

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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1150 17TH STREET, N.W., SUITE 1250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
TELEPHONE: (202) 862-5830 • FAX: (202) 862-5874

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November 19, 1997

Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (Ret.)  
1000 Wilson Blvd., Suite 3105  
Arlington, VA 22209-3901

Dear Admiral Zumwalt:

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to serve as a Senior Military Advisor to the U.S. Committee to Expand NATO. The Committee is a bipartisan 501(c)(4) organization, which was incorporated on November 1, 1996, as a coalition of interested American citizens for the sole purpose of supporting the ratification by the U.S. Senate of the treaty amendments required to expand NATO. The Committee will be working to encourage Senate and public support for the admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into NATO and to encourage a greater understanding of America's role in Europe.

The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO has been working closely with senior Administration officials and with key Senate and House staff members (including staff to House Majority Leader Trent Lott and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms). Funding for operations and office space at the American Enterprise Institute is provided by private donors who are all U.S. citizens. We have a working bipartisan Board of Directors which brings together strong backgrounds in campaign strategy, national finance, and foreign policy. We have assembled an impressive bipartisan group of Senior Advisors, including numerous Cabinet officials from previous Administrations, as well as distinguished business, industry, labor, and

political leaders. The complete list of distinguished Americans who are lending their support to the Committee's efforts is attached.

Because some Senators have raised questions about the strategic implications and military aspects of NATO expansion, we believe it would be useful to have a panel of Senior Military Advisors who would agree to make themselves available (by telephone or in person) to U.S. Senators interested in professional military advice and counsel in connection with the NATO expansion issue. The Board of Directors of the U.S. Committee would also want to be able to consult with you informally as the enlargement debate unfolds. Should you agree to become a Senior Military Advisor, we would like to be able to list your name publicly as such, but would not use your name in connection with any policy statement without first getting your permission.

The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO is hopeful that you will join us in this effort, which we believe to be vital to the future security of America as well as Europe. Enclosed you will find copies of the U.S. Committee's mission statement and its Press Kit. I will be happy to answer any questions you may have about the Committee or its goals and objectives, and look forward to hearing from you. You may reach me at (202) 862-5830 or by fax at (202) 862-5874.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Steve Hadley", written in a cursive style.

Stephen J. Hadley

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Governor Tom Ridge  
Donald Rumsfeld  
William Schneider, Jr.  
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Peter Tarnoff  
Cyrus Vance  
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C. Howard Wilkins  
Frank Wisner  
Paul Wolfowitz  
R. James Woolsey  
Dov Zakheim

## THE U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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**“Today I want to state America’s goal: By 1999, NATO’s 50th anniversary, and 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the first group of countries we invite should be full-fledged members of NATO.”**

President Bill Clinton  
10.22.96 - Detroit, Michigan

**“We applaud the Clinton-Gore Administration’s efforts to foster a peaceful, democratic and undivided Europe, including . . . the Partnership for Peace program of military cooperation with Europe’s new democracies; [and] its steady, determined work to add new Central European members to NATO in the near future.”**

The Democratic Platform, 1996

**“With the people of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary we have special bonds. These nations - and others - are rightfully part of the future of Europe. We strongly endorse Bob Dole’s call for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to enter NATO by 1998.”**

The Republican Platform, 1996

**“Let us begin by reaffirming that Europe’s security is indispensable to the security of the United States, and that American leadership is absolutely indispensable to the security of Europe.”**

Bob Dole  
6.5.95 - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO is an organization of Americans committed to  
“promote the admission of certain Central European countries to NATO, thus enhancing the

likelihood that such countries will develop democratic institutions and market economies.” The Committee believes this to be an issue of truly historic importance not only for Europe, but also for the United States. Opening NATO to membership by Central European countries is a critical step in creating a Europe whole and free out of a Europe divided by the Cold War. But a Europe whole and free can be achieved only by strong U.S. leadership - leadership that is possible only with the full support of the U.S. Congress. For the United States to fail to lead at this critical time would, in the Committee’s view, mark the end of an era of U.S. leadership in Europe and threaten America’s ability to pursue its vital national interests.

#### **Background**

By July of 1997, President Clinton is expected to attend a summit meeting of the heads of government of the 16 NATO nations at which they will agree to extend invitations of membership to at least three Central European nations - Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Over the next six to nine months thereafter, NATO officials will negotiate simultaneously with each of the invited countries on an accession agreement setting out the terms of each country’s admission to NATO. These accession agreements will then be submitted to the legislatures of the 16 NATO nations for ratification. None of the legislatures of the other NATO member states is likely to take decisive action on these agreements until the U.S. Senate has acted on them.

Thus, by the middle of 1998 we can expect that the U.S. Senate will be at the center of a national debate that will largely determine the future security of Europe and the role of the United States on that continent.

The consequences of that debate will be nothing short of momentous. Much more than

the expansion of NATO will be at stake. For the debate will quite rightly become a debate about the future of Europe, the nature of U.S. interests there, and the role that the United States can and should play in its future. Senate ratification of NATO's expansion would constitute an American recommitment to a future Europe in which the United States would play an active role. Senate rejection of NATO's expansion would constitute a turning away from Europe and the abandonment by the United States of its traditional leadership role. For the U.S. Senate to reject NATO expansion - an idea championed by the U.S. administration and endorsed in the recent Presidential campaign by both President Clinton and Senator Dole - would be read as marking the end of America's fifty-year commitment to active engagement in the affairs of Europe. Such a decision would not only affect our ability to pursue U.S. interests in the region, but runs the risk of destabilizing Europe itself.

#### Objective

The Committee sets as its objective the achievement of broad bipartisan political support for the ratification by the U.S. Senate of the accession agreements for the expansion of NATO to include Central European countries.

The public debate on NATO expansion has in some sense already begun. Differences of view have been expressed in the past both between and within the two political parties over the pace, timing, and modalities of NATO expansion. But the Committee believes that there is an emerging bipartisan consensus that the process of NATO expansion has moved beyond the point of no return - that the consequences of Senate rejection of membership offered to and negotiated with Central European states would be disastrous for the United States and for Europe.

Because Senate deliberation will be so critical, the Committee believes it is not too soon to begin preparing for the coming debate. The Committee hopes to help focus the Senate leadership on this important issue and to provide substantive assistance to individual Senators as they prepare to assume their important role in the ratification debate. In this way the Committee hopes to help forge the bipartisan consensus and broad public support required to avoid an outcome that would divide the country and separate America from its European allies.

### Approach

The Committee will focus on the U.S. Senate. The Committee will seek to meet personally with every Senator to discuss the importance of NATO expansion and to determine what concerns or questions the Senator has on the issue. Requests for information or specific concerns would be addressed by providing short responsive issue papers that will draw together the best available research and analysis, by arranging for a meeting between the Senator and one of the Committee's Senior Advisors, and by facilitating meetings with prominent Central Europeans who might address matters first-hand from their perspective. Once the formal ratification debate actually begins, the Committee would expect to continue to provide support to individual Senators, to provide witnesses and testimony for public hearings, and to be a source of information for the media and public more generally. Throughout its work, the Committee would expect to make common cause with important state governors, business leaders, and organizations who share the Committee's views on the importance of the NATO expansion issue.

### Organization

The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO was incorporated on November 1, 1996, as a District of Columbia nonprofit corporation. It will operate under Section 501 (c)(4) of the

Internal Revenue Code rather than seeking Section 501 (c) (3) tax-deductible status, on the belief that American taxpayers who might not agree with the Committee's goals should not be asked to subsidize its activities with tax deductions. Those who participate in the work of the Committee will be asked to do so on a pro bono basis. Initially the modest financial needs of the Committee will be met by contributions from public-spirited individuals or foundations.

The Committee will have a bipartisan Board of Directors of up to 15 persons, including Democrats and Republicans who share a common commitment to the national security of the United States and to the goal of expanding NATO. It will be composed of people respected not only for their intellectual and political leadership, but also for their contributions to business, education, law, or cultural institutions.

