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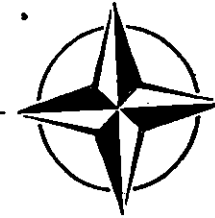
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NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION



NATO Handbook

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NATO HANDBOOK

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MAY 1970
NATO INFORMATION SERVICE
BRUSSELS

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THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

President:

Mr. Willy Brandt (Federal Republic of Germany)

Chairman:

M. Manlio Brosio (Italy) –
Secretary General of NATO

Permanent Representatives to the North Atlantic Council:

Belgium	M. André de Staercke
Canada	Mr. Ross Campbell
Denmark	Mr. Henning Hjorth-Nielsen
France	M. F. de Tricornot de Rose
Federal Republic of Germany	Mr. Wilhelm Grewe
Greece	M. Phedon Annino Cavalierato
Iceland	Mr. Niels P. Sigurdsson
Italy	M. Carlo de Ferrariis Salzano
Luxembourg	M. Lambert Schaus
Netherlands	Mr. Hendrik N. Boon
Norway	Mr. Georg Kristiansen
Portugal	M. Vasco da Cunha
Turkey	M. Muharrem Nuri Birgi
United Kingdom	Sir Bernard Burrows (Sir Edward Peck in September 1970)
United States	Mr. Robert F. Ellsworth

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THE MILITARY COMMITTEE

President: Vice Admiral H. M. van den Wall Bake (Netherlands)
Chairman: Admiral Sir Nigel Henderson (United Kingdom)
Deputy Chairman: Lieutenant General T. R. Milton (United States)

Military Representatives to the NATO Military Committee in Permanent Session:

Belgium	Lieutenant General E. Monmart, Belgian Army
Canada	Rear Admiral Robert W. Murdoch, Canadian Armed Forces
Denmark	Major General F. B. Larsen, Danish Army
Federal Republic of Germany	Lieutenant General Hellmuth Hauser, German Air Force
Greece	Lieutenant General N. Tamvakas, Hellenic Army
Italy	Lieutenant General Enzo Pistotti, Italian Army
Luxembourg	Major Pierre Dauffenbach, Luxembourg Army
Netherlands	Major General Reinier A. Sleen, Royal Netherlands Air Force
Norway	Major General Helge O. Mehre, Royal Norwegian Air Force
Portugal	Lieutenant General H. C. dos Santos Paiva, Portuguese Army
Turkey	Lieutenant General Turgut Sunalp, Turkish Army
United Kingdom	Air Chief Marshal Sir David Lee, Royal Air Force
United States	General Berton E. Spivy, United States Army
Chief, French Military Mission	Major General J. P. Spitzer, French Army

MAJOR NATO COMMANDERS

Supreme Allied Commander Europe, SACEUR:
General Andrew J. Goodpaster, (United States).
Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, SACLANT:
Admiral Ephraim P. Holmes (United States).
Commander-in-Chief Channel, CINCHAN:
Admiral Sir William O'Brien (United Kingdom).

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An Alliance for Peace

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is essentially, above all else, a defensive alliance. Secondly, NATO is an inter-governmental organization; it is not in any sense a supranational body. Thirdly, in peacetime national forces receive orders only from their own authorities, although they hold exercises together.* The military task of NATO in peacetime is to draw up joint defence plans to provide for the best possible use of NATO forces without delay in the event of war. This military preparedness is aimed above all at preventing war. The political task of the Alliance is to provide a forum for the consideration of and consultation on all political problems of relevance to its members or the Alliance as a whole.

During the autumn of 1948 negotiations took place between those powers who had already signed a Mutual Defence Pact in Europe – the Brussels Treaty (Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) – on the one hand, and Canada and the United States on the other. In the spring of 1949 Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway and Portugal were invited to join in these discussions and on 4th April that year the North Atlantic Treaty was signed by these twelve states.** From then on the full military power of the United States as well as Canada was committed to the defence of European democracies in peacetime.

When the Treaty was signed the memory of the first Com-

* Apart from the integrated staffs at the different NATO headquarters, the only exceptions to this rule are certain air defence units on constant alert and the "Standing Naval Force Atlantic" (STANAVFORLANT), a force of destroyer type ships provided by different NATO nations.

** Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom and United States. In 1952 Greece and Turkey acceded to the Treaty and the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955 (See "Paris Agreements", Documentation II). Today the Alliance has fifteen members.

munist coup in Prague in the spring of 1948, which led to the establishment of the Communist régime in Czechoslovakia, was fresh in men's minds and Berlin was being blockaded. Shortly after the Treaty was signed the blockade was lifted and in the 20 years since that date the European democracies have suffered no further reverses while the peace and the independence of the NATO area have been preserved.

Although the Alliance in its early years was primarily concerned with the need to establish an organization for efficient collective self-defence, political issues were discussed from the outset. This political consultation developed particularly after 1956 when a new stage was marked by the report on Non-military Co-operation in NATO (popularly known as "The Report of the Three Wise Men", after its authors, the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Norway and Canada, Signor Gaetano Martino, Mr. Halvard Lange and Mr. Lester Pearson). The Council and specialised Committees of the Alliance are now used in an ever increasing rôle for political consultation ranging over every field of common interest to the members of the Alliance and some very complex problems – such as proposals for disarmament and arms control – are brought to the Council for multilateral discussion. Thus the North Atlantic Council is playing an indispensable daily role as a forum and clearing house for the widest possible consultation between member governments.

Whilst increasing its political role, NATO has progressively improved its collective defence, adapting it in response to the nuclear and the technological developments which have profoundly influenced strategic planning in recent years. Thus an advanced computerized air defence system has been developed and satellites, for instance, are being used to ensure improved communications between Allied NATO Commands.

Since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949, the international scene has changed significantly. As a result the political tasks of the Alliance have assumed new dimensions.

However, while the changing pattern of events has also changed the nature of the confrontation with the East, it has

not diminished the basic problems. The need to find a fresh approach to these problems had led all fifteen governments to adopt, in December, 1967, the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance (popularly known as the "Harmel Report"). All agreed that "each ally should play its full part in promoting an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe" and promised an intensified study of disarmament and practical arms control measures, including the possibility of balanced force reductions. The unanimous aim of all member countries is "to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe accompanied by appropriate security guarantees".*

After the ministerial meeting in Reykjavik in June, 1968, a joint Declaration appended to the communiqué affirmed readiness to explore with other interested states specific and practical steps in the field of arms control. It invited the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries to study the all important problem of mutual force reductions and they called on them "to join in this search for progress towards peace".**

Two months later the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact countries invaded Czechoslovakia. This event was a remarkable demonstration of the uninhibited use of Communist military capability to enforce Soviet political intentions. Although not directed against any NATO country – but against a fellow member of the Warsaw Pact – it gave a clear demonstration to the West of the vital importance of a strong and resolute Atlantic Alliance.

Studies were immediately undertaken of the implications of the invasion for the Alliance and when the NATO ministers met again in November, 1968, in Brussels, they agreed that these events called for an improvement in the quality, effectiveness and deployment of NATO's forces. In their communiqué the fifteen ministers urged the Soviet Union, in the interests of world peace, to refrain from using force and interfering in the

* For the full text of this Report see Documentation III.

** See Documentation IV.

affairs of other states and said they could not remain indifferent to any development which endangers their security. They warned that "any Soviet intervention directly or indirectly affecting the situation in Europe or in the Mediterranean would create an international crisis with grave consequences". After noting that prospects for mutual balanced force reductions had now suffered a severe setback they added "nevertheless the Allies in close consultation are continuing their studies and preparations for a time when the atmosphere for fruitful discussions is more favourable".

They pointed out, however, that the use of force and the stationing in Czechoslovakia of Soviet forces had aroused "grave uncertainty about the situation and about the calculations and intentions of the USSR. This uncertainty demands great vigilance on the part of the Allies". After urging the Soviet Union "in the interests of world peace to refrain from using force and interfering in the affairs of other states" the Ministers added:

"So long as the Soviet leaders adhere to a policy of force, these new uncertainties will remain. The Allies are convinced that their political solidarity remains indispensable to discourage aggression and other forms of oppression. Above all, they stand wholly determined to meet their common responsibilities and, in accordance with the North Atlantic Treaty, to defend the members of the Alliance against any armed attack."

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*The Organization**

The Council and the Defence Planning Committee (DPC)

The North Atlantic Council is the highest authority of the Alliance. It is composed of representatives of the fifteen member countries. These being sovereign states, equal in status, all decisions of the Council are taken unanimously. The Council may meet at the level either of Ministers or Permanent Representatives (holding the rank of Ambassador). At Ministerial Meetings of the Council, the members of the Alliance are represented by one – or several – of their ministers (for Foreign Affairs, Defence, Finance, Economic Affairs) according to the agenda of the meeting. In December 1957, the Council also met at the level of Heads of Government. The Council meets at Ministerial level at least twice a year: in the spring in the capital of one of the member countries, in the winter at NATO Headquarters in Brussels. Between Ministerial Sessions, the Permanent Representatives meet at least once a week – often more frequently – thus ensuring continuous consultation. The Council can be called together any time at short notice.

Whatever the level at which the Council meets, its chairman is the Secretary General of NATO. Each year the Foreign Minister of a member state is honorary President of the Council. This Presidency rotates annually according to alphabetical order in English.

Since the Organization of the North Atlantic Treaty is not supra-national, all decisions taken are the expressions of the *collective will of the member governments*. It is in the Council that the views of governments are exchanged on all major issues. Consultation covers political, military, economic and

* See structural diagram, pages 32 and 33.

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a wide range of other subjects. (To produce the same results through normal diplomatic channels, involving each country consulting the other 14, would require no less than 105 bilateral exchanges).

Military policy matters are discussed at the same level in the "Defence Planning Committee". As in the Council, member countries are represented on this Committee by their Permanent Representatives. They meet round the same table as the Council and also under the same chairmanship of the Secretary General. Since the withdrawal of France from the integrated military organization in 1966, her representative does not attend these meetings.

The Permanent Representatives and Delegations

The Permanent Representatives are assisted by national Delegations also located at NATO Headquarters. The Delegations vary in size but the majority of them include officers specifically charged with representing their countries on the various specialized committees. Before a meeting of the Council notice is given of the agenda and any subjects to be discussed, so that representatives have time to seek the instructions of their governments.

The Council Committees

In carrying out its role, the Council is assisted by Committees, some of a permanent nature, some temporary. Like the Council, the membership of each committee is made up of national representatives drawn from the delegations. They study questions submitted to them by the Council for assessment or recommendation. As in the case of decisions of the Council, committee decisions represent a *collective view of the fifteen governments based on the instructions those governments have sent to their representatives on the committees*. The most important committees are those dealing with the following matters: Political Affairs, Armaments, Defence Review, Economic Affairs, Science, Infrastructure, Civil Emergency Planning, Information and Cultural Affairs, Military and Civil

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Budget Committees. Many other committees deal with specialized subjects, such as NATO pipelines, communications, European air space, etc.

Since 1966 the problems of nuclear defence are dealt with by the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee (which is composed of all member countries, except France, Iceland, and Luxembourg, and which meets at the level of Permanent Representatives) and the Nuclear Planning Group (a Committee of seven/eight members). The NPG, which meets regularly at Permanent Representatives level and twice a year at Ministerial level, changes its membership so that countries not possessing nuclear weapons have an opportunity, together with the nuclear powers, to participate in the planning of the nuclear defence measures of the Alliance as a whole.*

The Secretary General and the International Secretariat

The Secretary General is both Chairman of the North Atlantic Council and of the Defence Planning Committee at all levels. He is the head of the International Secretariat, whose staff is drawn from all member countries.

The Secretary General has the right to propose items for NATO consultation and he is generally responsible for promoting and directing the process of consultation. He has the authority to offer his good offices informally at any time in cases of disputes between member countries, and with their consent, to initiate or facilitate procedures of enquiry, mediation, conciliation or arbitration (for example recently with Greece and Turkey over Cyprus).**

The Deputy Secretary General assists the Secretary General in his function and deputises for him in his absence. Under the Secretary General are four Assistant Secretaries General, each in charge of a division, as follows: Political Affairs, Defence

* On May 1st, 1970, the members of the Nuclear Planning Group were: Canada, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

** See "Report on Non-Military Co-operation", para 57. (published separately)

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Planning & Policy, Defence Support, and Scientific Affairs. Each Assistant Secretary General is normally chairman of the main committee dealing with his subject.

The Executive Secretary is Secretary to the North Atlantic Council and the Defence Planning Committee and is also responsible for Council Operations, Communications and Security.

There is a separate Office of Administration under a Director. The Financial Controller, who is appointed by the Council, is responsible for the control of expenditure. (Further details of the structure of the International Secretariat and the division of work done by its staff are given in Annex 1).

The Military Committee

The Military Committee is the highest military authority in the Alliance and is responsible for making recommendations to the Council and Defence Planning Committee on military matters and for supplying guidance on military questions to Allied Commanders and subordinate military authorities. It is composed of the Chiefs-of-Staff of all member countries, except France. Iceland, having no military forces, may be represented by a civilian. The Chiefs-of-Staff meet at least twice a year – and whenever else it may be found necessary. However, to enable the Military Committee to function in permanent session with effective powers of decision, each Chief-of-Staff appoints a Permanent Military Representative. Between meetings of the Chiefs-of-Staff, their Permanent Military Representatives deal with and settle questions which come within the province of the Military Committee, except those which, by their nature and scope, require the approval of the Chiefs-of-Staff. Liaison between the Military Committee and the French High Command is effected through the Chief of the French Military Mission to the Military Committee.

The Presidency of the Military Committee rotates annually in the alphabetical order of countries. The Chairmanship is held by a Permanent chairman, elected by the Committee for a period of two to three years. There is a Deputy Chairman who

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is also specifically responsible for the coordination of nuclear matters within the International Military Staff.

The Military Committee is represented on the North Atlantic Council and has a number of NATO military agencies under its authority.*

The International Military Staff

The Military Committee is assisted by an integrated International Military Staff which is headed by a Director, selected from any of the member nations. The Director is assisted by six Assistant Directors of flag or general officer rank, and the Secretary of the International Military Staff. The six Assistant Directors head the Divisions for Intelligence; Plans and Policy; Operations, Training and Organization; Logistics; Communications and Electronics; and Command, Control and Information Systems. As the executive agency of the Military Committee, the International Military Staff is charged with ensuring that the policies and decisions of the Military Committee are implemented as directed. In addition, the International Military Staff prepares plans, initiates studies and recommends policy on matters of a military nature.

The NATO Commands

The strategic area covered by the North Atlantic Treaty is divided, taking account of geographical and political factors, among three Commands: the Atlantic Ocean Command, the European Command and the Channel Command. (Defence plans for the North American area are developed by the Canada-US Regional Planning Group). The authority exercised by these Commands varies in form, being affected by the geographical and political factors and by the situation under peace or war conditions.

The forces of member countries remain under national command in peacetime; some of them may either be assigned or earmarked to NATO Commands.

The NATO Commanders are responsible for the development

* See Annex 3, page 30, for full list of NATO military agencies.

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of defence plans for their respective areas, for the determination of force requirements and for the deployment and exercise of the forces under their Command.

