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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

2379



CJ

30 MAR 1987

IT067

FG013

PR007

FG006-12

Frank

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: NATO Air Chiefs Visit

The NATO Air Chiefs will visit the United States from May 27th to June 7th, 1987, with meetings scheduled for May 28th and 29th in Washington. They represent the senior military air commanders of our nation's most important military alliance; their biennial tour to the US provides an important opportunity to meet with key US officials and to visit selected Air Force installations.

The biennial tour of NATO's Air Chiefs to the US provides them an opportunity to visit selected Air Force facilities and meet with key officials to discuss issues of interest. It is these meetings with senior US officials which the Air Chiefs have traditionally found to be most important.

In May of 1986 the Latin American Air Chiefs (CONJEFAMER) visited Washington, D.C., and met with the Vice President, the National Security Advisor, and other prominent Administration and Cabinet officials. The meetings proved to be the highlight of their tour and served to underscore the importance of the visit as well as the US commitment to the region.

Our commitment to NATO and to addressing the Alliance's important challenges is unquestioned. In view of President Reagan's interest in NATO, I believe it would be beneficial to arrange for a few brief moments on the Presidential calendar, so that he might underscore the trust and mutual understanding we rely upon to assure NATO's future. I appreciate your assistance in forwarding this request to the President.

NSC # 8702379

87 MAR 31
87 MAR 31

ALL: 22
ALL: 22

374

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

87 MAR 31 12:09

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 2379

ACTION OFFICER: COCKELL DUE: 3 APR.

- Prepare Memo For President
- Prepare Memo For Carlucci / Powell
- Prepare Memo _____ to _____
- Prepare Memo Green to Peterson / Murr
- Appropriate Action

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS* PHONE* to action officer at ext. 4970

FYI	FYI	FYI
<input type="checkbox"/> Batjer	<input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer	<input type="checkbox"/> Reger
<input type="checkbox"/> Bemis	<input type="checkbox"/> Howard	<input type="checkbox"/> Rodman
<input type="checkbox"/> Brooks	<input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B.	<input type="checkbox"/> Rosenberg
<input type="checkbox"/> Burns	<input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J.	<input type="checkbox"/> Ross
<input type="checkbox"/> Childress	<input type="checkbox"/> Kimberling	<input type="checkbox"/> Rostow
<input type="checkbox"/> Cobb	<input type="checkbox"/> Kissell	<input type="checkbox"/> Saunders
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<input type="checkbox"/> Dean, B.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mahley	<input type="checkbox"/> Sorzano
<input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky	<input type="checkbox"/> Major	<input type="checkbox"/> Steiner
<input type="checkbox"/> Donley	<input type="checkbox"/> Mathews	<input type="checkbox"/> Stevens
<input type="checkbox"/> Douglass	<input type="checkbox"/> McNamara	<input type="checkbox"/> St Martin
<input type="checkbox"/> Ermarth	<input type="checkbox"/> Oakley	<input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli
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<input type="checkbox"/> Fortier	<input type="checkbox"/> Porter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> THOMPSON
<input type="checkbox"/> Grimes	<input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi	<input type="checkbox"/> _____

- INFORMATION
- Green
 - Rodman
 - Carlucci (advance)
 - Pearson
 - Cockell
 - Powell (advance)
 - Secretariat
 - _____
 - _____

COMMENTS *In formal coordination with Presidential scheduling revealed that the request was impossible to fulfill. Therefore, no formal action was taken or required.*

DC Mahley

Return to Secretariat

RECEIVED 31 MAR 87 14

TO CARLUCCI

FROM WEINBERGER, C

DOCDATE 30 MAR 87

KEYWORDS: NATO

CM

AP

SUBJECT: REQUEST APPT W/ PRES FOR NATO AIR CHIEF VISIT / US 27 MAY - 7 JUN

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR CARLUCCI DUE: 03 APR 87 STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COCKELL

LINHARD

MAHLEY

GREEN

THOMPSON

PEARSON

POWELL

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(LF JF)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	5/27	Appt not possible		
C	5/27	Handled by phone per Mahley		

DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE

WJ / *SE*
(C)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 22, 1987

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IT067

FG013

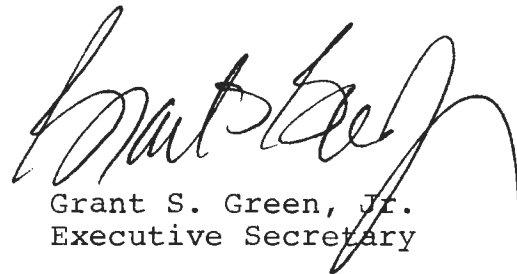
FG006-12

MEMORANDUM FOR COL JAMES F. LEMON
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

SUBJECT: Draft SECDEF Speech on NATO

Subject speech has been reviewed and recommended changes have been noted on the attached copy. Subject to these changes, the draft is cleared by NSC.

