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**WHORM Subject File Code:** IT067

(International Organizations:

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO))

**Case file Number(s):** 168398 (2 of 2)

**Box Number:** 13

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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 that the nations of the Alliance will continue to live up to these 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 Washington put it, 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."

These concerns were eventually to be swept away in the violence of World War I and World War II, which made clear that an active policy of collective security in peacetime was needed 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, 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.

7828

# THE TIMES

Times Newspapers Limited, P.O. Box 7,  
200 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ (registered office)  
Telephone 01-837 1234 Telex 264971 Registered no. 894646 England

*From the Editor*

18 October, 1983

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington DC 20500  
USA

Dear Mr President,

As you know, next year is the 35th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty. We propose on The Times to celebrate the occasion by publishing an extended series of articles on the Alliance and its future. We are inviting heads of government, leading academics, parliamentarians and representatives of industry and labour to contribute to this series.

The series will run in the paper from January 1984 to April 1984, the month when the treaty was signed in 1949.

Shortly after the conclusion of the series the contributions will appear as a collection in book form to be published by Times Books.

We intend this series to be a contribution to Alliance thinking for the rest of the century. The sections will cover global affairs, defence and arms control, the economic challenges and responses, defence and domestic opinion in the West, regional security outside the Alliance area, and the views of selected heads of government in the Alliance countries.

We want to encourage those people whom we invite each to contribute a 2000 word article, to think out loud - even the unthinkable - about the future, rather than to recycle existing and well known statements of position. In other words, we hope the series will be stimulating, provocative and forward-looking, to make the maximum impact on public opinion.

Continued ...

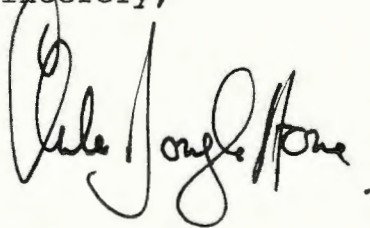
18 October, 1983

President Ronald Reagan

2

I am writing to you as President of the leading country in the Western Alliance. Your view from the summit is clearly of major importance in the development of East/West and West/West relations. I do hope you will be able to contribute to this series, since we would like to start it off with an article from you and one or two of the leading heads of government among your European allies in Nato. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Charles Douglas-Home". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

Charles Douglas-Home

# THE TIMES

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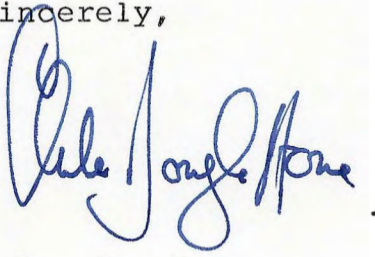
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Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Charles Douglas-Home". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "C".

Charles Douglas-Home



977

National Security Council  
The White House

84 FEB 7 P 6: 49

System #

I

Package #

7828 a/o

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin <i>SHULL</i>	<u>1</u>	<i>SM</i>	<u>A</u>
Bob Kimmitt <i>Kimitt</i>		<i>DK</i>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall	<u>2</u>		
Bud McFarlane	<u>3</u>	<i>M</i>	
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>		<u>D</u> <i>1500</i>
Situation Room			<i>FEB</i>

I = Information    **A = Action**    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

RECEIVED 31 OCT 83 15

TO PRESIDENT FROM DOUGLAS-HOME, CHARLE DOCDATE 18 OCT 83  
 KIMMITT 03 NOV 83  
 HILL, C 08 NOV 83

KEYWORDS: MEDIA NATO  
 MP

SUBJECT. LTR TO PRES FM THE TIMES RE 35TH ANNIVERSARY NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
 RE CELEBRATION

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 31 JAN 84 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
SIMS	MATLOCK FORTIER	<del>MYER</del> Kraemer Sommer R. Lehman

COMMENTS

REF# LOG 8400673 NSCIFID ( JI )

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	Z 2/04	REOPENED / RECD STATE MEMO		
BRAZIL	S 2/04	PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE		
MCFARLANE	X 2/7	FOR SIGNATURE		
	C 2/10	MCFARLANE S/G		BZ
State	- 2/10	FOR DISPATCH		
DISPATCH	H.W. 2/10			W/ATTCH FILE (WH) (c)

