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Departure K Failure to come up with

 U.S. a memorable phrase –

 (not a trick but thought

 out)

 Leave for Europe.

 1. To see some old friends - & allies

 2. We do not expect to work/ [[unintelligible]] –

 1. In This day problems are too difficult for

 spectacular, show boat diplomacy

 3. We have common intels.

 1. Peace

 2. Decent housing, jobs – [[^]] food [[/^]] environment.

 4. We shall consult –

A new era of communication & progress on the great problems which threat efforts the [[unintelligible]]

 1. It is a condemnation of Statesmen where lack of Communication cause problems It will not happen -

1st step constitution becoming allies 6 make proper army three who oppress us

Into concern re demonstration –

 1. The Demonstration cannot hurt us –

 - only counselors & cause of peace they

 are intended - (I have no fear whatsoever)

2. For 22 years demonstrators – threats of demonstration – mean we should be cautious.

Be cautious because Demonstrations -

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1. I shall seek peace - 2. I shall consult -

No time for rash action but it is a time for action - vains of 57, will not demonstrate 1957

3. No demonstrations shall deter me at home or abroad –

Cause of Peace too important to be derailed – - by unopposable [[?]]

I have no illusion about settling problem of world with spectacle one trip flamboyant but first step sensational council connection imminent

 for progress

But I feel that we stand at great watershed – Now is time to move – We must seize the moment – I shall do it –

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 Note N. American College

* A common –

5 Presidents before respect to College

* We live at times of

Rich – well feed clothed housed

searching:

 1. young people –

 - the old volume –

 What they are for - ?

 Give us something to be for –

 Man needs a spirited challenge –

 Compassion for fuller W -

 Peace –

 Latin Amer

 Africa –

 Asia –

 Amer – The person

 Help them? –

 No give them dignity –

 Self respect – idealism

 Feed the soul –

 Not the body –

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 Meet with Safire/ and

 & Kissinger

The White House The White House

 Washington Washington

Keisinger Keisinger:

Young – rebel against Coexistence may be more old authority of schools dangerous to Russ the West

Firm language & acts 1. Opens E. Europe to are all the Germans western ideas will be affected by –

Tranquil mind & steady heart Czech – a blow

W.H. – a good place to live 1. Not just the old because full of History. who remembered the Bonn has no history old days. – but the “I like to think I am sitting young who know only in Admirer’s chair.” Communism turned against

 DeGaulle –

 2 friends on a long hard search for Treasure – “failed to find treasure – but found something more precious – friendship

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[[typed text]] Claridge’s MacMillan

 Telegrams Claridge’s London Telephone 01-629 8860 [[/typed text]]

British will

Fight again like

Assembly 14 –18

(shyed China

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(69 Europe)

Keisinger – De G. (way in)

A people who you look have no cause - young - vigorous do not remain quiet – very important

Gothic Art, Mosaic, literature comes in “May change periods when a nation to another is in a struggle – cause” (!)

De.G.: Ehrlichman -

Mrs. N – Facts – like China David & Julie - flown over - Sleep well? walks 1 in 100,000 (very friendly) 8 years to get You will be through electoral welcome college – worth it

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Williams - [[strikethrough text]]

 Hamlet

Health – May & June

House – P.M.

K workers – will not join students of freedom

Each Tourist (little can)

 An ambassador

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I have been greeted warmly in many countries –

But nothing can mean more than such a welcome

at home on such a cold evening as does this.

[[strikethrough]] Thank you for greeting me so solemnly on a snowy evening – [[/strikethrough]]

 1. [[strikethrough]] We have [[/strikethrough]] As we return to D.C. I feel this

Notes

Return to D.C.

 marks the end of a journey & the beginning of

 another –

 a. It marks the end of journey where eager privileged

to [[strikethrough]] makesome [[/strikethrough]] talk with [[strikethrough]] with some of European statesmen leaders [[/strikethrough]] In Europe –

about [[strikethrough]] our man the [[/strikethrough]] our mutual

concerns in the world –

b. It marks the beginning a new journey –

Truly with of seeking [[strikethrough]] better understanding every

a friend our friends – and [[/strikethrough]]

we seek [[strikethrough]] Taunting with our friends to need

new leaders a better world today with [[/strikethrough]]

 Those who have opposed use in this point –

 [[strikethrough]] If this is used which about Latin this week [[/strikethrough]]

 I will report in detail [[strikethrough]] as we deliver [[/strikethrough]] at this time one impression – it is Trust 1. Europeans have no Trust in selves – - because of enemies & political envy in past 20 years

If one word summed up impression it is Trust

 2. I think they have gained an added trust in America – particularly in our desire to consult with them on great issues which divide & threaten the world.

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3. A cautious but giving best confidence in future – confidence that we can build now

 It was a working trip – have in conference – Learn public appearance with leaders

 1. But time when people of US. in peace of Pres –

 Warmly greeted by people of Europe If you would have seen the hopeful beaming trust forms of thanks in Berlin you would have been proud americans had accepted his

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 her representatives to join in defending freedom in its wake

* Proud to be an Americans at this great moment in our history.

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France – arrival:

 Notes

1. We come now to our oldest ally & friend –

2. France can’t be France same greatness:

 1. True of all people –

 2. National architect same high purpose is a barren accomplishment 3. Change same purpose leads to chance

3. Must journey together to find a lasting peace

4. Will not repeat slogan of all disasters

 Your continent & our world need your wisdom & experience – Same France no Europe

We consider France known ally [[^]] in war [[/^]] – good friend in peace

[[strikethrough]] Every man has [[/strikethrough]] Every man who knows France –

 Appoints B. Franklin men – I have

We share human & universal goals – laws liberty versus justice freedom

France - U.S. bear all

 Our oldest friend & ally

 We came not to repeat old slogans or point disaster

 We came to find answers - to working with France

* + France + America

We need your wisdom – counsel

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Accomplishment

Europe understands our burdens –

Soviet

 We are talking with them –

N.P.T.

 German area we believe

 Treaty in our interests - & theirs –

 1. I hope they ratify –

 I believe they will –

 But it is their decision –

 No public decision

Berlin:

 1. Any interference with access

 is violation of 4 powers agreement -

2. Both Secretary [sic] of State & I have conveyed

 our concern to Soviet Ambassador

3. It could jeopardize Arms talks –

 just as Czechoslovakia delayed N.P.T.

Election:

If they decide to hold we support –

If they get commission & charge we support –

Recruiting?

Not True –

What I learned?

1. The men –

 @ Their views – their agendas –

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2. The reasons for attitudes –

3. The people

Special Relations:

 1. Common language – fair, listing - inclination

French -

 1. a dialogue

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20th Anniversary – Talks- style

Effect of Soviet – US. talkers –

Bridge Building –

Nuclear Sharing? – on division

Freedom of Access to Berlin

Defense & Détente - ?

Talks –

 1. Do they go first reduction

 of Taiwan

 2. Do they proudly

 cower

Belgium:

 1. Baudouin = for intel

 corruption

 2. Their public lives

 is the real lives

Suffering –

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Dobrynin: Time

 Effect in Berlin –

 political talks

Long Distance Call

Defense

Disarmament & détente

Forces: (armies détente)

 Suffering

Soviet Relations

 Misdirect –

 Why do they seek

 Arms control –

Next meeting

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Nuclear Weapons To

 Alliances

 Welcome view of Alliance –

 Consultation – time

20th Century –

 E- West –

 Relations

Gtr [sic] Center –

 presumed détente –

 because polycentrism

 world scared on

 its worry

 also gradualism

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Statement –

 As alliance held together less

 Than fear – must be held

 Together more by hope -

Western –

 R.N. – 59 – until P get should

 Et I – “carried is on V. Nam”.

