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**WHORM Subject File Code:** IT067

(International Organizations:

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO))

**Case file Number(s):** 555000-560799

**Box Number:** 16

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<DIST>SIT: VAX

4/21/88

<PREC> IMMEDIATE<CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~<OSRI> RUEHC #<DTG> 211217Z APR 88  
<ORIG>FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
<TO>TO RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE 0000  
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

WS

C.F.

555783

ITD 54

<SUBJ>SUBJECT: CARRINGTON FAREWELL VISIT PROGRAM

<TEXT>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 126000~~

E.O. 12356: N/A

clh

9/20/14

TAGS: NATO, PREL

SUBJECT: CARRINGTON FAREWELL VISIT PROGRAM

REF: HARRIS/EDDINS TELCON 4/15/88

1. FOLLOWING IS THE CURRENT RENDITION OF THE PROGRAM FOR NATO SYG PETER CARRINGTON'S FAREWELL VISIT TO THE U.S., MAY 8 TO 13. REQUEST MISSION PASS TO THE PRIVATE OFFICE FOR COMMENT AMUTHE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

BEGIN PROGRAM:

-----  
SUNDAY, MAY 8  
-----

1455 -- ARRIVE WASHINGTON VIA BA 217; PROCEED TO WATERGATE HOTEL.

1930 -- DINNER HOSTED BY UK EMBASSY MINISTER AND MRS. BRIAN FALL.

-----  
MONDAY, MAY 9  
-----

1100 -- ARRIVE PENTAGON RIVER ENTRANCE FOR MILITARY HONORS INCLUDING:

- FULL MILITARY HONORS;
- PRESENTATION OF APPROPRIATE AWARD;
- REMARKS BY SECRETARY CARLUCCI AND LORD CARRINGTON.

FOLLOWING -- INFORMAL RECEPTION.

FOLLOWING -- LUNCHEON HOSTED BY SECRETARY AND MRS. CARLUCCI.

1530 -- ARRIVE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR MEETING WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ.

1600-1800 -- SEMINAR ON THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE HOSTED BY SECRETARY SHULTZ.

(THE SECRETARY HAS DECIDED TO INVITE FOLLOWING PERSONS TO JOIN HIM AND CARRINGTON FOR THE SEMINAR:

- SECRETARY CARLUCCI
- LTG. POWELL
- SENATOR NUNN
- SENATOR WARNER
- CONGRESSMAN ASPIN
- CONGRESSMAN BROOMFIELD
- MR. J. SCHLESINGER
- MR. BRZEZINSKI
- AMB. RIDGWAY
- AMB. HOLMES
- AMB. KEEL)

1830 -- INFORMAL DINNER ABOARD THE CNO BARGE HOSTED BY THE SECRETARY AND MRS. SHULTZ.

(THE SECRETARY AND MRS. SHULTZ HAVE DECIDED TO INVITE THE FOLLOWING PERSONS TO JOIN THEM AND THE CARRINGTONS FOR

DINNER:

SECRETARY AND MRS. CARLUCCI  
LTG. AND MRS. POWELL  
AMB. AND MRS. VEST  
AMB. RIDGWAY AND CPT. DEMING)

-----  
TUESDAY, MAY 10  
-----

0800 -- BREAKFAST HOSTED BY THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES  
COMMITTEE AND SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE  
(SENATORS NUNN AND PELL ARRANGING).  
-- POSSIBLE BRIEF WHITE HOUSE EVENT.  
--  
--

-- LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE PRESIDENT.

1830 DINNER IN THE JEFFERSON ROOM HOSTED BY THE  
SECRETARY AND MRS. SHULTZ.  
(THE SECRETARY AND MRS. SHULTZ HAVE DECIDED TO INVITE THE  
FOLLOWING PERSONS TO JOIN THEM AND THE CARRINGTONS FOR  
DINNER:

STATE  
-----

UNDER SECRETARY AND MRS. ARMACOST  
AMB. NITZE  
AMB. AND MRS. KAMPELMAN  
AMB. RIDGWAY AND CPT. DEMING  
AMB. AND MRS. HOLMES  
AMB. AND MRS. KEEL  
AMB. ROOSEVELT AND MR. ROOSEVELT  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND MRS. REDMAN  
EUR DAS AND MRS. THOMAS  
MR. AND MRS. RAY L. CALDWELL  
MR. AND MRS. MARC GROSSMAN

