. for a Natl. Trade Policy; Burlington, Iowa

**Oliver C. Schroeder, Jr.**: Dean, Western Reserve Univ.; del., Atlantic Convention; Cleveland

**Thomas N. Schroth**: Exec. Editor, CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY; D.C.

**Frederick L. Schuman**: Woodrow Wilson Prof. of Govt., Williams Coll.; Mass.

**Klaus Schütz**: Mayor of West Berlin

**Mrs. Ursula Seiffert**: Pres., Business and Professional Women's Club of Munich; Germany

**Paul Seiler**: Pres., Christlicher Gewerkschaftsbund Deutschlands; Hamburg, Germany

**Mitchell Sharp**: M.P.; Sec. of State for External Affairs; Ottawa, Canada

**Clay Shaw**: Managing Dir., International Trade Mart; New Orleans

**The Rt. Hon. Lord Shawcross, P.C.**: Chancellor, Univ. of Sussex; former Attorney General and Pres. of Bd. of Trade; Chmn., British section, Internat. Commn. of Jurists; U.K.

**Edgar G. Shelton, Jr.**: Public Relations Counsel; D.C.

**D. Bruce Shine:** Attorney; Chmn., Young Citizens' Com. for an Atlantic Convention; Kingsport, Tenn.

**Clara Shirpser:** Former Democratic Natl. Committeewoman; Berkeley, Calif.

**James T. Shotwell†:** Pres. Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for Internatl. Peace

**Kenneth Shouldice:** Chancellor, Lake Superior State Coll.; Mich.

**Kurt Sieveking:** Ex-Mayor, Hamburg; former Pres., German Parliament; Hamburg, Germany

**Lieut.-Gen. Guy G. Simonds:** Former Army Chief of Staff; Toronto, Canada

**Edward S. Skillin:** Editor, COMMONWEAL; N.Y.C.

**Paul E. Sloane:** Attorney; San Francisco

**Preston W. Slosson:** Prof., European History, ret., Univ. of Michigan

**Maj.-Gen. Edward W. Smith:** USAR, ret.; ex-Vice Pres., Southern Bell T. & T. Co.; Atlanta, Ga.

**Jessie L. Snow:** Educator, ret.; Baltimore

**Sara M. Soffel:** Judge, Court of Common Pleas; Pittsburgh

**Hans-Günther Sohl:** Gen. Mgr., August Thyssen-Hütte AG; Düsseldorf, Germany

**A. M. Sonnabend†:** Chmn., Hotel Corp. of America

**Hans Christian Sonne:** Chmn., American-Scandinavian Found.; Chmn., Natl. Planning Assn.; N.Y.C.

**Lauren K. Soth:** Editor, DES MOINES REGISTER and TRIBUNE; Iowa

**Gen. Carl Spatz:** Chief of Staff, USAF, ret.; Md.

**Giovanni Spadolini:** Editor, IL RESTO DEL CARLINO, Bologna; prof., Modern History, Univ. of Florence; Italy

**F. E. Spat:** Pres. Gen., Netherlands Assn. of Transport Users and Transport; former Gen. Sec., Philips Industries; former Vice Chmn., European Movement in Netherlands

**Eugene R. Spaulding:** Vice Pres., THE NEW YORKER; N.Y.C.

**George F. Spaulding:** Ex-Vice Pres., Northern Trust Co.; Chicago

**Leslie Spoor:** Head of European-Atlantic Movement in Scotland; head, Dept. of Liberal Studies, Napier Tech. Coll.; Edinburgh, U.K.

**Elvis J. Stahr, Jr.:** Pres., Indiana Univ.

**Eugene Staley:** Dir. of Research, Internatl. Industrial Development Center, Stanford Univ.; Calif.

**Margaret Steward:** Pres., Pierce Coll.; Athens, Greece

**Robert B. Stewart:** Former Dean, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts Univ.; Mass.

**Dwight Stocker, Jr.:** Fiedler and Associates, S.A.; Belgium and Mich.

**Mervyn Stockwood:** The Lord Bishop of Southwark; London, U.K.

**Rolf Stödter:** Pres., Internatl. Law Assn.; prof., Univ. of Hamburg; Germany

**Thomas A. Stone†:** Special Asst. to Pres., Internatl. Nickel Co. of Canada; former Ambassador to The Netherlands; Canada

**Lord Stonham:** Senior Partner, Stonham & Sons; London, U.K.

**Milton A. Strain:** Internatl. Div., Procter & Gamble; U.K.

**A. L. Strand:** Pres. Emeritus, Oregon State Univ.

**Robert Strausz-Hupé:** Dir., Foreign Policy Research Inst., Univ. of Pennsylvania

**Jane Reid Streit:** Free-lance magazine writer; N.Y.C.

**Pierre Streit:** Motion picture director; N.Y.C.

**Robert E. L. Strider, II:** Pres., Colby Coll.; Me.

**Peter Strong:** Pres., American-Scandinavian Found.; N.Y.C.

**Barbara Stuhler:** Asst. Dir., Minn. World Affairs Center, Univ. of Minn.; mem., Natl. Commn. for UNESCO; former Foreign Policy Chmn., League of Women Voters of U.S.

**Adolf Suesterhenn:** Mem., Bundestag; Pres., Inst. for Politics in Würzburg; former Pres., Supreme Court of Rhineland-Palatinate; Germany

**Hollis E. Suits:** Mem., Exec. Bd., POPULAR ASTRONOMY MAGAZINE; St. Louis, Mo.

**David Sullivan:** Pres., Building Service Employees Internatl. Union, AFL-CIO; N.Y.C.

**John B. Swainson:** Former Governor of Michigan; Detroit

**Edward Swayduck:** Pres., Local 1, Amalgamated Lithographers of America; N.Y.C.

**Israel Sweet:** Former Pres., Congress of Natl. Organizations

**Arthur Sweetser:** Founder, Internatl. School Services, Inc.; D.C.

**Burr S. Swezey:** Chmn., Lafayette Natl. Bank, Indiana; del., Atlantic Convention

**Gerard Swope, Jr.:** Internatl. Counsel, General Electric Co.; N.Y.C.

## T

**Robert C. Tait:** Vice Pres., Dynacolor Corp.; Rochester, N.Y.

**Joseph Tally, Jr.:** Past Pres., Kiwanis Internatl.; N.C.

**Frank E. Taplin:** Bd. Chmn., Scurry Rainbow Oil, Ltd.; attorney; Princeton, N.J.

**Ernest Taves:** Psychoanalyst; Cambridge, Mass.

**Amos E. Taylor:** Ex-Dir., Econ. and Social Affairs, OAS; Ex-Dir., Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Dept. of Commerce; D.C.

**Edmond Taylor:** Author, *The Fall of the Dynasties*; staff writer, THE REPORTER

**Henry J. Taylor:** Journalist; former U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland; Va.

**Rev. Prince A. Taylor:** Past Pres., Methodist Church Council of Bishops; Bishop of New Jersey

**Rev. Theophilus Mills Taylor:** Sec. Gen., Council, Gen. Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; N.Y.C.

**Wayne C. Taylor:** Former Under Sec. of Commerce; former Pres., Export-Import Bank; Nantucket, Mass.

**Edward Teller:** Fermi Prize Atomic Physicist; Professor-at-Large and Assoc. Dir., Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Univ. of California

**Leon Tézénas:** Industrialist; Paris, France

**Mme. Thome-Patenôtre:** Senator; Paris, France

**Joseph S. Thompson:** Hon. Chmn., Federal Pacific Electric Co.; San Francisco

**Robert N. Thompson:** M.P.; Natl. Leader, Social Credit Party; Ottawa, Canada

**Kjartan Thors:** Pres., Employers Assn. of Iceland

**John Tilney:** M.P.; former Joint Under Sec. of Commonwealth Relations; Chmn., British Group, Inter-Parliamentary Union; London, U.K.