Attachment
Tab A Draft Speech



Grant S. Green, Jr.
Executive Secretary

NSC # 8702972

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SIGNED

ACTION

April 22, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR GRANT S. GREEN, JR.

FROM: WILLIAM A. COCKELL *WZ.*

SUBJECT: Draft Weinberger Speech on NATO

Recommended changes to the draft Weinberger speech are provided on the copy at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION

That you transmit to Colonel Lemon the memorandum at Tab I, with the speech draft containing NSC proposed changes.

Approve 6

Disapprove _____

In draft Fritz Ermarth and Peter Sommer concur.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Lemon

Tab A Draft Speech with NSC Comments

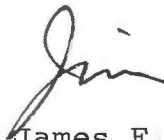
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 21, 1987

MEMO FOR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NSC

Attached is a draft speech on NATO that Secretary Weinberger is planning to give in San Francisco. If you have any comments on the text, please provide them to John Duncan or Steve Aubin at 693-2068 by 5:00 P.M., Wednesday, April 22.



James F. Lemon

Attachment

87 APR 21 11:36

DUNCAN/AUBIN
X32068
APRIL 20, 1987

2972

REMARKS BY SECRETARY WEINBERGER
TO A SAN FRANCISCO AUDIENCE

NATO: MORE THAN JUST A MILITARY ALLIANCE

SAN FRANCISCO, SYMBOLIZED BY THE GOLDEN GATE BRIDGE, IS OFTEN REFERRED TO AS "THE GATEWAY TO THE PACIFIC." INDEED, WHEN IT COMES TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS--ESPECIALLY TRADE--THE ATTENTION OF THIS COMMUNITY IS OFTEN FOCUSED ACROSS THE PACIFIC ON COUNTRIES SUCH AS JAPAN, CHINA, KOREA, AND THE PHILIPPINES.

IN FACT, ACROSS THE WESTERN UNITED STATES THERE SEEMS TO BE ALMOST AN OBSESSION WITH THE ECONOMIC DYNAMISM AND VITALITY OF ASIA, IN CONTRAST TO A MORE DETACHED FEELING TOWARD, AND INTEREST IN, EUROPE.

WELL, TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT NATO. FOR I BELIEVE THAT THE WESTERN UNITED STATES AND INDEED ALL OF THE U.S. HAS THE SAME VITAL STAKE IN NATO AND EUROPE AS IT HAS IN THE IMPORTANT COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC. AS THE RECENT TRADE PROBLEMS WITH JAPAN ATTRACT OUR ATTENTION, WE MUST BE CAREFUL NOT TO IGNORE ONE PART OF THE WORLD AT THE EXPENSE OF ANOTHER. WE CANNOT RETREAT FROM OUR WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES, NOR AFFORD TO IGNORE OUR VITAL INTERESTS AROUND THE GLOBE.

LATELY, HOWEVER, SOME ARE SUGGESTING THAT WE DO JUST THAT. THEY CITE A GROWING TRADE DEFICIT AND CONTEND THAT WE COULD SAVE MONEY BY PULLING SOME TROOPS OUT OF EUROPE. APART FROM THE FACT THAT THAT IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE IN ECONOMIC TERMS, THE ATTITUDE BEHIND THESE SUGGESTIONS IS WHAT IS MOST DANGEROUS OF ALL: HERE, I SPEAK OF A TENDENCY TOWARD ISOLATIONISM, A TREND EXHIBITED IN CALLS FOR DISENGAGEMENT IN THE WORLD AND IN THE CALL FOR PROTECTIONISM AT HOME. THE LAST TIME THE UNITED STATES WAS SEDUCED BY THE ALLURE OF ISOLATIONISM,

THE RESULT WAS A WORLD WAR.

TODAY, WE ARE NOT IN EUROPE JUST BECAUSE OF SOME ANACHRONISM OF HISTORY. IN ADDITION TO THE DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND APPRECIATION FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS WE SHARE WITH THE EUROPEANS, WE MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT OUR NATION'S FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE IS EUROPE. AND WE CAN DEFEND OURSELVES BEST FROM EUROPE, IN COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES.

FRANKLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES COULD SURVIVE IN A WORLD WHERE EUROPE WAS DOMINATED BY THE SOVIET UNION.

LET US LOOK BACK FOR A MINUTE TO THE WORLD IN 1945 THROUGH 1950. EUROPE HAD BEEN RAVAGED BY WAR. OLD EMPIRES WERE CRUMBLING: NATIONS WERE HARBORING OLD ANTIPATHIES AND DISTRUSTS. IT WAS A TIME WHEN AMERICA WAS SUDDENLY THE ONLY GREAT WESTERN POWER IN A VERY UNSTABLE WORLD. WE WERE RELUCTANTLY THRUST INTO A POSITION OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE CHALLENGE WAS TO REDESIGN A STABLE WORLD ORDER.