The organization of these Commands is flexible enough and the liaison between them close enough to allow for mutual support in the event of war, and the rapid shifting of the necessary land, sea and air forces to meet any situation likely to confront the North Atlantic Community.

THE EUROPEAN COMMAND

Allied Command Europe (ACE) covers the area extending from the North Cape to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the eastern border of Turkey, excluding the United Kingdom and Portugal, the defence of which does not fall under any one major NATO Command. ACE is subdivided into a number of subordinate Commands*.

The European area is under the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), whose headquarters, near Mons in Belgium, are known as SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe).

The Supreme Commander has also under his orders the ACE Mobile Force. This force is composed of both land and air force units supplied by different member countries. It can be ready for action at very short notice in any threatened area and in particular on the northern and southern flanks of the European Command.

In peacetime SACEUR's main functions are to prepare and finalize defence plans for the area under his command, and ensure the combat efficiency of forces assigned to him in the event of war. SACEUR also makes recommendations to the Military Committee on matters likely to improve the organization of his command.

* ACE subordinate Commands are: *the Northern Europe Command* (Kolsas, Norway); *the Central Europe Command* (Brunssum, the Netherlands); *the Southern Europe Command* (Naples, Italy); *the UK Air Defence Region Command* (Stanmore, UK); and *the ACE Mobile Force* (Seckenheim, Fed. Rep. of Germany). (For further details concerning ACE and its subordinate Commands see Annex 2).

He would, in time of war, control all land, sea and air operations in this area. Internal defence (including that of Sardinia and Sicily) and defence of coastal waters remain the responsibility of the national authorities concerned, but the Supreme Commander would have full authority to carry out such operations as he considered necessary for the defence of any part of the area under his Command.

Thirteen of the North Atlantic countries maintain a National Military Representative (NMR) at SHAPE, providing military liaison with the Allied Chief-of-Staff. France has a military liaison mission at SHAPE.

SACEUR and his Deputy Supreme Allied Commander are assisted by political and scientific advisers in addition to the usual military staff advisers.

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN COMMAND

This Command extends from the North Pole to the Tropic of Cancer and from the coastal waters of North America to those of Europe and Africa, except for the Channel and the British Isles. The Atlantic Ocean Command is subdivided into a number of subordinate commands*.

The Supreme Commander Atlantic also has under his orders the NATO Standing Naval Force Atlantic (STANAVFORLANT). This force is composed of an international squadron of ships from NATO countries normally operating in the Atlantic.

The Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic (SACLANT), like the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, receives his directions from the Military Committee.

SACLANT's peacetime responsibilities consist of preparing and finalizing defence plans, conducting joint training exer-

* Commands subordinate to the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic are: *the Western Atlantic Command* (Norfolk, US); *the Eastern Atlantic Command* (Northwood, UK); *the Striking Fleet Atlantic* (Afloat); *the Submarines Allied Command Atlantic* (Norfolk, US); *the Iberian Atlantic Command* (Lisbon, Portugal); and *the Standing Naval Force Atlantic* (Afloat). (For further details concerning SACLANT and his subordinate Commands see Annex 2.)

cises, laying down training standards and supplying the NATO authorities with information on his strategic requirements.

The primary task in wartime of the Allied Command Atlantic is to ensure security in the whole Atlantic area by guarding the sea lanes and denying their use to an enemy. SACLANT has responsibility for islands in this area, such as Iceland and the Azores.

SACLANT's responsibilities are almost entirely operational. STANAVFORLANT is permanently attached to his Command in peacetime. In addition, for training purposes and in the event of war, forces earmarked by the nations involved are assigned to his direction. Although these forces are predominantly naval, they also include ground forces and land-based air forces.

THE CHANNEL COMMAND AND THE CHANNEL COMMITTEE

The Channel Command covers the English Channel and the southern areas of the North Sea. Its mission is to control and protect merchant shipping in the area, co-operating with SACEUR in the air defence of the Channel. In emergency the forces earmarked to the Command are predominantly naval but include maritime air forces. The Allied Commander-in-Chief has a Maritime Air Adviser who is also the Commander Allied Maritime Air Force Channel.

The Channel Committee consists of the Naval Chiefs-of-Staff of Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, and acts as an advisory body to the Allied Commander-in-Chief.

CANADA-UNITED STATES REGIONAL PLANNING GROUP

This Planning Group, which covers the North American area, develops and recommends to the Military Committee plans for the defence of the Canada-United States region. It meets alternately in Washington and Ottawa.

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III

The North Atlantic Treaty

Fundamentally, the North Atlantic Treaty consists of a framework for broadly based co-operation between the signatory countries. It is not solely a military alliance designed to prevent aggression or to repel it should it occur; it also provides for continuous co-operation and consultation in political economic and other non-military fields.

The signatory countries undertake, in conformity with the terms of the United Nations Charter, to preserve peace and international security and to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They further undertake to eliminate possible conflict in their international economic policies and to encourage economic collaboration between their countries.

The Treaty has thus a double aspect; it affirms the importance of economic and social progress and, at the same time, the adoption of a policy of security, based on the inherent right of collective self-defence. The Treaty is an agreement between certain countries for their collective self-defence as provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. It consists of a Preamble and fourteen Articles.*

The Preamble outlines the main features of the Treaty: it is a Treaty of alliance within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, for the defence of a way of life, not only by means of essential military measures but also by co-operation in political, economic, social and cultural fields.

Article 1 defines *the basic principles* to be followed by member countries in conducting their international relations in order to avoid endangering peace and world security.

Article 2 defines *the aims* to be followed by member countries

* For a full text of the Treaty see Documentation I.

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in their international relationships, and their resulting obligations.

Article 3 deals with the means of *maintaining and increasing the individual and collective capacity of NATO member countries to resist an armed attack*. Member countries of NATO are under an obligation to develop their individual capacities to resist and to act jointly through the medium of mutual assistance.

Article 4 envisages a threat to one of the member countries of NATO. *Member countries will consult together if the territorial integrity or political independence of one of them is endangered*. In practice, this consultation takes place within the framework of the North Atlantic Council meetings.

Article 5 is the most important Article of the Treaty. It states: *"The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all..."*.

This Article goes on to define the obligations of countries in the event of armed attack. These consist in taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties to the Treaty, such action, *including the use of armed force*, as is deemed *necessary by each Party*.

Each country is therefore free to take whatever action it considers appropriate.

Joint action is justified by the exercise of the natural right of self-defence, individual or collective, as provided for in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

The exercise of this right in no way affects the primary competence of the Security Council in matters relating to the maintenance and restoration of peace. The final provisions of Article 5 stipulate that the measures so taken shall be reported to the Security Council and shall be terminated when that body has taken necessary measures.

Article 6 defines *the area in which the provisions of Article 5 are applicable*. This area covers the territories of all member countries in Europe and North America, the territory of Turkey in Asia Minor, the islands under the jurisdiction of any member in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer and any Allied forces, vessels or aircraft in that area or in the Mediterranean.

The definition of the military area in which the Treaty is applicable in no way implies that political events occurring outside it cannot be the subject of consultations within the Council, for it is the overall international situation which is liable to affect the preservation of peace and security in the area in question, and it is to consideration of this situation that the Council must, and indeed does, devote its attention as a matter of course.

Article 9 provides for the creation of *bodies to implement the provisions of the Treaty*. It is these bodies which constitute the "Organization" as such within the strict meaning of the North Atlantic Treaty. It commits its Parties in particular to *"establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented"*. This Council *"shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time"*. For the rest it is left to the Council to *"set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary"* and this is the basis on which the organization has gradually been built up.

Articles 12 and 13 deal with possibilities of *revision and denunciation of the Treaty*. After ten years the Parties may agree to review the Treaty (Article 12). After it has been in force for twenty years any Party may withdraw from the Alliance one year after it has given notice of denunciation. (Article 13). The Treaty itself is of indefinite duration.

Annexes

1. The International Secretariat
2. NATO Commands
3. NATO Agencies
4. Senior Civil and Military Officials of NATO

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ANNEX 1

The International Secretariat

The Secretary General is Chairman of the North Atlantic Council and is responsible for the direction of the International Staff/Secretariat. The Deputy Secretary General assists the Secretary General in the exercise of his functions, and replaces him in his absence. The International Secretariat is organized in four divisions, plus the Executive Secretariat and the Offices of Administration and of the Financial Controller.

The Division of Political Affairs

Under the Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs the Political Division is organized in three separate Directorates – Political Affairs, Economic Affairs, and Information – and a Press Service.

The *Political Affairs Directorate* has the following responsibilities:

- a) Preparation of the political discussions of the Council and of the discussions of the Committee of Political Advisers;
- b) Preparation of notes and reports on political subjects for the Secretary General and the Council;
- c) Political liaison with the Delegations of member countries;
- d) Liaison with other international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental.

The Assistant Secretary General is Chairman of the Political Committee and of the Committee on Information and Cultural Relations.

The *Economic Directorate* carries out similar functions with regard to all economic questions having political or defence implications of concern to NATO and maintains contacts with international economic organizations. The Director presides over the Economic Committee.

The *Information Directorate* has the task of informing public opinion about the aims and achievements of the Atlantic Alliance. It assists member governments to widen public under-

standing of NATO activities through the medium of periodicals, films, radio and TV programmes, publications and exhibitions. It also arranges for group visits to NATO Headquarters for briefings and participates in the organization of special courses and seminars on NATO matters for young people. The Directorate includes a Library and Documentation Service.

The Press Service

The Head of the Press Service acts as the official spokesman for NATO in contacts with the Press. He is also responsible for daily press reviews and press cutting services to the Secretariat.

The Division of Defence Planning and Policy

This Division is headed by the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Planning and Policy, and has three different Directorates – the Nuclear Planning, Force Planning and the Civil Emergency Planning Directorates.

The *Nuclear Planning Directorate* is responsible for the study of the non military aspects of the Defence Planning Committee's political directives and guidance to the NATO Military Authorities, including problems relating to the planning and control of the use of nuclear weapons.

The *Force Planning Directorate* is responsible for the study of the overall financial aspects of defence by country, within the framework of the plans laid down by the Military Authorities, and the National Defence budgets; and the analysis and estimate of the costs by Services of the Defence programmes.

The *Civil Emergency Planning Directorate* is charged with the general coordination in the common interest of the Alliance of all activities undertaken within the framework of Civil Emergency Planning in time of war and crisis, in particular in the triple fields of protection of population and goods, management and distribution of resources, and transportation of any kind.

The Division of Defence Support

This Division is headed by the Assistant Secretary General for Defence Support and has two different Directorates – the

Armaments and Defence Research, and the Infrastructure Directorates.

The *Armaments and Defence Research Directorate* is responsible for the promotion of the most efficient use of the resources of the Alliance for the equipment and support of its forces. This task especially involves:

- the encouragement of co-operation between nations in research, development and production and standardization of weapons and equipment and their supply and maintenance within the framework of the defence plans of the Alliance;
- the organization of exchanges of information which may lead to such equipment;
- the study of logistic problems including the operation of the NATO Pipeline System, the NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization, etc.

It also participates in the process of Defence Reviews on matters within the responsibility and competence of the Division.

The *Infrastructure Directorate* assures technical and financial supervision of the NATO Infrastructure programme.

The Scientific Affairs Division

The Assistant Secretary General for Scientific Affairs is the Chairman of the Science Committee, and has the following responsibilities:

- a) to advise the Secretary General on scientific matters of interest to NATO;
- b) to ensure liaison in the scientific field with the military and civil authorities of NATO, with agencies in the member countries responsible for implementation of science policies and with international organizations having scientific affiliations;
- c) to direct the activities of the working groups created by the Science Committee, and in general to implement the decisions of the Science Committee and its working groups.

The Office of the Executive Secretary

The Executive Secretary is Secretary to the North Atlantic

Council and the Defence Planning Committee. His office is composed of three Directorates:

The *Council Operations Directorate* provides the secretariat for the Council's main committees and working groups. It includes a section responsible for the Co-ordination of Air Space; and a section for operations which mans the NATO Situation Centre; and is responsible for the staff work in connection with the Exercises in which the civil elements of NATO participate;

The *Communications and Electronics Directorate* provides the technical staff required to co-ordinate NATO civil and military requirements in the field of telecommunications;

The *Security Directorate* is responsible for the overall co-ordination of security for NATO and for providing advice and guidance on NATO security matters. The Directorate conducts periodic surveys of all NATO security systems to ensure that member nations, NATO Military Authorities, and NATO civil and military Agencies have implemented NATO security regulations for the protection of NATO classified material.

Office of Administration

The Director of Administration is responsible for the general administration of the International Staff and for the preparation and presentation of the annual budget. He heads the *Personnel Services* and provides co-ordinating personnel management and policy guidance for the civilian staffs throughout NATO. The Office of Administration provides the *Conference Linguistic Services* and is responsible for the security and maintenance of the Headquarters.

The *Statistics Service* comes under the supervision of the Director of Administration and is responsible for all statistical studies and in particular those required to assess the NATO defence effort.

The Office of the Financial Controller

This independent office is headed by the Financial Controller, who is appointed by the Council and is responsible for the control of expenditures within the framework of the budgets.

ANNEX 2

NATO COMMANDS

ACE: *Allied Command Europe*, Headquarters (SHAPE): Mons (Belgium)

Commands subordinate to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe:

- a) *The Northern Europe Command:* Kolsaas, Norway.
This Command comprises – Allied Task Forces North Norway; Allied Land Forces Norway; Allied Naval Forces Scandinavian Approaches; Allied Tactical Air Forces Southern Norway; and Allied Forces Baltic Approaches.
- b) *The Central Europe Command:* Brunssum, Netherlands.
This Command comprises – Northern Army Group; Central Army Group; 2nd Allied Tactical Air Force; and 4th Allied Tactical Air Force.
- c) *The Southern Europe Command:* Naples, Italy.
This Command comprises – Naval Striking and Support Forces Southern Europe; two Allied Land Forces; one for Southern Europe and one for South-Eastern Europe; Allied Air Forces Southern Europe; and Allied Naval Forces Southern Europe.
- d) *The UK Air Defence Region Command:* Stanmore, UK.
- e) *The Allied Command Europe Mobile Force:* Seckenheim, Germany.

ACLANT: *Allied Command Atlantic*, Headquarters: Norfolk, Virginia(U.S.)

Commands subordinate to the Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic:

- a) *The Western Atlantic Command.*
This Command comprises – a Submarine Force Western Atlantic Area Command; an Ocean Sub-Area Command; a Canadian Atlantic Sub-Area Command; and the Bermuda, Azores and Greenland Island Commands.
- b) *The Eastern Atlantic Command.*
This Command comprises – Eastern Atlantic Area; Maritime Air Eastern Atlantic Area; Northern Sub-Area; Maritime Air Northern Sub-Area; Central Sub-Area; Maritime Air Central Sub-Area; Submarine Force Eastern Atlantic Area; and the Island Commanders of Iceland and the Faeroes.
- c) *The Striking Fleet Atlantic Command.*
This Command comprises – a Carrier Striking Force, and the Carrier Striking Groups One and Two.

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- d) *The Submarines Allied Command Atlantic.*
- e) *The Iberian Atlantic Command.*
This comprises the Island Command of Madeira, and the Naval Command of Gibraltar.
- f) *The Standing Naval Force Atlantic – afloat.*

ACCHAN: *Allied Command Channel*, Headquarters: Northwood (U.K.)

