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September 28, 1960

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT
September 27, 1960

Other s present: Prime Minister Macmillan
Secretary Herter, Lord Home,
Mr. de Zulueta, General Goodpaster

At 9 AM, after the President and Prime Minister Macmillan had had breakfast alone, the others joined for an hour's discussion. As we came in, the President was telling the Prime Minister that he has had in his mind the possibility of making a quick visit late in November to Great Britain for three or four days. He would plan to pay his respects to the Queen but would hope to have no social program. He would like for Mrs. Eisenhower to accompany him, although the state of health of her mother may prevent this. He would hope some basis might be found for de Gaulle to join for discussions, but is troubled to try to figure out any subjects that he and Macmillan could discuss with General de Gaulle. This would be two or three weeks after the election, and the President thought he could usefully consult with the others on the prospects for continued collaboration under the new administration.



Regarding our questions with the French, Mr. Herter said that his tripartite talks with Lord Home and Couve de Murville had gone quite well. He had been rather tough on Couve, who took this very well. Particularly on specific matters such as Laos, Berlin and similar problems their discussions had been useful.

The Prime Minister told the President that the British and ourselves have now reached agreement on the text of a public statement the Prime Minister might make concerning the basing of Polaris submarines in the United Kingdom. The President agreed with the statement, but suggested that it be modified to say that this is

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a continuation and extension of existing procedures for consultation.

The Prime Minister next raised the question of reconnaissance flights that we both conduct of the periphery of the Soviet Union for intelligence purposes. He reported that agreement has been reached on procedures for consultation that have been under discussion, but the real question which remains is just what should we do in this program, what places should we go to, and what operations should we conduct there. On the one hand, we do not want to permit the Soviets to drive us away from free use of international waters and international air space, but on the other we must recognize that we are in a weak position when they can shoot our planes down over international waters and there is apparently nothing we can do about it. He suggested that the intelligence people of the two countries should get together on this. The President referred to certain rules he had put into effect after difficulties in the Far East, prescribing that the aircraft should keep a certain distance away from hostile shores at all times, and avoid direct headings toward critical areas within the Soviet bloc such as major cities, naval bases, etc. He said that his discussion of the matter with our people has disclosed that the information gathered is of great importance to our bomber planning. The Prime Minister asked that arrangements be made for Patrick Deane to meet with our people. He said there is also the question of what cover story we should use. He thinks it is foolish to say that we are conducting the flights for electro-magnetic research and thought it better to say frankly that they are for reconnaissance purposes. The President agreed, stating that when we tell what we are doing, we should simply say that we are flying over the open ocean to see what the Soviets are doing that might have a bearing on military preparations -- just as they do with their trawlers. The Prime Minister noted that the difference is that they can shoot our planes down and conceal the facts as to location, etc., whereas if we were to do anything, our people talk so much that no details could be kept secret. (The President commented that the only regret he had regarding the U-2 is that the cover statement which was used did not fit the facts as they developed -- on the assumption that the plane would be destroyed and the pilot probably lost.) The Prime Minister said he does not plan to make a public



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statement regarding the reconnaissance flights. If he is asked a question in Parliament -- and he hopes he will be asked a question, preferably by some Communist-leaning member -- he will simply say that he talked to the President about this matter, as he told the House he would, and what has been agreed upon has been satisfactory from a British standpoint.

The President reverted to discussion about de Gaulle. He said de Gaulle has him baffled to know what we could offer that would improve our relations. When he has raised the subjects of Algeria, tripartite organization, and atomic weapons, de Gaulle simply clams up. He has had no answer from de Gaulle to his last long letter, and still is not clear just what de Gaulle wants. Mr. Herter said he thinks de Gaulle's advisors are counseling him not to put his thoughts down on paper. Their reason is that this would make the situation irretrievable since de Gaulle would find it hard to back down. The Prime Minister suggested that perhaps de Gaulle does not have anything specific in mind -- that he just wants to have the form of tripartite Head of Government meetings. The Prime Minister added, as we look into the future, we can see the question of a balance between France and Germany on the Continent reappearing. As between the two, he thinks we should work to keep France the stronger as long as we can possibly do this, and that this should be possible as long as de Gaulle lives. Thereafter, Germany may become the stronger, and this carries with it a host of difficult problems.



Lord Home said that Couve had stressed that France does not want to break up NATO. Their question is simply how far the question of integration should be carried. The Prime Minister picked this up and said that one problem is that words are given a different significance in French than in English. Integration troubles de Gaulle in this way: there are only two forces in France that can stand up to and defeat Communism -- the Church and the Army. He does not feel that the answer is the Church. Therefore he feels he must keep the French Army as an integral unit which could be used against the Communists. It should not be broken up into separate divisions serving in multi-national corps. In other words, integration should take place only at the top. He noted that this is in fact the procedure that is used, and suggested that de Gaulle just does not understand the present system. He said that there is an analogy of this in Britain, not with regard to the Army, about which people care very little, but with regard to the Navy. The resistance to putting the British

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fleet under the command of someone from another country was deep-seated and emotional.

The President said that, in an effort to think of some way of improving the situation, he has talked to some of our people about saying we are ready to let a European take over the command of NATO in Europe. This would have to be a nation with major ground forces, and that requirement reduces the choice to France or Germany. The latter is obviously unthinkable at this time, and the French do not have men of the qualification of Gruenther and Norstad. The Prime Minister said he thought that de Gaulle probably would not want to have the top command because that would denationalize his commander. What he wants is to keep the French Army as a unified structure with a strong general in command, so it could be used against the Communists in France in case of necessity. The President observed that he had recently seen a report that the French have agreed on an air defense command, following the same terms as the British have adopted.



