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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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October 20, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Warren Christopher *W*
SUBJECT: Night Note

I would like to urge your attendance at the Budapest Summit December 5-6. Despite the heavy demands on your time, I believe strongly that this is one not to pass up. I feel that you should complete the year as you began it -- leading the world towards the recreation of European security -- which means our security. My reasons:

1. He ~~is~~ ~~isn't~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~verge~~ ~~of~~ ~~being~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~lay~~ ~~out~~ ~~a~~ ~~sweeping~~ ~~vision~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~"new~~ ~~European~~ ~~security~~ ~~architecture"~~ ~~that~~ ~~would~~ ~~begin~~ ~~on~~ ~~your~~ ~~January~~ ~~Brussels~~ ~~speech~~. ~~This~~ ~~new~~ ~~"architecture"~~ ~~involves~~ ~~launching~~ ~~two~~ ~~processes~~, ~~or~~ ~~"tracks"~~ ~~in~~ ~~roughly~~ ~~parallel~~ ~~during~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ ~~ten~~ ~~days~~ ~~of~~ ~~December~~.

-- Track One: ~~small~~ ~~but~~ ~~significant~~ ~~steps~~ ~~towards~~ ~~starting~~ ~~the~~ ~~process~~ ~~of~~ ~~NATO~~ ~~expansion~~. There would be ~~no~~ ~~timetable~~ ~~and~~ ~~no~~ ~~criteria~~ -- but we envision that a ~~communiqué~~ ~~would~~ ~~be~~ ~~issued~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~December~~ ~~1-2~~ ~~NATO~~ ~~Ministerial~~, which I will attend. The ~~communiqué~~ ~~would~~ ~~announce~~ ~~that~~ ~~NATO~~ ~~has~~ ~~started~~ ~~to~~ ~~define~~ ~~its~~ ~~future~~, and will begin to discuss the "hows" and "whys" of NATO membership with some Partnership for Peace members next year.

-- Track Two: ~~the~~ ~~upgrading~~ ~~of~~ ~~CSCE~~ ~~to~~ ~~make~~ ~~it~~ ~~a~~ ~~more~~ ~~effective~~ ~~organization~~. This would not make CSCE into the "supra-NATO" group Moscow used to seek; they have abandoned that unacceptable idea and have reacted favorably to the idea of a two-track approach to European security. (Strobe ~~talked~~ ~~to~~ ~~his~~ ~~Russian~~ ~~counterpart~~ ~~in~~ ~~London~~ ~~this~~ ~~morning~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~subject~~.)

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Security Classification Appeals Panel,
E.O. 13526, sec. 5.3(b)
ISCAP Appeal No. 2016-179, document 1
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2. Your presence in Budapest will also strengthen the image of strong foreign policy leadership flowing from recent events. But, unlike your skillful handling of challenges in Haiti, Iraq, and North Korea, this issue looks forward to the future, and addresses the charge (from the likes of Cheney, Kissinger, Brzezinski, Lugar, Nunn) that we lack a strategic vision. You should be there to identify yourself as the architect.
3. Furthermore, there will be criticism if you are not there. For two days Yeltsin and Kohl, both of whom have personally asked you to join them, would hold center stage without you. Yeltsin especially, having heard you tell him in September that you would come if it is important, will be more reluctant to enter into wide-ranging agreements without you. The press will note your absence.
4. Finally, there is Ukraine. There is a good chance you, Yeltsin, and Major would be able to sign an historic agreement with Kuchma that finally gets Ukraine denuclearized and at the same time guarantees its sovereign integrity. This alone, if it were to take place, would justify a trip.
5. The trip could be quite short. Depending on your desire, it could be as short as 30 hours, although that would be pushing it. I think it would play well at home.

. . .

I am attaching an excerpt from a message that Strobe sent me last night from London. It does not do justice to Strobe's writing to summarize it, so I will send the entire excerpt relating to Budapest.

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*This must be
early October*

Excerpt from Strobe Talbott's Letter to the Secretary

As I indicated on the phone, I am more convinced than ever that the Budapest CSCE summit is an extremely important opportunity for the President -- and, conversely, that it would be a serious mistake for him not to go.

Along with Collins and Kornblum, I worked with Mamedov to develop an approach that builds on the great progress that the President and Yeltsin made in Washington two weeks ago. CSCE is absolutely key because the Russians are part of it (indeed, their Soviet predecessors were founding members). Therefore, we can make the enhancement of CSCE part of a larger, inclusive, integrative context within which to lay the ground for NATO expansion.

We can do this in a way that does not impinge on the independence and unique role of NATO itself, yet that does help us to avoid the "new divisions" problem that loomed so large a year ago September when we last grappled with the task.

At issue here is not just Russia but Ukraine, the Baltics, the southern-tier CEE countries and several other former Soviet and Warsaw Pact states that will not be in line for early membership in NATO and whose own sense of security and whose eligibility for eventual full integration into the West must not be sacrificed for the sake of early admission for the Visegrad countries.

A blunt but pertinent word about our domestic politics: If we get this right -- and at the right time, which means very soon -- we can seize control over this issue in a way that essentially takes it away from the Republicans in '96. That doesn't mean Poland will be in NATO by then. But it does mean we'll have a plan in place and a process underway that will make it difficult for anyone to attack the President for failing to deliver on his promises or for giving the Russians a veto over NATO expansion.

In that sense, the December Budapest meeting is a perfect bookend for the year, rounding out what the President said and did on the subject of European security in January, when he unveiled PFP, committed himself to NATO expansion and laid out his vision of a Europe undivided.

One more thing in the "pro" category: By December, we'll no doubt have been through a couple more perils-of-Pauline cliffhangers with Kozyrev & Co. over Bosnia and Iraq, and the Bill-Boris relationship will need some face-to-face tending to.

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Finally, a word on the serious downside of his not going: the Euros, East and West, are counting on him to be there; Budapest is a very big deal for them; our President's absence would stir up concerns and criticisms about whether he is, in some sense, turning his back on Europe to concentrate on other regions (he'll have recently been to Jakarta for APEC and will be about to go to Miami). Yeltsin, according to Mamedov, will feel puzzled and let down. He thinks the President agreed to come "if there's important work to do" -- and it's hard to imagine more important work than putting a Clinton stamp on, and establishing the right direction for, the evolution of post-Cold War Europe. Putting it quite bluntly, Mamedov fears that a Clinton no-show at Budapest will be read by Yeltsin as a "retraction of his promise" to pursue a two-track evolution of Europe -- NATO expansion coupled with greater integration. Mamedov further believes that without the personal endorsement of President Clinton, our CSCE proposals will lose much of their value to reassure the non-V-4 they have not been left behind by NATO expansion.

My worst fear is that this will drag out; we'll keep everyone -- the Euros, Yeltsin, the CEE and FSU types -- all in suspense. If, as is likely, delay leads to a negative decision, our President will get doubly slammed for indecision and abdication on an issue on which he had earlier been out front; if he goes at the last minute, he'll get hit for indecision and improvisation, and we won't have laid the ground properly for his attendance.

For that reason, I believe we should push very hard for a positive decision if possible BEFORE the Middle East trip. We are less than six weeks from Budapest, and we need every single day possible to prepare -- one way or another."

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