



EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE  
HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

# JMAS Jean Monnet American Sources



Florence  
Mars 2006

© European University Institute - Historical Archives of the European Union, 1994-2006

Reproduction is authorised, provided the source is acknowledged, save where otherwise stated.

Where prior permission must be obtained for the reproduction or use of textual and multimedia information (sound, images, software, etc.), such permission shall cancel the abovementioned general permission and indicate clearly any restrictions on use.

© Institut Universitaire Européen - Archives historiques de l'Union européenne, 1994-2006

Reproduction autorisée, moyennant mention de la source, sauf spécification contraire.

Si la reproduction ou l'utilisation de données textuelles et multimédias (son, images, logiciels, etc.) sont soumises à autorisation préalable, cette autorisation annulera l'autorisation générale susmentionnée et indiquera clairement les éventuelles restrictions d'utilisation.

The signature of the file is indicated in the beginning of each description next to the title **file** and has to be used for citation, to be used for the request of a document for consultation in the reading room of the Historical Archives of the European Union.

Le numéro **file** correspondant à la **côte d'archive** doit être cité en note de référence des sources, doit être utilisée pour la demande de communication dans la salle de lecture des Archives historiques de l'Union européenne.

#### Icons



## Table of Contents

 JMAS Jean Monnet American Sources	5
 JMAS.A Amhearst College Library	6
 JMAS.A-01 Dwight Morrow Papers	6
 JMAS.A-02 John McCloy Papers	7
 JMAS.A-02.1 Correspondence	9
 JMAS.B Princeton University Library	10
 JMAS.B-01 John Foster Dulles Papers	10
 JMAS.B-01.1 Political Life	11
 JMAS.B-01.2 Private Life	13
 JMAS.B-02 Allen W. Dulles Papers	13
 JMAS.B-03 James V. Forrestal Papers	14
 JMAS.B-04 James Foster Dulles Oral History Project	14
 JMAS.B-05 Princeton University Library - External Sources	16
 JMAS.C Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library	17
 JMAS.C-01 Presidential Files	18
 JMAS.C-02 Morgenthau Diaries	19
 JMAS.C-03 Harry L. Hopkins Collection	21
 JMAS.C-04 Oscar Cox Papers	21
 JMAS.C-05 Isador Lubin Files	22
 JMAS.D United States Library of Congress	23
 JMAS.D-01 Felix Frankfurter Papers	23
 JMAS.D-02 Joseph Alsop Papers	25
 JMAS.D-03 Averell Harriman Collection	25
 JMAS.E Dartmouth College Library	27
 JMAS.E-01 Shepard Stone Papers	27
 JMAS.F Harry S. Truman Presidential Library	28
 JMAS.F-01 Dean Acheson Papers	28
 JMAS.F-02 William Clayton Papers	30
 JMAS.F-03 Milton Katz Papers	31
 JMAS.F-04 White House Official and Confidential Files	31
 JMAS.F-05 Newspaper Articles	32
 JMAS.F-06 Oral History Interviews	32
 JMAS.G Dwight D. Eisenhower Library	35
 JMAS.G-01 Pre-Presidential and Presidential Papers	35
 JMAS.G-02 Alfred Gruenther Papers	37
 JMAS.G-03 Clarence Randall Papers	38
 JMAS.G-04 John Foster Dulles Series	39
 JMAS.G-05 Samuel Waugh Papers	40

 JMAS.G-06 Walter Bedell Smith Papers _____	40
 JMAS.G-07 Henry Aurand Papers _____	41
 JMAS.G-08 Gabriel Hague Records _____	41
 JMAS.H Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe _____	41
 JMAS.H-01 Robert R. Nathan Papers _____	42
 JMAS.H-01.1 Commissariat au Plan _____	42
 JMAS.I NARA _____	43
 JMAS.I-01 John Tuthill Papers _____	44
 JMAS.I-02 Department of State Central Files _____	45
 JMAS.J Yale University Library _____	47
 JMAS.J-01 Dean Acheson Private Papers _____	47
 JMAS.J-02 Walter Lippmann _____	48
 JMAS.K John F. Kennedy Library _____	49
 JMAS.K-01 John F. Kennedy Sources _____	49
 JMAS.L Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library _____	50
 JMAS.L-01 Presidential Papers _____	50
 JMAS.L-02 George Ball Papers _____	52
 JMAS.M Virginia Historical Society _____	52
 JMAS.M-01 US Ambassador to France _____	53
 JMAS.M-02 US Under Secretary of State _____	63
 JMAS.M-03 Observer to the Interim Committee of the EDC and US Special Representative to the ECSC High Authority _____	66
 JMAS.N Jean Monnet Documents Project _____	75

## **JMAS - Jean Monnet American Sources**

1919-1988

2,5 linear metres

190 files

*This collection of material consists of photocopied excerpts of collections taken from various Presidential and University libraries and archives, and also from the Department of State (NARA), which refer to Jean Monnet and his relationship with American officials and the US Administration's policies in connection with the "Victory Programme" and European integration. The decision to gather this material on Jean Monnet in the United States was formalised in an agreement between the Jean Monnet Council and the George Washington University, the European University Institute on behalf of HAEC, and the Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe.*

## **JMAS.A Amhearst College Library**

The Amhearst Library is trustee of the Dwight Morrow and John McCloy papers, in this capacity Amhearst reserves all rights to the above papers. The documents which Morrow and McCloy collected relating to Jean Monnet and European affairs were retrieved from Amhearst and they detail the relationship between these men. The original record code from Amhearst is detailed in each individual dossier description.

Both the Morrow and McCloy descriptions are treated separately within the unit - Amhearst College Library

Amhearst has placed strict restrictions on the reproduction of the documents. The European Community Historical Archive must enforce these restrictions carefully, which means that no duplication or photocopies can be made of these documents. However, notes can be made from the papers. The Terms of Access and Use of the Amhearst Library are available for consultation with the Amhearst finding aid.

Use of documents is subject to provisions of US copyright law

The Amhearst Library produced finding aid is also available to researchers of the John McCloy collection. The same rule applies regarding reproduction.

### **JMAS.A-01 Dwight Morrow Papers**

1919-1926

n.3 files

Jean Monnet's initial contact with Dwight Morrow was through the Allied Maritime Transport Council (AMTC), established in 1917, in which Morrow was involved. This Council was later absorbed into the new Supreme Economic Council in 1919. Monnet was the French representative in the Council's supply section. Morrow and the Dulles brothers, John Foster and Allen were also involved with this Council. Morrow's relationship with Monnet continued because of their interest and participation in the world of banking and finance. Monnet upon his resignation from the post of Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations, got together a consortium, which included Morrow and John Foster Dulles as lawyer to negotiate a Polish loan in 1927 and in 1928 did the same for Rumania

 **File: JMAS-1** 1926 - 27/11/1930

#### **Financial Matters**

Pages: 21

Correspondence between Dwight Morrow and Jean Monnet concerning their involvement in organising post-war loans, particularly with reference to Poland and with other matters relating to their economic interests in France and Mexico, includes: letter from Monnet to Morrow on Polish delegations visit to Paris regarding a loan and John Foster Dulles' negotiations with the Bank of France  
letter from Morrow to Monnet regarding American hesitations in lending money to Poland because of political situation, asks Monnet to come to America to clarify situation. - request from Monnet for Morrow's view on legal implications for an American built dam in Mexico. - Letters on French financial situation.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: SERIE. 1, BUS. AF. PUB. ACT. FILE 1900-1931, ROLL 65, FRAMES:618-623, 628-630, 643-644, 659, 671-674, 675-678, 683-684, 687-688

 **File: JMAS-2** 30/01/1919 - 28/10/1921

#### **League of Nations**

Pages: 6

Correspondence between Jean Monnet and Dwight Morrow regarding international peace and American attitudes to the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant, includes: note on book by Francis Bowes Sayre, son-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson, *EXPERIMENTS IN INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION*

letter from Morrow concerning the incompetent manner in which the league of nations was handled in America. - Information from Monnet on the French delegation to the peace talks in Washington, with particular reference to M. Philippe Berthelot, Secretary General to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: SER.1, BUS. AF. PUB. ACT. FILE 1900-1931, ROLL 65, FRAMES: 624-625

 **File: JMAS-3** 1926

**Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 4

Correspondence of a personal nature between Jean Monnet and Dwight Morrow concerning appointments to meet and expressing cordialities

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: SER.1, BUS. AF. PUB. ACT. FILE 1900-1931, ROLL 65, FRAMES: 624-625

## **JMAS.A-02 John McCloy Papers**

1943-1983

n.8 files

The John McCloy papers relating to Jean Monnet and European/US co-operation reveal the special relationship, what Thomas Schwartz called the "Transnational Partnership" (1) between the two men. McCloy was a lawyer by profession and it was in this capacity, while working for the Cravath law firm, that he and Monnet met. Another Cravath lawyer, Donald Swatland, who worked with Monnet on the re-organisation of Transamerica, a holding company of Amadeo Giannini's Bancamerica, introduced the two men. McCloy would have been familiar with the problems Monnet had with the over-valuation of Transamerica in 1931. They were re-acquainted during the war years when McCloy as assistant US Secretary of War helped Monnet to influence Roosevelt's opinion towards all out production and participation in the war. Both men worked together in Algiers in 1942, in mobilising General Giraud and his troops against the Germans and after Pearl Harbour they worked together on America's Victory Programme. McCloy shared the same viewpoint as Monnet that American policy should promote German integration into a United Europe. After the war in his position as President of the World Bank, McCloy remained aware of France's supply needs, he provided loans to France so that the Monnet Plan for the re-construction of the French economy could be implemented. In 1949 McCloy became US High Commissioner of the Federal Republic of Germany. It was in this post that he had the greatest impact in influencing American policy makers toward the idea of European integration espoused by Monnet. Both men opposed Treasury Secretary Morgenthau's plans to de-industrialise Germany, instead McCloy worked to ensure the success of the Schuman Plan and the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. McCloy recognised from his time in Europe that the key to solving the problems in Europe was to create a United States of Europe. The John McCloy papers reveal the close personal and working relationship both men shared.

 **File: JMAS-4** 25/10/1971 - 01/06/1972

**BBC Programme on Jean Monnet**

Pages: 43

Material relating to a BBC production for "The Money Programme", on Monnet, entitled *THE FATHER OF EUROPE*, which dealt with the reasons and methods that led him to create the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Community, includes: correspondence between BBC and McCloy regarding McCloy's contribution to the programme with reference to Monnet's period in Washington and the Roosevelt administration. - Covering letter from McCloy to Monnet regarding the programme and as enclosures, uncut texts of the interviews given by Edward Heath, British Prime Minister, and Willy Brandt, German Chancellor. - Letter from McCloy to Monnet giving favourable review of programme. - Text of interview by Alan Watson, programme interviewer, as transmitted, 31/12/1971.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX COR 4, FOLDERS 57-58

 **File: JMAS-5** 19/05/1976 - 25/06/1976

**Transamerica Affair**

Pages: 11

Correspondence relating to Jean Monnet's involvement in the Transamerica holding company, includes: letter from Monnet to McCloy seeking details on the amount of the write-off of Transamerica's assets, 1931. - Correspondence between McCloy and Cravath law firm regarding the financial irregularities at Transamerica. - Letter to Monnet from McCloy regarding the lack of written information or evidence of a big write-off which Monnet talks of.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX COR 4, FOLDER 58

 **File: JMAS-6** 06/01/1975 - 18/04/1975

**Jean Monnet's Memoirs**

Pages: 44

Material relating to the memoirs of Monnet with reviews from friends and colleagues, particularly with reference to chapter 7 of the book, includes letter from McCloy to Monnet on chapter 7, questions why Monnet did not mention the contribution of Henry Morgenthau, US Secretary of the Treasury during the war years, to the rearmament of Europe, also refers to the provenance of the infamous phrase, quoted by President Roosevelt "Arsenal of Democracy" description of chapter 7 by John S. Minary in memorandum to Mr. Manning. - Circular letter from Monnet to members of Action committee announcing his resignation to concentrate on his book. - Text of chapter 7 of Monnet's memoirs entitled "Washington. Le Victory Program 1940-1943."

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: BOX COR 4, FOLDERS 57,58

 **File: JMAS-7** 27/03/1981

**Tributes**

Pages: 25

Tributes to Monnet, includes: - Interview by Rene Pleven, former Premier of France on Jean Monnet to supplement the archives of the Monnet Foundation, Lausanne consists of biographical sketch. Sketch of Monnet by Kurt Birrenbach, member of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe.

Language:FRENCH

Old Record Code: BOX A1, FOLDER 63, BOX COR 4, FOLDER 57

 **File: JMAS-8** 07/12/1965 - 22/05/1983

**Newspaper Articles**

Pages: 18

Articles concerning Jean Monnet, details his contribution to European unity, retirement 1975, the Monnet Center Prize at Dorigny, significance of his death, the anniversary of

the Council of Europe 1983, the situation regarding European integration - speech by Tsatsos of Greece 1983, current state of Europe, includes articles from: "The Washington Star", "Nouvelle Revue de Lausanne", "Tribune Le Matin", "Gazette de Lausanne".

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: BOX COR 4, FOLDERS 57-59, BOX A1, FOLDER 63

 **File: JMAS-9** 11/1967 - 15/11/1981

### **Awards**

Pages: 92

Material relating to awards presented both to John McCloy and Jean Monnet for their contribution to European peace and integration, includes: text of speech by McCloy, toastmaster, at the annual dinner of the Family of Man on the occasion of their honouring Monnet with the Society of the Family of Man award. - Letter from McCloy to Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, thanking him for writing to Monnet on his receipt of the Aspen Institute Humanistic Award, and speech by Monnet on acceptance of Aspen prize. Documents relating to the honouring of John McCloy as the first laureate of the Jean Monnet prize, from the Jean Monnet Foundation, for Europe, Lausanne, with speech suggestions from J. Robert Schaezel and George W. Ball formerly of the US State Department. Remarks by McCloy on his being presented with the Aspen Award, speech refers to his predecessors, Monnet and Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of Germany.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX SP3, FOLDER 9, BOX COR 4, FOLDER 57, BOX A1, FOLDERS 63-64, BOX SP4, FOLDER 10, BOX SPB, FOLDER 51

## **JMAS.A-02.1 Correspondence**

1973-1979

2 files

Material relating to the correspondence between Jean Monnet and John McCloy on both personal and working issues.

The correspondence has been divided according to content.

 **File: JMAS-10** 19/12/1973 - 27/03/1979

### **Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 18

Correspondence between Jean Monnet and John McCloy and their respective spouses, Sylvia Monnet and Ellen McCloy concerning health, family, greetings, mutual friends and colleagues, remarks on current affairs and Monnet's death and funeral.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX COR 4, FOLDER 58

 **File: JMAS-11** 08/03/1943 - 01/04/1976

### **Political and Diplomatic Correspondence**

Pages: 17

Material relating to the political interests and concerns of both McCloy and Monnet, includes: diary excerpt of interview with Henri Giraud (General of Resistance forces in Algiers) concerning his estimation of situation and plans for advancing to counter-act German forces. - Letter from McCloy to Monnet concerning the ECSC and Schuman Plan. Letter from Monnet to McCloy recommending Max Kohnstamm, former Secretary of High Authority of ECSC for the post of executive head of the Atlantic Council,- letter from Monnet to McCloy regarding the latter's position on US troops in Europe. Letters from McCloy to Monnet on the need for partnership between US and Europe, events in Middle East and prevailing economic situation. - Text of resolution of Heads of State and Governments Meeting in European Council concerning the conferral of the title of honorary citizen of Europe on Monnet, 01/04/1976.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX DY1, FOLDER 8, BOX HC5 FOLDER 172, BOX COR 4 FOLDERS 57-58

## **JMAS.B Princeton University Library**

The Princeton University Library (Seely G. Mudd Manuscript Library) houses both the John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles papers. To complement the J.F. Dulles papers, Philip A. Crowl of Princeton University, initiated an oral history programme to fill any gaps that existed in written form. The documents relating to Jean Monnet and European affairs have been extracted from the brothers' collections in Princeton and from the oral history project. The closeness of the relationship between J.F. Dulles and Monnet in particular is clear from these documents. The original record code from Princeton is detailed in each individual dossier description. Included in this unit is a letter relating to Monnet from the James V. Forrestal papers which are also in Princeton. Furthermore, because of the relationship between John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower, documents in the Eisenhower Presidential Library in Kansas, relating to John Foster Dulles were copied and are available in the Seely G. Mudd Manuscript Library. These include the Ann Whitman File, Dulles-Herter Series and the John Foster Dulles Files, these documents have been listed in this unit as they relate to Dulles and are mainly concerned with American policy in Europe.

The J.F. Dulles and Allen W. Dulles papers, the JFD oral history sources and the "Princeton external sources" are treated separately within the unit - Princeton University Library.

The European Community Historical Archive in deference to Princeton Library rules regarding reproduction and duplication, must follow the policy of prohibiting any copies to be made. However, notes can be made of the collection

Use of documents in this collection is subject to American copyright legislation

### **JMAS.B-01 John Foster Dulles Papers**

1931-1959

n.10 files

The enduring friendship between John Foster Dulles (JFD) and Jean Monnet began at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 where JFD was legal advisor to the US representative on the reparations committee. Their association continued in the financial world and it was JFD, who was the lawyer for the consortium led by Monnet, for the Polish loan in 1927. In 1935 JFD provided the financial backing for Monnet and George Murnane to go into investment banking. During the second World War Monnet had worked with the British Supply Council in Washington, and Dulles was the legal adviser to this Council. So it was during these years and in the years after the war when peace was being established that JFD came to believe in a unified Europe, a federation of states like the US model. His association with Monnet would have fostered these beliefs and this was to be the basis of an enduring friendship, for Dulles committed himself to the re-building of Germany and its integration into a united Europe. Dulles' talents in the diplomatic field had been shown when he had helped construct the Japanese Peace Treaty 1950-1951. When the Schuman Plan was unveiled in May 1950, it was strongly endorsed by JFD, who had long favoured europeanising coal and steel production and promoting German/French co-operation as the best method of ensuring peace. In 1952, President Eisenhower appointed JFD Secretary of State and JFD used his power and influence in this position to push for US backing for the idea of a united Europe and thus for collective European institutions such as the European Defence Community (EDC). Monnet suggested to Dulles the idea of a US Representative/Ambassador to Europe to underline US support for European integration. Dulles took this suggestion to

*Eisenhower and so David Bruce was appointed to the position as US representative to the ECSC and observer to the EDC Committee, with William Tomlinson as his chief aide. Dulles, however was becoming impatient with the slow ratification of the EDC Treaty and so was advised to get tough with the French. So in a speech that was approved by Eisenhower, Douglas Dillon, American Ambassador to France and Bruce, JFD linked the success of NATO to the EDC in a speech in Dec 1953. This speech further irritated and worried the French as it appeared the US were dictating how they should run their affairs. To compensate for this hiccup and to show continuing US support for European Unification, Dulles on the advise of Monnet, made an A*

### **JMAS.B-01.1 Political Life**

1940-1958

*n.8 files Material relating to the political and d*

*Material relating to the political and diplomatic relationship between Jean Monnet and John Foster Dulles and information regarding his position on European affairs.*

*Arrangement is according to subject matter.*

 **File: JMAS-12** 30/06/1954 - 13/06/1956

#### **European Unity**

Pages: 37

*File pertaining to US concerns for European Integration and restoration of German Sovereignty and the establishment of the European Defence Community (EDC), includes: text of address by American Ambassador to France, Douglas Dillon, to the Anglo-American Press Association, states that EDC is complementary mechanism to NATO. - Press statement by John Foster Dulles reiterating that European integration is vital to peace and security. - Statements by Dulles on decision of US Senate to restore German Sovereignty, the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with FRG, Oct. 1954 and the Mutual Security Bill, May 1955. - Joint communique issued at the conclusion of talks between Chancellor Adenauer and Dulles regarding the re-unification of Germany as priority of the West.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 78,79,80,85,90,91,100,106 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-13** 05/1950 - 04/06/1954

#### **Schuman Plan - ECSC**

Pages: 36

*Material relating to the evolution of the ECSC and John Foster Dulles' approval of Europeanising German coal and steel production, includes: letter to Jean Monnet from Dulles regarding "the French proposal, of which it is now generally recognised you are the author". - Communication between JFD and Dulles regarding the attendance of Dr. Walter Hallstein, under-Secretary of State in the Bonn Government, at a meeting on the Schuman Plan, Monnet states his confidence in him. - Press release on visit of Monnet, Chairman of the High Authority of the ECSC, to the US to discuss European Unity*

*letter from Monnet to JFD regarding American loan agreement with ECSC, sees it as evidence of US support for European Integration. - Letter from Dulles to Rene Mayer, Monnet's successor in High Authority regarding the contribution of ECSC to European economic and political integration.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 49,54,62,72,84,91,106 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-14** 10/02/1956 - 17/07/1958

#### **EURATOM**

Pages: 14

Correspondence between John Foster Dulles and Jean Monnet regarding the extension of the ECSC to cover nuclear energy, includes letters from Monnet to Dulles regarding the visit of the Atomic Wise Men Louis Armand, Franz Etzel and Francesco Giordani to Washington, and discussion on negotiations to sign the treaties for the European Community Market and EURATOM, Monnet asks that the Atomic Wise Men be met by President Eisenhower

letter from Dulles to Monnet regarding an agreement between EURATOM and the US Government which he feels strengthens the whole movement toward European integration,- State Department memorandum on status of EURATOM agreement.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 106,109,113,120,132 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-15** 20/01/1956 - 01/02/1956

**Action Committee for United States of Europe**

Pages: 8

Cover letter to John Foster Dulles from Jean Monnet, regarding a resolution adopted unanimously by the Action Committee, concerning pooling of resources and unity of action to attain a United States of Europe, particular mention is given to the need for co-operation in the area of atomic energy and the need for the participation of Great Britain. Monnet states that France and Germany want the resolution adopted by their parliaments and, as enclosure, text of resolution. - Reply from Dulles.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 106 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-16** 05/04/1955 - 14/12/1956

**NATO**

Pages: 27

Material relating to NATO's relationship with the Western European Union, includes: press statement by Dulles, states that WEU like North Atlantic Treaty would be another step in the consolidation of peace. - Analysis of tasks of Atlantic Community final communique from North Atlantic Council meeting, concerning the need for European co-operation in defence . - Statement by Dulles regarding the need for improvements in the NATO Council and the need for collaboration with WEU final communique from NATO Council regarding their decision to strengthen the military and non-military co-operation of the Alliance.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 91,102,106 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-17** 09/01/1954 - 26/07/1955

**Conferences**

Pages: 23

Material pertaining to conferences held in Berlin Jan 1954 and Geneva July 1955 regarding European unity, East-West relations and German reunification, includes: letter from Harry F. Kern, "Newsweek Magazine" to Dulles, regarding Monnet's opinion on Berlin Conference, "Russia would find it....difficult to oppose the concept of a united Europe or the right of a united Europe to provide for its own defence". - Statement by Dulles on Geneva Summit Conference, felt it did not weaken ties between US, France and Germany established at Berlin. - Papers on US and Soviet goals and prospects for their achievement at Geneva.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 84,89 CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-18** 10/08/1954 - 15/09/1957

**American Foreign Policy**

Pages: 49

File containing press statements by John Foster Dulles and the text of an NBC television interview with Dulles, regarding American foreign policy in Europe, the Far East and the USSR.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 80,85,102,113 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-19** 14/11/1940 - 19/08/1958

**General Correspondence**

Pages: 18

Correspondence on matters of political interest between John Foster Dulles and Jean Monnet, includes: Dulles' plans for an Inter-Economic Council in response to "New York Times" reporter, Clarence Streits' preparations for a book, "Union Now With Britain" | discussion on economic unity in Europe with regard to convertible currencies telegram from Monnet congratulating Dulles on his appointment as Secretary of State.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 19,22,54,62,84,106,120,132 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **JMAS.B-01.2 Private Life**

1931-1959

n.2 files Material relating to the personal and bu

Material relating to the personal and business relationship shared by Jean Monnet and John Foster Dulles.

Arrangement is according to subject matter.