OF COURSE, ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE GLOBE WAS ANOTHER NEW

WORLD POWER WHOSE INTERESTS AND AMBITIONS COULD ONLY BE MET BY CREATING INSTABILITY. THE SOVIETS HAD LEARNED THAT THE EXERTION OF MILITARY POWER WAS THE KEY TO ACHIEVING THEIR GOALS.

THE FIRST MAJOR SOVIET CHALLENGE CAME IN EASTERN EUROPE. AMERICAN DIPLOMATS MADE HONEST EFFORTS TO ACCOMMODATE SOVIET SECURITY CONCERNS, AND RAPIDLY LEARNED THAT SOVIET "SECURITY" APPEARED TO HAVE UNLIMITED BOUNDS.

AS AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS CONSIDERED THIS WORLD, THEY ENGAGED IN A DEBATE--THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH WOULD HAVE DRAMATIC EFFECT ON THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE. EACH NEW GENERATION MUST HAVE A VISION FOR THEIR FUTURE--JUST AS OUR GENERATION OF YESTERYEAR RESPONDED TO THE VISIONS OF ACHESON, TRUMAN, AND OTHER GREAT STATESMEN.

THERE IS TODAY A TENDENCY TO GLOSS OVER THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES, BETWEEN TOTALITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY. I HAVE REFERRED TO THIS IN THE PAST AS ASCRIBING A FALSE "MORAL

EQUIVALENCE" TO THE TWO SYSTEMS.

WE LOOK HOPEFULLY FOR SIGNS OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE BUT,

AS WE IN THE WEST CONFRONT A MORE ACTIVE SOVIET UNION UNDER

THE ENERGETIC LEADERSHIP OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, WE MUST BEAR IN

MIND THAT BEHIND THE VENEER OF CHANGE, *WE HAVE OBSERVED THUS FAR,* THERE IS STILL THE

[~~UNCHANGABLE AND~~] BANKRUPT COMMUNIST SYSTEM; BEHIND THE POLICY

OF GLASNOST IS THE SPECTER OF THE KGB, WHOSE AGENTS DEFINE

OPENNESS IN A VERY DIFFERENT MANNER THAN WE IN THE WEST; AND

BEHIND THE WIDELY HAILED "REFORMS" IS A COMMUNIST PARTY

MACHINERY WHICH IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PLURALITY **** WE SO

OFTEN TAKE FOR GRANTED. AS MUCH AS THE NEW SOVIET LEADERSHIP,

WOULD LIKE TO CONVINCe THE WORLD OTHERWISE, THE SOVIET UNION

IS NOT JUST ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS: IT

IS A TIGHTLY-CONTROLLED, TOTALITARIAN STATE WHOSE VALUES ARE

ALIEN TO FREE SOCIETIES, AND WHOSE MILITARY MIGHT IS A CONSTANT

THREAT TO OUR SURVIVAL. INDEED, THE BALANCE OF CONVENTIONAL

FORCES IN EUROPE HAS HISTORICALLY FAVORED, AND STILL FAVORS,

THE WARSAW PACT BY SIZEABLE MARGINS.

** These changes bring the formulation into closer conformance with the tenor of the President's recent San Francisco speech, without retaining the suggestion of fundamental skepticism regarding "reforms" to date.
** Do you mean "pluralism" here? "Political pluralism" would be even better.*

WRITING IN 1835, ALEX DE TOCQUEVILLE NOTED THAT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS TEND TO BE MORE PROSPEROUS AND TEND TO BUILD THE REAL STRENGTH OF SOCIETY THAT ELUDES DESPOTIC STATES. HOWEVER, HE ALSO WARNED THAT IN SPITE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, DEMOCRACIES CONSTANTLY RUN THE RISK OF BEING CONQUERED BY DESPOTIC STATES. THE CONSTANT AND ENORMOUS GROWTH IN SOVIET MILITARY SPENDING AT THE EXPENSE OF DOMESTIC WELL-BEING UNDERSCORES THIS POINT.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM ARE FUNDAMENTALLY INCOMPATIBLE. BUT WHAT MANY FAIL TO REALIZE IS THAT THEY CAN COEXIST ONLY TO THE EXTENT THAT THE DEMOCRACY IS STRONG ENOUGH TO COMPEL THE COMMUNIST STATE TO RESPECT ITS EXISTENCE. THIS IS THE STARK REALITY OF OUR TIME. AND THIS REALITY HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE GREAT STATESMEN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. IN HIS REMARKABLE SPEECH AT FULTON, MISSOURI IN MARCH 1946, WINSTON CHURCHILL SOUNDED A WARNING:"...IF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES STAND TOGETHER IN STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, THEIR INFLUENCE FOR FURTHERING

THOSE PRINCIPLES WILL BE IMMENSE AND NO ONE IS LIKELY TO MOLEST THEM. IF, HOWEVER, THEY BECOME DIVIDED OR FALTER IN THEIR DUTY, AND IF THESE ALL-IMPORTANT YEARS ARE ALLOWED TO SLIP AWAY, THEN INDEED CATASTROPHES MAY OVERWHELM US ALL."