Central response given Time

For discussion on

use of Nuclear weapons -

If Europeans did more U.S.

Might feel it could do less –

Strategize Arms talks - informal

W. – Achievement brought

 Serenity – security

 Bread complacency

German defense – (home force)

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Healey

Europe not internal to fighting a

war – only in preventing it

Balance = effect on Russ –

* Keep the level they would

lose is tolerable

How much flexibility

 1. Mr. Newman – wanted

 Totally effective communicational

 repression -

 2. Combat forces – (make even

 6th Fleet – nuclear

 capable -)

 3. Tactical weapons –

 Find a way

 not as alternative defense =

 to strategize:

 1. We should use

 Them to increase flexible –

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Heath:

 1. British plans acceleration

 et al –

 2. British in Mideast

 3. Should try to get in with

 de Gaulle – (though

 impossible)

North Atlantic –

Free Trade Asso [sic]

Wilson – major reactor

Economic Agreement leads

To Political unity

France after de Gaulle?

(Heath – believes Germans

 will distrust Britain on

 European question

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DeGaulle –

European matters - ?

= “Don’t bother me –

 That is quaternation

 stuff”

Let him know it is

RN’s view – Britain

should be in market.

Britain has friends -

supporting getting

into market

 1. Avg

 Contact with

 Europe should

 not have to be

 through market.

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 Europeans

Fragile solemn

No large scale

Economic meeting crises

Deity absurd – crisis –

 In November

They believe

Crisis before November

election.

More Radical Solution:

 1. Forum =

 100 nations = broad

 like Britain used –

 @ Unless a solution

 2. Price of gold

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[[unintelligible]]

But Russ

Today are afraid –

They don’t want

trouble –

 1. want a perimeter

 for defense –

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1. No objection to European Causes (Heath)

 1. This is military –

 @ We have little to fear – in

 military – we do in essence ganging up.

 2. only this way do we get out from burden we carry –

 3. Reassure Germans – that use could not

 use this as excuse to pull out.

2. Harmel plan:

 1. NATO should be instrument of détente & deterrence –

 @ It should be used for both –

 K @ It is ridiculous that military alliances

 turn into relaxation of tensions – but

 makes NATO more politically domestically

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Notes Belgium:

 Waved to Hecklers (stopped as King talked –

 Harmel – “P very alive in question.”

 King

 Flushed – as he spoke – “The young are right; we have

 failed in helping less fortunate –

 1. All nations should provide 1% for underdeveloped people-

 “we have so much They have so little”

 New Religion – RN.

 1. “God is alive” –

 1. “I trust you believe in his help - ”

 2. R.N. – young believe in nothing – Help to less

 Fortunate is the Christian way - : a religion –

 King – “Hope you will provide world with this

 new leadership – conscious – concern –

 P.M. & Harmel:

 1. Need strong NATO to have détente –

 2. Russ want détente because of difficult

 internal problems – (examine needs of people)

 3. Small nation needs multilateral voice to

 be heard –

 4. But in car P.M. says Unity drive is weaker

 But it does have a chance –

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France: (Sulzberger)

 1. De G – must not denounce NATO this year

 2. Must remove V. Nam – as difference

 3. Middle East

 1. Need for Major Power to decide

 4. France plays down change - & plays up détente

 De Gaulle – believes no bilateral deal with U.S. is possible

 because U.S. can deal unity through NATO

 1. Paris knows NATO would decide if

 U.S. made a deal article it –

Say to De. G. - 1. There are multi spirits 2. But great nations are by nature competitive. 3. Must deal bilaterally 4. But Nato is in our interests & we try not to dominate

 Regards Britain with suspicion –

 Regards Germ [sic] with mistrust –

 Could be Russ Ally –

De G – Soames

Opposes U.S. domination of Europe – (i.e. NATO leads to this)

 1. Viable group mean F, Italy, U.K., & G –

He says as before – NATO eventually will disintegrate

He substitutes 4 powers –

He offered to give up Common Market

 2. Asked for French, British talks on this

 3. British agreed to talk bilaterally – but

 provided they kept NATO informed.

 4. De G – saw it as an independent E.[[Europe]]

 not effecting NATO.

 1. He has always been for independent Europe –

 2. This requires Anglo French – cooperation

 1. Means British gives up special relations.

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W.E.U. –

 1. A political discussion forum – (include U.K.)

 2. British wanted to have meeting on Mideast 

Throw political problems in sans French approval

 3. French refused to attend –

 4. They went ahead –

 5. French withdraw (because unanimous asset [sic] not given)

assure Germans – no ally will have to choose between U.S. & French -

“Rewarding” French – (R.N. says bring them in)

 1. Be sure we inform Germans if we talk to French

? Détente on a par with deterrence? –

We don’t reward or punish anyone -

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Quere – U.S. News piece? Forget demands power

East West: Terms on Israel

 1. Don’t let Soviet maneuver away Allies & divide them -

 2. Strategic Arms talks – will

 be directly related to progress in political

 issues –

 1. Czechoslovakia – slowed down N.P.T. –

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De Gaulle: (2d day).

RN U.S. could come home – Could agree to unilateral disarmament –

We are not threatened – The weaker nations are.

 Viet Nam –

Future Alliance U.S NATO Commitment – (divisions here?)

 Monetary? –

 Youth -

[[strikethrough]] British disagreement [[/strikethrough]] (how communicate?)

 NATO defense ministers

Not good psychologic

 Small Nuclear powers –

France can’t be France same greatness

 1. applies to all nations

We can survive says NATO - - France can’t

 2. We evoke national [[strikethrough]] wealth [[/strikethrough]] achievement

 sense high purpose is a barren achievement

France’s mission: is human & universal.

 We share human universal goals -

 love liberty

 Desire justice

Dedicated To humane order which makes freedom possible –

Share a Treasure

Longest record of unconditional feudalize in Western World –

 De Gaulle has imposed France with questions –

Leadership Courage – when all others quit

 Vision (sense of hurting) be right

 ability to inspire [[unintelligible]]

a great achievement because we see vision like it

because way we’re reality.

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Lonely = unpopular – Lincoln

sustained him in exile & powered him in Triumph

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 Notes – Toast De Gaulle Dinner

1. We share a [[^]] previous [[/^]] Treasure: - Conquest period of uninterrupted

 friendship –

2. We come here – unequal in size, military power,

 wealth, - but in Those great ideals which transcend

 mutual consideration – in wisdom – in experience –

* A leaders greatness is measured by size, power, wealth
* A leaders greatness is measured by [[strikethrough]] wisdom, dignity [[/strikethrough]]

Courage, vision –

* You have inspired France –
* You have inspired other countries France –
* [[strikethrough]] you The great of us [[/strikethrough]] courage in defeat –

 Vision – sense of History

 Ability to inspire confidence in others

European Unity for it.

 1. We want it so that Europe can play proper role

 2. It be a European not an American effect.

 1. U.S. not to dominate it.

 2. Not healthy for U.S. to bear this

Alliance – Strategy:

Détente is practical conditions not the legal form

Saraget

If Pope continues to support opening to left –

He will end up like Patriarch of Marcos

1. Communist will become receptacles –

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De Gaulle Dinner:

Clocks – From Asian period (200 years ago)

 1. “Protocol says it works.”

 2. Palm trees from India -

Mrs De G. –

 1. Terrible for children of celebs –

 2. We only let them come to see

 us at the country place –

Madam Alpheal:

 1. Way you have to her over W.H. – support - gives us all confidence

Malraux (knew Mao – in 20s - & 2 years ago –

 1. History would have been

 different had richest nation

 and a détente with the

 most popular –

 2. China (Mao says U.S. can’t

 destroy us; He could not

 convince them U.S. did not want to attack us)

De Gaulle:

 I make policies for [[^]] necessary [[/^]] Day of the tomorrow

Malraux

 1. U.S is first great power not to have sought it

 2. It did not have a policy designed to obtain it.

 3. It therefore needs a foreign

 policy to administer it.