To support its work, the Committee will organize a board of Senior Advisors to offer public support to the work of the Committee, to meet with individual Senators, and to provide testimony at public hearings. The Committee hopes to include as Senior Advisors former Secretaries of State and Defense, former National Security Advisers, retired senior military officers, and prominent business leaders.

The Committee will also organize small working groups of knowledgeable and experienced individuals who can prepare issue papers and analysis of the critical substantive issues that will arise in the NATO expansion debate. These will almost certainly include the impact of NATO expansion on NATO's military effectiveness, the impact on U.S. defense strategy, the costs involved, the effect on relations with Russia, and how to reassure those states not included in an expanded NATO.

**December 12, 1996**



**E. R. ZUMWALT, JR.**  
ADMIRAL, U.S. NAVY (RET.)

December 4, 1997

Stephen J. Hadley  
U.S. Committee to Expand NATO  
1150 17th Street, NW  
Suite 1250  
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Hadley:

I agree herewith to serve as a senior military advisor to the U.S. Committee to Expand NATO.

Sincerely,

E. R. Zumwalt, Jr.  
Admiral, USN (Ret.)

1000 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 3105  
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Tel: (703) 527-5380  
Fax: (703) 528-5795

# NATO EXPANSION



CZECH REP.



HUNGARY



POLAND

## AMERICA'S INSURANCE POLICY



BELGIUM



CANADA



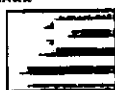
DENMARK



FRANCE



GERMANY



GREECE



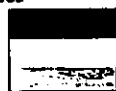
ICELAND



ITALY



LUXEMBOURG



NETHERLANDS



NORWAY



PORTUGAL



SPAIN



TURKEY



U.K.



THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IMMEDIATE BENEFITS. EXTENDED COVERAGE. GUARANTEED SECURITY.  
COMPREHENSIVE PROTECTION. GROUP RATES. A PEACE DIVIDEND.

## SECURE THE PEACE. EXPAND NATO.

For additional information, contact the bipartisan U.S. Committee to Expand NATO  
1150 17th St., NW, Suite 1250, Washington, D.C. 20036  
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Norman Augustine  
James A. Baker III  
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Frank G. Wisner  
Paul Wolfowitz  
R. James Woolsey  
Robert B. Zoellick

# THE COST OF WAR



WORLD WAR I COST AMERICA \$460 BILLION\*



WORLD WAR II COST AMERICA \$3.88 TRILLION\*  
\* in 1996 dollars. Source: Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 115th Edition.

# THE PRICE OF PEACE



NATO EXPANSION WILL COST EACH U.S. TAXPAYER THE PRICE OF A CANDY BAR.  
Source: Administration Report to Congress, Feb., 1997

Expanding NATO to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic will come with a price. What will it cost every American taxpayer? About what it takes to buy a kid a candy bar. That's not much considering the staggering and tragic toll of war. America can afford NATO expansion. America can afford peace.

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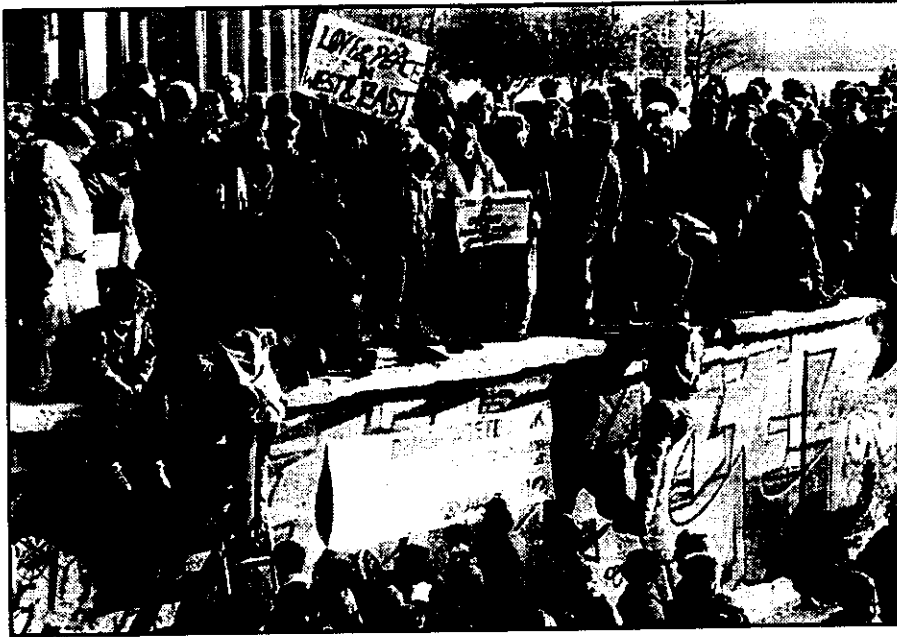
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# NOW THAT THE WALL IS DOWN, IT'S TIME TO BUILD THE PEACE.



It took two World Wars and the lives of millions to make clear the need for a shared security force in Europe. Since 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has provided the security umbrella under which democracy and free enterprise have flourished. Now, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, we have the opportunity to secure the peace in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. America's security requires greater European stability – and that requires an expanded NATO.

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# AN UNLIKELY COUPLE. A COMMON CAUSE.



"President Clinton and I have no higher priority than to work with our allies, and with our people and Congress, to build (a) new NATO (that) can do for Europe's east what the old NATO did for Europe's west: vanquish old hatreds, promote integration, create a secure environment for prosperity, and deter violence."

—*Madeleine Albright, U.S. Secretary of State*

"Madam Secretary, it is my desire to be helpful to you in achieving Senate ratification of NATO enlargement. But to do so, it is essential that we work together to make sure that [it] is done the right way."

—*Sen. Jesse Helms, R-NC, Chairman,  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

## LET'S DO IT RIGHT. SECURE THE PEACE. EXPAND NATO.

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# WHEN RATIFYING A TREATY REQUIRES MORE THAN THE OPINIONS OF POLICY WONKS



Lt. Gen. William Odom (Ret.)



Gen. Colin Powell (Ret.)



Gen. George Joulwan (Ret.)



Adm. William Owens (Ret.)

## ASK AMERICA'S TOP BRASS

The upcoming Senate debate on expanding NATO to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic is all about securing the victory of democracy and free markets. It is all about adapting the most successful military alliance in history to Europe's new circumstances. It is all about extending the stability that western Europe and America have long enjoyed.

In short, it's about waging peace. Our best foreign policy thinkers understand that NATO expansion will preserve the peace our country fought so long to achieve. Our top military leaders know it from experience.

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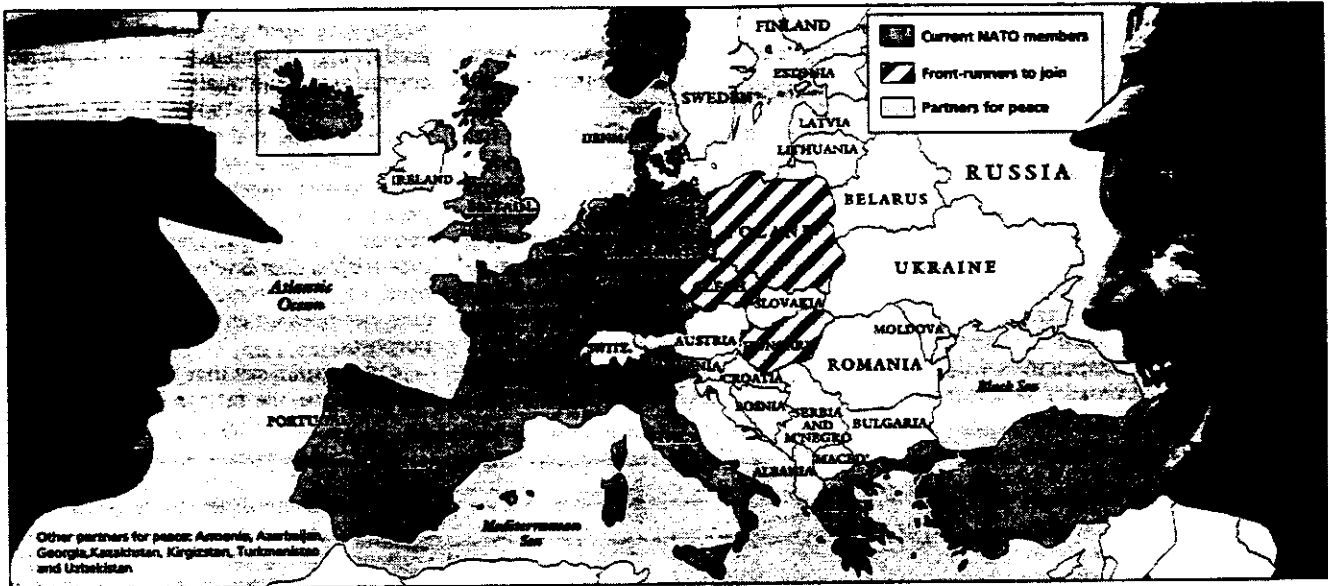
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# ENLARGING NATO