**John H. Toole:** Insurance Exec.; Mont.

**John Bell Towill:** Attorney; civic leader; Augusta, Ga.

**Julian Towster†:** Prof., Polit. Sci., Univ. of California

**Russell E. Train:** Pres., Conservation Found.; former Judge, U.S. Tax Court; D.C.

**Ronald Tree:** Former British M.P.; Barbados

**Lord Tweedsmuir:** Bd. Mem., BOAC; London, U.K.

## U

**B. J. Udink:** Dir., Netherlands Council for Trade Promotion; The Hague, Netherlands

**Louis Untermeyer:** Poet; anthologist; former Consultant in Poetry, Library of Congress; Conn.

**Arthur R. Uppgren:** Frederick R. Bigelow Prof., Economics, Macalster Coll.; St. Paul, Minn.

## V

**Msgr. Louis-Albert Vachon:** Rector, Laval Univ.; Quebec, Canada

**Robert W. Valimont:** Attorney, former Bd. mem., Atlantic Union Com.; Pa.

**Frans Van Cauwelaert†:** Former Pres., Belgian Natl. Assembly; Vice Pres., NATO Parliamentarians Conf.; a founder and Vice Pres., IMAU; Belgium

**H. A. van Nierop:** Ex-Managing Dir., Amsterdamsche Bank; N.Y.C.

**Anthony Veder:** Business Exec.; Rotterdam, Netherlands

**Giuseppe Vedovato:** Vice-Pres., Foreign Affairs Com., Chamber of Deputies; prof., Internatl. Law, Univ. of Florence and Bologna

**Lester B. Vernon:** Industrialist, ret.; former Chmn., Federal Union, Inc.; N.Y.C.

**John A. Vieg:** Prof., Govt., Pomona Coll.; Calif.

**Georges Villiers:** Pres., Natl. Council of Employers; Paris, France

**Poul Vissing:** Chmn., Danish Insurance Assn.; del., Atlantic Convention; Copenhagen, Denmark

**Bernard H. M. Vlekke:** Dir., Netherlands Assn. for Internatl. Affairs; The Hague, Netherlands

**John A. Volpe:** Governor of Massachusetts

**H. Jerry Voorhis:** Ex-Congressman (D., Calif.); Exec. Dir., Cooperative League of U.S.A., ret.; Chicago

## W

**Baron Geoffrey de Waldner:** Paris, France

**Harold Blake Walker:** Former Pres., McCormick Theol. Sem., Univ. of Chicago

**Theodore Waller:** Vice Pres., Grolier, Inc.; N.Y.C.

**Raymond Wallier:** Pres., Banque Franco - Américaine; Paris, France

**Dorothy Walton:** Civic leader; former Bd. mem., Atlantic Union Com.; Louisville, Ky.

**Walter Wanger:** Motion picture producer; N.Y.C.

**Harry A. Wansker:** Dir., Boston Regional Conf. on NATO Affairs, Inc.

**Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson):** Prof., Internatl. Econ. Devel., Columbia Univ.; Staff mem., THE ECONOMIST; author; lecturer; London, U.K.

**P. Alston Waring:** Author; Pa.

**Very Rev. Charles Warr:** Dean of the Chapel Royal; Edinburgh, U.K.

**Sherwood Warwick:** Prof., History, Univ. of Louisville; Ky.

**P. van Wassenhove:** Dir.-Gen., N.V. Kon. Sphinx-Ceramique; Maastricht, Netherlands

**Leroy Waterman:** Former Chmn., Dept., Oriental Languages and Literatures, Univ. of Michigan

**Robert D. Watt:** Educator; Missoula, Mont.

**William M. Weaver, Jr.:** Chmn., Howe Sound Co.; N.Y.C.

**Marshall Webb:** Business Exec.; San Antonio, Tex.

**Carl J. Weinhardt, Jr.:** Dir., Gallery of Modern Art; N.Y.C.

**Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein:** Pres., Central Conf. of American Rabbis; Chicago

**Walter Weir:** Advertising Exec.; Langhorn, Pa.

**George B. Wells:** Chmn., Michigan State Bar Com. on Internatl. and Comparative Law; Charter mem., World Rule of Law Center; Detroit

**Herman B. Wells:** Chancellor, Indiana Univ.

**Philip Weltner:** Former Chancellor, Univ. System of Georgia

**Archibald G. Wenley†:** Dir., Freer Gallery of Art

**James P. Wesberry, Jr.:** Inst. of Public Administration, U.S. A.I.D., Peru; past vice pres., Natl. Soc. of State Legislators

**G. A. Ph. Weyer:** Prof., ret.; Amsterdam, Netherlands

**Wilhelm Weyer:** Minister of North Rhine Westphalia; Germany

**Edward S. White:** Past Pres., Atlanta Bar Assn.; Ga.

**Lynn T. White, Jr.:** Prof., European History, Univ. of California; former Pres., Mills College

**Paul Dudley White, M.D.:** Heart specialist; Presidential Medal of Freedom 1965; Boston

**William L. White:** Author; publisher, EMPORIA GAZETTE; Kansas

**Robert N. Wilkin:** Federal Judge, ret.; Cleveland

**Ernest H. Wilkins†:** Pres. Emeritus, Oberlin Univ.; Ohio

**Lawrence Wilkinson:** Exec. Vice Pres., Continental Can Co., ret.; N.Y.C.

**Mrs. Lynn A. Williams:** Pres., Internatl. Hospitality Center of Chicago; former Bd. mem., Atlantic Union Com.; Chicago

**Oliver Williams:** Business Exec.; N.Y.C.

**Philip Willkie:** Pres., Rushville Natl. Bank; Ind.

**Alfred M. Wilson:** Exec. Vice Pres., Minneapolis Honeywell Co.

**Joseph C. Wilson:** Chmn., Xerox Corp.; Rochester, N.Y.

**David Winton:** Lumber Exec., former mem., U.S. Natl. Commn. for UNESCO; Minneapolis

**A. M. Woodruff:** Provost, Univ. of Hartford; former Dean, School of Govt., Business and Internatl. Affairs, George Washington Univ.; Conn.

**Lawrence C. Woods, Jr.:** Insurance Exec.; Pa.

**Willson Woodside:** Former Foreign Editor, TORONTO SATURDAY NIGHT; Natl. Dir., U.N. Assn. in Canada; author; Canada

**Jacob S. Worm-Muller†:** Former Prof., History, Univ. of Oslo; Norway

**Sir Evelyn Wrench†:** Founder, English-Speaking Union; Chmn., THE SPECTATOR; Benjamin Franklin Medallist; U.K.

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## Y

**John G. Young:** Prof., admin. officer, Coll. of Engineering, Univ. of Michigan

**John L. Young:** Vice Pres., U.S. Steel Corp.; Pittsburgh

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## Z

**Clement Zablocki:** U.S. Congressman (D., Wis.); ranking majority mem., House Foreign Affairs Com.

**Armando Zimolo:** Journalist; Italian Pres. and European Vice Pres., Liberal Youth; Rome, Italy



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BILDERBERG MEETINGS

THE HAGUE, March 1969.