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Trianon: By kings bedroom -

Debre: Talks in Queens bedroom

 Campaign:

 De Gaulle in 2nd round = President & Prophet

 [[De Gaulle in]] 2nd round = Candidate & fights

 1. Much more effective

 De G. – Admired RN’s scientific campaign

 (If I spoke like D G – I could

 draw a

Youth:

 1. Have no other challenges –

 2. Inadequate teachers - & not prepared for job

 3. They make trouble lecture shorter – but

 in elections Labor [[^]] unions [[/^]] etc unite against them –

 @. Not true in underdeveloped countries.)

Course:

 China:

 1. We should be able to

 move in either direction – play both –

 Europe:

 1. Economically – E. [[strikethrough]] could be [[/strikethrough]] has

 more reason for unity.

 1. Political = the hardest –

 2. Military – changes with necessity.

 Monetary - : Just “mention” discuss:

 1. Send more discreet inquiry then Finance Minutes which would be like a Summit.

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 Toast to Dinner – Note

All the nations of Europe lost the war

 Two were defeated –

President De Gaulle:

 [[strikethrough text unintelligible]]

 2. Appreciate your hospitality “ The welcome of Friend people “ The most precise avert – your time - To discuss problems of vital conjecture.

Anti american

 3. I hope a new era of close consultation & cooperation between us –

 4. I look forward to welcoming you in D.C.

To the President & our next meeting, & to the

New minister America Potato –

 Russia Caviar

 French Chef put together –

De Gaulle:

 Latin America –

 1. Believes it will resist Communism – (Castro an aberration)

 Africa:

 1. British too[k] [sic] the best, Belgium – Congo – French got what was left.

 2. Nigeria – an unnatural state –

 @ Diference [sic] or of different people –

 Not just another Tribe

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 India:

 1. a long history -

 2. a Common religion –

 3. Mrs. G. [[Gandhi]] – a remarkable woman

 Students - (causes)

 1. They are in school longer until 25 or 26)

 2. The girls are there – boys show off.

 3. Faure:

 a. Don’t have war – or other cause –

 b. Need idealism – purpose –

 4. Majority voting against radicals for student representation on council.

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De Gaulle Return Dinner:

Malraux book- Bring people to R.N. for talk at dinner

Rights for schooling (R.N. & facts Bigger one for Embassy.

Couve:

 1. More cautiously will Chinese

 1. Must not put out climates precipitously

 2. R.N. asked for Time. (on V. Nam)

 1. He agreed we needed time –

De Gaulle:

 1. “I accept” – invitation to U.S. –

 a. January or February – 70 –

 a. Working visit. –

 2. Minutes to Parliament.

 1. From Tonlerate [[?]] – N.C.

 Farce [[^]] (“I have always been for you) [[/^]]

 (29 year old genl) now Head of House going to L.A.

 1. All said De Gaulle greatly impressed –

 2. Last one said “You have won his interest,

 I know you can get along if you do

 not [[^]]violate[[/]] his trust.”

Mrs De Gaulle:

 1. [[^]]Fable[[/^]] of 2 men riding donkey – boy walks behind 1. “Either way you are wrong –

 2. Red Dress, Green Dress – both wrong –

 3. Men Too? – “But their things are important

 2. The Presidency is Temporary – the family is permanent.

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2-24-69 –

 King:

 de G – “a great man” –

 [[unintelligible]] – greet cannon –

 Rig – Mistakes for British to pull out Soames

 1.”Have to be loyal to organization –

 P.M.

 “Disagrees with foreign ministers on

 détente”

 a. V. Nam – “I believe it will go

 Communist” –

 1. But they must have a

 chance – to decide

 2. If you pull out – it could

 be very bad for U.S in Europe

 even among opponents of war –

 Détente

 1. Doesn’t trust Russ –

 2. Must keep NATO strong

 - to bring détente -

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Russians

 Removal of Bombing would be like

 bombing of Italy.

 1. V. Nam – greatest for

 Communists in 20 year –

 Concerned about Spanish French

 Neutralism of Mediterranean

In next 5 years – Face of Europe will

 change – (Portugal, France, Spain,)

South America – help Christian Demes [[?]]

Freis Culduce – (They have to

say what they say

We can help in Mideast –

 1. Don’t let it appear we

 Are isolated – by passed –

Italians Produce –

 We are 2,000 years old – most

 populous - & soundest economy in

 Europe

Young – Know what they are

 against, but don’t

 Know what they are for –

No other govt can prevail – (sans sequential of specialty)

Chosen – (because – of internal pressure of Defe [sic])

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N.P.T. [[Non-Proliferation Treaty]] (Failure of

 Consultations)

Merchant

East West

NATO (Unity) – [[^]] Credibility [[/^]] How U.S. could

 help

N.P.T. – U.S. – “get nothing” –

Russ motivations:

Being President is hard Being Soviet P = harder 20,000000 are blocks 100,000000 in Russ

 1. Probably – internal

 2. Possibly – fear of Chinese

 3. Not – Germans “pretest”

Italian Communism – against Cycle – soley [sic] –

To keep information from being eroded –

Real Danger – of Deal on Arms –

Should know conditions for S.A.L.T.

 1. Get Russ to lessen up E. Europe “stab in back”

 Japs – seared invasion (Italy assured them no

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News Russian - Clusher (Hungry & Cegal)

4 Power get Soviet 1. They will come

= a misnomer- To give up about

There are only On Soviet

2 great power sovereignty Foster European Unity

De Gaulle’s - Newman’ Hersey 1. This will increase

 1. Risks also penetration of free

Europe for Alternate in USS.R. - ideas unite believe

& Arabs They are

drops incredible

past 50 years monuments

of history should assist

Neman: those monuments

Hersay is by Negotiations

Non negotiable Represent clients

US. & USS

Will bring change

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 Be sure Cambodian King not in area –

 No more releases for press – v. T.V.

 Kissinger for back grounders –

 1. Push A.P., U.P., News Mags [sic]; T.C.,

 2. Herb puts is San Diego Unions - ! –

 Ron to have briefings in E.O.B. –

 A Trip will be judged by results later – (a time for both

Trip Legislations Leaders

 Handshakes, Speeches, Toasts, smiles do not

 settle great issues

 1. They may create climate for doing so –

 Europe needed attention:

 1. It had changed – (fear – gone) Depression, since de Gaulle = but

 1. American – leadership – not accepted – but America guarantees accentual

 2. The problem: not just de Gaulle –

 1. Détente produced – less from

 2. British, Belgian want relief from expression

 3. Great strains on agriculture – V. Unity.

 German need a home –

 Student revolution (less stable govt)

 Our objectives:

 1. NATO maintained at adequate level –

 a. But Europe must do its share - or American will

 b. Emphasized American political – if

 1. If Europe does lose – disenchantment

 2. Desire to reduce strength –

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2. Unity

 @ It is in our interests

 @ Europeans must determine future

 @ Much talk is unvalitious [sic] or

 farces to bring unity go does Fear

 wisdom

@ We do not join any schemes

3. Monetary

@ Need for a reformed system

@ But summit not ready

@ Trade - border taxes -

American intent embodied

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 V. Nam:

 1. New initiation on negotiations

2. The kind of settlement Amer U.S. could pull out - summit

Notes

 Leaders -

1. A trip does not produce - solutions:

@ It is essential to produce climate solutions:

 2. We are in trouble far beyond de Gaulle

1. Lack of Consultation
2. Detente - (Czech - )
3. Student Revolt
4. Europe - independent - competition - (unity - a drive?)

