

The ECEFP Working Group recognizes that the political relations between the mother country and dependent areas will be important factors in the fulfillment of US goals. It is not yet clear to what degree the mother countries will be able to undertake to guarantee delivery of materials from areas which are classified as dependent. As yet there has been little or no comment on how the local populations have reacted to the proposals for expanded production and transfer of stocks to the US. It is anticipated that business enterprises in the colonial areas may resent shipments of materials to Europe which are to be paid for by shipments of raw materials from the dependent areas.

National Security Resources Board Resolutions. Heretofore the Munitions Board in purchasing materials for stockpiling has restricted itself to materials which the Department of Commerce has not found to be in short supply for civilian use. Proposals under consideration in the NSRB would provide that the Munitions Board should proceed to build up stockpiles after consulting with the Department of Commerce with respect to supplies that are necessary to meet only essential civilian needs. An alternative proposal would apply this formula only to stocks held by RFC. In line with this trend the Department of Commerce has removed all commodities from its Civilian Deficiency List (which has governed Munitions Board stockpile policy) except three—antimony, tin and quinidine.

S/S—Files : Lot 63D351 : NSC 30 Series

Memorandum Prepared in the Department of State

TOP SECRET
NSC 30

[WASHINGTON, undated.]

POLICY ON ATOMIC WARFARE

The question raised by Secretary Royall,¹ in Tab B, has never officially come before the Department. Recently questions involving use of atomic energy in a possible war with Russia, and particularly the problem of targets, has been discussed informally with air force planners by Messrs. Kennan, Bohlen and Thompson.²

Mr. Gullion has prepared a memorandum on this subject which contains his own personal views (Tab A).

¹ Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army.

² Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., Deputy Director of the Office of European Affairs.

[Annex A]

Memorandum Prepared in the Department of State

TOP SECRET

[WASHINGTON, undated.]

POLICY ON ATOMIC WARFARE

Secretary Royall has circulated the following paper in which he proposes that a study be undertaken to define the position of the United States with respect to the initiation of atomic warfare in event of war. (Tab B)

Mr. Gullion has commented as follows:

"So far as I know little thought has been given to this problem in this Department. In the secret war-time agreements with the U.K., the United States was bound to consult with the U.K. on the use of an atomic weapon.³ In the *Modus Vivendi* of January 7, 1948,⁴ this and all other political provisions of the war-time accords were eliminated so that we have a free hand. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive of a situation in which we might use the bomb in which we were not in close contact with the British.

"It is also possible that if, as, and when the United States participates in strategic planning with the Western European countries, there may be some dispositions as to the use of the bomb, disposition of stocks, raw material, etc.

"With respect to Secretary Royall's Para. 2, we know of no opinion in the Government which would warrant the Defense Establishment in ceasing to plan on the use of the bomb. There may be sound reason for deferring its use or using it initially as an anti-materiel measure.

"With respect to the locus of authority for the decision to employ, it is difficult to see where it could be other than with the President, [National] Security Council and Joint Chiefs. Studies can surely be undertaken to see that ways are cleared for prompt decisions.

"Possibly the most important controlling factor would be the stock-pile situation of this country and its allies, and the types and relative effectiveness of the various atomic weapons at our disposal. In consideration of these matters the Atomic Energy Commission, which is not directly represented on the Council, would have as much a contribution to make as any Department."

³ Reference is to the Quebec Agreement, which is described in footnote 7, p. 677.

⁴ For text, see p. 683.

Recommendations:

1. That the participation of the Atomic Energy Commission in any further consideration be sought.
2. That Secretary Royall's recommendation be approved.

[Annex B]

Memorandum by the Secretary of the Army (Royall) to the National Security Council

TOP SECRET

[WASHINGTON,] 19 May 1948.

Subject: United States Policy on Atomic Warfare

1. I feel that the United States position with respect to employment of atomic weapons, and our Governmental organization for expeditious application of atomic warfare, require early and careful review in the interest of national security.

2. It appears necessary, in order to insure a clear understanding on the part of all agencies responsible for various aspects of United States security, that a high level decision be taken as to the intention of the United States to employ atomic weapons in event of war. While the Department of the Army has been conducting its war planning on the basis that atomic weapons would be used, I believe there is some doubt that such employment is a firm United States Government policy. I understand that in some quarters the desirability of the United States initiating atomic warfare has been questioned particularly on the grounds of morality. I recognize that many considerations other than purely military must be taken into account in arriving at a decision in this regard.

3. In addition to the basic question of engaging in or initiating atomic warfare there arises a question of what agent or agency of the Government shall be empowered to authorize actual employment. Employment might be undertaken by the Joint Chiefs of Staff on their own initiative, or the decision to authorize employment might be reserved to the President or to some other agent of the Government. It is important that this authority and responsibility be made perfectly clear in order that there will be no delay in acting in event the United States is subjected to sudden attack. Equally important is a consideration of the time and circumstances under which atomic weapons might be employed, and the type and character of targets against which they might be used.

4. To develop further United States capacity for actual engagement in atomic warfare, the National Military Establishment must organize its relatively limited resources in order to gain maximum benefits from

its most powerful single weapon. There are many factors involved in producing an organization capable of immediate engagement in atomic warfare. Some of these factors are:

- a. The command structure.
- b. Custody and control of atomic weapons (by Public Law 585⁵ a responsibility of the Atomic Energy Commission until transferred to the Military Establishment by the President).
- c. Proper integration of atomic warfare plans into overall war plans.
- d. Existence, access to, and maintenance of bases (some of which are in foreign nations) for launching atomic attacks.
- e. Proper allocation of industrial, manpower, and raw material resources for the production of atomic weapons.
- f. Maintenance of sufficient, appropriate special units and equipment within the Armed Forces.