SMIDSWATER 1

TELEPHONE 11 20 69

TELEGRAMS BILDERMEETINGS

To the participants  
of the Marienlyst (Elsinore) Meeting

Dear Sir,

Enclosed you will find a provisional list containing the names and principal function of all those who can be expected to attend the Bilderberg Meeting to be held at Helsingør (Elsinore), Denmark, on 9, 10 and 11 May 1969 (arrival 8 May).

If you wish to have any change made in the way your name and principal function are mentioned in this provisional list, you are kindly requested to inform the Secretariat in The Hague. The suggested corrections will be made in the final list which will be available to all participants on their arrival at the "Marienlyst" Hotel.

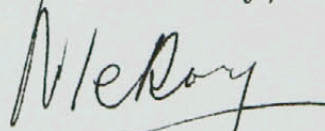
Your attention is drawn to the enclosed "Notice to Participants" and particularly to the paragraphs "Accommodation" and "Transport". It is recommended to complete the annexed card and return it to the Secretariat in The Hague as soon as possible in order to avoid delays in reaching Helsingør (Elsinore).

I am sending distinctive badges which you may wish to fix to your handluggage in order to facilitate identification by members of the Secretariat.

Persons attending a Bilderberg Meeting for the first time, are requested to inform the Secretariat whether they wish to receive all correspondence and documents in English or in French. For their personal information I enclose a "List of Participants" containing the names and addresses of all those who have attended one or more Bilderberg Meetings, as well as a copy of a pamphlet "Bilderberg Meetings" which gives details concerning the organization.

Participants are reminded that, in accordance with the rules of Bilderberg, all forms of publication and contact with the press with regard to the Bilderberg Meetings, should be avoided.

Yours sincerely,



(Mrs. N. le Roy).

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

INCORPORATED IN 1959

*Chairman:* Hon. Maurice Schumann (France). *President:* Clarence K. Streit (U.S.A.). *Vice Chairman:* Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, K.C.M.G., M.P. (United Kingdom). *Vice Presidents:* Dr. Kurt Birrenbach (German Federal Republic); Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy); Baron W. Michiels van Kessenich (The Netherlands); Mrs. Chase S. Osborn (U.S.A.); Senator Wishart McL. Robertson (Canada). *Secretary:* Hon. Paul Findley, M.C. (U.S.A.). *Treasurer:* Hon. P. F. Brundage (U.S.A.). *Co-Secretaries for Europe:* Eleanor Close Barzin and Léon Eugène Barzin (France).

\* On leave of absence while a Member of the French Cabinet

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BELGIAN PREMIER FOR ATLANTIC UNION GOAL

Washington D.C., Sept. 8 - Gaston Eyskens, Premier of Belgium, has joined the Honorary Council of the International Movement for Atlantic Union (IMAU) with a statement "reflecting the new impetus given Atlantic Federation by Russia's occupation of Czechoslovakia," Clarence Streit, the Movement's president, released today at its headquarters at 1736 Columbia Road here. He said that the Premier wrote he was "delighted to accept" the Movement's invitation because:

"This gives me the occasion to confirm how much I appreciate and try to promote the great goals of the International Movement for Atlantic Union. The events in Eastern Europe show how much the sincere cooperation of all our countries in the Atlantic Community is an absolute necessity for the maintenance of liberty and security."

The invitation, Streit said, explained that the Movement's goals are "to educate the people of the Atlantic Community in the need and best methods of uniting the free in an effective, democratic union with a view to advancing individual liberty, world peace and higher spiritual and material standards of living."

The endorsement of the Atlantic Union goal by the Belgian Premier, Streit added, is "the latest proof in a mounting pile" that the "State Department was wrong" in opposing the Atlantic Union resolution pending in Congress on the ground it gave - that "our Atlantic allies do not now wish to move toward any type of federal political relationship with the U.S."

Despite this opposition, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the resolution July 2; the Senate Committee has not yet acted. The bill's chief sponsors are Senators Eugene J. McCarthy (D., Minn.) and Frank Carlson (R., Kas.) and Congressmen Clement Zablocki (D., Wis.) and Paul Findley (R., Ill.) It would have a convention of NATO nations "explore the possibility of agreement" that their "eventual goal" is to transform the alliance into a "federal Union" and set up a timetable and machinery to expedite the transition to it.

Streit said that both Presidential nominees, Hubert H. Humphrey and Richard M. Nixon, have strongly endorsed the bill, as have former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Barry Goldwater and the late Robert F. Kennedy, and "about 30 per cent of both parties in both Houses of Congress."

Premier Eyskens has held that office twice before. A professor of economics, he studied at Columbia and Chicago Universities, as well as at the Universities of Louvain, Geneva and London.

The IMAU Honorary Council is "strictly limited to a very few members who hold or have held very high office, have led in unifying the Atlantic Community and support the Movement's basic aims." Its 12 members include Bernhard, the Prince of the Netherlands; former Prime Ministers Anthony Eden of Britain and Lester Pearson of Canada; former NATO C. in C. General Matthew B. Ridgway, and former NATO Secretary-Generals Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium and Dirk Stikker of the Netherlands, both former Foreign Ministers.

The Movement's chairman, Maurice Schumann, is now on leave of absence while Minister of Social Affairs in President de Gaulle's Cabinet.

## HONORARY COUNCIL

H.R.H. PRINCE BERNHARD	(The Prince of The Netherlands)
THE EARL OF AVON	(Former Prime Minister, Great Britain, Sir Anthony Eden)
JOSEPH BECH	(Former Prime Minister, Luxemburg; former Foreign Minister)
BJARNI BENEDIKTSSON	(Prime Minister of Iceland)
FRANZ ETZEL	(Former Finance Minister, German Federal Republic; Member of the Bundestag)
OLE B. KRAFT	(Former Foreign Minister of Denmark)
GAETANO MARTINO	(Former Foreign Minister of Italy; Chairman of NATO's "Three Wise Men")
LESTER B. PEARSON	(Prime Minister of Canada; Nobel Peace Prize)
MATTHEW B. RIDGWAY	(Supreme Commander, Allied Powers Europe, 1952-53; Army Chief of Staff, 1953-55)
PAUL-HENRI SPAAK	(Former Prime Minister, Belgium; former NATO Secretary General)
DIRK U. STIKKER	(Former Foreign Minister, The Netherlands; former NATO Secretary General)
PAUL VAN ZEELAND	(Former Prime Minister of Belgium)

## IN MEMORIAM

HEINRICH VON BRENTANO	(Foreign Minister, German Federal Republic; 1904-1964)
W. L. CLAYTON	(Under Secretary of State, U.S.A.; Founder, Anderson, Clayton & Co., 1880-1966)
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER	(Former Secretary of State, U.S.A.; 1895-1966)
LORD ISMAY	(First NATO Secretary General, United Kingdom; 1887-1965)
ESTES KEFAUVER	(U. S. Senator from Tennessee; 1903-1963)
ROBERT SCHUMAN	(Premier of France; 1886-1963)