 **File: JMAS-20** 23/09/1931 - 30/12/1939

**Financial Affairs**

Pages: 9

File concerning John Foster Dulles and Jean Monnet's business relationship, includes: telegram from Dulles to Monnet on the Transamerica Programme (holding company for Bancamerica)

material relating to the purchase of shares in a consultancy and advisory company established by Monnet and George Murnane with, letter of agreement signed by Monnet, Murnane and Dulles, who was the investor for the company,- note to Dulles from Frank Feely on behalf of Monnet regarding payment of interest on a loan.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 10,14,18 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-21** 31/08/1939 - 25/02/1959

**Correspondence**

Pages: 45

Correspondence file documenting friendship between John Foster Dulles and Monnet, includes: congratulations on Monnet's marriage and his appointment as Chairman of the Anglo-French Co-ordinating Committee (AFCC),- letter from Dulles regarding the treatment of conscientious objectors to war in France,- information on Dulles' book War or Peace | letter to Dulles from Donald Swatland, regarding a commemorative bust to mark Monnet's 70th birthday.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 13,18,19,49,54,62,73,84,106,120,132,141 - CORRESPONDENCE JFD PAPERS

 **JMAS.B-02 Allen W. Dulles Papers**

1959-1968

n.2 files

Jean Monnet's contacts with Allen Dulles would have been mainly as a result of Allen's brother John Foster Dulles. In the post war years Allen Dulles held a prominent position in the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. He then became Director of the C.I.A.. The Allen Dulles papers held in the Princeton Library relating to Monnet date from the

death of Foster Dulles in 1959 and generally refer to Foster but also touch on other matters such as European unity and US/European co-operation and partnership.

 **File: JMAS-22** 22/06/1959 - 28/05/1964

### **John Foster Dulles**

Pages: 7

Correspondence between Allen Dulles and Jean Monnet regarding John Foster Dulles, includes: letter of introduction to Caston Coblentz, "Herald Tribune" from Allen to Monnet regarding a biography on JFD, wants Monnet to talk with Coblentz,- letter to Monnet from Allen Dulles concerning the preparation of a volume on JFD by Professor Louis D. Gerson, University of Connecticut, wants Monnet to discuss their relationship with reference to the diplomatic history of US and French post-war relations letter from Allen to Monnet asking him to assist Philip A. Crowl, Princeton University, in an oral history project on JFD.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 86,126 - CORRESPONDENCE AWD PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-23** 18/02/1957 - 21/11/1968

### **Correspondence**

Pages: 33

Correspondence between Jean Monnet and Allen Dulles, includes: letter from Monnet to Allen Dulles introducing Michael Gordey, of "France Soir", as a specialist in Central European Affairs,- letter from Monnet to Allen, states that the dollar question should be solved together by US and Europe, 1968,- speech by Monnet at the Dartmouth College graduation, concerning the work done in the field of European integration and partnership between US and Europe,- copies of resolutions from Action Committee for the United States of Europe.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 74,89,96,143,152,167 - CORRESPONDENCE AWD PAPERS

## **JMAS.B-03 James V. Forrestal Papers**

1943

1 document

James V. Forrestal was US Secretary of the Navy during the war years, he later became Secretary of Defence, because of these positions Forrestal was able to exert a great deal of influence in the formulation of American foreign policy. He would have been aware of Jean Monnet's movements in Algiers on behalf of the French Committee for National Liberation. In the post-war era, Forrestal adopted a hardline, pro-atomic, anti-Soviet stance, but this position led to his supporting the idea of American aid to Europe in order to fill the power vacuum in Europe which Soviet influence could fill.

 **File: JMAS-24** 24/07/1943

### **Letter**

Pages: 1

Letter from James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, to Jean Monnet in Algiers, introducing Richard B. Russell, Chairman of the Committee of US Senators. Forrestal states that Russell and other members of the Committee want to meet Monnet while visiting the war fronts to assess the situation.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 59 - CORRESPONDENCE JAMES V. FORRESTAL PAPERS

## **JMAS.B-04 James Foster Dulles Oral History Project**

1964-1967

7 files

*The Princeton University Library in order to complement the John Foster Dulles written sources initiated an oral history programme to fill any gaps that existed and to get other perspectives on Dulles. The documents in this unit are transcripts of interviews with contemporaries of Dulles concerning his relationship with Jean Monnet.*

 **File: JMAS-25** 06/10/1965

**Rene Mayer**

Pages: 1

*Excerpt of interview by Rene Mayer, successor to Jean Monnet, as President of the High Authority of the ECSC, speaks of Dulles' assistance and support for the ECSC.*

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - RENE MAYER

 **File: JMAS-26** 19/05/1966

**Clarence Randall**

Pages: 3

*Excerpt of interview by Randall, Chairman of Inland Steel and the Foreign Economic Policy Board, regarding his initial dislike of the ECSC, considering it to be an advance towards socialism and, Monnet's and John Foster Dulles' relationship.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - CLARENCE RANDALL

 **File: JMAS-27** 17/05/1965

**Allen W. Dulles**

Pages: 2

*Excerpt of interview with Allen Dulles, speaks of enduring friendship between John Foster Dulles and Jean Monnet, Foster's disappointment in the failure of the European Defence Community, Foster's commitment to European unity and Allen's admiration of Monnet.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - ALLEN W. DULLES

 **File: JMAS-28** 19/06/1964

**George Murnane**

Pages: 2

*Excerpt of interview with George Murnane, business associate of Monnet and John F. Dulles, speaks of Monnet's re-organisation of Transamerica and the company Murnane and Monnet established with the financial assistance of Dulles and, Dulles' and Monnet's friendship and collaboration.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - GEORGE MURNANE

 **File: JMAS-29** 22/06/1967

**Walter Hallstein**

Pages: 2

*Excerpt of interview with Walter Hallstein, head of the German delegation in the Schuman Plan negotiations, speaks of co-operation involved in the negotiations and Dulles' response to the failure of the EDC.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - WALTER HALLSTEIN

 **File: JMAS-30** 24/06/1965

**C. Douglas Dillon**

Pages: 2

*Excerpt of interview with Douglas Dillon, former American Ambassador to France, speaks of failure of EDC and Monnet's and Dulles' concentration on economic unity as a step toward eventual political unity.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - C. DOUGLAS DILLON

 **File: JMAS-31** 02/04/1966

**Roderick O'Connor**

Pages: 2

*Excerpt of interview with O'Connor, mutual friend of John F. Dulles and Monnet regarding the friendship between the two men.*

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD ORAL HISTORY PROJECT - RODERICK O'CONNOR

## **JMAS.B-05 Princeton University Library - External Sources**

1953-1957

5 files

*Princeton University Library has received copies of documents from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, relating to Princeton's holdings on John Foster Dulles (Secretary of State during the Eisenhower Presidency). The documents in this unit are part of - 1. Ann Whitman File, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Dulles-Herter Series and 2. John Foster Dulles files 1951-1959 in the Eisenhower Library.*

*I have arranged the documents from the Eisenhower Library into files together, but their original reference codes are clearly marked on the documents.*

*The rules regarding reproduction are the same as for the other Princeton papers.*

 **File: JMAS-32** 26/08/1954 - 14/09/1954

**European Defence Community**

Pages: 13

*Material relating to America's perspective on EDC, includes: telegram from Walter Bedell Smith, under-Secretary of State to President Eisenhower, regarding Ambassador Bruce's suggestion to involve US and British governments in EDC negotiations so that the French might accept the Treaty,- letters from Smith to President paraphrasing British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden's objections to Bruce's plan,- letter from John Foster Dulles to Bruce in aftermath of French rejection of the EDC Treaty,- letter from Dulles to President regarding a nine-power conference showing American commitment to the defense of Europe,- letter from Bruce to Dulles speaking of his wish to leave his position as US representative in ECSC.*

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 2,3 ANN WHITMAN FILE:DULLES-HERTER SERIES

 **File: JMAS-33** 09/01/1956 - 21/05/1957

**EURATOM**

Pages: 29

*File pertaining to position adopted by US in relation to EURATOM, includes: memoranda from John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State to President Eisenhower stating support for cooperation in field of atomic energy as a step towards a united Europe, and role of High Authority of the ECSC in EURATOM,- memoranda of conversations between Dulles and Chancellor Adenauer regarding the latter's fears that EURATOM would be used to promote socialism,- memoranda of conversations between Jean Monnet and Dulles regarding European integration and the need for a speedy agreement on EURATOM and the visit of the Atomic Wise Men, Louis Armand, Franz Etzel and Francesco Giordani to Washington*

*background material on the visit with biographical notes,- memoranda of conversation concerning Rene Mayer, President of High Authority of ECSC and Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of German Social Democratic Party calls for early ratification and implementation of the EURATOM and Common Market agreements as vitally important to Franco-German relations.*

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 5,6 ANN WHITMAN FILE, DULLES-HERTER SERIES: BOXES 1,4,14 JFD FILES CORRESPONDENCE SERIES

 **File: JMAS-34** 04/02/1955

**Western European Union**

Pages: 4

Memorandum to President Eisenhower from Herbert Hoover, acting Secretary of State, regarding the issuance of assurances for WEU, text of assurances and letter stating favourable reaction from Mendés-France, Premier of France and Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of Germany.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 3 ANN WHITMAN FILES, DULLES-HERTER SERIES

 **File: JMAS-35** 08/06/1953 - 02/05/1957

**European Unity**

Pages: 35

General material relating to American interests and involvement with the concept of European integration, includes: letters from Jean Monnet to John Foster Dulles regarding an agreement for a loan to the ECSC as an incentive toward full unification and seeking the appointment of William Tomlinson to replace David Bruce as US representative in Europe,- memorandum of conversation between Dulles and Walton Butterworth regarding his assignment to the ECSC as American diplomatic representative as replacement for Bruce | memorandum from Dulles to Eisenhower regarding the visit to Washington of Guy Mollet, French Premier as a step to promote greater understanding between France and the US.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOXES 1,3 CORRESPONDENCE SERIES, BOX 3 TELEPHONE CONVERSATION SERIES, BOX 3 MEMORANDA SERIES, BOXES 11-12 CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES : BOXES 4-6 ANN WHITMAN FILE, DULLES-HERTER SERIES

 **File: JMAS-36** 31/01/1957

**Western Europe**

Pages: 28

Confidential report by US State Department entitled " Foreign Public Opinion Regarding Western Europe - The Impact of Suez and Hungary".

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 6 ANN WHITMAN FILE, DULLES HERTER SERIES

## **JMAS.C Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library**

The material relating to Jean Monnet extracted from the collections in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library is derived from the Presidential Personal files, the Presidential Secretary's files, the White House Official files, the Map Room files, Official files, the Morgenthau Diaries, the Harry L. Hopkins collection, the Oscar Cox papers and the Isador Lubin files. While Monnet had direct contact with the President, most of his dealings during the crucial years of the Roosevelt Presidency was with his chief administrators, Henry Morgenthau, Henry L. Hopkins and indeed Oscar Cox. Therefore, these documents provide a wealth of information on Monnet's relationship with the Roosevelt administration. The original record code from the Roosevelt library is detailed in each individual dossier description. The documents have been grouped together according to their provenance in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. However, I have grouped the White House Official files, the Presidential Secretary's files, the Map Room files and the President's Personal files together under the arrangement title - Presidential files.

There are no restrictions on the use of the Roosevelt Papers as they were obtained from a Presidential Library where no copyright or copying restrictions exist.

## **JMAS.C-01 Presidential Files**

1935-1945

n.5 files

*Franklin D. Roosevelt was a man much admired by Jean Monnet. While their personal contact was limited, Roosevelt supported Monnet's position on the re-armament of Europe and the provision of aid, even though many in his "New Deal" administration were sceptical and leaned towards isolationism. Roosevelt was enthusiastic about Monnet's and Ambassador Bullitt's plans for the building of aircraft factories in Canada to supply the French. By 1941 the US government was shifting its position in the face of Hitler's successes, towards the re-armament of Europe and also because Roosevelt had devised a way of providing aid to GB without arousing fears of direct American involvement in the conflict, that was by lending supplies for the duration of the war. Despite, Secretary of the Treasury, Morgenthau's suspicions of Monnet which he related to Roosevelt, the President never let this information affect his working relationship with Monnet. In 1943, Roosevelt agreed with Harry Hopkins, his Presidential aide's plan to send Monnet to Algiers, in order to get a better perspective on events there which gives an indication of Roosevelt's trust in the opinions of Monnet.*

 **File: JMAS-37** 05/02/1943 - 27/05/1943

### **Algiers**

Pages: 15

*File concerning Jean Monnet's activities in Algiers, 1943, in supervising the equipping of French forces in North Africa, includes: letter from Harry L. Hopkins, Presidential adviser to Roosevelt recommending Monnet to talk with General Giraud, General of Resistance forces in Algiers, and letter from FDR to Secretary of State, Cordell Hull re. same,- paraphrased copy of message from Monnet to Hopkins regarding negotiations with Giraud, Monnet believes Giraud can contribute to UN ideals for French unity | paraphrased message by Alexander Wiley, American Consul General, sent by Robert Murphy, Consellor of Embassy calling for greater shipments of civilian and armament supplies for French forces, telegram from Monnet to Hopkins regarding the agreement between Giraud and General de Gaulle on French unity and the establishment of a French Executive Committee.*

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 203, WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL FILES: BOX 13, FILE 2, MAP ROOM

 **File: JMAS-38** 16/05/1939 - 21/12/1939

### **War-time Diplomacy/Collaboration**

Pages: 32

*Material concerning the US position on Anglo-French practical war-time collaboration, includes: documents on joint Franco-British purchasing agency, details of airplane orders and costs, French and British production statistics letter from Monnet to Sir Ed Bridges, British Secretary of the War Cabinet regarding the creation of Anglo-French Councils for armament, aviation, food and maritime transport each with permanent Executive Committees,- communications from Ambassador Bullitt to Roosevelt endorsing the idea of a joint Franco-British purchasing mission to US, asks if would get same reception as Monnet got in 1938,- letters from Bullitt to FDR regarding airplane production, winning the war and René Pleven's mission to US on behalf of joint purchasing agency to organise production of planes,- Bullitt felt extra planes were necessary to win the war so he asked FDR to put Pleven in contact with Capt. Collins of Procurement division.*

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRESIDENTIAL SECY'S FILE, BOXES 2,30,31

 **File: JMAS-39** 22/02/1939 - 04/04/1939

### **French Debt**

Pages: 14

*Letters from US Ambassador to France, W.C. Bullitt, to Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, Secretary of State regarding French debt to US, includes: details of French Governments suggestion for settlement of debt with gold and "French possessions" in order to be relieved from restrictions of the Johnson Act,- details Jean Monnet's mission to US to negotiate debt arrangements, Bullitt asked FDR to see Monnet, but advises him not to have Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury in on initial meeting.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRESIDENTIAL SECY'S FILE, BOX 30

 **File: JMAS-40** 31/01/1935 - 03/03/1945

**General Political Correspondence**

Pages: 19

*File concerning material of a general political nature, includes:information on Chinese request for US loan,- collapse of Soviet-American relations,- summarised version by Herbert Feis, State Dept., of a memo. by Ambassador Bullitt favouring a co-ordinating policy for utilisation of gold and creation of committee for technical co-ordination between US, France and Germany. Feis discusses use of gold for purchase of raw materials,letter from Monnet to Roosevelt thanking him for 1945 Lend-Lease programme.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRESIDENTIAL SECY'S FILES, BOX 26: OFFICIAL FILES, BOX 799: WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL FILES, BOX 4193

 **File: JMAS-41** 09/05/1939 - 18/09/1944

**Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 20

*Personal letter to Roosevelt from Jean Monnet and daughter to FDR,light-hearted letter from Ambassador Bullitt to FDR on impending visit of British Royal Family to US.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRESIDENTIAL SECY'S FILE, BOX 30: PRESIDENTS PERSONAL FILE, BOX 7365

 **JMAS.C-02 Morgenthau Diaries**

1938-1945

n.4 files

*There were two key officials with whom Jean Monnet worked closely during the Roosevelt Administration, Harry L. Hopkins, Presidential Aide and Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, but he had very different relationships with both men. Morgenthau had an innate distrust and suspicion of international investment bankers and in 1938 when Monnet arrived in Washington to purchase aircraft on behalf of the French, he was still involved in banking. So besides the problems Monnet experienced with the US in purchasing planes, because of the Neutrality Act and because of a strong political lobby favouring isolationism, Monnet also had to deal with Morgenthau's suspicions. At the time the Treasury Dept. had a procurement division which dealt with war purchases until the enactment of Lend-Lease, so Morgenthau was co-ordinator for all arms sold to France and GB until 1941. While Morgenthau disagreed with Monnet's plans for aircraft factories to supply the French to be built in Canada he was one of the key officials to kick-start American concerns about Nazi Germany and to support French re-armament. After the fall of France, Monnet became involved with the British Supply Council in Washington, but Morgenthau still deeply sceptical about Monnet went to the British Ambassador Halifax and the British Minister for Production Oliver Lyttleton*

regarding his objections to Monnet because of past business deals with German Corporations. Furthermore, Morgenthau initiated an investigation into Monnet's business partnership with George Murnane regarding allegations of hiding German ownership of companies from the US Government, particularly with reference to American Bosch. This investigation was followed by a tax investigation in 1943. It is thanks to Monnet's many supporters that he did not lose respect in Whitehall and Washington. Yet despite Morgenthau's doubts about Monnet's allegiances, he and Monnet were able to get on with the business in hand and to co-operate in arming Europe.

 **File: JMAS-42** 18/10/1938 - 05/01/1941

**Allied Supplies**

Pages: 14

Material relating to Jean Monnet's attempts to procure aircraft from the US to fight the war, includes: memorandum from Harry Dexter White, Treasury Dept. to Morgenthau expressing disquiet at plans for air-craft factories in Canada, with text of proposal detailing advantages and disadvantages,- letter of resignation from Monnet to Winston Churchill, British PM, from position of the Chairman of the Anglo-French Co-ordinating Committee, places services at disposal of the British Government, Churchill replies by asking him to work with British Purchasing Commission  
letter from Monnet to Morgenthau thanking him on behalf of France and GB for his role in getting armaments to allies and help in procuring planes for 1941.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOX 39, BOX 146, ROLLS 93,95 MORGENTHAU DIARIES

 **File: JMAS-43** 13/05/1940 - 17/06/1942

**Treasury Investigation 1942**

Pages: 39

Material relating to Henry Morgenthau's initiation of a Treasury investigation, by the Foreign Funds Control, of the American Bosch Corporation of which George Murnane, Monnet's business partner was Director and later Chairman, includes: details of Monnet's and Murnane's international business ventures,- memoranda to Roosevelt from Morgenthau on use of general licenses to channel "enemy" funds,- internal Treasury Dept. memorandum to Morgenthau with brief biopics of Monnet and Murnane and the liquidation of the Pelscheck Coal holdings (Czech owned) in Germany,- memorandum of conversation between Morgenthau, Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to US and Oliver Lyttleton, British Minister for Production concerning his objections to Monnet's position as head of the British Purchasing Mission because of past connections with German financiers.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: ROLLS 71,151,156,157 MORGENTHAU DIARIES

 **File: JMAS-44** 23/02/1943

**Monnet's Taxation Difficulties**

Pages: 11

File questioning Monnet's tax returns, includes: memorandum of conversation regarding Monnet's departure for Algiers at the request of Harry L. Hopkins and President Roosevelt, Morgenthau wants a bond signed before his departure,- memorandum regarding waiving of income tax regulations in case of Monnet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: ROLLS 210, 179, BOOK 611 MORGENTHAU DIARIES

 **File: JMAS-45** 08/05/1944 - 31/01/1945

**French Currency Stabilisation/Lend Lease**

Pages: 80

Material concerning negotiations to stabilise the French Currency, includes: memorandum of discussion between Morgenthau, Harry Dexter White and Mr. Luxford

of the Treasury Dept., discussing tactics for negotiations on exchange rate, Luxford feels Lend Lease should have covered civilian supplies in post-war period,- text of discussions between Monnet, Morgenthau, Mendes-France, representing French National Liberation Committee and Dexter White regarding French internal and external debts, need for a new monetary system for France, problem of low purchasing power of salaries in post-war France, need for flexible rate of exchange and creation of an international organisation to arrange the final adjustment and problem of buying power of American soldiers when land in France, minutes of meeting between Morgenthau, Monnet, Oscar Cox and Dexter White regarding Lend Lease negotiations.  
Language:ENGLISH  
Old Record Code: ROLLS 210,235 BOX 812

### **JMAS.C-03 Harry L. Hopkins Collection**

1943

n.1 file

Harry L. Hopkins was Monnet's most important link to Roosevelt and to the administrative decision makers, for in 1941 Hopkins a former Secretary of Commerce moved into the White House as the President's key aide on the war. Hopkins took over from Morgenthau's Treasury Procurement Division the task of supplying arms to Britain, in this capacity he was Roosevelt's chief negotiator with Churchill. In 1943, Monnet left Washington for Algiers with the support of Hopkins and therefore with the approval of Roosevelt. Monnet's initial task was to keep Hopkins and the President informed on the split between Generals Giraud and de Gaulle and to try and reconcile their differences. Furthermore Monnet was to keep Robert Murphy, Roosevelt's representative in Algiers and Harold MacMillan, Churchill's representative, informed on US activities regarding North Africa. Later Monnet took on the role of handling supply and armament matters for the Comité Français de Liberation Nationale established after an agreement between Giraud and de Gaulle.

 **File: JMAS-46** 04/02/1943 - 20/10/1943

#### **Algiers**

Pages: 56

Material relating to Jean Monnet's mission to Algiers on behalf of the Combined Munitions Assignments Board, includes: memoranda from Harry L. Hopkins, Chairman of Munitions Board to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Cordell Hull advising Roosevelt to send Monnet to Algiers

letter and telegram from FDR to General Eisenhower regarding Monnet's assignment, feels it is helpful to explain North African situation as viewed in US to Giraud,- official letter from Hopkins to Monnet regarding nature of his assignment,- progress reports from Monnet to Hopkins on the re-establishment of policies and laws of the French Republic in place of Vichy legislation

cable from Monnet to Hopkins regarding agreement between de Gaulle and Giraud on a French Executive Committee to constitute a government and Monnet's willingness to go forward as a member of Committee, communication on de Gaulle's threat to resign as President and member of the French committee of National Liberation, correspondence on visit of Giraud, Pontialowski and Bauffre of the French Unity Government to US.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: BOOK 330, BK 7, HOPKINS PAPERS, BOX 194, MONNET

### **JMAS.C-04 Oscar Cox Papers**

1942-1945

n.3 files

Oscar Cox, formerly the Assistant Solicitor General at the Dept. of Justice took over the position of General Counsel for the Foreign Economic Administration (FEA), which assumed responsibility for Lend Lease near the end of the war. Cox with the help of Harry Dexter White from the Treasury Dept. and Will Clayton, Under Secretary of State promoted the idea of a "master agreement" on Lend Lease to be signed with France along the same lines as the agreements with GB and the Soviet Union. They brought their idea to the War Department who finally agreed to such a proposal and in January 1945, Roosevelt in a Cabinet meeting approved negotiations for the new Lend Lease Programme with France.

 **File: JMAS-47** 30/04/1942 - 10/07/1945

**International Affairs**

Pages: 16

Material of a general international nature, includes,- correspondence between Monnet and Oscar Cox, Foreign Economic Administration arranging a meeting with Thomas Brand, Cabinet Supplies Office, Whitehall,- correspondence between Cox, Walter Lippman, journalist and E.R. Stettinius, Under Secretary of State regarding possible nomination of Monnet to the position of Deputy Director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) or the establishment of an action committee of the Council for Western Europe which Monnet should be on,- letter from Cox to Monnet enclosing a letter by T.H. Thomas printed in the "New York times", Jan. 1945 entitled "Too Few Allied Divisions" advocating rearming French divisions so that a strong Western front could be created, which would be necessary to win the war.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: OSCAR COX BOX 23, MONNET

 **File: JMAS-48** 20/05/1944 - 13/08/1945

**Lend-Lease**

Pages: 17

Material concerning arrangements for Lend Lease arrangements for France, includes: memorandum to Oscar Cox from James F. Roche, Foreign Economic Administration (FEA) suggesting that letter sent to Sylvia Monnet from a friend, enclosed, concerning positive attitude to Lend Lease in France, be read by President at his next conference for publicity value,- letter from F. Gaillard, assistant to Monnet to Colonel Bailen, FEA regarding efforts to enlighten the French public to benefits of Lend Lease.

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: OSCAR COX BOX 23, MONNET

 **File: JMAS-49** 20/06/1944 - 22/06/1945

**Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 4

Non-political material.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: OSCAR COX BOX 23, MONNET

 **JMAS.C-05 Isador Lubin Files**

1942-1941

n.1 file

Documents taken from Isador Lubin files concerning Monnet. Lubin was part of the US delegation sent to France for Lend Lease negotiations.

 **File: JMAS-50** 20/02/1942 - 26/11/1951

**Correspondence**

Pages: 4

*File includes dinner invitation from Monnet to Isador Lubin,- Letter from Oscar Cox, Foreign Economic Administration, informing Monnet of Lubin's visit to France,- letter of congratulations from Lubin on Monnet's award from the Carnegie Foundation.*  
 Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH  
 Old Record Code: ISADOR LUBIN FILE BOX 68, MONNET

## **JMAS.D United States Library of Congress**

The Felix Frankfurter papers, the Joseph Alsop papers and the Averell Harriman collection are housed in the Library of Congress of the US. In particular the Frankfurter papers are important by virtue of the deep and longstanding friendship between him and Jean Monnet and because of the their similar beliefs regarding Europe. The original record code from the Library of Congress is detailed in each individual dossier description.

