May 10, 1973

National Security Study Memorandum 183

TO: Secretary of State
    Secretary of Defense
    Secretary of Treasury

SUBJECT: Principles for a Declaration on Atlantic Relations

The President has directed that a set of principles be prepared that
will govern our relationship with our Atlantic partners. These principles
should be designed to serve as the basis for a Declaration to which our
NATO Allies -- and eventually Japan in some form -- might adhere.

The principles shall:

-- Define and articulate the common principles of the Atlantic
nations;

-- Describe a comprehensive framework within which the members
of the Alliance will pursue their economic, political, and security
objectives; and indicate the basic principles in each element of the
relationship -- political, military, economic;

-- Lay the basis for a new consensus on Alliance security requirements,
as well as for a rational and intelligible strategy, and equitable and effective
defense contributions to realize these objectives;

-- Manifest continuing support for the cause of European unity;

-- Invoke the concepts of a broad political approach, reciprocity,
and the will to make mutual concessions in our economic relationship;

-- Include specific U.S. commitments in principle (e.g. maintaining
U.S. forces, etc.).

The President desires that these principles then be incorporated in a
draft declaration which can be discussed with key European leaders and
submitted to our Allies for their views and contributions with the objective
that it shall be ready for signature and public disclosure at the time of his
visit to Europe. A recommended timetable and scenario for preparation
of this document and consultations with the NATO Allies and, as appropriate,
with the European community also should be prepared.
At the same time the foregoing statement of principles and the
declaration should be considered in the light of possible adherence
by Japan. Without sacrificing the essential character of the principles
as they should apply within the NATO Alliance, the declaration should be
so cast as to facilitate Japan's adherence in some form. Where
Japanese adherence to a particular aspect of the declaration might
compromise its essential Atlantic elements, alternate language should
be submitted. A separate timetable and scenario should be prepared
for handling the adherence of Japan.

This study should be prepared by the NSC Interdepartmental Group for
Europe and should be submitted not later than May 24, 1973 for consideration
by the NSC Senior Review Group.

Henry A. Kissinger

cc: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
    Director of Central Intelligence
    Assistant to the President for
    International Economic Affairs