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 ELMO ROPER (Public Opinion Surveyor; Delegate, Atlantic Convention, 1962; New York City)  
 MELVIN RYDER (Publisher, *Army Times, American Weekend*; Washington, D. C.)  
 A. W. SCHMIDT (Governor, T. Mellon & Sons; Delegate, Atlantic Convention, 1962; Pittsburgh)  
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 HAROLD C. UREY (Nobel Prize, Chemistry; Professor-at-large, University of California; La Jolla)  
 DR. RUDOLF WAGNER (President, Union Atlantischer Foederalisten; Munich)  
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 AHMET EMIN YALMAN (Editor and author; Delegate, Atlantic Convention, 1962; Istanbul)

# U. S. Election Makes Elmo Roper "Very Optimistic"

## Nixon Will Give Atlantic Union Convention Lead

### Convocation Panel Text

**Elmo Roper:** I'm very optimistic about what the elections mean for the cause of Atlantic unity, on the one hand and, specifically, the Atlantic Union possibilities, on the other. I haven't been optimistic about it since the election of Kennedy in 1960. He was not very Europe-minded, and while he made some awfully nice speeches on the subject, nothing happened except that NATO began to disintegrate. The disintegration continued under Johnson—again we got some nice words about the importance of Atlantic cooperation, but it wasn't possible to get a thing done.

Now, Nixon has not only got a record of having used words that indicate a belief in Atlantic Union—in federation, but he's got a record of actually having done something. I remember one morning in 1960 when a vote was due on the bill to have the U. S. Citizens NATO Commission appointed to an Atlantic convention. Lyndon Johnson, then Senate Majority Leader, called me up, before I left my hotel. He told me he thought that it was in very serious trouble because Senators Sam Ervin of North Carolina and Ev Dirksen had joined together to kill this bill, and it was short of votes in his opinion—particularly short of Republican votes.

#### Nixon's Action for Atlantic Convention

I went over to see first Senator Clifford Case [R., N. J.] and then we went over to see Nixon [then Vice President]. He entered into the spirit of trying to get it done and in a very eager way. He was extremely useful. In the first place, we figured out a very strong statement from him which he authorized Clifford Case to use, as of that morning. Then he called a number of other Republican Senators and told them he had authorized this statement and, if he were in the Senate, would vote for the bill, and hoped they would.

So, it wasn't just a matter of his being willing to issue a statement to be quoted; he actually got in and worked on this thing that morning. I suppose we must have been in his office for, well, three quarters of an hour, while all this was going on. The result was that the bill got, as some of you may

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*"HOW DOES THE U. S. Election Affect the Proposed Convention to explore Atlantic Union?"—this was the subject for the Convocation's final panel discussion, held Sunday morning, Nov. 10. Elmo Roper, a pioneer in public opinion polling, served as moderator, with former U. S. Ambassador Theodore Achilles, co-editor of the Atlantic Community Quarterly, and Clarence Streit, editor of Freedom & Union completing the panel. A condensation of the discussion, transcribed from a tape recording, follows.—Editors.*

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remember, some votes from the Republican side of the aisle that we had not expected—enough to win. [51 to 44.]

Nixon has kept in fairly close touch since then. I have talked with him on more than one occasion about the whole concept of Atlantic federation; he feels pretty badly about what has been allowed to happen to NATO and to our relations with Europe. It's my guess that he will give the restoration of Atlantic unity a high priority and will certainly not put any road blocks in the way of passage of the proposal to explore Atlantic federation, but will be helpful in getting it passed.

On the Democratic side of the aisle, I think the current Atlantic Union proposal is in pretty good shape—it didn't lose any Senators at least who had been favorable to Atlantic Union. I believe that's a fair statement, isn't it, Clarence"?

**Clarence Streit:** Well, Senator Lausche was a sponsor, and he was defeated.

**Roper:** Yes, in the primaries. Well, we've had some friends leave, for one reason or another, from the Senate. But Frank Church (D. Ida.) who is a proponent of this proposal, is back in the Senate for a 6-year term, which means, in the parlance of the Senators, that he can be a statesman four years before he has to become a politician again for two more. Bill Fulbright [chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee] has six more years, and Alan Cranston [D., Calif.] was elected on the Coast. I don't know whether he is going to be an Atlantic Unionist or a United World

Federalist, but the point is that he's for doing something.

So, on the Democratic side of the aisle, the proposal hasn't lost any supporter through the election; it's in the best shape, as I analyze the thing, in the White House than it's been for a long, long time; and I would be willing to guess that it'll be in better shape in the Secretary of State position than for a long, long time. I think that would about summarize my feelings; all in all, I'm quite optimistic. It seems to me that there was very little that could have been done during the last four years, in the way of political activism. The fire has been kept burning, and I think the Convention idea is now ready to go forward again. Clarence?

**Streit:** I would agree with all that you said. I have known President-elect Nixon since 1951 when, acting in my private capacity as a citizen, I asked him to co-sponsor the Kefauver bill. At that time he told me, "I want to think this over very carefully; come back and see me in 10 days." At the end of 10 days, he said, "I'll go on the bill." And he has been very steadfastly for this idea of a Convention to explore an Atlantic Federal Union ever since.

As Vice President he could do very little about it, of course, but in the 1966 campaign, while he was out campaigning, and building the base for his remarkable comeback in this election, he paused long enough—he was the only one at that level who took the time to send a statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in which he strongly endorsed the current resolution.<sup>6</sup> As late as three weeks ago, I had a note from him that strengthened my hopes that he will go ahead.

I, too, believe the political situation is very favorable in that regard. The fact that the Congress is controlled by the Democrats and the White House by the Republicans seems to many people—and in some situations it could be—a very difficult set-up. But on this particular issue, since it is strongly bi-partisan, the proposal really is in a more favorable position with Congress—especially the House—in Democrat hands.

It happens that the top Republican



Elmo Roper, pioneer public opinion pollster, tells Convocation—as moderator of panel on “How Election Affected Atlantic Union”—why he is “very optimistic” that Nixon will lead way to Con-

vention to explore it. Former Ambassador Achilles (r.) reported a softening in State Department’s opposition. The other panelist, Streit, said Democratic control of Congress helps proposal.

on the House Foreign Affairs Committee who would be chairman if they were in control, was one of the nine dissenters when the Committee this summer approved the bill. Dr. Thomas Morgan, the Democrat who will remain chairman, was a sponsor before he became chairman and remains favorable. The No. 2 man on the Democratic side is the bill’s key sponsor, Clement Zablocki of Milwaukee. So, its supporters are in a good position there. fauver’s time.

Also, I believe that Speaker McCormack is sympathetic. And I know that Hale Boggs, the Whip, was one of the chief sponsors of this resolution in Kefauver’s time. Thus, on the Democratic side, the resolution has very good support.

Now, the President-elect will, I think, need to start his Administration with some big act—a big move. I know of none where he can be so assured of strong bi-partisan support as on this particular issue. On the Democratic side, Vice President Humphrey is a

longtime supporter of the proposal. Eugene McCarthy is its chief Democratic cosponsor in the Senate, and the late Robert Kennedy strongly endorsed it. Then, on the Republican side, there are former President Eisenhower and Senator Goldwater, Governors Rockefeller and Romney, former Governor Scranton—they’ve all endorsed this bill, thanks to its chief GOP sponsor, Rep. Paul Findley.

