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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1984

Dear Mr. Douglas-Home:

In response to your letter of last October, I am enclosing an article authored by President Reagan which expresses his views on the NATO Alliance, and how important its existence has been, and will continue to be, in maintaining peace and stability not just in Europe, but throughout the world.

The President is optimistic about the future of the Alliance and believes that our relationships with our NATO partners have been strengthened over the last several years.

The President sincerely appreciates this opportunity to share his view on the Alliance and believes that you are doing a great service in undertaking this project.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert C. McFarlane

Enclosure

Mr. Charles Douglas-Home
Editor
The Times
200 Gray's Inn Road
London WC1X8EZ

130 JD 83078208

16839855

REFERRAL

DATE: 10 FEB 84

MEMORANDUM FOR. STATE SECRETARIAT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: DOUGLAS-HOME, C

SOURCE. PRESIDENT

DATE: 10 FEB 84

KEYWORDS: MEDIA

NATO

MP

SUBJ. MCFARLANE RESPONSE TO DOUGLAS-HOME 18 OCT LTR / NATO ANNIVERSARY

REQUIRED ACTION. FOR DISPATCH VIA POUCH

DUE DATE.

COMMENTS.



FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

February 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. McFARLANE

SIGNED

FROM: MARC BRAZIER *Marc*

SUBJECT: NATO Article for the President's Signature

In October of last year, the President received a letter from Charles Douglas-Home, Editor, The Times of London (Tab II), inviting him to contribute an article discussing the NATO Alliance and its future. The article is to be part of a series of articles The Times plans to publish by heads of government and others commemorating the 35th anniversary of NATO.

At Tab I is the article prepared for the President's signature. It is a product of much work by State, the NSC staff and White House Speechwriters.

Your approval of it is requested so that it can be forwarded to Mr. Douglas-Home at the earliest possible date.

Am *SK* *RS* *R*
Matlock, Kraemer, Sommer, Ron Lehman and Fortier concur.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Mr. Douglas-Home (Tab I), forwarding the attached article by the President with authorization for its publication.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- TAB I Letter to Douglas-Home with President's article enclosed
- TAB II Incoming correspondence



Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

February 3, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. MCFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: NATO Article for the President's Signature

Attached at Tab 1 is the revised NATO article for the President's signature which incorporates the changes requested in the NSC memorandum attached at Tab 2.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Charles Hill".

Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- Tab 1: Revised article for the President
- Tab 2: NSC Memorandum requesting revisions

UNCLASSIFIED

Brazil

7828 Add-on

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: NATO Article for the President's Signature
(833975)

The draft article for the President's signature on the NATO Alliance and its future has been reviewed by the NSC staff and the President's speechwriters. It is forwarded for incorporation of the changes and final fixes to us by February 3, 1984.

Robert M. Kimmitt
Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A Article

cc: John Stanford
Department of Defense

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 27, 1984

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BOB KIMMITT

FROM: DICK CHILDRESS *DC*

SUBJECT: NATO Article for the President's Signature

Recommend you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approve *K*

Disapprove *DC*

*DC need to go
back to State*

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum for Your Signature
 A Article
- Tab II Internal Staff Correspondence

cc: D. Fortier
 M. Brazil
 P. Sommer
 R. Linhard

7828-odd or

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OBE upon receipt in NSC/S. Pkg
was processed & fwd to State 28 Jan.
It was requested to be returned to
the NSC by 3 Feb.

84 31 2:46

25 January 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BUD MC FARLANE

FROM: ED MEESE *gms*
RE: London TIMES Request

Attached is a copy of a letter received from Charles Douglas-Home, Editor of the London TIMES. He requests of the President assistance in a series to be run in that paper to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty.

If this is something you think the President would like to do, I would appreciate your assistance.

Attachment

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

January 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK CHILDRESS

FROM: BOB LINHARD

SUBJECT: 7828: Proposed Presidential
Article

You had asked for Ron's review of the attached article. He is in Europe and will not return until 22 Jan.

In his absence, I tried to give it a cut for you. In my opinion, it is a good basic piece and Al's edits and rewrites help it quite a bit.

I have only one suggestion. On pages 5&6 the article uses the word modernization with regard to NATO's nuclear forces. I would strongly recommend that we change this to "the maintenance of the effectiveness of NATO's nuclear forces" rather than "modernization." I have marked my suggestions in pencil at the appropriate points in the text.

I have passed the article on to Peter Sommer with this note attached.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

December 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM:

MARC BRAZIL *Marc*

SUBJECT:

Draft Article for the President's
Signature on the NATO Alliance and
Its Future

At Tab I is the latest draft of this article on NATO, as revised by Al Myer in the Speechwriters' office. Al has done an excellent job of refining the language to reflect the President's style, but there are several places throughout the text (pages 4, 6, 8 and 9) that need an authoritative NSC review. Therefore, I suggest that this latest version be staffed out once more to include Ron Lehman.