Commands subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief, Channel Command:

- a) *The Nore Channel Command*
- b) *The Plymouth Channel Command*
- c) *The Benelux Channel Command*
- d) *The Commander Maritime Air Channel Command*

ANNEX 3

NATO Agencies

CIVILIAN AGENCIES

Central Europe Pipeline System (CEPS)

Established in 1957 for the multi-national control of the operation and maintenance of the integrated military pipeline network in Central Europe, this Organization has eight member nations. Is responsible to the Council. Located at Versailles, France.

NATO Air Defence Ground Environment System Organization (NADGE)

Established in 1965, this Organization is responsible for the implementation of the NADGE Project, which, by improving existing air defence systems, will provide a means of receiving continuous early warning of hostile aircraft and missiles from Norway to Turkey and taking retaliatory action through computerized air defence response centres. Is responsible to the Council. Located in Brussels.

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NATO Hawk Production and Logistics Organization (NHPLO)
Established in 1959 to supervise the multi-national production of the HAWK surface-to-air missile system in Europe, this Organization now undertakes the logistic support of HAWK units in Europe and has started on a European Limited Improvement Programme. Seven nations participate. Is responsible to the Council. Located at Rueil-Malmaison, France.

NATO Maintenance and Supply Organization (NAMSO)
Established in 1958, this Organization supplies spare parts and logistic support for a number of jointly-used weapon systems or equipments, especially missiles and electronic systems. All nations except Canada and Iceland are members. Is responsible to the Council. Located in Luxembourg.

MILITARY AGENCIES

Allied Communications Security Agency (ACSA)
Advises on all matters relating to communications security. Located in Brussels.

Allied Long Lines Agency (ALLA)
Created in 1951, this Agency provides the focal point within NATO for the formulation of policies and plans to meet the long lines requirements of NATO. Is responsible to the Military Committee. Located in Brussels.

Advisory Group for Aerospace Research and Development (AGARD)
Created in 1952 to advise on the most efficient usage of the research facilities, the installations and the personnel. Is responsible to the Military Committee. Located in Paris.

Allied Naval Communications Agency (ANCA)
Established in 1951 to meet the requirements of the Major NATO Commanders for adequate and reliable communications for maritime operations. Located in London.

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Allied Radio Frequency Agency (ARFA)
Formed in 1951 for the establishment of policies concerned with the management of the military use of the radio frequency spectrum. The Agency also provides engineering assistance to all nations and NATO Commands in the selection of suitable radio frequencies. Located in Brussels.

Military Agency for Standardization (MAS)
Set up in 1951 to foster military standardization with the aim of enabling NATO forces to operate together in the most effective manner. Consists of representatives of all participating nations and is served by an international staff. Chairman, MAS, is the sole promulgating authority for all standardization agreements and is responsible directly to the Military Committee. Located in Brussels.

NATO Defence College (NDC)
Founded in 1951 for the training of officials, civilian or military, who will serve in key posts in NATO organizations, or in national ministries. Is responsible to the Military Committee. Located in Rome.

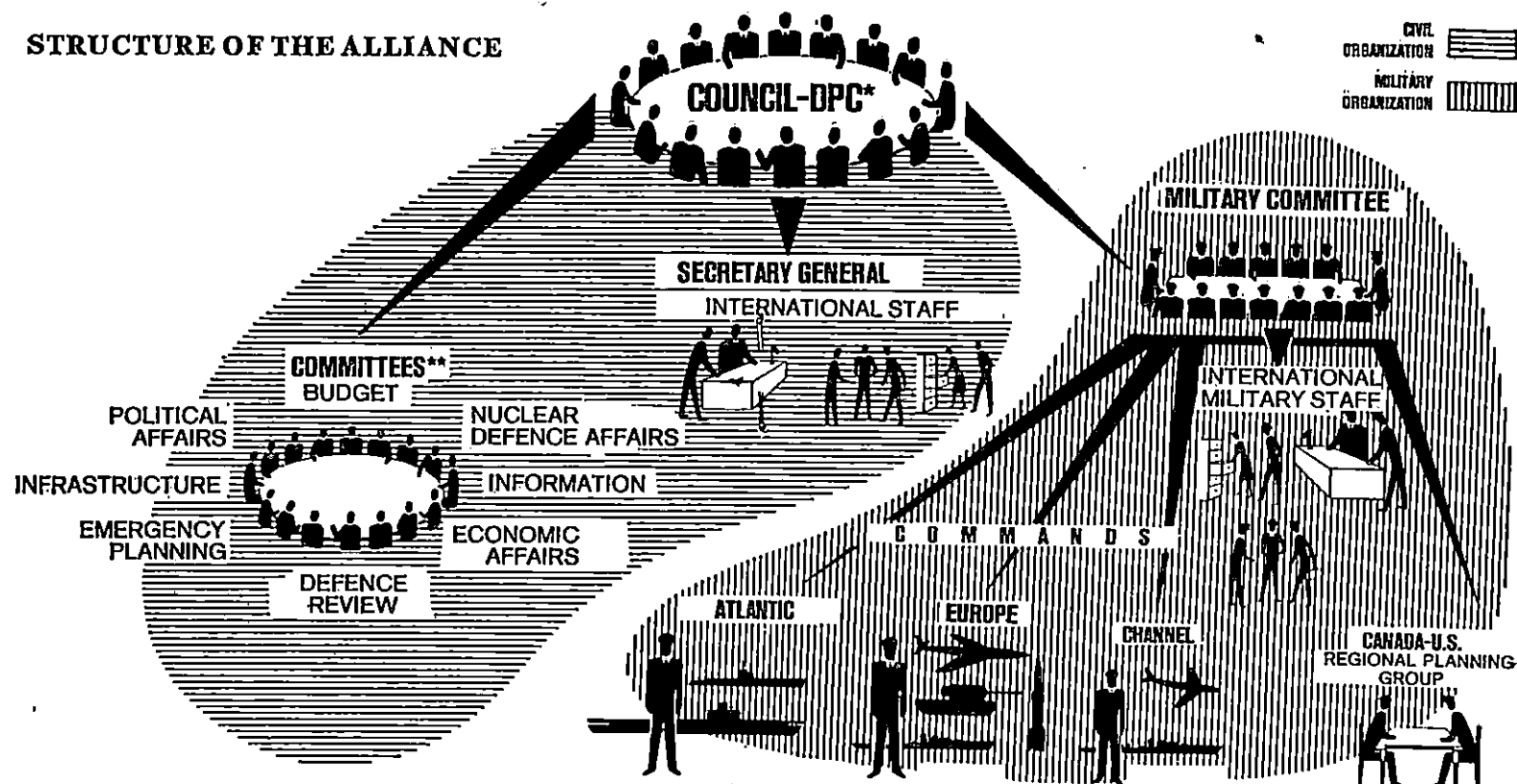
SACLANT Anti-Submarine Warfare Research Centre
Created in 1962 for research into submarine detection and oceanographic problems. Is responsible to SACLANT. Located in La Spezia, Italy.

SHAPE Technical Centre
Created in 1960, this Centre provides scientific and technical advice to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe. Is responsible to SHAPE. Located in The Hague.

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STRUCTURE OF THE ALLIANCE



* The Defence Planning Committee (DPC) is composed of representatives of the 14 countries which take part in NATO's integrated defence.

** The main committees of the Council-DPC deal with the following subjects: Political Affairs; Nuclear Defence Affairs; Economic Affairs; Defence Review; Armaments; Science; Infrastructure; Senior Civil Emergency Planning; Information and Cultural Relations; Challenges of Modern Society; Civilian Budget; Military Budget; European Airspace Co-ordination; NATO Pipelines; etc.

*** Standing Naval Force Atlantic.

SACLANT
NORFOLK (U.S.A.)

SUBORDINATE COMMANDS:

- WESTERN ATLANTIC
Norfolk U.S.A.
- EASTERN ATLANTIC
Northwood U.K.
- SUBMARINES
Norfolk U.S.A.
- IBERIAN ATLANTIC
Lisbon Portugal
- STRIKING FLEET
Afloat
- STANAVFORLANT***
Afloat

SACEUR
MONS (BELGIUM)

SUBORDINATE COMMANDS:

- NORTHERN EUROPE
Kolås Norway
- CENTRAL EUROPE
Brunsum Netherlands
- SOUTHERN EUROPE
Naples Italy
- ACE MOBILE FORCE
Seckenheim Germany
- UNITED KINGDOM AIR DEFENCE REGION
Stanmore U.K.

CINCHAN
NORTHWOOD (U.K.)

SUBORDINATE COMMANDS:

- NORE CHANNEL
Rosyth U.K.
- PLYMOUTH CHANNEL
Plymouth U.K.
- BENELUX CHANNEL
Walcheren Netherlands
- COMMAIRCHAN
Northwood U.K.

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THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

Washington D.C., 4 April, 1949*

The Parties to this Treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area. They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty:

ARTICLE 1

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 2

The Parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

ARTICLE 3

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE 4

The Parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

* The Treaty came into force on 24 August, 1949, after the deposition of the ratifications of all signatory states.

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ARTICLE 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE 6*

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack

- on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France**, on the territory of Turkey or on the islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;
- on the forces, vessels, or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

ARTICLE 7

This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the Parties which are members of the United Nations, or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 8

Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

* As amended by Article 2 of the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey.

** On 16th January, 1963, the French Representative made a statement to the North Atlantic Council on the effects of the independence of Algeria on certain aspects of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Council noted that insofar as the former Algerian Departments of France were concerned the relevant clauses of this Treaty had become inapplicable as from 3rd July, 1962.

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ARTICLE 9

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

ARTICLE 10

The Parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America will inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

ARTICLE 11

This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the United States of America, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States, have been deposited and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

ARTICLE 12

After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the Parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE 13

After the Treaty has been in force for twenty years, any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the United States of America, which will inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

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ARTICLE 14

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.

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THE PARIS AGREEMENTS

On August 29, 1954, the French National Assembly rejected the treaty creating the European Defence Community, thus nullifying the formula agreed on at the Lisbon Ministerial Meeting in February 1952 to associate the Federal Republic of Germany with the common defence. But the countries concerned soon devised an alternative solution. On the initiative of the British government a conference was held in London from September 28 to October 3, 1954, between the Foreign Ministers of the five signatory countries of the Brussels Treaty and of the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Canada and the United States. Several decisions were taken which later were approved at a new meeting held in Paris from October 20 to 22 and which constitute the Paris Agreements signed on October 23, 1954. The following decisions were adopted:

- Termination of the Occupation régime in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Federal government undertook to allow foreign forces of the same effective strength to be stationed on its territory as were already there at the time of the signing of the Agreements.
- Accession of the Federal Republic of Germany and of Italy to the Brussels Treaty and the creation of the "Western European Union".
- Agreement within the framework of this Union on the maximum force levels of each member and the establishment of an agency for the control of armaments and forces.
- Undertaking by the United Kingdom, subject to certain reservations, to maintain on the mainland of Europe the effective strength of its forces assigned to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (4 divisions and the 2nd Tactical Air Force).
- Accession of the Federal Republic of Germany to the North Atlantic Treaty.
- Creation of a unified military organization under the Supreme Allied Commander Europe consisting of the forces, subject to certain exceptions, of all the member nations stationed in the area of his command.

The Paris Agreements comprise:

1. *Documents signed by two Parties* (France and the Federal Republic of Germany). Subject: Franco-German disputes (the resolution of cultural, economic and other difficulties) and the Saar.
2. *Documents signed by four Parties*: France, the United States, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany relating to German sovereignty:
 - a. Protocol on the termination of the Occupation régime in the Federal Republic;
 - b. Amendments to the Convention on Relations between the Occupying Powers and the Federal Republic (Revocation of the Occupation Statute, Retention of Rights, stationing of Allied forces, state of emergency,

- hypothesis of reunification);
 - c. Amendments to the Convention on the Rights and Obligations of Foreign Forces in Germany;
 - d. Amendments to the Finance Convention;
 - e. Amendments to the Convention on the Settlement of Matters arising out of the War and the Occupation;
 - f. Convention on the Presence of Foreign Forces in the Federal Republic of Germany.
- (The Conventions cited at a, b, c, d and e above are those signed in Bonn on 26 May, 1952, and designed to end the Occupation régime.)

3. *Documents signed by five Parties*: Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and the United Kingdom. Subject: Declaration inviting the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy to accede to the Brussels Treaty.

4. *Documents signed by seven Parties*: Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy.

- a. Protocol revising and completing the Brussels Treaty;
- b. Protocol on the forces of Western European Union;
- c. Protocol on the control of armaments;
- d. Protocol on the Agency of Western European Union for the Control of Armaments;
- e. Exchange of letters relating to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice;
- f. Resolution on the Production and Standardization of Armaments.

5. *Documents signed by the 14 North Atlantic Treaty countries*:

- a. Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of the Federal Republic of Germany;
- b. Resolution by the North Atlantic Council to implement Section IV of the Final Act of the London Conference (authority of SACEUR);
- c. Resolution of Association taking note of the obligations accepted by the Federal Republic on the signature of the London Agreements and of the declaration relating to such obligations.

III

FUTURE TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

(THE "HARMEL REPORT" - DECEMBER 1967)

A year ago, on the initiative of the Foreign Minister of Belgium, the governments of the fifteen nations of the Alliance resolved to "study the future tasks which face the Alliance, and its procedures for fulfilling them in order to strengthen the Alliance as a factor for durable peace". The present report sets forth the general tenor and main principles emerging from this examination of the future tasks of the Alliance.

2. Studies were undertaken by Messrs. Schütz, Watson, Spaak, Kohler and Patijn. The Council wishes to express its appreciation and thanks to these eminent personalities for their efforts and for the analyses they produced.
3. The exercise has shown that the Alliance is a dynamic and vigorous organization which is constantly adapting itself to changing conditions. It also has shown that its future tasks can be handled within the terms of the Treaty by building on the methods and procedures which have proved their value over many years.
4. Since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949 the international situation has changed significantly and the political tasks of the Alliance have assumed a new dimension. Amongst other developments, the Alliance has played a major part in stopping Communist expansion in Europe; the USSR has become one of the two world super powers but the Communist world is no longer monolithic; the Soviet doctrine of "peaceful co-existence" has changed the nature of the confrontation with the West but not the basic problems. Although the disparity between the power of the United States and that of the European states remains, Europe has recovered and is on its way towards unity. The process of decolonisation has transformed European relations with the rest of the world; at the same time, major problems have arisen in the relations between developed and developing countries.
5. The Atlantic Alliance has two main functions. Its first function is to maintain adequate military strength and political solidarity to deter aggression and other forms of pressure and to defend the territory of member countries if aggression should occur. Since its inception, the Alliance has successfully fulfilled this task. But the possibility of a crisis cannot be excluded as long as the central political issues in Europe, first and foremost the German Question, remain unsolved. Moreover, the situation of instability and uncertainty still precludes a balanced reduction of military forces. Under these conditions, the Allies will maintain as necessary, a suitable military capability to assure the balance of forces, thereby creating a climate of stability, security and confidence.

