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~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

# PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS BEFORE NATO

THURSDAY, MAY 29, 1975

~~SECRET~~

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By JR NARS, Date 10/6/82

MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, IN 1949, TRANSMITTED THE TEXT OF  
THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
WITH HIS ASSESSMENT OF ITS IMPORTANCE. "EVENTS OF THIS  
CENTURY," HE WROTE, "HAVE TAUGHT US THAT WE CANNOT ACHIEVE  
PEACE INDEPENDENTLY. THE WORLD HAS GROWN TOO SMALL.

THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF EACH MEMBER OF THIS COMMUNITY  
DEPENDS ON THE SECURITY AND WELFARE OF ALL. NONE OF US  
ALONE CAN ACHIEVE ECONOMIC PROSPERITY OR MILITARY SECURITY.  
NONE OF US ALONE CAN ASSURE THE CONTINUANCE OF FREEDOM."  
SO SPOKE PRESIDENT TRUMAN. THESE WORDS, DESCRIBING  
THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC NATIONS, ARE AS  
ACCURATE TODAY AS THEY WERE A QUARTER CENTURY AGO.

ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING  
OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, LEADERS OF THE NATO NATIONS  
MET HERE IN BRUSSELS TO REAFFIRM IN THE DECLARATION ON  
ATLANTIC RELATIONS THE FUNDAMENTAL PURPOSES OF AN ALLIANCE  
THAT HAD FULFILLED ITS PROMISES BY PROVIDING FOR THE SECURITY,  
PROMOTING THE WELFARE AND MAINTAINING THE FREEDOM OF ITS  
MEMBERS.

WE MEET HERE TODAY TO RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO  
THE ALLIANCE. WE MEET TO REMIND OUR CITIZENS IN THE  
FIFTEEN MEMBER NATIONS, BY OUR PRESENCE, OF THE STRENGTH  
AND STABILITY OF THE TRANSATLANTIC TIES THAT UNITE US,  
AND TO RESTATE OUR PLEDGE TO COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE.  
WE ARE ASSEMBLED TO ADDRESS THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WE FACE  
AND TO REVIEW THE STEPS WE MUST TAKE TO DEAL WITH THEM.

RENEWAL OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE

IS THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE PURPOSES. THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, UNCONDITIONALLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY, REMAINS TRUE TO THE COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN WHEN WE SIGNED THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, INCLUDING THE OBLIGATION IN ARTICLE FIVE TO COME TO THE ASSISTANCE OF ANY NATO NATION SUBJECTED TO ARMED ATTACK. AS TREATIES ARE THE SUPREME LAW OF MY LAND, THESE COMMITMENTS ARE JURIDICALLY BINDING IN THE UNITED STATES.

THESE COMMITMENTS ARE STRATEGICALLY SOUND, POLITICALLY  
ESSENTIAL AND MORALLY JUSTIFIABLE AND THEREFORE COMMAND  
BROAD SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES. THEY REMAIN THE  
FIRM FOUNDATION, AS THEY HAVE FOR TWENTY-SIX YEARS,  
ON WHICH OUR RELATIONSHIP RESTS. THIS FOUNDATION HAS  
WELL SERVED THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH IT WAS CREATED.  
IT WILL GO ON SERVING THESE PURPOSES, EVEN IN THE FACE OF  
NEW DIFFICULTIES, AS LONG AS WE CONTINUE OUR COMMON RESOLVE.



IN THE TREATY WE SIGNED TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO,  
AND FROM WHICH WE DREW CONFIDENCE AND COURAGE, WE PLEDGED:

-- TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH ALL PEOPLES AND ALL  
GOVERNMENTS.

-- TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE  
AND CIVILIZATION OF OUR PEOPLES FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES  
OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

-- TO PROMOTE STABILITY AND WELL-BEING IN THE  
NORTH ATLANTIC AREA.

-- TO SETTLE BY PEACEFUL MEANS ANY INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE IN WHICH ANY ONE OF US MAY BE INVOLVED.

-- TO ELIMINATE CONFLICT IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AND ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COLLABORATION.

-- TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP OUR INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE CAPACITY TO RESIST ARMED ATTACK, BY MEANS OF CONTINUOUS AND EFFECTIVE SELF-HELP AND MUTUAL AID.

-- TO CONSULT TOGETHER WHEN ANY ONE OF US  
IS THREATENED.

-- TO CONSIDER AN ARMED ATTACK AGAINST ONE  
AS AN ARMED ATTACK AGAINST ALL.