 3. We accomplished:

1. We consulted - & set a pattern for future -
2. NATO:

1.Europeans must carry their share

2. America is disenchanted

1. “If Europe does more America will do less.”

 3. The strategy

 3. European Unity:

1. We believe it is in Europe & our best interests -
2. It must come from them:

1.Stay out of their fights

 4. Monetary:

1. Need for reform
2. Not a summit
3. Kennedy quit meetings -
4. Concerns about U.S. - keeping inflation but not at cost of dip

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 5. Trade:

1. No new breakthroughs
2. Must consolidate what we have -

 1.Mideast: 3 to 1 -

1. Progress for 4 powers

2. Not be imposed -

3. Future -

2. Detente -

1. All want
2. But need Trust -

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Mideast (progress - set French v. US.

1. 4 Power Talks - (British French in principal)
2. Settlement can’t be improved
3. Must be a guarantee

Soviet:

1. They all want detente (despite Czech)
2. But recognize dangerousness if not real -
3. Arms Talks - with progress political issues

V. Nam:

1. We have made the record -
2. Now private diplomacy -
3. Reaction to attacks -

Future:

1. Europe will contain NATO
2. “ “ will support on arms
3. “ “ will support on V. Nam

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Vatican -

1. Hierarchy here might not

like relations

 2. Many believers liked Travel

gone too far

Mideast -

V. Nam

World Hunger

They might be informed by regular

contact (not just with Pope but

with people around him.

France:

 Political:

1. ½ way between Presidential & Parliamentary.

1.Under system P.M. with

 support of parliament could

 stand up to President

2. President’s personality

 keeps him strong

3. legislation stays in until 1972

 2. Gaullists - 291 of 495 -

1. Center - very weakened (33 - Sans as [[unintelligible]]

 3. Outside grant

1. Student status, Financial crisis,

 strike - leave just quality

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Course fails weekend.

French want

a pal as P.M.

 Student Problems:

1. physical conditions - no senior proms
	1. Unhappiness with system

 2. Edger Faure - excellent minister

 3. Govt wobbled last year

New Minister of Interior = tough

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Students triggered Money & Fund events

* Workers followed
1. Workers trying to get into system
2. Students trying to overturn it.

Foreign Trade:

1. Exports 700,000,000 From U.S.

Imports 1,200,000,000 Political factor

 2. Excellent record of repayment -

 of WWII (De Gaulle)

Question Mark:

1. People’s confidence in system -

(many flow out in crisis)

De Gaulle -

1. Wanted strong economy to

help build stakes in

foreign policy

Reason for Crisis May & June

1. Demonstrations in U.

1. Govt underestimated the

student unrest -

 2. Workers followed -

 3. French last production

1. Had 7 billion in gold, at start
2. Talks Dept work relocation
3. Many coward out

 c. Then De Gaulle - refused
 to dissolve France

De Gaulle was right.

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 d. Breathing space -

When De Gaulle says “wasnt possible absurdity”

he meant it -

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French Foreign policy De Gaulle is it

1. Object - Give France a unique &

decisive place on world stage -

 2. Freedom of Choice in destiny

French destiny

 3. Spread prestige - culture of France

 Taking France out of NATO:

1. Over ½ were against taking

France out of Alliance

 2. Taking France out of Alliance -

* Not an objective today -

 3. People like it that he is

 in center of stage -

1. “France is not France until

it stands in 1st rank.”

Germany:

1. Reconciliation = a major success -

U.S.S.R.:

1. Refers to it as Russia -
2. Berlin Communism is a

passing phase -

 b. But charging same -

E. Europe:

1. Trys [sic] to play to French

affinity to people -

 2. Assertion of “Commonwealth” -

 shook the - “Soviet Sovereignty”

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Chinese

They think they moved too soon to

recognize -

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British & French could be helpful

or Chinese - (Canada, Italy)

Mideast -

1. Making play to arabs. -

U.S. -

1. We are a super power - he

recognizes imbalance -

1. Inevitably a design of

intent between France & U.S.

 a. He wants to redress the imbalance -

 2. T.V. replaces Press as [[unintelligible]]

 of opium - & has damaged us.

1. They can influence the

T.V. -

 3. Need better people to people -

1. Rapprochement is needed between people

does De Gaulle want it.

1. French & Germans - student level -

 exchange -

1. French have a capability

blind attitude about

U.S. -

De Gaulle - (2 weeks ago)

suggested that 4 power - British, French,

Italy, & Germany -

1. Free Trade Area -
2. And let organization of

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 NATO wither away -

He was proposing cooperation in

the political field

1. De Gaulle probably acted in good faith.

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Trade Policy:

General policy:

1. U.S. has provided institution for Free Trade

1. Because of $ gap -

2. Because we had to go to

 Congress (They did not)

 2. $ Gap has turned around -

1. It may be their turn to take initiatives

Textile:

1. Our commitment - place

Congressional pressure

* 1. Must be brought here to them.

Border Tax = same as value

added tax paid internally

1. Value added Tax (border) us the

equivalent of an increase in Tariff

 2. America exportation considers it so -

Soy Beans:

1. 500,000,000 -
2. They might want to Trade off

with Textile - U.K. + Italy are 2nd in wools

Mass Made = more or a problem

Positioning Steps: 1. American Selling Price on Chemicals -

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E. West Trade - Concern (Includes Japan)

1. Our restricted list = larger then theirs.
2. Question is on renegotiation of list - Computers = problem - Shipment of Technology 1. French sending to Romania -

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State

Scope:

1. We go to Europe before Soviet
2. New Europe - New Generation - New purpose
3. Strength of Europe - 47 to 59
4. Follow up trips to come -

1.Monetary -

2.Bilateral -

 5. Reaffirm:

 NATO Commitment No Be [[unintelligible]] Berlin but a new sense Consultation of mutual respect -

Warring Time concept - (bring in forces then)

1. Worries Germans - because believe excuse for balance of payment reasons -
2. Would leave them (in forward position) exposed.
3. Redeployments - would escalate conflict.

Soviet:

1. Want to weaken NATO American withdrawal - Remove stigma of Czechoslovakia. Status quo in Europe -

SALI.

1. Position paper (principles) had concentration of Amer, Soviet Condominium.
2. Want:

1. Maintain U.S. deterrent

2. Non apply to NATO Nuclear Forces

3. apply to Soviet targeted on Europe.

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N.P.T. does not:

1. apply to succession state to nuclear power -
2. Discussion on nuclear matters in NATO -

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Nuclear credibility:

1. Would U.S. use the power to defend Europe - ?
2. Yet Europe fears effect on E. if this occurs -

Sharing: (Nuclear & other technology) Congress strong against it. In guarded way - French won't raise it = a practical not a theoretical problem Luct + K.

Attempts to move to relations with non marches by German & French - (for opposite reasons) 1. Restricted because it will weaken community U.S. avoid making Germans choose between U.S. & France -

1. British avoid (?) forcing Germans to choose between France & US.

Concern controls? - French won’t raise it. British & Germans might 1. a full review ordered - 2. Let’s don’t give it away

 Gap: Europe needs:

1. Education modernized
2. Firms enlarged -
3. Larger - Free market.

Belgians - China:

1. Recognize Chinese & Taiwan

Biofra [sic]:

1. Soviet & Britain together support arms -

Students

1. Anti Communism, Capitalism, establishment - everything
2. Belgium & France - powered crisis of Govt. Italy - paralyzed higher education.
3. Germans - 1. rebellion against authoritarian rule in Schools 2. Non guilt - no war -

British 1. Poor - system (except Oxford-Cambridge)

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Mideast:

1. Fedayeen - greater threat to arab than to Israel.
2. Soviet fears they will inhibit Arab ability to make a settlement.
3. Janing believes 4 powers should submit plan.