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In this climate the Alliance can carry out its second function, to pursue the search for progress towards a more stable relationship in which the underlying political issues can be solved. Military security and a policy of détente are not contradictory but complementary. Collective defence is a stabilising factor in world politics. It is the necessary condition for effective policies directed towards a greater relaxation of tensions. The way to peace and stability in Europe rests in particular on the use of the Alliance constructively in the interest of détente. The participation of the USSR and the USA will be necessary to achieve a settlement of the political problems in Europe.

6. From the beginning the Atlantic Alliance has been a co-operative grouping of states sharing the same ideals and with a high degree of common interest. Their cohesion and solidarity provide an element of stability within the Atlantic area.
7. As sovereign states the Allies are not obliged to subordinate their policies to collective decision. The Alliance affords an effective forum and clearing house for the exchange of information and views; thus, each of the Allies can decide his policy in the light of close knowledge of each others' problems and objectives. To this end the practice of frank and timely consultations needs to be deepened and improved. Each Ally should play its full part in promoting an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, bearing in mind that the pursuit of détente must not be allowed to split the Alliance. The chances of success will clearly be greatest if the Allies remain on parallel courses, especially in matters of close concern to them all; their actions will thus be all the more effective.
8. No peaceful order in Europe is possible without a major effort by all concerned. The evolution of Soviet and East European policies gives ground for hope that those governments may eventually come to recognise the advantages to them of collaborating in working towards a peaceful settlement. But no final and stable settlement in Europe is possible without a solution of the German question which lies at the heart of present tensions in Europe. Any such settlement must end the unnatural barriers between Eastern and Western Europe, which are most clearly and cruelly manifested in the division of Germany.
9. Accordingly the Allies are resolved to direct their energies to this purpose by realistic measures designed to further a détente in East-West relations. The relaxation of tensions is not the final goal but is part of a long-term process to promote better relations and to foster a European settlement. The ultimate political purpose of the Alliance is to achieve a just and lasting peaceful order in Europe accompanied by appropriate security guarantees.
10. Currently, the development of contacts between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe is now mainly on a bilateral basis. Certain subjects, of course, require by their very nature a multilateral solution.

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11. The problem of German reunification and its relationship to a European settlement has normally been dealt with in exchanges between the Soviet Union and the three Western powers having special responsibilities in this field. In the preparation of such exchanges the Federal Republic of Germany has regularly joined the three Western powers in order to reach a common position. The other Allies will continue to have their views considered in timely discussions among the Allies about Western policy on this subject, without in any way impairing the special responsibilities in question.

12. The Allies will examine and review suitable policies designed to achieve a just and stable order in Europe, to overcome the division of Germany and to foster European security. This will be part of a process of active and constant preparation for the time when fruitful discussions of these complex questions may be possible bilaterally or multilaterally between Eastern and Western nations.

13. The Allies are studying disarmament and practical arms control measures, including the possibility of balanced force reductions. These studies will be intensified. Their active pursuit reflects the will of the Allies to work for an effective détente with the East.

14. The Allies will examine with particular attention the defence problems of the exposed areas e.g. the South-Eastern flank. In this respect the current situation in the Mediterranean presents special problems, bearing in mind that the current crisis in the Middle East falls within the responsibilities of the United Nations.

15. The North Atlantic Treaty area cannot be treated in isolation from the rest of the world. Crises and conflicts arising outside the area may impair its security either directly or by affecting the global balance. Allied countries contribute individually within the United Nations and other international organisations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the solution of important international problems. In accordance with established usage the Allies or such of them as wish to do so will also continue to consult on such problems without commitment and as the case may demand.

16. In the light of these findings, the Ministers directed the Council in permanent session to carry out, in the years ahead, the detailed follow-up resulting from this study. This will be done either by intensifying work already in hand or by activating highly specialized studies by more systematic use of experts and officials sent from capitals.

17. Ministers found that the study by the Special Group confirmed the importance of the role which the Alliance is called upon to play during the coming years in the promotion of détente and the strengthening of peace. Since significant problems have not yet been examined in all their aspects, and other problems of no less significance which have arisen from the latest political and strategic developments have still to be examined, the

Ministers have directed the Permanent Representatives to put in hand the study of these problems without delay, following such procedures as shall be deemed most appropriate by the Council in permanent session in order to enable further reports to be subsequently submitted to the Council in Ministerial Session.

IV

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

(REYKJAVIK - JUNE, 1968)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial Session in Reykjavik on 24th and 25th June, 1968.
2. In reviewing the international scene, Ministers examined the situation created by the recent measures affecting the access routes to Berlin.
 - (a) Ministers stressed again that the Soviet Union is responsible for any action which has the effect of hampering or endangering the freedom of communication with Berlin and urged that such courses of action should be discontinued.
 - (b) By challenging international agreements and long-standing practices concerning Berlin, the East German Authorities have created a serious situation. Ministers considered these measures a deliberate attempt to jeopardise détente, from which Berlin and its inhabitants must not be excluded.
 - (c) Ministers recalled the declaration of the North Atlantic Council on Berlin of December 16, 1958, and the responsibilities which each member state assumed in regard to the security and welfare of Berlin.
 - (d) Member governments do not recognise the "German Democratic Republic". They consider that its actions, having no juridical basis, cannot create international rights nor consecrate the division of Germany against the will of its people. The Three Powers and the Soviet Union remain responsible for Berlin and Germany as a whole, pending a peace settlement.
 - (e) Ministers approved and associated themselves with the expressed determination of the Three Powers to maintain freedom of access to the city. They took note of the decision of the governments of the Three Powers responsible for the security of Berlin, together with the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, to remain in continuous consultation concerning Berlin and to stand ready to meet any contingency. The Council will be kept continuously informed and will consult as appropriate on the situation.
3. Ministers discussed the follow-up to the Report, approved at the Ministerial Meeting of December 1967, on the Future Tasks of the Alliance. For this purpose the Council in Permanent Session submitted to Ministers a comprehensive report on work which it had accomplished thus far in carrying out the main tasks set for the Alliance in the years ahead.

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4. The first part of this Report reviewed East-West relations since 1966. It set forth the results of a co-operative study by member governments of their policies designed to promote progress towards a more stable relationship in which the underlying political issues in Europe can be solved. The study noted that in certain respects improvements in East-West relations had taken place. It concluded that, while in the longer term prospects for further improvements could be favourable, opportunities for rapid progress towards general détente should not be over-rated.

5. Ministers nevertheless reaffirmed their intention to continue their efforts to promote détente. Each ally should play its full part in improving East-West relations, bearing in mind the established practice of timely consultation within the Alliance. Ministers concluded that the intensified examination and review, within the Alliance, of suitable policies to achieve a just and stable order in Europe, to overcome the division of Germany and to foster European security had proved of great value and should continue. This task will be part of a process of active and constant preparation for the time when fruitful discussions of these complex questions may be possible bilaterally or multilaterally between Eastern and Western nations.

6. A second part of the Council's Report summarised the results so far of intensive work on a programmed study of disarmament and practical arms control measures. As an initial effort, member governments and their experts have concentrated on the study of the possibility of balanced force reductions as between East and West. The ministers confirmed the decision of the Permanent Council to give priority to this complex and important work. They did not under-estimate the existing obstacles but they confirmed the need to prevent an escalation in arms levels on both sides.

7. Ministers representing the nations participating in the NATO Defence Programme adopted a declaration on mutual force reductions, which is attached to this communiqué. The French Delegation declared, for reasons of principle and procedure, that it could associate itself only with paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the attached declaration. It has nevertheless affirmed that, since the study of possibilities of balanced and mutual force reductions has not been completed, France will continue to take part in the further work in the Council foreseen in paragraph 13 of the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance.

8. Ministers examined and approved a report from the Permanent Council which dealt in detail with the situation in the Mediterranean and related defence problems. They directed their Permanent Representatives to consult fully on this situation and to extend their consultations in range and depth as circumstances required. To this end, the Secretary General was requested to co-ordinate the exchange of information among members of the Council and to keep the Council closely advised on the situation in the Mediterranean. It is, of course, understood that member countries, or the Secretary General, may put forward matters to be considered by the Council in accordance with their rights and responsibilities.

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9. The Ministers of the countries taking part in the Defence Planning Committee, concerned at the recent expansion of Soviet activity in the Mediterranean, decided that their Permanent Representatives, with the assistance of the NATO Military Authorities, would take under early consideration measures designed to safeguard the security interests of NATO members in the Mediterranean area and to improve the effectiveness of allied forces in that area. The Permanent Representatives will also consider other measures or organizational changes that may be needed to enhance the effectiveness and co-ordination of allied surveillance activities in the Mediterranean and that may require further authorization.

10. France did not associate herself with the decisions referred to in paragraph 9 above.

11. The Council heard statements of the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey on the subject of relations between the two allied countries. The Council noted with satisfaction recent developments in Greek-Turkish relations and expressed the hope that further progress, to the benefit of both countries and of the Alliance, might be achieved in the future. The Council also expressed the hope that the informal talks started between the two communities of the Republic of Cyprus would make an important contribution towards a final settlement of the problem.

12. The next Ministerial Meeting of the Council will be in Brussels in December 1968.

MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS

Annex to Final Communiqué

DECLARATION ADOPTED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE NATO DEFENCE PROGRAMME

1. Meeting at Reykjavik on 24th and 25th June, 1968, the Ministers recalled the frequently expressed and strong desire of their countries to make progress in the field of disarmament and arms control.

2. Ministers recognised that the unresolved issues which still divide the European Continent must be settled by peaceful means, and are convinced that the ultimate goal of a lasting, peaceful order in Europe requires an atmosphere of trust and confidence and can only be reached by a step-by-step process. Mindful of the obvious and considerable interest of all European States in this goal, Ministers expressed their belief that measures in this field including balanced and mutual force reductions can contribute significantly to the lessening of tension and to further reducing the danger of war.

3. Ministers noted the important work undertaken within the North Atlantic Council by member governments in examining possible proposals

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for such reductions pursuant to paragraph 13 of the "Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance", approved by the Ministers in December 1967. In particular, they have taken note of the work being done in the Committee of Political Advisers to establish bases of comparison and to analyse alternative ways of achieving a balanced reduction of forces, particularly in the Central part of Europe.

4. Ministers affirmed the need for the Alliance to maintain an effective military capability and to assure a balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Since the security of the NATO countries and the prospects for mutual force reductions would be weakened by NATO reductions alone, Ministers affirmed the proposition that the overall military capability of NATO should not be reduced except as part of a pattern of mutual force reductions balanced in scope and timing.

5. Accordingly, Ministers directed Permanent Representatives to continue and intensify their work in accordance with the following agreed principles:

- (a) Mutual force reductions should be reciprocal and balanced in scope and timing.
- (b) Mutual reductions should represent a substantial and significant step, which will serve to maintain the present degree of security at reduced cost, but should not be such as to risk de-stabilizing the situation in Europe.
- (c) Mutual reductions should be consonant with the aim of creating confidence in Europe generally and in the case of each party concerned.
- (d) To this end, any new arrangement regarding forces should be consistent with the vital security interests of all parties and capable of being carried out effectively.

6. Ministers affirmed the readiness of their governments to explore with other interested states specific and practical steps in the arms control field.

7. In particular, Ministers agreed that it was desirable that a process leading to mutual force reductions should be initiated. To that end they decided to make all necessary preparations for discussions on this subject with the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe and they call on them to join in this search for progress towards peace.

8. Ministers directed their Permanent Representatives to follow up on this declaration.

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V

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

(WASHINGTON - APRIL, 1969)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial Session in Washington on 10th and 11th April, 1969. The Council commemorated the twentieth anniversary of the Treaty creating the Alliance and was addressed by the President of the United States. Ministers expressed their deep satisfaction at the decisive contribution the Alliance had made to the maintenance of peace in Europe and to the security of all its members.
2. The Alliance was established to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilisation of its peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and in response to a common fear that without an effective security system, another war might erupt in a divided Europe. The Alliance continues as the expression of common purposes and aspirations.
3. In 1967 the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance emphasised the dual task of the latter: the defence of the West and the search for a stable peace with the East. In June 1968 Allied Ministers declared their readiness to seek, with the other states concerned, specific practical measures for disarmament and arms control, including possible measures for mutual and balanced force reductions. Notwithstanding the serious setback to hopes for improvement in East-West relations as a result of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Ministers in November 1968 stated that secure, peaceful and mutually beneficial relations between East and West remained the political goal of the Allies. They reaffirmed at this Session that the intention of their Governments was to continue the search for real progress towards this objective by contacts and to explore all appropriate openings for negotiations.
4. Bearing especially in mind the situation in Eastern Europe, member Governments recall that any lasting improvement in international relations presupposes full respect for the principles of the independence and territorial integrity of states, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the right of each people to shape its own future, and the obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force.
5. Ministers recalled that one of the essential aims of the Alliance is the establishment of a just and lasting peace in Europe, based on stability, security and mutual confidence. The Allies propose, while remaining in close consultation, to explore with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe which concrete issues best lend themselves to fruitful negotiation and an early resolution. Consequently, they instructed

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the Council to draft a list of these issues and to study how a useful process of negotiation could best be initiated, in due course, and to draw up a report for the next meeting of Ministers. It is clear that any negotiations must be well prepared in advance, and that all Governments whose participation would be necessary to achieve a political settlement in Europe should take part.

6. The Allies will also pursue their efforts and studies in the field of disarmament and practical arms control, including balanced force reductions and the initiatives already undertaken for the renunciation of the use of force.
7. The political solidarity of the Alliance constitutes an essential element while approaching a period of expanding East-West contacts and possible negotiations. This solidarity can best be maintained by strict adherence to the principle of full consultation in the Council both before and during any negotiations that might affect the interests of the Alliance or any of its members. On this understanding, the Allied Governments welcome the intention of the United States to engage the USSR in discussion of limitations on offensive and defensive strategic arms.
8. The Allies participating in the NATO integrated defence programme agreed that it was extremely important that during an era of negotiation the defence posture of the Alliance should not be relaxed and that premature expectations of solutions to outstanding questions should not be generated. The maintenance of effective defence is a stabilising factor and a necessary condition for effective détente policies.
9. Accordingly these members of the Alliance reaffirmed their continuing determination to make appropriate contributions to joint efforts for defence and deterrence at all levels both nuclear and conventional. They accepted the continuing need for the current NATO strategy based on a forward defence and appropriate response to any aggression, and for a credible conventional and nuclear deterrent including adequate overall and local force levels. The necessary military posture of the Alliance consists of the strategic nuclear deterrent forces, the presence of sufficient substantial and effective North American and European conventional forces as well as supporting tactical nuclear forces in the European area and adequate ready reinforcements.
10. Defence Ministers will meet on 28th May, 1969 and will examine the more specific elements in the defence posture necessary to fulfil the above requirements. They will also examine the possibility of improving the efficiency of the defence effort by intensifying mutual and co-operative approaches to, for example, the problems of arms production and arms standardisation either among all Allied nations or between some of them.
11. Reviewing the situation in Berlin, the Ministers noted that obstacles have recently been placed on freedom of access to Berlin. Such obstructions cannot be accepted. The Ministers supported the determination of the Three Powers to maintain free access to the city, and recalled the declarat-

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ion of the North Atlantic Council of 16th December, 1958, and the responsibilities which each member state assumed with regard to the security and welfare of Berlin.