RECOMMENDATION

That you staff the article for review, as appropriate.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

TAB I Proposed Presidential article, revised by the
speechwriters

Future Tasks of the Atlantic Alliance

by Ronald Reagan

As the ~~the~~ Atlantic Alliance celebrates its 35th anniversary, it is particularly appropriate to rededicate ourselves to the great task we set for ourselves in 1949. The more closely the nations of the Alliance can work together, the better we will be able to preserve peace and stability, and the better it will be for people everywhere.

~~In the late 1940s, British author George Orwell wrote his classic novel of totalitarianism, 1984, giving a pessimistic view of the political future. Today, over a generation later, the oppression which formed the model for his vision still persists and has grown in power.~~

The values that bind NATO together are not abstract concepts. Individual liberty, the rule of law, and respect for human dignity of the individual are priceless and real. They have been handed down to us at enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure. They are the cement of the Alliance and we can never take them for granted.

~~But what Orwell did not foresee was that the strength, unity, and dynamism of the democratic societies of the West would be sustained and enhanced in the face of this challenge.~~

And It is the success of democracy, not the military power of the totalitarians, that will shape the rest of this century.

~~1984 marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The world has changed a great deal since the representatives of twelve states met in Washington, on April 4, 1949, to sign the treaty establishing the Alliance. But the underlying unity and purposes of the Atlantic community have not changed.~~

NATO remains the true and effective peace movement -- and the bulwark of Western freedom.

The founding members of NATO
~~The signatories of the Treaty of Washington pledged themselves to safeguard the "freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples" and to consider an armed attack against any one of them an attack against them all. Having just ^{experienced} ~~come through~~ the most devastating conflict in history,~~

Alliance leaders knew first hand the dangers of war, and the requirement for unity to deter it.

But they had more than sound historical understanding. They had remarkable foresight. The structure of Atlantic cooperation which they built has ensured the longest period of European peace, stability and progress in history, during a time when the world has undergone rapid and accelerating political, economic, social, and technological change.

Looking to the Year 2000

The challenges which the Atlantic Alliance will confront ^{today} in ~~are no less difficult than those which NATO has met successfully for the past 35 years.~~ coming decades will be no less severe than those of its first 35 years. If we face the challenges with ^{same} the determination, creativity, and sense of responsibility we have shown in the past, the future will be secure. If we are to achieve ^{time} peace, we must work for ~~peace~~.

~~The bedrock of our Alliance is our unshakable commitment to ensure our security through collective self-defense. There is no alternative but to maintain a credible deterrent military posture and~~

~~Maintaining effective deterrence in the face of the~~
The ~~growing conventional and nuclear forces of the Soviet Union~~ ^{continuing build-up growth} Soviet military power ^{to reduce} ~~political solidarity~~
will require ^{A sustained} continual efforts by all of us to develop and ~~disparities in the military balance, to broaden our political cooperation, field adequate forces, even when the costs involved may be and to demonstrate a willingness to make the investments necessary to keep the~~ politically unpopular. peace.

~~The North Atlantic Treaty is not solely a military alliance. We also seek to improve the well-being of our people. Sustained economic growth will be the key.~~
~~Achieving high levels of economic growth in our~~

~~In this regard, we need to resist protectionism while we expand societies will require difficult decisions on domestic~~ safe our cooperation in the fields of science and technology.
~~policy, and a continuing common commitment to resist~~

~~protectionism, which would undermine the economies of all the industrial democracies, including Japan.~~

~~The~~ ^{own} ~~as~~ ^{own} ~~allies~~
We have long recognized that developments beyond the Treaty area are relevant to our well-being.

Building a constructive relationship with the nations of the Treaty area, Africa, Asia and Latin America will require a careful balance of political, economic and security policies to support national independence and economic and social development and effective integration into the global economy, including willingness where necessary to take actions to resist efforts to subvert their sovereignty and undermine their development.

Since its creation, NATO has always had to address the question of how best to deter Soviet attack. The future will be no different.

Reducing the risk of conflict with the Soviet Union will require a tireless effort to achieve equitable, verifiable arms control agreements, pressing for effective implementation of existing agreements where those are being cynically violated, and refusing to be discouraged or thrown off course in the search for new agreements by the intransigence of the Soviet position.

Challenge is to follow a policy of realism: strong enough to protect our interests but flexible enough to spare no effort in finding a fair way to reduce the level of arms.

Sometimes, we in free countries forget the richness of our most precious possession -- freedom and human rights. People who live in

tyranny, however, can see freedom much more clearly. It shines like a candle in the dark. It is our responsibility to speak out and to work hard for the dignity of humankind, to improve human rights, accountable for their behavior. and to hold governments accountable for the behavior. This challenge ~~is ours~~ has no boundaries and it has no limits.