IN HIS SPEECH, CHURCHILL OUTLINED THE NEED FOR A COLLECTIVE DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC NATIONS. AND FORTUNATELY, THE WESTERN NATIONS DID NOT ALLOW THOSE "ALL-IMPORTANT" YEARS TO SLIP AWAY. IN FACT, IN THE FOLLOWING FEW YEARS THE WORLD WITNESSED THE PROCLAMATION OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, WHICH STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD "SUPPORT FREE PEOPLES WHO ARE RESISTING ATTEMPTED SUBJUGATION," THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MARSHALL PLAN AIMED AT REVITALIZING THE ECONOMIES OF EUROPE, AND THE SIGNING OF THE BRUSSELS PACT BY THE EUROPEANS, A FIRST STEP TOWARD COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, CANADA AND THE EUROPEANS APPROACHED THE UNITED STATES ABOUT ENLARGING THE SCOPE OF THE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT.

IN ADDITION TO THE ACTIVE STATESMENSHP OF U.S. GOVERNMENT

REPRESENTATIVES, THEN-SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN ACHESON POINTED OUT THAT OUR CONGRESS WAS ALSO INSTRUMENTAL IN PAVING THE WAY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT IN APRIL 1949 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION. IN JUNE 1948, SENATOR ARTHUR VANDENBERG, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, HELPED CRAFT THE RESOLUTION THAT BEARS HIS NAME, AND WHICH STATES THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD PURSUE COLLECTIVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SELF-DEFENSE. IN HIS MEMOIRS, ACHESON NOTES THAT VANDERBERG "GOT THE SENATE TO GIVE GOOD ADVICE," WHICH MEANT THAT THE SENATE ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY IN ADVANCE OF GIVING ITS CONSENT TO RATIFICATION. HIS POINT ^{UNDENIABLE} [SUGGESTS] THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF THE CONGRESS IN SUPPORTING THE KIND OF ENGAGEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS WHICH IS NECESSARY IF WE ARE TO AVOID THE GRAVE ERRORS THE UNITED STATES COMMITTED DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS. ISOLATIONISM DID NOT SERVE US WELL THEN AND WILL NOT SERVE US WELL NOW. FORTRESS AMERICA IS AN ILLUSION. WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED THE NEWLY ESTABLISHED UNITED STATES

*Suggested
Editorial.*

OF "ENTANGLING ALLIANCES," CONDITIONS WERE VERY DIFFERENT. AT THE TIME, THE TWO OCEANS DID PROVIDE PROTECTION FOR OUR FLEDGLING DEMOCRACY. WE NEEDED THE TIME, WHICH THE GREAT DISTANCE PROVIDED US, TO BUILD A GOVERNMENT UNLIKE ANY OTHER IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

TODAY, ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR VERY FUTURE DEPENDS UPON OUR TRADE AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH OTHER NATIONS WHICH SHARE OUR VALUES AND DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE. ONE WRITER IN THE 1950s, WHILE COMMENTING ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, OBSERVED: "... THE CONCEPT OF A FREE MAN AND A FREE MIND IN AN OPEN AND FREE SOCIETY, WHICH AROSE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNTRIES, IS A DARING AND RARE PHENOMENON IN HISTORY.... SUCH A NEW AND DIFFICULT CIVILISATION CAN BE PRESERVED, DEVELOPED, AND SPREAD ONLY IF ITS MEMBERS BECOME UNITED IN A COMMON EFFORT, CONSCIOUS OF THE NATURE OF THEIR COMMON VALUES AND WAY OF LIFE." HE WENT ON TO SAY, "TO THE FUTURE HISTORIAN, THE UNITY AND NEW VITALITY OF THE WEST FORGED BY THE CHALLENGES AND MISFORTUNES OF

OUR TIME, MAY WELL APPEAR TO BE THE OUTSTANDING EVENT OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY."

A FEW WEEKS BEFORE THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY WAS SIGNED, DEAN ACHESON ADDRESSED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THE RADIO TO EXPLAIN THE MEANING OF THE NATO PACT, STATING THAT THE TREATY WAS THE PRODUCT OF AT LAST 350 YEARS OF HISTORY. HE REMARKED, "THE PARAMOUNT PURPOSES OF THE PACT ARE PEACE AND SECURITY. IF PEACE AND SECURITY CAN BE ACHIEVED IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, WE SHALL HAVE GONE A LONG WAY TO ASSURE PEACE AND SECURITY IN OTHER AREAS AS WELL."

HE CLOSED HIS ADDRESS BY SAYING THAT "TO HAVE THIS GENUINE PEACE WE MUST CONSTANTLY WORK FOR IT. BUT WE MUST DO EVEN MORE. WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ARMED ATTACK WILL BE MET BY COLLECTIVE DEFENSE, PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE." THAT POINT HAS NOT CHANGED IN ALMOST 40 YEARS, CONTRARY TO WHAT IS SAID AND WRITTEN BY THOSE WHO ARE ENGAGED IN WHAT HAS BEEN POPULARLY CALLED "NATO-BASHING."