12. The Ministers consider that the achievement of a peaceful European settlement presupposes, among other things, progress towards eliminating existing sources of tension in the centre of Europe. They consider that concrete measures aimed at improving the situation in Berlin, safeguarding free access to the city, and removing restrictions which affect traffic and communications between the two parts of Germany would be a substantial contribution toward this objective. They expressed their support for continued efforts by the Three Powers to explore, in the framework of their special responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole, possibilities for ordered and negotiated progress in these important questions.

13. A peaceful solution must be found for the German question based on the free decision of the German people and on the interests of European security.

14. The members of the Alliance are conscious that they share common environmental problems which, unless squarely faced, could imperil the welfare and progress of their societies. The Ministers recognise that important work on these problems is already being carried out within other international organizations. The Ministers instructed the council in Permanent Session to examine how to improve, in every practical way, the exchange of views and experience among the Allied countries, whether by action in the appropriate international organizations or otherwise, in the task of creating a better environment for their societies.

15. While concerned with these problems, Ministers are also mindful that the Allied countries are entering an era in which scientific, technical and economic resources should contribute to the peaceful progress and development of all nations.

16. Apart from regular meetings at Ministerial level, Ministers agreed that the Council in permanent Session should consider the proposal that high officials of their foreign ministries meet periodically for a review of major, long-range problems before the Alliance.

17. The next Ministerial Session of the North Atlantic Council will be held in Brussels in December 1969.

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VI

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

(BRUSSELS—DECEMBER 1969)

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

1. The North Atlantic Council met in Ministerial Session at Brussels on 4th and 5th December, 1969. The meeting was attended by Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers.

2. Since the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty twenty years ago, the members of the Alliance have dedicated their efforts to the preservation of their freedom and security and to the improvement of East-West relations in the aim of reaching an ultimate peaceful solution of outstanding problems in Europe. They will continue to do so.

3. By approving in December 1967 the Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance, the Allied Governments resolved to maintain adequate military strength and political solidarity to deter aggression and other forms of pressure and to defend the territory of member countries if aggression should occur; and to examine suitable policies designed to achieve a just and stable order in Europe, to overcome the division of Germany and to foster European security.

4. On the basis of these two concepts of defence and the relaxation of tensions, the Ministers issued the Declaration attached to this Communiqué in which they set forth their views on the future development of relations between Eastern and Western Countries.

5. Ministers welcomed the opening of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. They acknowledged the work in progress with regard to arms control on the sea bed, as well as the interest shown both by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the United Nations in measures to deal with chemical and biological warfare. On all these questions the Council held detailed consultations which proved most useful in preparing the ground for the negotiations taking place elsewhere. The Ministers invited the Council in Permanent Session to continue to examine these problems, and reaffirmed the importance of any genuine disarmament measure, consistent with the security of all states and guaranteed by adequate international control, for the reduction of tension and the consolidation of peace in Europe and the world.

6. The Ministers also studied a report by the Secretary General on the situation in the Mediterranean. Recalling the Communiqués issued on 27th June, 1968 and 16th November, 1968, they expressed the concern of their governments with regard to the situation in that area. The Ministers reaffirmed the value of full consultations among the Allies on this question.

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Accordingly, they requested the Council in Permanent Session to pursue with the greatest attention its examination of the situation in the Mediterranean and to report to Ministers at their Spring Meeting.

7. In April 1969, Ministers called attention to the rôle the Alliance might play in tackling common environmental problems that could imperil the welfare and progress of modern societies. Consequently, the Council in Permanent Session established a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. The new Committee, beginning with its first meeting on 8th December, will address these urgent problems with the aim of stimulating action by members of the Alliance, either singly, jointly or in international organizations. The Ministers at their Spring Meeting will receive the Committee's first report on the newest task of the Alliance.

8. Ministers of countries participating in NATO's integrated defence programme met as the Defence Planning Committee on 3rd December, 1969. As an introduction to their discussions the Secretary General and the Chairman of the Military Committee gave overall appraisals of the state of defence planning within the Alliance. Ministers thereafter reviewed the work accomplished since their previous meeting on 28th May, 1969, and gave directions for future work.

9. They agreed that the effectiveness of NATO's defensive posture continues to be an essential stabilising factor in support of the search for meaningful détente. Therefore, until agreement can be reached on East-West mutual force reductions, balanced in scope and timing so as to maintain the present degree of security, NATO will continue to ensure that there is no reduction in its overall military capability.

10. In reviewing Force Plans for 1970, Ministers were conscious of the necessity to maintain adequate and readily available forces both conventional and nuclear, in accordance with the NATO strategy, for the defence of the mainland of Europe and the whole NATO area. They took note of the positive outcome of consultations with the Canadian Authorities, concerning their forces for NATO, which were initiated following the Defence Planning Committee meeting of 28th May, 1969. Ministers committed forces for the year 1970 and endorsed a number of remedial measures necessary to maintain adequate forces in Central Europe; in addition further remedial measures are under consideration.

11. They discussed measures required to implement the NATO strategy of forward defence based on flexibility in response, and arrangements for the reinforcement, in times of tension, of NATO's ready forces. They also noted a preliminary report on a comprehensive study which is being undertaken of the relative capabilities of the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and gave instructions for the continuance of the study. In addition, Ministers reviewed the status of other defence planning studies including those for improved defence of the flanks.

12. The Ministerial Meeting also provided the Defence Ministers comprising the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee (Belgium, Canada, Den-

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mark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States) with the occasion to review work in progress in the Nuclear Planning Group during the past year and planned for the future. The Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee agreed that Canada, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States will compose the Nuclear Planning Group starting 1st January, 1970.

13. Acting on the recommendation of the Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee, the Defence Planning Committee adopted two policy documents originated by the Nuclear Planning Group at their meeting in the United States last November concerning general guidelines for nuclear consultation procedure and for the possible tactical use of nuclear weapons in defence of the Treaty area. These documents are based upon NATO's strategy of flexibility in response which was adopted in December 1967 and which remains unchanged.

14. The next Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee will take place in the Spring of 1970.

15. The Spring Ministerial Meeting of the Council will be held in Italy on 26th and 27th May, 1970.

Declaration of the North Atlantic Council

1. Meeting at Brussels on 4th and 5th December, 1969, the Ministers of the North Atlantic Alliance reaffirmed the commitment of their nations to pursue effective policies directed towards a greater relaxation of tensions in their continuing search for a just and durable peace.

2. Peace and security in Europe must rest upon universal respect for the principles of sovereign equality, political independence and the territorial integrity of each European state; the right of its peoples to shape their own destinies; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-intervention in the internal affairs of any state by any other state, whatever their political or social system; and the renunciation of the use or the threat of force against any state. Past experience has shown that there is, as yet, no common interpretation of these principles. The fundamental problems in Europe can be solved only on the basis of these principles and any real and lasting improvement of East-West relations presupposes respect for them without any conditions or reservations.

3. At their meeting in Washington in April 1969, Ministers had expressed the intention of their governments to explore with the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe which concrete issues best lend themselves to fruitful negotiation and an early resolution. To this end, the Council has been engaged in a detailed study of various issues for exploration and possible negotiation. Ministers recognized that procedure merited closer examination and, accordingly, requested the Council in Permanent Session to report to the next Ministerial Meeting.

4. Ministers considered that, in an era of negotiation, it should be possible,

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early conference on European security. Ministers agreed that careful advance preparation and prospects of concrete results would in any case be essential. Ministers consider that, as part of a comprehensive approach, progress in the bilateral and multilateral discussions and negotiations which have already begun, or could begin shortly, and which relate to fundamental problems of European security, would make a major contribution to improving the political atmosphere in Europe. Progress in these discussions and negotiations would help to ensure the success of any eventual conference in which, of course, the North American members of the Alliance would participate, to discuss and negotiate substantial problems of co-operation and security in Europe.

15. The Ministers affirmed that, in considering all constructive possibilities, including a general conference or conferences, they will wish to assure that any such meeting should not serve to ratify the present division of Europe and should be the result of a common effort among all interested countries to tackle the problems which separate them.

VII

ABRIDGED CHRONOLOGY OF NATO

- 1949**
4 April The North Atlantic Treaty is signed in Washington.
24 August The Treaty comes into force.
- 1950**
19 December General Eisenhower is appointed Supreme Allied Commander Europe.
- 1951**
3 May The North Atlantic Council becomes the sole Ministerial body of NATO.
19 June The member countries sign an agreement on the Status of their Forces.
19 November Inauguration of the NATO Defence College in Paris.
- 1952**
18 February Greece and Turkey accede to the North Atlantic Treaty.
20-25 February At the Lisbon Meeting the Council re-organizes the structure of the Alliance with permanent headquarters in Paris.
- 1954**
23 October The Paris Agreements are signed and the Federal Republic of Germany is invited to join NATO.
- 1955**
18-23 July First conference of NATO Parliamentarians in Paris.
15-16 December The Council decides at a Ministerial Meeting to equip the Atlantic forces with atomic weapons.
- 1956**
14-15 December The Council approves the Report of the Committee of Three on non-military co-operation.
- 1957**
16-19 December Meeting in Paris of the Heads of Government of the NATO countries.
- 1958**
15-17 April The Defence Ministers reaffirm the defensive character of NATO strategy.
- 1961**
13 August The building by the Communists of the "Wall of Shame" in Berlin.
- 1965**
31 May-1 June The Council decides at a Ministerial Meeting to create a Special Committee of NATO Defence Ministers to study nuclear problems.
- 1966**
10 March The President of the French Republic announces in an aide-mémoire that France intends to withdraw from the military organization of NATO.

8 June The Council, meeting in Ministerial Session in Brussels, decides to transfer NATO's European Military Headquarters as well as the Defence College from French territory. It also decides to abolish the Standing Group and to establish an integrated International Military Staff responsible to the Military Committee.

10 November The Defence Planning Committee decides to move the Military Committee from Washington to Brussels.

16 December Ministers, in session at Paris, establish two Nuclear Planning Committees and decide to build a new permanent political headquarters at Brussels. France does not associate herself with the military decisions.

1967

18 January The NATO Defence College reopens in Rome.

31 March The new SHAPE Headquarters are inaugurated at Casteau in Belgium.

16 October The inauguration in Brussels of the new Headquarters of the North Atlantic Council, the Military Committee and the International Secretariat.

12-14 December Ministerial Meeting in Brussels. The North Atlantic Council approves the "Harmel" Report on the Future Tasks of the Alliance. The Nuclear Defence Affairs Committee also meets and reviews nuclear developments in the Alliance. The Ministers approve activation of the Standing Naval Force Atlantic.

1968

24-25 June Spring Ministerial Meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland. The North Atlantic Council approves the Declaration on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.

20-21 August Czechoslovakia is invaded by Soviet, Polish, East German, Bulgarian and Hungarian forces. The North Atlantic Council considers this military intervention by members of the Warsaw Pact a clear violation of the UN Charter and of international law.

15-16 November Council Meeting at Ministerial level moved forward in order to discuss the serious situation following the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia. The Council gives a "warning" to the USSR.

1969

16 January Ministerial Meeting of the Defence Planning Committee. The President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, visits NATO and addresses the North Atlantic Council.

24 February Spring Ministerial Meeting in Washington includes commemorative session to observe 20th Anniversary of signing of North Atlantic Treaty.

10-11 April Ministerial Meeting of Defence Planning Committee approves establishment of naval on-call force for the Mediterranean.

28 May

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5-6 November Reinforced Council Meeting in Brussels to prepare the December Ministerial Meeting. Establishment of a Committee on Challenges of Modern Society to consider problems of the human environment.

11-12 November Ministerial Session in Washington, D.C. of the Nuclear Planning Group (sixth session).

3-5 December Ministerial Meetings of the Council and the Defence Planning Committee in Brussels. The Council issues a Declaration concerning East-West relations.

1970

28 January Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Challenges of Modern Society approved by the Council.

13-14 April Committee on Challenges of Modern Society meets in Brussels.

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TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 4397:

INFO: USMISSION USUN:

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SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT:

REF: STATE 15279:

1. PLEASE: PASS: FOLLOWING: MESSAGE: FROM: ME: TO: US: REP:
DESIGNATE: BUSH:

2. "I AM SORRY THAT I SHALL BE UNABLE PERSONALLY TO MEET
YOU AND STEER YOU THROUGH UNFICBM BRIEFING WHEN YOU ARRIVE
IN NICOSIA SINCE I SHALL BE IN THE MIDDLE OF A LONG-PLANNED
TRIP TO THE US FOR CONSULTATION AND SOME SPEECHMAKING. I
ESPECIALLY REGRET THIS BECAUSE I THINK I HAVE LIVED THROUGH
AS MANY ASPECTS OF THE UN WORK AS ANYONE IN THE DEPT. AND I
WOULD GREATLY VALUE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH
YOU. I HOPE I SHALL SOON HAVE A CHANCE TO DO SO.

3. "IN MY ABSENCE, I AM ASKING MY DEPUTY, WILLIAM R. CRAWFORD,
TO SERVE AS CONTROL OFFICER FOR YOUR VISIT. YOU WILL FIND
HIM THOROUGHLY KNOWLEDGEABLE AND EFFICIENT. WE WILL SEEK
TO ARRANGE AN UNFICYP BRIEFING ON SATURDAY MORNING, FEB 27,
INCLUDING AN INSPECTION VISIT TO THE GREEN LINE AND A TRIP
TO ONE OR MORE OUTLYING POSTS. I THINK YOU WILL FIND THIS
EXAMINATION OF THE ONLY LARGE-SCALE UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATION
CURRENTLY FUNCTIONING QUITE INTERESTING.

4. "MR. CRAWFORD IS PLANNING A SOCIAL SCHEDULE WHICH WOULD
ENABLE YOU TO MEET
KEY EMBASSY PEOPLE AND IMPORTANT GREEK AND
TURKISH CYPRIOTS CONCERNED WITH NEGOTIATIONS FOR

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SETTLEMENT

OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. BECAUSE THE ONLY TIME AVAILABLE FOR A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MAKARIOS WILL BE LATE SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SUCH A MEETING MAY PRESENT SOME DIFFICULTIES. NEVERTHELESS, IF YOU THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, WE WILL SEEK TO SCHEDULE IT, ALONG WITH A FOLLOWING MEETING WITH TURKISH CYPRIOT VICE PRESIDENT KUCHUK. THIS WILL GIVE YOU A VERY FULL SATURDAY.

5. "PLEASE LET US KNOW HOW YOU WISH US TO HANDLE THIS MATTER OF THE MAKARIOS AND KUCHUK MEETINGS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WHEN THE CYPRIOTS HEAR YOU ARE COMING THEY WILL THEMSELVES REQUEST SUCH MEETINGS, BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO ATTEMPT TO MOLD YOUR SCHEDULE TO MEET YOUR DESIRES AS LONG AS WE HAVE ANY FLEXIBILITY.

6. "WARM REGARDS."

DECON: FEB 28.

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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
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AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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USEC BRUSSELS
OECD PARIS
USMISSION USUN

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SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: STATE 15279

1. DCM WILLIAM R. CRAWFORD, CONTROL OFFICER.
2. SINCE AMB WILL BE ABSENT, WE RESERVING DOUBLED AND SINGLE AT CYPRUS HILTON.
3. SEPTELI CONTAINS SUGGESTIONS FOR PROGRAM.