OTHER EXECUTIVE BRANCH  
-----

SECRETARY AND MRS. CARLUCCI  
LTG. AND MRS. POWELL  
USIA DIRECTOR AND MRS. WICK  
ADM. AND MRS. CROWE

CONGRESS  
-----

SEN. AND MRS. PELL  
SEN. AND MRS. HELMS  
SEN. AND MRS. NUNN  
SEN. WARNER  
SEN. AND MRS. BIDEN  
CONG. AND MRS. FASCELL  
CONG. AND MRS. BROOMFIELD  
CONG. AND MRS. ASPIN  
CONG. AND MRS. DICKINSON  
CONG. AND MRS. HAMILTON

NON-GOVERNMENT  
-----

AMB. AND MRS. ABSHIRE  
MINISTER AND MRS. FALL  
GEN. AND MRS. GOODPASTER

-----  
WEDNESDAY, MAY 11  
-----

0615 - 0700 -- TAPING OF NBC TODAY SHOW.  
LUNCH OR EARLY AFTERNOON -- SPEECH ON THE ALLIANCE AT  
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY  
(TENTATIVE).

1745 - 1830 -- TAPING OF MCNEILL-LEHRER REPORT.  
(NOTE: NEWS PROGRAM SCHEDULING IS TENTATIVE. FINA  
SCHEDULING DECISIONS ARE MADE WITHIN 72 HOURS OF  
BROADCAST.)

-----  
THURSDAY, MAY 12  
-----

1600 -- TRAVEL TO NEW YORK VIA EAL 1490  
1830 -- DINNER HOSTED BY THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

-----  
FRIDAY, MAY 13  
-----

1345 -- DEPART FOR LONDON VIA BA 004.  
END PROGRAM.

2. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS DECIDED AGAINST SCHEDULING THE  
PRESIDENT TO ATTEND THE PREVIEW OF THE PUBLIC TELEVISION  
SERIES ON NATO AT THE ATLANTIC COUNCIL ON EITHER THE 10TH  
OR 11TH, THUS WE ARE NOT CURRENTLY SHOWING IT ON  
CARRINGTON'S SCHEDULE. NEVERTHELESS, WE UNDERSTAND THAT  
THE COUNCIL WILL BE ASKING CARRINGTON TO MAKE AN APPEARANCE  
ON HIS OWN.

3. AS IN THE PAST, DS WILL PROVIDE A TWO-AGENT SECURITY  
DETAIL ON CARRINGTON FOR THE DURATION OF HIS U.S. STAY.  
THE DEPARTMENT WILL ALSO COVER THE COST OF LEASING ONE LIMO  
WITH DRIVER WHILE CARRINGTON IS IN WASHINGTON. WHITEHEAD

<SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01<SSN> 6000<STOR> 880421084605 MSG000198924365  
<TOR>880421085139

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

560226  
711611

5/5/88

MEMORANDUM

TO: COLIN POWELL

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Present Medal of Freedom to Lord Carrington

DATE: May 10, 1988

TIME: 1:15 pm

DURATION: 10 minutes

LOCATION: Roosevelt Room

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION:

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

M. Archambault	Advance Office	P. Stevens
A. Kranowitz	J. Hooley	
J. Courtemanche	J. Kuhn	
E. Crispen	J. Lamb	
R. Dawson	J. Manning	
F. Donatelli	J. McKinney	
D. Dellinger	N. Risque	
A. Dolan	D. Johnson	
J. Erkenbeck	R. Shaddick	
L. Faulkner	G. Walters	
C. Fuller	WHCA Audio/Visual	
M. Fitzwater	WHCA Operations	
T. Griscom		

FO/

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/1/88

560226  
I + 667  
50003  
FG006-10  
PR007-01

MEMORANDUM

WR

TO: COLIN POWELL (Coordinate with Jack Courtemanche)

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *FR*

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Luncheon for Lord Carrington

DATE: May 10, 1988

TIME: 12:00 noon

DURATION: 75 minutes

LOCATION: Old Family Dining Room, Residence

BACKUP LOCATION:

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY

PARTICIPATION: No

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- |                 |                   |            |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------|
| M. Archambault  | Advance Office    | P. Stevens |
| W. Ball         | J. Hooley         |            |
| J. Courtemanche | J. Kuhn           |            |
| E. Crispen      | J. Lamb           |            |
| R. Dawson       | J. Manning        |            |
| F. Donatelli    | J. McKinney       |            |
| D. Dellinger    | N. Risque         |            |
| A. Dolan        | D. Johnson        |            |
| J. Erkenbeck    | R. Shaddick       |            |
| L. Faulkner     | G. Walters        |            |
| C. Fuller       | WHCA Audio/Visual |            |
| M. Fitzwater    | WHCA Operations   |            |
| T. Griscom      |                   |            |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/1/88

Sandy:

Mary Kay called to asked about the  
May 10 lunch for Lord Carrington.

