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USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, NATO

SUBJECT: U.S. DRAFT OUTLINE OF NATO PRESENTATION ON
EXPANSION; GUIDANCE FOR JANUARY 12 SPC/R

REF: USNATO 0040, DTG 062031Z

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. MISSION SHOULD STRONGLY SUPPORT UK SUGGESTION THAT ASG CRAGG CHAIR SPC/R SESSIONS WHEN THE COMMITTEE ADDRESSES MILITARY IMPLICATIONS OF EXPANSION. MISSION SHOULD ALSO EMPHASIZE OUR VIEW THAT NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES WILL MAKE A SUBSTANTIAL INPUT INTO THE EXPANSION STUDY.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION FOR INTERESTED PARTNERS WHICH THE U.S. BELIEVES SHOULD EMERGE FROM THE ALLIANCE'S INTERNAL DELIBERATIONS ON ENLARGEMENT. IN TABLING THIS DRAFT YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT WE OFFER THIS NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION AS A FRAMEWORK FOR THE
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ALLIANCE'S OWN EFFORTS AND WELCOME ALLIED INPUT ON ITS STRUCTURE AND CONTENT. MISSION SHOULD ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE DRAFT IS NOT A COMPLETE STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICY ON EXPANSION, NOR DOES IT COVER ALL ISSUES THAT WILL NEED TO BE ADDRESSED BY THE ALLIANCE. AMONG THE ISSUES THAT

WILL REQUIRE FURTHER EXAMINATION ARE: THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE, THE BASING OF FOREIGN TROOPS AND OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEMBERS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW MEMBERS TRYING TO BLOCK SUBSEQUENT ENLARGEMENT. YOU SHOULD NOTE FURTHER THAT THE ALLIANCE MUST ADDRESS A SERIES OF QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ACTUAL PRESENTATIONS TO ALLIES, INCLUDING QUESTIONS ABOUT WHERE THE BRIEFING IS GIVEN, BY WHOM, AT WHAT LEVEL. WE ANTICIPATE THAT PARTNERS NATIONS WOULD EACH RECEIVE AN INDIVIDUAL BRIEFING. AS ALLIES WILL NOTE, THIS DRAFT DERIVES FROM THE PRESENTATION THE U.S. MADE DURING THE NOVEMBER "BRAINSTORMING" SESSION BUT HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO ACCOUNT FOR THE DIFFERENT AUDIENCE.

4. MISSION MAY CIRCULATE THIS DRAFT PRIOR TO THE JANUARY 12 MEETING OF THE SPC/R WITH AN INDICATION THAT WE WOULD WELCOME INITIAL ALLIED REACTIONS AT THAT TIME. YOU SHOULD FORMALLY TABLE THIS DRAFT AT THE SPC/R ITSELF.

5. BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT OUTLINE OF PRESENTATION TO PARTNERS
CONCERNING NATO ENLARGEMENT

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INTRODUCTION:

A. NATO'S ENDURING PURPOSE AND ROLE

FORM A COMMUNITY OF LIKE-MINDED NATIONS DEDICATED TO SAFEGUARDING THE FREEDOM, COMMON HERITAGE AND CIVILIZATION OF ITS PEOPLES, FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

CONTRIBUTE TO EUROPEAN STABILITY AND INTEGRATION.

TRANS-ATLANTIC LINK.

COLLECTIVE DEFENSE: HIGH QUALITY AT LOW COST.

SOLIDIFY LINKS AMONG MEMBERS THROUGH HABITS OF COOPERATION, REDUCING RISKS OF CONFLICT AND FOSTERING THE COMMON DEFENSE.

ENHANCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY AND MARKET-BASED ECONOMIES THROUGHOUT THE NORTH ATLANTIC REGION.