DECON: FEB 28.

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ACTION IO-15

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6668
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AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

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SUBJECT: BUSH VCSIT

REF: STATE 15279

1. I AM MOST HAPPY THAT GEORGE BUSH AND HIS WIFE WILL BE COMING TO HAGUE AND WE ALL WELCOME VISIT HERE. I REGRET THAT I AM SCHEDULED TO DEPART WITH FONMINI ON OFFICIAL VISIT TO SIXTH FLEET AT NOON FEBRUARY 12 BUT I COUNT ON SEEING BUSH DURING MORNING.

2. WE HAVE APPOINTMENTS AT ICJ FRIDAY AFTERNOON FEB 12 WITH PRESIDENT ZAFULLA KAHN AND REGISTRAR AQUARONE AND WILL TRY TO ARRANGE CONTACT WITH JUDGE DILLARD. ORAL HEARINGS IN NAMIBIA CASE MAY BE GOING ON AT THAT TIME AND WE WILL KEEP SCHEDULE FLEXIBLE, ALLOWING ALSO FOR POSSIBLE BUSH ATTENDANCE AT HEARINGS.

3. I BELIEVE BUSH SHOULD ALSO CALL ON SKOGGEN PERMCOURT ARBITRATION AND ON RANKING GOV OFFICIALS, INCLUDING MFA, SEC GEN EMILE ERMFS WHOM I BELIEVE HE KNOWS, AND APPROPRIATE UN AFFAIRS OFFICIALS.

4. IN MY ABSENCE DCM WOULD BE GLAD PUT BUSHES UP HIS HOUSE OR WE CAN RESERVE HOTEL SPACE HAGUE. IN ANY EVENT WE WILL MAKE HOTEL RESERVATIONS FOR RAXTON DUNN. ALSO BUSH MAY FIND

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IT EASIER PROCEED BRUSSELS BY CAR OR TRAIN.

5. CONTROL OFFICER ARTHUR BRETSKY, POLITICAL SECTION.

6. ADVISE SOONEST BUSH WISHES RE PARAS THREE AND FOUR.

DECONTROL MAY 15 1971.
MIDDENDORF

①

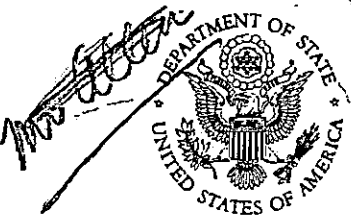
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FOR AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE GEORGE BUSH FROM AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH

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SUBJ BUSH VISIT

REF STATE 15279

VIVIAN AND I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU AND BARBARAAA WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY DINNER (BLACK TIE) ON MONDAY NIGHT FEB 1. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER THIS AGREEABLE WITH YOU.

WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS
ELLSWORTH

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ACTION: IO-15

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SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: STATE 015279

1. WELCOME AMBASSADOR AND MRS. BUSH VISIT.

2. GARDINER, ECA, NOW IN TUNIS AND NOT EXPECTED BACK IN ADDIS UNTIL LATE IN MONTH. WILL DETERMINE PRECISE DATE AND ADVISE IF APPOINTMENT HERE POSSIBLE. ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE FOR AMBASSADOR BUSH MEET GARDINER IN TUNIS. REQUEST AMEMB TUNIS ADVISE DEPT AND ADDIS RE GARDINER EXPECTED RETURN TO ADDIS.

3. TELL NOW EXPECTED BE IN ADDIS BUT PLANS SUBJECT CHANGE. WILL ALSO REQUEST APPOINTMENTS FOR MIN. KETEMA AND UNSGY CANDIDATE MINCOMMUNICATIONS ENDELKATCHEW UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED.

4. DANIELLS WILL BE CONTROL OFFICER. HE AVAILABLE SEE AMBASSADOR BUSH IN TUNIS.

5. ALTHOUGH WE WILL NOT BE BACK IN ADDIS FROM MASSAWA (NAVY DAYS) UNTIL MID-DAY FEBRUARY 24, MRS. HALL AND I INVITE AMBASSADOR AND MRS. BUSH STAY AT RESIDENCE. DCM YOST WILL MEET ON ARRIVAL. HOPE INFORMAL DINNER FEBRUARY 24 WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OFFICIALS AND SELECTED AFRICAN AMBASSADOR ADDIS AND ETHIOPIAN OFFICIALS WHO ARE NORMALLY MEMBERS IEGUNI DELEGATION ACCEPTABLE. IN VIEW NIGHT FLIGHT FROM ROME PLAN LEAVE FEBRUARY 24 RELATIVELY FREE FOR REST, BRIEFING AND SIGHT.

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All this sounds great - all his suggestions
OK



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SEEING IN ADDIS AND SURROUNDING AREA. ETHIOPIAN WOMEN'S
WELFARE ASSOCIATION JAZZ CONCERT/RECEPTION SCHEDULED FOR
RESIDENCE EARLY EVENING FEB 25. HOPE AMBASSADOR AND MRS.
BUSH WILL ATTEND BUT IF PREFERRED WE CAN ARRANGE SOCIAL
EVENT AT RESIDENCE EMBASSY OFFICER. HIM EXPECTED BE OUT
OF ADDIS. PLEASE INDICATE ANY SPECIAL SOCIAL OR CULTURAL
INTERESTS.
HALL

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Briefing Paper for Under Secretary -- September 1970
(Updated 12/15/70) *AB*

UNITED NATIONS

A. The Changing UN and the Crisis of Confidence

The US participates in more than seventy international organizations and programs and annually contributes about \$300 million to their support.

The UN is at best an imperfect means to achieve our foreign policy goals because of its unwieldy size and a political composition that is often unresponsive to our interests. Originally a body of 51 mainly European-oriented and industrialized states, the UN now has 127 members, most of them poor and just emerged from colonial status. Almost half (60) are so underdeveloped that they contribute to the UN budget at the minimum assessment rate of .04%. Yet, all have sovereign equality and one vote apiece. The same general situation prevails in the Specialized Agencies and other international organizations modelled on the UN.

Public confidence in the UN has declined because people believe the UN has not been responsive to real world needs and especially because it could not solve big problems like Vietnam or the Middle East.

B. 25th Anniversary of the United Nations

The 25th General Assembly, which opened on September 15, has been the occasion for proposals to start the UN on the road to reform and to improved effectiveness. As usual, the Secretary attended and held bilateral discussions with Foreign Ministers. The President attended the 25th Anniversary Commemorative Session on October 23 and addressed the Assembly (a copy of his address is enclosed in this package).

The UN's 25th anniversary has become the focus for much soul-searching about how to improve it. In July the President appointed a Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary, under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, to reappraise the potential of the UN and make recommendations to the President. It issued an interim report on September 14, a copy of which is attached.

C. Overall Policies of Nixon Administration

Last October President Nixon reaffirmed to the General Assembly our fundamental interest in the United Nations and advocated measures to foster the related objectives of economic development and population control, improve the United Nations' capacity in keeping the peace, protect the environment, discourage hijacking, control abuse of narcotics, promote international agreement on use of seabed resources and assure that the human rights of prisoners-of-war not be violated.

In a major policy statement on August 6, 1970, Secretary Rogers told a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee that "this Administration will, to the extent feasible, look to multilateral institutions -- and particularly to the UN -- to deal with threats to security and to promote peaceful settlement of conflicts." He advocated strengthening the UN's capacity for peacekeeping and dealing with political crises, resuscitating the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and improving the administrative organization and performance of UN operations. The Secretary also urged greater use of the UN system for technological cooperation on seabed resources, protection of the environment and control of narcotics.

D. Key Policies and Problems on the Current Scene

1. Political and Security

The New Politics in the Changing UN. We have downgraded our expectations of what the organization can do in maintaining international peace and security. The cold war brought the realization of the organization's limitations

in settling conflicts in which the big powers are directly involved. Yet where big power interests temporarily coincide, UN procedures and machinery have helped contain local conflicts and avert big power collision.

Apart from US-USSR relations, possibilities for political action in the UN are circumscribed by the changed size and composition of membership. While US influence is still considerable, we are no longer capable of commanding automatic majorities. Small power (largely Afro-Asian) majorities focus discussions on decolonization, disarmament, and development. Often we have to engage in damage-limiting efforts to tone down draft resolutions of emotional or irresponsible majorities.

Peacekeeping and Peaceful Settlement. We are trying to put UN peacekeeping on a more systematic and reliable basis. Peacekeeping is now undertaken through improvised arrangements and without reliable financing. Currently there are three UN peacekeeping missions: observers on the cease-fire lines in Kashmir and the Middle East and a UN force of 3,000 troops and civilian police in Cyprus.

For years there has been a deadlock between us and the Soviets on the degree of control that the Security Council should exercise over an operation once it is launched. The Soviets want all decisions kept in the Council's hands where they could use the veto. We believe that once the Council has determined the key provisions of the mandate the Secretary-General should be given the flexibility to adapt the execution of each operation to the unique and evolving circumstances in each case. Earlier this year we gave the Soviets a package proposal which tried to meet concerns on both sides. The Soviets have shown interest but have not yet moved from their previous position.

Recent proposals for revitalizing UN machinery for peaceful adjustment include a US suggestion for a panel of UN fact-finders, reactivating the peacemaking role of the Secretary-General, and reviving the activity of the International Court of Justice.

Chinese representation. We were again faced with the

annual effort by Peking's supporters to gain passage of an Albanian resolution calling for "restoration" of Peking's seat and expulsion of Taipei. This year the move obtained a simple majority for the first time (51-49-25), but failed to recieve the two-thirds majority needed for adoption.

Microstates. At our initiative the question of how the UN should deal with applications from very small states is under discussion in a Security Council subcommittee where we have broached the possibility of some form of associate (non-voting) membership. There is little support for our position.

African Problems. Frustrated by the refusal of South Africa and Portugal to heed UN resolutions on apartheid and on self-determination for Portuguese territories, and disillusioned over the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions against Rhodesia, the Africans confront us with demands for stronger UN action. In March 1970, we exercised our veto for the first time against more stringent sanctions against Rhodesia. The US abstained on a Security Council resolution adopted on December 8, 1970 which condemned Portugal for "its invasion" of Guinea, demanded full compensation, and warned of Security Council consideration of "appropriate effective steps or measures" in the event of repetition of such armed attacks.

2. Budgetary and Administrative Problems

Budgets. The UN Budget for 1971 has been a critical issue because of mounting Congressional concern that budgets of international organizations are rising at an excessive rate. Despite parallel approaches by the US, UK, France and the USSR, the budget estimate for 1971 is \$192.3 million, 14% over the current year. In July, Ambassador Yost informed the Secretary-General that if present trends prevailed the US would find it difficult, if not impossible, to support the final budget in the General Assembly. We have a similar problem with the assessed budgets of most of the Specialized Agencies. Accordingly, we have decided to abstain on the final vote on the UN budget this year.

The ILO Issue. The Senate on August 24 cut \$3.7 million of \$7,458,875 requested for the US contribution to the International Labor Organization (ILO), representing the unpaid balance of our 1970 assessment. This cut was sus-

tained by the Congress on October 7, and we will be in default of our legal obligation to pay our assessed contribution. Senate action followed an attack by AFL/CIO President Meany on the ILO. Mr. Meany severely criticized the recent appointment of a Soviet national to a key post in the ILO as the culmination of a trend marked by the erosion of ILO's tripartite (government, business, labor) and democratic character and the growing propaganda use of ILO by the Communists.

Congressional displeasure with the ILO for political reasons was reinforced by the long-standing Congressional concern with rising budgets in UN agencies, though the ILO itself has a better record with respect to finances than many other UN bodies. A Labor-State-Commerce Department task force is currently undertaking a study concerning future US participation in the ILO.

UN Headquarters Expansion. In the face of attempts by the Soviet bloc, the Arabs, and France to provide more UN office space in Europe rather than New York, we were able to secure the adoption of a resolution (by a vote of 95-14-10) authorizing the expansion of UN Headquarters in New York. We are hopeful that in the current session Congress will authorize the proposed US grant of \$20 million toward the \$80 million financial package needed, and that the appropriation will be approved early next year in order to hold off attempts in the UN to reopen the whole question.

3. Development and Technical Activities

UN Development Program. There is growing support in Congress for channelling more of our aid through multilateral institutions. This doctrine is reflected in the Peterson Report and in the ~~pending~~ Presidential message.

The major UN instrumentality for technical and pre-investment assistance is the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), headed by Paul Hoffman, which now receives \$225 million a year in voluntary contributions from 124 countries. Assistance is provided requesting countries through the Specialized Agencies of the UN. The US pledge to the UNDP in 1970 totalled \$86 million. In view of the reductions made by Congress in the foreign aid requests, our contribution for 1971 will be somewhat less than last year and substantially less than the \$100 million requested.

Improving Capacity. If it is to be able to handle larger resources in an efficient manner, the UN development system will have to undergo reforms to improve its managerial capacity. A study by Sir Robert Jackson of Australia advocated that UNDP serve as overall coordinator of the UN system's entire development effort and provide direction to the various specialized agencies that operate in this field. We have strongly supported these reforms, and good progress has been made in achieving a wide consensus among governments. On December 14, the General Assembly approved a resolution endorsing the principles embodied in the Jackson Committee Report.

Seabeds. On December 15, the General Assembly approved a declaration of principles to promote international cooperation in the exploration and exploitation of the deep seabed and an international regime to govern such exploration and exploitation, and is now considering a proposal calling for an international conference on law of the sea.

Environment. The General Assembly has approved the plans of a preparatory committee for a UN Conference on the Human Environment to be held in Stockholm in 1972. Two key issues are "universality" of attendance (East Germany, etc.) and winning over the less developed countries many of whom remain skeptical about the priority the industrialized countries assign to protecting the environment.

Narcotics. We are placing increasing emphasis on UN activity against illegal narcotics. Largely at our initiative the Commission on Narcotic Drugs met in special session September 28 to consider plans to combat the growing problem of narcotics abuse. The Commission endorsed a US proposal for a special UN fund for control of narcotic drugs, and considered long- and short-term multilateral measures to control the three phases of the drug problem, production, trafficking and use/abuse.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

January 27., 1971 *IO* Amb. Bush

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S/S:RF

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Orientation Trip For Ambassador Bush

I have asked Ambassador Bush to make an orientation trip to the headquarters of the major United Nations and other international and regional organizations in Europe and Africa prior to his assuming office as United States Representative to the United Nations. He has agreed to do this and plans to leave on February 6, returning on February 28. His itinerary calls for successive visits to Tunis, Paris, The Hague, Brussels, Geneva, Vienna, Rome, Addis Ababa, and Nicosia. Mrs. Bush will go with him.

In Tunis Ambassador Bush will briefly visit a meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and in Cyprus he will see a United Nations peacekeeping mission in operation. While in Geneva he will have an opportunity to attend meetings of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization and of the preparatory committee for the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Environment. In the Hague he will visit the International Court of Justice.

Ambassador Bush also plans to make a similar separate visit to the Organization of American States and international financial organizations headquartered here in Washington.