Monetary:

1. Devaluation of France - would lead to series -
2. S.D.R. - need for more countries.

France:

 De Gaulle:

1. Don't try to dispel feelings about British Entry Surprised Anglo American relation.
2. Wants to avoid provoking Soviet on Berlin
3. “[[wants]]” Computer exports
4. Bilateral talks on arms before Multilateral.

1. Bracio fears would weaken Alliance consultation mocking

Arms:

 22% - in Arms -

Economies:

 Good proponents now

1. But threatened by wage negotiations

 Monetary Conference - could provide cover for devaluation of France.

Arms:

1. Disagree with flexible response -
2. Wants involved U.S. guarantee to employ nuclear weapons -
3. Europe must be responsible for its defense - in cooperation with U.S. - but not under domination.

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4. quere us of French bases - in emergency Nuclear sharing possible Don’t raise - Don’t care on what label placing carried out -

 We should consider

bilateral nuclear targeting to discuss

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France:

 quere Concern modifications? -

 Believe German relations with E. Europe

 help to trigger Czech invasion

De G. re Course:

“He could sit indefinitely on a block of ice

& it would not melt.”

 Germany -

1. Fear - US. - Russ settlement at this expense -
2. Want openings to E. Europe -
3. Fear U.S. Troop reductions

1. Suffering - means quality - tactics - not just $ numbers of men & weapons

 4. Articles 53- & 107 - No right of intervention -

1. quere Soviet “Sovereignty.”

Brandt -

1. after 2 defeats (61-65). “never run again.” - !

Belgians:

1. Special conformation - U.S. Belgian friendship.
2. Brussels as Capital of Europe -
3. Europe a primary concern -
4. Linguistic rivalry -
5. Recognize Peking?

England

 Discuss - Not negotiate

 Economies:

 Unemployment going down -

 W agree & consumption rises -

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(May take more drastic action)

European Causes - (Healey-) (Should we not redeem?)

1. Need common talking point with U.S.
2. Germans fear wedge with French -
3. Others fear U.S. withdrawal

Trade with Cuba?

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Germany:

 Election:

1. Socialists may be slightly ahead
2. But margin may be so close that a small or grand coalition - is inevitable. -
3. Schroeder v Heiman -
4. Nazi Party (5 to 6%)
	1. Draws support not from past but from farmers & others who are anti establishment.

 5. Party govt = more decisions -

 6. Avoid tough decisions -

@ Straus regarded as coming man of future

Economies -

 1. Fall employment:

 2. 2nd trading nation - & catalog US.

 3. Deutsmanals [sic]- probably over welcomed.

 4. International Trade:

1. F.G.R. favors it as measure tis to East German people -
2. Will give them leverage with E Germans -

E. Germany:

1. quality of life -
2. Not as stark as it used to be “like going to the moon.”
3. E. Germany = the traditional Germany - (More German w Berlin = Int City

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1. More Nationalism

2. This was the Pressure -

4. They are Toughest and must infom with Soviet

1. Most pressure to Soviets

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Sociological

1. Parents- feeling of guilt
2. Young = in rebellion against parents -

the guilt feeling

 3. [[^]]Student [[/^]] Rebellion = against authority & the past

1. Facing have nothing to be for -
	1. Ideal of Europe United = no longer appeals -

 4. Extremists - will not

 take hold - locking Excessive destress

Int’l: (Recognition of Order Neiss) We say

Object I 1. Try to hold France in line borders must Franco 2. But deep resentment: be settled by Germans 1. De Gaulle in Poland treaty

 said accept Order Neise They think its 3. NATO - basis to grow policy a bargaining card

 1. Problems: 1 of 4 from there a. Dual losing concept vote in F.G.R. b. Doubt Nato’s ability to Carry out flexible response - 2. They are sensitive about building up too large a military force 3. Budget may be a bigger reason - 4. Manpower problems: 1. Have not recovered from WWII - & Black Market passed after WWII

 4. Common Market

1. Want British in -
2. But believes it is useless to put pressure on France - 1. Believes should be “clever” - keep pressure on -

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2. They came up with Commercial arrangements - with British which could - take steam out for Britain

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 4. They want British in as a border to France -

5. British have been unshifted in dealing with German - (WWII hate) 6. Germans (Keisinger) - lean to France:

1. Socialists want B in -
2. Keisinger wouldn’t care,

 7. History - British were against it:

1. Motives -

 8. To win a war & came out 2nd - to loser - is worse than losing it.

Soviet Goal:

1. Keep Germany divided -
2. Germans trying to conciliate Russ

1. to create more stability in Eastern Europe

2. To create some movement on European problem

 3. Czechoslovakia - = a blow 1. Charge that Germans subverted it - Russia & Jerusalem - They thought 4. The efforts now = to work was credibility with Russ: Russ thought. Thursday 1. They may think they They were seeking house on option - relation 2. We want joint consultation when they talk to Russ -

 3. Present leaders won’t buy it as long as Soviet wants to freeze the States

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5. Germans were reassured - by Soviets on 53 & 107 -

6. Make them knuckle under a consult - “but never give them anything -

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New generation doesn’t remember WWII

1. Russ say they fear Germans –

2. Main fear = crumbling of

 Eastern empire

1. West Germany = an attraction to E. Germany –

Russ Public

 They want to break down infrastructures

1. They don’t want a United Communist Germany –
2. May be subsidizing Neo Nazi Party –

& students

“19th early minds in 20th century office.”

We must not let them fear world

* + - 1. They do a little of everything –
			* combine the worst if

every course of action –

* + - * The society irrational -

N.P.T.

1. Article 53 + 101 – give Soviet right to intervene – We have reassessed them –

2. Emotion –

3. Inspection –

Articles 2 –

 1. Might reassure article 51 (NATO) & might in validate 53 & 107 (Berlin) 53 - & 107 = give Multilateral not unilateral =

Affect: 1. Need long term – to avoid wrongly –

* + - 1. Should not cease too hand now
				1. Take on Straus -

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Berlin: Leave impression – we don’t intend to give

Italy:

1. Great examine growth –

 1. 20th Century industry

 2. 18th Century political instilation [sic]

2. Nenn: - Turned in ‘56

3. Marco – good – All were Secty [sic]

 Fanjari – of Party -

 Romero -

 Parties are of action obliged –

Prosperity –

1. Cause social problems –

 disparity between North & South –

2. Universities in turmoil –

International:

1. Close to U.S. –

2. Want U.K. in Europe –

1. want U.K. to effect France

 & Germany –

2. Careful to maintain – Good relations with Germany

 3. Signed N.P.T. – a sacrifice (They are capable of Nuclear status)

 4. Consultation for consultations sake –

 E. West – Sensitive about deal sons consultations

 Mideast-

 Want to be consulted -

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Italy

Red China

 1. Internal situations – Nemi -

Bilateral: Airline –

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 Monetary

European want us to strength our balance of proponents position

 1. French want a change –

 2. Most “Don’t rock boat.”

 3. Gold discussion must be

 Cautious:

 a. So that there is no indication

 of a change

Negotiation –

 1. Kennedy would encourage them

 to come:

 a. gain back leadership in field –

 rather than go hat in hand to Them –

 France & Germany:

 American Industry pick up foreign

 Companies – with their money exchange

 We have balance of proponents

 Britain:

 1. Don’t want to give them

 too much outside (hope of)

 support – or they won’t

 Take internal steps they should –

 2. They haven’t done too Much on expenditures

 1. But have worked hard

 on expenditures in private sector –

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Same elements world

want increase in price of gold (Bank of England)