B. EVOLUTION OF THE ALLIANCE IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA,
DRAWING FROM:

LONDON DECLARATION (PARA 2, EMPHASIZING PRESERVATION OF COMMON DEFENSE WHILE BECOMING AN AGENT OF CHANGE TO BUILD A MORE UNITED CONTINENT);
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ROME DECLARATION (PARA 3, EMPHASIZING MEETING CHALLENGES OF THE NEW EUROPE THROUGH INTERLOCKING INSTITUTIONS AND REGIONAL FRAMEWORKS TO PREVENT INSTABILITY AND DIVISION);

NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT PART 2 (ALLIANCE OBJECTIVES AND SECURITY FUNCTIONS); PART 3 (A BROAD APPROACH TO SECURITY); AND PART 4 (GUIDELINES FOR DEFENSE); AND

BRUSSELS DECLARATION (PARAS 12-16, WELCOMING EVENTUAL ALLIANCE ENLARGEMENT AND ESTABLISHING PFP).

C. BROAD EVOLUTION OF EUROPE'S SECURITY STRUCTURE

OUR GOAL IS TO ESTABLISH STRUCTURES AND RELATIONSHIPS WHICH HELP INTEGRATE EUROPEANS INTO A COMMON COMMUNITY OF VALUES AND COOPERATION. INTEGRATION IN THIS CONTEXT MUST NOT BE UNDERSTOOD AS MERELY "MEMBERSHIP" BUT INCLUDES WIDER PATTERNS OF COOPERATION. IN ADDITION, INTEGRATION MEANS RESOLUTION/REDUCTION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN NEIGHBORS (FYI USNATO ONLY - NO MORE GREECE/TURKEYS).

ANY EXPANSION OF THE ALLIANCE CAN ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN, OR SUCCESSFUL, IF APPROACHED IN THIS BROADER CONTEXT.

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THIS BROADER EVOLUTION IN EUROPE'S SECURITY STRUCTURES CONSISTS OF THREE MUTUALLY SUPPORTING TRACKS OF SECURITY COOPERATION: EXPANSION OF THE ALLIANCE, STRENGTHENING OF THE OSCE (INCLUDING A MORE POLITICAL PROFILE) AND FURTHER ENLARGEMENT OF THE EU.

IN ADDITION, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF

ADDITIONAL PARALLEL RELATIONSHIPS WITH COUNTRIES
SUCH AS RUSSIA.

I. PURPOSE OF NATO ENLARGEMENT

A. ENHANCE SECURITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE. ALLIANCE
ENLARGEMENT IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANYONE.

-- BY EXTENDING STABILITY, ENLARGEMENT WILL BENEFIT
BOTH NEW MEMBERS AND THOSE WHO DO NOT JOIN.

B. ENHANCE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND UNITY THROUGH A
COMPLEMENTARY PROCESS OF ENLARGING NATO, STRENGTHENING
PFP, EXPANDING THE EU, AND STRENGTHENING CSCE/OSCE
WITH THE GOAL OF AN INCLUSIVE EUROPE.

C. ACCELERATE PROCESS OF BUILDING A NEW EURO-ATLANTIC
COMMUNITY BY:
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1. HELPING CONSOLIDATE DEMOCRATIC REFORMS.
2. DISCOURAGING ETHNIC AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.
3. DE-NATIONALIZING DEFENSE.
4. STRENGTHENING THE INCENTIVE TO RESPONSIBLE
BEHAVIOR.
5. PROMOTING CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY.

II. PRINCIPLES OF ENLARGEMENT

A. NATO ENLARGEMENT WILL MAINTAIN THE ALLIANCE'S
EFFECTIVENESS, MILITARY CAPABILITY AND POLITICAL
COHESION, CONTRIBUTE TO STABILITY AND SECURITY IN THE

WHOLE OF EUROPE AND SUPPORT BUILDING AN INTEGRATED,
UNDIVIDED EUROPE.

- B. NEW MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE FULL MEMBERS.
THEY WILL ENJOY THE RIGHTS AND MUST ASSUME ALL
OBLIGATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.

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- C. PURPOSE OF ENLARGING NATO IS TO EXPAND THE "ZONE OF
STABILITY AND SECURITY- IN EUROPE AND IS NOT DIRECTED
AGAINST ANY NATION.

- D. THE GUARANTEES AND RESPONSIBILITIES EMBODIED IN
ARTICLE 5 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ARE AT THE CORE
OF NATO.

-- SECURITY MUST BE EQUAL FOR ALL ALLIES. THERE
WILL BE NO -SECOND TIER- SECURITY GUARANTEES.

THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE IS A CONCRETE
EXPRESSION OF ALLIES' COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN AND
DEVELOP THEIR INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE CAPACITY
TO RESIST ARMED ATTACK.

THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE IS OPEN TO ALL
MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE. THE UNITED STATES WOULD
EXPECT NEW MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE
INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE.

- E. ARTICLE 10 ESTABLISHES THE ONLY FORMAL REQUIREMENT FOR
MEMBERSHIP. IT STATES THAT "THE PARTIES MAY, BY
UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT, INVITE ANY OTHER EUROPEAN STATE
IN A POSITION TO FURTHER THE PRINCIPLES OF THIS TREATY
AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF THE NORTH

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ATLANTIC AREA TO ACCEDE TO THIS TREATY...".

ULTIMATELY, CURRENT ALLIES WILL DECIDE BY
CONSENSUS WHETHER TO ACCEPT EACH NEW MEMBER
ACCORDING TO THEIR JUDGMENT OF WHETHER DOING SO
WILL CONTRIBUTE TO SECURITY AND STABILITY.

NEW MEMBERS WILL, HOWEVER, NEED TO CONFORM TO
CERTAIN BASIC PRECEPTS AS EMBODIED IN THE
PREAMBLE OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY: DEMOCRACY,
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

- F. STATES WHICH HAVE ETHNIC OR INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL
TERRITORIAL DISPUTES, INCLUDING IRREDENTIST CLAIMS,
MUST AGREE TO SETTLE THOSE DISPUTES IN ACCORDANCE WITH
CSCE/OSCE PRINCIPLES, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLE THAT
BORDERS CANNOT BE CHANGED BY FORCE. THOSE WHICH DO
NOT DO SO WILL NOT BE ADMITTED TO THE ALLIANCE.
- G. ALLIANCE DELIBERATION ON ENLARGEMENT WILL BE A
GRADUAL, DELIBERATE, AND TRANSPARENT PROCESS,
ENCOMPASSING CONSULTATIONS WITH ALL INTERESTED
PARTIES, AND NO SURPRISES. THAT SAID, NO NON-MEMBER
HAS A VETO OVER MEMBERSHIP.
- H. WHEN ENLARGEMENT OCCURS, IT WILL BE ON A CASE-BY-CASE
BASIS.
- SOME NATIONS WILL BE READY FOR MEMBERSHIP BEFORE
OTHERS.

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NEW MEMBERS SHOULD NOT BE ADMITTED OR EXCLUDED ON
THE BASIS OF BELONGING TO SOME GROUP OR CATEGORY

NO FIXED "CRITERIA" PER SE.

- I. THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROVIDES THE FRAMEWORK BY
WHICH NATO WILL EVOLVE AND EXPAND. PFP WILL REMAIN
IMPORTANT IN ITS OWN RIGHT AS A FIXTURE IN THE
EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE.
FOR SOME PARTNERS PFP WILL BE A CONTINUING VENUE
FOR CLOSE COOPERATION WITH NATO; CONCRETE
EVIDENCE OF NATO'S CONCERN WITH THEIR SECURITY;
AND THE PRIMARY LINK TO THE CORE EURO-ATLANTIC
SECURITY INSTITUTION, NATO.

FOR SOME PARTNERS PFP WILL BE THE BEST PATH TO
EVENTUAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE, A PROVING
GROUND OF THEIR CAPABILITIES AND COMMITMENT.

III. HOW NATO EXPANDS

A. ARTICLE 10 OF WASHINGTON TREATY GOVERNS THE PROCESS.

B. ALL ALLIES MUST AGREE XSUBJECT TO NATIONAL
CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS, INCLUDING PARLIAMENTARY
RATIFICATION IN MANY CASES TO A PROTOCOL AUTHORIZING
SYG TO INVITE THE NEW MEMBER TO JOIN. THE NEW MEMBER
ACCEPTS THE INVITATION AND ACCEDES TO THE NORTH
ATLANTIC TREATY (MAY REQUIRE PARLIAMENTARY
RATIFICATION ON THEIR PART).

