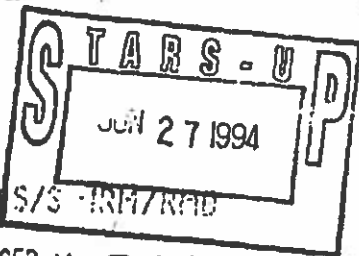


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United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

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BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S *WIN*
9/14

TO: P - Mr. Tarrhoff

FROM: EUR - Stephen A. Oxman *newf*

SUBJECT: Your Deputies' Committee Meeting on the NATO Summit
Wednesday, September 15, 1993, 11:00 a.m.

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I. OBJECTIVES

1. Gain agreement that the NATO Summit should announce an approach supporting NATO expansion in Eastern Europe that also leaves the membership door open to Russia, Ukraine, and other NACC members.

2. Reach agreement that Summit Declaration language on NATO expansion should include reference to specific factors to be considered in admitting new Alliance members.

3. Continue to narrow differences with OSD over whether the "Peacekeeping Partnership" we want the Summit to propose should be embedded within NACC or a separate proposal.

II. APPROACH

The NATO Summit Working Group met September 13 to discuss factors relevant to NATO expansion. That discussion was short-circuited by OSD (Freeman), which reported that Secretary Aspin and CJCS-designate Shalikashvili opposed NATO expansion. OSD argued that consideration of NATO expansion had to date focused on the interests of the Central and East Europeans, rather than on USG interests. Expansion, OSD contended, would dilute NATO's effectiveness as defense resources diminish here and in Europe. OSD said it could accept only the first paragraph of the NSC draft Summit Declaration language (attached), not the second paragraph outlining factors NATO would take into account in admitting new Alliance members. OSD also argued that the proposed "Peacekeeping Partnership" with the East should be developed outside the NACC, to ensure that decisionmaking does not pass from NATO to the NACC. Finally, OSD argued that the probability of a Bosnia settlement, possibly in the next several months, will require the Summit to focus on NATO's military structures and the "separable but not separate" relationship to the WEU. The focus of OSD's remarks appeared to be that, as a condition of going in, we should have an up-front agreement

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from the Europeans of an "exit" whereby NATO could turn over implementation of a Bosnian peace settlement, after a given period of time, to the WEU.

Given this turn of events, the September 15 DC should focus on and move the interagency process toward a commitment to Summit action on the membership issue, taking into account the effects of NATO expansion on Russia, Ukraine and other states that will not be candidates for early admittance. The DC should also try to articulate more carefully the overall purposes for which we seek expansion, rather than dropping immediately into the details and problems of implementation. The DC should discuss the concept of phasing the expansion, whereby expansion would first focus on offering Article IV crisis consultations. This discussion may serve to address some of the Defense Department's objections regarding the necessity of the U.S. immediately undertaking new security guarantees.

The DC should also seek to narrow the gap with OSD on the issue of bringing the "Peacekeeping Partnership" into the NACC framework. Finally, while the Summit will inevitably be affected by the situation in Bosnia at the time, we should keep Summit preparations focused on the expansion/joint peacekeeping/ESDI themes, on which there seems to be increasing interagency congruence of views. The S/P-drafted memo on NATO expansion (forwarded separately) was briefly discussed at the interagency meeting and is a subject for discussion at your meeting.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Mr. Tarnoff (State)
plus Mr. Oxman

Mr. Berger (NSC)
plus Ms. Walker

Mr. Wisner (DOD)
plus Mr. Freeman

Gen. McCaffrey (JCS)
plus Gen. Ryan

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Talking Points
- Tab 2 - Background on Objectives
- Tab 3 - Draft NSC Summit Declaration Language
- Tab 4 - Draft NSC Paper on NATO Expansion

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Talking Points

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- o The NATO Summit should clearly support expanding NATO membership.
- o We need to address the overall purposes for which we propose undertaking an expansion of NATO.
 - For Americans, NATO's transformation is a way to demonstrate the continuing relevance of NATO, and the importance of the United States remaining engaged.
 - For countries in the East, the purpose is primarily to support democracy but at the same time to improve their security situation.
- o Our proposal involves the phasing in of new members, first by extending Article IV commitments, based on progress toward democracy. Over time, Article V commitments would be undertaken based on military capability to conduct collective defense.
 - American security guarantees are many years away, and NATO's military activities in the near-term will not differ whether or not we undertake NATO's expansion to the East.
 - DOD will be engaged in NATO's restructuring and in undertaking a variety of peacekeeping activities, irrespective of whether NATO is expanded or NACC revitalized.
- o Language on expansion in the Summit Declaration should also leave open the membership door to Russia, Ukraine and other NACC states.
 - Through Summit language on membership -- and through intensive consultations with Russia and Ukraine -- we will need to ensure that they perceive our approach to NATO as one that also serves their security interests and reinforces their sense of belonging in Europe.
- o State supports language along the lines of the NSC's draft Summit declaration on this issue.
- o We understand that OSD can accept paragraph 1 but has problems with paragraph 2 of the NSC draft, which details factors that Allies would take into account in considering the admission of new members.
- o We would appreciate a clearer indication of the problems that OSD has with regard to paragraph 2.

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- o OSD also prefers that the "Peacekeeping Partnership" we would propose to Eastern countries should be established outside the NACC framework.
- o This would create yet another institutional mechanism to complicate European security relationships. As these relationships become more complicated, it is harder to gain public and Congressional understanding and support for them.
- o It would also empty the NACC of virtually all the operational content that the U.S. has sought to build into it, and in effect deal the NACC a likely death blow.
 - If the NACC is not made operational in peacekeeping, we do not see another field where it has a prospect for early relevant cooperative action, as opposed to simply continuing to talk.
- o We do not understand the precise objection OSD has to placing the "Peacekeeping Partnership" within the NACC framework, and hope OSD will reconsider its position.
- o [If raised] Although our strategy for NATO implementation of a Bosnian settlement is critical, we need to maintain our focus on the expansion/peacekeeping/ESDI themes, on which there is a developing interagency consensus.

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