The documents have been grouped according to their provenance in the Library of Congress and the units are subsequently described according to subject matter.

There are no restrictions regarding photocopying in the Library of Congress, so copies can be made in HAEC.

### **JMAS.D-01 Felix Frankfurter Papers**

1940-1964

n.4 files

*In 1940, after the fall of France, Jean Monnet went to Washington and within six months he was working on a British assignment, with the approval of Winston Churchill to procure arms and to push for greater defence production. During this time Felix Frankfurter, newly appointed to the Supreme Court, by President Roosevelt introduced Monnet to many of the key officials in the Roosevelt administration. Monnet later came to exploit these new friendships in order to gain support for his plans for Europe. Frankfurter, a Jew, was dedicated to alerting Americans to the need for American involvement in supporting Great Britain and later the Soviet Union against Hitler. Particularly during Monnet's time in Algiers on behalf of the Combined Munitions Assignments Board, Frankfurter was Monnet's sounding board on his activities in North Africa. When General Giraud abrogated the Cremieux decree, which caused problems regarding citizenship for native Algerian jews, Frankfurter sought clarification from Monnet on what was occurring. Monnet's position with the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington aroused a lot of suspicion both sides of the Atlantic. Lord Halifax British Ambassador to the US sought Frankfurter's opinion on Monnet's credentials. Frankfurter not only personally endorsed Monnet but related to Halifax the high opinion in which Monnet was held by key officials such as Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, John McCloy and Robert Lovett, assistant Secretaries of War and Harry Hopkins, Presidential aide. These men spoke of Monnet in glowing terms, with reference to his loyalty, insight and experience. After the war Halifax wrote to Frankfurter, "Monnet was with such as Harry Hopkins, one of the real architects of our victory" 1. Frankfurter helped to make a reality of many of Monnet's ideas. When in 1941 Monnet suggested a joint Anglo-American Board for allocation of weapons his plan was endorsed by Frankfurter who presented the concept to Roosevelt, who established in January 1942 the War Production Board to co-ordinate supply programmes in the US. After the war Frankfurter stayed on in the Supreme Court but kept up his personal relationship in Monnet and always expressed interest and support for Monnet's endeavors.*

 **File: JMAS-51** 1941 - 14/11/1941

**British Purchasing Commission**

Pages: 6

Material relating Monnet's work on behalf of the British Purchasing Commission, includes: draft report by Monnet concerning British armament production. Speaks of need for American aid so that Britain can gain military supremacy over Germany. Monnet feels US production does not meet necessary requirements for victory, particularly with reference to airplanes. Calls for US to take steps in anticipation of success of Lend-Lease Bill in Congress (1942), to ensure production is increased,- letter to Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to US from Felix Frankfurter praising the work done by Monnet on behalf of British interests. He tells of esteem in which he is held by Harry Hopkins, Secretary Henry Stimson, John McCloy and Robert Lovett, and his contribution in pressuring US to act effectively in arming Europe. Frankfurter relates Monnet's experience in the task of collaborating between two governments and his position of enjoying the confidence of key American officials.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FELIX FRANKFURTER PAPERS, MONNET, JEAN 1940-1958

 **File: JMAS-52** 20/12/1940 - 04/06/1942

**North Africa**

Pages: 29

Material concerning situation in North Africa, includes: documents dealing with recommendations for French military action in the war in North Africa and the Mediterranean,- note to Felix Frankfurter from Monnet, enclosing information on the issue of arming French forces in North Africa with American equipment,- memorandum regarding the assassination of Admiral Darlan and the ensuing political and administrative vacuum, Monnet emphasises need for a solemn declaration to establish a Co-ordinating Council with General Giraud as its chairman to deal with civilian administration which would safeguard the rights and interests of the French people | draft paper by Herbert Feis, State Department, on military situation in North Africa regarding need for allied co-operation with French in the task of liberating Europe | material regarding General Giraud's abrogation of the Cremieux decree, concerns status of Algerian Jews regarding citizenship and Edouard de Rothschilds stance against it. Felix Frankfurter and Dean Acheson seek clarification on situation.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FELIX FRANKFURTER PAPERS, MONNET, JEAN 1940-1958

 **File: JMAS-53** 01/09/1951 - 05/06/1964

**European Unity**

Pages: 39

File pertaining to progress towards European Unity, includes: note from Monnet to Felix Frankfurter enclosing first issue of Schuman Plan, he writes " either the beginning of Europe or the beginning of the end",- letter to Monnet from Frankfurter congratulating him on work he has done for Europe,- text of speech by Monnet at Harvard University Graduation 1961, speaks of the creation of institutions between European states and people historically opposed to each other, progress so far - ECSC, EURATOM, Common Market and the need for political union and a common currency,- text of address by Monnet when receiving the Freedom Award, January 1963 NY, details need to complete the process of uniting Europe by including GB and the development of a strong partnership of equals between US and Europe in the face of the nuclear threat,- letter from Monnet to Frankfurter enclosing text of Declaration made by the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, refers to need for joint policy between US and Europe in nuclear field.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FELIX FRANKFURTER PAPERS, MONNET, JEAN 1940-1958;1959-1964

 **File: JMAS-54** 08/05/1946 - 07/10/1964

**Correspondence**

Pages: 24

Correspondence between Monnet and Felix Frankfurter, includes: letter from Frankfurter to Monnet enclosing memorandum on the Supreme Court's powers to invalidate Acts of Congress,- letter from Monnet to Frankfurter regarding the extent to which life in Europe and opinions of people are influenced by American views, speaks of necessity to visit US to assimilate events in US,- letter from Frankfurter to Monnet regarding Monnet's inquiry into what Robert Sherwood, former Roosevelt speech writer, wrote about Monnet with reference to North Africa, President Roosevelt and General de Gaulle in his Memoirs on Harry Hopkins

letters of introduction from Monnet to Frankfurter, regarding Jean Forgeot, Secretary General of the Residence of the Republic and Servan Schreiber, journalist with "Le Monde", would like Frankfurter to talk to them,- letter from Frankfurter to Monnet congratulating him on Charlemagne Prize, letter from Leonard B. Tennyson, European Community Washington, to Frankfurter, requiring his signature for a testimonial book honouring Monnet,- letter to Sylvia Monnet from Frankfurter regarding his archival material relating to Monnet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FELIX FRANKFURTER PAPERS, MONNET, JEAN 1940-1958;1959-1964

### **JMAS.D-02 Joseph Alsop Papers**

1964-1978

n.1 file

Joseph Alsop in his capacity as newspaper columnist would have had quite regular contact with Jean Monnet, considering Monnet's affiliation with journalists and his awareness of their importance. Alsop had introduced Monnet when he came to Washington on behalf of the British Supply Commission to Felix Frankfurter, the Supreme Court Justice, and so began an enduring friendship. In the 1950's Alsop visited Paris on a regular basis, reporting on events, and during the time of the negotiations for the European Defence Community (EDC) Alsop stayed in Paris, so would have been familiar with Monnet's activities. Despite this, Alsop was never known to greatly endorse European integration or to contribute in print to its advancement in a significant way.

 **File: JMAS-55** 24/02/1964 - 11/10/1978

#### **Correspondence**

Pages: 25

Correspondence between Joseph Alsop and Jean Monnet, mainly personal in nature, sending greetings, enquiring about health, arranging to meet, also includes: letter from Alsop to Monnet asking his opinion on General de Gaulle, feels his only purpose is to create trouble for US,- material on Felix Frankfurter's death, with letter from Alsop describing memorial service organised by Dean Acheson and attended by President information from Alsop on ill-health of Frankfurter's wife,- letter from Alsop to Monnet on receipt of Monnet's memoirs, comments on Monnet's contribution to world events | letter from Monnet to Alsop thanking him for his part in tape recording, honouring Monnet's achievements.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JOSEPH ALSOP PAPERS, CORRESPONDENCE 1950-1975 "M"

### **JMAS.D-03 Averell Harriman Collection**

1961-1976

n.2 files

When Jean Monnet came to Washington in 1940, he met up with many of the key figures in the "inner circle" surrounding President Roosevelt of which Averell Harriman was a member. In his position as Secretary of Commerce he had strongly backed Monnet in his

plans for Europe. As early as June 1950, Harriman had given Monnet the impression that loans would be made available if the Schuman Plan came into being. Harriman, because of his significant contribution to the Marshall Plan was appointed as US special representative in Europe, where he saw the Schuman Plan unfold and the establishment of the ECSC. He wrote to Dean Acheson, that he felt it was a big step toward peace in Europe. Therefore, Harriman was an enthusiastic and influential supporter of US co-operation in European Unity designs in his post in Europe and in his later position as special presidential adviser to Truman on foreign affairs. In September 1951 the Atlantic Council decided to establish a Temporary Council Committee (TCC) with the task of establishing NATO military needs with reference to the economic position of its member states. Harriman was chosen as chairman and US representative and Monnet, on the advice of Robert Schuman accepted the position of French representative. On becoming President, Kennedy an admirer of Monnet, was determined to continue US support for European integration, so he appointed officials with a background in dealing with Europe to key foreign office positions. Harriman, who initially became the assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs, with responsibility for China, Korea and Formosa in 1961, became under-Secretary of State for political affairs in 1963. In this position he was a key figure in the signing of the Declaration of Atlantic Unity endorsed by the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, November 1962.

 **File: JMAS-56** 26/06/1964 - 05/05/1975

**Action Committee for United States of Europe**

Pages: 51

Material concerning Jean Monnet's dealings in his capacity as President of the Action Committee for United States of Europe, with Averell Harriman, includes: briefing memorandum from William Tyler, State Department to Harriman with suggestions of points for discussion with Monnet, European unity and Joint declarations of Action Committee

article by Monnet "America and Ourselves" to be published in "La Nef", sent to Harriman, Monnet states belief in an equal partnership between United Europe and US to ensure lasting peace,- text of address by Monnet at the International Congress of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung regarding the pursuit for unity in Europe and developments made, and need for GB to join,- texts of resolutions adopted by the Action Committee,- letter regarding Monnet's resignation from the Committee and the end of the activities of the Committee for United States of Europe, with letter of regret from Harriman to Monnet regarding the committee, "one of the most effective forces for unity in Europe".

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: US LIBRARY OF CONGRES, AVERELL HARRIMAN COLLECTION

 **File: JMAS-57** 05/01/1961 - 29/10/1976

**Correspondence**

Pages: 15

Correspondence of a general nature between Jean Monnet and Averell Harriman, includes: letters from Monnet congratulating Harriman on his position as assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern affairs, provides information on events in Japan, Korea, Formosa and Indochina and need for dollar question to be dealt with by America and Europe together (1961),- letters from Harriman to Monnet on the need for fullest cooperation in NATO and the North Atlantic Community,- letter from Harriman to Monnet asking him to meet delegation from Syracuse, NY to discuss implications of Common Market on American Citizens,- memorandum of conversation with Monnet regarding Vietnam and the need to build trust in negotiating with the Chinese,- letter from Monnet to George Ball, US representative to UN regarding Vietnam situation and tactics to adopt when discussing peace with the Chinese.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: US LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, AVERELL HARRIMAN COLLECTION

## **JMAS.E Dartmouth College Library**

The Shepard Stone papers are currently housed at Dartmouth College, Boston, however, Dr. James Cooney of the John F. Kennedy School of Government is trustee of the papers as specified by Mrs. Stone. These documents primarily concern Stone's relationship with Monnet while he was Director of the Ford Foundation. The original record code from Dartmouth College Library is detailed in each individual dossier description.

The documents have been arranged according to subject matter.

Until precise criteria have been decided on, regarding access and copying of material in the Stone papers by Dartmouth College Library, the rule of no reproduction will apply in HAEC, however notes can be made from the documents.

### **JMAS.E-01 Shepard Stone Papers**

1955-1976

n.2 files

*When Monnet launched a new European unity initiative in October 1955, he called it the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, knowing that such a title would appeal to his influential American friends. In fact, one of the Committee's most important financial backers was the Ford Foundation. This Foundation promoted and supported endeavors worldwide which fostered greater co-operation with America. Shepard Stone, previously a reporter and editor of the New York Times joined the Foundation and later became its director. Stone had a doctorate from the University of Berlin, and this coupled with his knowledge of Germany and contacts with Germans had brought him to John McCloy's attention. So when McCloy became US High Commissioner in Germany, he appointed Stone as head of Public Affairs in the Commission. Stone's longstanding admiration for Monnet began under McCloy's influence and later when he took up the Ford Foundation directorship he began to fund many of the Action Committee's activities by appropriating money for the Center for Documentation of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, the European Community Institute for University Studies and the Center for European History. Later in his career, Stone became Director of the Aspen Institute in Berlin.*

 **File: JMAS-58** 22/07/1955 - 14/12/1964

#### **The Ford Foundation**

Pages: 33

*Material concerning Monnet's dealings with the Ford Foundation, includes: letter from Shepard Stone to Monnet regarding British scepticism of European unity and the need therefore for the Foundation to increase its support for the concept,- letter to Stone from Waldemar A. Nielsen, of the Ford Foundation regarding a discussion between Robert Schaetzel, Department of State, Monnet and Max Kohnstamm, Action Committee for the United States of Europe and colleagues in EURATOM, regarding a joint American-EURATOM plan for the building of six major power reactors in Europe documentation regarding the processing of grants for the Centre de Documentation du Comite d'Action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe,- letter from Stone seeking the advice of Monnet and Kohnstamm on the possibility of a Ford Foundation sponsored visit by Michael Gaudet, European Community legal expert to US,- note from Stone to Monnet, stating the Foundation's rejection of the "Britain and Europe" proposal, feels the project should be supported by other organisations,- memos from Stone to Ford Foundation regarding visit with Monnet, speaks of feeling in Paris that Britain is out to get the Germans and the European Community and Monnet's belief that Britain is going to have to join*

material concerning the establishment of an Atlantic Foundation, handled by John McCloy with strong US arm in the form of a Center of Documentation attached to the Action Committee for Europe, to work with political and economic forces,- letter from Stone to Monnet asking him to intervene with the French Ministry of Justice regarding a building for the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, which the Ford Foundation supported financially,- list detailing amount of appropriations made to Monnet and/or Kohnstamm on behalf of the Action Committee from the Foundation.

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: DARTMOUTH COLLEGE LIBRARY, SHEPARD STONE PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-59** 31/05/1955 - 17/09/1976

### **Correspondence**

Pages: 25

Letters from Shepard Stone to Monnet or concerning Monnet, includes: notes from Stone to Monnet arranging to meet,- letters to François Duchene and Max Kohnstamm, Action Committee regarding the best means of getting sponsorship for the Nobel Peace Prize and procedures for nominations, referring to Monnet as possible recipient,- letters to Monnet from Stone asking him to speak at the Council on Foreign Relations about the European Community and Britain,- letter from Stone to Monnet asking him to meet new American Ambassador to Bonn, Walter (Red) Dowling,- letter from Monnet to Stone regarding the difficulties in negotiating agricultural questions, negotiations for US and Western European agreement on atomic energy for defence and British Sterling difficulties,- letter from Monnet to Stone regarding his personal archives and, as annex, details of contents of his personal collection in chronological and thematic order and quantity of dossiers in each section,- newspaper article concerning Monnet's memoirs from the "International Herald Tribune", 17 Sept. 1976 entitled "Jean Monnet recounts 50 years of public and private life" by James Goldsborough.

Language:ENGLISH;FRENCH

Old Record Code: DARTMOUTH COLLEGE LIBRARY

## **JMAS.F Harry S. Truman Presidential Library**

The material relating to Jean Monnet and European integration was extracted from the Dean Acheson, Will Clayton, Milton Katz and White House Official and Confidential files in the Harry S. Truman Library. Furthermore, relevant segments of the oral histories were copied. The Acheson papers are of particular interest due to Acheson's position as Secretary of State in the Truman Administration. The original record code from the Truman Library is detailed in each individual dossier description.

I have grouped the documents into units according to their provenance in the Truman Library.

There are no restrictions regarding access to these papers as they were obtained from a Presidential Library where no copyright or copying restrictions apply.

### **JMAS.F-01 Dean Acheson Papers**

1952-1964

n.1 file

Jean Monnet initially came in contact with Dean Acheson through business when Acheson was practising as an international lawyer, their acquaintance was renewed during the Second World War when Acheson was working under Cordell Hull in the State Department. In this position Acheson contributed to the success of lend-lease and chaired the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) Planning Committee, where he came into regular contact with Monnet. In fact Monnet had a significant influence on Acheson's way of thinking, especially concerning the need for rebuilding Europe within an integrated framework. Acheson realised that such

*integration was impossible unless the financial situation in Europe was improved, the answer to this being a massive economic aid programme for Europe, which resulted in 1947 in the Marshall Plan. Acheson was also the brains behind NATO, and like Monnet he saw it as being more than a military alliance, but also a means for promoting his idea of an Atlantic Community. From the time he was Chairman of the first Working Session of the North Atlantic Council in May 1949 till his resignation as Secretary of State in 1952, Acheson constantly expounded the idea of Western Unity and remained a strong supporter of Monnet's work in integrating Europe. While he did have certain reservations initially about the Schuman Plan, seeing the potential for a massive cartel to develop, he came around to the idea and felt it would end Germany's isolation and age-old conflicts and grievances. It was Acheson who rallied American support for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and on the day after the inaugural ceremony of the ECSC, Acheson stated that America would deal now with the "Community" on all coal and steel matters. Acheson's ideas for an integrated Europe were based on the concept of an Atlantic partnership between Europe and US and so he didn't want Europe to develop on an independent tangent, as he felt US leadership was an essential ingredient to European unity. Acheson was also a balwark of support for Monnet's idea of a defence community for Europe, (European Defence Community, EDC), and he was bitterly disappointed when the French rejected it. During the President Kennedy era, Dean Acheson was a useful Washington connection yet again for Monnet. Kennedy had appointed him as chairman of the Advisory Committee of NATO to review its work. Acheson in this post proposed his "Grand Design" for European union within an Atlanti*

 **File: JMAS-60** 07/04/1952 - 03/12/1964

### **European Unity**

Pages: 73

*Material concerning Dean Acheson's interest and involvement in progress toward European unity, in his capacity as Secretary of State and State Department and White House adviser, includes: memoranda of conversations between Monnet and Acheson concerning the signing of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) treaty, the importance of impressing on Italy the need for early ratification of the Schuman Plan, progress of European Defence Community (EDC) negotiations and possible solutions to Indochin and Tunisian problems. Monnet speaks of Anthony Eden's, British Foreign Minister, "dangerous" suggestion of combining the legislative assemblies of the Schuman Plan and the EDC with the Strasbourg Assembly, American public opinion on European unification and the need for greater US support for European movement and EDC,- memorandum of conversation between John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State and Acheson regarding the need for the new US High Commissioner for Germany to be appointed promptly to show support for EDC and so that the US could effectively promote EDC in the framework of European unity and not in a military way,- memorandum of conversation between Acheson, Dulles and Ambassador Bonnet regarding problems affecting European co-operation such as the Saar, French Government crisis and industrial controls in Germany,- address by Acheson at The Hague, 11 Sept. 1963 concerning American interests in European unity, the need for partnership between US and Western Europe in defence and in economic field | letters from Kurt Birrenbach, German industrialist regarding President de Gaulle's vetoing British entry into the European Community and his ideas for Germany and Europe, shaped by France's fears in the atomic field and mistrust of US. Acheson replies that mistakes were self-induced by Germany when Chancellor Adenauer signed the Franco-German Co-operation Treaty, states that "de Gaulle cannot be bribed, persuaded or bullied....but must recognise the inevitable" Correspondence between J. Robert Schaetzel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs in the Dept. of State and Acheson, Schaetzel seeks Acheson's comments on matters concerning Atlantic alliance and de Gaulle, and as enclosure, article from the "Statist" by William Pickles, "De Gaulle's latin exercise", 2 Oct. 1964,- Memorandum written by Acheson to*

Truman regarding the European crisis, speaks of progress of European unity and the prospects of closer integration of Germany into the West in nuc

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, DEAN ACHESON PAPERS, MEMORANDA OF CONVERSATIONS 4/52, 5/52, 12/52,- ADDRESSES, BOX 150,- STATE DEPT. AND WHITE HOUSE ADVISER, BOX 86 1963, BOX 87 1964

## **JMAS.F-02 William Clayton Papers**

1945-1964

n.1 file

Monnet developed his initial contacts with William Clayton during the time of the Lendlease programmes when Clayton was assistant administrator of lend-lease as part of his portfolio as Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Clayton had also worked with Dean Acheson in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA) on supply and financial problems of the allies and so Monnet would have had contact with him at this time and so Clayton remained part of Monnet's Washington network which he relied on to advance his plans for Europe. In 1945 Clayton was appointed Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, where he was concerned with European economic recovery, and it was with Clayton that Monnet negotiated loans for the French recovery programme. In 1946, Acheson got authority from Congress to create a temporary post for Clayton, that of Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Within this position, Clayton assumed responsibility for the Foreign Economic Administration (FEA), which meant he was dealing with the difficult task of the reconstruction of Europe. It was Clayton that raised the alarm bells in the US, about the need for aid under new terms and conditions, so as to prevent war in coming decades. He saw first hand the terrible conditions in post-war Europe and the need for economic recovery before political integration could be tackled. So Clayton had a big part in the thinking behind the Marshall Plan, for in two memoranda, he outlined the underestimation of the destruction of the European economy by the war. Clayton also highlighted the importance of including Germany in Marshall aid as a necessary step in the recovery of Europe. In the summer of 1947, Monnet held a series of meetings with Clayton, who at that time was the senior American official in Europe. Their intensive rethinking of policies to be adopted with Germany were behind Monnet's ideas in the Schuman Plan. They saw the linkage between the recovery of France and Western Europe and the future of Europe in their ideas for an international authority for the Ruhr in which Germany would play a part. Clayton was also one of the chief contributors to the International Trade Organisation, established to boost the European economy.

 **File: JMAS-61** 22/12/1945 - 11/05/1964

### **Correspondence**

Pages: 24

Correspondence between William Clayton and Monnet, in the most part from Clayton, includes: telegram from Monnet congratulating Clayton on his new post as Under-Secretary of State and arranging a meeting with him and the French Minister of Transport and Air, Jules Moch, letters from Clayton to Monnet commending him on his work for European unity and progress toward Atlantic unity congratulations from Clayton to Monnet on the Declaration of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, 1963 and expresses hope that the British application to join the Common Market would be accepted so that a trade war could be avoided,- personal greetings and arrangements to meet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, WILL CLAYTON PAPERS, ALPHA FILE M, BOX 57, 1945-1966 | ALPHA FILE MI-MOORE, 1950-1953

### **JMAS.F-03 Milton Katz Papers**

1948-1950

n.1 file

*Milton Katz held the position as US special representative in Europe of the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA), which dealt with the administration of the Marshall aid funds. Katz along with Dean Acheson had a keen interest in ensuring the survival of the European Payments Union (EPU), as a means of integrating Germany into the West and into a United Europe.*

 **File: JMAS-62** 13/05/1948 - 1950

#### **Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 7

*Correspondence of personal nature between Monnet and Milton Katz during Katz' stay in Paris as General Counsel to the European Mission of the European Co-operation Administration (ECA).*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, MILTON KATZ PAPERS, ECA FILE, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1948-1950

### **JMAS.F-04 White House Official and Confidential Files**

1950-1952

n.1 file

*The material contained in these files would have been for the specific attention of the President and his chief aides, and relate to policy matters. The confidential documents contain highly sensitive and secret information in this case informing President Truman of developments relating to the Schuman Plan.*

 **File: JMAS-63** 10/05/1950 - 08/05/1952

#### **Schuman Plan**

Pages: 17

*Material pertaining to official American reaction to the announcement of the Schuman Plan, includes: memorandum for the President from Dean Acheson on the Schuman proposal and the background to the initiative to pool coal and steel production in France and Germany, Acheson acknowledges France's initiative and feels that America should give credit for the advance toward Franco-German rapprochement and European integration, yet feels it is too early to give complete approval because of the "Cartel" element of the proposal,- text of Acheson's statement 11 May 1950 on the proposal in memorandum to President Truman, gives it a cautious welcome, until he analyses it further, but states that the spirit behind the plan is good,- statement prepared by Acheson for a presidential press conference, Acheson feels that it is important for the President to praise it memorandum on Schuman proposal, concerning the reasons behind it according to Ambassador Bruce and the manner in which it is hoped the proposal will develop with details of reactions from other countries,- memorandum by James E. Webb, acting Secretary of State, welcomes French position of leadership, feels it " can potentially bring about a dynamic movement towards the integration of Western Europe", feels the proposal cannot be neglected,- letter from Paul Hoffman, administrator of Economic Co-operation administration (ECA), with suggestions for Truman's comments on the proposal.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, WHITE HOUSE CONFIDENTIAL FILE 1950, BOX 41,- OFFICIAL FILE, BOXES 66, 414, 1749, 3123

## **JMAS.F-05 Newspaper Articles**

1950-1955

n.1 file

Newspaper clippings from "The New York Times" by Harold Callender concerning France and the Schuman Plan.