She asks: what time, how long and  
location?

HCD

75 min

Old Family  
DIR

12:00

Sandy

I have asked  
Jack C. about  
(May 10) He is  
checking and will  
get back to me.  
Fred

Sandy  
FYI  
10  
May 10

10  
an for  
May 10<sup>am</sup>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0980

February 27, 1988

RECEIVED *KS*

FEB 27 1988

SCHEDULING  
OFFICE

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS *PS*

SUBJECT: Visit of Peter Carrington, NATO Secretary General

Peter Carrington steps down from his job as NATO Secretary General this June. Before then, he plans a visit to each NATO capital. The planning for these 16 stops is well under way, and everywhere he travels, there will be receptions and dinners, based on a general recognition that Carrington has been a superb Secretary General.

Carrington would like to come to Washington in May. He has come to Washington traditionally each spring, and most often has seen the President. This time, the State Department is recommending not only an office meeting, but a Rose Garden ceremony during which he is presented with the Medal of Freedom, plus a White House dinner in his honor. (Tab A)

This may be more than necessary, but it is true that Carrington's predecessor, Joseph Luns, was treated to all these events when he came to Washington prior to his retirement in 1984.

What is especially important in this instance is that we fix a date to invite Carrington to Washington, and have the President mention the date to Carrington when they see each other in Brussels next week. Carrington's preferred time is the second week in May. He will be in Turkey in mid-April, and in Germany on May 5-6.

It is desirable that in connection with the visit, we fix on an award of some kind to give Carrington, and that the President and Mrs. Reagan host a luncheon or dinner in honor of Lord and Lady Carrington.

cc: Tom Griscom  
Jack Courtemanche

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR



February 27, 1988

ACTION

dlb

5/26/14

Fred:  
FYI  
RECEIVED  
FEB 29 1988  
SCHEDULING  
OFFICE  
KS

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS *PS*

SUBJECT: Visit of Peter Carrington, NATO Secretary General

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? It is desirable that in connection with the visit, we fix on an award of some kind to give Carrington, and that the President and Mrs. Reagan host a luncheon or dinner in honor of Lord and Lady Carrington. *||*

cc: Tom Griscom ✓  
Jack Courtemanche

RECOMMENDATIONS:

That an invitation for a visit be extended to NATO SYG Carrington by the President next week for a date in the second week in May.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the White House consider a suitable award for Carrington -- including the possibility of the Medal of Freedom.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the President and Mrs. Reagan host a meal in honor of Lord and Lady Carrington.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab A State Recommendation

cc: Thomas Griscom  
Jack Courtemanche

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

0980

February 5, 1988

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Suggested Participation by the President in the  
~~May 5-6, 1988~~ Washington Visit of NATO Secretary  
General Peter Carrington

NATO Secretary General Peter Carrington plans to be in Washington ~~May 5-6~~ for his traditional spring round of consultations with key members of the Administration and Congress. Carrington has expressed a desire to meet with the President while he is in Washington. The President has generally met with Carrington on these occasions (the last was November 5, 1987), and the Department strongly recommends that he do so again.

Lord Carrington's term as Secretary General expires in June; he has done a splendid job at NATO. Carrington has been a strong and consistent backer of Administration security and arms control objectives. His efforts to promote Alliance political toughness and solidarity in the face of determined Soviet pressure tactics during INF deployment and the U.S.-Soviet negotiations were nothing short of remarkable. As the INF Treaty moves into the ratification phase, Carrington has been a leader in marshaling strong and public European support for the accord. Peter Carrington is one of Europe's best known and most widely respected authorities on NATO political and security relations. We are confident that even in retirement, his voice will continue to be heard on both sides of the Atlantic.

A May meeting with Carrington would provide the President with an opportunity to bring the SYG up to date on U.S. thinking on the Moscow Summit, while the public nature of the encounter would highlight the U.S. commitment to consult closely with the Allies throughout the summit process. In addition to reviewing the full range of NATO business, Carrington will want to share his views on the long term prospects for the Alliance.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE CONFIDENTIAL

08 FEB 5 11:03  
SITUATION ROOM  
The President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy was established by Executive Order on November 26, 1963. The Commission was charged with the duty of determining the facts and circumstances surrounding the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and identifying the person or persons responsible for the assassination. The Commission was also charged with the duty of recommending such measures as might be appropriate to prevent a recurrence of such a tragedy.

