

MACMILLAN TALKS, WASHINGTON
October 23-25, 1957
MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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(APPROVED BY WHITE HOUSE)

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By CJA NLDDE Date 08/12/14



Date: October 24, 1957

Time: 10:30 a.m.

Place: The White House

Subject: Free World Cooperation; Meeting Presided over by the President
and Prime Minister Macmillan

Participants: American

British

The President
The Secretary of State
The Under Secretary of State
Assistant Secretary Elbrick
Assistant Secretary G. Smith
Ambassador Merchant
Ambassador Whitney
Secretary of Defense McElroy
Deputy Secretary of Defense
Quarles
General Twining
Admiral Strauss
Mr. Allen Dulles
Mr. James Hagerty
Mr. Marselis Parsons, Jr.
Mr. William Dale

Prime Minister Macmillan
Foreign Secretary Lloyd
Sir Norman Brock
Sir Richard Powell
Sir Edwin Plowden
Sir William Hayter
Sir Patrick Dean
Ambassador Caccia
Admiral Denny
Mr. Peter Hope
Mr. Fred Leishman
Mr. Frederick Bishop
Mr. Philip de Zulueta
Mr. Denis Laskey

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Lt. Mr. Becker

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The President opened the meeting by summarizing results of the conversation of last evening in which the President, Prime Minister Macmillan, Foreign Secretary Lloyd, and Secretary Dulles took part. He said they first recognized the need for closer union of the United States and the United Kingdom in order to serve better the cause of the free world and its several defense organizations (NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact). The President stated that recognition of this need suggests the many means by which we should develop ourselves as better partners, almost to the point of operating together under one general policy. The President affirmed that we are anxious to be of service to our allies and do not wish them to think it is in our interest alone that we are endeavoring to consolidate our union with the United Kingdom and with them. We feel, he said, that the whole free world needs a "shot in the arm."

At the President's request, Mr. Quarles explained that the United States Government inaugurated yesterday a policy of more complete publicity regarding our scientific military accomplishments. He said that the Defense Department announced yesterday the following achievements: (1) a successful flight of the Army's Jupiter intermediate range missile; (2) the Navy's successful test of the main stage rocket designed as the vehicle for the earth satellite; (3) the completion of development of a depth charge to be delivered from the air which is expected to be very effective against submarines; and (4) the successful launching from a balloon of an Air Force research rocket which rose from 1,000 to 4,000 miles in the air. He noted that these are dramatic examples of our progress in missile development.

The President resumed, saying that we are not thinking mainly of this sort of achievement, not of something tied to scientific or material development, but of the spiritual, ethical values which support our type of society. He said that we are thinking of a statement which we could make that would "lift up the chins of our people" over a long period, something which can "light a fire" that will burn steadily for as long as necessary.

The President explained that much Anglo-American cooperation will need to be on a confidential basis to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy and resentment in France, Italy, Germany and other allied countries. We realize that our two nations, having so much in common and bearing much the same responsibilities, have got to stay together, but this does not mean, he said, that we will not be full partners of other countries as well.

The President

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The President cited the example of an Italian doctor who has just won the Nobel Prize to show that there are brains in all free countries which should be mobilized. He added that we must develop closer communications with all our partners, not in our interest alone, but for the interests of all. The President said that he recognized all these objectives pose far from easy problems for us, but that he is confident they can be solved. In fields such as logistics and scientific cooperation we can do much, he believed, for the benefit of all.

Prime Minister Macmillan stated that the President described accurately the results of their talks together. In the free world there are, he added, great resources which we can command and influence which we can exert towards the objectives which the President described. He saw ahead a long period of "leaning up against Communism," in economic, political and spiritual fields. The Prime Minister believed that together we could develop further the great variety of joint machinery which already exists. He said that we need to devote our resources both towards providing inspiration for the long journey ahead and for establishing more effective organization for cooperation since no country can carry all the load of maintaining the free world's interests alone. He believed that by pooling our resources so that each country played its appropriate role, we could employ beneficially much human effort that is now wasted.