The President said that the great problem regarding France is Algeria. This is "a running sore." His personal idea is that if France would give the Algerians independence, with a good treaty establishing economic relationships, this would constitute the best available solution. He said in his judgment it is no longer possible for any free nation to keep other people in a state of domination. The costs and difficulties are simply too great. The problem in Algeria of course is that there are a million French colons intermingled with Arab population. Lord Home said that the same problem must be foreseen in Rhodesia within a few short years. The Prime Minister added that, although the South Africans have been foolish in their conduct of political affairs, they have the same problem -- that for three hundred years the nation has been colonized and developed by European immigrants, to which it is now home. Lord Home said that he thought it is barely possible the French might be able to move forward on Algeria if they could achieve a truce -- not demanding that the rebels lay down their arms. The Prime Minister noted that the British had not waited for a truce to negotiate in Cyprus, but had started the negotiations, calling for a truce at the same time. The President said de Gaulle had stressed to

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him that it is not possible to conduct free elections while fighting is going on and that he had agreed with de Gaulle on this. Lord Home said that if a truce could be achieved, it might then be possible to have the election internationally observed. In fact, de Gaulle might conceivably be induced to come to the United Nations and ask the United Nations to provide observers for this purpose. Mr. Herter said he had been informed by the Tunisians that Bourguiba had offered to give Bizerte to NATO and associate Tunisia with the French community if the French would give Algeria the same status as Tunisia. He said he understands the French have rejected this.

The Prime Minister then returned to the subject of the UN General Assembly. He said that the mood seems to be changing. There is a feeling that Khrushchev has again overplayed his hand. The President interjected that the luncheon given by Cyrus Eaton for Khrushchev was about as despicable a thing as he knew of. Mr. Herter said that Hammarskjold has told him that it begins to look as though the United Nations had imported from the Congo some of the political chaos that now exists there. The President observed that after Khrushchev, Castro and their associates go home, the United Nations discussions may take a better turn. He said that Nasser had told him he did not want to destroy the UN. He is very insistent, however, that the UN should enforce its 1948 resolution on Palestine, and refuses to honor the resolution on opening the Suez until the 1948 resolution is enforced upon Israel. To a question by the President, the Prime Minister said he thought that some 60,000 to 100,000 of the Arab refugees might be sent back into Israel. Nasser insists that the full one million be sent back. The Prime Minister saw some possibility of perhaps working out a deal with both sides on the basis of return of 200,000, if enough money were provided to satisfy both sides.



Lord Home said that he sees some signs that the neutral or uncommitted countries are beginning to get rather touchy about the course of the General Assembly debate. They are being treated like pawns. The Soviets want to take them into the Communist camp and the West of course is trying to urge them to be free and democratic. There is growing resentment of both of these approaches but at the same time we cannot just

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say that we will leave them to find their own salvation. The President said one reason for his suggestion for a regional grouping in Africa was to keep out big-power intervention and to discourage the building up of large armaments on the part of these countries. Such a grouping and limitation of arms would mean there would be neutrality among these countries, and between this grouping and the major powers. He said these leaders have stressed to him that they want "no Communist domination" but think that they will be skillful enough to accept Communist aid and still avoid this. He commented that the African who has impressed him the most so far is President Olympio of Togo -- a modest, quiet-spoken, intelligent man.

The Prime Minister asked how the President found Nehru, commenting that Nehru seemed somewhat "down" and dejected to him. The President said he tried everything with Nehru, but Nehru tended to lapse into long silences. (The President said he was accustomed to his from his meeting with Nehru at Camp David, and was not troubled by it.) Nehru stressed how bad Indian relations with China are becoming over the territorial dispute in the northeastern area. Nehru put little importance on the western disputed area, which is remote and mountainous. Mr. Herter observed that Nehru seemed somewhat confused as to what his own role might best be in the circumstances of this General Assembly. The President said that Nehru had expressed strong support for the UN. Nasser had done the same. Nkrumah had also done this but had gone out forty-five minutes later and made a speech at the UN supporting Khrushchev.



The Prime Minister said that all these countries support the UN as do we. All of us favor peace. The question is how to get peace with justice, when many of these countries are violating the rights of others.

Lord Home raised the question why we are not getting rid of Lumumba at the present time. If he were to come back to power, there would be immediate stress on the Katanga issue, which would get us into all sorts of legalistic difficulties. He stressed that now is the time to get rid of Lumumba. Mr. Herter said that

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Hammarskjold had told him that the United Nations would interpose no objection to the arrest of Lumumba if it were done by legal means. Mr. Herter recalled that Nasser had been very critical of Hammarskjold's action in closing the airports and radio stations in the Congo. Problems like this are going to keep coming up in the present circumstances. Hammarskjold is not undertaking to govern the Congo but has the idea that if he provides law and order, a government can develop. The President said he understands it is very important for another regiment to come into Leopoldville and replace the Ghana troops now there, which are not following the UN loyally. He said that Nehru had said in a very emotional way that Belgium was quite wicked to have left the Congo without having made provision for its government. Mr. Macmillan and Lord Home said Nehru had shown the same feeling to them, displaying great emotion. Lord Home said that, if the Belgians pull out of Ruanda-Urundi, the situation will be even worse.

The President said that Nigeria shows some signs of the possibility of exercising leadership in Africa. It is more populous and more advanced than the other countries.

As the meeting broke up, Lord Home said the First Secretary of the Nigerian delegation had come to him to say that he is finding it impossible to get a place to live in New York because of his color. Mr. Herter said this problem is a terribly difficult one. The President said it should be taken up with Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Kennedy at once.



A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be "A. J. Goodpaster".

A. J. Goodpaster
Brigadier General, USA

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