IV. GENERAL OBLIGATIONS OF NEW MEMBERS

A. ACCEPT NATO AS A COMMUNITY OF LIKE-MINDED NATIONS
JOINED TOGETHER FOR COMMON DEFENSE WITH EACH NATION
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CONTRIBUTING TO THE SECURITY AND DEFENSE FROM WHICH
ALL MEMBER NATIONS BENEFIT.

-- NOTE PREAMBLE TO THE WASHINGTON TREATY, AS CITED
IN DECEMBER 1 NAC COMMUNIQUE.

B. OUTLINE NATO'S COMMITTEE-BASED DECISION MAKING
STRUCTURE, THE ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF AND
INTERNATIONAL MILITARY STAFF, AND THE PRINCIPLE OF
WHICH REQUIRE:

-- A COMMITMENT TO GOOD FAITH EFFORTS TO BUILD

CONSENSUS WITHIN ALLIANCE ON ALL ISSUES.

PARTICIPATION IN THE FULL RANGE OF NATO
COMMITTEES AND THE BROAD RANGE OF INFORMATION
EXCHANGE, BOTH THROUGH MISSIONS IN BRUSSELS AND
SUPPORT IN CAPITALS.

HELPING DEVELOP COMMON GOALS AND POLICIES ON
SECURITY AND POLITICAL ISSUES.

STAFFING AN APPROPRIATELY SIZED FULL-TIME MISSION
AT NATO HQ (TYPICALLY 7-50 STAFF MEMBERS).

PROVIDING HIGHLY QUALIFIED INDIVIDUALS WHO CAN
FUNCTION WITH THE TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES (FRENCH
AND ENGLISH) OF THE ALLIANCE TO SERVE ON THE I.S

AND I.M.S.

C. PROVIDE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO ALLIANCE
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BUDGETS BASED ON AGREED BUDGET SHARES.

D. BE PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE TO BOTH ARTICLE 5 DEFENSE
AND NATO'S NEW AND EVOLVING MISSIONS.

E. CONTINUING, BROAD-RANGING CONSULTATIONS AMONG ALLIES ON
POLITICAL AND SECURITY ISSUES BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ALLIANCE.

V. ROLE OF PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (IN ADDITION TO II. K)

A. SERVE AS AN INTEGRAL AND PERMANENT PART OF EUROPEAN
SECURITY ARCHITECTURE, DEEPENING INTERACTION AND
EXTENDING STABILITY THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

B. DEVELOP TRANSPARENCY IN DEFENSE PLANNING AMONG
PARTNERS AND ALLIES TO ENHANCE CONFIDENCE IN THE
INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES OF PARTNER STATES.

C. ALLOW PARTNERS TO DEEPEN THEIR INTERACTION WITH ALLIES
AND OTHER PARTNERS AS THEY DESIRE.

D. PROVIDE VEHICLE FOR PARTNERS TO PREPARE FOR AND, AS
APPROPRIATE, PARTICIPATE IN PEACEKEEPING,
HUMANITARIAN, SEARCH AND RESCUE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES
WITH NATO MEMBERS AND OTHER PARTNERS.

E. PROVIDE (1) A CONSULTATION MECHANISM, AND (2)
INCENTIVES TO PURSUE INTERNAL REFORM IN THE SPIRIT OF

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY PREAMBLE AND ARTICLES 1 AND
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2.

- F. ESTABLISH PATTERNS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION THAT WILL ALLOW A NEAR-SEAMLESS TRANSITION TO MEMBERSHIP (WORKING WITH AND PARTICIPATING ON APPROPRIATE NATO COMMITTEES, DEVELOPING INTEROPERABLE FORCES, DEFENSE PLANNING, ETC.)

VI. DEFENSE AND MILITARY REQUIREMENTS

- A. STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK: PROVIDING A CREDIBLE SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR ALL MEMBERS.

OUTLINE RISKS FACING ALLIANCE FROM DEFENSE/MILITARY POINT OF VIEW: INCLUDING INSTABILITY FROM ETHNIC, TERRITORIAL OR ECONOMIC DISPUTES; REGIONAL AGGRESSION; NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION.

DESCRIBE ALLIANCE'S NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT.