The Basis for NATO Confidence

The experience of the past thirty five years has prepared the nations of the Atlantic community to ^{overcome} deal with these

As long as we stand together we will remain secure challenges, in a positive manner. We have not learned rote

formulas, to be applied to all situations whether they fit or

not. ^{what} Rather, we have learned ^{is that the Alliance is truly durable.} the virtues and techniques of

while we cannot take our partnership for granted, we can be cooperation in a dynamic world.

certain that patience, cooperation, and hard work will pay off. Any undertaking will ultimately be judged by the challenges it accepts and by those it overcomes. We have accepted a worthy challenge

It takes an effort to recall just how rapidly the global environment has changed since NATO was formed.

and overcome many of them over the years. There is no reason to doubt the future.

● In 1949 there were some 60 independent states; today there are over 150.

● In 1949 large parts of the world were included in European colonial systems; today North-South relations are a complex set of ties between independent states.

● In 1949 the population of the globe was about two billion; today it is some four billion (and in the year 2000 it is projected to be some six and one-half billion).

● In 1949, Europe was ^{just emerging from the devastation of a terrible war.} still in ruins and US Marshall Plan aid was only beginning; Today, the combined economic production of Europe exceeds that of the United States. While absolute levels of production and per capita income on both sides of the Atlantic have multiplied.

● In 1949, television was a novelty, the transistor a new invention. Today, the ^{world} populations ^{is} of the world are linked together as never before by electronic communications. ~~making~~ all of us ^{we are all} instant participants in events in all parts of the globe.

Recommend deletion.
"The nature of change" seems to fit at this point.

~~Historically~~ ^A alliances have generally ~~not~~ ^{do} outlived ² the achievement of their immediate -- and usually wartime -- objectives, ~~or their failure to do so.~~ ^{That has not been the case with NATO.} How, then, is it that NATO, in spite of frequent crises and the skepticism of critics, has enjoyed such staying power?

NATO has ^{prospered} ~~persisted~~ because it is ~~an~~ ^{an} adaptable, living ~~organism~~ ^{IT} which ~~faithfully~~ ^{and} expresses our democratic processes and reflects the very values it has for 35 years so effectively defended. The Alliance has evolved ^{over time} as it has grown, most recently through the welcome ^{addition} accession of Europe's newest democracy, the Kingdom of Spain. ~~Its own internal weights and balances have themselves shifted. Western Europe, with the encouragement and support of the United States, has gained both power and self-confidence until what was originally a necessarily one-sided coalition has become an Alliance built upon a North American and a European pillar of approximately equal weight.~~

The INF Experience ^{The survival and vitality of the Atlantic Alliance stem from one fact that overrides all others; namely, that it is based on and represents the moral and political values that Western Europe shares with North America.}

This continuing vitality is nowhere more evident than in the deepening of Alliance consultations and ~~the breadth of the coordinated actions being undertaken by members of NATO on the question of nuclear arms control and modernization.~~ ^{MAINTENANCE OF THE ALLIANCE'S UICULAR PETERMENT.} The 1979 INF decision, taken in response to the deployment of Soviet

Recommend we avoid term modernization

SS-20 missiles threatening Western Europe, is ^{a shining example} the embodiment of the Alliance's traditional approach to ~~guaranteeing~~ Western security -- ~~an approach based on~~ the dual foundation of defense and dialogue.

NATO has implemented both tracks of that decision, despite unprecedented political and military threats from the Soviet Union. NATO was responsible for the initiation of the Geneva arms control talks, which the Soviet Union at first resisted.

It was through consultations with ^{us} NATO that ~~I developed the~~ ^{our arms control positions were developed:} positions I introduced into the talks. From the ~~initial~~ zero/zero proposal, which everyone agrees would be the best

~~possible arms control outcome; to the proposal for an interim agreement at the lowest possible equal levels of US and Soviet forces; to the further substantial modifications made to meet specific Soviet concerns.~~ Similarly, ^{and} it has been the unity and

determination of NATO which has made possible the ^{actions needed to maintain} modernization

of ^{our nuclear} ~~US INF~~ forces in Europe, to offset the Soviet monopoly and, it is hoped, to provide an incentive to the Soviet Union to accept arms control affecting its own INF systems. (Add from p 7)