THERE IS NO NEED TODAY TO IMPROVE ON THAT STATEMENT  
OF PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES. IT REMAINS AS CLEAR,  
AS RESOLUTE, AND AS VALID TODAY AS WHEN FIRST ADOPTED.  
BUT IT IS WORTH REMINDING OURSELVES OF THESE PLEDGES AS WE  
TURN OUR ATTENTION AND ENERGIES TO THE PROBLEMS WE NOW FACE  
BOTH OUTSIDE AND WITHIN THE ALLIANCE -- PROBLEMS VERY  
DIFFERENT FROM THOSE WE CONFRONTED TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO.

AS NATO HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND FRIENDS, WE HAVE A DUTY  
TO BE FRANK AND REALISTIC WITH ONE ANOTHER. THEREFORE,  
I MUST CITE THE FOLLOWING MATTERS OF CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES  
AND OF IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE:

-- IN INDOCHINA, THE EVENTS OF RECENT MONTHS  
HAVE RESULTED IN ENORMOUS HUMAN SUFFERING FOR THE PEOPLE  
OF CAMBODIA AND VIET-NAM, AN ORDEAL THAT TOUCHES ALL  
HUMAN HEARTS. BECAUSE OF THE UNITED STATES' LONG  
INVOLVEMENT IN INDOCHINA, THESE EVENTS HAVE LED SOME TO  
QUESTION OUR STRENGTH AND RELIABILITY.

I BELIEVE THAT OUR STRENGTH SPEAKS FOR ITSELF -- OUR MILITARY  
POWER REMAINS, AND WILL CONTINUE TO REMAIN, SECOND TO NONE --  
OF THIS LET THERE BE NO DOUBT -- OUR ECONOMY REMAINS  
FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND AND PRODUCTIVE; AND OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM  
HAS EMERGED FROM THE SHOCKS OF THE PAST YEAR STRONGER  
FOR THE WAY IN WHICH IT MET A SEVERE INTERNAL TEST.  
OUR ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO CONFIRM THE DURABILITY OF OUR  
COMMITMENTS.

-- THERE HAVE BEEN STRAINS AND DIFFICULTIES  
WITHIN THE ALLIANCE DURING THE PAST YEAR.       SERIOUS  
DISAGREEMENTS HAVE MARRED RELATIONS AMONG SOME MEMBERS.  
THE UNITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND OUR COMMON RESOLVE HAVE  
COME INTO QUESTION.



-- THERE ARE SOME PROBLEMS THAT RELATE DIRECTLY TO OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. I REFER TO INCREASING PRESSURES TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF MILITARY COMMITMENTS TO NATO DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE FORCES OF OUR POTENTIAL ENEMIES HAVE GROWN STRONGER. WE ALSO FACE BASIC PROBLEMS OF MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS. A GENERATION AFTER ITS CREATION, THE ALLIANCE WASTES VAST SUMS EACH YEAR, SACRIFICING MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS. WE HAVE SIMPLY NOT DONE ENOUGH TO STANDARDIZE OUR WEAPONS. WE MUST CORRECT THIS.

WE MUST ALSO AGREE AMONG OURSELVES ON A SENSIBLE DIVISION OF WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITIES. AND WE MUST DO MORE TO ENHANCE OUR MUTUAL CAPACITY TO SUPPORT EACH OTHER BOTH IN BATTLE AND LOGISTICALLY. THE PRESSURES ON DEFENSE BUDGETS THROUGHOUT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD BY NOW HAVE CONVINCED EACH OF US THAT WE SIMPLY MUST RATIONALIZE OUR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE.

-- IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY, WE ARE STILL NOT IMMUNE FROM THE POLITICAL PRESSURES THAT RESULT FROM A HEAVY DEPENDENCE ON EXTERNAL SOURCES OF ENERGY. INDEED, WE ARE BECOMING MORE VULNERABLE EACH MONTH. WE HAVE MADE JOINT PROGRESS IN OFFSETTING THE EFFECT OF THE ACTION TAKEN LAST YEAR BY THE MAJOR OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES. BUT WE HAVE FAR MORE TO DO.

-- IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE REMAINS A POSSIBILITY  
OF A NEW WAR THAT NOT ONLY COULD INVOLVE THE COUNTRIES  
IN THE AREA BUT ALSO SOW DISCORD BEYOND THE MIDDLE EAST  
ITSELF, PERHAPS WITHIN OUR ALLIANCE.

THIS IS A FORMIDABLE ARRAY OF PROBLEMS.        HOWEVER,

WE HAVE FACED FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS BEFORE.        LET US MASTER

THESE NEW CHALLENGES WITH ALL THE COURAGE, CONVICTION AND

COHESION OF THIS GREAT ALLIANCE.        LET US PROCEED.

IT IS TIME FOR CONCERTED ACTION.