Increase would outlaw $ holding –

1. U.S. would not be able to

 Liaison

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 Germans & Italians have large -

Our internal inflation – has

significantly responsible for talks

 1. We will do what we can

 to regain control of our economy –

 2. Prospects for balance of payments

 Are not good until ‘72

 3. Germany & Italy runs huge

 Trade surplus –

 1. We should urge Germans to export capital

 2. Must never seem to recommend that they pursue inflation –

 a. Italians should spend more to take up slack in their domestic –

 4. Realignment of exchange notes 1. Not a permanent solution

S.D.R. –

 1. We push because 1. All agree except French - 2. Early activation in significant amount would tell World we were going to act a. Prompt activation - not significant - 3. French need to hear this – though opposed - a. They want it part of a big price – indirectly - price of Gold –

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R. If De Gaulle moves – he purposes carefully - & moves massively not marginally –

 suspension of conventionality – (flatly $ exchange)

 = our ultimate weapon –

Run interests

1. We want as much flexibility as possible 2. Controls: a. Controls will gradually - 3. We welcome an intense discussion 4. Controls should not bear necessary - and are not effective

Difficult to get in order -

Sans De Gaulle =

1. But could be done –

French will agree things are wrong – with system –

 1. But what they would like is Multilateral sense economies – so that they by large amount might devalue & trigger a crisis –

How he devalues: 1. For examine (10% would be)

 2. 25% - would be political

Let us avoid Unilateral Action before consultation)

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CHECK LIST

ON

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY ISSUES

FOR PRESIDENT’S EUROPEAN TRIP

1. Fragile calm at present

2. Unsatisfactory Balance of Payments outlook

 -- Tight money currently attracting foreign money.

 -- Inflation control (and Vietnam settlement?) key to long-term confidence.

3. European Attitudes:

 -- Don’t “rock the boat.”

 -- Keep pressure on U.S. to end deficit

 -- French strategy obscure -- potentially dangerous.

4. U.S. Choices.

 a. Preferred strategy, if possible, move ahead in “calm discussion” with friends

 b. Alternative: Unilateral action to suspend gold convertibility.

5. Your trip can:

 a. Indicate our desire to achieve effective, orderly reform in cooperation with our allies.

 b. Test response of Europeans at highest political level – SDR’s concrete test.

 c. Avoid commitments that forestall alternate strategy.

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6. Special points:

 a. Need effective long-term military offsets.

 b. Solid gold position central to future bargaining.

7. Follow-up.

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Sisko

Mideast British: 1. Suez: Crisis – landmark – 2. Their position is closer to our own - a. Tend to be tempted by a proposal which is plagued - b. close consultation required to avoid their going on their own-

 3. They view us in Israeli Camp –

 Russ in Arab Camp –

 a. They see themselves as a backer – balance We believe there must be a package - with agreement from all elements - 1. Withdrawal to preform 5 live = unrealistic

 French – view selves as de polarizer –

 1. They view 6 day war as set back

 a. Israelis moved against De Gaulle’s admin. b. June 6 settlement worked out with USSR sans France (Irritated them)

 2. Beirut raid stimulated French embargo - 1. They made 4 power proposal to blunt U.S. – U.S.S.R – deal –

 3. French now say:

 1. Not anti Israel – 2. Not pro U.S.S.R. 3. Impossible to impose settlement - but must try - 4. They now favor peace keeping group in which 4 powers would be involved - 2. Interest in Refugees 3. Intend in Arms limitation

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His Major objective to get commitment for 4 power route - 1. We will listen & study - 2. We will negotiate - at any level -

Moscow v D.C 1. Dobryrin in D.C. –

Italians:

 1. Concerned about inflow of U.S.S.R in Mediterranean –

West Germans:

 1. Internal Spectator 2. Shelfshift of 4 power approach - 3. Anxious to reassure relation with Arabs - 4. Don’t want to give Arabs pretext

Don’t let them put us on position where we have to deliver Israel on an impossible position 1. Be sure we clear it with Israel –

Situation continuing to detriment – 1. Israeli want a binding agreement

 2. Must be a permanent peace If we can produce Israel - 1. They will say Arabs wont go that far - 2. Get them to say they will go that far

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This is a year the Arabs might go for a present few

6 months to go: 1. Election in November - 2. Arabs might be harder after election – Israeli crisis

Talks will deter =

During trip: 1. We see joining & U.N. or pursuing of new

 2. We shall use all channels –

 3. We intend to play a vigorous role –

 Pick up with Russ: Jan 16 – we asked for response – on specifics –

SALT:

 1. From 66 on – U.S. was pushing Soviet on Talks - a. After Czechoslovakia – Rostow delivered paper - b. Soviet wanted to include Bombers – its –

 2. NATO Council – (We put to them) a. Linkage worries then because of “Condimisser [sic]” fear –

 b. British & French favor bilateral consultation - c. Objectives & principles – in NATO -

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Useful to say we are going forward with objectives & principles - 1. We won’t get Defense study to May –

Do we plan to caution this discussion – what about the paper = 1. Lost answers – cause

18 nations disarmament – on 18th of March

Nuclear Umbrella

1. The Continuing validity 2. “War has a logic of its own - ” 3. Must say it persists : : : :

4. Enter a corruptible area of uncertainty 1. The Umbrella has uncertainty –

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N.S.C. – 2 – 19

 Psychological factors.

Deterrence – 1. What other side thinks is more important than what we think a. a bluff taken seriously is more effectively than a real threat – which is not taken seriously –

I Dominance: 1. U.S. imposes forces of defense & offence 2. Until ’62 we could threaten a 1st strike – in defense of our Allies – because damage to us was manageable –

Apart a. No longer – credible to Allies:

 3. Ratio of Missiles no longer relevant 1. Because the lower amounts is too much to “manage.” 4. Competitive Arms Race – increase danger of war – 5. Soviet would not: negotiate –

II Improve the Balance:

Against 1. No significant military benefits. force more than we have –

This would be a fortune American Concept

III Maintain the balance: 1. But this gives invitations to Soviet & They might achieve a breakthrough. –

IV Stable Deterrence: 1. Maximum damage – force but no emphasis on damage limiting capability:

V Minimum Deterrence (M.I.T. – Harvard) 1. A little inflicts huge damage 2. More does no good –

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Effect on Alliances policy –

Effect on Arms Control - 1. 2 diverse views - - doing more – could bring them to table or drive Them away –

Packard [[?]]

ABM

 Today:

 1. We are ahead in subs but they are catching up –

 2. We are ahead in Manual bombers They do not seem to be moving here.

 3. Dominance [[^]] can [[/^]] come [[^]] only [[/^]] from defense of targets –

 A.B.M. 1. To be effective must defend high proportions of populations. 2. They can counter by Mirror – etc - 3. Department to protect population - does not look useful now - Other end – defend retaliatory forces: 1. Today – our situation is pretty good – 1. But subs will make bombers more vulnerable 2. Our Subs are virtually invulnerable - 2. We can use system to defend our bombers – land based missiles - 1. The fact it is not efficient is not troublesome –

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Time warning (This we could use

A.B.M. not effective on defense of

Cities – is against attack on 2nd stand capability

 1. This would not threaten Soviet -

South If you start to protect population - it is more unstabilizing [sic] –

 They have slowed up their development because of tests of new A.B.M. 1. They protect Moscow (98%) of this “stock force too.

Smith

 Willingner to talk preceded the deployment of A.B.M. 1. Wants to make a move on negotiation at same Time - 2. Not for purpose - of 1st strike – Complication Targeting problems of Soviet

Wheeler:

 1. We target Soviet missiles aimed at NATO - This reduces attack - those aimed at US.

 2. No means except moment of subs to warn –

Packard: 1. Can’t discriminate in protecting cities – 1. Can in protecting sites.