## Why bigger is better

In this article, Madeleine Albright defends NATO's enlargement.

IT IS an old diplomatic tradition that American secretaries of state begin their terms by visiting our closest allies and partners. That is why this week I will be meeting with officials in Europe, and later in Asia, to forge a common agenda. The dominant questions of the day in virtually all these countries, as in my own, involve matters close to home—educating children, building businesses, cutting deficits, fighting unemployment. At a time when much of the world enjoys relative peace, we run the risk of forgetting the decades-long work of diplomacy and institution-building that has made it possible for the great majority of people to worry about domestic improvements rather than national survival.

My message on this trip is that we have our own work to do—and quickly—if this space of tranquillity is to endure and spread, rather than be written off by history as a pleasant time of tragically wasted opportunities. That message applies with special force to Europe. Today, the continent is no longer sliced in two, but dangers remain: from Bosnia to Chechnya, more Europeans died violently in the last five years than in the previous 45. From Serbia to Belarus, reminders are appearing that Europe's democratic revolution is not complete.

BY INVITATION



Madeleine Albright is America's secretary of state

Even so, a goal that would have seemed like Utopian delusion just years ago lies within our grasp: a peaceful and undivided Europe working in partnership with the United States, that welcomes every one of the continent's new democracies into our transatlantic community.

An ambitious goal, to be sure. Yet pro-

gress towards its realisation has been remarkable. Western Europe is moving towards economic and monetary union. Most of Europe's fastest-growing economies lie east of the Elbe. Russia has made a choice for democracy and markets and defied the most dire predictions about its evolution. An independent and robustly democratic Ukraine is casting its lot with Europe. American and European resolve has stopped the fighting in Bosnia. The military coalition there contains so many former adversaries that no sober student of history would have predicted it: France and Germany, Poland and Lithuania, Turkey and Greece, Russia and America.

Many institutions are playing their part in this effort, and all face critical tests this year. The European Union has promised to expand again and will soon make decisions. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has taken in Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic; it is now looking to other market democracies, including Russia. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is promoting the democratic standards that will enable Europe to come together; it is still treading a rough road in Bosnia.

But it is NATO, the linchpin of European security and the principal mechanism for American involvement in Europe, that is playing the leading role in bringing Europe together. It is changing its internal structure to create a stronger role for Europe. Its Partnership for Peace, under which other countries can train, plan, exercise and co-operate with NATO, has brought together old adversaries and long-time neutrals. In the wake of such changes, France and Spain are

## ENLARGING NATO

participating more fully in the alliance. NATO is now more attractive to more nations because it is addressing new challenges in Europe and beyond. The next six months will be among the most ambitious and demanding in its history.

### NATO's opportunity

At the NATO summit this July in Madrid, allied leaders will reform NATO's internal structures and invite several nations to become members by 1999. President Clinton and I have no higher priority than to work with our allies, and with our people and Congress, to build this new NATO. The debate in America will be spirited, as it should be. But I am confident the American people and their representatives will affirm that a new and broader NATO serves our security as well as Europe's.

Too often, the debate about NATO's future reduces the alliance's past to a one-dimensional caricature that discounts its relevance to today's European challenges. Certainly, NATO's cold-war task was to contain the Soviet threat. But that is not all it did. It provided the confidence and security shattered economies needed to rebuild themselves. It helped France and Germany become reconciled, making European integration possible. With other institutions, it brought Italy, then Germany and eventually Spain back into the family of European democracies. It denationalised allied defence policies. It has stabilised relations between Greece and Turkey. All without firing a shot.

Now the new NATO can do for Europe's east what the old NATO did for Europe's west: vanquish old hatreds, promote integration, create a secure environment for prosperity, and deter violence in the region where two world wars and the cold war began.

Just the prospect of NATO enlargement has given Central and Eastern Europe greater stability than it has seen in this century. Hungary has settled its border and minority questions with Slovakia and Romania. Poland has reached across an old divide to create joint peacekeeping battalions with Ukraine and Lithuania. Throughout the region, support for NATO membership has rallied political parties of every ideology in favour of joining the West. Country after country has made sure that soldiers take orders from civilians, not the other way around.

To align themselves with NATO, these states are resolving problems that could have led to future Bosnias. This is the productive paradox at NATO's heart: by extending solemn security guarantees, we actually

reduce the chance that our troops will again be called to fight in Europe. At the same time, we will gain new allies who are eager and increasingly able to contribute to our common agenda for security, from fighting terrorism and weapons proliferation to ensuring stability in trouble spots like the former Yugoslavia.

NATO enlargement will involve real costs, to the United States, its allies and its partners. But the costs are reasonable and many would arise whether NATO expands or not. Countries aspiring to membership will have to modernise their armed forces whether they are in or out of NATO—if anything, military spending would be higher in an insecure, unattached central Europe. A decision not to enlarge would also carry costs: it would constitute a declaration that



But not Russia

NATO will neither address the challenges nor accept the geography of a new Europe. NATO would be stuck in the past, risking irrelevance and even dissolution. Those are costs we cannot afford.

### Addressing the critics

NATO and its members have laid out the reasons for enlargement. It is high time that critics came forward with a rationale that might possibly support a policy of fossilised immobility in the face of Europe's sweeping changes. Now that democracy's frontier has moved to Europe's farthest reaches, what logic would dictate that we freeze NATO's eastern edges where they presently lie, along the line where the Red Army stopped in the spring of 1945? President Clinton said it in Prague two years ago: "Freedom's boundaries now should be defined by new behaviour, not old history." Or for that matter by old thinking. To define them otherwise would not only create a permanent injustice, mocking the sacrifices made in this century on both sides of the Iron Curtain. It would create a permanent source of tension and insecurity in the heart of Europe.

Some critics point out that none of

NATO's prospective members faces an immediate military threat. True enough. But then, neither does Italy. Or Denmark. Or Britain. Or Iceland. Or the United States. If NATO were open only to countries menaced by aggressive neighbours, virtually no current ally would qualify.

Those who ask "where is the threat?" mistake NATO's real value. The alliance is not a wild-west posse that we trot out only when danger appears. It is a permanent presence, designed to promote common endeavours and to prevent a threat from ever arising. That is why current allies still need it and why others wish to join. NATO does not need an enemy. It has enduring purposes.

Other critics say that if we want to reunite Europe, the EU can do the job. Besides, they argue, what central Europe needs is stocks and bonds, not stockpiles and bombs. They are certainly right that EU expansion is vital. Though the United States has no vote in the process, we do have an interest in seeing it happen as rapidly and expansively as possible.

But the security NATO provides has always been essential to the prosperity the EU promises. What is more, EU enlargement requires current and new members to make vast and complex adjustments in subsidy schemes and regulatory regimes. If NATO enlargement can proceed more quickly, why wait until, say, tomato farmers in Central Europe start using the right kinds of pesticides? And because NATO, unlike the EU, is a transatlantic institution, it can ensure that a united Europe maintains its strongest link to North America. The question is not which institution strong democracies should join, but when and how they are prepared to join each.