**Findley has had a spectacular vote-getting success since he began campaigning for Atlantic Union in once isolationist Illinois. He was elected this time by a 60,000 majority and ran way ahead of Nixon, Dirksen, everyone in his district. In 1966 he won by 40,000; in 1964, by 20,000; and in 1962 when he first came out for Atlantic Union, by 10,000. Think of it—10, 20, 40, 60 thousand! His record of ever-increasing majorities speak volumes to politicians.**

\*See p. 17 for full text of it.

Paul is very bipartisan on this issue. He withdrew his own resolution and got behind the Zablocki version, which is substantially the same, when it was passed by the House Committee. In that regard, too, the proposal has come out of the election very well. Our educational efforts have borne good fruit.

**Roper:** Thank you, Clarence. Ted, can you rouse yourself to a dissenting vote?

**Theodore Achilles:** Not dissent, but perhaps a slightly questioning one. As you said, Elmo, we’ve had a great many fine statements from Presidents about the importance of Atlantic unity. President Kennedy stated that it was his conviction that Atlantic Union was the true course of history, that he was confident that America would fulfill its part in that destiny. President Johnson said that he was prepared to do everything to strengthen NATO and the Atlantic community, but we had very little White House action to back this up.

I think the important thing now will

be to get concrete evidence that the new Administration really means business about this. I think the situation is—as you and Clarence both say—more favorable than it has been in the past. In 1960, when President Kennedy was elected, the question was one of getting the Paris convention [to explore greater NATO cooperation.] The convention was held, and no action was taken after that. In 1965-66, the current resolutions were pending, but they did not have anywhere near their strength now.

There is a complex interplay of factors here. If Mr. Nixon when President were to give some indication of support to the Congress, as he has done before he was elected, that will rally a good deal more Congressional support. More Congressional support, in turn, will strengthen the hand of the White House, and it will certainly influence the State Department. It's all a matter of interplay, but I think the conjuncture is developing very favorably.

**Streit:** Ted, as Ambassador you're our expert on the State Department on its top level. I hope you will comment on the Department's attitude following the election, in this regard.

**Achilles:** I would very much like to know who will be the next Secretary of State, but I don't believe Mr. Nixon himself has decided that. I have reason to believe, he is anxious for new men—not necessarily one of the older ones who have been figuring in the speculation, but quite possibly some younger man not thought of now.

I think that changes in the State Department will produce a more sympathetic attitude toward the Atlantic community. In recent years, the Department has had almost a fixation on the importance of strengthening not merely the economic but the political unity of the Six countries of the Common Market. There has been some feeling that any movement toward Atlantic unity before the Six have achieved complete political unity would somehow interfere with that. I think that feeling has been changing, partially due to the difficulties the Six themselves have run into, in advancing toward greater economic or political unity; perhaps also from a feeling that to concentrate solely on pushing European into unity may not be taking into full account our American interests. The important thing from the American point of view is what Europe does together *with* us, rather than what Europe does *without* us. I would be optimistic of this trend toward a greater appreciation of the American

interests in Atlantic Union developing in the next few years in State.

**Roper:** Just for the sake of the record, Ted, let me point out that the vote on the NATO Citizens Commission—the Paris meeting—did not come during the Kennedy Administration. It came prior to it. And during the Kennedy Administration nothing happened to implement its recommendations.

**Streit:** If I might comment on what you said, Ted, it's true that the two main objections which the State Department brought against the resolution at the hearings in 1966 were entirely on the European side,—that the Europeans were not interested in exploring federation with us, and that a European political union must be achieved before one could advance seriously toward Atlantic unification. I believe that we have contributed a good deal here in Memphis in the last few days toward dispelling that view.

Mr. Spaak's very strong statements here in favor of calling the convention and his assurances that there would be a very strong welcome for it in many countries in Europe—these have, I believe, helped the cause in that respect. Since he is sometimes called "Mr. Europe," as is Monsieur Monnet—the two are called "Mr. Europe",—I think he may have a good deal of influence with the European unionists in getting them to the proposed Convention.

**Roper:** Well, I think it idle at the moment to speculate on the State Department as such because, whoever is Secretary of State, there is going to be an awful lot of people in the Department who have grown up with this feeling of omniscience of the professionals and the total inability of the amateurs to think in world terms at all. That's going to continue.

Yet—I can't remember who (this was a couple of years ago) I can't remember whether it was Nixon who said it, or Bob Finch (now Lieutenant Governor of California) who said it in Nixon's presence but, if so, it got no strong protest from Mr. Nixon—one of the things the next President would have to do was to find a way of doing away with the so-called omniscience of the State Department.

**Achilles:** Elmo, I must lodge a word of protest, as one who spent a good many years in the Foreign Service.

**Roper:** I've been trying to get an argument going here, Ted. (Laughter)

**Achilles:** I don't think that there is any feeling of omniscience there. Our State Department is full of highly intelligent, dedicated and capable people.

**Roper & Streit:** Hear, hear!

**Achilles:** One difficulty is that when you get more than three of them around a table you begin to get a certain dilution of opinion. By the time you get anything cleared throughout the Department, it is watered considerably more. By the time it has gone through the Treasury, Commerce and Defense Departments, often-times there isn't very much left. If there is anything left, everyone is determined to fight for it—they're tired of arguing about it.

The favorable trend in the State Department is due to two things: One, to an increasing realization on the part of the professionals at the middle and working levels that European unity in itself, regardless of who is in it or how it is oriented, is not, necessarily, in America's interest, and that what the Europeans do about Europe is up to them. But the American interest is in what they do *together with* us.

Second, there has not been a change at the top for several years. Secretary of State Rusk has been primarily preoccupied with Vietnam. He left European affairs practically to Under Secretary George Ball. George Ball is one of the most extreme advocates of complete, rapid political unity of the Six Common Market Nations. I have known him for a number of years and I respect him. He felt that any move toward greater Atlantic unity merely tends to dilute, weaken and delay the movement for complete unity of the Six. I have never believed that this was correct, but that was George Ball's position. Since he left the State Department there has been more of a tendency on the working level to be willing to act in accordance with U.S. interests and get Atlantic unity.

**Roper:** I accept the correction; instead of "omniscience" I should have said "impotence." (Laughter)

**Achilles:** I am not sure that I can buy that either, but there is certainly frustration in the State Department. It is always hard to get any new constructive idea approved by all the people who have to approve it.

**Roper:** Don't you both have the feeling that either the new Secretary of State is going to be a person who, insofar as the relations of Europe and the U. S. are concerned, shares Nixon's ideas, or that



Nixon will be his own Secretary of State?

**Streit:** I would certainly agree.

**Achilles:** Yes. He has very strong ideas himself. I am confident that anybody he would name as Secretary of State would be someone whom the President believes fully shares his own views.

**Roper:** We have a couple more assets, Clarence. After all, Javits has six years before re-election. The other asset is Robert Finch. I don't know what job he may get in the Cabinet. I hope it isn't the only one I know he won't take—Attorney General. I think he is bound to be important in this Administration.

**Streit:** Elmo, since the Republicans are in a minority in both Houses of Congress, I wonder—would Nixon shift any Republican Senators to the Cabinet?