Gore

 Don’t Start on A.B.M. alone 1. Soviet not watched in threat

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Packard

 Can’t develop R+ D in a vacuum –

 1. Need a Defensive mission –

Laird:

 Effect on our Conventional forces -

 is increase.

Laird

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Hoffman

 No illusions about Frances limited power –

1. Duty of Stateman is not to diminish 2. Duty is to keep France independent of foreign control of his own nation 3. De Gaulles exceptions are greater than his strongest – one – vice serve 4. Nations should be heard –

He is more an intellectual than a statesman -

 1. He’d rather be right – than to play a mediatory role - which history proves right.

 2. He tries to maneuver others into concluding he is right –

Israel:

 1. He told Israel in May what long range corruption would be –

 a. Measures since have increased tensions -

 b. Has played England same way –

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For most Europeans – it is

most important to start a

process - some knowing when –

1. He wants to know what the process will lead to - 2. British have tried to deal around him with other 5 3. They have to deal directly with him:

 1. Are they solely for Unification - 2. If British insist on trying to gang up - he will move out of other joint groups - 3. He is predictable –

 If you don’t do what I want I will blow out my brains on you new suit.

 Neither collision or collusion US & USSR

 1. What agreement is reached between 2 should be presented as agreement between 4

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 He felt one Western power should be friendly with Arabs He hates diplomatic Jog - & hates flattery - He takes role of Chief of State more seriously there

 Europe –

 He believes U.S. would Act if Europe is threatened

 He does not believe there will be a conflict in Europe – over Europe –

 Small Nuclear power – complicates Soviet problem 1. And even if Int’l relations change profoundly –

 2. He does not believe decision to launch Nuclear war - should be shared

 N.S. – Minimal help to French Nuclear - England – has no intention to talk about European defense as long as they have a separate entity with special relation with US.

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Price British have to pay to much into Europe is not Agriculture –

 1. But Defense & foreign policy.

2. In ’62 – meeting was a disaster because Mar not Candid -

Mar – waited for French -

Hierarchy of state – more

Impactful to talk to French than Détente –

1. But admin Détente because sense of nations head - De Gaulle -

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Heads of Government – at 20th anniversary De Gaulle’s test – “+ Nations are like young girls & roses – they last while they last-”

Spain – any chance to get into Nato?

[[strikethrough]] Call Trudeau – before announcement – [[/strikethrough]]

Control France: Allies favor deterring war not fighting one - We believe – must be prepared to fight – to deter - [[strikethrough]] R.N.W. – Block – [[/strikethrough]]

Healy – need to move earlier to a Nuclear Response - - rejects trip wire – because conventual needed to make deterrent credible –

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De Gaulle doubts the American commitment.

 1. Defense is the essence of sovereignty of a nation.

Return two division -

Commitment to NATO

[[strikethrough]] 1. We are going [[/strikethrough]]

 1. Don’t commit Troops - etc – in any way - 1. Don’t let them down –

Nuclear Arms to France

 1. Don’t do it because France doesn’t cooperate with us militarily - 2. De Gaulle has never asked for Nuclear Cooperation but French Journalists keep raising it. 1. De Gaulle – never is in position of demander

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French [[strikethrough]] on safe ground [[/strikethrough]]

 1. Don’t put those weapons in cooperation with us

E.E.C. Jean Money –

 10 years – Treaty of Rome - Customs Union - Agricultural Policy Tax Policy - Largest Trading Complex in world 1. 31 billion exports & imports

 Political problem: 1. Federal problem - 2. Enlargement - Feb 13 – Wilson & K – strong statement

 Small progression – Toward E. European – work
 1. Germans in admin of French 2. E. Europeans mixed - but see possibility.

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70 Ambassadors to Community because of impartial economically

Most pressing = possibility - 1. Make Germany more aspirational –

 2. Could be a pattern for E ways –

 Rey:

 Assurance of American Commitment –

 Protection is major problem

 1. We are on edge of precipice – [[strikethrough]] we [[/strikethrough]]

 1. If we fall off - trade war would be uncontrollable –

 Europe is introspective now

 1. Try to house informal contacts – with

Cabinet office travel –

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Who met him - Harmel – (“Interest of Détente” 1. Or NATO would go decline if only military Cause – most Courageous of the Gaullist trusties –

Belgium: Straus - Student unrest 1. Brought down government in 68 - Nation of Traders- 1. Textile - 2. Export oriental - (59% - Common Market)

France: 1. Psychological complex - in Technological – Gap - 2. De Gaulle “Did you read Servre Schreiber’s book 1. “Don’t indulge in literary propaganda.”

Peace minded - & Restored Looking – (beware of invasion in Two wars - ) 1. A principle opponent of De Gaulle - 2. Pro British (as countering it) 3. Look for détente - 4. Pro Peace in V. Nam - China – 2 steps behind Russia - Aid toward Congo -

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 England

 Goldstein

 Much of British Policy deterred by Finance

 1. The Gold Crown was apparently called the sovereign 1. P.M. is 1st lord of Treasury - Wilson – only one who can keep right & left together - 1. Despite decline of popularity in country & party - a. despite no success - 2. Conservative = not dynamic - 3. Resurgence in economy might make it a difficult ball game - Failure: Inability to get into Europe - Inability to solve Rhodesia - Examine problems Very fear real political issues 1. Management of economy –

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 Restore confidence in power - Restore “ “ in sectors - 3. East of Suez - 1. Staying there - Wilson thought he could handle the Unions: (in 50s) 1. “He borrowed more from Central Bank than any Economist.” Suez - - Devaluation of ’67 ended British elitism as a major power -

 Wilson’s desire after ’67 1. Govt [sic] Tried to cut real concepts 2. Balance of Payment - 1. Loan to 24 million $ - 2. Caution optimism - 3. Exports up by imports are up also: 1. Prices stable & unemployment down –

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 Private investment prosper not exciting: 1. Use last grants rather than tax incentives

 Fragile Conditions 1. Huge Debt – owe 7 billion as result of stabilization 5 billion payable in 2 years –

 Sociological problems Race: 1. 1 million of 55 million = enclosed - 1. Same for Africans & Asians:

 2. Enoch Powell opposes to Labor’s supportive (Dockers) Regional – Nationalism goes up - 1. Unemployment high in Regional & Catholic population. 2. Northern Ireland – Parliament - election on day RN. arrives –

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Youth Unrest: 1 “Style” not as good as US.”

Brain Drain there – receding -

Labor bot as friendly to US. as Conservatism 1. But Wilson has stood with US.

USS.R. 1. He is “honest” broker -

Commonwealth – 1. Same purpose - 2. Fly in Ointment is Rhodesian 1. Indians badly Treated in Africa –

3. Britain doing less trade with Commonwealth – more with U.S. & Europe

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1. French [[^]] Bureaucrats [[/^]] Diplomats exceptionally good Germans – Failing power - 1. Not a German Port - since Bismarck -

Russians – 1/3 = Soviet policies -

Europe:

 Their purpose was to find a new political focus – for Britain not economic 1. Economic agreements are questionable - 2. Probably good that they didn’t get in –

Bilateral: 1. Wilson friendly [[^]] to U.S. [[/^]] because: 1. Economic factor depends on U.S. 2. Special relations wanted -

De Gaulle known 1. That’s why he wants its special to keep economic

(regardless of what we say) deterrent - Wilson wants to play it down)

 2. This trade problem = will be solved – by an expanding port

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Strategic: V. Nam

 1. Trade with Hong Kong -

 2. Trade with Cuba 1. “They must trade to live” –

Defense Pronouncement –

 F111 - Cancelled

Nuclear:

 1. Traditional to confirm U.S. – UK. Understanding on Nuclear - 1. Before weapons on British said used – consult - 2. If possible – will consult on use of weapons anywhere –

55,000,000 friendly people – 100,000,000.