Critics also say that NATO enlargement will somehow redivide post-cold war Europe. On the contrary. NATO has taken a range of steps to ensure that the erasure of old lines of division does not leave new ones on the map. NATO is strengthening its Partnership for Peace, reaching out to Ukraine and Russia, and giving every new democracy—whether it joins the alliance sooner, later or not at all—a say in its future through the Atlantic Partnership Council we will launch this spring.

Of course, the enlargement of NATO must begin with the strongest candidates; otherwise, it would not begin at all. But when we say that the first new members will not be the last, we mean it. And we expect the new members to export stability eastward, rather than viewing enlargement as a race to escape westward at the expense

of their neighbours.

The core of that challenge—and one of the most important tasks for NATO—is to build a close and constructive partnership with Russia. This will take vision and political will. It requires abandoning cold-war stereotypes and no longer looking at European security as a zero-sum game.

NATO enlargement is not taking place in response to a new Russian threat. It is motivated by the imperative of creating an integrated Europe—one that includes, not excludes, Russia. The purpose of enlargement is to give Central and Eastern Europe, a region whose future stability is key to the future of Europe as a whole, the same kind of security that has become commonplace in Western Europe. Russia, no less than the rest of us, needs stability and prosperity in the centre of Europe.

I recognise that many Russian leaders express opposition to NATO enlargement. Yet the NATO Russia claims to oppose bears little resemblance to the alliance we are actually building. NATO's conventional and nuclear forces have been dramatically reduced. We have no plan, no need and no intention to station nuclear weapons on the territory of new members. NATO's actions over the past six years reveal an alliance focused on building co-operation, not confrontation: an alliance working shoulder-to-shoulder with Russia—as it is in Bosnia—not trying to isolate it.

We recognise that Europe cannot finally be whole and free until a democratic Russia is fully part of Europe. Now we hope that Russians will recognise that their suspicions about NATO and its enlargement are misplaced. After all, if Russia wishes to be part of an undivided Europe, then it cannot look at countries like Poland or Estonia or Ukraine as a buffer zone that separates Russia from Europe.

It is a mistake to think that the fate of Russian democracy is somehow at stake in the enlargement debate. Russia's future as a free and prosperous nation will depend upon the ability of its leaders and citizens to build an open society, to defeat crime and corruption, to spark economic growth and spread its benefits. The Russian people know that their future will be written in Moscow, in Perm, in Irkutsk—and certainly not in Brussels. Poll after poll has shown that few ordinary Russians express concern about an alliance that many of their leaders concede poses no actual military threat to the country.

It would not be in our interest to delay or derail enlargement in response to the claims of some Russians that this constitutes an offensive act. Doing so would only encourage the worst political tendencies in Moscow. It would send a message that confrontation with the West pays off. Waiting to integrate Central and Eastern Europe's new democracies would do nothing to

help Russian democracy. It would make it harder, not easier, to create the kind of NATO-Russia relationship we are striving for today.

#### How to engage Russia

NATO has proposed defining that partnership in a charter with Russia. The charter would establish clear principles and arrangements for consultation, co-operation and joint action in peacekeeping, defence and arms control, nuclear safety, non-proliferation and emergency relief. It would establish a permanent NATO-Russia joint council. We want Russia and our other partners to participate in NATO's Combined Joint Task Forces, which will allow us to respond to crises together. We want Russian officers to help plan the missions we jointly undertake. As a nation not bound by NATO decisions, Russia would have no veto. But its voice would be sought and heard.

We are also negotiating to update the treaty governing Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), which limits military deployments throughout the continent. We invite the Russians to join us in an agreement that will lower levels of forces and promote stability and transparency on the continent. This can assure Russia that NATO enlargement will not result in any major build-up of NATO forces along its borders. Indeed, it can ensure there is no destabilising concentration of military equipment anywhere in Europe.

We have every chance to make progress on these issues before the July NATO summit. I will be seeing Russian leaders in Moscow on February 20th. President Clinton will meet President Yeltsin in Helsinki in March. He will be in Europe again in May for the US-EU summit. The G7 leaders will meet President Yeltsin in Denver in June. Russia has a strategic opportunity to secure its interests in an integrated Europe. It

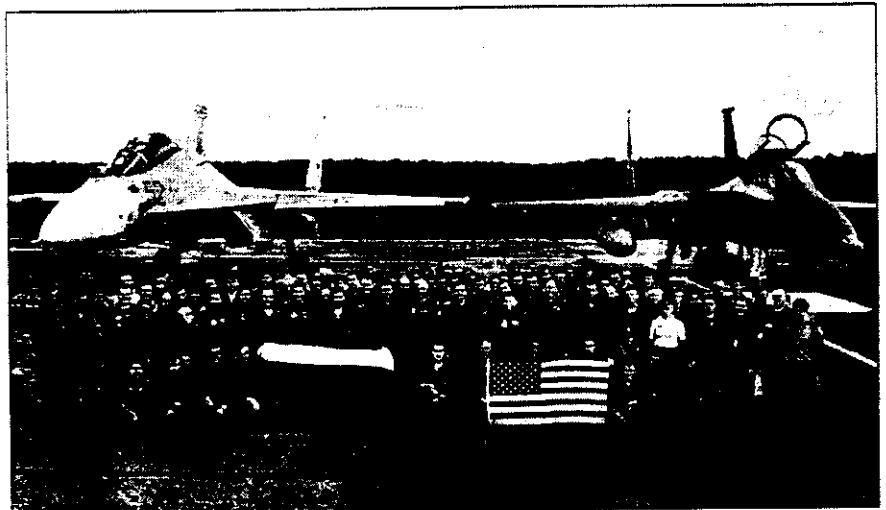
should seize it now.

I approach this challenge, and all the challenges we face in Europe over the next few years, with confidence. And why not? For half a century now, Europeans and Americans have worked together to shape events, instead of being shaped by them.

Today's Europe stands in such stark contrast to the Europe I knew as a child after the second world war. For those who were not there, it must be hard to imagine the days of Franco, Tito and Stalin, the refugees, the hunger, the constant fear that peace was just an interlude, the Europe Winston Churchill described as "a rubble heap, a charnel house, a breeding ground for pestilence and hate". Thank heaven leaders like Marshall, Monnet, Bevin and Adenauer had the fortitude to make the hard and controversial decisions needed to build the institutions that gave us 50 years of peace and prosperity. Now it's our turn.

President Clinton observed in his state-of-the-union address that a child born today will have almost no memory of the 20th century. Just the same, the children of the transatlantic community who are born today have the chance to grow up knowing a very different Europe. In that new Europe, they will know Checkpoint Charlie only as a museum, Yalta as just a provincial city in a sovereign Ukraine, Sarajevo as a peaceful mountain resort in the heart of Europe. The children of the next century will come of age knowing a very different NATO—one that masses its energies on behalf of integration, rather than massing its forces on the borders of division.

All this is possible if—and it is not a big if—we act now to strengthen the arrangements that have served half of Europe so well for so long and to extend them to new partners and allies. Then, having come together, we will be able to concentrate on what we must do together. That is a goal worth every measure of our common effort.