INDEED, THERE ARE THOSE ON THE LEFT, ON THE RIGHT, AND IN

BETWEEN, WHO QUESTION THE UTILITY OF OUR COMMITMENT TO NATO. SOME ON THE RIGHT SAY EUROPEANS SHOULD MAKE A GREATER CONTRIBUTION TO THEIR OWN DEFENSE; THAT U.S. INTERESTS NO LONGER REVOLVE AROUND WESTERN EUROPE; AND THAT NATO TENDS TO DIMINISH U.S. RESOLVE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. ^{Some} [THOSE] ON THE LEFT BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE GREAT ^{Suggested. Edit.} ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO BRINGING OUR TROOPS HOME FROM EUROPE. THEY ALSO CLAIM THAT THE SOVIET THREAT IS GREATLY EXAGGERATED AND THAT WAR IN EUROPE IS UNLIKELY ANYWAY. AND EVEN MORE TRADITIONAL THINKERS ARE TALKING ABOUT A NEED TO REFORM NATO AND REDEFINE ROLES.

WELL, THE ANSWER TO ALL OF THESE CRITICS IS SIMPLE: THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE CONTINUES TO BE THE CENTERPIECE OF WESTERN DEFENSE STRATEGY. THE BULK OF SOVIET FORCES ARE ARRAYED AGAINST WESTERN EUROPE; AND THE THREAT IS NOT EXAGGERATED. EUROPEAN SECURITY IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO AMERICAN SECURITY; AND EUROPEANS DO MAKE A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFENSE OF THE WEST. UNFORTUNATELY THE CRITICS TEND TO IGNORE THE FACT THAT THE EUROPEAN NATO ALLIES PROVIDE ABOUT 60% OF THE GROUND FORCES AND OVER HALF OF THE COMBAT AIR FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE.

*Suggested
Edits*

OFTEN FAIL TO

MOREOVER, WE IN THE UNITED STATES ~~(MIGHT NOT)~~ APPRECIATE THE SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS BORNE BY SOME OF OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. FOR INSTANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IS THE SIZE OF OREGON, YET IT HOSTS 400,000 FOREIGN TROOPS ON ITS SOIL IN ADDITION TO ITS OWN HALF-MILLION ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY AND 800,000 RESERVISTS. ADD TO THAT OVER 100,000 LOW LEVEL FLIGHTS AND SOME 5,000 MANEUVERS AND EXERCISES A YEAR--CONDUCTED ON FARMERS' LAND-- ALL OF WHICH CAUSES ABOUT \$100 MILLION DOLLARS IN DAMAGE EACH YEAR.

THOSE WHO SAY THAT BRINGING TROOPS HOME WOULD SAVE MONEY ALSO OVERLOOK THE HARD FACTS: FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF 100,000 TROOPS, AS SOME HAVE SUGGESTED, WE ESTIMATE A ONE-TIME COST FOR TRANSPORTING AND BASING THEM IN THE UNITED STATES OF \$5 BILLION. LARGE ADDITIONAL COSTS WOULD ALSO BE ASSOCIATED WITH A RAPID DEPLOYMENT IN TIMES OF CRISIS OR WAR. BUT BEYOND THESE ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS, THERE IS A FAR MORE IMPORTANT ASPECT TO THE QUESTION OF U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE. WE NEED TO MAINTAIN OUR PRESENCE AS A VISIBLE SIGN OF OUR COMMITMENT, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO

REDUCE OUR RELIANCE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE.

ANY WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS AT THIS TIME WOULD HAVE VERY NEGATIVE COSEQUENCES. FIRST OF ALL, IT WOULD STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THOSE IN EUROPE WHO CLAIM THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT REALLY A THREAT AND WHO USE SUCH REASONING TO CALL FOR A DECREASE IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE SPENDING. IN FACT, MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTIES IN SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OPENLY ADVOCATE ALTERNATIVE DEFENSE STRATEGIES THAT IN MANY INSTANCES AMOUNT TO LITTLE MORE THAN "DEFENSELESS DEFENSE."

SECONDLY, A U.S. WITHDRAWAL COULD CONVEY THE MESSAGE THAT THE U.S. IS EITHER NO LONGER CONCERNED ABOUT THE THREAT OR HAS LOST THE WILL TO MAINTAIN EFFECTIVE DEFENSE AGAINST THE THREAT. THE RESULT OVER TIME COULD WELL BE AN UNRAVELING OF THE POLITICAL SOLIDARITY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, THUS ENABLING THE SOVIETS TO FINALLY ACHIEVE THEIR LONGSTANDING OBJECTIVE OF SPLITTING EUROPE FROM THE UNITED STATES. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THAT TO HAPPEN.