 **File: JMAS-64** 25/06/1950 - 08/05/1955

**ECSC**

Pages: 3

Newspaper articles entitled "Bidault's Fall Adds New Schuman Plan Hurdle", "French See Gains in Bonn Arms Plan", "France Again Faces Issue of Strong European Union".

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, LIBRARY CLIPPING FILE, BOX 142 - FRANCE

## **JMAS.F-06 Oral History Interviews**

1964-1975

n.15 files

The Harry S. Truman Library initiated a series of oral history interviews with key officials of the Truman Administration. The interviews were carried out by personnel from the Library including the Director Philip C. Brookes and Jerry N. Mess, or by other academics on the Library's behalf, such as Theodore A. Wilson and Richard D. McKinzie. Most of the documents in this unit are excerpts taken from longer units and thus relate only to Jean Monnet and aspects of European integration.

 **File: JMAS-65** 14/05/1964

**Gustav Adolph Sonnenhol**

Pages: 4

Interview with Dr. Gustav Adolph Sonnenhol on the European Recovery Programme and the initiation of the European Payments Union (EPU).

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-66** 30/05/1964

**Robert Marjolin**

Pages: 3

Interview with Robert Marjolin, who worked in Monnet's office and in 1947 became Secretary-General of OEEC, talks of development of Monnet Plan in France and its relationship with the Marshall Plan.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-67** 15/06/1964

**Edwin Plowden and Douglas Allen**

Pages: 7

Interview with Lord Edwin Plowden, chief planning officer of the Economic Planning Board 1947-1953 and Head of Treasury Planning Staff, and his assistant Douglas Allen, speak of Committee established at the NATO conference 1951 to formulate a military programme, with Averell Harriman as Chairman and with Monnet and Plowden as vice-Chairmen. The Committee was temporary and compensated for lack of power in OEEC and therefore pushed some of the emphasis of the economic discussions away from the OEEC into NATO this was due also to the fact that

*economic work was connected with defense programmes. They speak also of success of European Recovery Programme.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-68** 15/06/1964

**Sir Richard Mawkins**

Pages: 5

*Interview with Sir Richard Mawkins, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs 1947-1952, regarding European Recovery Programme. Mawkins speaks of Marshall Plan and its proposal for economic co-operation and tells of Monnet's and Paul Hoffman's push for a supernational organisation, but Mawkins felt that this was not what the US administration were planning but rather collaboration at a national level.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-69** 25/10/1964

**Paul Hoffman**

Pages: 4

*Interview with Paul Hoffman who was involved with the administration of the Marshall Plan, states that from the beginning he had in mind the building of a new Europe, a union on economic lines rather than political. He felt that the Monnet Plan was critical to the concept of a united Europe and Monnet himself helped change the thinking of European leaders.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-70** 29/04/1970

**Jules Moch**

Pages: 11

*Interview with Jules Moch, who held various ministerial posts in French Governments, discusses Monnet's plan for the modernisation and expansion of French industry and the effects of the Marshall Plan and how the two plans complemented each other. Explains the reasons for the French initiative to form a union with West Germany (Schuman Plan) and the reasons he was against the European Defence Community (EDC), felt other issues such as customs, trade and external policy should have been dealt with before defence.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY, ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-71** 30/06/1970

**Etienne Hirsch**

Pages: 34

*Interview with Etienne Hirsch, former French representative on the temporary economic committee for Europe and head of official Commissariat-General au Plan 1946-1949, participated in negotiations to establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and member of NATO Committee of Wise Men. He speaks of his relationship with Monnet, and Monnet's part in the Victory Programme, how the Monnet plan for the reconstruction of France came about, the establishment of the OEEC, the role of the European Co-operation Administration (ECA) in working with the Monnet Plan to allocate funds and the situation that led to the development of the Schuman Plan and America's support for it.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-72** 10/07/1970

**Gerard Bauer**

Pages: 2

*Interview with Gerard Bauer, Swiss representative at the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and President of the Executive Committee of the OEEC 1948-1956. Bauer touches on the different approaches of Monnet and his successor Rene Mayer to European union.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-73** 1971

**Averell Harriman**

Pages: 8

*Interview with Averell Harriman, Secretary of Commerce, 1946-1948, US representative in Europe under the Economic Co-operation Act, 1948-1950 and American representative on NATO committee to study western defence plans. Harriman speaks of his support for European Payments Union (EPU), the Marshall Plan where he states that it was adopted with the idea that both economic and military considerations had to be taken into account. Tells of importance of Monnet, Robert Schuman and Chancellor Adenauer in European integration.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-74** 01/03/1973

**Ambassador David Bruce**

Pages: 2

*Interview with Ambassador David Bruce, Assistant Secretary of Commerce 1947-1948, Chief of the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) 1948-1949, US Ambassador to France 1949-1952 and Under Secretary of State 1952-1953 speaks of situation of post-War France and the manner in which American aid was utilised.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

 **File: JMAS-75** 07/06/1973

**H. Freeman Matthews**

Pages: 4

*Interview with H. Freeman Matthews, State Dept. Official 1923-1962 stated that Marshall aid was not tied to NATO.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-76** 11/07/1974

**Emilio Collado**

Pages: 3

*Interview with Emilio Collado, State Dept. Official, talks of his relationship with William Clayton and Monnet and Monnet's reaction to news of Roosevelt's death.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-77** 15/07/1975

**Geoffrey W. Lewis**

Pages: 3

*Interview with Geoffrey W. Lewis, State Dept. official, speaks of NATO as "way of binding Europe together" and states that desire for an integrated Europe was intensified by Russian pressure.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

 **File: JMAS-78** 17/07/1975

**Lincoln Gordan**

Pages: 15

*Interview with Lincoln Gordan, worked with European Co-operation Administration (ECA) on Marshall Plan and economic adviser to Averell Harriman, speaks of European Payments Union (EPU), outcome of Paul Hoffman's ideas about European integration, speaks of American reaction to Monnet Plan and problems of Defence which led to the idea of a European Defence Community (EDC). States that the NATO committee of Three Wise Men was established as a result of the slowness of the defense buildup.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS (ORAL MEMOIR)

 **File: JMAS-79** 23/07/1975

**Bernard Bernstein**

Pages: 7

*Interview Bernard Bernstein, financial adviser to General Dwight Eisenhower regarding Monnet's arms procurement mission. He also describes how he worked with Monnet on stabilisation agreement.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: HST LIBRARY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

## **JMAS.G Dwight D. Eisenhower Library**

*The documents of relevance found in the Eisenhower presidential library pertaining to Jean Monnet and European integration have been taken from the Presidential and official file series, the Alfred Gruenther papers, the Clarence Randall journals, the US Council on FEP records, the Samuel Waugh papers, the Walter Bedell Smith Papers and the John Foster Dulles Series. Monnet had a network of officials in the Eisenhower administration through which he sought to create a positive approach to European unity with the administration. Furthermore, Monnet was a friend of General Eisenhower and his Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (1). The original record code from the Eisenhower Library is detailed in each individual dossier description.*

*The system of arrangement is according to individuals and their collections.*

*There are no restrictions on the use of the Eisenhower Library papers as it is a presidential library.*

### **JMAS.G-01 Pre-Presidential and Presidential Papers**

1951-1960

n.3 files

*The documents in this section come from the cross-reference files, pre-Presidential files series and official files series and refer to Eisenhower's contact with Monnet on a political and personal level. General Eisenhower, the national hero from World War II became US President in 1952 on the Republican ticket. His popularity coupled with his strong personality ensured him a strong victory over his Democrat opponent. He had been made Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe by his mentor General Marshall and his first major operation was the landings in North Africa in 1942. It was while in Africa that Monnet came into contact with Eisenhower, and certainly by the time Eisenhower became President, the two men had become friends, with Eisenhower giving Monnet leave to write to him personally in the White House. After the war and a brief tour as war hero in the states, Eisenhower took up the position as President of Columbia University, which brought him into the world of political theorists and officials. In 1950, President Truman again brought him into the public eye by offering him the post of Supreme Commander of the new NATO armed forces in Europe. It was obvious that he would be seen as a likely and popular candidate for the Presidency, with both sides trying to woo him. Then in early 1952, Eisenhower entered the political arena on the Republican side. By the time of his election the Cold War was dominating the political*

agenda, and while the Marshall Plan had provided the means to put Europe back on its feet economically, the problem of defense was still a major issue, as the creation of NATO forces was still in its infancy. Monnet had in 1951 met with Eisenhower with John McCloy's help, to discuss European unity and the issue of European defence forces. Eisenhower had initially been sceptical of such a force as he felt it would encourage divisions. Monnet argued that the problem of Franco-German re-armament would be settled only in context of a European Community, thereby making the problem political rather than military. Eisenhower supported the concept of European integration as a whole because he felt if they used their own defence resources, the Americans would be able to pull out of Europe sooner. In July 1951, in London, Eisenhower put these ideas into a speech when he made a strong plea for European economic and political integration as being of benefit to success of NATO. In late 1951, Monnet was offered a position on the newly create

 **File: JMAS-80** 19/02/1953 - 16/03/1955

**European Coal and Steel Community**

Pages: 33

Material concerning the Eisenhower Administration's interest in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), includes: memorandum from Monnet and other members of the High Authority of ECSC thanking Eisenhower for his support on the event "which marks the beginning of the unification of Europe",- memorandum to President from John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, advising him to have Monnet invited as official guest to Washington, in interests of European unity movement, and draft report on this meeting between Eisenhower, Dulles and High Authority of ECSC, where the development of a European Parliament was discussed and President stated support for European unity | letters exchanged between President and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Wiley and the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Chipfield, released to the press, regarding the request by the High Authority of ECSC for investment in a programme for improving productivity and to show support for economic and political integration,- text of Senate resolution regarding US loans and the Community, sent to Clarence Randall, Chairman of Foreign and Economic Policy Commission,- F.O.A. statement calling for US support for reduction of trade barriers, states that an integrated Europe is the only solution to national cartel activities | text of television programme by NBC, "Meet the Press", with Jean Monnet, explains ECSC and US help for activities of the Community, European Army and integration in general.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: CENTRAL FILE SERIES, BOX 821,- OFFICIAL FILES SERIES, BOX 919,- US COUNCIL ON FEP RECORDS, POLICY PAPERS SERIES, BOX 4,- CROSS REF. FILE, MONNET, BOX 2137

 **File: JMAS-81** 30/04/1952 - 12/1959

**European Integration (General)**

Pages: 31

File containing material relating to different aspects of European integration, includes: text of address delivered by Monnet before the National Press Club dealing with Europe, the European Army and the German question, which he sends to General Eisenhower. Speaks of method by which European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) creates the beginning of a community, federalist in structure, governed by a set of common institutions, applying common rules, granting common rights and imposing common duties. Speaks of benefits of unified Europe both in terms of defence and economics and in peace, speaks of Soviet Union championing the maintenance of national sovereignty in Europe, therefore maintaining divisions,- memorandum for President from John Foster Dulles, regarding visit of René Mayer, Monnet's successor as President of ECSC to Washington, Dulles expresses wish that Eisenhower meet with him to reaffirm support for European integration,- letter to the President from

Monnet, regarding his discussion with Dulles and Lewis Strauss on EURATOM and the Common Market

letter to Eisenhower from Monnet, regarding importance of united Europe in dealing with question of world policy and especially for future of Germany and France. Monnet states that Germany should not be discriminated against because its presence was necessary for strong Europe as partnership between a united Europe and the US essential as a strong West would force the Soviets to recognise that an understanding must be reached,- letter from Monnet to Eisenhower, concerning the Western Summit to discuss co-operation between USA, Europe and UK in economic matters. Monnet emphasises importance of the Common Market Commission (the executive organ of the EC) be included in western summit to study issue as Europe now a full partner.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRE-PRESIDENTIAL SERIES, PRINCIPAL FILE, BOX 78;DDE-CF, OF, BOX 919, 260-H-2 ECSC,- CF-OF, BOX 861, FILE 181, PRESIDENTS PERSONAL FILE SERIES, BOX 61, FILE 1-F-38-FR, BOX 276, FILE 1-L-"M",- CROSS REF.FILE, MONNET, BOX 2137

 **File: JMAS-82** 28/12/1951 - 15/10/1960

### **Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 15

Correspondence of a personal nature between Eisenhower and Monnet, includes: greetings | letter to Monnet from Eisenhower, thanking him for coming to John Foster Dulles' funeral.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PRE-PRESIDENTIAL SERIES, PRINCIPAL FILE, BOXES 61,78,276,316,945 | CROSS REFERENCE FILE, MONNET, BOX 2137

## **JMAS.G-02 Alfred Gruenther Papers**

n.2 files

General Alfred Gruenther was Eisenhower's successor as Supreme Commander of the NATO forces in Europe and his former chief of staff at SHAPE and was a close friend of Monnet. He suggested David Bruce as roving Ambassador to High Authority, helped expedite matter for Monnet by putting pressure on Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles. Gruenther was one of many of Eisenhower's chief aides whom Monnet was able to use as a contact to influence the administration's policies on Europe. He was also involved in the discussions between Eisenhower and Monnet on the European Defence Community (EDC).

 **File: JMAS-83** 15/10/1953 - 11/05/1959

### **European Unity**

Pages: 63

Correspondence between General Alfred Gruenther, US Army Chief of Staff, stationed at SHAPE, Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, in Paris, on various aspects of European integration and Monnet's part in it, includes: letter to Monnet from Gruenther on Monnet's announcement of his retirement as President of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC),- text of report on the third session of the Action Committee for the United States of Europe meeting, Sept. 1956, where EURATOM and the Common Market were discussed and details of the resolutions passed by Committee on these issues | statistics detailing in tabular form the European power situation taken from the report of the OEEC Energy Commission, published May 1956, details the increasing power deficit in western Europe and the power situation of OEEC countries 1955,- paper prepared by Prof. Tinbergen of the Netherlands Economic Institute and the documentation Centre of the Action Committee, May 1959, "The European Community and the Under-developed Countries" | report published by Action Committee by its Documentation Centre on same topic,- copy of Joint Declaration of Action Committee sixth session, outlining a programme for the production of atomic energy in Europe.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: ALFRED GRUENTHER PAPERS, 1941-1983, SERIES: GEN. CORR. BOX 13 (FILE JM), BOX 36 FILES: JM 1/2

 **File: JMAS-84** 02/01/1952 - 30/11/1956

**Personal Correspondence**

Pages: 8

Correspondence of a personal nature between Monnet, and General Alfred Gruenther, includes

arrangements to meet, expressions of regret at Monnet's resignation from High Authority of ECSC

letter from Gruenther to Monnet regarding his new position with American Red Cross, states the desire in US to strengthen their alliance with Europe.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: ALFRED GRUENTHER PAPERS, 1941-1983 SERIES, GEN. CORR., BOX 13,FILE:JM, BOX 36, FILE:JM (2)

 **JMAS.G-03 Clarence Randall Papers**

1953-1954

n.2 files

*In May 1953 Jean Monnet and the Vice-President of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), Franz Etzel began meeting key American industrialists on the benefits of the ECSC as part of their mission for an American loan. Clarence Randall, Chairman of the Board of the Inland Steel Corporation was one of the people they met. Randall had previously written a series of articles criticising the ECSC, because he felt it was a giant cartel, which also encouraged socialism because of centralised control of funds. However, Randall had come to recognise the initiative for its merits. Randall was later made Chairman of the Council of Foreign Economic Policy (CFEP), which established a Commission under his Chairmanship, which came to be known as the Randall Commission, to examine the international relationships of the US in the economic sphere. Monnet testified at a hearing of the Commission. Later in 1956, when official opinion in the US was undecided with regard to the Free Trade Area and the Common Market, Randall advised the US policy makers to endorse the Common Market.*

 **File: JMAS-85** 11/1953

**Randall Commission**

Pages: 26

Material taken from the Commission of Foreign Economic Policy Records on the Randall Commission Hearings held in Paris, 9-12 Nov., includes

schedule of conferences held by the Commission in which Monnet testified and transcript of Monnet's testimony at the hearings. Stated that if the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was successful, Europe would be able to participate in world trade at a higher level. Such co-operation between the member states, being as it was totally unprecedented, Monnet refers to his hopes that his objective of a Common Market, a US of Europe could be reached. Speaks of European army, coal and steel trade discussions, productivity and competition, refers to cartels.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: COMMISSION ON FEP RECORDS, (RANDALL COMMISSION), BOXES 8,9

 **File: JMAS-86** 08/10/1953 - 29/11/1954

**Schuman Plan**

Pages: 26

Excerpts from Clarence Randall's journal concerning the Schuman Plan, emergence of ECSC and Jean Monnet, includes,- details of preparatory meeting for the Foreign Economic Policy Commission, speaks of inviting Monnet and Robert Marjolin, head of OEEC,- tells of accusations made against him where it was said he opposed the capital loan to the High Authority because he was afraid of competition, he denied this and said he opposed it because it supernationalised a basic industry,- speaks of lunch conversation with Monnet regarding capital loan for ECSC and Monnet's anxiety to strike a deal with the UK, but the British steel industry resisted,gives his opinion of the Community and the cartel aspect of it  
refers to Monnet's resignation as Head of ECSC, feels it indicates futility on the part of those working toward unification of Europe,- comments on letter from Monnet, where Monnet denies any problem in ECSC, but that the Community was just one step in battle for unity in Europe.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: CLARANCE RANDALL JOURNALS, BOXEA 1,2

### **JMAS.G-04 John Foster Dulles Series**

1953-1958

n.1 file

*On the election of General Eisenhower as President, he appointed John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State. This was obviously a major plus for Monnet who was a close personal friend of Dulles. Shortly after Eisenhower's inauguration as President, Dulles travelled to Luxembourg to witness the establishment of the European and Coal and Steel Community. When Monnet asked for David Bruce to be appointed as Ambassador to the High Authority of the ECSC, Dulles agreed despite earlier reservations and when Bruce announced his retirement, Monnet asked Dulles for Bruce's assistant William Tomlinson to be appointed. Although Tomlinson was not appointed, the request shows Monnet's standing with the Eisenhower Administration. Dulles was in fact the key for Monnet in getting American support for European integration initiatives, and in particular with the American loan for the ECSC. In 1953 Monnet was aware of growing opposition to the European Defence Community in France, so he felt America could show their support for European unity by a loan. David Bruce and Dulles arranged an official State visit by Monnet and other High Authority officials, where he was able to lobby for a loan under special terms and conditions. This loan of a \$100 million was granted and Monnet was able to report back to the Common Assembly in June that his mission had been successful. Dulles had helped greatly in securing the money by talking personally to Eisenhower on the merits to the US of supporting initiatives in the progress towards European unity.*

 **File: JMAS-87** 08/06/1953 - 10/05/1958

**American Support for European Integration**

Pages: 12

*Material concerning Monnet's relationship with John Foster Dulles in soliciting support for European unity, includes: letter from Monnet to Dulles regarding American financing for the development programme of the Coal and Steel Community, states he had support of President but required support of Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Would like to be able to release statement at the Assembly meeting for the Community stating America's intention to participate in the development programme, as such a statement would have great political significance. Also, memorandum of points for information of the Senate Committee concerning loans to High Authority of ECSC,letter from Monnet to Dulles regarding David Bruce's resignation as the US Representative in Europe, asks for continued support from Administration for unity in Europe as the momentum was falling. Stresses need for agreed US mission in Luxembourg totally*

autonomous and independent, as it was important for High Authority to preserve its special supranational character in dealing with foreign governments. Feels that William Tomlinson would be best choice to replace Bruce,- memoranda of conversations between Dulles and Monnet regarding movement toward European integration, EURATOM, Guy Mollet's (French Premier) visit to US and payment of second monetary fund to High Authority.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: JFD SERIES - GENERAL CORRESP. BOX 3 (FILES M "4"), BOX 2 (FILES 4-M4)

### **JMAS.G-05 Samuel Waugh Papers**

1955-1959

n.1 file

Samuel Waugh was assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs in the Eisenhower Administration. He became involved with the loan negotiations in 1954 for the ECSC when the Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey was placing conditions and restrictions on the loan, particularly as American coal and steel producers were having problems. Waugh after discussion with Monnet and Donald Swatland confronted Humphrey about his precluding the Community from the option of getting further loans in Europe. As a result this restriction was lifted. After Monnet resigned as President of the High Authority, he gave Waugh an autographed copy of his book "Les Etats Unis d'Europe ont Commencé". Waugh later became Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and was subsequently made President of the Import-Export Bank, where he was involved in the discussions for a loan to EURATOM, like the one granted to the ECSC.

 **File: JMAS-88** 1955 - 27/11/1959

**ECSC Loan Negotiations**

Pages: 24

Material concerning Samuel Waugh's contact with Monnet, with excerpts from office logs remarking on, Waugh's trip to Luxembourg to meet with new President of ECSC, René Mayer and Monnet,- Monnet's trip to Washington to negotiate for French loans copy of Joint Declaration adopted by Action Committee for United States of Europe. Monnet points out that Resolution n.1 deals with the Common Market's external relations which he felt would be of interest to Waugh.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: SAMUEL WAUGH PAPERS, BOXES 1,2,3,6

### **JMAS.G-06 Walter Bedell Smith Papers**

1945-1956

n.1 file

Walter Bedell Smith served under Eisenhower as Chief of Staff during World War II. He was appointed as under-Secretary of State in the Eisenhower Administration. He also held the post of Director of the CIA and was a former Director of the American Committee for a United Europe. He was Dulles' right-hand man until August 1954, when he resigned but he continued as an unofficial adviser to Dulles and the President. As a friend of Monnet he had an input into supporting the American loan for the ECSC.

 **File: JMAS-89** 19/10/1945 - 13/01/1965

**Correspondence**

Pages: 2

Personal letters regarding arrangements to meet and greetings.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: WALTER BEDELL SMITH PAPERS, 1942-1961, PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE SERIES, BOXES 10, 25

### **JMAS.G-07 Henry Aurand Papers**

1941-1942

n.1 file

General Henry S. Aurand worked on President Roosevelt's Victory Programme with Monnet, Stacy May and Robert Nathan. Aurand, a key man in military logistics, communicated with Monnet regarding America's war time production policy.

 **File: JMAS-90** 12/02/1941 - 29/12/1942

#### **British Arms Requirements**

Pages: 11

File includes memorandum from General H. Aurand, Lt. Colonel, General Staff corps, Chief of Requirements and Distribution Staff to General Moore, regarding a conference with British representatives in Appropriations and Production attended by Monnet, items discussed included, implementation of Lend Lease, British aircraft requirements, ammunition plants, build up to maximum production levels and amount of money required to meet British requirements, memorandum from Aurand to Moore regarding discussions concerning British requirements for ground and air,- report on meeting held 22 Feb. 1941,- letter from Aurand to Monnet says " a biography of Jean Monnet would be the best possible history of World War II".

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: AURAND PAPERS, BOX 9, ANALYSIS OF TABS "A" - LEND LEASE,- DIARY, 1942-1944, BOX 11

### **JMAS.G-08 Gabriel Hague Records**

1957

9pp

Gabriel Hague was Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for Economic Affairs.

 **File: JMAS-91** 11/12/1957

#### **Report on US problems**

Pages: 9

Report by Jean Monnet entitled "America in the Next Twenty Years", written for the Committee for Economic Development. Monnet expresses his belief that the main problems for America will be the growth in power of the Soviet Union, and to counteract this threat the US must co-operate with Europe as he feels that American predominance won't last instead problems would have to be approached by the Atlantic Community as a whole. Refers to the responsibility of US to anticipate the needs and the problems of underdeveloped countries.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: GABRIEL HAGUE RECORDS 1953-1958, BOX 2, 5TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, n. 15-29

### **JMAS.H Jean Monnet Foundation for Europe**

The documents in the Robert Nathan collection concerning Jean Monnet are held in the Fondation Jean Monnet pour l'Europe, Lausanne. The President of the Foundation Mr. Henri Rieben gave copies of these documents to be included in this project. Because the papers in the Foundation archive were of poor quality and illegible when photocopied, the documents were retyped for HAEC. The Foundation reference code is detailed in each individual dossier description.

Photocopying is not permitted, but notes can be made.