The Commission was composed of seven members, including the President, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chief Justice of the United States, and three members appointed by the President. The Commission held numerous public hearings and received many suggestions and information from the public. The Commission's report, "Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy," was released on September 24, 1964. The report concluded that the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was the result of a conspiracy involving several individuals, including Lee Harvey Oswald, who was the assassin.

On November 2, 1964, the Commission recommended that the President should meet with the Commission to discuss its findings and recommendations. The President met with the Commission on November 2, 1964, and the Commission presented its report to the President. The President accepted the Commission's findings and recommendations. The Commission's report is a landmark document in the history of the United States and is a key source of information on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Subject: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Memorandum dated of NYIO Secretary  
dateded by the President to the

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN F. BOWEN

CONFIDENTIAL



10/12/64  
10/12/64  
10/12/64  
10/12/64

10/12/64

CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

Since this will be Carrington's final round of consultations before his tenure at NATO ends in June, we believe that a more elaborate White House program would appropriately seal the enormously productive and friendly relationship which the President and Carrington have enjoyed over the past four years.

Specifically, we recommend that:

- The President briefly receive Carrington in the Oval Office.
- Immediately following the meeting, the President escort Carrington to the Rose Garden and there present him with the Medal of Freedom in a public ceremony. (We would note that the President presented the Medal of Freedom to Carrington's predecessor, Joseph Luns, on the occasion of his final Washington consultations May 30, 1984).
- The President and Mrs. Reagan host a White House dinner for Lord and Lady Carrington which would include perhaps 100 invited guests from the Administration, the Congress and distinguished persons from the private sector (again, there is a precedent from the 1984 Luns retirement).



Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0980

DECLASSIFIED  
Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
BY *AS* NARA, DATE *5/20/01*

February 27, 1988

*2/29/88*  
*Fred:*  
*FYE*

*CF*  
*560226*  
*ITD67*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR.

FROM: PAUL SCHOTT STEVENS *PS*

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cc: Tom Griscom ✓  
Jack Courtemanche

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

2

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Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

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Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab A State Recommendation

cc: Thomas Griscom  
Jack Courtemanche

CONFIDENTIAL

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

0980

February 5, 1988



DECLASSIFIED  
 Dept. of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
 BY dh NARA, DATE 5/20/19

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR COLIN L. POWELL  
 THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: ~~May 5-6, 1988~~ Suggested Participation by the President in the  
 Washington Visit of NATO Secretary  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



CONFIDENTIAL

-2-

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Melvyn Levitsky  
Executive Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

aj  
Paul R. Porter  
8400 Vamo Road  
Sarasota, Florida 33581

#7402  
560806

IT067

FG 006-12

October 8, 1987

Hon. Frank C. Carlucci  
National Security Adviser  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Mr. Carlucci:

I hope that the enclosed thoughts derived in part from my experience in helping to create NATO may have some value to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,



Paul R. Porter

x

NSC # 8707402

## A PLAUSIBLE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS FOR FURTHER ARMS REDUCTION

By Paul R. Porter  
8400 Vamo Road, Sarasota, FL 34231

The following thoughts are influenced by my experience as assistant administrator of the Marshall Plan and later as a senior member of the American team that helped put the "O" into NATO (deputy U. S. special representative in Europe for economic affairs). Although the North Atlantic Treaty had been signed in 1949, there was not an effective organization until our team, negotiating in Paris throughout 1952 and early 1953 with counterparts from the European members and Canada, established force levels, a command structure, base locations, infrastructure, and an initial sharing of costs.

Since that time the conduct of a coherent foreign policy has been made more difficult by a tendency, especially strong in the Congress and the media where narrow-purpose lobby groups exert disproportionate influence, to treat some major objectives as free-standing purposes unrelated to other objectives. This is notably true in the case of arms control, but it is evident also in the growing awareness that our allies should do more to help themselves.

The pursuit of either as a single purpose can seriously damage our national security. Both need to be placed in the context of two other objectives that are important to us: the preservation and strengthening of NATO as an institution and the achievement of a balance of conventional forces in Europe. Each of the four should support the others in a plausible sequence of events. In reverse order, such a sequence would be:

1. At the end of the chain would be a major reduction of nuclear weapons (say, in the 50% range endorsed in principle by both Reagan and Gorbachev). To try to get there by a short cut could cause our allies, intimidated by the preponderance of Soviet conventional forces on their doorstep, to separate themselves from us and to seek to appease the Soviet Union, leaving us isolated. In contrast, the sequence of events proposed here would strengthen the alliance.