INSTEAD, ALL THE WESTERN ALLIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED

STATES, NEED TO MAKE A MORE DETERMINED EFFORT TO DEVOTE THE LEVEL OF RESOURCES WHICH ARE REQUIRED TO ENSURE OUR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE.

TO THOSE WHO SAY THAT NATO HAS CHANGED AND THAT RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE NEED TO BE REDEFINED, I WOULD REMIND THEM THAT ONE OF THE STRENGTHS OF FREE SOCIETIES IS THE ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE. THINGS ARE NOT THE SAME AS THEY WERE IN 1949, AND WE HOPE NEVER WILL BE AGAIN.

AT THE INCEPTION OF NATO, THE ECONOMIES OF WESTERN EUROPE WERE WEAK. TODAY THEY ARE VIBRANT AND PROSPEROUS. IN 1949, A CERTAIN DISTRUST LINGERED BETWEEN DIFFERENT NATIONS, SUCH AS BETWEEN FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY. TODAY, THERE EXISTS COOPERATION, NOT ONLY IN THE MILITARY DOMAIN, BUT IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL AREAS AS WELL. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. INDEED, THERE WILL ALWAYS BE DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN AND BETWEEN FREE GOVERNMENTS

ON A HOST OF POLICY ISSUES, AND ESPECIALLY ON HOW TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR DEFENSE. BUT FAR FROM INDICATING A MORIBUND STATE, THIS DYNAMIC AND FREE-WHEELING INTERACTION SIGNIFIES THE STRENGTH OF AN ALLIANCE BUILT ON A FOUNDATION OF SHARED VALUES, KINDRED INSTITUTIONS, AND A BELIEF IN THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE. ONE NEED ONLY VIEW THE LACK OF REAL DEBATE, AND THE FALSE UNANIMITY OF THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN IMPOSED SECURITY ARRANGEMENT AND AN ARRANGEMENT FREELY ENTERED INTO. FREE PEOPLES CAN CREATE UNITY IN THE MIDST OF INTENSE AND VIBRANT INTERACTION: OUR VERY DEMOCATIC PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT EXEMPLIFIES THIS TRUTH. YET, TO AN OUTSIDER, THE EXERCISE OF FREEDOM OFTEN APPEARS TO BE NOTHING MORE THAN CONFUSION. ALL FREE PEOPLES, HOWEVER, KNOW OTHERWISE.

NATO IS MORE THAN JUST A COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. HISTORY ILLUSTRATES THAT IF ITS ONLY REASON FOR BEING WERE BASED

ON MUTUAL FEAR OF A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY, IT WOULD HAVE PERISHED
ALONG WITH THE MANY OTHER ALLIANCES ^{WHICH LACKED A POSITIVE} ~~WHOSE UTILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS~~
FOUNDATION FOR THEIR CONTINUED EXISTENCE.
~~HAD RUN THEIR COURSE.~~

HOWEVER, NATO STILL EXISTS BECAUSE OF AN IDEA. AND THE IDEA
WHICH UNITES US IS NOT SIMPLY THE DESIRE FOR PEACE. A SIMPLE
LONGING FOR PEACE HAS LED MANY NATIONS DOWN THE ROAD TO
APPEASEMENT AND SURRENDER. NO, NATO IS NOT JUST THE SYMBOL OF THE
WEST'S DESIRE FOR PEACE: IT IS MUCH, MUCH MORE. NATO WAS BUILT
AROUND ONE OF THE MOST NOVEL AND PROGRESSIVE IDEAS MAN HAS EVER
KNOWN: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBERTY IN A SOCIETY OF FREE AND
EQUAL CITIZENS. IT IS AN IDEA WHICH CAN BE TRACED TO THE GREAT
DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENTS OF ATHENS AND ROME, AN IDEA WHICH
EVENTUALLY SWEEPED EUROPE, AND WAS FINALLY TRANSPLANTED TO THE
SHORES OF NORTH AMERICA. IT IS AN IDEA WHOSE VERY EXPRESSION IS
FOUND IN THE PREAMBLE ^{OF} THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH STATES AS ONE *Spelling.*
OF OUR FOUNDERS' AIMS TO "SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY."

IT IS THIS SIMPLE IDEA WHICH CONSTITUTES THE ONLY JUSTIFICATION

* THIS IS ALL PURE RITUALISM, BUT THE LOGIC IS
CHALLENGEABLE. IT IS THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF
THE SWIFT THREAT THAT PROVIDES THE FUNDAMENTAL
REASON D'ETRE FOR NATO. TO SUGGEST OTHERWISE IS A
QUESTIONABLE PROPOSITION. LANGUAGE INDICATED WOULD FIX PROBLEM.