## **JMAS.H-01 Robert R. Nathan Papers**

1946-1947

n.2 files

*Robert Nathan was an important new-deal economist in the Roosevelt administration. Before the fall of France in 1940 he had worked in the Department of Commerce and then in National Defense Advisory Commission. It was at this time that his contact with Monnet, who was procuring arms for the British, began. According to Nathan, Monnet was primarily responsible for increasing the production requirements from the military branches to help Europe defend itself, and for Monnet, Robert Nathan was the key to achieving these mobilisation targets in the US. Nathan was also involved in the lend-lease negotiations in 1945, where Monnet was told that any further aid would be dependent upon the French drawing up a precise programme to restore its economy. This provided the impetus for the French National Modernisation Plan or the Monnet Plan, as it is more commonly known. Monnet sought the advice of Nathan in drafting the plan, aware of his skill in analysing data and statistics, Nathan spent a month in Paris in August 1946, working on re-drafting the plan. He emphasised the importance of having realistic objectives and goals, in compensating for the shortage of manpower and the need to achieve public consensus by organising a publicity campaign promoting the national recovery programme. He also asked Monnet if he could work with the plan organisers in 1947, in procuring loans for its implementation.*

### **JMAS.H-01.1 Commissariat au Plan**

n.2 files

*The main impetus for the Monnet Plan or Modernisation Plan was because of pressure from the US to develop a programme in order to justify further aid for France and because of Monnet's own belief that an integrated Europe was impossible without first re-constructing the economy in France. General De Gaulle, leader of the Provisional Government was in agreement, realising that a programme for French economic re-vitalisation was essential, this decision to increase productivity, raise living standards and invest in the French infrastructure lay behind the French Modernisation Plan. Monnet became head of the planning commission, Commissariat General du Plan, initiated by the French Cabinet in Jan 1946. The plan was to be financed by foreign loans, mainly from the US. The American example was clearly evident in the plan, particularly because of the contribution of Robert Nathan, and because the economic philosophy behind the plan rested in increased productivity, statistical analysis of data and the active involvement of industry, labour and consumers in formulating the Plan. The Commissariat was made up of a series of Modernisation Committees, which dealt with the different sectors, such as employers, trade unions and government experts, these then reported back to the Planning Council, who formulated the findings into the plan. Robert Marjolin, Etienne Hirsch and Pierre Uri were members of this Council, with Monnet as their Chairman. The Commissariat was not responsible to any Government department and this independence gave Monnet a considerable amount of maneuverability.*

 **File: JMAS-92\_25/04/1946 - 29/08/1946**

**Working Papers: Reports and Memoranda**

Pages: 148

*Material concerning Robert Nathan's comments, suggestions and advice on the French Modernisation Plan (Monnet Plan), sent to members of the Planning Council or to specific individuals, includes: report on US Government Central Statistical Board, which makes recommendations to the US Congress regarding appropriations to the various Departments, Nathan feels France needs such an agency to collate and analyse data*

memorandum on national income estimates for France, report entitled "Programme of Action", in which Nathan states that Commissariat au Plan must concentrate efforts on the production of a sound and constructive 5-year programme, with special emphasis on all out production for 1st year

comments for Mr. Vergeot, of the Planning Council on objectives of production, - general comments on manpower and the need to extend working week and to provide training, - memorandum from Nathan to Monnet on the major policy issues to be considered in the submission of the plan: productivity, imports, exports, labour force, shifts in employment, consumption, investment, construction, fiscal policies and propaganda | memoranda from Nathan to Monnet on the strategy for presenting plan to general public and the thinking behind it and the need for such a programme of reconstruction, - report on inflation and fiscal policy, advises on danger to plan if inflation soars, - comments on statistical tables in Plan memorandum to Monnet from Nathan highlighting lack of planning in US and subsequent problems, feels France can learn from this.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FONDATION JM POUR L'EUROPE, ROBERT NATHAN PAPERS, AMF 5/3/1-6,8,10-12,14-18,20-21,23-27,29-30,32-34

 **File: JMAS-93** 02/07/1946 - 22/01/1947

### **Correspondence**

Pages: 53

Correspondence between Robert Nathan and Monnet concerning progress of Monnet Plan, includes

letter to Monnet from Nathan, enclosing an article from the "Washington Post", by Joseph Alsop, July 1946, entitled "Matter of Fact", concerns France's national recovery plan and Monnet's role in it. Alsop feels early results are promising, letter to Monnet from Nathan, enclosing n.3 memoranda on economic situation in US, relating to trends of production, review of current economic situation and economic outlook, - letter to Monnet from Nathan, feels his time in Paris working on the Plan was useful, and believes it will enable France to prosper economically, - letter between Monnet and Nathan concerning contract between Gaz de France and American power company, Nathan believes it is worthwhile to France because of the saving in dollars and the improvement of the fuel situation in France, - letters to Monnet from Nathan asking if he could continue working on Plan on retainer basis and expressing disquiet at continued inflation in France.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: FONDATION JM POUR L'EUROPE, ROBERT NATHAN PAPERS, AMF 5/3/53-68

## **JMAS.I NARA**

The papers in the National Archive and Record Administration (NARA) in Washington D.C., which were of relevance to this project were taken from the Dept. of State Central files and from the papers of Ambassador John Tuthill. Some of these papers from the Tuthill collection are published in the US Foreign Relations Series. The papers included in this project, are ones which were declassified by the Dept. of State in NARA and which are now in the Tuthill family home. The originals are located in the National Archives. Some of the memoranda have sections which were not declassified and hence are marked out in black on the documents. The original reference codes from NARA are included in each individual dossier description. The Dept. of State Central Files were not collected as part of the Jean Monnet Documents Project, but were donated by a researcher. They have been added to this collection, since it is an artificial collection and because they refer to European affairs.

The documents are arranged according to subject within the units John Tuthill Papers and Dept. of State Central Files

Since these documents are government owned, there are no restrictions regarding photocopying.

 **JMAS.I-01 John Tuthill Papers**

1956-1988

n.3 files

*John Tuthill, a committed Europeanist and former head of the Atlantic Institute in Paris and US, was appointed Economic Minister at the French Embassy in 1959. He had previously negotiated with Robert Marjolin regarding US concerns over certain aspects of the Common Market, whereby the US felt that preferential treatment would be given to the Six, particularly with regard to agriculture. Tuthill was of the opinion that an agreement would have to be reached between the Common Market and GATT, to prevent preferential treatment. In June 1959, Tuthill and Monnet had talks on the need for a "new" organisation in which the US could participate actively rather than as an observer as with the OEEC, to deal with economic partnership. In another meeting in Paris, December 1959 with Konrad Adenauer, General de Gaulle, General Eisenhower and Harold MacMillan, Tuthill succeeded in convincing the big four of the need for such a platform for cooperation. However, to Tuthill's disappointment a new organisation wasn't created instead the OEEC, became the basis for the OECD. The OECD had as its starting point an emphasis on economic co-operation and development. Tuthill became the American representative to the OECD, and played an important role as an official in John F. Kennedy's administration in ensuring continued support for European affairs. Tuthill was a strong proponent of the Multilateral Force MLF, an American proposal for giving Europeans a role in nuclear defense, through the creation of joint defense force. In 1962, Tuthill was appointed Ambassador to the US mission in the EEC. In this position he worked hard to gain support for British entry into the Common Market. He was also deeply involved at this time in the so-called "chicken war", when American poultry farmers and policy makers were concerned about the consequences of CAP. Tuthill was a key figure in the compromise solution reached between US and EEC. Tuthill suggested that the matter be brought to GATT arbitration, which the EEC agreed upon. Tuthill also worked hard in promoting Kennedy's trade expansion policy and was directly involved in the Kennedy Round of negotiations on trade in Europe.*

 **File: JMAS-94** 06/02/1956 - 10/03/1966
**European Integration**

Pages: 83

*Material concerning moves for greater integration in Europe, includes: telegrams from C. Douglas Dillon to John Foster Dulles, regarding Monnet's belief that EURATOM being a European concept, any overt US support would be counter-productive, and on Monnet's view concerning the weapons renunciation problem,- copy of paper presented by John Tuthill to Clarence Randall, Foreign Economic Policy Commission, regarding economic and aid policies for Europe, memoranda of conversations between Tuthill and Monnet concerning the unification of Europe, the capital city of the united Europe, France as of June 1958, Monnet's belief that France would ratify the Common Market Treaties and that General de Gaulle would push for further integration,- letter from Tuthill to American Embassy official, regarding post-Adenauer Germany and the possibility of Ludwig Erhard becoming Chancellor and his very different view of Europe in comparison with Monnet's vision for a United States of Europe, confidential memorandum from Tuthill to George Ball, Under Sec. of State, regarding need to organise West to meet Soviet challenge and need to utilise OECD as a means to cooperate with allies,- letters from Tuthill to Robert Schaezel, special assistant to George Ball, regarding role of OECD in establishment of Atlantic Community, details of UK negotiations with EEC and MLF, and its role in Community affairs,- memorandum of conversations including Marjolin and Tuthill regarding NATO and the isolation of France under de Gaulle.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: US DEPT. OF STATE, JOHN TUTHILL PAPERS, TEL.NO 3498,3722,3954,-  
MEM CON 1/7/58,6/16/58,11/12/58,6/9/59,7/13/63,1/16/69,1/17  
/64,6/9/64,10/19/64,3/16/66,3/10/66

 **File: JMAS-95** 13/12/1962 - 12/02/1966

**US/EEC Trade Negotiations**

Pages: 113

File consisting of documents relating to CAP, GATT and economic relations between US and EEC, includes: information on Britain's acceptance of the CAP, the Trade Expansion Act (TEA) and its relationship to current European problems,- letter to George Ball, Under Sec. of State from Tuthill regarding conversation, (memorandum enclosed), with Walter Hallstein, President of EEC Commission asking him to water down Commission enthusiasm for the TEA,- details of American negotiations with Hallstein regarding lack of policy and direction in Commission regarding GATT negotiations,- letter to Robert Schaetzel, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Atlantic Affairs from Tuthill, regarding the belief that Community could not work effectively on the basis of monthly meetings of the Council of Ministers,- letter from Tuthill to Mike Blumenthal, US mission to GATT regarding US request for reasonable access to European Markets,- memorandum written by Tuthill and Max Kohnstamm with agreement of Monnet, on US and EEC policy on agriculture,- material on trade, agriculture, Kennedy Round of negotiations and GATT,details of Common Market crisis over CAP negotiations, and French opposition to certain aspects of the CAP and the Community's policy on subsidies,- material sent by Tuthill to Department of State on General de Gaulle's belief that Commission had too many powers, his desire to avoid majority voting on matters of national importance, his press conference disregarding solemn treaty obligations

telegram to Secretary of State from Tuthill reporting on appraisal of Community reactions to de Gaulle's press conference, (1965) and the consensus that de Gaulle had gone too far

memoranda of conversations on crisis with Walter Hallstein, Monnet and Max Kohnstamm.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: US DEPT. OF STATE, JOHN TUTHILL PAPERS, MEM CON  
12/3/62,2/20/63,5/20/63,5/29/63,6/21/63,7/13/65,7/5  
&17/63,6/23/64,10/19/64,6/21/65,6/25/65,8/2/65,8/3/  
162,173,631,644,211,271,687 65,- ECBUS

 **File: JMAS-96** 16/05/1968 - 13/09/1988

**Miscellaneous**

Pages: 25

Material of general nature, includes: memorandum of conversation between Monnet, Etienne Hirsch, Robert Schaetzel and John Tuthill on the subject of Latin American integration | newspaper article by Tuthill in "International Herald Tribune", entitled "True Statesmanship: De Gaulle Versus Monnet",- address by George W. Ball, former Under Secretary of State, 13 September 1988, entitled "Jean Monnet and the Perestroika of Western Europe", given at Council on Foreign Relations, regarding Monnet's efforts to integrate Europe.

Old Record Code: US DEPT. OF STATE, JOHN TUTHILL, MEM CON 5/16/68

 **JMAS.I-02 Department of State Central Files**

1955-1957

n.3 files

The material in these files consists of documents sent by American officials abroad to the Department of State or the Secretary of State. In the case of this project the papers of

*relevance in this unit deal mainly with American interests and concerns regarding European affairs and to a lesser degree with Jean Monnet.*

 **File: JMAS-97** 27/01/1955 - 11/05/1955

**ECSC**

Pages: 40

*Material concerning the ECSC, includes: information of the possibility of Paul Ramadier, replacing Monnet as President of the ECSC, with letters to John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State from American officials in Luxembourg, Netherlands and Germany informing Dulles of opposition to such an appointment in these countries, as they felt he was only luke-warm to idea of European integration, memorandum from the Chairman of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy, Joseph M. Dodge on the development of cartel aspects in the Schuman Plan, which he feels are contrary to American concepts, material on efforts to have Monnet withdraw his resignation,- letter from Monnet to Dulles regarding CSC need for supplies of scrap metal to sustain production, necessary for defense of Europe | information on Extraordinary session of CSC Common Assembly to discuss political matters,- telegram from American Ambassador in the Netherlands Matthews to Dulles regarding Benelux nations preference for René Plevin or René Mayer to succeed Monnet,- despatch from Harry Bell, Embassy official in France to Department of State, regarding speculation that French would drop Ramadier if there was continued opposition on the part of other member nations of High Authority.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: NARA, DEPT. OF STATE CENTRAL FILES, FILE 850.33, FOLDERS 1-655,2-155,3-155,- FILE 850.00, FOLDER 5-1155

 **File: JMAS-98** 28/01/1955 - 13/10/1957

**Western European Union (WEU)**

Pages: 43

*File concerning the British Proposal (Grand Design) for a Western European Union, includes memorandum of conversation between US Ambassador to Germany Dr. Krekeler and Mr. Hoover concerning Germany's impressions of WEU, feel confident of German ratification,- text of US assurances to WEU and dispatches from American officials to John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State regarding French response to Assurances, satisfied with US support for the Union's realisation and for the unification of Europe, telegram from American Ambassador to UK, Whitney to Dulles regarding the unwise idea to move WEU from London to Paris, better in London so that British can play leading role,- details of papers prepared by British on "Grand Design" for WEU, left open the possibility for inclusion of CSC, EURATOM and Common Market assemblies in a single assembly scheme,- material from American officials in Europe to Secretary of State, stating the feeling in Europe that the Common Market and EURATOM Treaties should be signed before attention is given to British proposal,- telegram from Matthews, American Ambassador to Netherlands to Dulles stating that Netherlands opposed to proposals for merging parliamentary institutions,- response from Germany indicated that they were not in favour of mingling of assembly of Common Market with parliamentary organisations of the six,- response from Paris favoured the idea of single over-all Parliament contained in the Grand Design, but felt that distinction be made between European organisations which contributed to integration and those which were primarily co-operative.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: NARA, DEPT. OF STATE CENTRAL FILES, FILE 740.00, FOLDERS 1-555,2-1755,3-157,4-157

 **File: JMAS-99** 17/02/1955 - 08/01/1957

**European Integration**

Pages: 64

*File containing material concerning US interest and support for endeavors to promote European integration as a means of strengthening the Atlantic Community, includes: dispatches from American officials in Brussels regarding need to relaunch European integration, but difficulties because of General de Gaulle with regard to details of*

*Benelux recommendations for development of supranational co-operation,- report on Messina Conference and discussions regarding Common Market and EURATOM,- synopsis of Guy Mollet's address, Secretary General of French Socialist Party and President of Consultative Assembly of council of Europe, at the National Press Club, speaks of hopes for success for atomic integration,- comments by Douglas Dillon, American Ambassador to France to Dulles regarding Monnet's Plans for the establishment of a United States of Europe*

*material on Common Market concept launched at Messina,- letter to Lewis Strauss, Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission from Acting Secretary of State, Herbert Hoover, regarding Dulle's hope that British if not willing to support idea of a federation of Europe, would not impede on efforts made,- comments by American Vice Consul in Strasbourg regarding speech by René Mayer concerning need for suprnational institutions as opposed to looser forms of European co-operation*

*details of British symapthy for European integration but not in UK's self-interest to participate, prefer the OEEC approach,- comments by Conant, US Ambassador to Germany to Dulles regarding Chancellor Adenauer's proposal calling for confederation of states,- memorandum concerning Germany's push for accelerating pace for integration as a means to achieving a united Germany*

*Language:ENGLISH*

*Old Record Code: NARA, DEPT. OF STATE CENTRAL FILES, FILE 740.00, FOLDERS 2-255,4-255,7-855,10-555,11-155,4-456,4-2056,6-650, 8-156,9-2756,10-156,10-1756,11-256,12-2850,1-157*

## **JMAS.J Yale University Library**

1926-1970

2 files

*The material of interest in the Manuscripts and Archives Department of the Yale University Library concerning Jean Monnet and Europe, were taken from the Dean Acheson and the Walter Lippmann papers. However, the Yale Library would not permit copies of the Acheson and Lippmann papers to be made for placement in other archival institutions, but provided the material, pertinent to this project in microfilm form (35mm). There is also included on the microfilm information concerning the collections, historical background to both collections, chronology of their lives and descriptions of the relevant papers and their arrangement in the Yale Library. Acheson considered these papers to be his private papers, as opposed to the papers he created professionally as a lawyer and publically as a civil servant. Acheson's legal files remain with the firm of Covington and Burling and many of his official papers are in the Truman Presidential Library. Acheson's son donated these private papers to Yale University between 1981 - 1983. The Walter Lippman papers became the property of the Yale University by deed of gift in July 1944, but it was not till 1963 that the papers were actually deposited in the Yale Library.*

*Because the documents are on film the system of arrangement is chronological*  
ENGLISH

## **JMAS.J-01 Dean Acheson Private Papers**

1944-1970

*Dean Acheson began his career as a lawyer in Washington for the firm Covington and Burling. He served for more than twelve years at the US State Department (1941 -1953), first as an assistant and then as under Secretary of State and subsequently was appointed Secretary of State during President Truman's second term in office. Acheson's contribution to the formation of NATO, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan was significant. He was also instrumental in the development of America's post war policy toward Germany, the integration of Europe and tactics in relation to the Soviet Union.*

*Following his retirement as Secretary of State, Acheson served as advisor to John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon during their presidencies. These papers depict the more personal quality of Monnet's and Acheson's relationship and their shared interest in world affairs and politics.*

*Microfilm.*

 **File: JMAS-100** 13/09/1944 - 16/01/1970

**General Correspondence**

Pages: 30

*File containing correspondence between Dean Acheson and Monnet regarding current activities, commenting on articles on subjects of mutual interest and on politics in general, includes*

*telegram to Acheson from Monnet thanking him for his support on the occasion of the establishment of the Common Market, and Acheson's letter of reply, he feel this step gives every indication of being the most significant, hopeful economic step in Europe and hopes it will lead to other European developments,- Monnet sends resolution adopted by the Action Committee for the United States of Europe, regarding the Common Market's external relations,- letters from Monnet regarding Cuban crisis, Nov 1962 and Britain's negotiations to join Common Market,- letter to Acheson from Monnet concerning the death of Felix Frankfurter,- letters concerning Europe/NATO problems.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: MS GR 1087, SERIES 1, BOX 23, FOLDER 288 1944-1970, GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

 **JMAS.J-02 Walter Lippmann**

1926-1964

*Walter Lippmann was probably one of the best known American journalists dealing with International affairs in the post-War era. He had worked initially as an editor of the "New York World" and in September 1931, he began his career as a columnist for the "New York Herald Tribune". The papers in this project came from his personal papers and manuscripts as opposed to his collection of published work also held in Yale. Lippmann probably met Monnet during the Versailles Peace Conference. For in 1917-1918 Lippmann served as Secretary of a secret organisation created by President Wilson, known as "the Inquiry" to prepare policies for the Paris Peace Conference. This organisation had a significant input into some of the points, dealing with territorial and political issues, in Wilson's 14 points. Lippmann as his correspondence files reveal had a considerable number of contacts in the US administration to keep him extremely well informed on all aspects of American foreign policy. Monnet was aware of the use of having a good rapport with journalists and his relationship with Lippmann remained constant over the years. He also called on Lippmann not just for information but also for advice on the political climate in the US regarding timing for introducing his ideas. Their relationship was in a sense a business one and in 1964 Monnet felt he had to rebuke Lippmann for a piece where he criticised the European Community for having too small a vision of Europe (JMAS/101). In some ways Lippmann's ideas were very different to Monnet's regarding his vision for a united Europe.*

*Microfilm.*

 **File: JMAS-101** 29/04/1926 - 22/12/1964

**Correspondence**

Pages: 73

*Material detailing the subjects which Monnet and Walter Lippmann communicated on, includes: telegram from Monnet to Lippmann seeking his reaction to General Giraud's*

memo to General de Gaulle concerning French unity and sovereignty and establishment of French Council to oversee their overseas territories and to maintain unity of action in resistance, with text of memo and summary,- Monnet in letter to Lippmann comments on Lippmann's article in "New York Times" on Berlin and the UN, Lippman replies and mentions consequences of American withdrawal from Germany for France, letters from Lippmann to Monnet regarding appointment of Dean Acheson to replace General Marshall in the State Dept., talks of WEU as a means for Europe to maintain old style imperialism in Asia, he feels it gives advantage to communist propaganda and is against US policy, he also seeks information on situation in France letters from Monnet to Lippmann introducing Maurice Faure who he says was instrumental in bringing about a settlement in the Saar and commending him on his article advocating the association of Europe with the US,- letter which Monnet sent to Lippmann for his information which he had written for the Committee of Action following the postponement of the negotiations with GB,- letter to Lippmann from Monnet defending the European Community from Lippmann's criticisms in the "New York Herald Tribune" and "Newsweek" 1964, that Europe was divided and had been constructed so that Germany would remain divided.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: MS GR, WALTER LIPPMANN PAPERS, SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE, SERIES 1, BOX 21, FOLDER 831 1906-1930,- SERIES 3, BOX 90, FOLDER 1525 1933-1970

## JMAS.K John F. Kennedy Library

The documents of relevance in the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library were taken from the White House Central Main File and from the Presidential Papers and concern Monnet and his administrations policies with regard to Europe. Since many of the documents have not been declassified as yet, the complete picture of Kennedy and his administrations relationship with Monnet and their attitude to European integration can not be fully appreciated. The original record code is listed in the dossier description.

All the documents are described as one unit.

There are no restrictions on the use of the Kennedy papers because they are held in a Presidential Library where there are no copying restrictions.

## JMAS.K-01 John F. Kennedy Sources

1961-1963

n.1 file

In the area of European affairs and European unity, John F. Kennedy is often remembered for his advocacy of a "Grand Design" between the US and Europe, this concept was best epitomised in the climax of his Atlantic Partnership speech in Philadelphia, 4 July 1962. Initially Kennedy was sceptical about further European integration but came around to the idea through the influence of George Ball, whom Kennedy had commissioned shortly after his election to head a task force on foreign economic policy. So Kennedy's stance on Europe became one of support for European integration and its advocates. George Ball, later appointed under Secretary of State was one of many Europeanists in the Kennedy administration. McGeorge Bundy the President's Special Assistant in the White House for National Security Affairs, was another man whom Kennedy sought advise from on activities in Europe. Kennedy himself had lent his support for the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan and was with regard to foreign policy, removed from his father, Joe Kennedy's isolationist stance. Kennedy asked Ball and Bundy to formulate along with Monnet, Robert Schaezel and Max Kohnstamm the ideas behind his Grand Design into a report, known as the Stevenson

*Report, which outlined a plan for a "policy for partnership" between a United Europe and America within a strong Atlantic Community. Like Ball, McGeorge Bundy had a close friendship with Monnet. He had worked with the agency in Washington for implementing the Marshall Plan and during the 1950's he taught a course in modern foreign policy at Harvard, which dealt mainly with European foreign policy. Kennedy himself had discussed the concept of the Atlantic Community with Monnet in March 1961 and had been greatly impressed with Monnet. So Kennedy's administration had as two of its key officials strong admirers and supporters of the concept of a European Europe, "Europeanists played an influential role in the formation of Kennedy's agenda in European affairs"1.*

 **File: JMAS-102** 20/04/1961 - 28/10/1963

### **Kennedy Administration and Europe**

Pages: 43

File containing material relating to John F. Kennedy's dealings with Monnet, and those of key figures of his administration such as McGeorge Bundy and George Ball, includes: letter of introduction to Max Kohnstamm, member of Dutch delegation at the ECSC Treaty negotiations, sent from Monnet to Bundy,- invitation from CBS News to Bundy inviting him to preview a programme on Monnet, entitled "Mr Europe and the Common Market",- letter from Bundy to Monnet encouraging him to write his memoirs as they would be of special interest in the US,- material concerning a TV programme on the "Threat of War and how to find Peace", to which Monnet and Chancellor Adenauer made a contribution, CBS wanted President to participate, includes transcript of interview with Monnet speaks of Atlantic partnership, but first must get Europe united economically, politically and militarily. Adenauer spoke of German unification and disarmament,- letter from Monnet to Kennedy congratulating him on speech where he spoke of his goal of a partnership between US and a uniting Europe,- letter from Kennedy to Monnet on his receiving the Freedom Award, speaks of his contribution to unity in Europe and emphasises need for US and Europe to work together to face problems threatening peace and to defend the West,- letter from Monnet to Bundy feels Kennedy's visit to Berlin is a good idea as it is good for people of Europe to hear President speaking about a partnership of equals.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: WHITE HOUSE CENTRAL MAIN FILE 1918,- PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS OF JFK:WHSCF:F6-6-11-8-1

## **JMAS.L Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library**

The documents of relevance to Jean Monnet were taken from the Presidential and White House Central files and also from the George Ball Papers. The material in this library of significance to this project is fragmentary. Some files are not declassified as yet or haven't been processed in the Library and so they are not available to researchers. The documents refer mainly to US/European partnership, a continuation of the policy put in place by Johnson's predecessor, John F. Kennedy. The old record code has been detailed in each individual dossier description.