THE EFFECTIVENESS

The INF experience is an extremely important lesson for the future. It shows the ability of democratically-elected governments to work together, ^{Despite the} ~~under stress,~~ ^{-- even with new ~~Admin~~ governmental} ~~administrations~~ in all of the countries directly involved, ^{across changing} ~~to~~ ^{-- we will have been able to maintain}

conduct a coherent ~~long-range arms control and security~~
 policy. Contrary to the pessimism of ^{many} popular critics, ~~this~~
~~experience shows that dictatorships do not have an~~ ^{inherent} advantage
 when dealing with free people, ~~that~~ when governments ~~talk~~ ^{remain}
^{open, people will respond in the best interests of freedom and peace.}
~~seriously with their people about the issues of peace and~~
~~security, people understand and react responsibly.~~

move to page 6

Contrary to ^{popular} ~~propaganda~~ assertions, the Alliance is reducing
 rather than increasing its reliance on nuclear weapons. ~~First,~~
 The Alliance agreed that as INF weapons were introduced,
 existing weapons would be removed on a one-for-one basis. In
 addition, however, ^{last fall} ~~NATO Defense Ministers~~ decided ~~last fall~~
 to reduce the NATO nuclear stockpile ^{an additional} by 1,400 weapons. Together
 with ^{the} 1,000 warheads ~~already removed~~ ^{in 1985 the past three years ago} as the result of the INF
 decision, ^{these} ~~this~~ further unilateral reductions will bring ~~to 2,400~~
 the number of weapons withdrawn since 1979, ^{to 2,400.} in effect cutting
 the overall stockpile by one-third. ^{NATO will be has been reduced}

~~For the future, the US~~ ^{will continue} ~~is committed~~ to working with ~~its~~ ^{our}
~~NATO~~ allies to ensure deterrence at the lowest possible level
 of nuclear weapons, and to strengthen the capability of
 conventional forces to deter conflict and lessen the likelihood
 of ^{nuclear} war.

East-West Relations and International Peace

~~Even As~~ we work to ^{ensure a credible military posture} strengthen nuclear and conventional deterrence, we ~~must~~ also seek to engage the Soviet Union in a constructive dialogue on the ~~outstanding~~ questions which divide East and West. The United States and the NATO allies are currently engaged with the Soviet Union in the broadest arms control agenda in our history, covering strategic and intermediate range nuclear weapons, conventional forces in Europe, and chemical weapons, to list only the principal topics. This agenda is not one that developed overnight, ~~nor~~ are all of the items subject to immediate resolution. But we are confident that the negotiating process can and will produce positive results, if the Soviet Union is prepared to recognize the legitimate security interests of the Alliance.

Considering developments during the past month, this needs new issues

The Soviet Union must want to do its share. We cannot find security with a double standard in which Soviet pronouncements of peaceful intent are contradicted by its actions. The East-West dialogue must also embrace the full range of issues contained in the Helsinki Final Act. It is does not, we cannot expect to

~~which are vital to the strengthening of mutual confidence and understanding. The rights of the individual are at the root of Western political thought and practice. But, while their importance and legitimacy are universally recognized, they are all too often ignored. In our bilateral dealings with the Soviet Union, and in the multilateral channels of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the nations of the Atlantic community will ^{continue to} be pursuing improvements in the rights of the individual, in greater communication and access, and ~~report~~ in ~~greater~~ meaningful dialogue on the whole range of issues affecting the people of the continent.~~

Internationally, while maintaining the peace in Europe, the nations of the Atlantic community cannot be unconcerned with the ambitions and actions of the Soviet Union and its allies in other parts of the world -- ambitions and actions which threaten global stability, the sovereignty of independent states, and the free flow of international trade. While the specific role of the Alliance is geographically limited, the interests of its members in international peace and security are not.

The engagement of the Western nations for peace has increased markedly in recent years, as has the difficulty of the international situation. The US and its allies are working together, for example, in such disparate regions as southern Africa -- through the Namibia Contact Group -- and the Middle East -- through the Multinational Force in Lebanon -- in the recognition that the stability which we have enjoyed cannot endure forever if the rest of the world is embroiled in conflicts.

The US and Europe

I ~~have no doubt~~ ^{am certain} that the nations of the Alliance will continue to live up to ~~these~~ ^{its} responsibilities. ~~certainly~~ ^{no} one should doubt the commitment of the United States to the

continuing effectiveness of our coalition. The security of Europe and North America is inextricably linked, and NATO is the proven expression of that interdependence. ~~American Presidents of both parties -- Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter -- were all united in their support to NATO.~~

The United States did not come easily to the Atlantic Alliance. Independence and continental isolation had a long tradition. As ^{President} Washington put it, ^{been} ~~reflecting the deeply held convictions of generations of his countrymen:~~

"Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation." ~~Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities."~~

That may have been true two centuries ago, but that view was

~~These concerns were eventually to be swept away in the violence of World War I and World War II.~~ ^{It became} ~~which made clear that~~ ^{There was} ~~an active policy of collective security in peacetime was needed~~ ^{no sensible alternative to} ~~if the democratic nations of the West were to survive. There~~

~~are still, of course, critics in the US who question the value of the Alliance. And there are those who would prefer to avoid the difficulties of working in close concert with other nations over a long period of time.~~

~~But this is not my view, nor is it that of any Alliance statesman.~~ So long as the sense of common heritage and interests remains vigorous in the West, and so long as the world remains the dangerous and challenging place that it is today, ^{then} ~~there is no alternative to collective security in the Atlantic Alliance.~~ [^] ~~Looking ahead on this thirty-fifth anniversary, I am confident that our peoples will be celebrating many more anniversaries of this unique and vital enterprise.~~ [^] ~~must be strong and vibrant.~~ ^{wonderful} ~~off~~

On the occasion of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, President Truman stated, "If there is anything certain today, if there is anything inevitable in the future, it is the will of the people of the world for freedom and for peace". I share President Truman's optimism.