899

# National Security Council The White House

RECEIVED

83 DEC 21 P 2: 41

System # I  
Package # 7828  
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WPM ra

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Executive Secretary	<u>1</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
John Poindexter			
Executive Secretary			
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>		<u>Staff</u>
Situation Room			

I = Information	<u>A = Action</u>	R = Retain	D = Dispatch	N = No further Action
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cc: VP Meese Baker Deaver Other \_\_\_\_\_

### COMMENTS

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

Actm  
Cmt  
dfo

Fortner - out of country.  
Please assign new  
action office  
(Cliffness)

R Lehman  
Sommer  
Brazil

# WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

# C

84 JAN 28 AM: 10

MESSAGE NO. 995 CLASSIFICATION UNCLAS PAGES 13  
FROM ROBERT KEMMETT \_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION NATO ARTICLE (833975)

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>EXTENSION</u>
<u>STATE</u>	<u>CHARLES HILL</u>	_____	_____
<u>'D'</u>	<u>JOHN STANFORD</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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REMARKS: \_\_\_\_\_

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National Security Council  
The White House

89 JAN 27 P 3: 14

System # I

Package # 782844-001

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bill Martin	<u>1</u>	<u>WFM</u>	
Bob Kimmitt	<u>2</u>	<u>K</u>	
John Poindexter			
Wilma Hall			
Bud McFarlane			
Bob Kimmitt			
NSC Secretariat	<u>4</u>		<u>D/LDX</u>
Situation Room			
<u>Shanahan</u>	<u>3</u>		

JAN 27 2 00 PM  
Type  
gc John Stanford  
DoD  
on bottom of  
Tab I.

I = Information    A = Action    R = Retain    D = Dispatch    N = No further Action

cc: VP    Meese    Baker    Deaver    Other \_\_\_\_\_

1/28 COMMENTS                      Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

NSC's -  
- I had with R LDX  
- they will send receipts -

KMS

23-10

84 127 P 7: 14

DESCRIPTION	DATE	AMOUNT	INITIALS	REMARKS
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RECEIVED 31 OCT 83 15

TO PRESIDENT FROM DOUGLAS-HOME, CHARLE DOCDATE 18 OCT 83  
 KIMMITT 03 NOV 83  
 HILL, C 08 NOV 83

KEYWORDS: MEDIA NATO  
 MP

SUBJECT. LTR TO PRES FM THE TIMES RE 35TH ANNIVERSARY NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
 RE CELEBRATION

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE: 20 DEC 83 STATUS S FILES WH

FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
SIMS	MATLOCK MYER	
	FORTIER	

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( JI )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>Kimmit</i>	<i>X 1/28</i>	<i>for signature</i>	<i>1/31</i>	
	<i>L 1/29</i>	<i>Kimmit sqd</i>		<i>RC, RK</i>
				<i>JF, BB, PS,</i>
				<i>RL</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>2 1/31</i>	<i>Lead Mess 1/25</i>	<i>1/25</i>	
DISPATCH	<i>W/LOCK 1/28</i>	<i>&amp; hard copy 28</i>		W/ATTCH FILE <i>WH</i> (C)



RECEIVED 31 OCT 83 15

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FOR ACTION FOR CONCURRENCE FOR INFO  
 SIMS MATLOCK MYER  
 FORTIER

COMMENTS

REF# LOG NSCIFID ( JI )

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
-	12/16	reopen / recd Darman Referral		
Jims	S 12/16	memo Kimmitt to Darman	12/20	RMS, DF, RK, TS
Kimmitt	S 12/21	For Decision		
Fortier	S DEC 2 1 1983	Appropriate Action		LE, PS, MB
Childress	S 1/10	Appropriate Action		
<del>McFarlane</del>	K 1/28			



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

G.F.

ATTACHMENT

Document No.

16839855  
E1064

clb 5/2/14

WVS

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.