Arrangement is according to subject matter

Copies can be made as the originals are located in a Presidential Library

### **JMAS.L-01 Presidential Papers**

1963-1971

n.2 files

*Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President during the Kennedy era stepped into the President's shoes in late 1964 following the death of Kennedy. His foreign policies with regard to Europe were basically a continuation of those put in place by Kennedy. George Ball*

*remained in his position as under-Secretary and once again provided the necessary link for Monnet to influence the American administration. David Bruce in an oral history interview stated that Johnson was greatly impressed by Monnet and his admiration was reciprocated. We can see from Monnet's correspondence with Johnson that he respected the President's opinion not only for his advocating policies such as non-proliferation of nuclear weapons but also for his domestic social and economic reforms.*

 **File: JMAS-103** 25/02/1964 - 07/04/1969

### **European Integration**

Pages: 84

*Material concerning European integration and US/Europe relations, includes: speech by Monnet before the European Congress of the German Parliamentary Social-Democratic Party, plays tribute to Erich Ollehauer, Robert Schuman and John F. Kennedy, and talks of partnership between US and Europe letters sent from Monnet to Johnson with texts of Action Committee declarations regarding integration in Europe, partnership of equals between US and Europe, British entry to Common Market, joint action in nuclear field and means of promoting cohesion in the West,- material concerning Monnet's visit to US to receive "Family of Man Award". Ernest Goldstein, special assistant to the President and Walt Rostow arrange for Monnet to meet the President, and send Johnson briefing papers on Monnet and subjects to discuss with him: GB and Common market, equal partnership, suggestions for Johnson's State of the Union Address,- memo for President from Ernest Goldstein regarding US problems, domestic and foreign, must seek to inform public that US does not want to dominate,- letter from Johnson to Monnet thanking him for meeting him and discussing relations between US and Europe,- statement by Monnet following the failure by the European Communities' Council of Ministers to reach agreement on Britain's application for Common Market membership*

*memo for President briefing him on his visit with Jean Rey, President of the EEC,- memo for Johnson from Goldstein regarding his visit to France and meetings with Monnet, speaks of need to build Europe as an equal partner,- material on meeting between Monnet and the President, Goldstein informs President of Monnet's concerns in social and economic field, concerns over new administration, monetary crisis in Europe and British entry into Common Market and suggests talking points,- Johnson in his replies to Monnet's letters speaks of unity of Europe as a high purpose to bind the West.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: LBJ LIBRARY, WHITE HOUSE CENTRAL FILES, FILE "MONNE" BOX 514, NAME FILE "ANDRE MEYER" BOX 388;EX CO 81, BOX 30, EX CO 1-9, BOX 12,EXIT/A-2, BOX 2,- NATIONAL SECURITY FILES BOX 173(FR) VOL X11 n.74,76,77,769, VOL XIV n.171, SUBJECT FILE, BOX 49, COMMISSION

 **File: JMAS-104** 18/12/1963 - 03/05/1971

### **Correspondence**

Pages: 25

*Invitations and letters of reply to ceremonies and functions from Lyndon B. Johnson to Monnet,- letter from McGeorge Bundy to Monnet stating he would be happy to meet Etienne Hirsch,- telegram from Johnson to Monnet thanking him for message of congratulations on his election as President of US,- letter from Monnet to Johnson regretting he can not attend as his personal guest for the inaugural parade,- memo for attention of President from Ernest Goldstein, special assistant to the President, asking that he send Monnet greetings to mark his 80th birthday (Nov 1968).*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: WHITE HOUSE CENTRAL FILES NAME FILES "MONNE" BOX 514 | POST-PRESIDENTIAL NAME FILE JEAN MONNET;LETTERS, CARDS

## **JMAS.L-02 George Ball Papers**

1964-1965

n.1 file

*George Ball was the Europeanists crucial figure in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, where he was under-Secretary of economic affairs in the Dept of State between 1961-1966. Ball exerted a strong influence on President Johnson in European affairs. He had worked with Monnet and Robert Marjolin in the Committee for European Economic Co-operation and had previously worked as lawyer for Monnet on his plan for the reconstruction of France and for negotiating the ECSC Treaty, and continued for many years as Monnet's legal adviser. Ball had gained through these years of working with Monnet and other advocates of European integration, a conviction that an integrated Europe in partnership with the US was the best way of defending the West. This conviction he brought with him to his positions in the US Administration. His work on behalf of Europe was acknowledged when he was awarded an Officer in the French legion of Honour and a Belgian Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown.*

 **File: JMAS-105** 21/11/1964 - 28/04/1965

### **General Correspondence**

Pages: 5

*Letters arranging meetings with Monnet, so he could talk to David Bruce and George Ball about affairs in Europe and President Johnson's Liberation Day speech, looking back over 20 years since the war, lessons for Europe,- Monnet felt liberation and equality should be keynotes in the speech, that US does not want to dictate to Europe what to do, but wants to treat a united Europe as an equal, extension of President Kennedy's policy of partnership.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: PAPERS OF GEORGE BALL (GEN) US AND EUROPE, TELCON n. 12, n. 26, BRITAIN III, 11/24/64-12/31/65, LETTERS n. 31, n. 32

## **JMAS.M Virginia Historical Society**

*At the request of Sherill B. Wells of the George Washington University, the trustees of the David Bruce papers agreed to copy for this project, the diary of David Bruce, from May 1949 to December 1954. These years cover the period when Bruce's and Monnet's working relationship was most productive and close. It was necessary for this section to be copied in full so as to place his relationship with Monnet and his input into the creation of a united Europe into context. Therefore those parts of the diary, when he was US Ambassador to France, May 1949 - March 1952, US Under Secretary of State, April 1952 - January 1953, and US Special Representative to Europe, February 1953 - December 1954, reveal the effort and diplomacy involved in the endeavors to create an integrated Europe. Bruce wrote in his diary almost daily and because of the close relationship between Monnet and Bruce, and the frequency with which Bruce mentions their contact and of course because of Bruce's indepth knowledge of the situation in Europe during this period, the diaries are an invaluable source in revealing Monnet's special relationship with Americans. This is the first time the trustees of Bruce's papers have allowed large sections of the diary to be copied. The record code from the Virginia Historical Society is listed in each individual description. The whole diary in its entirety consists of 72 volumes. The sections copied for this project come from volumes 3-23. Some parts of the diaries have been blacked out, due to amendments by Bruce or because they contained classified material.*

*I have arranged the diary by month taking into account the positions Bruce held when writing his diary.*

*No copies can be made of the diary, but notes can be taken.*

## **JMAS.M-01 US Ambassador to France**

1949-1952

n.32 files

*David Bruce's public career spanned a considerable number of years, he was the chief representative in Great Britain for American Red Cross in 1940, then worked with the OSS from 1941-1945, was appointed assistant Secretary of Commerce, 1947-1948, became the first head of the Marshall Plan Mission in Paris, established by the ECA in 1948 and then in May 1949 he was appointed American Ambassador to France, a position he held till March 1952. While in Paris he was ably assisted by William Tomlinson (Tommy), Treasury representative and the financial attaché at the US Embassy. Both men Bruce and Tomlinson became friends, confidantes and collaborators with Jean Monnet in his efforts to stabilise the French economy and later in his endeavors for unity in Europe, there existed a kind of triangular alliance between the men in their efforts for France and Europe. Bruce, a Francophile had acquired the respect and admiration of the French politicians while head of the Marshall Plan Mission and was therefore the ideal choice of Ambassador because of his influence and indepth knowldge of the French situation. On his appointment as Ambassador, Bruce named Tomlinson as his deputy. Tomlinson had become an expert on European affairs as John Snyder and Paul Hoffmann, ECA administrators had agreed to allow Tomlinson to concentrate on European not just French affairs. Bruce also served as Dean Acheson's main American source on Europe, and it was Bruce who convinced Acheson that the Schuman Plan, to pool coal and steel resources in Europe was not "the worst cartel ever" despite Acheson's earlier reservations. Monnet's confidence in Bruce was apparent as Bruce was told about the coal and steel proposal before any other American Government official including Acheson. Bruce strongly endorsed the proposal and lobbied for a positive US reaction to the Plan, and in fact shortly after the announcement of the Schuman Plan, President Truman hailed the Plan as a token of French leadership in finding solutions to the problems in Europe as a whole. Bruce was also effective in getting John McCloy's, US High Commissioner for Germany, support for the Schuman proposal and German rearmament. McCloy arranged for his own office of Legal Counsel headed by Robert Bowie to co-operate closely with Bruce's staff at the Paris Embassy and with Monnet's staff which included Pierre Uri and Etienne Hirsch. Bruce also initiated a working group, headed by Tomlinson to serve as the liaison between Monnet and*

 **File: JMAS-106** 09/05/1949 - 31/05/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - May 1949**

Pages: 52

Remarks on: his nomination as Ambassador to France by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate by a unanimous decision, preparations with Secretary of State regarding the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, May 23,- his meetings with French officials, Robert Schuman, Maurice Petsche, Minister of Finance and President Auriol and British Ambassador Sir Oliver Harvey,- meeting with Dean Acheson, Secretary of State | details visit by Jean Monnet who was enthusiastic about stabilisation of franc | reports on death of James Forrestal.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-107** 01/06/1949 - 30/06/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - June 1949**

Pages: 83

Remarks on: circulation of highly secret Atomic Energy Commission's Prohibited List in Germany - serious breach of security,- details of discussion with Maurice Petsche, Minister of Finance regarding request of French Government for 80 million francs to handle financial crisis

information regarding a despatch from US Dept of State, instructing American officials to tell French Government to grant unrestricted independence to Indochina, Bruce feels it is unwise,- speaks of Dean Acheson with his "true statesman-like qualities", he feels he is ideal for the post of Secy of State | meeting of Council of Foreign Ministers,- discussions with Robert Schuman, Averell Harriman and Petsche concerning the Inter-European Payments Scheme.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-108** 01/07/1949 - 31/07/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1949**

Pages: 50

Remarks on: meeting with John McCloy, feels he will be a pillar of strength as High Commissioner of Allied Government in Germany, negotiations with John Snyder, US Secretary of the Treasury, William Tomlinson, Averell Harriman, Finance Minister Maurice Petsche and Robert Schuman regarding European finance and the British situation

precarious position of French Government.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-109** 01/08/1949 - 31/08/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1949**

Pages: 35

Remarks on: meetings with Andrew N. Overby, Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, who feels that preliminary talks be held prior to the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Washington, Sept. 1949 to outline a programme taking into account British difficulties,- visit of Joint Chiefs of Staff to Paris,- talk with Italian Ambassador who feels US should take more aggressive line and dictate to Europe what they should do with American money, supplies and military plans.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-110** 01/09/1949 - 30/09/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1949**

Pages: 52

Remarks on: meeting with Jean Monnet regarding French agriculture, conversation with Danish Ambassador Johann Kruse, who feels that in the absence of some sort of European economic and political union, Europe's position in the long run would be hopeless | concern in France over devaluation of Mark,- exhibition in Marseilles detailing what Marshall Aid was doing for France negotiations with Jack McCloy and Maurice Petsche regarding fixing a new rate for German Mark

French Government crisis,- German refusal of the High Commission's proposals concerning the rate of Mark devaluation and the price for export of domestic coal.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-111** 01/10/1949 - 30/10/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1949**

Pages: 44

Remarks on: French discussions for new Government

exposé given by Milton Katz, US representative to Economic Co-operation Administration, on problems of ECA,- details of meeting of American Ambassadors in London,- meeting with Jack McCloy and Robert Schuman on Franco-German problems,- George Bidault's election as new French Prime Minister  
Paul Hoffman's visit and speech to OEEC.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-112** 01/11/1949 - 30/11/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1949**

Pages: 38

Remarks on: Paul Hoffman's involvement in negotiations for the economic unification of Europe,- Ernest Bevin's, British Foreign Secretary, visit to Paris and his concerns that Robert Schuman at the Council of Europe meeting had not seemed clear regarding US attitudes toward the admission of Germany as an associate member  
discussions between William Tomlinson, Averell Harriman, Bruce and Maurice Petsche regarding the release of counterpart funds for November and December, Petsche feels it is essential for the continuation of his fiscal policy.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-113** 01/12/1949 - 30/12/1949

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1949**

Pages: 43

Remarks on: talk with Dutch Ambassador regarding liberalisation of trade between western European countries,- talk with Prime Minister Georges Bidault on poor co-operation by the French Government regarding publicity of Marshall Plan activities,- meeting with Foreign Secretary Schuman regarding the possibility of strengthening the leadership of the OEEC,- plans of Secretary of Defence, René Pleven to rebuild the French forces.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-114** 01/01/1950 - 30/01/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - January 1950**

Pages: 61

Remarks on: question of publicity for the Marshall Plan in France and American Embassy requests urging the French Government to carry out its obligations under the bilateral agreement to use its powers to favour such publicity, because of lack of knowledge among French public regarding the Plan,- talk with President Auriol, who believes the US is demanding more of an effort than his country can make in connection with the realisation of ECA objectives,- visit of Milton Katz, US representative to ECA regarding Franco-German trade agreement,- conversation with Robert Schuman and Averell Harriman regarding the "Superman Project"- the strengthening of the leadership in the OEEC by placing Paul-Henri Spaak in a position of real authority, and also on question of Saar and prospect of French Government leasing it for the use of the Saar coal mines, Bruce feel the French action was ill-timed but the German reaction was "arrogant and presumptuous"

British opposition to relaxing the dual pricing system .

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-115** 01/02/1950 - 28/02/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - February 1950**

Pages: 45

Remarks on: Prime Minister Bidault's announcement that he would remain in office despite withdrawal of Socialists from Cabinet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-116** 01/03/1950 - 31/03/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - March 1950**

Pages: 69

Remarks on: conversation with M. Beuve-Merys, publisher of "Le Monde", who believes that in the event of war between the US and Soviet Union, France might remain neutral. Bruce believes this to be unrealistic,- conversation with M. Marcel Boussac regarding implications of recent Franco-Italian customs agreement. Bruce says that US is in favour of any steps toward unification in western Europe,- US Ambassadors meeting in Rome

meeting with Alexandre Parodi, Secretary-General of the Foreign Office, regarding the agenda for the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting,- meeting with Monnet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-117** 01/04/1950 - 30/04/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - April 1949**

Pages: 69

Remarks on: funeral of Leon Blum,- discussions on form of organisation to carry out foreign economic aid activities after the termination of the Marshall Plan,- talks with David Schoenbrun about the possibility that the French Government would immediately advocate an enlargement of the present Atlantic Pact Organisation so that a permanent body would deal with matters political and economic in nature,- discussions with Monnet and others on possible ways of strengthening NATO and of extending its activities beyond the military into the political and economic fields,- meeting with Georges Bidault regarding his concept of a High Atlantic Council for peace. Bidault feels that the interests of Great Britain would have to be linked more closely with those of the other Atlantic Treaty powers and that Germany be associated as closely as possible without joining NATO, also he stated he would welcome any steps which would bring Germany and France together in closer economic, political and cultural ties

conversation with Milton Katz, US representative to ECA and Dr. Stikker, Dutch Foreign Minister and President of OEEC, who feels that the only solution to European problems is for US to participate more fully in discussions among European nations but for the US to force European countries as well as UK to follow a general line of policy,- discussion with Monnet regarding Bidault's proposal for a High Atlantic Council for Peace, and his own idea of a Franco-German economic union.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-118** 01/05/1950 - 31/05/1950

**David Bruce diary entries - May 1950**

Pages: 58

Remarks on: conversation with Monnet regarding Georges Bidault's proposal for a High Atlantic Council and concept of a continental coal and steel agreement,- discussions with Robert Schuman before his meeting with Dean Acheson regarding proposal for a Franco-German coal and steel pool formally announced 9 May, which Monnet had already informed Bruce about. Schuman explained that the offer was open to other nations. Bruce said he felt it was a constructive step on the part of the French Government and if developed properly would be a great incentive for peace, aside from its revolutionary economic implications,- meeting with Monnet before his departure for Germany and the Benelux countries to discuss coal and steel integration. Monnet stated that he was not discouraged by trip to Britain despite his belief that they won't join in the endeavor. Monnet emphasised need to press the enterprise vigorously and keep up the momentum | meeting with Monnet where he gave Bruce an update on new developments regarding the Schuman plan,- his hope that the French will go ahead with the initiative and issue a declaration on pooling arrangement despite British objections.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-119** 01/06/1950 - 30/06/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - June 1950**

Pages: 73

Remarks on: discussion with Harold Callender of the "New York Times" regarding the Schuman Plan

meeting with American officials on Monnet's perspective on the Schuman proposal,- conversation with Monnet regarding the British request for a Foreign Minister's Conference to consider procedure on the subject which the French had already rejected. Bruce feels while it is regrettable that British won't join in the endeavor that other six nations should proceed

text of cable which Bruce sent to Washington regarding the Schuman Plan. Asks that US support be shown for the proposal, and that a favourable position is important for any moves that contribute to unity of action in Europe, despite the British refusal due to surrender of portion of national sovereignty that proposal involves. Bruce also feels it is good because it brings Germany into closer contact with her western neighbours, while he understands British reservations he feels that their attempts to sabotage it shows a "vacuum of comprehension and an ineptness of diplomatic intercourse". He states that US moral support for Plan is of crucial importance, asks that a press statement be issued congratulating French for their leadership and expressing support for the other nations interested in joining | fall of Bidault Cabinet, Bruce felt it happened at a most unfortunate time for the Schuman Plan.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-120** 01/07/1950 - 31/07/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1950**

Pages: 63

Remarks on: conversation with Monnet and Hervé Alphand, regarding progress on the Schuman Plan and the advisabililty of a re-examination of the Western European Arms Programme in the hope of gaining public confidence in the ability of Europe to defend itself against Soviet aggression,- talk with Charles Lindbergh, regarding need to get Germans involved in build up of western defences, particularly with need for strong ground force, advocated speeding up the re-armament of western Europe,- talk with Alphand and Robert Schuman regarding re-armament of Europe,- talk with Monnet and Alphand about British attacks on Schuman Plan

conversaton with Jules Moch, Minister of Defense regarding meeting at Fontainbleu of the Brussels Pact,- meeting with Monnet and René Pleven, Prime Minister regarding the rearmament of France, establishment of Common Fund, agreement on the distribution and allocation of military forces and pegging of foreign exchange rates.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-121** 01/08/1950 - 31/08/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1950**

Pages: 42

Remarks on: meeting with René Pleven, Prime Minister regarding Acheson's testimony before Congress regarding US usage of the non-military production capacity in Germany in connection with the re-armament programme. Pleven stated that Schuman was alarmed over effect of testimony in France,- visit with Monnet to discuss re-armament problems | talks with Lansing Warren of "New York Times" regarding US request for reaction of members of NATO to French re-armament,- discussions with William Tomlinson and Monnet on Schuman Plan.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-122** 01/09/1950 - 30/09/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1950**

Pages: 43

Remarks on: talk with French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman on his presentation for the meeting of the Three Ministers and later at the meeting of the NATO Ministers of various problems such as the use of German soldiers for Western defences,- talk with Harold Callender, "New York Times" regarding French re-armament,- financial problems for French re-armament.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-123** 01/10/1950 - 31/10/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1950**

Pages: 49

Remarks on: talks with Monnet, Jack McCloy and René Pleven regarding French political situation and German rearmament. Monnet feels France should take initiative and proceed along same lines as with Schuman pooling plan,- false newspaper reports regarding supposed stormy conversations between Bruce and René Pleven regarding German rearmament

his visit to US, met with Averell Harriman, General Marshall and Dean Acheson regarding rearmament talks in anticipation of French Minister of Defense, Jules Moch's arrival. Marshall states that he has great sympathy with the French fear of a revival of German militarism and proper safeguards must be worked out, but effective defense in Europe not possible without Germany

his conversation with Jules Moch, who is opposed to any formulae involving German rearmament

meetings between Maurice Petsche and President Truman regarding US aid to France. Petsche believes that René Pleven's ideas (Pleven Plan) could lead to a possible solution for the German rearmament problem, which involves referring the issue to the Supreme Allied Commander and his Staff, when they are appointed, with the French agreeing to abide by such a decision, his conversations with Monnet, feels enthusiastic about new French plan for European rearmament

talks with Schuman who feels it is the only possible solution to satisfy French public opinion. But feels Schuman Plan should be adopted before any conferences on rearmament questions are held.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-124** 01/11/1950 - 30/11/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1950**

Pages: 58

Remarks on: talk with Monnet regarding what had transpired in Washington with French officials on German rearmament,- meeting with René Pleven, Prime Minister informing him of President Truman's and Secretary of State, Dean Acheson's concern over French intransigence at the Defense Ministers' meeting on the question of German disarmament

conversation with Hervé Alphand to talk about Pleven Plan. He informs Alphand that Socialist Party in France would have to reach a reasonable compromise with US opinion on the issue of German armed forces and the rigid position adopted by Moch was unhelpful | talk with Paul Henri Spaak on German rearmament and the need for non-discrimination of Germans in a European army

trip to London to speak with American officials including John McCloy, agree on a joint communication to the US Dept of State suggesting their approval of the principles of the Pleven Plan, dependant on the relaxation by the French on some matters,- Bruce feels both rearmament and Schuman Plan are taking shape, and ECA authorities are talking of financial support for the coal and steel pool, meeting with Monnet, William Tomlinson and Mr. Hallstein, German Delegate to the Schuman Plan. He is anxious for Treaty to be signed by Governments as quickly as possible, but controversy remains on some issues.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-125** 01/12/1950 - 31/12/1950

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1950**

Pages: 67

Remarks on: talk with Maurice Petsche in an effort to analyse the sources of irritation existing between the US and the French Government,- meeting between René Pleven, Robert Schuman and Clement Atlee regarding the possibility of their accepting Dutch proposal for a High Commissioner to preside over European rearmament,- talks with Monnet and Hervé Alphand regarding German rearmament and reasons for French change in position | discussions regarding Russian request for a Foreign Ministers meeting of the four major powers to discuss issue. Schuman concerned over reaction of Soviets,- talks with Monnet regarding Schuman Plan,- press leak about relaxation on part of US on question of German rearmament, appointment of General Eisenhower as NATO Supreme Commander with Al Gruenther as his Chief of Staff and re-organisation of NATO and its future relationship with ECA and OEEC,- difficulties in trying to get Chancellor Adenauer to take a vigorous position in regard to the signing of the Schuman Plan Treaty.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-126** 01/01/1951 - 31/01/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - January 1951**

Pages: 70

Remarks on: German decision to wait for HICOG mandate on decentralisation before proceeding with Schuman Plan negotiations, meeting with René Pleven, Prime Minister, Monnet and Hervé Alphand regarding Pleven's forthcoming visit to Washington,- meeting with Robert Schuman, Ministry of Defense regarding a conference on the European Army concept,- trip to US for Pleven's visit, looking for aid for Indochina problem,- meeting between Pleven and President Truman, agreed that a chief deterrent to Soviet aggression against the West was their fear of US retaliation,- mention of Schuman Plan at Pleven press conference.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-127** 01/02/1951 - 28/02/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - February 1951**

Pages: 63

Remarks on: details of Ambassadors meeting in Frankfurt, principal subject for discussion being the re-organisation of the foreign assistance programme and consideration of the Soviet reply calling for a conference of the four Foreign Ministers,- meeting with Hervé Alphand who was to represent Robert Schuman in the conferences on the European Army | meeting with Col. Richardson, his adviser at the European Army conference,- Sweden's plans for a closer relationship between OEEC and the Council of Europe,- speech by Schuman at the Conference, stated that the idea for a European Army formed part of French hopes for a progressive integration of the European countries in the economic, military and political fields,- details of participants and observers,- talk with Mr. Taviani, head of the Italian Delegation for the European Army Conference regarding US views on subject. Bruce told him US welcomed any development in the field of European integration, especially incorporating Western Germany,- German deliberations over Schuman Plan,- President Auriol's visit to US, concerned about Indochina and Germany | talk with German delegation on the European Army scheme, has appeal but it would have to deal with question of equal rights for Germans and be militarily effective,- delays in Schuman Plan negotiations.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-128** 01/03/1951 - 31/03/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - March 1951**

Pages: 82

Remarks on: new French Prime Minister, Queuille discussions on Schuman Plan, with Monnet, William Tomlinson and John McCloy, German High Commissioner, who states that he is bringing every pressure he can to bear on the German Government to get Chancellor Adenauer to have it initialled Conference of Foreign Ministers, requested by Soviets to discuss negotiation by West of Potsdam Agreements on remilitarisation of Germany,- report on Conference, where Soviet Delegate was Gromyko, accused West of aggression | attendance at sessions of European Army Conference dealing with size and armament of units,- work of McCloy in getting Germans to act on Schuman Plan, but existence of powerful forces in Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany opposing its signature,- initialling of the Schuman Plan (19 March), "..and thus the first great step toward the integration of the Western European Economy had now been taken".