NEEDED TO EXPLAIN TO THE CRITICS WHY WE STILL NEED NATO AND WHY DEMOCRATIC NATIONS MUST MAKE SACRIFICES FOR THEIR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE: NATO, ALONG WITH OUR OTHER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, EXISTS TO PROTECT A WAY OF LIFE, THE ESSENCE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. IT IS NOT, AND NEVER HAS BEEN, AN ARRANGEMENT OF SIMPLE CONVENIENCE: IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN, AND CONTINUES TO BE, A VITAL INTEREST TO THE UNITED STATES, AND THE FREE WORLD.

MOREOVER, SUCH A DEFENSIVE ARRANGEMENT SHOULD NOT FRIGHTEN, AND IS NOT DESIGNED TO THREATEN, ANY POTENTIAL ADVERSARY. IT IS, HOWEVER, DESIGNED TO DETER. WHAT THREATENS OUR ADVERSARIES IS THE IDEA BEHIND NATO: LIBERTY. NO MATTER HOW MUCH THE LEADERS IN THE KREMLIN SPEAK OF DEMOCRATIZATION, AND OPENESS, AND REFORM, THEY ARE STILL DEATHLY AFRAID OF THAT IDEA. A SIMPLE IDEA, NOT THE MILITARY MIGHT OF THE WEST, THREATENS THE TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM. AS IT SHOULD.

FOR THOSE WHO DOUBT THE VITALITY OF THE WEST, AND ITS ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, THEY NEED ONLY LOOK AT

THE HISTORY OF THE PAST DECADE. AS THE DEMISE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE SUGGESTS, COMMUNISM HAS BEEN DISCREDITED. "EUROCOMMUNISM," THE GREAT HOPE OF THE LEFT, NEVER TOOK ROOT IN FREE SOCIETIES. MOREOVER, THE VERY ATTEMPTS AT REFORM IN THE SOVIET UNION SUGGEST SOMETHING IS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG.

IN WESTERN EUROPE, WE HAVE SEEN THE REBIRTH OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND TURKEY. THIS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THE RECENT ATTEMPT BY THE POLISH PEOPLE TO DEMOCRATIZE THEIR BANKRUPT COMMUNIST SYSTEM. WHO CAN FAIL TO SEE THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FAILURE OF COMMUNISM AND THE SUCCESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE?

DEMOCRACIES, HOWEVER, WILL CONTINUE TO FACE CHALLENGES, SUCH AS THAT POSED BY TERRORISM; YET, IN SPITE OF THE MANY EXTERNAL THREATS THERE IS AN INTERNAL STRENGTH. FACED WITH A TERRORIST ONSLAUGHT IN THE SEVENTIES, ONE WHICH IS STILL WITH US, NO DEMOCRACY ABANDONED ITS COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND MOVED TOWARD AUTHORITARIANISM,

OR, WORSE STILL, TOTALITARIANISM. INDEED, THE DEMOCRACIES HAVE OCCASIONALLY DISAGREED ON POLICIES OR APPROACHES, BUT WE REMAIN UNITED BY THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE IDEA OF LIBERTY.

SO, CHANGE AMONG AND WITHIN FREE SOCIETIES OUGHT TO BE EXPECTED--AND ALSO SHOULD THE CHALLENGES AND PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS. AFTER ALL, NATO GOVERNMENTS MUST CONSULT THE PEOPLE BEFORE ALLOCATING RESOURCES TO DEFENSE. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS NO SUCH CONSTRAINT TO MODERATE ITS MILITARY SPENDING.

BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING THREAT, WE IN THE ALLIANCE ARE WORKING IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER TO COUNTER IT. WE ARE SEEKING TO ESTABLISH COOPERATION IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, SUCH AS THE PLAN ADOPTED BY THE ALLIED DEFENSE MINISTERS IN 1985 WHICH WILL ENSURE CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE IMPROVEMENTS. A KEY ELEMENT OF THIS EFFORT IS MORE EFFECTIVE COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES IN DEVELOPING, PRODUCING, AND ACQUIRING MODERN WEAPONS. TO ACHIEVE MORE

EFFICIENT USE OF RESOURCES, A PILOT PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED UNDER THE QUAYLE AMENDMENT TO PROMOTE COOPERATIVE APPROACHES TO NATO AMMUNITION. UNDER THE NUNN AMENDMENT FOR COOPERATIVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, TEN IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS ON SPECIFIC COOPERATIVE PROJECTS HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED IN THE PAST YEAR ALONE. INDEED, THESE RECENT EFFORTS ILLUSTRATE THE KIND OF COOPERATION IN CONGRESS WHICH CAN BE TRACED BACK TO THE VANDENBERG RESOLUTION AT THE INCEPTION OF NATO. TO THE CONTRARY, SUGGESTIONS FOR TROOP WITHDRAWALS CONTRIBUTE VERY LITTLE AND ONLY SERVE TO CONFUSE THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES.