ALLIANCE IS PURELY DEFENSIVE, NOT A THREAT TO ANY COUNTRY.

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- B. MILITARY STRUCTURES, FORCES, AND PROCEDURES:

ALLIANCE MILITARY STRUCTURE: DESCRIBE THE INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE, AND THE ROLE NATIONS AND THEIR FORCES PLAY IN IT.

MILITARY CAPABILITIES: OUTLINE THE ALLIANCE'S CURRENT CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES SUGGEST POSSIBLE OPTIONS TO MEET MILITARY REQUIREMENTS AFTER EXPANSION.

FORCE AND COMMAND STRUCTURE: DESCRIBE CURRENT NATO FORCE COMPOSITION AND COMMAND STRUCTURE. OUTLINE PROBLEMS POSED BY EXPANSION AND SUGGEST KEY AREAS FOR CHANGE.

C. DEFENSE PLANNING:

EXPLAIN TO PARTNERS AND PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLECTIVE DEFENSE PLANNING.

EXPLAIN PURPOSE, PROCESS AND OBJECTIVES OF CURRENT NATO SYSTEM, INCLUDING TRANSPARENCY AND

RECIPROCITY AMONG ALLIES; MATCHING FORCES WITH NEW STRATEGIES; AND OBVIATING NEED FOR RE-NATIONALIZATION OF DEFENSE.

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DISCUSS FORCES AND CAPABILITIES THAT NATO NATIONS PROVIDE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS.

EMPHASIZE CIVILIAN (DEFENSE MINISTRY) ROLE IN BUDGETARY AND FORCE PLANNING PROCESS.

D. DEFENSE RESOURCES:

DISCUSS DOWNWARD TRENDS IN DEFENSE BUDGETS.

STRESS NEW ALLIES MUST MAINTAIN APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF DEFENSE SPENDING, CONSISTENT WITH NATO AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS.

DISCUSS COMMON FUNDED NATO BUDGETS (CIVIL AND DEFENSE), THEIR SIZE, PURPOSE, COST-SHARING FORMULAE AND NECESSITY IN CARRYING OUT ALLIANCE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.

EMPHASIZE NEED TO SHARE EQUITABLY ROLES, RISKS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND BENEFITS OF ASSURING COMMON SECURITY GOALS AND OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING HOST

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NATION SUPPORT FOR THE FORCE STRUCTURE, AND THE
COMMAND AND INFRASTRUCTURE NEEDED TO PROVIDE A
CREDIBLE SECURITY GUARANTEE AND UNDERTAKE THE
ALLIANCE'S NEW MISSIONS.

E. ADAPTATION TO NATO MILITARY PROCEDURES:

SUBORDINATION OF MILITARY PLANNING AND OPERATION
TO POLITICAL OBJECTIVES AGREED AMONG
DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS.

STANDARDIZATION AND INTEROPERABILITY (OVERVIEW OF
RATIONALE, SCOPE, AND REQUIREMENTS, INCLUDING
ROLE OF OVER 1200 STANAGS/ATPS DEALING WITH
EQUIPMENT, OPERATIONS, AND ADMINISTRATION.
PRESENT LIST OF MINIMALLY ESSENTIAL STANAGS SO
PARTNERS UNDERSTAND THE FULL SCOPE.

CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED WITH PARTNERS AND NEW
IES OVER TIME AS THEY ADAPT TO STANDARD NATO
PRACTICES NEEDED TO MAINTAIN MILITARILY EFFECTIVE
FORCES.

IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING AND ADAPTING TO NATO
DOCTRINE.
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A REQUIREMENT TO TRAIN/EXERCISE ROUTINELY WITH
NATO FORCES TO ENHANCE EFFECTIVENESS AND
INTEROPERABILITY. THIS MUST BE DONE AT ALL
LEVELS OF C2.

F. INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY ASPECTS

CONTRIBUTE TO, AS WELL AS CONSUME, ALLIANCE
INTELLIGENCE, WHICH IS BASED SOLELY ON NATIONAL
CONTRIBUTIONS.

MAINTAIN HIGH SECURITY STANDARDS FOR NATO
CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.
CHRISTOPHER

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