The Russian-American relationship moves to a higher plane

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

**The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO was created by American citizens committed to the admission of additional European nations to membership in NATO as a way to strengthen democratic institutions and market economies in these nations**

**The U.S. Committee seeks broad bipartisan political and public support for NATO enlargement, ultimately expressed by U.S. Senate ratification of the accession of new members to the NATO alliance. The Committee believes that such a course will promote the national security of the United States and that of its allies by enhancing security for all Europeans and by reaffirming U.S. leadership in the Atlantic Alliance. The Committee believes that an expanded NATO will play a critical role in promoting a Europe that is undivided, democratic, and free. The Committee believes that such a Europe will be a more secure Europe and one less likely to require American men and women in uniform to go in harm's way.**

**The U.S. Committee is seeking to help support U.S. lawmakers in their consideration of this important issue and to provide substantive assistance to U.S. Senators as they prepare for their important role in the ratification debate.**

**The U.S. Committee to Expand NATO was incorporated on November 1, 1996 as a Washington, DC nonprofit corporation. It is operating under Section 501 (c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. It is governed by a bipartisan Board of Directors of up to 15 persons who share a common commitment to the national security of the United States and to the goal of expanding NATO. Its work is supported by a board of Senior Advisors, including political leaders, former Secretaries of State and Defense, retired senior military officers and prominent business leaders.**

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT Security, Prosperity & Freedom

NATO enlargement has been called "the most far reaching U.S. foreign policy initiative since the end of the Cold War" for good reason. It represents an historic opportunity to expand security, peace, prosperity and freedom across Europe in a way that increases American security, expands American prosperity, and reinforces American freedom.

Nearly 50 years ago, twelve nations came together with a commitment stated clearly in the preamble of the North Atlantic Treaty, to "safeguard the freedom, common heritage, and civilisation of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law." Those twelve nations grew to 16 and today, NATO enlargement offers this commitment and its promise of security, prosperity and freedom to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe.

NATO membership remains the best guarantee of European peace. NATO no longer draws its strength from a common enemy but from a shared vision of a secure, prosperous and peaceful future. It is a military alliance, but it is and always has been much more, as Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, wrote in *The New York Times* (May 13, 1997): "It must see itself as a guarantor of Euro-American civilization and thus as a pillar of global security."

## Security

NATO is a military alliance offering a collective defense against military threats. There is a continuing need for this most effective military alliance in history. The threats to U.S. security are as real as war in the former Yugoslavia, rampant terrorism, and the spread of nuclear weapons. In 1989, we were told the Cold War was over. Two years later, America was in the Persian Gulf with the largest deployment of U.S. troops since 1945.

NATO enlargement will strengthen NATO's collective defense capability by expanding the number of countries willing to work together and defend each other for a more stable Europe.

We are already seeing the contributions that nations such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic can make. They were with us in the Gulf War. Their soldiers joined NATO forces in Bosnia. Hungary even provided military bases. They are working to expand democratic principles and respect for human rights. They are contributing to the security and stability of Europe.

History shows that, when uncertainty and instability prevail, conflict follows. NATO enlargement offers increased stability and security. And a stronger, broader alliance in NATO makes the threat of force more compelling while making it less likely NATO will need to actually use that force.

## **Prosperity**

History also has shown that security and prosperity are inseparable. American leadership brought the Marshall Plan to help rebuild a postwar Europe. NATO, since its founding, has helped secure the peace that made prosperity possible. Enlarging NATO can help the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe work toward both security and prosperity, expanded trade, increased investment, and economic growth.

The prospect of NATO membership already is giving rise to new regional agreements contributing to increased, long term security in the region. That security is essential to growing businesses and jobs and to sustaining the practices of a market economy. Already, Central and Eastern Europe are growing faster than much of the rest of Europe as nations move from the economic constraints of communism toward free markets.

Increased stability, increased security and political democracy, and free markets will make Central and Eastern Europe an increasingly important trading and business partner for American exporters and investors. These nations are growing at 4 to 5 percent annually in real terms and our exports to the region are increasing by double digit rates. State industries are being privatized. Infrastructure is improving. Well-educated workers are eager for jobs. Demand is increasing from everything from computer chips to home furnishings, creating valuable opportunities for American businesses.

NATO enlargement will help preserve the security central to bring prosperity and growth for Europe and the United States. Half a century ago, NATO helped bring stability, security and economic growth to Western Europe. Today, an enlarged NATO can do the same for Central and Eastern Europe, ensuring that the region's strong economic growth is sustained and free market democracies are fostered.

## **Freedom**

Twice in this century Americans have crossed an ocean and given their lives to defend freedom. Twice in this century, Europe has been devastated by world war and then divided by Cold War. America has invested heavily: more than a half million lives; more than \$13 trillion. We have received much in return; security, prosperity, peace. It is time once again to invest in freedom to preserve that security, prosperity and peace.

NATO enlargement will bring into the alliance nations that share our values and our dreams. Their struggle against totalitarianism offers an impressive historical example of commitment to independence and freedom. Hungarian freedom fighters died heroically in 1956. The Prague Spring in 1968 offered the hope of freedom only to be crushed by Soviet tanks. Solidarity in Poland waged a decade-long campaign for freedom that found success in the events of 1989. Few countries on earth have bled more for their freedom.

The countries of Central and Eastern Europe should not be punished because history left them on the wrong side of the Cold War line between freedom and tyranny.

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT Key Questions Answered

**Q: With the Cold War over, hasn't NATO outlived its purpose? Shouldn't it be disbanded instead of expanded? Why does America still need NATO?**

America still needs NATO because America still needs a Europe that is free and democratic, safe and secure. This is not a question of idealism or charity. It is a question of self interest. Despite all the recent attention given to the Asian market, Europe is still a critical economic partner to an American economy increasingly dependent on trade and investment abroad. But more than economics are involved here. It is the nations of Europe that most share our basic values. It is the nations of Europe who have been our most reliable allies in meeting challenges to our interest and advancing our common values in the world.

For Europe to play this critical role, it must be secure from external attack and at peace within itself. Three times in this century -- two hot wars and one cold one -- America has come to the defense of Europe whether threatened by war, facism. or Communism. History has taught us that only if the United States stays engaged in the security of Europe can the safety and security of the continent be assured.

NATO is the vehicle for America's continued engagement in the security of Europe. But it is also the vehicle by which the Western Europeans have organized their own security and have learned to put aside the historical rivalries and conflicts among themselves. For half a century, NATO has in this way helped to ensure the stability, security and economic growth of Western Europe. Today, by expanding NATO, it can do the same thing for Central and Eastern Europe, and move us closer to the goal of an undivided Europe, democratic, free, safe and secure.

**Q: Does NATO advance the national interests of the United States? How?**

Since its inception, America has stood for freedom and democracy, human rights and the rule of law, individual initiative and market economy. It has believed that a world in which these principles are broadly accepted is a better world not only for the people of other nations, but also for the people of the United States. No peacetime alliance in history has been as successful as NATO in advancing these principles. It protected Western Europe as it rebuilt its war-torn political and economic systems based on these principles. It can provide similar reassurance to Central and Eastern Europe as they

engage in the same task after the ravages of Communism. By enhancing our values in the world, it advances our interests.

Just the prospect of NATO membership has given Central and Eastern Europe greater stability than at any other time in this century. Hungary has resolved border disputes and minority issues with both Slovakia and Romania. Poland has resolved similar issues with Ukraine and Lithuania. Romania has followed a similar course. An expanded NATO can contribute to a more stable and secure Europe. In this way, an expanded NATO will reduce, not increase, the risk that future American men and women in uniform might have to give their lives once again in a European conflict.

**Q: If we enlarge NATO, don't we risk diluting the military effectiveness and political cohesion of the most effective military alliance in history?**

No. A judiciously-expanded NATO would gain in military effectiveness and political cohesion. At present, several NATO members have considerable less military capacity than Poland, and a number have less combat power than Hungary. The new states from Central and Eastern Europe will increase the military capacity of the Alliance. Several of them made significant military contributions, in terms of forces, support and bases during the Gulf War and again during the Bosnia crisis.

Perhaps as important, however, the infusion of fresh energies and commitment from these enthusiastically democratic states will help revitalize NATO. These states showed their commitment to freedom particularly during the waning days of the Cold War. They understand from their history the cost of inadequate national defense. They are likely to be among the more sturdy members and contribute to a stronger, not weaker, Alliance.

**Q: Even if we wanted to enlarge NATO, isn't the cost prohibitive? Who is going to pay the bill?**

The costs directly attributed to expansion are those required to make it possible for the forces of the new members to operate with those of the Alliance. This requires such things as adopting NATO procedures, assuring the forces can communicate with each other, and training with NATO forces. These costs are estimated by the Pentagon to run about \$700 million to \$900 million per year, of which the U.S. share would be \$100 million to \$150 million per year. The remaining costs attributed to NATO expansion are either costs associated with steps that current members should take whether or not NATO expands, or costs the new members must assume to upgrade their own forces.

