

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10.19.93

October 19, 1993

*Tony
Need to Debrief
with...*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA *JOP*
TODD STERN *TD*

SUBJECT: NSC Memos for Meeting with Secretary Christopher

In anticipation of your 1:30 pm meeting today with Secretary Christopher, Tony has submitted three related memos, which we attach.

"Proposed Trip to Europe..."

This is a decision memo on the itinerary of your January trip. The principal decision point involves the second part of the trip (January 12-15). Both options begin with visits to Moscow and Kiev. Option (1) -- favored by Secretary Christopher and Strobe Talbott -- would follow with visits to Kazakhstan and Belarus. This option would be designed, above all to make major strides in the direction of denuclearizing the former Soviet Union. Option (2) -- favored by Tony -- would continue with a visit to Oslo to meet with Nordic and Baltic countries. This option would be designed to give recognition to the emerging shape of a new Europe, since this group of countries includes NATO members, neutrals and former Soviet republics.

not done

We have circulated this memo to the Vice President, Mack, Roy, George, Gergen and Gearan.

The Nato Summit and Europe's East

This is a decision memo seeking your approval of a Principals' Committee recommendation regarding NATO's engagement with new and aspiring democracies in eastern Europe. In a nutshell, the Committee recommends that the NATO Summit issue a statement of principle to the effect that NATO's membership would grow to embrace new democracies in Europe's east without fixing a timetable or laying down specific criteria for NATO membership. Tony's memo also recommends a "Partnership for Peace" open to all European states that would help provide a vehicle for the revolutionary movement toward full NATO membership.

OK

Meeting with Christopher on His Trip to Hungary and FSU

This memo reviews the itinerary for Christopher's upcoming eight-day trip. The only decision points are (1) that Christopher would like to announce your visit to Russia in January when he is in Moscow -- Tony expresses reservations about this; and (2) that Christopher would like to announce your invitation to Kravchuk to visit Washington this autumn, assuming Kravchuk assures him of adequate progress on nuclear issues -- Tony appears to have no opposition on this point.

Handwritten notes: "Tony" with an arrow pointing to the first decision point, and "G" with an arrow pointing to the second decision point.

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10.19.93

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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October 19, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT:

The NATO Summit and Europe's East

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By VZ NARA, Date 5/10/2019
2015-0772- M (1.03)

The Principals Committee today reached agreement on recommendations for handling NATO's engagement with new and aspiring democracies in Europe's east at the January 10 Summit. We would like your blessing so Chris and Les can present our position on their trips later this week.

We believe that the Summit should make a statement of principle that NATO's membership will grow to include new democracies in Europe's east, without setting criteria by which applicants are to be judged or a timetable. The statement of principle will itself be a significant step beyond anything NATO has said before and will be seen as a victory for pro-Western forces in Central Europe (albeit not everything they might like). All your advisors agree that doing anything at this stage to indicate that NATO's border will move closer to Russia and Ukraine without at the same time including those two states would have major negative consequences within both. That could, inter alia, make the Central Europeans less secure.

The Summit should also, however, call for a qualitatively different engagement between NATO and eastern militaries that would begin immediately. We would propose a "Partnership for Peace" open to all European states willing and able to participate in a Planning Cell at SHAPE and appropriate political and military bodies at NATO headquarters, as well as in partnership activities that could range from joint air-sea rescue teams, corps of engineer-type projects to clean up the environmental mess left in Central Europe by departing Soviet soldiers, and military exercises to enable eastern forces to operate with those of NATO should national capitals choose to engage in some European contingency (e.g., a possible peacekeeping operation for ex-Yugoslavia). Active participants in the Partnership would receive a commitment to consult with NATO if they felt their security threatened, but no security guarantee.

The Partnership would be an evolution of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (the umbrella for NATO's current series of seminars and conferences with eastern militaries) but open as well to European neutrals. In practice only the Central

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Europeans, Russia and Ukraine have the resources for active participation, and most activities would take place in Central Europe. So there would be de facto "differentiation" among European states, but by a process of self-selection rather than by NATO's drawing a new dividing line in Europe.

We would describe NATO membership as an evolutionary process, with the Partnership an important first stage in the development of mutual commitment and habits of cooperation that can lay the groundwork for full membership. Thus while the Partnership stands on its own merits, participation in it also will provide the first step toward full NATO membership. Its creation therefore will give credibility to the Summit's statement in principle about expansion.

You also should know that we are preparing a strategy for your trip as a whole, beginning with a major speech in which you would articulate a broad concept of security in post Cold War Europe, including the economic transformation of the new democracies, democracy-building and preventive diplomacy as well as military security, and the appropriate American role across this spectrum. Our proposals for the NATO Summit itself will include concrete steps toward better responsibility-sharing between America and Western Europe and for adapting NATO's command structure to new circumstances. We will recommend that you call on the European Community while in Brussels, and meet with leaders of the Visegrad states (Poland, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak republics) in one of their capitals before going on to Moscow and other NIS states.

In preliminary discussions, key allies have been very positive about our Summit ideas but we so far have spoken in general terms about the Partnership for Peace and the need somehow to address the membership issue. Now that we have Principals agreement on both those subjects, we should move rapidly to firm up allied consensus and to begin telling both Central Europeans, and Ukrainians and Russians, the broad outlines of our thinking. If you agree, Chris would write his counterparts immediately, then he and Les can explain our thinking during their travels this week to Western Europe and the NIS.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the approach on the Partnership for Peace and NATO membership expansion outlined above.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

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