*File Closed*

RESPONSE:

Charlie Douglas - Home

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTACHMENT

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
Ext. 2702

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Received SS

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE RETURN FOR REMOVAL  
FROM THE FILED ENCLOSURE(S)  
12/5/21/14

1983 DEC 15 PM 3:40

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 12/8/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/13 - c.o.b.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ARTICLE ON THE NATO ALLIANCE AND ITS FUTURE  
(prepared by the Department of State)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FULLER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Speechwriters	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits by Tuesday, December 13.

RESPONSE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Richard G. Darman  
Assistant to the President  
Ext. 2702

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 12/8/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/13 - c.o.b.

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ARTICLE ON THE NATO ALLIANCE AND ITS FUTURE  
 (prepared by the Department of State)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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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 <i>Note Comment 12/12</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Speechwriters	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

*Note edits 12/15/83*

*Called 12/14*

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any edits by Tuesday, December 13.

**RESPONSE:**

Richard G. Darman  
 Assistant to the President  
 Ext. 2702

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 12/8/83 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12/13 - c.o.b.

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VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HICKEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McFARLANE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>Speechwriters</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any edits by Tuesday, December 13.  
*No objection to content. Agree, needs substantial re-write by speechwriters.*  
*SMB*

RESPONSE:

*12/12*  
*Concur w/ Baroody comments above.*  
*D. Gergen/w/cr*

Richard G. Darman  
 Assistant to the President  
 Ext. 2702

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

168398

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  
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Thank you.

## Attachments

TAB A Draft Presidential article

TAB B Letter from Charles Douglas-Home to the President



8333975

7828

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

November 8, 1983

~~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.

*Pom...*  
for Charles Hill  
Executive Secretary

Attachment: As stated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DECL: OADR

BY dlb

July 21, 1997  
TE 5/2/14



## Future Tasks of the Atlantic Alliance

by Ronald Reagan

As the ~~North~~ Atlantic Alliance celebrates its 35<sup>th</sup> 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.

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 <sup>experienced</sup> ~~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 <sup>today</sup> ~~it~~ are no less difficult than those which NATO has met successfully for the past <sup>35</sup> years. ~~coming decades will be no less severe than those of its first~~ If we face the challenges with the <sup>same</sup> determination, creativity, and sense of responsibility ~~35 years:~~ 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~~ ~~maintaining effective deterrence in the face of the~~ <sup>to reduce</sup> ~~growing conventional and nuclear forces of the Soviet Union~~ <sup>political solidarity</sup>

The ~~continuing build-up~~ <sup>A sustained</sup> growth ~~Soviet military power~~ will require ~~continued~~ <sup>to reduce</sup> efforts by all of us ~~to develop and~~ <sup>to reduce</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>peace.</sup> ~~politically unpopular.~~

~~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.~~ <sup>Achieving high levels of economic growth in our</sup>

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

~~protectionism, which would undermine the economies of all~~

~~the industrial democracies, including Japan.~~

- 3 -

~~The~~ <sup>own</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>own</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>world beyond the</sup> ~~Treaty area~~ Africa, Asia and Latin America will require ~~a careful~~ <sup>great energy and wisdom.</sup>  
We need to work together in addressing the <sup>human, social,</sup> balance of political, economic and security policies to political and economic conditions which create the instability on support national independence and economic and social which radicalism and Soviet interventionism feeds. This does not development and effective integration into the global mean expanding the Treaty area. But it does mean working closer economy, including willingness where necessary to take together in solving the problems, sharing the burdens and solving actions to resist efforts to subvert their sovereignty and the problems. 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 and dialogue.~~ ~~There is no evidence that Soviet behavior will be arms control agreements, pressing for effective future~~ anything but a serious threat to our security and to those principles on which implementation of existing agreements where those are being a humane international system must be based. The answer for the future cynically violated, and refusing to be discouraged or will still be defense and dialogue, a policy of reasonable strength combined thrown off course in the search for new agreements by the with the commitment to search for ways to reduce the risk of conflict, Our 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 Improving the rights and freedoms of individuals will Tyranny, however, can see freedom much more clearly. It shines like a require united and tenacious attention efforts to raise candle in the dark. It is our responsibility to speak out and to internationally agreed standards and to hold governments 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 ~~exists~~ <sup>is</sup> 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 <sup>overcome</sup> deal with these