Some of us forget the "ground zero" level of many European militaries in the early days of NATO. Germany needed to start from scratch in building the Bundeswehr, which

soon became central to NATO's defense. That was at a time of much greater peril to the peace of Europe. By contrast, the current security situation is much less threatening. This allows the new member states to spread over a decade or more the costs of improving their defense forces. These costs are much less than the costs the new members would have to incur if they were to try to provide for their security outside of the NATO alliance.

Even if all of these costs were attributed to NATO expansion, the total would be modest compared to the benefits. And the potential costs of not expanding would be vastly greater. For failing to pay now the cost of assuring the stability of Europe may require the United States -- as it has twice before in this century -- to bear again the much more painful cost of instability and conflict in Europe.

**Q: What countries are we inviting to join NATO? Why?**

Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will almost certainly be among the first nations invited to join an enlarged NATO. These nations played a critical role in the fight for freedom in Europe and the fall of Communism. They have made great progress over the last seven or eight years in developing democratic political systems, reformed market economies, and the rule of law. They have worked hard to prepare themselves through the Partnership for Peace program to become members of the Alliance and assume the responsibilities that go with it. They have resolved outstanding territorial and ethnic disputes.

Many of America's European allies and many Americans believe that Romania and Slovenia are also ready to join the first round of NATO expansion. Others believe that the extraordinary sacrifices of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania argue for early consideration. How many countries are invited in the first round and the timing of the following invitations is a question for NATO authorities and the governments of the member countries. President Clinton has said that the first countries to be invited to join NATO will not be the last. This will reassure those not included in the first round that the door to NATO has not been closed on them.

**Q: Aren't we really buying into a lot of border disputes and ethnic conflicts that ultimately will cost American lives? Are we really going to send U.S. troops to defend Warsaw?**

Poland and the Czech Republic have no internal ethnic conflicts. Only Hungary has an ethnic minority outside its immediate neighbors (largely in Romania and Slovakia). Just the possibility of NATO membership has become a catalyst for new regional agreements designed to resolve these and other longstanding ethnic and border tensions. For example, the Polish Lithuanian Treaty of 1994, the Hungarian Slovakian Treaty of 1996, the 1996 agreements between Poland and Ukraine, the 1996 treaty between Hungary and Romania, and the 1996 agreement between the Czech Republic and Germany.

By agreeing to the entry of Poland into NATO, the United States will be committing itself to send U.S. troops to defend Warsaw -- just as it has committed itself to send troops to defend Oslo, Athens, or Ankara. But the commitment is designed precisely to reduce the risk to American lives. For it is the paradox at the heart of deterrence that by committing to defend Warsaw -- and unambiguously maintaining the military capability to do so effectively -- NATO in fact reduces the risk of the kind of crisis that might require it to make good on that commitment.

**Q: The Founding Act was negotiated to answer Russian complaints about NATO enlargement. Haven't we simply caved in to the Russians and, in essence, allowed the "fox" into the "chicken coop"?**

The Founding Act, signed May 27, 1997 in Paris, gives Russia an important voice and an important role in European security and stability. It recognizes that Russia has as much to gain from increased European stability, security, and prosperity as any other country. And it recognizes that NATO enlargement is not about excluding Russia but instead about encouraging democratic reform across a united Europe, including Russia. It represents an historic change in the relationship between the United States and Russia and between Russia and NATO. It is a change that recognizes the positive transition Russia is trying to make to democracy and free markets.

The Founding Act does create a number of forums for consultation between NATO and Russia. Some have argued that an obstructionist Russia could use such forums to disrupt the Alliance and compromise its ability to make decisions and take action to protect the interest of its members. But the Administration has said and the Congress can confirm that this is not what the Founding Act contemplates or what the United States will permit to occur. Rather, the North Atlantic Council will remain the supreme body of Alliance decisionmaking, will not be subordinated to any other institution or procedure, and Russia's "voice but not a veto" will not diminish the Alliance's right and ability to act to defend its members and its interest as it deems necessary.

**Q: Won't an expanded NATO place Russian democrats at risk and stall progress toward democratic reforms?**

Opinion polls reveal that Russian voters care very little one way or the other about NATO expansion. The average Russian is concerned about securing a job in a growing economy and about safety and security. In the long run, an expanded NATO will further the case of Russian democrats by guaranteeing the stability of nations near Russia's borders and by encouraging democracy and economic prosperity in these states. To give in now to the complaints of Russian extremists would only undermine the democratic forces. And NATO enlargement has motivated NATO to offer Russia a new partnership that will ultimately strengthen the democracies by strengthening Russia's ties to the West.

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT & MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS

The addition of new NATO members from among the Central and Eastern European states who have proven themselves ready for membership will strengthen the Alliance. A number of NATO's current members have less combat power than Hungary, for example, and Poland represents a significant military contribution to NATO. These states showed their commitment to freedom particularly during the waning days of the Cold War. Several of them have made significant contributions both during the Gulf War and in the Bosnia crisis. Because of their history, they understand firsthand the cost of inadequate national defense and are likely to be among the more sturdy members of the alliance on hard-core military issues. On balance they will make a net contribution both to the military capability of the Alliance and to its political cohesion.

Adding these new members will not overextend NATO or leave it with defense commitments that are beyond its capabilities. Although the defense budgets and military force levels of the United States and the rest of the NATO allies have been significantly reduced since the end of the Cold War, this simply reflects the fact that the massive Soviet military threat that dominated NATO military planning during that period no longer exists. The military forces currently available to defend NATO and those planned for the future are more than adequate to the task of defending an expanded Alliance from current and projected threats.

No additional army divisions, combat air wings, or naval ships above current levels are required to defend adequately a NATO that has prudently expanded to include appropriate Central and Eastern European states. NATO has revised its defense strategy from one of a massive "forward defense" to reliance on smaller, more capable conventional forces able to move quickly to the area of conflict or need. For this reason, NATO has no military requirement to station permanently substantial combat forces or nuclear weapons on the territory of the new member states and has said so publicly.

As a consequence, the cost of NATO enlargement is modest. The costs directly attributed to enlargement are those required to make it possible for the forces of the new members to operate with those of the Alliance. This requires such things as adopting NATO procedures, assuring the forces can communicate with each other, and training with NATO forces. These costs are estimated by the Pentagon to run about \$700 million to \$900 million per year, of which the U.S. share would be \$100 million to \$150 million per year. The remaining costs often attributed to NATO expansion are either costs associated with steps that current members should take whether or not NATO expands, or costs the new members must assume to upgrade their own forces. But these costs can be spread over the next decade or two and the costs to new members are much less than the costs that the new members would have to incur if they were to try to provide for their security outside of the NATO alliance.

These costs are more than outweighed by the benefits and there are potentially even greater costs if NATO does not expand. Failing to pay now the cost of assuring the stability of Europe may require the United States--as it has twice before in this century--to bear again the much more painful cost of instability and conflict in Europe.

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT & RUSSIA

As the North Atlantic Alliance takes its historic step of enlargement, it is simultaneously engaged in a dialogue with Russia to ensure a cooperative relationship with Moscow in building a new Europe that is undivided, secure, and free. This dialogue has produced a series of mutual understandings and reassurances that should ensure, for example, that the achievements of arms limitation that marked the end of the Cold War will continue. This dialogue culminated in the summit-level signing, in Paris on May 27, of the NATO-Russia "Founding Act". As President Clinton declared at the signing, NATO "will work with Russia, not against it. And by reducing the rivalry and fear, by strengthening peace and cooperation, by facing common threats to the security of all democracies, NATO will promote greater stability in all of Europe, including Russia".