IN THE AREA OF ARMS REDUCTION TALKS, WE ARE WORKING VERY CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES TO ENSURE AND MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE DETERRENT EVEN AS WE ATTEMPT TO REDUCE OUR RELIANCE ON NUCLEAR ARMS FOR DETERRENCE IN EUROPE.

OUR ALLIES RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. EUROPEAN PUBLIC OPINION IS OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR OF THE EXISTENCE OF NATO, AND THE GOVERNMENTS IN THE ALLIANCE ARE

DOING MUCH MORE THAN THEY ARE OFTEN GIVEN CREDIT FOR IN TERMS OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN SECURITY. INDEED, WE CAN ALL DO MORE--AND SHOULD DO MORE.

YET, BEFORE WE CAN DO MORE, WE MUST TOGETHER REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT AND DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL WILL WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED TO PRESERVE THE TRADITION OF FREEDOM UPON WHICH OUR ALLIANCE IS BASED. BY DOING SO, THAT SIMPLE IDEA--LIBERTY--WILL NOT BE EXTINGUISHED.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

87 APR 21 11:53

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 2972

ACTION OFFICER: COCKELL DUE: TODAY 21 APR.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For President | <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo Green to Peterson / Murr |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo For Carlucci / Powell | <input type="checkbox"/> Appropriate Action |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Prepare Memo <u>GREEN</u> | to <u>LEMON, J.</u> |

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 4970

- | FYI | FYI | FYI |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Batjer | <input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer | <input type="checkbox"/> Reger |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bemis | <input type="checkbox"/> Howard | <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Brooks | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B. | <input type="checkbox"/> Rosenberg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Burns | <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J. | <input type="checkbox"/> Ross |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> Kimberling | <input type="checkbox"/> Rostow |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> Kissell | <input type="checkbox"/> Saunders |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cohen | <input type="checkbox"/> Kraemer | <input type="checkbox"/> Scharfen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Collins | <input type="checkbox"/> Lewis | <input type="checkbox"/> Smith |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Danzansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Linhard | <input type="checkbox"/> Sommer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dean, B. | <input type="checkbox"/> Mahley | <input type="checkbox"/> Sorzano |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dobriansky | <input type="checkbox"/> Major | <input type="checkbox"/> Steiner |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Donley | <input type="checkbox"/> Mathews | <input type="checkbox"/> Stevens |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Douglass | <input type="checkbox"/> McNamara | <input type="checkbox"/> St Martin |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ermarth | <input type="checkbox"/> Oakley | <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Farrar | <input type="checkbox"/> Paal | <input type="checkbox"/> Tice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flower | <input type="checkbox"/> Platt | <input type="checkbox"/> Tillman |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fortier | <input type="checkbox"/> Porter | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <u>RODMAN</u> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grimes | <input type="checkbox"/> Pugliaresi | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| INFORMATION <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Green | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pearson | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Secretariat |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman | <input type="checkbox"/> Cockell | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Carlucci (advance) | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Powell (advance) | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

COMMENTS

COCKELL: COORDINATE WITH OTHER NSC STAFF ON APPROPRIATE SECTIONS.

Return to Secretariat

National Security Council
The White House

DM

87 APR 22 12: 59

System # _____

Package # 2972

DOCLOG DM A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A</u>
Marybel Batjer			
Grant Green	<u>2</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>A</u>
Colin Powell			
Paul Thompson			
Frank Carlucci			
Grant Green			
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	<u>H.S.L. 4/22</u>	<u>J</u>
NSC Secretariat			
Situation Room			

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

cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

to CLP (copy) when dispatched

Kane! (⊕)

RECEIVED 21 APR 87 12

TO GREEN FROM LEMON, J
COCKELL
GREEN

DOCDATE 21 APR 87
22 APR 87
22 APR 87

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

WEINBERGER, C

SUBJECT: REMARKS BY SECDEF WEINBERGER TO SAN FRANCISCO AUDIENCE RE NATO MORE
THAN JUST A MILITARY ALLIANCE

ACTION: MEMO GREEN TO LEMON DUE: STATUS C FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COCKELL

RODMAN

GREEN

PEARSON

CARLUCCI

POWELL

COMMENTS COORDINATE W/ OTHER NSC STAFF ON APPROPRIATE SECTIONS

REF# LOG NSCIFID (TC TC)

ACTION OFFICER (S)	ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED	DUE	COPIES TO
	<i>C 4/22</i>	<i>Green Sgd Memo</i>		<i>WAC, GSS</i>

DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C)



U.S. National Archives & Records Administration

Current Status Details for CTRH RECID: 512978 MAIN SUBCODE: IT067

Current Status	None
User Name	dbarrie
Status Date	2014-07-18
Case Number	
Notes	Transferred to IT093

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Review Status History

<u>No.</u>	<u>Status</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>User</u>	<u>Case Number</u>	<u>Notes</u>
1	None	2014-07-18	dbarrie		Transferred to IT093
2	None	2013-01-23	kbarton		
3	Pulled	2012-11-20	kbarton	F07-158/3	Wright, Leah