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The purpose of this paper is to recommend a course of action adequate to give effect to the declaration of March 17 by the President of support for the free nations of Europe. The recommendations made will require close consultation with political leaders of both parties in order that whatever policy is formulated may be a truly bipartisan American policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Diplomatic approaches to be made by the Government of the United States to the signatories of the Five-Power Treaty signed at Brussels on March 17, 1948 in order to secure their approval to its extension in the manner outlined below and to inform them of plans for the conclusion of a collective defense agreement for the North Atlantic Area, details of which are given below.
2. An immediate approach then to be made to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, and (if the Italian elections are over) also to Italy, through diplomatic channels, by the United States, United Kingdom and France, with the consent of Benelux, with the object of explaining to them the scheme for a declaration by the President on the lines of that recommended in paragraph 3 below, and of ascertaining whether they would be prepared in such circumstances to accede to the Five-Power Treaty in the near future and to enter into negotiations for the North Atlantic Collective Defense Agreement.
3. The President to announce that invitations had been issued to the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Norway,

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Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Eire, Italy, and Portugal (provided that secret inquiries had established the fact that these countries would be prepared to accept the invitations) to take part in a conference with a view to the conclusion of a collective Defense Agreement for the North Atlantic Area designed to give maximum effect, as between the parties, to the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

In his statement the President would include a declaration of American intention, in the light of the obligations assumed by the signatories of the Five-Power Treaty and pending the conclusion of the Defense Agreement, to regard any action in the North Atlantic Area which it considers an armed attack against a signatory of the Five-Power Treaty as an armed attack against the United States to be dealt with by the United States under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Pending agreement upon collective defense measures, the United States would determine the immediate measures which it would take individually. The declaration would state that the United States would be disposed to extend similar support to any other free democracy in Western Europe which acceded to the Five-Power Treaty.

If, as a result of the inquiries referred to in Paragraph 2 above, it appears that Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, and Italy, or any of them, do not wish to accede to the Five-Power Treaty at this stage, consideration would need to be given, in the light of the views of each of the above states, to the extension to them of some assurance of immediate support in case of an armed attack against them which they resisted resolutely. In any event, the declaration would be so phrased as to avoid inviting aggression

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against any other free country in Europe.

4. Simultaneously with this declaration an Anglo-American declaration to be made to the effect that the two countries are not prepared to countenance any attack on the political independence or territorial integrity of Greece, Turkey, or Iran, and that in the event of such an attack and pending the possible negotiation of some general Middle Eastern security system, they would feel bound fully to support these states under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

5. It is contemplated that the Defense Agreement referred to in paragraph 3 above would contain the following main provisions:

a. Preamble combining some of the features of the preamble to the Five-Power Treaty and making it clear that the main object of the instrument would be to preserve western civilization in the geographical area covered by the agreement. The Preamble should also refer to the desirability of the conclusion of further defense agreements under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations to the end that all free nations should eventually be covered by such agreements.

b. Provision that each Party shall regard any action in the area covered by the agreement, which it considers an armed attack against any other Party, as an armed attack against itself and that each Party accordingly undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter.

g. Provision following the lines of Article III, paragraph 2 of the Rio Treaty to the effect that, at the request of the State or States directly attacked, and until coordinated measures have been agreed upon, each one of the Parties shall determine the immediate measures which it will individually take in fulfillment of the obligation contained in the preceding paragraph and in accordance with the principle of mutual solidarity.

h. Provision to the effect that action taken under the agreement shall, as provided in Article 51 of the Charter, be promptly reported to the Security Council and cease when the Security Council shall have taken the necessary steps to maintain or restore peace and security.

i. Delineation of the area covered by the agreement to include: (1) the continental territory in Europe or North America of any Party, (2) any territory in Europe occupied by the forces of any party, (3) the islands in the North Atlantic whether sovereign or belonging to any Party, and (4) the waters of the North Atlantic and the air space over them. (This would include Spitzbergen and other Norwegian Islands, Iceland, Greenland, Newfoundland and Alaska).

j. Provision for consultation between all the parties in the event of any party considering that its territorial integrity or political independence is threatened by armed attack or indirect aggression in any part of the world.

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g. Provision for the establishment of such agencies as may be necessary for effective implementation of the agreement including the working out of plans for prompt and effective action under b and c above.

h. Duration of ten years, with automatic renewal for five-year periods unless denounced.

6. When circumstances permit, Germany (or the three Western Zones), Austria (or the three Western Zones) and Spain should be invited to adhere to the Five-Power Treaty and to the Defense Agreement for the North Atlantic Area. This objective, which should not be publicly disclosed, could be provided for by a suitable accession clause in the Defense Agreement.

7. Military conversations to be initiated in the immediate future with parties to the Five-Power Treaty with a view initially to strengthening their collective security through coordinating military production and supply.

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