1983 DEC -8 PM 3:11

7828 add-on

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

December 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM:

ROBERT M. KIMMITT *Bob*

SUBJECT:

Draft Article for the President's Signature
on the NATO Alliance and its Future

Charles Douglas-Home, Editor of The Times of London, wrote the President (Tab B), inviting him to contribute an article on the NATO Alliance and its future. The piece would be included in a series of articles by NATO heads of government and other leading figures, and timed to coincide with the Alliance's 35th Anniversary next year.

The Department of State has provided the attached draft (Tab A) which is factually sound and conveys the appropriate themes; however, we feel that it does not adequately reflect the President's personal style. Therefore, I would like to suggest that this draft be forwarded to the Speechwriters for their comments and edits.

Thank you.

Attachments

TAB A Draft Presidential article
TAB B Letter from Charles Douglas-Home to the President

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

To Dick Childress,

I have made a few
editorial suggestions.

Page 8 needs to be
updated to reflect current
situation and to take account
of the President's Soviet speech.

I suggest you send it back
to State for a final scrub
asking them in particular to
redo page 8. This would
give them a chance to
review AI's major
rewrite. But give State a
short suspense.

Peter Exum



8333975
United States Department of State

7828

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 8, 1983

05 11 7 A 1:30

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROBERT C. McFARLANE
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: Draft Article on NATO for the President

As requested in your memorandum of November 3, attached is a draft London Times article on NATO for the President's signature.

Pomeroy
for Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachment: As stated

CONFIDENTIAL
DECL: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTACHMENT

Document No. _____

7828

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/15/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: _____

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ARTICLE ON THE NATO ALLIANCE AND ITS FUTURE

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SVAHN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Per your request, attached are the Speechwriters' edits of the NATO Alliance Article.

do 12/31/83
UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE(S)

RESPONSE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTACHMENT

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
Ext. 2702

Future Tasks of the Atlantic Alliance

by Ronald Reagan

As the Atlantic Alliance celebrates its 35th anniversary, it is particularly appropriate to rededicate ourselves to the great task we set for ourselves in 1949. The more closely the nations of the Alliance can work together, the better we will be able to preserve peace and stability, and the better it will be for people everywhere.

The values that bind NATO together are not abstract concepts. Individual liberty, the rule of law, and respect for dignity of the individual are priceless and real. They have been handed down to us at enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure. They are the cement of the Alliance, and we can never take them for granted. And it is the success of democracy, not the military power of the totalitarians, that will shape the rest of this century.

The world has changed a great deal since the representatives of twelve states met in Washington, on April 4, 1949, to sign the treaty establishing the Alliance. But the underlying unity and purposes of the Atlantic community have not changed. NATO remains the true and effective peace movement -- and the bulwark of Western freedom.

The founding members of NATO pledged to safeguard the "freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples" and to consider an armed attack against any one of them an attack against them all. Having just experienced the most devastating conflict in history, Alliance leaders knew first-hand the dangers of war, and the requirement for unity to deter it.

But they had more than sound historical understanding. They had remarkable foresight. The structure of Atlantic cooperation which they built has ensured the longest period of European peace, stability and progress in history, during a time when the world has undergone rapid and accelerating political, economic, social, and technological change.

The challenges which the Atlantic Alliance confronts today are no less difficult than those which NATO has met successfully for the past 35 years. If we face the challenges with the same determination, creativity, and sense of responsibility we have shown in the past, the future will be secure. If we are to achieve peace, we must work for peace.

The bedrock of our Alliance is our unshakable commitment to ensure our security through collective self-defense. There is no alternative but to maintain a credible deterrent military posture and political solidarity. The continuing growth of Soviet military power will require a sustained effort by all of us -- to reduce disparities in the military balance, to broaden our cooperation, and to demonstrate a willingness to make the investments necessary to keep the peace.

The North Atlantic Treaty is not solely a military alliance. We also seek to improve the well-being of our people. Sustained economic growth will be the key. In this regard, we need to resist protectionism while we expand our cooperation in the fields of science and technology.

We, as Allies, have long recognized that developments beyond the Treaty area are relevant to our own well-being. Building a constructive relationship with the world beyond the Treaty area will require great energy and wisdom. We need to work together in addressing the human, social, political and economic conditions which create the instability on which radicalism and Soviet interventionism feeds. This does not mean expanding the Treaty area. But it does mean working closer together in sharing the burdens and solving the problems.