As long as we stand together 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. <sup>what</sup> Rather, we have learned <sup>is that the Alliance is truly durable.</sup> ~~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 <sup>and overcome</sup> environment has changed since NATO was formed. <sup>many of them over</sup> <sup>the years. There is</sup> <sup>no reason to doubt the</sup>

● In 1949 there were some 60 independent states; today <sup>future.</sup>

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 <sup>just emerging from the devastation of a terrible war.</sup> ~~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 <sup>world</sup> ~~populations of the world~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ linked together as never before by electronic communications. ~~making~~ <sup>We are all</sup> ~~all of us~~ instant participants in events in all parts of the globe.

Recommend deletion.  
"The nature of change is seen to not fit at this point."

~~Historically~~ <sup>A</sup> Alliances have generally not outlived <sup>do</sup> the achievement of their immediate -- and usually wartime -- objectives, or their failure to do so. <sup>That has not been the</sup> ~~How, then, is it that~~ <sup>code with NATO.</sup> NATO, ~~in spite of frequent crises and the skepticism of critics, has enjoyed such staying power?~~

NATO has <sup>prospered</sup> ~~persisted~~ because it is <sup>an</sup> adaptable, <sup>living</sup> ~~living~~ organism which <sup>and</sup> ~~faithfully~~ <sup>it</sup> expresses our democratic processes and reflects the very values it has for 35 years so effectively defended. The Alliance has evolved <sup>over time</sup> ~~as it has grown~~, most recently through the welcome <sup>addition</sup> ~~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.~~

<sup>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</sup>  
~~The INF Experience~~ <sup>That Western Europe shares with North America.</sup>

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.~~ <sup>o</sup> The 1979 <sup>^</sup> INF decision, taken in response to the deployment of Soviet

SS-20 missiles threatening Western Europe, is <sup>a shining example</sup> ~~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~~ <sup>arms control positions were developed:</sup> ~~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, <sup>and</sup> it has been the unity and determination of NATO which has made possible the modernization of <sup>our nuclear</sup> ~~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 INF experience is an extremely important lesson for the future. It shows the ability of ~~democratically elected~~ governments to work together, <sup>Despite the</sup> ~~under stress,~~ <sup>even with ~~new~~ governmental</sup> ~~administrations~~ in all of the countries directly involved, <sup>will have been able to maintain</sup> ~~to~~

conduct a coherent ~~long-range arms control and security~~  
 policy. Contrary to the pessimism of ~~popular~~ <sup>many</sup> critics, ~~this~~  
~~experience shows that~~ dictatorships do not have an <sup>inherent</sup> 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~~ <sup>popular</sup> ~~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, <sup>last fall</sup> ~~NATO Defense Ministers~~ decided ~~last fall~~ to  
 reduce the NATO nuclear stockpile by 1,400 <sup>an additional</sup> weapons. Together  
 with 1,000 <sup>the</sup> warheads ~~already~~ removed <sup>in</sup> ~~as the result of the INF~~ <sup>the past three years</sup>  
~~decision, this~~ <sup>else</sup> further unilateral reduction ~~will bring to 2,400~~  
 the number of weapons withdrawn since 1979, <sup>to 2,400.</sup> ~~in effect cutting~~  
 the overall stockpile by one-third. <sup>NATO has been reduced</sup>

~~For the future, the US~~ <sup>will continue</sup> ~~is committed~~ to working with ~~its own~~  
~~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 <sup>ensure a credible military posture</sup> ~~strengthen nuclear and conventional~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~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. <sup>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.</sup> <sup>must</sup> The East-West dialogue <sup>also embraces</sup> <sup>The full range of issues</sup> ~~human rights questions~~ 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 <sup>continue to</sup> ~~be pursuing~~ improvements in the rights of the individual, in <sup>greater communication and access,</sup> and ~~report~~ in <sup>greater</sup> ~~greater~~ meaningful dialogue on the whole range ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> issues affecting the people of the continent.

