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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Paul Hilburn, Senior
Reviewer

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 SECRETARY 010020

E.O.12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: OVIP (CHRISTOPHER, WARREN)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OF
HUNGARY, POLAND, SLOVAKIA, AND THE CZECH REPUBLIC. JANUARY
11, 1994, PRAGUE, THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. HUNGARY: FOREIGN MINISTER JESZENSZKY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
IVAN BABA, DEPUTY STATE SECRETARY, MFA; ENIKO BOLLOBAS,
DIRECTOR FOR NORTHERN EUROPE, MFA; AND PAL TAR, HUNGARIAN
AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.

POLAND: FOREIGN MINISTER OLECHOWSKI WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
ZBIGNIEW LEWICKI, DIRECTOR OF U.S. DIVISION, MFA; ANDRZEJ
TOWPIK, DIRECTOR OF EUROPEAN INSTITUTE, MFA; AND JACEK
BALUCH, AMBASSADOR TO THE CZECH REPUBLIC.

SLOVAKIA: FOREIGN MINISTER MORAVCIK WAS ACCOMPANIED BY
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MIROSLAV LAJCAK, FM CABINET CHIEF, AND B. LICHARDUS,
AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO THE U.S.

CZECH REPUBLIC FOREIGN MINISTER ZIELENIEC WAS ACCOMPANIED
BY JAN LISUCH, STATE SECRETARY, MFA; ALEXANDR VONDRA, FIRST
DEPUTY MINISTER, MFA; MICHAEL ZANTOVSKY, AMBASSADOR;
LADISLAV MRAVEC, DIRECTOR OF SECOND TERRITORIAL DEPARTMENT,
MFA.

U.S.: THE SECRETARY WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR TALBOTT,
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN, AMBASSADOR BASORA (CZECH
REPUBLIC), AMBASSADOR RUSSELL (SLOVAKIA), AMBASSADOR REY
(POLAND), AND AMBASSADOR THOMAS (HUNGARY).

3. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED THE RESULTS OF
THE NATO SUMMIT, THE SUCCESSFUL INTRODUCTION BY PRESIDENT

CLINTON OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PFP) CONCEPT, ITS ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION BY NATO ALLIES, AND NATO'S ANTICIPATION AND EAGERNESS TO BRING CONTENT TO THE PROGRAM RAPIDLY. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT SHARED DEMOCRATIC VALUES WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP. HE TOLD THE MINISTERS THAT, BECAUSE OF THE SUMMIT, NATO HAD A SENSE OF NEW LIFE, NEW ENTHUSIASM, AND A NEW SENSE OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN (CEE) PARTICIPANTS ASKED ABOUT DETAILS OF THE PROGRAM AND THE ACCESSION PROCESS, BUT ALSO LOOKED FOR ANSWERS ON BROADER ISSUES OF CONCERN. THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER EXPRESSED HIS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE LACK OF DETAIL AND CRITERIA FOR EVENTUAL NATO MEMBERSHIP, BUT STILL SAID HE SUPPORTS THE PFP PROPOSAL. THE HUNGARIANS ASKED POINTEDLY HOW THE PFP PROGRAM WOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO NEGATIVE

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DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIA. BOTH THE SECRETARY AND AMBASSADOR TALBOTT EXPLAINED THAT THE PFP WOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND IN EITHER DIRECTION: TOWARD EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN SECURITY THROUGH PEACEFUL DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE EAST, OR TOWARD A NEW FORM OF CONTAINMENT SHOULD THE "BAD BEAR" EMERGE. END SUMMARY.

4. THE SECRETARY BEGAN THE MEETING WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE NATO SUMMIT. HE POINTED OUT THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD DEMONSTRATED LEADERSHIP IN CALLING FOR THE SUMMIT, AND IN INTRODUCING AND GENERATING SUPPORT FOR KEY SUMMIT ISSUES. AFTER A STRONG, VIGOROUS STATEMENT INTRODUCING THE PFP, THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FROM EACH OF THE ALLIES. THE SECRETARY PARTICULARLY NOTED THE FULL, HIGH-LEVEL PARTICIPATION OF FRANCE. THE PFP PROPOSAL WAS SUPPORTED BY EACH LEADER IN TURN, AND THE ALLIANCE AGREED TO AND ISSUED THE INVITATIONS TO JOIN THE PARTNERSHIP.

5. THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD VISITED SHAPE, WHERE HE SAW THE IMPORTANCE THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF WERE GIVING TO THE PFP. THE SECRETARY ALSO DESCRIBED SHAPE'S COMMITMENT TO BRING CONTENT AND SUBSTANCE TO PFP AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE. ALSO IN HIS MEETING WITH THE NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS THE SECRETARY NOTED A CONSENSUS ON BEING PROACTIVE TO EXPLAIN THE PFP TO FUTURE PARTNERS AND GIVE TANGIBLE EFFECT TO THE PROGRAM. HE EMPHASIZED THAT SHARED DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY WILL BE IMPORTANT QUALIFICATIONS FOR EVENTUAL MEMBERSHIP IN NATO. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE NATO SUMMIT HAD GIVEN THE ALLIANCE NEW LIFE, NEW ENTTHE ALLIANCE NEW LIFE, NEW ENTHUSIASM, AND A NEW SENSE OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR FROM THE

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HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THAT HUNGARY WAS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE ENTHUSIASTICALLY IN THE PFP, AND HOPED THAT HE WOULD HEAR SIMILAR RESPONSES FROM THE OTHERS.