The Prime Minister raised the question of how these resources could be harnessed for our common benefit. He did not believe that in five or ten years we could create a unified government of the free world but he stressed the necessity of moving towards mobilization of free countries in order to win the "battle of the neutrals." The general feeling is, he said, that the world has become too small for us to behave as independent units in the way that we did in the last generation. Our problem, stated the Prime Minister, is to organize our own effort through closer planning, discussion and cooperation so that we will operate almost as a unit and can then extend our system to serve the existing organizations in which we are associated with other allies. Even if we sometimes do the wrong thing, the Prime Minister believed our allies would take comfort from knowing that the US and UK are working together. Mr. Macmillan cited Germany, with its increasing financial strength, as a country which should not be allowed to slip back, but must be bound closer to us to help serve our common purposes.

The Prime Minister mentioned that the links between the US and UK are now closer than usual and that we must use the short period in which this situation exists to give a new direction and a new sense of authority and power to the free countries. If we do not, he foresaw the spread of defeatism and neutralism so that ten or fifteen years from now we might find ourselves in a dangerous situation.



Mr. Macmillan then stated that although we intend to mobilize our strength, we do not wish war with the Soviet Union and are ready to make genuine agreements with them should it become possible. However, we must face the fact that as long as we have "mere words and not deeds" from the Soviets, we must stand closely together and with our other allies. He believed that we should inform other free countries how hard we have tried to obtain agreement with the Soviets on disarmament through repeated negotiations.

The Prime Minister recalled that our two countries have had a long common relationship and claimed that if we can use the strong personal connection existing between the leaders of our governments to lay a foundation for future unity, we shall have accomplished something of permanent value for the world.

The President then spoke of the advisability of permitting others to take the initiative so that the US and the UK would be in a position to offer support. In this way he believed that our closer association would operate naturally. He proposed that Mr. Spaak might be helpful in taking an initiative which we could thus support. The President thought that in the nuclear field we could not show too much open coordination since we are the only two free nations possessing a nuclear capability. Our partners could come to envy and suspect an appearance of too exclusive a bilateral arrangement in this field.

Secretary Dulles stated that he believed what the President and the Prime Minister had said went right to the heart of the matter. He felt that there was a "certain malaise" in the atmosphere prevailing among free countries at the present time. The Secretary believed that the reasons for it could be easily diagnosed and, if we have the determination, he was sure a cure could be effected. Mr. Dulles noted that an element of insecurity prevailing in our own Government was also apparent in our alliances because nobody knows what the effects of the great new force of nuclear power will be. For instance, it is not clear how much it affects the NATO shield concept. The Secretary said that with only two free nations in possession of nuclear weapons, others feel remote from the decisions governing their use and are in a state of considerable confusion.

Our future security, he believed, will be accomplished increasingly by nuclear power delivered over long distances. The decision as to its use lies now largely in Washington. Other countries wonder what place they will have in such decisions, what the effects will be on them, and whether

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its reckless use will bring destruction on them. The Secretary believed other countries are also concerned whether, in view of nuclear power, their conventional force contributions are any longer worthwhile.

We must solve these questions, he said, not by creating a supra-national organization, but through a consultative process which will permit a high degree of coordination. We all face, he stated, the same economic problem now, namely, to meet the costs of modern defense. This may be a long term business lasting perhaps one or two generations. We cannot destroy our freedom for that period without destroying the type of life we are endeavoring to save. Thus we have to maintain a free economy. The Secretary affirmed that we have the ability to retain both adequate defense and sound economy, but not on the basis of everyone trying to do everything. Consequently, we must now pool our resources and divide our tasks according to our different capabilities. This process requires a high degree of confidence in each other that is difficult to achieve, especially in the United States which comes the nearest to being able to stand by itself. There is always the fear in a pinch somebody will fail to do his part for the common effort. The Secretary believed, therefore, that our greatest task is the development of a greater spirit of fellowship among ourselves and all our partners.

He mentioned that theoretically a single sovereignty is the best solution and, that in fact, we come close to it in war. The need is almost as compelling now, since all that we believe in can be destroyed if our present system of "separateness" continues.

The Secretary maintained that the USSR does not need to fight a great war to achieve domination of the world. The Russians are chess players who are seeking to check-mate us. By penetrating our economies and political systems and by gaining military domination, they hope to force us into a position where we have no alternative but to resign. This may not be as disastrous as being destroyed in war, but it leaves us the ultimate choice of liberty or death.