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[[Note: strikethrough entire page]]

Opening Statement- :

1. The progress of this press conference is to answer questions on foreign policy going out of my trip to Europe: a. Since I know there are a number of questions – some requiring more than warred deterred [[^]] in reply [[/^]] – my opening statement will be brief [[strikethrough]] for purposes of [[/strikethrough]]

2. I believe that this trip accomplishable need purpose a. We established a [[^]] vitally needed [[/]] new relationship of mutual trust & confidence between U.S. & our Europe Allies. b. We initiated a new approach - with Europe: 1. We reasserted our dedication to deals of European Unity & Alliance – [[strikethrough]] 2. But what is needed now is policy not theory – New concepts rather than old rhetoric [[/strikethrough]]

 2. But we recognized that America cant unite Europe – only Europeans can - & we should stay out of differences not diverting involving us.

 3. There must be changes – rather than resisting & repeating old relations we welcome [[^]] & support [[/^]] change that suits our cause prospers. 3. Many have expressed disillusionment - but as one who saw it after war & [[strikethrough]] today [[/strikethrough]] the strong progress Europe of Today - 1. We were right in what we did - 2. We have friends in every nation - 3. This Alliance is the Worlds greatest guarantee of survival of peace & freedom - [[strikethrough]] We have come far mile long side – we explore new areas of growing progress [[/strikethrough]] We shall not take it for granted it will be center of our concern

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[[Note: strikethrough entire page]]

[[strikethrough]] New Year [[/strikethrough]]

In turning to questions: - any in area of foreign policy – [[^]] ground ready [[/^]] I shall not divulge Leader substance of consultation – [[strikethrough]] with negotiation new relations of confidence - - we recognize that confidence [[strikethrough]] can’t be built on braking confidence –

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 V. Nam:

 1. The saga of offensive: 1. Frequency of attacks same as last year 2. Intensity is less - 3. It has been primarily military – but some civilians 2. Purpose: 1. Weaker G.V.N. 2. Inflicts major defeat or us 3. Weaken us at conference table

 Failed in all 3 respects - (& it shall [[^]] weaken armies public open [[/^]] not ours

 But American consultation rates bares doubled: 1. We shall not continue same taking counter measures a. security of American forces - b. End the war on honorable terms –

 2. But we have been potential & rational but Europe should not confuse those with weaker - 3. If we shall respond in way we believe in effective if attitude is violation of understanding continue When Bombing was halted – there was an understanding – that shelling of cities would not be resorted to we hold the enemy to that understanding.

frequency of attack us instantly militarily

V Nam

 1. [[strikethrough]] The charters of the offence [[strikethrough]] Its effect failed us once 2. [[strikethrough]] It violated understanding [[/strikethrough]] in attack on cities

Not a threat – a statement of fact

The fact we leave because rational is not a sign of weakness -

The charter

 Germany - insanity - military v circlers

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Its purpose - Its effect 1. Military failed - 2. S. V. Nam - 1. S.V. Nam - 3. Conform – 2. U.S.

 In saying this – don’t discount 1. Escalatory [[?]] 2. American forces –

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Strategic Arms: 1. Our goal is Peace not talks for sake of talks a. An arms race increases danger of war - b. But most wars start as result of political issues - c. We could succeed in talks – freeze arms - & if one of political arms exploded - enough arms left to have a very dramatic war –

 2. We do not condition [[^]] arms [[/^]] talks on political - but we think we should go forward on all points: 1. Europeans agree - 2. Talks with Soviet indicates they agree - 3. We propose for talks: 1. Review strategize situation - 1. Credibility of deterrent must not be impartial 2. Steadying proposals we would put forward 3. We are consulting our Allies

 We could have talks: 1. Talks that failed escalate Arms race - 2. Talks done could create emphasis [[^]] save progress in political increase [[/^]]

 When we believe we have a properly prepared position – we shall proceed – (not pressured into talks until we are ready –

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NATO Most advanced countries – working Together on common problems – brains - Technologies -

V. Nam: Before bomb halt – made clear certain understandings concerning military action - which would be inconsistent with Paris negotiations 1. Hanoi cant [sic] expect us to have confidence in new agreements when existing ones are not changed 2. Those understandings remain in force - we expect them to be lived up to (Took months to mount offensive may be rescued & continued 1. Very little effect militarily – or on pacification progress – 700.000 v 25,000

 2. Last year pulled back 1/3 - Purpose – effect public opinion in this country –

Negotiations: 1. S.V. Nam – position is scramble - 2. We have stated position – 1st phase - ones – 2nd phase – of hard bargaining - begins - 3. Our negotiations are prepared to explore - 4. Rogers – Will be [[strikethrough]] greatest back – [[strikethrough]] in over all charges-

U.A.R:

 Respond on basis of [[^]] mutual [[/^]] respect - 1. Consultation can’t be attacked -

Mideast – Nov 22 – ’67 agreement in UN. – Trying to brake impasse

Have objected to Nigeria govt [sic] for bombing of civilians.

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Four Power Talks - 1. A conference which fails would escalate danger – 2. We agreed in principle - 1. We have been exploring bilaterally to determine if useful - 2. We had no intent in focus where cards stacked against us - 3. As a result of bilateral discussion – I believe a good chance – 4 power Talks go favored – 3. Not as imposed settlement (we shall not dictate - but we have hurried [[?]] up.

 1. Settlement is as good will if Parties Keep it. 2. We can log down ground rules under which tenure of final settlement deserved - 3. Settlement must be guaranteed we shall continue on all fronts -

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Briefs:

 Stay out of a Civil war – political - Help Humanitarian side – urged all to do so.

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Opening Statement:

 The purpose of this unusually long press conference is to report on my trip to Europe - 1. Because I realize there will be a great number of questions – I shall make my opening statement brief:

First a word as to [[strikethrough]] what this trip accomplished: 1. I would be last to suggest that great problems are resolved by [[/strikethrough]]

 1. [[strikethrough]] I would be last to suggest [[/strikethrough]]

 the purpose & limitations of such a Trip.

 1. We should have no illusion That great differences between nations are solved by personal diplomacy –

 a. A smile, handshake, a toast, exchange of gifts, of toasts between leaders do not resolve problems: 2. But there is an [[strikethrough]] indispensable [[/strikethrough]] intangible element which has emission [sic] effect on int’l defense-

 It is best expressed by [[unintelligible]] - - mutual trust Genrl [sic] DeGaulle confiance – trust.

As a result – of the trip

 1. The basis of our friendship with France - is different than a week ago - how much – time will Tell – but different & impressed are fair words to use.

 2. [[strikethrough]] This is helpful to all the nations in Alliance [[strikethrough]] [[strikethrough]] 1. Europeans need not be pro America [[/strikethrough]]

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In a broader sense

 1. We have established a vitally necessary new element of trust & confidence with our friends in Europe 2. We have reassured them of our support of Alliance & of ideal of Europe duty. 3. But [[strikethrough]] we [[/strikethrough]] in doing so we have recognized that America can’t unite Europe – Only Europeans can

Citation

Transcript; RN Notes; Richard Nixon; February 1969 – March 1969; folder February-March 1969, RN Notes --- European Trip 1969; box 46; White House Special Files: President’s Personal Files: President Speech File; Transcript by Research Associate, Kristina Agopian; Richard Nixon Foundation, Yorba Linda, CA

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