AT THIS IMPORTANT STAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE ALLIANCE,

WE MUST PLEDGE OURSELVES TO SIX PRIMARY TASKS:

-- FIRST, WE MUST MAINTAIN A STRONG AND  
CREDIBLE DEFENSE. THIS MUST REMAIN THE FOREMOST OBJECTIVE  
OF THE ALLIANCE. IF WE FAIL IN THIS TASK, THE OTHERS  
WILL BE IRRELEVANT. A SOCIETY THAT DOES NOT HAVE THE  
VIGOR AND DEDICATION TO DEFEND ITSELF CANNOT SURVIVE.  
NEITHER CAN AN ALLIANCE. FOR OUR PART, OUR COMMITMENT  
NOT TO ENGAGE IN ANY UNILATERAL REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES  
COMMITTED TO NATO REMAINS VALID. BUT THIS IS NOT ENOUGH.

WE MUST MAKE MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF OUR DEFENSE RESOURCES.

WE NEED TO ACHIEVE OUR LONG-STANDING GOALS OF COMMON

PROCEDURES AND EQUIPMENT.           OUR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

EFFORTS MUST BE MORE THAN THE SUM OF INDIVIDUAL PARTS.

LET US BECOME TRULY ONE IN OUR ALLOCATION OF DEFENSE TASKS,

SUPPORT AND PRODUCTION.

-- SECOND, WE MUST PRESERVE THE QUALITY AND  
INTEGRITY OF THIS ALLIANCE ON THE BASIS OF UNQUALIFIED  
PARTICIPATION, NOT ON THE BASIS OF PARTIAL MEMBERSHIP  
OR SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS. THE COMMITMENT TO COLLECTIVE  
DEFENSE MUST BE COMPLETE IF IT IS TO BE CREDIBLE. IT MUST BE  
UNQUALIFIED IF IT IS TO BE RELIABLE.



-- THIRD, LET US IMPROVE THE PROCESS OF  
POLITICAL CONSULTATION. WE HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE  
PROGRESS IN RECENT MONTHS BUT THERE IS -- AS EACH OF US  
KNOWS -- ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT BY ALL PARTIES IF WE ARE  
TO MAINTAIN OUR SOLIDARITY. THIS IS OF PARTICULAR  
IMPORTANCE IF WE ARE TO MOVE FORWARD TOGETHER IN OUR EFFORTS  
TO REDUCE THE TENSIONS THAT HAVE EXISTED WITH THE WARSAW  
PACT NATIONS FOR MORE THAN A QUARTER A CENTURY.

WE SHOULD FURTHER CULTIVATE THE HABIT OF DISCUSSING OUR  
APPROACHES TO THOSE MATTERS WHICH TOUCH THE INTERESTS  
OF ALL SO THAT WE CAN DEVELOP COMMON POLICIES TO DEAL WITH  
COMMON PROBLEMS.

-- FOURTH, LET US COOPERATE IN DEVELOPING A  
PRODUCTIVE AND REALISTIC AGENDA FOR DETENTE -- AN AGENDA  
THAT SERVES OUR INTERESTS AND NOT THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS  
WHO DO NOT SHARE OUR VALUES. I ENVISION AN AGENDA  
THAT ANTICIPATES AND PRECLUDES THE EXPLOITATION OF OUR  
PERCEIVED WEAKNESSES. ONE ITEM ON THAT AGENDA MUST BE  
TO ASSURE THAT THE PROMISES MADE IN THE CONFERENCE ON  
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ARE TRANSLATED INTO  
ACTION TO ADVANCE FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL EUROPEANS.

ONLY BY SUCH REALISTIC STEPS CAN WE KEEP CSCE IN PERSPECTIVE,

WHATEVER EUPHORIC OR INFLATED EMPHASIS THE SOVIET UNION

OR ANY OTHER PARTICIPANTS MAY TRY TO GIVE IT.           ANOTHER

AGENDA ITEM SHOULD BE THE NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED

FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE.

WE IN NATO SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE APPROPRIATE INITIATIVES  
IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IF THEY WILL HELP US TO MEET OUR OBJECTIVES.  
BUT THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES SHOULD ALSO BE PREPARED  
TO RESPOND IN GOOD FAITH ON THE COMMON OBJECTIVES BOTH SIDES  
SHOULD BE WORKING TOWARD -- UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL --  
BUT AT A LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES.

-- FIFTH, LET US LOOK TO THE FUTURE OF THE WEST  
ITSELF. WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR OWN DEMOCRATIC  
INSTITUTIONS AND ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH OF TRULY DEMOCRATIC  
PROCESSES EVERYWHERE. LET US ALSO LOOK BEYOND  
OUR ALLIANCE AS IT STANDS TODAY.