Considering  
during the  
months, this  
needs new ideas



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~~ <sup>am certain</sup> that the nations of the Alliance will continue to live up to <sup>its</sup> ~~these~~ 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 <sup>been</sup> a long tradition. As <sup>President</sup> Washington put it, ~~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, <sup>(+ became)</sup> which made clear that ~~There was~~ <sup>no sensible alternative to</sup> an active policy of collective security ~~in peacetime was needed~~  
<sup>^</sup> 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, <sup>then</sup> ~~there is no alternative to collective security in the Atlantic Alliance.~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~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.~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~must be strong and vibrant.~~ <sup>wonderful ~~off~~</sup>

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.

# THE TIMES

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*From the Editor*

18 October, 1983

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington DC 20500  
USA

Dear Mr President,

As you know, next year is the 35th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty. We propose on The Times to celebrate the occasion by publishing an extended series of articles on the Alliance and its future. We are inviting heads of government, leading academics, parliamentarians and representatives of industry and labour to contribute to this series.

The series will run in the paper from January 1984 to April 1984, the month when the treaty was signed in 1949.

Shortly after the conclusion of the series the contributions will appear as a collection in book form to be published by Times Books.

We intend this series to be a contribution to Alliance thinking for the rest of the century. The sections will cover global affairs, defence and arms control, the economic challenges and responses, defence and domestic opinion in the West, regional security outside the Alliance area, and the views of selected heads of government in the Alliance countries.

We want to encourage those people whom we invite each to contribute a 2000 word article, to think out loud - even the unthinkable - about the future, rather than to recycle existing and well known statements of position. In other words, we hope the series will be stimulating, provocative and forward-looking, to make the maximum impact on public opinion.

Continued ...

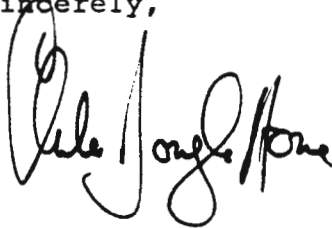
18 October, 1983

President Ronald Reagan

2

I am writing to you as President of the leading country in the Western Alliance. Your view from the summit is clearly of major importance in the development of East/West and West/West relations. I do hope you will be able to contribute to this series, since we would like to start it off with an article from you and one or two of the leading heads of government among your European allies in Nato. I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Charles Douglas-Home'. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'C'.

Charles Douglas-Home

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

December 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT M. KIMMITT

FROM: MARC BRAZIER *Marc*

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

Over a month ago, you tasked State to draft an article on the NATO Alliance for attribution to the President, and they returned the attached draft (Tab A). While it is factually sound and conveys the appropriate themes, it does not reflect the President's style. Therefore, I think it would be a good idea to forward the article to the Speechwriters for editing and comments.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to Richard Darman (Tab I) asking for edits and comments by the Speechwriters.

Approve *RMK* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_  
*RMK*

Attachments

- TAB I Memorandum for Richard Darman
- TAB A Draft Presidential article on NATO Alliance
- TAB B Letter from Charles Douglas-Home to the President

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 3, 1983

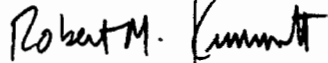
MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES HILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: 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 BRAZILL 

## 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



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TO PRESIDENT

FROM DOUGLAS-HOME, CHARLE

DOCDATE 18 OCT 83

KEYWORDS MEDIA

NATO

MP

SUBJECT LTR TO PRES FM THE TIMES RE 35TH ANNIVERSARY NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY  
RE CELEBRATION

ACTION PREPARE MEMO FOR MCFARLANE DUE 07 NOV 83 STATUS S FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

SIMS

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*no comment*

COMMENTS

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ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
<i>State d</i>	<i>11/4</i>	<i>Draft Article</i>	<i>11/8</i>	
<i>-</i>	<i>11/9</i>	<i>Rec'd State Draft</i>		
<i>Simis S</i>	<i>11/9</i>	<i>prepare memo for McFarlane</i>		
	<i>12/08</i>	<i>kinmontt Ag'd memo</i>		<i>ZK, ISZ</i>

DISPATCH

*u 12/8*

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*WA* (C)