I think Ambassador Bush's visits at this juncture will be particularly useful since economic, scientific and social matters will constitute a major portion of his responsibilities. A visit of this sort will emphasize

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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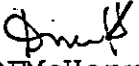
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that aspect of the United Nation's work and the leadership we can give to it. Once he assumes office he will become so involved on a day to day basis in the Middle Eastern and other political matters that it will thereafter be difficult for him to find time to give visible emphasis to those areas.


William P. Rogers

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C:DFMcHenry:tmn - 1/25/71



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

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7101123

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January 25, 1971

TO : The Secretary

THROUGH: S/S *SP*

FROM : C - Richard F. Pedersen
RF

SUBJECT: Memorandum for the President on Ambassador
Bush's Orientation Trip. ACTION MEMORANDUM

At your request I have prepared for your signature
a memorandum to the President informing him of Ambassador
Bush's orientation trip.

Recommendation:

That you sign the attached memorandum to the
President.

Attachment

SP
IO - Mr. DePalma
Amb. Bush *SP*

DMH
C:DFMcHenry:tmn

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UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

YUkon 6-2424

January 22, 1971

187
Trip file

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The Honorable George Bush
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Bush:

In our talk on Wednesday you asked for suggestions on places to go and people to see during your trip to Europe and Africa next month. I know you will be getting suggestions from Dick Pedersen, Sam DePalma and others, but I have the following thoughts to offer.

1. Geneva will obviously be a key place for you to visit. It is not only the seat of the Economic Commission for Europe but also of the European Office of the UN, the Committee of the Conference on Disarmament, and the UN Conference on Trade and Development as well as ILO and WHO.

I assume that on all your stops you will check in with the Ambassador, in this case Ambassador Rimestad.

You will certainly want to see the Heads of ILO and WHO, respectively, Jenks (British) and Candau (Brazilian).

The Head of the European Office is a delightful Italian, Winspear, on whom you will want to call.

The Executive Secretary of ECE is Janez Stanovnik, a very capable, energetic and charming Yugoslav whom I have known for some fourteen years.

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The Honorable George Bush
Page 2

The Head of UNCTAD is Perez Guerrero, a Venezuelan, with long experience in the UN system, including years as a Resident Representative of the UN Development Program in North Africa and as Venezuelan Permanent Representative to the United Nations. He is less flamboyant than Stanovnik but well worth a visit.

A new Special Representative of the Secretary General has been appointed for the Committee of the Conference on Disarmament; he is Ilka Pastinen, who was Deputy to the Finnish Permanent Representative to the UN and is well-known to all of us at the Mission as unusually capable and a nice fellow.

2. I think Rome should be an important stop, and I note that it could be on your way from Geneva to Addis Ababa.

The top man at the Food and Agricultural Organization there is Mr. A. Boerma (Netherlands), who has worked long and effectively in the Organization at various levels before becoming its Head. His Deputy is an American named Orris Welles.

The American Ambassador is an excellent professional named Graham Martin. (Please give him my regards.)

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The Honorable George Bush
Page 3

3. In Addis Ababa you will probably want to start with our Ambassador, William Hall. He, in turn, can get you in touch with the Secretary General of the OAU, Diallo Telli, and the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, Robert Gardiner. A very knowledgeable American AID professional, Frank Pinder, has been working closely with Gardiner and would be worth seeing if you have the time.
4. The meeting of ECA at Tunis may have some political fireworks. The Tunisians have been boasting publicly about their success at getting the meeting in Tunis under terms which they believe will enable them to exclude any Israeli observers. If the Israelis decide to challenge this, there will be a lot of hot political activity.

I imagine that arrangements have been made for staff level support in Tunis; if not, I would strongly urge that you take someone along with you or be sure that the Embassy has someone knowledgeable to assist you.

5. Paris should be in your itinerary because it is the home of a major Specialized Agency, UNESCO. In addition to the Embassy there, you will want to talk with Jack Fobes, an American, who is the Deputy Director General and a very savvy guy.

The Director General of UNESCO, Rene Maheu, is a Frenchman who has proven himself to be a most adroit political operator. After a briefing from Fobes, I think you could profit greatly from a visit with Maheu.

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The Honorable George Bush

Page 4

6. Another very worthwhile stop would be Vienna, home of the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the UN Industrial Development Organization.

The Head of IAEA, Eklund, is a Swede who is most sensitive to the degree to which Americans show an interest in IAEA. He would probably be offended if you are in Vienna and do not call. (Betty Gough in IO can give you a great deal more information about IAEA and Eklund).

For UNIDO you might start with Bill Stibravy who is our Minister in the Embassy in charge of UNIDO affairs. He is a very knowledgeable old pro. If he thinks it's a good idea, you may also want to talk with Roberto Lusardi, an American, who has good personal contacts with the Head of UNIDO, Abdel Rahman. The latter is an Egyptian and quite an operator.

I hope these comments will be useful to you. I most enjoyed our chat on Wednesday and look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,



Seymour M. Finger
Ambassador

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THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

January 22, 1971

PHOTOCOPY
GB HANDWRITING

The Honorable
George Bush
Department of State
Room 7316 - State Dept. Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

possibly go!
Stillman
Dunn

Dear George:

You asked me to pass on any suggestions I might have with respect to your forthcoming overseas trip.

Although you may already have most of the following places on your itinerary, I think a visit to all of them would be worthwhile.

1. Conference of Ministers of the Economic Commission for Africa -- Tunis, February 8-13. A day or two would suffice to give you a feel of one of the four Regional Economic Commissions of the U.N.

2. The Organization of African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa Headquarters in Addis Ababa.

~~3. The African Development Bank in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.~~

~~4. The UNRWA Headquarters in Beirut.~~

5. The European Headquarters of the U.N. and several Specialized Agencies in Geneva.

6. The International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

Additionally, if you plan to be in Paris or Rome, you might visit UNESCO and FAO Headquarters respectively.

On another subject, I thought you might like to look over the enclosed memorandum concerning our efforts to get a \$20 million appropriation for the UN Headquarters expansion here in New York. As I am sure you are aware, we have an uphill fight to get this through, and time is of the essence. It occurred to me that you might be able to do a little missionary work on the Hill before your departure. I am sure the people in

isn't this pass?

-2-

IO will be glad to help you in any way possible and provide you any further briefing you may need.

If I don't see you before then, my very best wishes for a successful trip. Also, good luck on your Senate confirmation, about which I have no doubt whatsoever.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Christopher H. Phillips

Enclosure.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

UNCLASSIFIED

TO : Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips DATE: Jan. 11, 1971

FROM : Albert F. Bender, Jr. *CFB* Photo Copy Preservation

SUBJECT: Proposed Involvement of Ambassador Bush in Effort to Secure
Congressional Approval of \$20 million Contribution to
United Nations Headquarters Expansion Costs

1. As you know, the Congress completed in December 1970 approval of the bill authorizing a grant of \$20 million to the United Nations as part of the package to finance the expansion of UN Headquarters. The Department is now preparing for the effort to secure the necessary appropriation action, probably as part of a supplemental appropriation bill. Dick Hennes (OIA) tells me that, even if everything goes well, the earliest date for completion of appropriation action will be sometime in March.

2. Hennes also tells me that, although the Department believes that the necessary votes exist for appropriation action, a very strenuous effort will be required to assure the passage of an appropriation bill. He points out that the record of the vote on the authorization bill indicates strong opposition among members of both the House and Senate Appropriations Committees (the voting record of these members on the authorization bill is attached). The total vote on the floor of the House was 152-134-(147), and the vote in the Senate was 39-21-(38).

3. Hennes is convinced that the participation of USUN at the highest level is essential in the Department's efforts to secure the passage of an appropriation bill. I believe that he is probably right and am convinced that the authorization bill would not have been passed if Amb. Yost had not participated fully in the efforts to secure it. Accordingly, I hope that you will convince Amb. Bush that he should involve himself as fully as possible and as soon as possible in the efforts to secure appropriation legislation. I suggest that he talk to Sam DePalma to ascertain where his efforts can be most helpful.

4. Needless to say, time is of the essence in this matter because any further delay in securing funds for the new construction may result in such an increase in cost that the financial package we are putting together will not be adequate.

Attachment: Voting Record

AB:ew CC: Amb. Finger REF SUBJ CHRON Messrs Reddington/Figgins



FLOOR VOTE BY HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON THE BILL AUTHORIZING
\$20 MILLION FOR UN CONSTRUCTION - December 21, 1970

<u>YEAS - 14</u>	<u>NAYS - 20</u>	<u>NOT VOTING - 15</u>
Boland	Mahon	Andrews, Alabama
Flood	Whitten	*Sikes
Giaimo	*Rooney	Passman
McFall	Natcher	Evins
Cohelan	Steed	Shipley
Patten	Addabbo	Hansen
Long	Casey	Hull
Marsh	Evans	Rhodes
Yates	*Bow	Minshall
Pryor	*Slack	Michel
Obey	Jonas	Langen
*Cederberg	*Flynt	Reifel
Robison	Conte	Shriver
Riegle	*Smith, Iowa	*Andrews, N. Dakota
	Davis	Wyatt
	McDade	
	Wyman	
	Talcott	
	Reid	
	Edwards	

Note: Michael J. Kirwan of Ohio and Glenard P. Lipscomb of California not listed.

* Members of the Sub-Committee on Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriations

FLOOR VOTE BY SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS ON THE BILL AUTHORIZING
\$20 MILLION FOR UN CONSTRUCTION - July 10, 1970

<u>YEAS - 6</u>	<u>NAYS - 9</u>	<u>NOT VOTING - 9</u>
*Holland (not re-elected)	*Ellender	*Russell
Proxmire	*McClellan	*Magnuson
Yarborough	*Stennis	*Pastore
*Case	*Byrd, West Va.	McGee
Fong	Montoya	*Mundt
Bible	*Young, N. Dak.	*Smith, Maine
	*Allott	*Hruska
	Boggs	Cotton
	*Mansfield	Pearson

* Members of the Sub-Committee on Deficiencies and Supplementals of the Committee on Appropriations

George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

COLLECTION:

George Bush Personal Papers

ACCESSION NUMBER:

1993.005

FOIA/SYSTEMATIC
PROCESSING CASE
NUMBER (if app.):

☐ Transferred During Accessioning

☒ Transferred During Processing

The following material was transferred to:

☒ Audiovisual Collection ☐ Book Collection ☐ Museum Collection ☐ Other

Other (Specify):

DESCRIPTION:

8"x10" black and white glossy of Shirley Temple Black and Ambassador Designate to the UN
George Bush
at Mission, Geneva 2/10/71

When
transferring
material to the
museum
collection,
complete the
following.

Donor: George Bush

Donor Org.:

Address:

Telephone:

Book Location:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:

Map Case Location:**Series:**

United Nations

Box Number:**Folder Title:**

USDUN Europe 2/71 [1 of 2]

OA/ID Number:

Transferred by:

Gary Foulk

Date of Transfer:

09/27/99

Received by:

Debbie Bush

Date Received:

09/27/99

Go to Database
Navigator

Go to Accession
Register

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Print Record



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GB
MFH

January 12, 1971

UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees
in the Near East (UNRWA) - Financial Problems

Laurence Michelmore, Commissioner General of UNRWA
The Secretary
Louis E. Frechtling, IO/OIA
Betty-Jane Jones, IO/UNP

IO	INR	Amembassy Tel Aviv
IO/UNP	S/S	USINT Cairo
IO/OIA	USUN	AmConsul Jerusalem
NEA	Amembassy Beirut	
NEA/IAI	Amembassy Amman	

In response to the Secretary's inquiry, Dr. Michelmore outlined the three main fields of UNRWA's activities: (a) relief services, involving primarily provision of food and shelter; (b) health and sanitation services, both preventive and curative in nature; and (c) education. Of the approximately 1.4 million refugees registered with UNRWA, about two-thirds receive monthly rations, the largest single item among UNRWA's services, while many refugees receive little or no help from UNRWA. The relief services account for about 40% of UNRWA's budget, health and sanitation services about 14%, and education about 45% of the budget. Dr. Michelmore pointed out that costs of the latter were largely responsible for UNRWA's present critical financial situation. With certain cuts and adjustments in the ration, expenditures for relief services had in large measure remained steady during the seven years he had been in his present position. Health and sanitation expenditures had increased somewhat due to increased numbers receiving services and rising costs. Education expenditures had risen greatly in the seven-year period, however, with a 60% increase in the number of children in school as well as steadily rising costs. Any significant cuts in UNRWA's program would have to be made in the education program, which would be

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unfortunate since it is the most constructive. What cuts that were possible in relief and health services had in large measure already been made in the face of the growing financial problem.

The Secretary expressed an interest in the size and nature of the education program. Dr. Michelmores noted that refugees educated by UNRWA were generally ambitious and anxious to work. Thousands had gone to the Persian Gulf area where more jobs were available. Thirty-six hundred were in UNRWA vocational training centers, graduates of which were usually placed without difficulty except in Gaza. He explained that UNRWA operates schools for 245,000 students but has discontinued subsidies (mainly in Jordan and Israeli-occupied areas) to governments and private schools for refugees who attend non-UNRWA schools.

The international staff of UNRWA numbers only a little over 100, of which only 85 are paid by UNRWA, others being provided by UNESCO and WHO, Dr. Michelmores stated. The Palestinian staff numbers about 13,000, half of which are teachers. The events of the past few years had had their effect on this staff, which worked under great tensions. There had been a few problems, but he was confident that the great majority respected their obligations as United Nations staff members and avoided any activities not consistent with these obligations.

Indicating that it was very difficult for us to obtain additional funds for UNRWA, the Secretary asked what others were doing. Dr. Michelmores pointed out that when he took over his job at UNRWA in 1964, the US and UK together provided about 80% of UNRWA's budget. The US considered its 70% share too high and asked that others do more. In the seven years since then, the annual US contribution had dropped from \$24 to \$22.2 million and the percentage to about 56 or 57%. There had been an increase in contributions from others of about \$10 million. The objectives that the US sought in 1964 had, therefore, been largely achieved.

In response to the Secretary's inquiry concerning contributions by the Soviets and Arab states, Dr. Michelmores said that the Soviets contributed nothing. Efforts had been made to obtain their support, and some of the Arabs were making further attempts, but these had been unsuccessful so far. He understood that the Polish and Rumanian governments might be considering a contribution. Libya, Iraq,

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Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait had made contributions. They could probably pay more and were being approached for additional funds, especially in connection with a special UNESCO appeal on behalf of the education program. It could also be argued, however, that on the basis of the UN assessment scale, they were paying considerably more than would be expected of them. Dr. Michelmore urged that the US reexamine the possibility of increasing its contribution, especially in light of the increased cost of UNRWA's education program, which he believed the US should share in meeting.

The Secretary expressed the view that more pressure should be put on the Soviets. It did not seem fair for the US share to be so large, especially when the Eastern Europeans did nothing and on the other hand exploited the tension in the area and accepted no blame for the situation. If the US pays 50% why could the Soviets not pay 25%? They contributed nothing but tried to turn the situation to the disadvantage of the US. The Secretary expressed full appreciation for Dr. Michelmore's appeal, however, and admiration for the enthusiasm with which he carried out his very difficult job. He said we would review the question of the US contribution but did not think an increase was very probable.