6. THE SECRETARY OUTLINED THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON PFP, SAYING THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS FULLY BEHIND IT. THE SECRETARY TOLD THE CEE PARTICIPANTS THAT THE PRESIDENT IS CONVINCED THAT THE PFP IS THE RIGHT THING TO DO AT THIS TIME. THE PARTNERSHIP PRESENTED THE BEST OPPORTUNITY TO INTEGRATE EUROPE AND TO ENSURE THAT THE COUNTRIES IN THE EAST WOULD STAY THE COURSE TOWARD REFORM. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PFP PRESENTED OPPORTUNITIES TO RESPOND APPROPRIATELY IN THE CASE OF REVANCHISM OR OTHER THREATS IN THE EAST. ONE OF THE BEST THINGS ABOUT THE PFP, THE SECRETARY NOTED, WAS THAT IT WAS ABLE TO MOVE IN EITHER DIRECTION TO ENHANCE EUROPEAN SECURITY.

7. A MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN DELEGATION RESPONDED THAT HUNGARY WAS INTERESTED IN THE POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 SECRETARY 010020

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PFP PROPOSAL. HE NOTED THAT NATO WAS INTERESTED IN SENDING MILITARY DELEGATIONS TO POTENTIAL PARTNERS. THE HUNGARIAN SAID HIS COUNTRY HOPED FOR OPPORTUNITIES TO CONSULT ABOUT THE POLITICAL DIMENSIONS AS WELL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE PFP. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT NATO WAS MAKING PLANS TO REACH OUT TO ALL INTERESTED PARTNERS FOR DISCUSSIONS THAT WOULD INCLUDE POLITICAL CONTENT. HE REMARKED THAT THERE WAS NO EXACT DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SIDES OF THE PARTNERSHIP. THE NATO TEAMS WILL BE ORGANIZED TO INCLUDE A POLITICAL COMPONENT. IN THE MEANTIME, POTENTIAL PARTNERS SHOULD FEEL FREE TO VISIT SHAPE HEADQUARTERS AT MONS FOR CONSULTATIONS.

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8. THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY THINKING ON THE OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF EXPANDING NATO. IF PFP WAS ONE OF THE FACTORS, WHAT WERE THE OTHERS? THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THE COMBINED JOINT TASK FORCE (CJTF) CONCEPT THAT HAD JUST BEEN APPROVED AT NATO AND THAT WOULD WELCOME PFP PARTNERS AS PARTICIPANTS IF THEY SO CHOOSE. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN ALSO NOTED THAT THE CJTF, THE EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE IDENTITY, AND PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PRESENCE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS WOULD ALL DOVETAIL AS COMPLEMENTARY COMPONENTS.

9. THE CZECH FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED IF THE EVENTUAL INTENTION WAS TO EXPAND NATO TO INCLUDE ALL OF EUROPE AT ONCE. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NO PREPLANNED AGENDA FOR EVENTUAL EXPANSION. IT WAS ONLY REALISTIC TO ASSUME THAT IT WOULD NOT HAPPEN ALL AT ONCE. IT WAS LIKELY THAT EXPANSION WOULD BE SEQUENTIAL, TO INCLUDE SOME NEW MEMBERS AT ONE TIME, AND OTHERS LATER.

10. THE SLOVAK FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED ABOUT THE MODALITIES OF NEGOTIATING BILATERAL AGREEMENTS ONCE THE FRAMEWORK DECLARATION WAS SIGNED. HE ALSO WANTED TO KNOW WHAT EMPHASIS THE UNITED STATES WAS PLACING ON REGIONAL COOPERATION THROUGH THE PFP AND TOWARDS NATO. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT LONG FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT ENVISAGED; THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED PRIMARILY ONLY TO DETERMINE WHAT EACH PARTNER COULD BRING TO THE PARTNERSHIP AND HOW THEIR PARTICIPATION WILL BE EXPRESSED. ON THE ISSUE OF REGIONAL COOPERATION, THE SECRETARY SAID THAT WE WILL ENCOURAGE REGIONAL GROUPINGS THAT THE PARTNERS FEEL

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ARE NATURAL AND PRODUCTIVE. SUCH REGIONAL APPROACHES COULD
BE OF VALUE, BUT THEY ARE NOT ESSENTIAL. NATO WILL BE
EVALUATING PARTICIPANTS INDIVIDUALLY.