NATO's enlargement cannot threaten Russia. NATO has always been a defensive alliance, and it poses no offensive military threat. Nor does enlargement aim at anything other than consolidating the stability and security of a region whose *instability* and *insecurity* have propelled all of Europe--and the world into so many cataclysms in this century. To foreclose, once and for all, future ambiguities or power vacuums or crises over Central and Eastern Europe is a service to wider European and global peace. Russia is invited to be a partner in this enterprise, in collaboration with the Atlantic Alliance.

Russia's future relations with the West will depend on the statesmanship with which all sides approach future challenges that may arise. Opportunities for cooperation will be many--witness Bosnia. The future of Russia's democracy rests with Russia's people and leaders; it will depend above all on their ability to confront their many internal challenges, from corruption to job creation. The Russian people, surveys indicate, are not opposed to NATO enlargement; they are focused on domestic issues such as jobs, housing, and crime.

President Clinton has also made clear that the new Permanent Joint Council created by the "Founding Act" gives Russia a voice but not a veto in NATO's own deliberations, which take place in the North Atlantic Council. Nor does anything in the "Founding Act" or any other document diminish the Alliance's right or ability to defend its members or its interests as it deems necessary.

As Secretary of State Madeline Albright told the Senate Armed Services Committee on April 23, 1997: "In this new Europe, the United States and Western Europe have a chance to gain new allies and partners who can and will contribute to our common security. The people of Central Europe have a chance to see the erasure of a Cold War dividing line that has cut them off from the European mainstream. The people of Russia have a chance to achieve the deepest and most genuine integration with the West that their nation has ever enjoyed."

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT The Road From Madrid

**July 1997**

### **Invitations extended:**

At Madrid Summit, heads of Government of NATO nations invite at least three Central European nations (Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic) to join NATO.

**July 1997 -**

**December 1997**

### **Agreements negotiated:**

NATO officials will negotiate with each of the nations invited the terms of their admission to NATO in so-called accession negotiations.

**December 1997**

### **NATO Ministerial:**

NATO Ministers are expected to sign an amendment to the NATO Treaty

**1998**

### **Legislatures ratify:**

The amendment to the NATO Treaty adding new member nations is sent to the legislatures of existing NATO members for ratification. (Other NATO members are expected to postpone meaningful action until the U.S. Senate takes action. U.S. Senate action is hoped for by mid- 1998.)

**April 1999**

**NATO 50th Anniversary  
New nations admitted for membership**

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## NATO ENLARGEMENT Speaking of Support

"Today, I want to state America's goal: By 1999, NATO's 50th anniversary, and 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the first group of countries we invite should be full-fledged members of NATO."

-- President Bill Clinton, Detroit, Michigan  
October 22, 1996

"Let us begin by reaffirming that Europe's security is indispensable to the security of the United States, and that American leadership is absolutely indispensable to the security of Europe."

-- Bob Dole, Philadelphia, PA  
June 5, 1995

"Now the new NATO can do for Europe's east what the old NATO did for Europe's west: vanquish old hatreds, promote integration, create a secure environment for prosperity, and deter violence in the region where two world wars and the Cold War began."

-- Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, *The Economist*,  
February 15, 1997

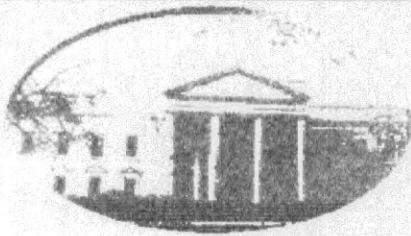
"...NATO remains a force for stability, as it has been for five decades. It keeps America anchored to Europe and Germany peacefully anchored to its neighbors. And once you recognize NATO's value, there's no justification for excluding those reborn democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, which the Soviet Union forcibly cordoned off and which now want to resume their rightful places..."

-- *The Washington Post*, Editorial "A NATO-Russia Agreement", May 15, 1997

December 4, 1997

The White House

No. 8



# NATO Enlargement News Alert

*"NATO can do for Europe's East what it did for Europe's West" -- President Bill Clinton*

## NATO Defense Ministers Agree on Costs, Command Structure

At the NATO Defense Ministerial in Brussels this week, Secretary General Javier Solana announced that NATO has agreed that the direct costs of enlargement for NATO's common-funded budgets will be about \$1.5 billion over ten years. NATO has said since the Madrid Summit in July that the costs of enlargement would be manageable, and Solana's announcement Tuesday demonstrates that this is indeed the case.

NATO's estimate is based on extensive analysis by the Alliance national military authorities of the military requirements for enlargement. The NATO cost estimate includes just under \$1.3 billion for infrastructure improvements over a 10-year period, and \$0.2 billion for annual operations and maintenance costs.

Secretary of Defense Cohen and the other fifteen NATO Defense Ministers also approved its new military command structure, which will streamline the number of headquarters from 65 down to 20. Key to NATO's approval of the command structure were two diplomatic agreements achieved this week -- one between Greece and Turkey and one between Spain and the United Kingdom. Solana saluted the Greek-Turkish agreement, which concerned NATO headquarter placements, as a "historic breakthrough overcoming differences that go back almost 40 years." He also thanked Spain and Britain for their recent intense discussions concerning Gibraltar, which allowed them to agree to the new command structure.

Just two weeks after the Defense Ministerial comes to a close on December 3, Secretary of State Albright and the NATO Foreign Ministers will arrive in Brussels for the NAC Ministerial. At the mid-December meeting, the sixteen NATO Ministers will formally sign the three protocols of accession to the NATO Treaty.

Once the protocols of accession are signed, the sixteen NATO countries will send the amended Washington Treaty to their parliaments for ratification according to each ally's established constitutional process. All sixteen countries must ratify enlargement of the Alliance in order for Poland Hungary and the Czech Republic to become NATO members.

The United States Senate is expected to formally take up the amendments to the NATO treaty shortly after the beginning of the year. At least two thirds of the Senate must vote in favor of ratification for enlargement to go forward. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Ranking Minority Member Senator Joseph Biden (D-DE) who held a series of hearings on enlargement this fall, said in a November 10 "Dear Colleague" letter that they "are firmly convinced that enlargement is squarely in the American national interest and...anticipate that the Senate debate before the ratification vote early next year will validate our conclusion."

Produced by the Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for NATO Enlargement Ratification  
For more information on NATO Enlargement: Phone (202) 647-9003 Fax: (202) 647-7019  
<http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/natoindex.html>

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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## Facsimile Transmission

**To:** Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.

**Fax:**

**From:**

<b>Bruce Jackson</b> _____	<b>Julie Finley</b> _____
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<b>Jenne Britell</b> _____	<b>Landon Butler</b> _____
<b>Bob Zoellick</b> _____	<b>Jim Rowe</b> _____
<b>Dave Gribbin</b> _____	<b>Paige Reffe</b> _____
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**Date:** 1-22-98

**Time:** \_\_\_\_\_

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### Facsimile Transmission

**To:** Admiral ELMO R. Zumwalt, Jr.

**Fax:**

**From:**

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## U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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January 22, 1998

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Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr. (Ret.)  
 VIA FACSIMILE

We are very pleased that you have agreed to serve as a Senior Military Advisor to the U.S. Committee to Expand NATO. Our list of Senior Military Advisors is now over 45 and continues to grow. Enclosed is a copy of our current list.

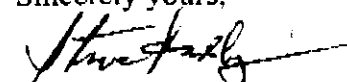
As I indicated in my earlier letter to you, we do not intend to intrude upon your time. We do believe, however, that it would be useful to issue a public statement endorsed by as many of our Senior Military Advisors as possible. We would like to release such a statement during the first week of February, prior to the final round of Senate hearings on admitting Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to NATO.

Several of us have developed the enclosed statement. We circulated it to a small group of our Senior Military Advisors for a "sanity check" and they all support the statement and have agreed to lend their names to it. This group includes William J. Crowe, Ronald Fogleman, David Jones, George Joulwan, William Owens, Colin Powell, John Shalikashvili, and John J. Sheehan. We would like very much to add your name to this list of those who support the statement. To help us do so, please complete the enclosed form and fax it back to us.