The Secretary inquired about the views of the younger Palestinians - those educated by UNRWA. How did they feel about the future of the refugees? Did they believe Israel should be destroyed?

Dr. Michelmore said it was hard to answer these questions since the Palestinians did not speak very freely on such matters, even to each other. He doubted that many of them favored Israel's destruction and creation of a single, secular Palestinian state. Most probably realized Israel is here to stay, but they feel strongly that the occupied territories should be returned to Arab control and the refugees permitted to return to those areas. They also had a strong philosophical attachment to the idea of being given a choice between repatriation and resettlement with compensation, although he doubted that many would actually want to return to Israel. The Secretary noted that Dr. Pawzi of the UAR estimated that perhaps 100,000 might choose repatriation and this might take place over a 5-10 year period. Dr. Michelmore thought the number might be even smaller.

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Dr. Michelmore expressed his appreciation for the support and cooperation UNRWA receives from the US and its officials in New York and at its Embassies abroad. He also expressed the view that there was a greater realization and appreciation by Arab governments and the refugees of the fact that the bulk of the help for the refugees came from the US than we realized, as well as a realization that no help came from Eastern Europe. The Secretary thanked Dr. Michelmore and again complimented him on the work he is doing.

IO/UNP:BJJones: jpc 1/12/71

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION IO-15

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RSR-01 RSC-01 /122 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2399

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SUBJ: BUSH VISIT

REF: STATE 015279

1. MINISTER WILLIAM J. STIBRAVY, U.S. PERMANENT
REPRESENTATIVE TO UNIDO, CONTROL OFFICER.

2. AMBASSADOR HUMES WOULD LIKE AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE
AND MRS. BUSH TO STAY AT RESIDENCE.

3. SUGGESTED SCHEDULE AS FOLLOWS:

A. FEB. 21, EVENING - INFORMAL DINNER AT
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE WITH OFFICIALS U.S. MISSION
TO IAEA, UNIDO.

B. FEB. 22, MORNING - APPOINTMENTS WITH SEC GEN
EKLUND, OTHERS AT IAEA.

C. 11:00 - CALL ON FONMIN KIRCHSCHLAEGER.
(CONFIRMED).

D. 13:15 - LUNCH. AMBASSADOR HUMES WILL HOST
LUNCHEON DOWNTOWN FOR HEADS IAEA, UNIDO AND AUSTRIAN
FONOFF OFFICIALS CONCERNED WITH UNI AFFAIRS.

E. AFTERNOON - APPOINTMENTS WITH EXEC DIR
ABDEL-RAHMAN AND OTHER UNIDO OFFICIALS.

F. 18:10 HRS - DEPART VIENNA.
HUMES

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PAGE 01 PARIS 01715 030912Z

18:
ACTION 40-15

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-08 AS-04 RSC-01 RSR-01 7030 W
----- 008663

R 030902Z FEB Q
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6745

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PARIS 1715

FOR JOHN W. McDONALD, IO

PLEASE PASS AMB. BUSH FROM AMB. WATSON

LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN PARIS. I HOPE YOU
AND MRS. BUSH WILL BE SURE TO PLAN TO STAY AT THE EMBASSY
RESIDENCE AND LET US KNOW YOUR ARRIVAL TIME.
WATSON.

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PAGE 01 ROME 00640 021754Z

54.

ACTION IO-15

INFO: OCT-01 AGR-20 RSC-01 AID-28 E-15 EUR-20 SS-20 OIC-05.

RSR-01 /126 W

003260

R 021630Z FEB 71
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8125
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USUN NEW YORK 841

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: ROME 0640

FODAG

SUBJ: BUSH VISIT

REF: STATE 015279

1. BYRNES DESIGNATED CONTROL OFFICER.

2. DOUBLE AND SINGLE ACCOMMODATIONS ARRANGED NIGHTS FEB. 6
AND FEB. 22 HOTEL AMBASSADOR.

3. BECAUSE OF PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT U.S., AMBASSADOR REGRETS
HE WILL NOT BE IN ROME FEB. 22-23. DCM STABLER, WHO WILL BE
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES AT TIME AND MRS. STABLER WOULD LIKE TO GIVE
LUNCHEON FOR MR. & MRS. BUSH FEB. 23. DETAILS LUNCHEON AND
REMAINDER SUGGESTED PROGRAM FOR FEB. 22-23 WILL BE DISCUSSED
WITH MRS. BUSH DURING INITIAL STOPOVER AND REPORTED LATER.
MARTIN

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PAGE 01 USUN: NI 00323 030222Z

92

ACTION: IO-15

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 CIAE-00 INR-08

NSAE-00 P-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 RSR-01 /089 W
006476

R: 030042Z FEB 71

FM: USMISSION USUN: NY

RO: RUESKR/AMEMBASSY TUNIS: 500

INFO: SECSTATE WASHDC 4791

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: USUN: NY 329

DURING CALL ON YOST FEB 2: PRIOR DEPARTURE FOR TUNIS:
REPORTED SEPTEL, DRISS WAS INTERESTED TO LEARN THAT
AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE BUSH WOULD BE VISITING TUNIS SHORTLY.
DRISS PLANS ARRIVE TUNIS SUNDAY, FEB 7 FOR APPROXIMATELY
ONE WEEK, IS ANXIOUS TO MEET WITH AMB CAUHOUN, AND HOPES
VERY MUCH THAT LATTER CAN ARRANGE PRIVATE MEETING WITH
MR. BUSH. DRISS WILL CONTACT AMEMB ON ARRIVAL. DECONTROL
FEBRUARY 28, 1971
YOST

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PAGE 01 STATE 017973

92

ORIGIN IO-15

INFO OCT-01 H-02 AGR-20 AID-28 E-15 CU-05 CIAE-00 INR-08
NSAE-00 RSC-01 OIG-05 EA-15 NEA-13 EUR-20 SR-01 ORM-03
7152 R

66634

DRAFTED BY: IO OES JWMCDONALD JR.
APPROVED BY: IO OES JWMCDONALD
IO ALLEN/BUSH (SUB)
AF AF MR. WALKER
H MISS K. FOLGER (SUB)

005730

P 022341Z FEB 71
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION OECD PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

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ROME ALSO FOR FAO

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VIENNA ALSO FOR IAEA AND UNIDO

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

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PAGE 02. STATE 017973

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279, B) TUNIS 567, C) TUNIS 608

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS HEARINGS FOR MR. GEORGE BUSH
NOW TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FEB. 9. BUSH SORRY FOR INCONVENIENCE
THIS HAS CAUSED AMB CALHOUN AND SINCERELY REGRETS
HIS INABILITY VISIT TUNIS ON THIS TRIP. WOULD APPRECIATE
PERMITTING SMITH EXPLAIN ABOVE TO GARDINER ON FEB. 7. HE WILL
ADVISE GARDINER THAT BUSH PLANS TO PROCEED WITH REST OF TRIP
AS SCHEDULED (REF B). THIS MEANS HE WOULD BE IN ADDIS
FEB. 24 AND 25 AND WOULD HOPE SEE GARDINER AT THAT TIME.
ROGERS

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PAGE 01 STATE 017972

82

ORIGIN 10475

INPD OCT-01 NEA-13 OIC-05 COAER-00 INR-08 NSAE-00 RSC-01

1043 R

66684

DRAFTED BY: 1000ESJMWCDONALD JRG

APPROVED BY: 1000ESJMWCDONALD JRG

TO: MR. ALLEN / MR. BUSH (SUBS)

NEA/CYPI MR. TORP

005738

P 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION HUSUN PNY PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017972

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279 B) NICOSIA 156 C) NICOSIA 157

1. BUSH REGRETS AMB'S ABSENCE, MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE
GET TOGETHER AT THIS TIME, BUT LOOKS FORWARD TO MEETING
POPPER IN NEW YORK AT SOME FUTURE DATE IN ORDER DISCUSS
UNFICYP.

2. BUSH LOOKS FORWARD, HOWEVER, TO BRIEFING BY CRAWFORD
AND ON THE SPOT SURVEY OF THIS UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATION.
BUSH HAS NO OBJECTION TO WORKING SATURDAY AND LEAVES
SCHEDULING DETAILS TO MISSION. ROGERS.

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TELEGRAM

CB

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PAGE 01 STATE 017970

87

ORIGIN IO-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 AF-12 NEA-13 AGR-20 CU-05 SCI-06 TRSY-11

SIL-01 LAB-06 AID-28 COM-08 SR-01 ORM-03 E-15 L-04

OIC-05 RSC-01 /175 R

66634

DRAFTED BY: IO DES MWMCDONALD JR.

APPROVED BY: IO DES JWMCDONALD JR.

IO MR. ALLEN/ MR. BUSH (SUB)

EUR RPM MR. SAUNDERS

FBX POPENDORF

005728

P 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017970

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279, B) EMB BRUSSELS 336,

C) NATO 412

BUSH AGREES WITH EMB'S SUGGESTION RE CONVERSATION WITH
FONMIN HARMEL AND HOPES THAT APPOINTMENT CAN BE WORKED OUT.
ROGERS

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6B

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PAGE 01 STATE 017968

82

ORIGIN 10 15

INFO OCT 01 AF 12 DIC 05 CIAE 00 INR 08 NSAE 00 RSC 01 P 03

PRS 01 USIA 12 / 058 RI

66684

DRAFTED BY IO OESS JWMCDONALD JR

APPROVED BY IO OESS JWMCDONALD JR

IO MR ALLEN / MR BUSH (SUB)

AF E MR COOTE

005733

P 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USUNINNY PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017968

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279 B) ADDIS 400

AS INDICATED SEPTTEL TO TUNIS, INFO ADDIS, BUSH UNABLE VISIT
TUNIS BUT DOES PLAN ADDIS VISIT AS SCHEDULED. BUEHES
PLEASE ACCEPT AMB'S INVITATION STAY AT RESIDENCE AND
AGREE TO ALL SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED REF B. BUSH HOPES THAT
CALL ON GARDINER AND ECA SECRETARIAT CAN BE ARRANGED. ASSUME
HOTEL RESERVATIONS BEING MADE FOR DUNN, ROGERS.

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TELEGRAM

6B

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PAGE 01 STATE 017971

92

ORIGIN IO-15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 OIC-05 INR-08 RSR-01 RSC-01 /051 R

66634

DRAFTED BY: IO DES JMMCDONALD JR.

APPROVED BY: IO DES JMMCDONALD JR.

IO MR. ALLEN / MR. BUSH (SUB)

EUR FBX MR. PAPENDORF

005736

P 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USUN NY PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017971

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279 B) THE HAGUE 438

BUSH LOOKS FORWARD TO MEETING WITH AMB
MORNING FEB 12 AND APPROVES SCHEDULE SUGGESTIONS REF B.
IN ABSENCE AMB, WOULD APPRECIATE HOTEL RESERVATIONS AT
WITTEBRUCK FOR BUSHES AND DUNN. BUSH PARTY WOULD PREFER
TRAVEL TO BRUSSELS BY TRAIN AND SO
WILL CANCEL PLANE RESERVATIONS MENTIONED REF A. WOULD
APPRECIATE EMB MAKING TRAIN RESERVATIONS. ROGERS

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TELEGRAM

6B

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PAGE 01 STATE 017967

87

ORIGIN: IO-15

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 RSC-01 7037 R

66634

DRAFTED BY: IO: OES JWMCDONALD JR.

APPROVED BY: IO: OES JWMCDONALD JR.

IO: ALLEN (SUB)

IO: BUSH (SUBS)

EUR: RPM SAUNDERS

005732

PI 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017967

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279, B) NATO 412, C) NATO 435, D) EMB BRUSSELS 336

1. MR. AND MRS. BUSH ACCEPT WITH PLEASURE AMB ELLSWORTH'S
KIND INVITATION TO STAY WITH HIM. BUSHES PLEASED ACCEPT
BLACK TIE DINNER INVITATION FEB 15.

2. WOULD APPRECIATE HOTEL RESERVATION FOR DUNN, ROGERS.

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TELEGRAM

CB

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PAGE 01 STATE 017969

87

ORIGIN TO 15

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 AF-12 P-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 OIC-05 RSC-01

SS-20 NSC-10 /100 R

66634

DRAFTED BY: IO OES JWMCDONALD JR.

APPROVED BY: IO OES JWMCDONALD JR.

IO MR. ALLEN / MR. BUSH (SUB)

005735

PI 022340Z FEB 71

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION USUN NY PRIORITY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 017969

SUBJECT: BUSH VISIT

REF: A) STATE 015279 B) GENEVA 294

PER RIMESTAD/MCDONALD TELECONV THIS CONFIRMS:
BUSH'S AGREEMENT TO ADDRESS AMERICAN CLUB OF GENEVA.
BUSH DOES NOT FEEL IT APPROPRIATE AT THIS TIME TO
SPEAK TO UN PRESS ASSOCIATION. ROGERS

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2-5

G.B.

Mr. McDonald says firm departure time from
Rome:

Rome Pan Am #111

Lv Rome 11 a.m., February 24

Arr Kennedy 2:25 p.m., February 24

They will get BPB on local flight to Washington

He will have final ticket cost for BPB on
Monday and you can write check.

as

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COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

Friends in Europe -

Lady Tompkins - The Hague -

Harbald v Ambassador Tompkins

7 British gov. to The Hague.

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Nash -
Katie - They were their dear

British couple here - Their address was
6 Avenue de Marmoniers - Rhede, St. Genese
Brussels - Belgium

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

Mary Jane and John Castleman
7 Avenue des Châtaigniers
Rhode, St. Genese
Brussels - Belgium



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Rome, Italy

Imp file

no ans

Office of FAO Affairs
March 12, 1971

The Honorable
George Bush
U.S. Ambassador to
the United Nations
New York

Dear Ambassador Bush:

It was thoughtful of you to take the time to write us and we were pleased to hear that you had enjoyed your visit to Rome. Thank you for allowing us to draw so fully on your time while here. When you return, and we hope this will be soon, we promise to allow you a bit more time to see this lovely city.

Enclosed are a few photographs of your meeting at FAO. I think the one in which you and Oris Wells are smiling is particularly good. In one of the others, Fortunescu, FAO's Chief of Protocol, seems about to beg your blessing!!

Please give our regards to Mrs. Bush and Paxton Dunn and let us know if ever we can be of assistance. We wish you the best possible success in New York.

Sincerely yours,

Paul J. Byrnes
Counselor for FAO Affairs

ENCLOSURES:
Photographs

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George Bush Presidential Library Transfer Sheet

COLLECTION:

George Bush Personal Papers

ACCESSION NUMBER:

1993.005

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PROCESSING CASE
NUMBER (if app.):

☐ Transferred During Accessioning

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DESCRIPTION:

8"x10" black and white glossy photos of George Bush with Oris Wells and FAO Chief of Protocol Fortunescu , FAO Meeting, Rome 3/71

When
transferring
material to the
museum
collection,
complete the
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Donor: George Bush

Donor Org.:

Address:

Telephone:

Book Location:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:

Map Case Location:**Series:**

United Nations

Box Number:**Folder Title:**

US/UN Europe 2/71 [1 of 2]

OA/ID Number:

Transferred by: Gary Foulk

Date of Transfer:

09/27/99

Received by: Debbie Bush

Date Received:

09/27/99

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