**Roper:** No, I don't think he would.

**Streit:** There are going to be two or three places open on the Republican side in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It comprises now seven Republicans and 12 Democrats. Since the Republican gain in Senators was—what was it? Five?

**Roper:** Five.

**Streit:** That would mean there would be at least one Republican added to it; since Frank Carlson and Bourke Hick-enlooper retired from it, that would mean three seats to fill. Javits might well be shifted to the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Percy. I don't know—there's going to be a dog fight over those seats. I believe that the influence President Nixon will have will be very strong in his own party there, and that he would want to strengthen his own policy in the Foreign Relations Committee. What do you think?

**Roper:** I would think unquestionably so. I think, however, that he shouldn't throw his weight around too much in the Republican party the first year. After all, while we Democrats have managed to achieve the largest and bloodiest scars, there still are some Republican scars. I should think that in this particular instance, outside of passing the word to a couple of friends, he would let the normal procedure of the Senate take care of those three.

**Streit:** Incidentally, perhaps Barry Goldwater will get on the Foreign Relations Committee. He has endorsed this

resolution and he carries a great deal of weight with many conservatives through the country. That could be very helpful.

**Roper:** Do you think they might restore his own seniority on the ground that it was just a temporary and inevitable vacation? (*Laughter*)

**Streit:** I doubt if they would change the Senate seniority rule.

**Roper:** Does anyone in the audience want to ask the three Unwise Men any question?

**Walter Weber (Florida):** How about Senator Gurney of Florida? He is the only Republican that far South.

**Roper:** I don't know about him, Clarence?

**Streit:** He was a Congressman and a co-sponsor of the Findley resolution.

**John Mathews (Virginia):** Former Congressman Robert Ellsworth is one of the star players on Nixon's staff; he cosponsored the resolution when in Congress.

**Streit:** Yes, that is true. He was National Political Director in the Nixon campaign. I feel sure he will have a high post in the coming Administration.\*

**Richard Givens (New York):** From this exercise in crystal ball gazing, I deduce there is a real chance for doing something next year. If strong sentiment is built up among the citizens it will give a firm foundation on which the President and those Congressmen and Senators who support the proposal will be better able to answer the opposition. This increases our responsibility considerably in the educational field. It seems to me the Washington situation is very promising.

**Roper:** I think that is quite true and I hope a number of you at least will share my feeling. I got so tired batting my head against the hard wall of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations that I practically stopped working for Atlantic Union. I am going back now to work full time for it. (*Applause*)

**A Question:** Would you say a little more about Scranton's feelings on this?

**Roper:** Clarence, I think you know more about him than I do.

\* He has since been named a special assistant to the President for foreign and domestic affairs.—Editors

**Streit:** Let me put it this way: The first time I met him was when he was Governor of Pennsylvania; his first words to me in his office were: "I have a copy of your book, *Union Now*, in my library which is very heavily marked." He had read it as a student, I think, at Yale, and apparently it had made quite a lasting impression on him. He has endorsed the Findley resolution. I think he should be helpful to this idea.

**Mrs. Julie Tamarkin (St. Louis, Mo.):** There's been a great deal of talk here about Nixon's favorable attitude. But what if Nixon's not the man? (*Laughter*)

**Roper:** If Nixon isn't the man, then I think that a suggestion John Mathews made to me [that an effort be made to get Vice President Hubert Humphrey, after his term expires, to lead actively for Atlantic Union] would be very much in order, for consideration either as regards him or someone else—it might be Governor Rockefeller. Perhaps you think that, as a registered Democrat, I have spoken entirely too strongly about this Republican, President-elect Nixon. I'm reminded of a story that former Congressman Brooks Hays, across the river in Arkansas, used to tell about a man from my home state, Nebraska—William Jennings Bryan—when he was running for the Senate.

It seems that Bryan was a very short man; he never liked to stand before a crowd and look up at those big six-foot farmers around the state. He always wanted to be on a platform. If he got into a little town where there was no platform, he'd get a packing box and stand on it. Well, he arrived in a town once, and there was no platform and no packing box—there wasn't anything elevated except a manure-spreader. He figured it might cause some ribald jokes if he spoke from a manure-spreader—but still his desire to be elevated a little was too much for him, and he got up on the manure-spreader. He opened his speech with this statement: "Ladies and gentlemen: This is the first time I have ever spoken from a Republican platform." (*Laughter*)

Today may be the first time I've ever spoken from a Republican platform.

**Richard Givens:** Nixon's action is going to be very important. I think that if as President he moves forward [with the Atlantic Union Convention idea] the country would support him—but that we have to help him to see his way clear to do that.



Mrs. Ellen Clayton Garwood, biographer of her father, speaks at session where high tribute was paid to Will Clayton by each of

Convocation's Monetary-Economic Panel (l. to r.): A. W. Schmidt, C. Streit, W. H. Oppenheimer, Leon Keyserling and Elmo Roper.

## Monetary-Economic Panel Honors Will Clayton; His "Testament" Renews Drive for Atlantic Union

Federal Union Convocation Transcript

THE CONVOCATION'S PANEL discussion of "Monetary and Economic Reasons Why Atlantic Federation Must Now be Explored" was dedicated to the late W. L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State and Board Member of the Federal Union Association. Chaired by another Board Member, W. H. Oppenheimer, partner in Oppenheimer, Newborg & Neu, Mem-

bers of the New York Stock Exchange, the panel was composed of Leon Keyserling, chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisers; Elmo Roper, pioneer public opinion surveyor and market analyst; Adolph W. Schmidt, Governor of T. Mellon & Sons Bank, Pittsburgh; and Clarence Streit, President of Federal Union.

The discussion began with tributes to Will Clayton, whose daughter and biographer, Mrs. Ellen Clayton Garwood, and her husband, Justice St. John Garwood, formerly on the Supreme Court of Texas, were in the audience at the Adult Education Center—Burrow Library at Southwestern at Memphis. Our report is condensed from a tape recording of the discussion Nov. 9.—Editors

**Chm. Oppenheimer:** It is a great privilege to be honored to preside a panel dedicated to the memory of William L. Clayton, one of the most wonderful men anybody could have ever wanted to meet. He achieved great honors. He was Deputy Coordinator of Inter American Affairs, Vice President of the Export Import Bank, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Assistant Secretary of State, and then Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. In this latter capacity he wrote the two memoranda for the Marshall Plan which were decisive in putting the plan into effect. He was co-chairman with Christian Herter of the U.S. Citizens Commission on NATO at the Atlantic

Convention in Paris in 1962.

I had the privilege of meeting Will Clayton first in Board meetings of the Federal Union Association, which was always very close to his heart, I greatly admired all the help and advice which he gave this great cause. In this connection, I would like to refer to a most interesting letter Will Clayton wrote in 1954 to Joseph E. Dodge of Detroit, whom President Eisenhower named Chairman to his Council on Foreign Economic Policy.

Mind you, the letter was written 14 years ago and Will Clayton at that time warned against "the money we apparently intend to pour down the rat hole in Asia." In this letter he said, "I think

there is an unconventional way to save Southeast Asia and indeed the rest of the world." He explained:

"The NATO countries, with the addition of Germany, should organize themselves into a political, economic and military Union, clear away all the road blocks to trade among themselves and with the rest of the non-Communist world. This would electrify and rejuvenate the world; it would so greatly increase the production and distribution of goods throughout the world, with a rising standard of living, that it not only would arrest the spread of communism but indeed would act as a magnet on the Russian satellite states themselves, drawing them irresistibly to the

West. No country, or combination of countries, would dare attack such a union. In a word, it would preserve the peace of the world as nothing else could.”\*

Now let me call on Elmo Roper, the distinguished market and opinion surveyor.