AS AN IMPORTANT TOPIC ON THIS AGENDA, WE SHOULD

BEGIN NOW TO CONSIDER HOW TO <sup>RELATE</sup> ~~INTEGRATE~~ SPAIN ~~MORE FULLY~~

~~INTO WESTERN SOCIETY AND HOW TO ASSOCIATE IT MORE CLOSELY~~

WITH WESTERN DEFENSE. SPAIN HAS ALREADY MADE, AND

CONTINUES TO MAKE, AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN

MILITARY SECURITY AS A RESULT OF ITS BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP

WITH THE UNITED STATES. ~~THE ALLIANCE CAN PROVIDE A~~

~~FRAMEWORK FOR AN EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE SPANISH MILITARY~~

~~CONTRIBUTION AND CLOSER POLITICAL TIES.~~

-- SIXTH, WE SHOULD REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE ALLIANCE AS A GREAT JOINT ENTERPRISE, AS A COMMITMENT TO FOLLOW COMMON APPROACHES TO SHARED ASPIRATIONS. WE MUST BUILD ON THE CONTRIBUTION OUR ALLIANCE ALREADY MAKES THROUGH THE COMMITTEE ON THE CHALLENGES OF MODERN SOCIETY IN COPING WITH THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES. WE MUST ADDRESS THE ISSUES OF POPULATION, FOOD AND RAW MATERIALS.



WE MUST FIND WAYS TO STRENGTHEN THE WORLD TRADING AND  
MONETARY SYSTEM, AND TO MEET THE IMPERATIVES OF ENERGY  
DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION. WITH THE WEALTH AND  
TECHNOLOGICAL SKILLS WHICH ARE THE PRODUCTS OF OUR FREE  
SYSTEMS, WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD A BETTER STANDARD  
OF LIFE IN ALL OF OUR COUNTRIES IF WE WORK TOGETHER.

THESE SIX PRIMARY TASKS OF THE ALLIANCE ILLUSTRATE  
THE BREADTH AND DEPTH OF OUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES.  
THEY REFLECT HOW VERY COMPLEX THE WORLD HAS BECOME AND HOW  
MUCH MORE DIFFICULT IT IS TO MANAGE THE ALLIANCE TODAY THAN  
A GENERATION AGO. THEN, OUR PROBLEMS WERE RELATIVELY  
SIMPLE TO DEFINE.

IT WAS EASIER TO AGREE ON COMMON SOLUTIONS.

TODAY THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION SEEMS MORE COMPLICATED.

IN MANY OF OUR COUNTRIES THERE HAS BEEN A FRAGMENTATION OF

PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY OPINION WHICH HAS MADE IT MORE

DIFFICULT FOR GOVERNMENTS TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT FOR COURSES

OF ACTION OF IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIANCE.

BUT THERE ARE CONSTANTS AS WELL, AND THEY ARE --  
IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS -- MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE COMPLEXITIES.  
TOGETHER WE CONTINUE TO BE THE GREATEST RESERVOIR OF ECONOMIC,  
MILITARY AND MORAL STRENGTH IN THE WORLD. WE MUST USE  
THAT STRENGTH TO SAFEGUARD OUR FREEDOM AND TO ADDRESS THE  
GRAVE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT US.

I AM PROUD OF AMERICA'S ROLE IN NATO AND I AM  
CONFIDENT OF THE FUTURE OF OUR ALLIANCE.

AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES -- BUT ALSO  
AS ONE WHO HAS BEEN A PARTICIPANT AND CLOSE OBSERVER OF  
THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCENE FOR CLOSE TO THIRTY YEARS --  
I ASSURE YOU THAT MY COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE TO BE A STRONG  
PARTNER.

ON OCCASION, IN THE PUBLIC DEBATE OF OUR FREE SOCIETY,  
AMERICA MAY SEEM TO STRAY SOMEWHAT OFF COURSE. BUT  
THE FACT IS THAT WE HAVE THE WILL POWER, THE TECHNICAL  
CAPABILITY, THE SPIRITUAL DRIVE AND THE STEADINESS OF PURPOSE  
THAT WILL BE NEEDED. TODAY WE IN THE UNITED STATES  
FACE OUR NATO COMMITMENTS WITH NEW VISION, NEW VIGOR,  
NEW COURAGE, AND RENEWED DEDICATION.

AMERICA'S EMPHASIS IS ON COOPERATION --

COOPERATION WITHIN NATO AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. FROM

DIVERSITY, WE CAN FORGE A NEW UNITY. TOGETHER,

LET US BUILD TO FACE THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE.

END OF TEXT