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-129** 01/07/1951 - 31/07/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1951**

Pages: 67

Remarks on: discussions with General Cy Schuyler, Doug MacArthur, William Tomlinson, Robert Bowie and other American officials regarding French proposals on the European Army,- briefing by General Eisenhower to Senators of Foreign Relations Committee on rearmament,- his attendance as observer at Conference plenary sessions, spoke of importance of the Conference agreeing as quickly as possible upon a preliminary report, even though it might expose areas of disagreement as well as agreement,- problems in forming a Government in France,- talks with John McCloy, Monnet, Hervé Alphand, General Eisenhower regarding European Army and German rearmament. Eisenhower said he felt the European Army was the most advisable solution to German rearmament and that he intended to back it fully,- meeting with Schuman and American Senators, where Schuman talked about his convictions for a European Federation, conversation with Monnet regarding the possibility of taking a further step toward European Federation, possibly the calling of a constitutional convention.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-130** 01/08/1951 - 31/08/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1951**

Pages: 66

Remarks on: formation of new French government with René Pleven as Prime Minister | Belgian concerns over the European army embracing all military units of the participating countries from the offset,talk with Monnet about "making Europe",- talk with Robert Bowie and William Tomlinson, American officials, about contractual relations agreement with Germany, feel it is imperative to retain the Military Security Board to control any untoward German militaristic tendencies,- Pleven's comment that he was sending the best brains in his Government, Robert Schuman, Georges Bidault and André Mayer to Washington to discuss how France could play part in Western defense,- Bidault's conviction that Schuman Plan and European Army Plan would be ratified but after bitter struggle.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-131** 01/09/1951 - 30/09/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1951**

Pages: 51

Remarks on: discussion with William Tomlinson on advisability for René Pleven (PM) to call a conference to draw up a constitution for a federated Europe,- meeting with

Monnet regarding a political federation of Western Europe,- attendance at Foreign Ministers' meeting in Washington where European Army was discussed. Bruce says that the Pentagon was sceptical about the Plan, Bruce says it must be made to succeed,- briefing paper for Dean Acheson, Secy of State on European Army, which he worked on with John McCloy and Robert Bowie,- discussions on German contractual agreement and the difficulties of securing an agreed Allied position on this issue, text of report Bruce delivered on "Battle Front Television Programme" (NBC),- talks with Robert Schuman, French Foreign Minister, Herbert Morrison, British Foreign Secretary and Acheson regarding Europe's defensive power and role of Germany, NATO, the Schuman Plan and the European Defense Force Plan (EDF), and idea for it to be under direction, like NATO, of General Eisenhower, conversation with Hervé Alphand regarding a possible Three Power declaration in favour of the Schuman and Pleven plans as progressive steps towards European unification,- reports on tripartite meetings on EDF, contractual agreement for Germany, financial questions attached to armament programme,- meeting with Monnet, who was pleased with progress on European Army and discussed statements made by Schuman in Washington and Ottawa regarding political federation of Western Europe,- Soviet offer to Chancellor Adenauer regarding free elections in Germany leading to German re-unification, but says Bruce this would involve neutralising Germany and withdrawal of Allied troops, this would upset NATO plans and destroy the Schuman and Army projects.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-132** 01/10/1951 - 31/10/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1951**

Pages: 86

Remarks on: problems in talks for a contractual agreement with Germany,- René Pleven's (PM) belief that he can secure favourable vote in Parliament for Schuman Plan and EDF despite Gaullist and Communist opposition,- establishment of "Wise Men" Committee of NATO concerned with determining military requirements of member states and Monnet's decision to be French representative

Dutch Government decision to change status from observer to that of participant at European Army Conferences,- Bruce states his belief that the French Government settle the Saar question before a peace treaty with Germany can be brought under discussion,- visit with Monnet regarding the possibility of Pleven calling a convention of representatives of the Free Nations of Western Europe to attempt a draft constitution for setting up a Federation in Europe.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-133** 01/11/1951 - 30/11/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1951**

Pages: 80

Remarks on: discussion with John McCloy regarding contractual agreement with Germany | discussions on amount of French and German financial contributions to be made to the common budget of EDF,- his attendance at meeting of Foreign Ministers in Rome where European unity was discussed,- meeting with Monnet regarding the French dollar payment situation,- decision to grant \$600 million US loan to France, if France obligated themselves to a satisfactory military programme,- meeting between Dean Acheson, Secy of State and Chancellor Adenauer regarding new prospects for reaching accord on general contractual issue,- tripartite meeting at Foreign Office to arrive at common approach to Germany

problems regarding common budget for EDF,- concern over chances of Schuman Plan being ratified by French Parliament. Pleven feels he can overcome opposition to it in French Parliament.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-134** 01/12/1951 - 31/12/1951

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1951**

Pages: 94

Remarks on: discussion with Guy Mollet, executive head of the Socialist Party regarding their attitude to the Schuman Plan and the European Army Scheme, would support it if sufficient safeguards were put in place against German domination

Gaston Palewski says Gaullist party would abstain from voting,- Schuman plan voted on in National Assembly, successful after vote of confidence in Government,- his official visit to London, expresses hope that Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden, Foreign Minister would show an interest in an association with the European Army,- his hope that a rough draft of the EDF Treaty would be ready for Foreign Ministers' Meeting (Dec 27)

French problems regarding their military budget, cannot meet their commitment in NATO and in Indochina, seeks aid from US. Monnet in his position on TCC states his determination to force the issue on Indochina and to attempt to have French troops withdrawn unless the struggle there is precipitated in by some of the other great nations,- discussion with René Pleven on possibility of calling a Constitutional Convention for a European federation | memo regarding a conversation regarding the EDF, Bruce feels US and GB must induce Benelux countries to moderate their position and reach a compromise, but not at expense of German/French issues, which are essential for creation of real European Defense Community (EDC), work on common budget of EDF with William Tomlinson and Robert Bowie | Pleven's decision not to call a Constitutional Convention for European Union because he had submitted his budget to the National Assembly and didn't want to seem to be diverting attention from this.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-135** 01/01/1952 - 31/01/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - January 1952**

Pages: 83

Remarks on: French Government debate on no confidence in Budget, discussion with General Eisenhower, Al Gruenther, Doug MacArthur (SHAPE) at the Foreign Ministers' Conference on the European Army and in reconciling differences between Benelux countries and the larger nations

Monnet opposed to bilateral talks on EDF,- efforts to bring Dutch around to more co-operative attitude in the European Army affair,- talks with people from Monnet's office regarding French military Budget,- fall of René Pleven's cabinet

Eisenhower's announcement that he would run on the Republican ticket if he was nominated to the Presidential race,- text of Bruce's address at NATO War College on US foreign policy,- meeting with Maurice Schuman, regarding Germany, and idea of having the global amount of military budgets suggested by the NATO "Wise Men",- discussions with delegates to EDF conference regarding the European Army. Belgians causing problems as they want a coalition of armies and no delegation to a central authority of portions of the national sovereignty of member countries,- Pleven's decision not to join Edgar Faure's government, wants to be free to speak on European Army debate without any ministerial restrictions,- telegrams between Dean Acheson, Secretary of State and Bruce regarding Bruce's return to US as Under Secretary of State following the NATO meeting in Lisbon. Bruce feels the appointment would be a mistake as he had hoped that the European Army and contractual agreement would be completed, and because of confused political situation in France, it would be difficult for a new person to establish relationships. Acheson states that it is essential for him to return and Jimmy Dunn to replace him

Walter Hallstein's concerns over the French action in changing the status of its High Commissioner to the Saar to Ambassador,- Adenauer's dissatisfaction regarding lack of French assurances on Saar.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-136** 01/02/1952 - 29/02/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - February 1952**

Pages: 64

Remarks on: belief that unless the burden of Indochina can be lifted somehow from France, it will continue to be a major obstacle to any worthwhile rearmament effort by France in NATO

French insistence on security controls in any contractual arrangements with Germany, French concerns over prospect of Germany seceding from EDC and engaging on a national basis in a military venture rather than fears of Soviet aggression talk with René Pleven on a constitutional convention for a European political federation Robert Schuman's suggestion for Europeanising the Saar politically while leaving it economically integrated with France,- Bruce is convinced that Chancellor Adenauer is determined to bring Germany into the "family of Western nations",- talk with Monnet on Saar and other contentious issues impeding progress on EDF,- prospects of fall of Edgar Faure's government because the European Army resolution was due to go before the Parliament. Bruce urges him not to resign. Resolution passed endorsing with reservations the European Army project,- his visit to NATO Council meeting in Lisbon where delegates spoke of French military situation, ratification of EDC report as presented by Schuman | French decision to increase military budget because of huge strain of Indochina war, Bruce states "...meanwhile my personal view is that US Government policy is too unsympathetic and unrealistic about France's plight and too pre-German especially in Pentagon circles".

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-137** 01/03/1952 - 27/03/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - March 1952**

Pages: 99

Remarks on: selection of new Secretary-General for NATO, conversations with Monnet on variety of French matters,- statement by Bruce before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate on a Bill to amend the Mutual Security Act of 1951 concerning situation in France with regard to Communist movement, French foreign policy, European Army proposal, American aid, General de Gaulle, fiscal and monetary reform, Indochinese War, Schuman Plan, European integration and statement by William Tomlinson, Treasury Representative, American Embassy on Schuman Plan.

Language: ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **JMAS.M-02 US Under Secretary of State**

1952-1953

n.10 files

David Bruce was recalled from Paris from his position as Ambassador by President Truman and his Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, despite his opposition, to the post of Under Secretary of State, commencing April 1952. Bruce had reservations about the post because he felt because of his knowledge on the French situation and the contacts he had built up, he felt he would be of greater benefit in France. However, Acheson believed that such diplomacy was needed in the State Department. During his time as Under-Secretary he refers in his diary to Europe with reference to efforts in Europe to push the signing of the EDC and the Contractual Agreements with Germany, the newly inaugurated High Authority of the ECSC. He also mentions general issues concerning American foreign policy concerns such as North Africa, NATO, Latin America, the oil dispute in Iran, the Korean Armistice, the Trieste dispute, Eisenhower's Presidential election campaign, the Rosenberg atom espionage case, foreign aid legislation and George Kennan's, US Ambassador to Soviet Union, problems in that country. The material is taken from volumes 13-16 of the diary.

 **File: JMAS-138** 01/04/1952 - 30/04/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - April 1952**

Pages: 33

Remarks on: his swearing in as Under Secretary of State,- meeting in Department on means for accelerating the conclusion of EDC and the contractual agreements with Germany | discourse he delivered before the Intelligence Advisory Committee of the CIA on conditions in France

briefing on developments in field of atomic energy and H-bombs | talk with Lewis Strauss, Chairman of Atomic Energy Committee about the question of whether or not a reference to the declaration of human rights should be eliminated from the German contractual arrangements,- note from the Belgian Ambassador with a note from his Government on the date and place of meeting for signing the EDC and contractual agreements,- briefing on EDC situation before appearing before European Consultative Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,- meeting with Monnet.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-139** 01/05/1952 - 31/05/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - May 1952**

Pages: 31

Remarks on: the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB), dealing with psychological warfare

conversation with William Tomlinson regarding EDC

talk on German contractual arrangements with Dept. of State officials,- talks with Secretaries Lovett and Snyder regarding Acheson's visit to Europe and the NATO meeting to be held immediately after EDC and contractual agreements and their agreement that no substantive questions would be discussed except the business of ratification of the protocol,- meetings with Monnet,- Bruce informed Tomlinson that the financial contribution question would have to be sorted before Secretary of State, Dean Acheson's visit to Europe,- testimony before a Sub-Committee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on EDC and German contractals | plans for Secretary of State's trip,- talk with Robert Bowie, Head of the Policy Planning Staff in the State Department, on European unification

information on Foreign Aid Bill.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-140** 02/06/1952 - 30/06/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - June 1952**

Pages: 39

Remarks on: Pacific Pact Council Meeting,- meetings with Secretary of State, Dean Acheson regarding German contractual agreements,appearance before Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee on Foreign Aid,- his and Acheson's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,- attendance at conference of representatives of the French Embassy,- Senator Hickenlooper's introduction of a reservation into the Senate's ratification of the General Convention on Relations with the German Federal Republic. Bruce told the Senators that such a resolution if adopted would be disastrous, and that the ratification by the Senate not only of the Treaty but the protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty was of the utmost importance and if any reservations were attached, foreign Parliaments would do likewise. Part of the proposed reservations were adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee,- letter to President from Winston Churchill regarding rumours in UK that US intended to use atomic bomb in Korea.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-141** 01/07/1952 - 31/07/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1952**

Pages: 25

Remarks on: visit by German Chargé Dr. Krekeler, stated his belief that German Parliament should ratify the contractual arrangements by September 1952,- René Pleven's request for reply from US as to amount of off-shore procurement contracts that would be placed in France,- Republican Convention to nominate Presidential candidate, General Eisenhower was nominated over Taft on first Ballot,- meeting with Jack McCloy and Dean Acheson regarding possibilities of ratification of the EDC Treaty and the contractual agreements.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-142** 01/08/1952 - 30/08/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1952**

Pages: 48

Remarks on: his speech at NSC meeting, suggested making a loan rather than a grant to the Iranians, and ideas for security controls for Japan,- meeting with William Tomlinson regarding representations to the High Authority of the Schuman Plan and the Federation of Europe,- spoke with Tomlinson regarding a statement to be made by the Secretary commenting on the first meeting of the Schuman Plan High Authority due to take place in Luxembourg under the presidency of Monnet discussed set-up for US representation to the High Authority of the coal and steel pool with State Dept. officials,meeting with Italian Finance Minister Pella asks that the Italian Government fulfill the TCC commitment and follow a more liberal fiscal policy.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-143** 01/09/1952 - 30/09/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1952**

Pages: 42

Remarks on: official visit to Mexico for meeting of International Bank and International Monetary Fund,- his advise to have French come to US to present French case on Tunisia and Morocco to the UN,sent top secret telegram to Dean Acheson regarding discussions on situation in Europe, Soviet action and further progress in building western strength, feel this will in time be used to seek a peaceful solution to the problem of US relations with the Soviet Union. He also discussed role for US in Europe, should be observor in the process of agreement reached by the European states. Discussed Germany's role in Europe, must direct German pressures so they do not disrupt organisation of European defense. Stated that securing ratification of the defense arrangements and to urge Chancellor Adenauer to speak with Robert Schuman on Franco-German relations to avoid controversy, and continue policy of non-intervention in Saar,discussions with Jamie Bonbright and Miriam Camp, State Department officials, regarding proposed connection between Council of Europe and the various six-nation communities, Bruce feels they should be kept separate,- confusion in Paris as a result of having four USAmbassadors there and such a multiplicity of agencies and personnel.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-144** 01/10/1952 - 31/10/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1952**

Pages: 64

Remarks on: appearance before bureau of the budget to give an account of present foreign policy and problems it presented,- meeting on the French aid question with State Department officials, and needs for improvement,- Jamie Bonbright's, Department of State, paper on various integration movements in Europe. Bruce feels it raises so many questions he advises postponing a final decision on it until the new administration can be consulted.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-145** 01/11/1952 - 30/11/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1952**

Pages: 43

Remarks on: General Eisenhower's election as President,- discussions with German chargé Dr. Krekeler and Jimmy Riddleberger requesting an update on present US attitude to EDC and political integration amongst six European nations. Bruce told him that policy remained unchanged and also enthusiastically favoured any steps leading to Franco-German reconciliation. Krekeler's conviction that EDC Treaty would be ratified in Germany in near future,- joint communique issued by General Eisenhower and President Truman designed to give impression there would be no startling foreign policy divergence between the two administrations,- John Foster Dulles appointment as Secretary of State.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-146** 01/12/1952 - 31/12/1952

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1952**

Pages: 34

Remarks on: report from Paris about French indecision over the EDC and German contractual agreements,- discussions at staff meeting regarding the various complications that have arisen in connection with EDC ratification in Germany message to John Foster Dulles calling his attention to the critical nature of the situation especially in Germany and France,- Monnet's request for an appointment with Acheson in Paris,- need for a new High Commissioner in Germany to replace John McCloy,- his agreement to stay in position as Under Secretary of State till after the inauguration and act a consultant to the government for a period.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-147** 01/01/1953 - 31/01/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - January 1953**

Pages: 46

Remarks on: talks with John McCloy regarding the deteriorating situation in France and Germany over the EDC treaty,- trip of Dulles with Governor Stassen to Europe to familiarise himself with prospective EDC countries,- meeting with Maurice Mègre, head of Agence France Presse, pessimistic about the possibility of French political stability | resignation as Under-Secretary,- talk with State Department officials regarding the various six nation organisations and the suggestion that William Tomlinson be brought to US to make a report on recent developments.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **JMAS.M-03 Observer to the Interim Committee of the EDC and US Special Representative to the ECSC High Authority**

1953-1954

n.23 files

In February 1953 John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State and close friend and admirer of Monnet, recommended President Eisenhower to appoint David Bruce as special US Observer at Interim Committee of EDC and special US Representative to European High Authority for coal and steel. Eisenhower favoured the idea of a "roving Ambassador" to visit appointed Ambassadors and form a common approach and understanding of issues involved in efforts to unify Europe. This decision was all the more unique because Bruce was a liberal Democrat and the new US Administration was Republican, but Monnet powers of persuasion overcame this obstacle as he felt Bruce was the best person for the

*job. Bruce accepted readily the appointment and took the status of observer rather than Ambassador, he was also given responsibility for observing progress toward EPC. Bruce's primary concerns during this period lay in pressuring France to ratify the EDC Treaty, despite the fact that the EDC was a French initiative, an attempt to prevent the constitution of a German National Army, René Plevén, Prime Minister of the time proposed in October 1950 what later became the EDC. The Paris Conference of the Plevén Plan commenced work 15 February 1951 and the Treaty was signed in May 1952. Yet successive French Governments backed out of actually ratifying the Treaty. Between internal political stability, placating right and left wing opponents, problems caused by the war in Indochina and fear of German rearmament prevented the Treaty reaching the National Assembly until too late. Bruce felt that no French political leader from Georges Bidault to Pierre Mendés-France had the political courage to back it fully and to allow France take leadership in Europe. He felt the French failure to ratify the EDC Treaty constituted the greatest diplomatic triumph ever achieved by the USSR (JMAS/166). Mendés had struck the first blow by introducing a protocol at the Brussels Conference that represented no compromise whatsoever. The French at the same time bore the greatest loss, for the agreements at the London Conference meant the reconstitution of a German National Army and General staff and French losing out on the proffered leadership of Europe. Bruce felt that the British should take some to the blame, for their proposal at the London Conference gave the French the assurances for security they required and would have made the ratification of the EDC easier for the French to accept. Bruce's admiration for Monnet was un*

 **File: JMAS-148** 01/02/1953 - 28/03/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - February 1953**

Pages: 27

Remarks on: his appointment by President Eisenhower as Observer to the Interim Committee of the EDC and as Representative to the ECSC at Luxembourg and to follow proceedings of the European Political Community,- copy of letter from John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, to Monnet, President of High Authority of ECSC informing him of Eisenhower's decision, to have observer in Europe to keep President informed of developments in the Community,- letters of congratulations from Georges Bidault, Chancellor Adenauer, Walter Hallstein and Hervé Alphand,- Bruce feels a lot of American officials in France are gloomy about the EDC Treaty,- discussion with William Tomlinson about the various Community of six organisations talk with General Ridgeway about EDC, obstacles it faced and steps which might be helpful in connection with it.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-149** 02/03/1953 - 31/03/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - March 1953**

Pages: 48

Remarks on: meeting with René Plevén, who feels the French Parliament will pass EDC Treaty, provided bulk of the Socialist vote can be brought to favour it, feels it would be helpful if other countries ratified it first,- visit with William Tomlinson to High Authority, Luxembourg,- speaks with representatives of Benelux countries regarding ratification, and their dissatisfaction with French protocols. Germans and Italians feel they can pass it,- attended Foreign Minister's meeting in Strasbourg where Paul Henri Spaak presented incomplete text of EPC Treaty,- visit to Bonn for discussions on EDC with Chancellor Adenauer,- visit to Rome, feels disappointed at inability of Italian Chamber to ratify the EDC

talks with Monnet regarding a loan from International Bank for CSC,efforts to move Van Zeeland, Belgian Foreign Minister, ahead with Treaty | conversation with Van

*Zeeland where he committed himself to press for ratification regardless of what the other countries do.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-150** 01/04/1953 - 30/04/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - April 1953**

Pages: 38

*Remarks on: visit to Holland regarding ratification of EDC Treaty and approval of the protocols. Prime Minister Drees against it but will not obstruct its ratification | discussions with Monnet and Hervé Alphand concerning the slow down in connection with EPC. Alphand feels it is logical for Interim Committee of EDC to take it over as its work nearly completed,- talk with Alexandre Parodi, Foreign Office, worried about EDC and EPC, fears domination by Germans of these enterprises,- Italian Government's acceptance of protocols unconditionally, as long as French Government didn't add new ones,information received that Winston Churchill in a foreign affairs debate in the House of Commons would appeal to Germany, France and the Benelux to ratify EDC Treaty | news that Bundesrat decided instead of voting on Treaty to demand an opinion by the Constitutional Court, Bruce feels it is not unexpected,- visit to Venice to attend meeting of European Union of Federalists.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-151** 01/05/1953 - 31/05/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - May 1953**

Pages: 48

*Remarks on: need for constitutional change in France to solve French Political situation,- UK association with EDC,- meeting with Georges Bidault, Foreign Office, prior to Ministers meeting where he emphasised his belief in European integration, but it would have to be handled in France with adroit maneuvering with reference to Saar and disarmament,- talk with Chancellor Adenauer who was disposed to reach agreement in principle with French on Saar. Bruce feels Adenauer's attitude is too rigid,- Hervé Alphand's opinion, French Ambassador to Interim Committee of EDC, that failure to reach agreement on Saar will ensure the Treaty is not ratified in France presentation to Monnet of the Charlemagne Award for his contribution to Peace,- Monnet's trip as official guest of US Government along with Etzel and Spierenberg, (High Authority),discussion with Guy Mollet, French Socialist Party, willing to support EDC provided there will be an association with UK,- Bruce feels that draft of agreement of association between UK and EDC represents a great concession on part of GB.*

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-152** 01/06/1953 - 30/06/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - June 1953**

Pages: 59

*Remarks on: President Eisenhower's reiteration of his support for European Unity measures on Monnet's official visit to US,postponement of Rome meeting on EPC,- text of telegram from John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State to Bruce regarding Congress' impatience over continuing delay with EDC, he feels France is the main obstacle and he seeks his opinion on a 4-power conference. Bruce replies such a conference would not be a good idea as it would delay ratification, believes Soviet ambition is to destroy European unity measures. US cannot abandon their policy for creation of united Germany into a Western European Community in face of Soviet pressure,- suggestion that House Foreign Affairs Committee would cut off all new military assistance to EDC countries until the treaty was ratified. Bruce feels this inadvisable as opponents to EDC would maintain that US interest in European army is to obtain German troops,- Monnet's progress in talks in US with regard to financing for ECSC,- Monnet feels new*

French Cabinet under Joseph Laniel are more pro-EDC,- announcement of loans from US for CSC.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5;1B8303

 **File: JMAS-153** 01/07/1953 - 31/07/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1953**

Pages: 53

Remarks on: visit to Italy where Prime Minister de Gasperi feels Winston Churchill's speech proposing a 4-power meeting was harmful. Bruce Feels EDC and EPC should be passed before talking to Russians

talk with Doug Dillon, US Ambassador to France, regarding advice for talks in US with Georges Bidault on EDC and EPC, Monnet's concerns on a report that French Government altered its views on German military contribution because of Russian "peace offensive". He feels it should be made clear that European integration is intended to include a united Germany,- Chancellor Adenauer feels US should take initiative before Soviets to offer a plan that would appeal to Germans on reunification, and should point out EDC is a good starting point,- Bruce in transcript of telegram to John Foster Dulles emphasises opportunity of Washington meeting to stimulate idea of making Europe as key objective is to assist Adenauer's reelection,- Monnet's opinion that a joint communiqué be issued by the 3 foreign ministers after Washington talks proposing a 4-power conference, would be favourably received by public,- Germans anxious that conference in Baden Baden 7 August would deal with substantive issues.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5;1B8303