**Elmo Roper:** I am happy to be here with the old-timers. I'm glad to recognize so many old friends from days gone by. Ladies and gentlemen, and particularly Ellen Garwood, worthy daughter who literally idolized her father, and with great cause:

There are so many things you can say about Will Clayton, it's just hard to know where to stop, so I think I'll list a few things that happened to impress me particularly about him. I guess maybe most important to me was the fact that I knew him until he died, and he died at the age of 86, with a mind as open and receptive to new ideas—even more open and receptive to new ideas than most 30-year olds.

I was impressed with the fact that he served his country in such a wide variety of ways, not only more than almost anyone else, but in more different ways. I think probably Averell Harriman is the runner-up.

I've always thought it must have taken a great deal of courage back in the late 1920s when we were gripped with real isolationism, to make his number one cause, as Will Clayton did, the subject of free trade. That took imagination, too.

Speaking of imagination, one can't forget the Marshall Plan, which could just as appropriately be called the Clayton Plan, because it was Will Clayton's idea. He did call it to the attention of his friend, General Marshall. General Marshall gave the speech and the newspapers insisted that it was the Marshall Plan. On at least two occasions, General Marshall asked me if I couldn't do something to get the press to give Will Clayton the credit—for at least originating the idea which was being so widely hailed as Marshall's. But, of course, the press having made up its mind that it had a hero, didn't change.

I think it might be well to see if we can find out what were the qualities of this man.—What were the virtues that let him excite so many people, and lead so many people, and induce so many people to become leaders themselves. I would like to read, because I don't think I can do it any better now, two

\*The full text of this Clayton letter was published in our October 1968 issue, p.9.—Editors.

very small excerpts from a piece I wrote in 1963 for the *Saturday Review*. Thank God, I got this in print before Will Clayton died:

“His story is one of old-fashioned American virtues, enlightened by the insights of a deeply inquiring mind enriched by compassion and lifted to the point of greatness. . . . “He kept what he found good in the past, discarded what was irrelevant, and went on to become one of the outstanding economic thinkers and statesmen of our century. His vision has always been broader than those around him, and he has been true to that vision. Once convinced that a course of action was right, he has never wavered.

“Undiscouraged by misunderstanding or opposition he has been prepared to spend years gently and courteously”—those were well chosen words, I think—“convincing others of his wisdom. Often he has stood alone but not for long because the vigor and vision of his ideas attracted followers. And one of Will Clayton's chief assets is his ability to get the best of these followers to become leaders themselves. So it never seemed to be *his* idea that won, for Will Clayton always keeps himself in the background, caring only that the right thing be done, and not who gets the credit. He is the most modest man I have ever known. And, in my opinion, our greatest living American.”

I wrote that in 1963 and I wouldn't change much of it, if any, except maybe to add to it. Maybe in some of those words we have found the secret of those qualities that gave him the capacity to get so many things done in his lifetime—the qualities that lifted him above the rest of us. I would list them about as follows:

First, a deeply inquiring mind. I don't think anyone ever had a more inquisitive mind from the day he started grade school—I didn't know him then—until the day he died. Second, the courage to work for his convictions even when they were unpopular. Third, a refusal to discard the old when he found it good and a willingness to embrace the new when he found that good.

And then, I think it can't be overestimated that his gentleness and his courtesy—they were so outstanding that even the scoffers at the ideas he had, when they were first brought on the scene—even the scoffers felt a compulsion to listen to him because of his extreme courtesy and gentleness. While they listened, they learned and then became disciples themselves and went out to lead.

One reason he got so many people to

go out and work for his ideas was, as I mentioned earlier, he didn't care who got the credit. It never bothered him whether it was the Marshall Plan or not. He would give me ideas, when I was President of the Atlantic Union Committee, and sometimes I would forget to say that they were his ideas. That never bothered him at all.

I think, as we face a new administration, we are all going to renew our drive to get these concepts of his adopted. I think it is a very hopeful climate, as a matter of fact. I think as we do that, we might ponder these will hear all about the ideas themselves, but we might ponder these personal qualities that let him enlist this vast army of followers, who in turn became leaders for Will Clayton's concepts.

**Chm. Oppenheimer:** Mr. Schmidt?

**Mr. Schmidt:** Elmo, thank you for that eloquent tribute to Will Clayton. I think one of the great things of my life is to have had the privilege of being associated with him in these enterprises. The association with Will Clayton, and others in this movement has been one of the greatest rewards for having something to do with Federal Union or Atlantic Union or any of the tributary organizations. The idea, that came originally from Clarence's book [*Union Now*] in 1939, ramified into many different areas, as you know—simply because of the need to find mechanisms, where, if one thing didn't work, possibly another might. As you know, there have been other organizations developed to do various phases of this particular work not only in this country but in Europe.

One of these organizations, has been the Declaration of Atlantic Unity—the work of Walden Moore, a one-man committee of correspondence, that keeps people informed not only in this country but in the other 14 NATO countries. (He has a secretary, Margaret Lilienfeld, who can type a letter that makes 14 copies and from there it goes on.) It has done marvelous work in keeping leaders and sponsors of these various national committees of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity informed. One of the recent accomplishments of the Declaration, with the help of Ellen Garwood, has been the publishing of this little booklet called, *The Testament of Will Clayton*. I would like to read a few excerpts from this. It won't be long. I think we might ponder the wisdom that is expressed here in the light of the developments of recent years—particularly noting the clarity and the depth of what he says in very, very few

words. The first, is the credo itself and it goes as follows:

"The preservation of peace and freedom is the only thing that counts in the world today.

"Democracy must be made to work in all those lands which are still free.

"In economic terms, democracy works when people have more to eat, more to wear and better homes in which to live. This rising standard of living can only be realized in the modern world by releasing the world's productive capacities through striking off the shackles of economic nationalism, and by reducing armaments. This calls for an economic merger of the democracies.

"I favor Union of the Free, believing it to be the only road to world freedom, world prosperity and world peace. I believe that such a Union is the next step forward in the spiritual, economic and social development of the human race."

That was written on March 15, 1949.

### ***What Free Trade Means to America***

"... The earth is one third land and two-thirds water, and it has been made this way so as to facilitate transportation and communication, so that the fruits of the land could easily be taken everywhere. This is as it should be, for there should be easy access by everyone all over the world to the goods of the earth. Now, here in America, we are blessed with a greater abundance of those goods than any other land. But instead of distributing our fruits and opening our doors to the products of other lands, so that the people there may gain the wherewithal (the result of a sale of their products to us) with which to buy the many things they need—instead of give and take—we make it hard for the rest of the world to have access to us, we put up barriers of trade, and kill pigs and plow under corn.

"America, with her great resources, has been appointed a kind of trustee for supplying the rest of the world, but, instead of being faithful to her trusteeship, she has belied it by her isolation, her tariffs, her plowing under the fruits that should be distributed. When a trustee is unfaithful to his trust, what happens? It is inevitable that it should be taken from him. And this will happen to America if we do not change our course and fulfill our responsibilities."