Britain and the United States, as democracies, know and trust each other. This gives us, said Secretary Dulles, an extraordinary opportunity, assisted by the excellent personal relations among our leaders, to instill greater confidence in Anglo-American and other free world relationships. However, we cannot count on the continuation of personal intimacy for longer than two more years, since under our Constitution the President cannot serve another term and since Prime Minister Macmillan is subject to the political uncertainties of re-election.

The Secretary

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The Secretary then mentioned the Prime Minister's statement of the previous day that we need a "declaration of interdependency" which should be reflected in institutional forms.

Mr. Lloyd stated that he too had noted the existence of "malaise" and agreed to the need for a "shot in the arm." He saw, first, the need for a closer working alliance among US and UK officials so that they can both better serve the free countries. He said there should be directives which will really get down the line to effect closer cooperation in all fields. He felt that it would be an inspiration to many peoples to know that this is happening, not only in NATO but in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the Baghdad Pact countries, Jordan, and Lebanon. He believed that people in these countries are less interested in what we are doing than in knowing that we are doing it together. The Foreign Secretary added that our second step must be bringing into our relationship other countries such as France and Germany, and in this connection he expressed interest in Secretary Dulles' suggestion for a consultative role for other countries in the making of important nuclear decisions.

At this point the President mentioned that he would have a business dinner this evening at about 7:00 p.m. to discuss further the items which had been reviewed yesterday evening and this morning. He said that he would like Mr. Quarles and Admiral Strauss to get together with their opposite numbers on the British side to see if they could come up with specific items (rather than generalities) which could be discussed this evening. The President stated that he believed the United States made a great mistake in establishing the legislative requirement for secrecy of information over atomic weapons. He said that he had always tried to correct this, but that the legal restrictions are still there. Personally, he said, he would like to remove all such restrictions so that we could talk about nuclear weapons just as we do about rifles or bayonets. By using NATO, however, he believed that we could find ways of complying with the laws and still accomplish the coordination that is essential for us.

The Prime Minister said it would be useful for this team to start discussing the problem of coordination in research, development, production and control of nuclear weapons both in the context of existing legislation and of changes which might be made. He suggested that the team start work as soon as Mr. Allen Dulles had given his intelligence briefing.

Admiral Strauss

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Admiral Strauss commented that he and Sir Edwin Flowden had anticipated this assignment and had already begun talks about the problem yesterday.

Mr. Allen Dulles first pointed out that the intelligence community has always been somewhat ahead in the field of Anglo-American cooperation. He noted that Sir Patrick Dean, who is head of the Joint Intelligence Committee (the equivalent of our Intelligence Advisory Committee), was present. Mr. Dulles stated that we and the British have never stopped cooperating, even during difficult times, and that this cooperation has been very close. This meeting, added Mr. Dulles, has given us the impetus to work together even more closely.

He explained that Sir Patrick Dean had come over a day ahead in order to bring together US and UK estimates of Russia's capabilities and intentions and their relationship to the present situation in the Middle East. (He then read the Joint Estimate to the meeting.)

The President commented that if the USSR estimates we are relatively stronger now than we will be in three to five years, they may feel we will be likely to jump them if they should try something in the near future. He wondered whether the Russians might not therefore be expected to act with exceeding caution for the next couple of years.

The President then said that someone on each side should be putting his mind on a declaration containing some of the ideas that had been discussed at this meeting. He hoped that we could bring Spaak into our undertaking and make full use of the fortuitous fact of his presence in Washington at this time. The Secretary mentioned that he had told Spaak at the airport that the coincidence of the two visits, although not planned, may turn out to be very useful.

The Prime Minister said that we must now undertake the following tasks: (1) work on a paper concerning the pooling of nuclear resources between ourselves and with others; (2) a directive to ourselves on Anglo-American cooperation and on an arrangement for broadening it to include our relations with others; and (3) a declaration. He also thought that we might obtain Spaak's help in our undertaking. In summary, the Prime Minister said, the general task facing the meeting is to translate what we are going to do into how we are going to do it.

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