2. A balance of conventional forces in Europe should be established as a condition for a major reduction of nuclear weapons. Not we alone, but NATO with Europeans in the forefront would be the negotiator for this objective. The method should be a reduction of conventional arms on both sides to result in an equality of strength in Europe. The valuable precedent of asymmetrical reduction for that purpose has been established in the pending removal of intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe. In the present climate of opinion, a proposal to build Western European conventional forces to the East-bloc level would fail. A proposal for a reduction by the Soviet Union alone

## A PLAUSIBLE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS FOR FURTHER ARMS REDUCTION

would also fail. But a proposal for a mutual reduction of conventional forces resulting in an equality - the context in which the precedent of asymmetry could be invoked - would have a broad appeal in NATO countries on both sides of the Atlantic, putting the Russians in a defensive position in the contest for public opinion.

NATO's real bargaining strength would be economic. The Russians need credits and external technology as well as internal reforms if they are to modernize their economy, and if they also need a cutback in military spending as many observers believe, then the concerted economic power of NATO members holds the potential of ending Soviet military superiority in Europe for the first time since World War II. An increase in credits and non-military technology transfers should be available to the Soviet Union and its satellites if they agree to reduce their conventional forces to a NATO level. Conversely, it should be made known discreetly that the price of a refusal would be a full embargo on credits and technology transfers.

3. For the bargaining power of NATO to be fully realized, its members need to agree upon an updated mutual security strategy (i.e., a plausible sequence of events and the means of producing them). Its central doctrine should be that while the United States reaffirms its pledge to defend other NATO members from Soviet aggression, the Europeans must do more to help themselves. Western Europe has a larger population than the Soviet Union; it has a larger productive capacity; it is more inventive; and it has the immense advantage that its people enjoy freedom. Only the absence of political unity prevents Western Europe from being a power comparable to the United States and the Soviet Union. We cannot directly promote a United States of Europe, but indirectly we can nudge our NATO allies into a further step in that direction. (When the conduct of our foreign policy was more integrated than it is today, the Marshall Plan and our support for NATO were used to nudge our allies to create the European Economic Community).

4. A significantly higher level of cooperation among Western European nations for their mutual defense will be not be obtained easily or, under present conditions, without an American initiative. The initiative must be bold enough to transform and excite public opinion in Western Europe and the United States, much as the Marshall initiative did forty years ago. Besides proposing a mutual reduction of conventional forces to a level of equality in Europe, the initiative should include a notification to NATO that we wish American military bases in Europe to be converted into NATO bases which NATO would maintain in its name and to which troops of any NATO member could be deployed according to need. After negotiations to establish a balance of conventional forces, European troops would be substituted for some of the American troops stationed in Europe.

## A PLAUSIBLE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS FOR FURTHER ARMS REDUCTION

The several reasons for converting American bases into NATO bases include needs to reduce the anti-Americanism that thrives on resented dependence, to check the growth of isolationist sentiment in this country, and to facilitate the substitution of European troops for some of ours. But the most important would be a tangible demonstration of a higher level of cooperation among the European members of NATO.

NATO - not we alone - would negotiate the renewal of base agreements. Present behavior of the Greek government shows the desirability of giving NATO that responsibility. In 1950, our combined economic and military aid accounted for almost a quarter of the Greek gross national product; today, our leverage is small and for that reason Papandreou can cast us in the role of a petitioner. But the leverage is reversed in the relationship of Greece to the other European members of NATO, most of whom are also members of the European Economic Community. Inadequate though it is, the EEC is a partial step toward European unity. It has also granted special privileges to Greece which the Greek government would not put at risk by behaving toward European negotiators in the manner it now shows toward us.

It is reasonable to ask why we who created the NATO structure did not establish NATO instead of American bases then. The answer is that NATO was too new and untried to give its nervous European members the assurance that they found in American bases.

When NATO was in its infancy, I cited a potential parallel between it and the ancient Confederacy of Delos, the defensive alliance of Greek city-states against the menacing Persians. Athens bore the main burden of defending its Ionian allies, but the unequal responsibility caused the confederacy to break up in less than a generation. With good management, NATO has already lasted twice as long, but the imbalance between American and European responsibility will remain a nagging weakness until the Europeans are seen more prominently in the front line of their defense.

The sequence of events proposed above rests on another sequence that has made its contemplation realistic: the rebuilding of our military strength, the start of the SDI, and the pending treaty for the removal of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe. #

10/7/1987

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