Since its creation, NATO has always had to address the question of how best to deter Soviet attack. The future will be no different. And we have always agreed on the outline of the answer: defense and dialogue. There is no evidence that Soviet behavior will be anything but a serious threat to our security and to those principles on which a humane international system must be based. The answer for the future will still be defense and dialogue, a policy of reasonable strength combined with the commitment to search for ways to reduce the risk of conflict. Our challenge is to follow a policy of realism: strong enough to protect our interests but flexible enough to spare no effort in finding a fair way to reduce the level of arms.

Sometimes, we in free countries forget the richness of our most precious possession -- freedom and human rights. People who live in tyranny, however, can see freedom much more clearly. It shines like a candle in the dark. It is our responsibility to speak out and to work hard for the dignity of humankind, to improve human rights, and to hold governments accountable for the behavior. This challenge has no boundaries, and it has no limits.

The experience of the past 35 years has prepared the nations of the Atlantic community to overcome these challenges. As long as we stand together, we will remain secure. We have not learned rote formulas, to be applied to all situations whether they fit or not. What we have learned is that the Alliance is truly durable. While we cannot take our partnership for granted, we can be certain that patience, cooperation, and hard work will pay off. Any undertaking will ultimately be judged by the challenges it accepts and by those it overcomes. We have accepted worthy challenges and overcome many of them over the years. There is no reason to doubt the future.

Alliances generally do not outlive the achievement of their immediate -- and usually wartime -- objectives, or their failure to do so. That has not been the case with NATO.

NATO has prospered because it is adaptable. It expresses our democratic processes and reflects the very values it has for 35 years so effectively defended. The survival and vitality of the Atlantic Alliance stem from one fact that overrides all

others; namely, that it is based on and represents the moral and political values that Western Europe shares with North America. The Alliance has evolved over time, most recently through the welcome addition of Europe's newest democracy, the Kingdom of Spain.

This continuing vitality is nowhere more evident than in the deepening of Alliance consultations on the question of nuclear arms control and modernization. The 1979 INF decision, taken in response to the deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles threatening Western Europe, is a shining example of the Alliance's traditional approach to Western security -- the dual foundation of defense and dialogue.

NATO has implemented both tracks of that decision, despite unprecedented political and military threats from the Soviet Union. NATO was responsible for the initiation of the Geneva arms control talks, which the Soviet Union at first resisted. It was through consultations with NATO that arms control positions were developed. And it has been the unity and determination of NATO which has made possible the modernization of our nuclear forces in Europe.

Contrary to popular assertions, the Alliance is reducing rather than increasing its reliance on nuclear weapons. The Alliance agreed that as INF weapons were introduced, existing weapons would be removed on a one-for-one basis. In addition, however, last fall NATO decided to reduce the NATO nuclear stockpile by an additional 1,400 weapons. Together with the

1,000 warheads removed in the past three years, these unilateral reductions will bring the number of weapons withdrawn since 1979 to 2,400. The overall NATO stockpile has been reduced by one-third.

The INF experience is an extremely important lesson for the future. It shows the ability of democratic governments to work together. Despite the stress, even with governmental across changes in all of the countries directly involved, will have been able to maintain a coherent policy. Contrary to the pessimism of many critics, dictatorships do not have an inherent advantage when dealing with free people. When governments remain open, people will respond in the best interests of freedom and peace.

The US will continue to work with our Allies to ensure deterrence at the lowest possible level of nuclear weapons, and to strengthen the capability of conventional forces to deter conflict and lessen the likelihood of war.

As we work to ensure a credible military posture, we also seek to engage the Soviet Union in a constructive dialogue on questions which divide East and West. The United States and the NATO Allies are currently engaged with the Soviet Union in the broadest arms control agenda in our history, covering strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons, conventional forces in Europe, and chemical weapons, to list only the principal topics. This agenda is not one that developed overnight. But we are confident that the negotiating process can and will produce positive results, if the Soviet Union is prepared to recognize

the legitimate security interests of the Alliance. The Soviet Union must want to do its share. We cannot find security with a double-standard in which Soviet pronouncements of peaceful intent are contradicted by its actions.

The East-West dialogue must also embrace the full range of issues contained in the Helsinki Final Act. If it does not, we cannot expect to strengthen mutual confidence and understanding. In our bilateral dealings with the Soviet Union, and in the multilateral channels of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the nations of the Atlantic community will continue to pursue improvements in the rights of the individual, in greater communication and access, and in meaningful dialogue on the whole range of issues affecting the people of the continent.

The engagement of the Western nations for peace has increased markedly in recent years, as has the difficulty of the international situation. The US and its Allies are working together, for example, in such disparate regions as southern Africa -- through the Namibia Contact Group -- and the Middle East -- through the Multinational Force in Lebanon -- in the recognition that the stability which we have enjoyed cannot endure forever if the rest of the world is embroiled in conflicts.