 **File: JMAS-154** 01/08/1953 - 31/08/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1953**

Pages: 36

Remarks on: Russian agreement to 4 power foreign ministers meeting, decision at Baden Baden meeting to hold conference of experts on EPC Treaty in September, French opposed to having US and UK observers at it,- talk with Monnet regarding Soviet efforts to divide France from its western partners by appealing to it to effect the military neutralisation of Germany,- French envoy to Moscow, Ambassador Joxe, feels the Russians are afraid of a revival of German militarism and want to destroy European integration and then NATO,- discussion with André de Staercke, on efforts to work on Van Zeeland and Paul Henri Spaak to bring EDC ratification to a vote in Belgian Chamber in October.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5;1B8303

 **File: JMAS-155** 01/09/1953 - 30/09/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1953**

Pages: 57

Remarks on: Georges Bidault's statement that he would press for ratification of EDC as a concomitant to France obtaining aid from US for Indo-China,- text of telegram from Bruce to John Foster Dulles regarding Chancellor Adenauer's victory, feels it could create situation forcing French Government to present EDC for ratification by providing additional aid for war in Indo-China

Adenauer's decision to keep Foreign Minister's portfolio,- André de Staercke's statement that he will go to Rome conference on EPC to head Belgian delegation and uphold the thesis of supranational powers in the EPC | Monnet's disturbance at reports that instructions given to French delegates for the Rome conference concern the whittling down of supranational aspects, French cabinet divided on issue,- talk with Dr. Bech who says that Luxembourg Parliament would ratify EDC after one of Belgian Chambers acted favourably on it,- French cabinet debates on instructions for Rome, Bidault yielded on point of supernationality,- Chancellor Adenauer's ideas for possible alternatives in case EDC not ratified,- discussion with Monnet who had spoken to various French political figures and is encouraged over prospects for ratification of EDC

and EPC,- advantages of Guy Mollet's Strasbourg speech declaring socialist support for EDC conditional on establishment via EPC democratic control by supranational executive over European army and close UK/EDC association.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-156** 01/10/1953 - 31/10/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1953**

Pages: 63

Remarks on: American official opinion that unless EDC ratified soon, there would be an almost total cessation of appropriations for it from Congress

talk with Max Kohnstamm Secretary-General of High Authority of Coal and Steel about EDC and EPC

visit to Holland, discussed Dutch demands at Rome meeting for economic integration,copy of memo from Bruce to Jim Conant, US Ambassador to Bonn, concerning his belief that French Parliament would not consider EDC Treaty unless a prior agreement with Germany was negotiated,- Bruce told Walter Hallstein, that US in favour of holding out for strong, independent supranational executive appointed by and responsible to European Parliament,- discussion regarding Monnet's talks with Messrs. Dulles, Bowie and Salisbury,- reports on prospect of withdrawal of US troops from Europe,- talk with Dirk Spierenburg who says Dutch Parliament will not ratify EPC unless definite provision is made for the eventual attainment of a common market, but Dutch decided to postpone consideration of economic market at Hague Conference because of complexity of issues and accepted the institutional provisions of EDC, including a real supranational executive and one chamber elected directly by people of Europe.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-157** 01/11/1953 - 30/11/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1953**

Pages: 79

Remarks on: lack of progress in the conversations between Chancellor Adenauer and Francois Poncet on the Saar,- text of statement by Bruce before Randall Committee on Foreign Economic Policy and in oral statement he concentrated on EDC and ECSC, feels Randall unfavourable to US loan to CSC

General de Gaulle's press conference where he violently attacked the EDC Treaty,- Chancellor Adenauer's disillusionment over Saar negotiations

public attacks on Monnet by anti-EDC orators

copies of letters from André de Staercke to Bruce and Hervé Alphand calling for a declaration to be issued at Bermuda Conference on UK/EDC association,- difficulties in French debate on foreign policy.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-158** 01/12/1953 - 31/12/1953

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1953**

Pages: 49

Remarks on: visit to US to advise on policy and tactics for Bermuda Conference, he advocated a 4-power Foreign Minister's conference to meet with Russians. Discussed how President Eisenhower could influence France on the consequences of their inactivity in implementing the EDC. Eisenhower suggested a five nation union excluding France

talks with Walter Hallstein, Chancellor Adenauer against meeting the Russians,- reports on Bermuda Conference, Winston Churchill came out strongly in favour of EDC, Georges Bidault gave no binding assurances,- possibility of US investment in ECSC, which Adenauer in favour of. Monnet's plans to go ahead with association between UK and CSC on hearing of President Eisenhower's announcement of aid,- discussions on intransigence of French Government,- effect of John Foster Dulles' press statement

stating an "agonising reappraisal" of US foreign policy if EDC was not ratified in the near future. The statement caused agitation in French press,- election of René Coty as President of France.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-159** 01/01/1954 - 31/01/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - January 1954**

Pages: 46

Remarks on: need to allay fears of European countries regarding the continued stationing of American troops in Europe,- talks with Monnet regarding loan for ECSC. Monnet opposed to offer of \$100m, wants offer of \$400m to start negotiations with US administration. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, believes Monnet lost his opportunity by refusing US offer of \$100m with the possibility of later negotiations for more. Bruce wants Monnet to talk with Dulles regarding the investment programme,- talk with René Pleven, says Joseph Laniel wants to bring EDC before Parliament and give it unstinted support on conditions of a Saar agreement and continued presence of US and UK troops in Europe

ratification of EDC in second chamber of Dutch Parliament,- comment by General de Gaulle, said he would lead a revolution against EDC if it were ratified by the French Parliament,- meeting of 4 powers in Berlin, discussed China, Germany, EDC and Indochina,- advise to Alexander Parodi, urging him not to ask for more alterations to EDC Treaty.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-160** 01/02/1954 - 28/02/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - February 1954**

Pages: 56

Remarks on: comments by British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden at Berlin Conference of 4 Powers expounding the benefits of EDC as a security instrument, preventing revival of German militarism,- talk with Monnet about ECSC investment programme and new proposal for a short and immediate EPC Treaty, effective on a provisional basis till final Treaty is worked out and adopted. Monnet says it is only in exploratory phase,- copy of telegram sent to John Foster Dulles from Bruce regarding his talk with Van Zeeland on EDC interests and Belgian atomic energy interests

Monnet's decision after talks with Dulles to accept \$100m loan in foreign currencies discussion with Maurice Schumann, Under-Secretary at Quai d'Orsay on Joseph Laniel's wish to push EDC through,- visit to Italy, due to political instability there is indecision regarding EDC ratification | requests Dulles not to inform French on US declaration on subject of US forces in Europe and NATO policy, as they might use it as an excuse for not proceeding with EDC,- need for Chancellor Adenauer to negotiate immediately with Georges Bidault on Saar.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-161** 01/03/1954 - 31/03/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - March 1954**

Pages: 103

Remarks on: Chancellor Adenauer's attempts to arrange meeting with Georges Bidault, French delaying,- talk with Maurice Schumann, Bruce feels Bidault and Joseph Laniel are attempting to evade difficult decision to bring EDC to vote,- efforts to get UK to incorporate division into European army to aid EDC,- Marshall Juin's, SHAPE Commander, attacks on EDC,- his statement that if France continued to postpone action US would publically make preparations for "agonising reappraisal"

Schumann's proposal for Saar settlement, Bruce feels it is unacceptable to Germans because of extra conditions | meeting between Adenauer and Bidault, main issue is the economic provisions, Bruce feels France will have to moderate its position,- Bidault's statement that he would have to reach agreement with Guy Mollet and

*Socialists before commencing with EDC debate, but Mollet found to be in agreement on terms for Treaty, so Government delaying | ratification by Belgian Senate of EDC by majority vote,- discussions with Monnet on pricing power of High Authority and investment loan,- talk with Jim Conant, US Ambassador in Bonn regarding French attempt to have Allied High Commission take an undesirable stand against the final procedures essential to ratification by Germany of EDC,- Laniel's attempts to delay debates further, opponents talking of American pressure,- telegram from Bruce and Conant seeking Dulles' direct intervention because the situation is bad, as France want signature protocol from Adenauer, Germans are bitter agreement between Mollet and Bidault on direct election of EDC and ECSC Common Assembly,- secret memo on future orientation of Germany into West, need for United Front and continued pressure by US and UK on France.*

*Language:ENGLISH*

*Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303*

 **File: JMAS-162** 01/04/1954 - 30/04/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - April 1954**

*Pages: 64*

*Remarks on: talk with Georges Bidault on different German/French approaches to Europeanisation of Saar. Bruce feels Saar Commissioner should not have vote in Council of Ministers,- German concern over Maurice Schumann's statement implying tht the purpose of Europeanisation was to bring the Saar politically under European institutions but to maintain the status quo on economic questions*

*Monnet doing well in negotiation loan for ECSC in Washington,- John Foster Dulles' request that Bruce talk to Guy Mollet and reassure him that US would not do anything reckless in Indo-China,- Joseph Laniel's authorisation for the signing of the UK/EDC Treaty and Anthony Eden's statement in House of Commons, regarding the placing of British armoured divisions under European army command*

*Adenauer's disillusionment with French attitude regarding setting date for EDC,- release of American assurances on EDC,- joint telgram from Bruce and Jim Conant to Dulles asking to inform French Government that if it did not precipitate debate on EDC, the US and UK would publically suggest the implementation of the Bonn Treaty dealing with the German Contractuals,- announcement of extension of ESC loan,- WalterHallstein's statement that if French Parliament does not act upon EDC Treaty, Adenauer would request that the return of German sovereignty would be seperate from EDC Treaty.*

*Language:ENGLISH*

*Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303*

 **File: JMAS-163** 01/05/1954 - 31/05/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - May 1954**

*Pages: 43*

*Remarks on: talk with Monnet about resigning, Monnet opposed until EDC ratified, afraid it would give impression that US abandoning the idea*

*necessity because of fall of Dien Bien Phu to press forward rapidly with the signature of the protocols,- Guy Mollet's decision to impose a vote of discipline at Party conference which will oblige all Socialist deputies to vote for EDC ratification,- talks in the Department of State Washington about situation in France. Wrote telegram to French Government advising them if Treaty not ratified, US and UK would take steps to restore sovereignty to West Germany,text of agreement on Saar reached at Strasbourg between Teitgen and the Germans, but former not confident of French Cabinet approval,discussions on how to restore German sovereignty in face of almost certain French veto,- William Tomlinson feels some members of French Government thinking of disavowing Adenauer-Bidault accord | talk with Doug Dillon regarding means French approach to "Saar Agreement" negotiated at Strasbourg,- Mollet's victory at the Socialist Congress, Bruce feels US must capitalise on the momentum,- Monnet spoke with French officials to gauge their attitudes on date for bringing EDC to Parliament.*

*Language:ENGLISH*

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-164** 01/06/1954 - 30/06/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - June 1954**

Pages: 54

Remarks on: Paul-Henri Spaak's insistence on bringing the EDC to a vote soon in French Parliament, and if a date not fixed by mid-June Spaak proposes to communicate with Secretary on subject discussed at Geneva Conference of how other EDC signatories and US and UK could bring France to face up to political reality,- reports that Georges Bidault not pleased with the Strasbourg Saar agreement,- discussions on to keep other countries and US Administration and Congress satisfied in face of inevitable discouragement

John Foster Dulles' advise to Bruce to take steps to co-ordinate proposed meeting of the 4-nations and US and UK. Bruce wants to explore matter further with Spaak,- Dutch and other countries will not consider new negotiations on alternative formula for integrating Germany into the West, until France acts first on EDC. Bruce agrees but feels French Governments failure to act is equivalent to rejection of EDC, therefore alternatives can be sought,- Bruce in telegram to President Eisenhower tells him that his meeting with Winston Churchill is a good opportunity to put up a united front for assuring security in West, suggests they issue a joint communiqué. Bruce felt the stattement that was issued would have catastrophic effects on French ratification statement by new Premier Mendés-France that he would not allow a recess of National Assembly till the question of German rearmament was dealt with.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-165** 01/07/1954 - 31/07/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - July 1954**

Pages: 50

Remarks on: meeting with André de Staercke who says Paul Henri Spaak will reaffirm the Benelux stand on the integrity of the Treaty language at a press conference,- belief of Minister of the Saar to Paris, Strauss that it would be impossible to arrive at a Saar accord as generous from the German National point as this one,Bruce tells Al Gruenther to endorse as American policy the recent utterances of Spaak and Chancellor Adenauer that alternative to EDC was reconstitution of German National Army, so as to illustrate to the French the full implications of their isolation on the EDC issue,- suspension of action in France of EDC because of Indo-China situation,- Bruce's feeling that only alternative to EDC is for Germany rearmament within NATO without discriminations, which is contrary to British viewpoint who favour conditional entry,- serious repercussions as a result of John Foster Dulles' speech on the subject of restoring sovereignty to Germany if France does not act favourably on EDC, Bruce feels the language was unfortunate,Spaak's concerns that US/UK agreement on contractuals was being intercepted as an alternative solution to EDC

belief that CSC would suffer if movement toward larger European integration was arrested by failure to ratify EPC,- efforts to get Premier Mendés-France to put EDC Treaty in its present form through the French Parliament. Monnet feels he can do it if he wishes,- need for British endorsment of EDC to be given to Mendés.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-166** 01/08/1954 - 31/08/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - August 1954**

Pages: 121

Remarks on: decision to maintain procedure of keeping in close touch with the pro-EDC advisers of Premier Mendés-France, but to discourage any pressures or suggestions from Washington

Paul-Henri Spaak's activities in seeking to make the EDC more palatable to France, has been misconstrued by Mendés to mean that the Benelux countries and Federal Germany will accept almost any compromise,joint telegram from Doug Dillon, US

Ambassador to France and Bruce advising against favouring Mendés visit to US and considering problems within the French Government to EDC report that Mendés intended to present at the Brussels Conference a new text which would require resubmission to the EDC Parliaments. Bruce states that other countries would reject it,- Mendés still had not made known his intentions on EDC,- letter to Bruce from Philip D. Sprouse, Counselor of US Embassy in Belgium, states that Spaak's activities had been misinterpreted, he wants no substantive changes to the treaty,- telegrams between Dillon and John Foster Dulles, regarding Mendés proceedings for Brussels Conference and his handling of issue, Dulles feels disappointed at the results of the French Cabinet meeting on EDC and resulting proposals. Bruce feels Mendés could not have made a worse mess and lists difficulties with the French proposals in a telegram to Dulles  
 Germans, Dutch and Belgians say the French protocol is unacceptable,- discussions on procedures for conference,- efforts to try and get Mendés to accept views of other 5 countries  
 telegram from Bruce and Dillon to Dulles regarding Mendés programme to kill the EDC Treaty,- efforts by Monnet and other pro-EDC leaders to avert the debate,- discussions with SHAPE Generals Al Gruenther and Cy Schuyler regarding strategic plan if EDC fell through,- memo assessing the consequences of eventual French failure to ratify the EDC Treaty,- details of motion in French National Assembly terminating any further consideration of treaty, therefore killing EDC. Bruce felt French Communists were allowed to cast their votes in complete obedience to the Soviet Government,- talk with Monnet, trying to think of new designs,telegram to Dulles from Bruce regarding Spaak's opinion that Mendés falsified Brussels Conference to kill EDC,- observations of French failure to ratify and what to do about German problem,- Monnet's decision to postpone his resignation from High Authority of ECSC, declaration issued by Dulles on consequences of French action.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-167** 01/09/1954 - 30/09/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - September 1954**

Pages: 51

Remarks on: reaction of French press to France's failure to ratify, feel it was a triumph for Soviet policy in trying to wean Germany from West, feel primary responsibility lay with Premier Mendés-France, who refused to fight for it,- André de Staercke and Paul-Henri Spaak agree with Dulles' idea for an emergency meeting of NATO

Monnet believes European Integration will revive

Bruce feels it is essential to find alternative solution to German sovereignty and rearmament

Chancellor Adenauer's concerns over rumours of Bruce's departure,- Germans see no present solution to the issue of rearmament except the eventual revival of EDC Treaty,- Bruce feels Mendés gave the initial stab to the EDC with the protocols presented at Brussels Conference, offering no compromise,- text of letter from Dulles to Bruce regarding procedural vote against EDC, offering him another position in Washington,- British suggestion for German entry into NATO and a reformation of the Brussels Pact to include Germany and Italy, meaning the reconstitution of a German National army and General Staff,- letter to Dulles regarding "neurotic" decision of French Parliament,- Monnet's proposal which he sent to Dulles granting German sovereignty and recruitment and training of German troops under SHAPE control  
 preparations for London Conference of NATO

Monnet's determination to resign from High Authority and fight any understanding productive of German National Army,- Mendés indicates he wants to find a solution in framework of the Brussels Pact, Adenauer not accepting, insists the Saar, if it is to be Europeanised must be supervised by a supranational authority,Anthony Eden's statement at London Conference, announced HMG would maintain its armed forces on the continent at present combat effectiveness if the conference were successful. Bruce feels such committment would have carried the EDC to ratification,- French acclaimed the statement.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-168** 01/10/1954 - 31/10/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - October 1954**

Pages: 49

Remarks on: Monnet's hopes that a principle of European unity can be reintroduced at London Conference,- progress of conference and emergence of text,- he feels the agreement offers the best alternative,- talk with William Tomlinson about future US representation to ECSC, as Monnet loath not to have a special full time representative President Eisenhower's enthusiastic reception for agreement at London,- talk with Monnet and Tomlinson. Monnet feels it is important to inject an element of supernationality into the agreement by attempting to secure agreement to the election by popular suffrage of the Common Assembly of the ECSC, which is time would develop a programme for political unity. Bruce says US cannot propose amendments to agreement,- talk with Monnet, not discouraged over chances for eventual European unity. Decides not to tender resignation from High Authority so as not to embarrass decisions on the London Agreements in the French Parliament letter from Monnet to Dulles requesting Tomlinson as US representative in Europe for matters of European unity,- signing of Saar agreement, which he feels will be construed as a victory for France, and the London agreement.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-169** 01/11/1954 - 30/11/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - November 1954**

Pages: 29

Remarks on: discussion with Monnet regarding his necessity to resign as President and Member of High Authority of ECSC and wishes to publically explain that it is because he feels London-Paris agreement, far from furthering European integration will harm it. Bruce feels this undignified and harmful while still in office Monnet's statment of resignation, stated reason as wanting full freedom of action and speech to take part in the construction of European unity, and to follow ECSC with United States of Europe discussions regarding future US representative in WEU and ECSC.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

 **File: JMAS-170** 01/12/1954 - 31/12/1954

**David Bruce's diary entries - December 1954**

Pages: 38

Remarks on: letter to President Eisenhower turning down offer for post in State Department,- talk with Monnet and praise he received from Assembly at Strasbourg | discussion with Monnet and members of High Authority and Ministers regarding association between High Authority and UK. Monnet feels resulting agreement of association would serve as a model for future co-operation between British and Continental nations in various fields,- adverse vote in French Parliament on WEU but ratification of London-Paris agreements by small majority.

Language:ENGLISH

Old Record Code: DAVID K.E. BRUCE DIARY MSS5:1B8303

## JMAS.N Jean Monnet Documents Project

n.20 photographs

Photographs of Jean Monnet taken at various stages during his career, collected from the Eisenhower Library, the Roosevelt Library, the Amhearst Library, the EU Delegation in Washington and the Johnson Library and one taken from a Sidney Hyman book, "The Aspen Idea",1975 all collected specifically for this project. There was not a lot of material available on the photographs so dates from the libraries, particularly dates are not known.

The photographs are purely for reference, copyright remains with photographer or library.

 **File: JMAS-171**

**Eisenhower Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet in conversation with President Eisenhower. The picture could have been taken during Monnet's official visit to the United States as President of the High Authority (May/June 1953). The copyright is owned by, Associated Press Photo, Wide World Photos, Inc. Black and white photograph  
Old Record Code: 72-2597-2 AP

 **File: JMAS-172**

**Eisenhower Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Informal group photograph of Jean Monnet, with fellow High Authority Members, Franz Etzel, Albert Coppe and Dirk Spierenberg with John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, David Bruce, US Special Representative to the High Authority of the ECSC, with President Eisenhower, probably at the time of the High Authority's official visit May/June 1953 to negotiate for an ECSC loan. Copyright is owned by United Press. Black and white photograph  
Old Record Code: 72-321-2 UP

 **File: JMAS-173** 03/06/1963

**Eisenhower Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet in conversation with Averell Harriman, US Special Representative to Europe and President Eisenhower, during Monnet's official visit to US to discuss an American loan to the ECSC. The Eisenhower Library is the copyright owner of the photograph. Black and white photograph  
Old Record Code: 63-264-2 SHAPE

 **File: JMAS-174** 03/06/1953

**Eisenhower Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Formal group photograph with President Eisenhower, Averell Harriman, US Special Representative to Europe, John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State and Jean Monnet at SHAPE headquarters after a meeting between the High Authority of the ECSC with American officials. Copyright is owned by the Eisenhower Presidential Library. Black and white photograph.  
Old Record Code: 63-264-1 SHAPE

 **File: JMAS-175**

**Roosevelt Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Informal full-length photograph of Jean Monnet. Date is unknown. Copyright is owned by Harris and Ewing Historical Pictures Service. Sepia print  
Old Record Code: 71-4(2)

 **File: JMAS-176**

**Amhearst Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Monnet giving a speech at a formal reception, with George Ball, formerly of US State Department and John McCloy, former US High Commissioner of the Federal Republic. Monnet was probably receiving an award. The copyright of the photograph is owned by Amhearst Library. Black and white photograph  
Old Record Code: SCRAPBOOK VOL.25, JOHN MCCLOY PAPERS

 **File: JMAS-177**

**Truman Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet at a conference held at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, probably at the time of negotiations for the establishment of the ECSC. Exact date unknown. ACME Newspictures - UPI are the copyright owners of this photograph. Black and white photograph

Old Record Code: 65-3604

**File: JMAS-178****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet walking in the countryside. Probably a publicity shot. Date unknown. The EU Delegation, Washington is the copyright owner. Black and white photograph

**File: JMAS-179****EU Delegation in Washington photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet descending the steps of the ECSC Commission offices in Luxembourg. Date unknown, but between 1951-1954. The copyright owner is the EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

**File: JMAS-180 03/06/1953****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of David Bruce, newly appointed as US Special Representative to the High Authority of the ECSC, presenting his credentials to Jean Monnet, the High Authority's President, in Luxembourg. The copyright owner is the EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

**File: JMAS-181****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet seated at his desk, giving a radio broadcast, probably during the period when he was President of the High Authority of the ECSC. The copyright is owned by the EU Delegation, Washington. Black and white Photograph

**File: JMAS-182****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Autographed photograph given to Jean Monnet by President Lyndon B. Johnson, of the two men in conversation at the White House. The photograph is inscribed with the words, "with warmest regards to Jean Monnet, father of European unification". Copyright is owned by the EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

**File: JMAS-183****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet after being presented with an award, with George Ball, formerly of State Department. The copyright is owned by the EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

**File: JMAS-184 11/1975****EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet being presented with the Grenville Clark Prize by Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State. Copyright is owned by the EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

 **File: JMAS-185** 11/1975

**EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Monnet being presented by with the Greenville Clark Prize by Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State. Copyright belongs to EU Delegation, Washington. Sepia print

 **File: JMAS-186**

**EU Delegation in Washington Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State and Jean Monnet seated at a table. The copyright belongs to the EU Delegation, Washington. Black and white photograph

 **File: JMAS-187** 12/01/1967

**Johnson Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet in conversation with President Lyndon B. Johnson and other American officials. Copyright owner is Yoichi R. Okamoto. Black and white photograph

Old Record Code: A 5198-13

 **File: JMAS-188** 09/12/1968

**Johnson Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet and President Lyndon B. Johnson in conversation, taken at the White House. Copyright is owned by Mike Geissinger. Colour photograph

Old Record Code: D 2758-3

 **File: JMAS-189** 09/12/1968

**Johnson Library Photograph of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet in conversation with President Lyndon B. Johnson. Copyright owner is Yoichi R. Okamoto. Black and white photograph

Old Record Code: A 7394-6

 **File: JMAS-190**

**Photograph in Sidney Hyman book of Jean Monnet**

Pages: 1

Photograph of Jean Monnet in side profile found in Sidney Hyman's book "The Aspen Tree", Oklahoma Press, 1975, p68, photographer is unknown. Sepia print