11. OF THE VISEGRAD FOUR, THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER
WAS MOST ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE PFP AND CONGRATULATED THE
SECRETARY FOR INTRODUCING THE PLAN, AND ALSO FOR IMPROVING
IT IN RECENT DAYS AS A RESPONSE TO CEE CONCERNS. HE
DECLARED THAT THE PLAN WAS THE BEST OF PRESENT
POSSIBILITIES. BUT, HE SAID, IT WAS NECESSARY TO TALK
ABOUT POSSIBLE DANGERS, SPECIFICALLY POTENTIALLY NEGATIVE
RUSSIAN DEVELOPMENTS. THE MINISTER WANTED TO KNOW HOW THE
PFP WOULD ALLOW FOR A QUICK, TIMELY RESPONSE TO SUCH
DEVELOPMENTS.

12. ASKED TO RESPOND BY THE SECRETARY, AMBASSADOR TALBOTT
EXPLAINED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAD, FROM THE BEGINNING,
SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE REFORM IN RUSSIA IN POLITICS,
ECONOMICS, AND FOREIGN POLICY. A RUSSIA WITH A REFORMIST
FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE WELCOME TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PFP
BECAUSE IT WOULD, UNDER THE EXPLICIT TERMS OF PFP, BE
OBLIGATED TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE, AND
BORDERS OF ITS NEIGHBORS -- CONCEPTS THAT ARE ENSHRINED IN
THE PFP ITSELF: ANY STATE THAT IS TO BE ACCEPTED AS A
PARTNER ENDORSES THOSE PRINCIPLES. AMBASSADOR TALBOTT
ASSURED THE MINISTERS THAT WE ASSURED THE MINISTERS THAT WE HAD ALREADY MADE
CLEAR TO THE
RUSSIANS, AND THE PRESIDENT WOULD AGAIN MAKE IT CLEAR
DURING HIS UPCOMING TRIP TO MOSCOW, THAT WE WERE OFFERING A
CONVENANT TO RUSSIA: WESTERN INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE OPEN TO
RUSSIA IN RETURN FOR RUSSIAN CONDUCT THAT CONFORMS WITH
INTERNATIONAL NORMS. THERE WOULD BE TESTS, HE SAID,
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INCLUDING RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM THE BALTIC STATES
AND PROPER BEHAVIOR IN THE TRANSCAUCUS STATES. HE ALSO
EXPLAINED THE NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE
ACCORDING TO WHICH RUSSIA WILL PROVIDE SPECIFIC ASSURANCES
FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE AND EXISTING BORDERS.

13. CONCERNING THE HUNGARIAN MINISTER'S COMMENTS ABOUT A
NEED FOR "EARLY WARNING" OF NEGATIVE RUSSIAN DEVELOPMENTS,
AMBASSADOR TALBOTT SAID THAT NONE OF THE WORST CASE
SCENARIOS WOULD PROBABLY EVOLVE OVERNIGHT. HE REPEATED THE
SECRETARY'S COMMENTS THAT ONE OF THE BEST THINGS ABOUT THE
PEP WAS THAT IT COULD GO IN EITHER DIRECTION: IT COULD LEAN
FORWARD TO ACCEPT RUSSIA IF THE "GOOD BEAR" EMERGES, BUT
COULD ALSO LEAD TO A POST-COLD WAR VARIENT OF CONTAINMENT
TO CONFRONT A POST-COLD WAR VARIENT OF RUSSIAN
EXPANSIONISM.

14. THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED IF THE UNITED STATES EXPECTED RUSSIA AND UKRAINE TO EXPRESS AN INTEREST IN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 SECRETARY 010020

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JOINING THE PFP, AND ASKED ABOUT THE RELATIVE SIZE OF RESOURCES THE PARTNERS WOULD BRING TO THE ENTERPRISE. AMBASSADOR TALBOTT RESPONDED THAT WE DID EXPECT INTEREST IN JOINING ON THE PART OF BOTH STATES, AND NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO ENSURE THAT NO SINGLE STATE HAS AN OVERWHELMINGLY LARGE COMPONENT IN THE PARTNERSHIP.

15. THE POLES ASKED AGAIN ABOUT CRITERIA FOR EVENTUAL NATO MEMBERSHIP, WONDERING WHAT OTHER ASPECTS -- OTHER THAN PFP -- WOULD BE PART OF THE FINAL DECISION. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THERE WILL NOT BE A LIST OF CRITERIA "ON A COMPUTER." INSTEAD, THE ALLIANCE WOULD MAKE JUDGMENTS BASED ON THE OVERALL QUALITY OF PARTNERSHIP PARTICIPATION,

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UNDERLINING THE COMMITMENT, RESOURCES, AND SHARED VALUES BROUGHT BY EACH PARTNER. COUNTRIES WILL BE ASSESSED INDIVIDUALLY.

16. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OXMAN OFFERED, AS A CLOSING COMMENT, THAT AS THE CONCEPT EVOLVED, THE UNITED STATES HAD BEEN GUIDED BY VISEGRAD CONCERNS THAT PARTICIPATION BE LINKED TO THEIR EVENTUAL NATO MEMBERSHIP. POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER OLECHOWSKI RESPONDED WITH, "I SEE THE WORDS, BUT COME ON..." HE SUPPORTED THE PFP, HE SAID, BUT HE COMPLAINED THAT THERE WAS "NO MODALITY" TO GIVE MEANING TO THE IDEA THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP WAS OPEN. CHRISTOPHER

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