I am certain that the nations of the Alliance will continue to live up to its responsibilities. No one should doubt the commitment of the United States to the continuing effectiveness of our coalition. The security of Europe and North America is

inextricably linked, and NATO is the proven expression of that interdependence.

The United States did not come easily to the Atlantic Alliance. Independence and continental isolation had been a long tradition. As President Washington put it, "Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation."

That may have been true two centuries ago, but that view was swept away in the violence of World War I and World War II. It became clear that there was no sensible alternative to an active policy of collective security if the democratic nations of the West were to survive.

So long as the sense of common heritage and interests remains vigorous in the West, and so long as the world remains the dangerous and challenging place that it is today, then the Atlantic Alliance must be strong and vibrant. On the occasion of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, President Truman stated, "If there is anything certain today, if there is anything inevitable in the future, it is the will of the people of the world for freedom and for peace." I share President Truman's optimism. Looking ahead on this thirty-fifth anniversary, I am confident that our peoples will be celebrating many more anniversaries of this wonderful enterprise.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

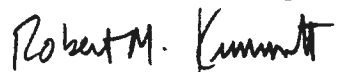
November 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL
Executive Secretary
Department of StateSUBJECT: Article, for the President's Signature, on the
NATO Alliance and its Future

At Tab A is a letter to the President from Charles Douglas-Home, Editor, The Times of London. In his letter, Mr. Douglas-Home invites the President to contribute an article, 2000 words long, which will be part of a series of articles by heads of government and others on the NATO Alliance and its future. The publication of these articles will be timed to coincide with the 35th anniversary of NATO.

We would like to honor Mr. Douglas-Home's request and, therefore, ask that you provide a draft by Tuesday, November 8.

Thank you.


Robert M. Kimmitt
Executive Secretary

TAB A Incoming correspondence from Charles Douglas-Home

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

November 2, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: MARC BRAZIL

SUBJECT: Article, for Presidential Signature, on
the NATO Alliance and its Future.

At Tab I is a memo to Charles Hill tasking State to produce a draft article, for the President's signature, on the NATO Alliance and its future. This article will be one in a series by heads of government to be published by the Times of London in celebration of NATO's 35th Anniversary.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to Charles Hill.

Approve K Disapprove

Attachments

TAB I Kimmitt to Hill memo
TAB A Incoming correspondence from Charles
Douglas-Home

Future Tasks of the Atlantic Alliance

by Ronald Reagan

In the late 1940s, British author George Orwell wrote his classic novel of totalitarianism, 1984, giving a pessimistic view of the political future. Today, over a generation later, the oppression which formed the model for his vision still persists and has grown in power.

But what Orwell did not foresee was that the strength, unity, and dynamism of the democratic societies of the West would be sustained and enhanced in the face of this challenge. It is the success of democracy, not the military power of the totalitarians, that will shape the rest of this century.

1984 marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The world has changed a great deal since the representatives of twelve states met in Washington, on April 4, 1949, to sign the treaty establishing the Alliance. But the underlying unity and purposes of the Atlantic community have not changed.

The signatories of the Treaty of Washington pledged themselves to safeguard the "freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples" and to consider an armed attack against any one of them an attack against them all. Having just come through the most devastating conflict in history,

Alliance leaders knew first hand the dangers of war, and the requirement for unity to deter it.

But they had more than sound historical understanding. They had remarkable foresight. The structure of Atlantic cooperation which they built has ensured the longest period of European peace, stability and progress in history, during a time when the world has undergone rapid and accelerating political, economic, social, and technological change.

Looking to the Year 2000

The challenges which the Atlantic Alliance will confront in coming decades will be no less severe than those of its first 35 years:

-- Maintaining effective deterrence in the face of the growing conventional and nuclear forces of the Soviet Union will require continual efforts by all of us to develop and field adequate forces, even when the costs involved may be politically unpopular.

-- Achieving high levels of economic growth in our societies will require difficult decisions on domestic policy, and a continuing common commitment to resist protectionism, which would undermine the economies of all the industrial democracies, including Japan.

-- Building a constructive relationship with the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America will require a careful balance of political, economic and security policies to support national independence and economic and social development and effective integration into the global economy, including willingness where necessary to take actions to resist efforts to subvert their sovereignty and undermine their development.

-- Reducing the risk of conflict with the Soviet Union will require a tireless effort to achieve equitable, verifiable arms control agreements, pressing for effective implementation of existing agreements where those are being cynically violated, and refusing to be discouraged or thrown off course in the search for new agreements by the intransigence of the Soviet position.

-- Improving the rights and freedoms of individuals will require united and tenacious attention efforts to raise internationally agreed standards and to hold governments accountable for their behavior.