That was written in 1939.

"The increasing interdependence of nations: Domestic economic policy can no longer be made without regard to possible external effects, nor can existing ex-

ternal conditions be ignored when domestic policy is being shaped. This country has known for years that it is not an isolated political system. It must realize that that is no less true of the body economic.

"If the United States is to continue to meet its responsibilities of Western leadership in preserving the freedom of the Western World, it must again, as in 1947, put the national and international interest ahead of the short-term, special interest of its politically powerful minority groups.

"The time has come for the United States to take a giant step."

That was written in 1959.

### ***What Free Trade Means to the Atlantic Community***

"Military alliances are short-lived and undependable.

"It was no doubt for this reason that the NATO agreement contemplated economic collaboration between the contracting parties.

"Unfortunately the U.S. seems to have successfully blocked any action by NATO toward this end."

That was on May 4, 1949.

### ***The Need for a Federal Union of Free Nations***

"When the Atlantic Pact is ratified, as it must be, the danger of a shooting war

in the foreseeable future will have been greatly lessened; but, make no mistake about it, the cold war will go on with perhaps greater vigor than heretofore.

"Soviet Russia's principal objectives in the cold war are to frighten democratic governments into excessive expenditures for defense, and to frighten private capital and initiative so that it will not operate freely.

"Soon we must decide between additional taxes and deficit financing. Either route is fraught with grave danger to democratic government and free enterprise.

"Circumstances have thrust this country into world leadership, which we did not want, but which we cannot avoid; and this Pact will give us a little time to consider what the next step ought to be.

"History shows that these pacts are not permanent, and there have been instances in history where they have not been lived up to. So that they do not give the full sense of protection and security and confidence to the world that something else would give, something stronger, something of a political nature.

"A Europe united without the United States can become a Europe united against the United States." This is the dumbbell theory of Atlantic partnership. "Actually, it is not governments which are sovereign. It is people. In a democracy, sovereignty rests with the individual, where it belongs. Clinging to



Will L. Clayton, former Under Secretary of State, inspirer of Marshall Plan, Atlantic Union leader.

the sovereignty of government is a kind of negation of democracy itself. It places the state above the individual. Real sovereignty is surrendered only with the surrender of individual freedom. Mispaced, stubborn pride in national sovereignty can lose the world for freedom."

That was written in 1950.

I think these brief excerpts from *The Testament of Will Clayton* confirm what Elmo Roper has said about the quality of this remarkable individual. I hope you will all read one, and preserve it, and I think it will serve us in good stead in the days ahead.

**Chm. Oppenheimer:** Mr. Keyserling?

**Leon Keyserling:** Mr. Clayton was one of the greatest and most forward-looking and most competent figures who came into public life during the 35 years I have been interested in public policy. I think Will Clayton illustrates one other point that we might consider now. Considering his genius and his character, his kindness and his modesty, it is perhaps not surprising that he really never held a top-level post. He was never a Cabinet officer or even Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors nor an Ambassador to the United Nations. This was perhaps because being a rather immature political

entity, we seldom put men of real courage and real ability in these posts. But, in secondary roles he became of primary importance because of the force of his character and his ability. My wife, who was working in the international field benefited greatly by personal contact with him, which I did not have. But I certainly am glad to be joining in an unreserved tribute to a very great American—a very great man.

**Chm: Oppenheimer:** Clarence Streit would like to say a few words.

**Clarence Streit:** Will Clayton, a man I greatly admire, was one of the most constructive men I met in all my life. At his funeral, I started composing a poem in tribute to him and I would—as my tribute to him now—like to read that very short poem of six stanzas:

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#### William L. Clayton 1880-1966

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*When dies a giant—one who made his way  
From straitened start, as though a starlit ray  
Had turned itself into creative sun—  
When such a giant dies . . . what shall we say?*

*"O excellent to have"—as Shakespeare said—  
"A giant's strength, but tyrannous" instead  
"To use . . . like giant." He used his that they  
Died not in vain who died for Freedom's Thread.*

*The "parfit gentil Knight" of Chaucer's Tale,  
He lived in modern dress; he sought the Grail  
Of freer life and trade and government,  
Through Freedom's Union on Atlantic scale.*

*The hydra-headed "monster . . . Sovereignty"  
(So named by Washington), that others flee,  
He fought, as did the Founding Fathers, hard:  
He kept the Faith that long has kept us free.*

*Of malice void, of charity the soul,  
He geared the All to Each, and Each to Whole;  
With humble firmness in the right he saw,  
Like Lincoln he strove on . . . toward Lincoln's goal.*

*When dies a giant—one who made his way  
(And, making it, made our Novembers May)  
Though thorny road that left him kinder still—  
When such a giant dies . . . for us we pray.*

## Unity of Free Peoples Must Live If Humanity, Itself, is to Survive

*Under the above head, Louis Spilman, publisher of the Waynesboro (Va.) News-Virginian, wrote the following column, which was inspired by the prophetic letter of Dec. 30, 1954 from Will Clayton to Joseph F. Dodge which we published in our October issue, thanks to Justin Blackwelder, to whom he sent a copy.—Editors*

"The NATO countries, with the addition of Germany, should organize themselves into a political, economic and military union, clear away all the road blocks to trade among themselves and with the rest of the non-Communist world. This would electrify and rejuvenate the world; it would so greatly increase the production and distribution of goods throughout the world, with rising standard of living, that it not only would arrest the spread of Communism but indeed would act as a magnet on the Russian satellite states themselves, drawing them irresistibly to the West. No country, or combination of countries, would dare attack such a union. In a word, it would preserve the peace of the world as nothing else."

The words above were not uttered

this week. They are a part of a letter written Dec. 30, 1954 (14 years ago) by the late W. L. Clayton, who had just retired as Under Secretary of State in the United States. They are even more significant today. In this same letter Mr. Clayton pointed out that "conventional means will not save Southeast Asia from Communism." He likewise emphasized, even at that early date, that "Latin America is of far greater importance to us than Southeast Asia." Mr. Clayton's prophetic letter was addressed to Joseph E. Dodge, Detroit banker.

There was no action at the time on Mr. Clayton's recommendations. But now, 14 years later, after not only scores of billions of dollars have been poured into Vietnam but also many thousands of American lives, action has begun. A resolution to explore Mr. Clayton's proposal was just recently approved by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs of the 90th Congress. Tragically, however, it was blocked from the floor of the House by the Rules Committee. Paradoxically, Rep. William Colmer, of Mississippi, is chairman of the Rules Committee. Mr.

Clayton was a native of Rep. Colmer's home state!!

How anyone can sincerely oppose world-wide union of free nations, is truly inexplicable. Our United States is a glowing example of union for strength and freedom. How zealously did our forefathers labor to create this union and how clearly their wisdom and vision have been demonstrated by our present country. Freedom loving people, who hold the dignity of the individual above the autocratic, totalitarian power of a group of individuals or a party, should be able to unite for preservation of a free society without surrender of national integrity.

How long will it be before men can accept the futility and uselessness of war? Wars have never settled anything. When will we be able to recognize that might is not right but that political and military powers are subordinate to moral force and leadership? It is to be devoutly hoped that Congress will disinter this resolution, based on Mr. Clayton's recommendations, from the Rules Committee grave-yard and insist on adoption.

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