If you are interested and available, we are planning to release the statement to the media at a press conference co-sponsored by Senators John McCain and Joseph Lieberman on Tuesday, February 3, at 2:30 p.m., in the Senate Armed Services Committee Hearing Room at 222 Russell Building. We hope to have as many of the signers of the letter on the dais as possible. The statement will be read, the two Senators will comment, and then the floor will be opened for questions. (In addition, we intend to run extracts from the statement in an ad in the Roll Call newspaper later that week.) Please indicate on the enclosed form your interest in participating in the February 3 press event.

Since February 3 is coming fast upon us, we would like to hear from you as soon as convenient but in any event by Tuesday, January 27. I would be glad to answer any questions you might have and can be reached either at the Committee or at 202-828-2026. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

  
 Steve Hadley

The Senate is faced with a historic opportunity – to extend NATO membership to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The outcome of this vote will in large measure determine the future of the NATO alliance and whether it will continue to be a vital force for peace and stability in the Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We believe that NATO has been the most effective military alliance in history. It was the centerpiece of the strategy that kept Europe secure and free during the darkest days of the Cold War. Under its protection, Western Europe recovered from the devastation of World War II to enjoy 50 years of increasing stability, prosperity, and freedom. Now, in an expanded NATO, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic can enjoy similar success.

The situation in Europe is very different than during the Cold War. But the need for NATO remains. The admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make for a stronger NATO. It will strengthen NATO's ability to help Europe set aside old quarrels and overcome a long history of conflict and war. It will eliminate a source of instability that contributed to two World Wars and could again become a source of confrontation and even conflict. It will enhance NATO's ability to deter or defend against the security challenges of the future.

The admission of these three countries into NATO is not directed against Russia. Rather it is directed toward the stability of Europe – stability that will benefit Russia as much as anyone, and will ultimately facilitate a closer relationship between Russia and the United States.

We believe that the cost of bringing these three countries into NATO is manageable especially when compared to the potential cost of not doing so – a Europe moving not toward stability and peace but toward instability and contention.

We believe that Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make a useful contribution to our common security. They already possess credible military capability and are engaged in adapting their armed forces to the standards of the NATO alliance. They have shown a willingness to participate in collective defense by their contributions during the Gulf War and the Yugoslav crisis. Because of their histories, the nations know that freedom is not free. They take security seriously. They will make good allies.

The upcoming Senate vote is fundamentally a test of whether the United States will stay engaged in the Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since the end of World War II, our nation has expended enormous effort to build a Europe of free and democratic states at peace with one another. For the first time, there is a realistic possibility of achieving this goal. Now is not the time to turn our back on this great project.

The lessons of history are clear. Two World Wars and one Cold one have established beyond question that American security and European security are inseparable. Twice in this century, America turned its back on Europe, only to have American sons and daughters pay the price. We cannot afford to make that mistake again.

The creation of NATO in 1948 took foresight and determination to do what was right. Today, the stakes are just as high. We urge the Senate to reaffirm American engagement in Europe by ratifying the admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to NATO – to secure the peace, security, and prosperity on which we all depend.

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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- Robert B. Zoellick

## RESPONSE TO MILITARY STATEMENT

**\*\*\*\*Important: Please respond by January 27, 1998\*\*\*\*  
If possible, fax to**

*fax'd  
1-23*

### Response to the statement:

**Yes, I will allow my name to be used in a public endorsement of this statement.**

Name (as you want it listed) Admiral ELMOR ZUMWALT JR.

Title (as you want it listed) Chief of Naval Operations & Member, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1970-74

e.g. General George Joulwan, USA (Ret)  
Former SACEUR

**No, do not use my name.**

### Availability for the February 3, 1998, press conference:

**Yes, I am interested in attending the US Committee to Expand NATO's military press conference on February 3, 1998. Please contact me with further details.**

**No, I will not be able to attend the press conference. *due OOT, speaking***

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT!**

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

1120 17th Street, N.W., Suite 1257, Washington, D.C. 20036  
Telephone: (202) 862-5830 • Fax: (202) 862-5834

## Facsimile Transmission

To: Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, Jr.

Fax: \_\_\_\_\_

From: Steve Hadley

*P*  
*S in*  
*mentary*

Date: 2/9/98 Time: \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Sheets to Follow: 5  
Please call (202) 862-5830 if there are any problems with this facsimile.

Thank you again for signing on to the declaration of support for NATO expansion. Our effort was very successful, with 60 signatures of distinguished military officers like yourself, and has been very well received. A copy is attached.

*Our declaration was delivered to Senator  
last week and appears in today's Wall  
Street Journal*

# U.S. COMMITTEE TO EXPAND NATO

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To:

Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, Jr.

*P*  
*S from*  
*mentary*

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From:

Steve Hadley

Date:

4/9/98

Time:

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Number of Sheets to Follow:

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# A DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR NATO ENLARGEMENT

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We believe that the cost of bringing these three countries into NATO is manageable especially when compared to the potential cost of not doing so — a Europe moving not toward stability and peace but toward instability and contention.

We believe that Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make a useful contribution to our common security. They already possess credible military capability and are engaged in adapting their armed forces to the standards of the NATO alliance. They have shown a willingness to participate in collective defense by their contributions during the Gulf War and the Yugoslav crisis. Because of their histories, these nations know that freedom is not free. They take security seriously. They will make good allies.

The upcoming Senate vote is fundamentally a test of whether the United States will stay engaged in the Europe of the 21st century. Since the end of World War II, our nation has expended enormous effort to build a Europe of free and democratic states at peace with one another. For the first time, there is a realistic possibility of achieving this goal. Now is not the time to turn our back on this great project.

The lessons of history are clear. Two World Wars and one Cold one have established beyond question that American security and European security are inseparable. In the aftermath of World War I, America turned its back on Europe, only to have America's sons and daughters pay the price a generation later. We cannot afford to make that mistake again.

The creation of NATO in 1949 took foresight and determination to do what was right. Today, the stakes are just as high. We urge the Senate to reaffirm American engagement in Europe by ratifying the admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to NATO — to secure the peace, security, and prosperity in which we all depend.

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The Senate is faced with a historic opportunity – to extend NATO membership to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The outcome of this vote will in large measure determine the future of the NATO alliance and whether it will continue to be a vital force for peace and stability in the Europe of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We believe that NATO has been the most effective military alliance in history. It was the centerpiece of the strategy that kept Europe secure and free during the darkest days of the Cold War. Under its protection, Western Europe recovered from the devastation of World War II to enjoy 50 years of increasing stability, prosperity, and freedom. Now, in an expanded NATO, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic can enjoy similar success.

The situation in Europe is very different than during the Cold War. But the need for NATO remains. The admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make for a stronger NATO. It will strengthen NATO's ability to help Europe set aside old quarrels and overcome a long history of conflict and war. It will eliminate a source of instability that contributed to two World Wars and could again become a source of confrontation and even conflict. It will enhance NATO's ability to deter or defend against the security challenges of the future.

The admission of these three countries into NATO is not directed against Russia. Rather it is directed toward the stability of Europe – stability that will benefit Russia as much as anyone, and will ultimately facilitate a closer relationship between Russia and the United States.

We believe that the cost of bringing these three countries into NATO is manageable especially when compared to the potential cost of not doing so – a Europe moving not toward stability and peace but toward instability and contention.

We believe that Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will make a useful contribution to our common security. They already possess credible military capability and are engaged in adapting their armed forces to the standards of the NATO alliance. They have shown a willingness to participate in collective defense by their contributions during the Gulf War and the Yugoslav crisis. Because of their histories, the nations know that freedom is not free. They take security seriously. They will make good allies.

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The lessons of history are clear. Two World Wars and one Cold one have established beyond question that American security and European security are inseparable. In the aftermath of World War I, America turned its back on Europe, only to have America's sons and daughters pay the price a generation later. We cannot afford to make that mistake again.

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**STATEMENT SIGNATORIES**

As of February 3, 1998

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