5. In order to insure that the United States is in the best possible position to make maximum use of its atomic advantages in the interest of national security, it may be necessary to reorganize certain Government agencies and to revise certain existing laws or to enact new ones.

6. In order that the National Security Council may be in a position to give careful consideration to this matter and to make appropriate recommendations to the President, I recommend that the Council, utilizing such agencies as it deems advisable, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, consider the following problem:

"The position of the United States with respect to the initiation of atomic warfare in event of war, including a consideration of the time and circumstances of employment, and the type and character of targets against which it would be employed; and further, the proper organization within the National Military Establishment and within such other executive agencies of the Government as may be involved, to insure optimum exploitation by the United States of its capabilities of waging atomic warfare."

KENNETH C. ROYALL

⁵ The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 755.

811.2221/6-148

The Secretary of the Army (Royall) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, 1 June 1948.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am informed that Mr. Bohlen of your Department has requested a statement of the Department of Army position relative to the Lodge bill to authorize enlistment of aliens in the

Regular Army (S. 2016, 80th Congress) ¹ under certain limitations.

The Department of the Army in January 1948 informed Senator Gurney ² of willingness to support the bill, and recommended that it be amended to delete the words "for service outside the continental limits of the United States, its Territories and possessions." Conferences with representatives of the Department of State in February 1948 revealed that your Department would not support the Lodge bill primarily because of the possible adverse propaganda effect.³ Out of deference to your Department's viewpoint and in the interest of maintaining a united front, the Department of the Army in February notified Senator Lodge and Senator Gurney that support must be withdrawn from the bill. This action did not change the basic concept of the Department of the Army that enlistment of qualified displaced aliens abroad would be desirable.

On 19 March 1948 a memorandum relative to this entire subject ⁴ was sent to the Secretary of Defense recommending support of the bill if amended as proposed. This recommendation was approved and discussion was reopened with your Department. Conferences were held on 30 March 1948 and 16 April 1948 between representatives of the Department of the Army and Mr. Bohlen of your Department. At these conferences an attempt was made to reconcile the difference in viewpoint concerning the desirability of passage of the Lodge bill. To this end an effort was made to draft a new bill or amend an existing bill in order to accomplish the purposes of the Lodge bill, but at the same time not incorporate features objectionable to your Department. No such solution was found. At the present time the Department of the

¹ The bill under reference was introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts on January 19, 1948, and referred to the Senate Committee on Armed Services. It read in pertinent part as follows: "Be it enacted . . . That the Secretary of the Army, under such regulations as he may prescribe, is authorized until June 30, 1950, to accept original enlistments in the Regular Army from among qualified aliens not less than eighteen years of age nor more than thirty-five years of age for an enlistment period of not less than five years for service outside of the continental United States, its Territories, and possessions."

² Senator Chan Gurney of South Dakota, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee.

³ In a memorandum to the Secretary of State dated February 23, Charles E. Bohlen, Counselor of the Department, stated the following: "This measure marks a very definite departure from our previous policy in regard to recruitment for the U.S. Army and from the point of view of foreign policy is extremely undesirable. It in effect announces to the world that the U.S. cannot obtain the necessary manpower from among its own citizens for its own Service and has to recruit foreign mercenaries abroad. It is obvious what use Soviet propaganda will make of such a development . . . If the Department of the Army could be persuaded to amend this Bill so as to make it an immigration rather than a recruitment measure on the principle of giving preferential or non-quota status under the immigration law to aliens who had declared their intention of enlisting in the U.S. Army upon arrival here, the chief disadvantages from the point of view of foreign policy to this measure would be mitigated." (811.2221/2-2348)

⁴ Not printed.

Army is prepared to support enactment of the Lodge bill as a means to obtain additional manpower on a voluntary basis. A manpower pool from which it is believed approximately 50,000 qualified nonenemy aliens could be recruited exists in the United States Occupied Zones of Europe. Included in this estimate are 12,000 of the 14,500 men currently employed by occupation authorities in quasi military guard and labor roles. Individuals included in this estimate are between 18 and 35 years of age; meet present physical, intelligence, and educational standards; and possess good character.

I would appreciate obtaining your present reaction to the Lodge bill and will be glad to furnish any desired additional data on this subject now in the possession of the Department of the Army.⁵

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH C. ROYALL

⁵ On June 8, the Senate approved an amendment (introduced by Senator Lodge) to the Selective Service Act by which the Secretary of the Army was authorized to enlist 25,000 aliens for five years' service, after which they would be eligible for citizenship. On June 14, Marshall informed Secretary Royall that in his opinion there was no further action which the Department of State should take on the matter. (811.2221/6-148)

SANACC Files¹

*Memorandum Approved by the State-Army-Navy-Air Force
Coordinating Committee*

[Extract]

SECRET

[WASHINGTON,] 15 June 1948.

SANACC 206/29 (Revised)

POLICY FOR THE CONTROL OF THE DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED MILITARY
INFORMATION TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS²

II. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Classified military information shall not be disclosed to foreign governments unless all of the following conditions are met:

(a) Disclosure is consistent with the policy of the United States Government with regard to atomic energy and similar or related information for which special machinery for release has been or may

¹ Lot 52M45, the files of the State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee (SANACC) and its predecessor, the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC), located in the National Archives under the administration of the Department of State. SWNCC was reconstituted as SANACC pursuant to the National Security Act of 1947. Regarding the terms of reference of SANACC, see NSC 25, August 12, p. 605.

² This subject was dealt with on a continuing basis by SANACC's Subcommittee for Military Information Control (MIC); documentation generated by that subcommittee exists in the SANACC files.