The Basis for NATO Confidence

The experience of the past thirty five years has prepared the nations of the Atlantic community to deal with these

challenges in a positive manner. We have not learned rote formulas, to be applied to all situations whether they fit or not. Rather, we have learned the virtues and techniques of cooperation in a dynamic world.

It takes an effort to recall just how rapidly the global environment has changed since NATO was formed.

- In 1949 there were some 60 independent states; today there are over 150.

- In 1949 large parts of the world were included in European colonial systems; today North-South relations are a complex set of ties between independent states.

- In 1949 the population of the globe was about two billion; today it is some four billion (and in the year 2000 it is projected to be some six and one-half billion).

- In 1949 Europe was still in ruins and US Marshall Plan aid was only beginning; today the combined economic production of Europe exceeds that of the United States, while absolute levels of production and per capita income on both sides of the Atlantic have multiplied.

- In 1949 television was a novelty, the transistor a new invention. Today the populations of the world are linked together as never before by electronic communications, making all of us instant participants in events in all parts of the globe.

Historically alliances have generally not outlived the achievement of their immediate -- and usually wartime -- objectives, or their failure to do so. How, then, is it that NATO, in spite of frequent crises and the skepticism of critics, has enjoyed such staying power?

NATO has persisted because it is an adaptable, living organism which faithfully expresses our democratic processes and reflects the very values it has for 35 years so effectively defended. The Alliance has evolved as it has grown, most recently through the welcome accession of Europe's newest democracy, the Kingdom of Spain. Its own internal weights and balances have themselves shifted. Western Europe, with the encouragement and support of the United States, has gained both power and self-confidence until what was originally a necessarily one-sided coalition has become an Alliance built upon a North American and a European pillar of approximately equal weight.

The INF Experience

This continuing vitality is nowhere more evident than in the deepening of Alliance consultations and the breadth of the coordinated actions being undertaken by members of NATO on the question of nuclear arms control and modernization. The 1979 INF decision, taken in response to the deployment of Soviet

SS-20 missiles threatening Western Europe, is the embodiment of the Alliance's traditional approach to guaranteeing Western security -- an approach based on the dual foundation of defense and dialogue.

NATO has implemented both tracks of that decision, despite unprecedented political and military threats from the Soviet Union. NATO was responsible for the initiation of the Geneva arms control talks, which the Soviet Union at first resisted. It was through consultations with NATO that I developed the positions I introduced into the talks: From the initial zero/zero proposal, which everyone agrees would be the best possible arms control outcome; to the proposal for an interim agreement at the lowest possible equal levels of US and Soviet forces; to the further substantial modifications made to meet specific Soviet concerns. Similarly, it has been the unity and determination of NATO which has made possible the modernization of US INF forces in Europe, to offset the Soviet monopoly and, it is hoped, to provide an incentive to the Soviet Union to accept arms control affecting its own INF systems.

The INF experience is an extremely important lesson for the future. It shows the ability of democratically-elected governments to work together under stress, across changing administrations in all of the countries directly involved, to

conduct a coherent long-range arms control and security policy. Contrary to the pessimism of popular critics, this experience shows that dictatorships do not have an advantage when dealing with free people; that when governments talk seriously with their people about the issues of peace and security, people understand and react responsibly.

Contrary to propaganda assertions, the Alliance is reducing rather than increasing its reliance on nuclear weapons. First, the Alliance agreed that as INF weapons were introduced, existing weapons would be removed on a one-for-one basis. In addition, however, NATO Defense Ministers decided last fall to reduce the NATO nuclear stockpile by 1,400 weapons. Together with 1,000 warheads already removed as the result of the INF decision, this further unilateral reduction will bring to 2,400 the number of weapons withdrawn since 1979, in effect cutting the overall stockpile by one-third.

For the future, the US is committed to working with its NATO allies to ensure deterrence at the lowest possible level of nuclear weapons, and to strengthen the capability of conventional forces to deter conflict and lessen the likelihood of nuclear war.

East-West Relations and International Peace

Even as we work to strengthen nuclear and conventional deterrence, we must also seek to engage the Soviet Union in a constructive dialogue on the outstanding questions which divide East and West. The United States and the NATO allies are currently engaged with the Soviet Union in the broadest arms control agenda in our history, covering strategic and intermediate range nuclear weapons, conventional forces in Europe, and chemical weapons, to list only the principal topics. This agenda is not one that developed overnight, nor are all of the items subject to immediate resolution. But we are confident that the negotiating process can and will produce positive results, if the Soviet Union is prepared to recognize the legitimate security interests of the Alliance.

The East-West dialogue also embraces human rights questions which are vital to the strengthening of mutual confidence and understanding. The rights of the individual are at the root of Western political thought and practice. But, while their importance and legitimacy are universally recognized, they are all too often ignored. In our bilateral dealings with the Soviet Union, and in the multilateral channels of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the nations of the Atlantic community will be pursuing improvements in the rights of the individual.