

FRANCE -- Cooperation

Jan 15, 1959

## FROM: LONDON

NO: UNN, DECEMBER 22, 7 PM

FONOFF (working level - please protect source) has shown Embassy officer rough draft of memorandum Lloyd's talk (Dec. 17) with de Gaulle, still subject to correction and amendment by Lloyd (which Embassy believes may be substantial). Following is substance:

\* \* \* \*

De Gaulle "Plan" - De Gaulle rehearsed at great length his proposals and added nothing new. He said that an end must be put to system whereby U.S. acted in isolation, particularly as regards strategic matters. This was unacceptable to France. NATO system was based on integration but U.S. fleet in Mediterranean had nothing to do with NATO nor for that matter had British Bomber Command. But intergration did apply to France except in Africa for which NATO did not provide at all, though it provided very badly for Mediterrean. Therefore entire reshaping of NATO must be undertaken "soon" and indeed it must be accomplished before Spring. As to permanent consultation. he had suggested ambassadors meet in permanent session in Washington and if they got into difficulties tri-partite governmental conference should take place. Also standing group should be stepped up and reinforced so as to consider Western strategic plans. In complete reorganization of NATO, treaty must also be amended to cover Africa North of Sahara. Clearly commands should be reshuffled and there should be "sharing of atomic arms."

Lloyd queried whether de Gaulle meant the creation of a tri-partite organism or tri-partite institution and said British preferred not to institutionalize procedures.

Note taker was evidently somewhat confused by de Gaulle reply, but draft at this point says de Gaulle seemed to say that if what he said involved institutions then that was what he meant.

Lloyd said that the British preferred approach things as they came up and that it seemed unrealistic for ambassadors to be in permanent session.

De Gaulle replied that they would have much to do. They should consider political plans for Germany, Iran, Middle East, Pacific, North Africa and Black Africa. If in so doing they came to regard themselves as an institution he could not say. He then repeated his previous arguments and said if the French position was not accepted the whole alliance would be "devoid of any real meaning. This would not mean that we should not defend ourselves if attacked but we should have defend ourselves individually and without any coordinated plan."

Lloyd then asked a question about German and Italian reactions.

De Gaulle replied that Dulles had also mentioned German reactions. He exp essed great respect for Adenauer and rehearsed his known views about the present condition of Germany preventing her from being added to tri-partite talks. He did not think that Germany would be really irritated if not included. He then drew an analogy with the concert of Europe which had kept the peace from 1870 to 1914. We now need a world concert. He believed that our Allies on reflection would accept this as a self-evident fact. If the interests of any of them were especially involved they could be brought in at suitable stages.

WHITNEY