Case Number: 2006-0459-F

FOIA MARKER

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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)  
OA/Box Number: 3389

**FOLDER TITLE:**
North Atlantic Council Intervention, 7/18/97

**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

First I would like to thank Prime Minister Aznar for his hospitality in hosting this important meeting. I am also very pleased to be joined in Madrid by leading members of our Congress, from both houses and both parties.

Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe -- taking on new missions and new partners. Part of that effort included changes in NATO's command structure. I want to confirm my belief that we will make the alliance stronger by continuing to develop the European Security and Defense Identity and giving Europe a greater role within NATO. By working toward a simplified, more efficient military command structure, we will be better able to meet the demands of new missions.

In this regard, I welcome Spain's intention to fully integrate into NATO's military command. And I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join a reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.

With respect to enlargement, I believe we should make our alliance broader by inviting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO, for the following reasons: Over the past seven years, these are the countries that have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their work is still in progress, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have now pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible, just as our offer of NATO membership is irreversible. It is important to remember that fact when we make our decision. There is no precedent for removing or disinviting members from the Alliance.

Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic have settled outstanding disputes with their neighbors. They have established civilian control of their armed forces and shown that they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements NATO demands. I believe we
can afford the cost to ourselves of adding these three countries to NATO's strength.

I also believe that these three countries' smooth and successful integration will create momentum for others to follow. Today, we must commit to keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. I believe we should exclude no European democracy. There are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, I believe we should welcome them.

We should not discount the other steps that NATO is taking with its partners. Tomorrow we will hold the first summit-level meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. I am sure that everyone of us is happily surprised by just how successful the Partnership for Peace has been in enabling more than two dozen countries to work closely with NATO. The new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council will give these countries a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in decision making for operations to which they contribute. The enhancement of the Partnership for Peace will also speed countries along the road to eligibility for NATO membership.

To conclude, Mr. Secretary General, our position is that we should decide today to admit three countries to the Alliance. Since this is an irreversible step, we should offer membership to those countries that are irreversibly committed to democratic reforms, while keeping the door firmly open to the admission of other countries in the future.

# # #
Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

Today we are present at the re-creation of our alliance, and of the transatlantic community.

A half century ago, our predecessors made a bold commitment: to join together so that our community of values and interests would never again be violently ripped apart. They were haunted by the memory of war, resolved to resist aggression, and guided by the conviction that Europe would one day be undivided, democratic, and at peace.

Eight years ago -- because we defended freedom in Europe's west, and because of the valiant fight for freedom in Europe's east -- the founding vision of NATO's authors seemed within reach. Yet the reality remained elusive. Europe had come together in spirit but not yet in fact. War erupted in Bosnia. Reform in Russia was fragile. Europe's new democracies stood free, but outside the institutions that defined our community of freedom. Some voices questioned the utility and permanence of this alliance.

Today those doubts have quieted. We have stopped the fighting in Bosnia, and launched a remarkable coalition of 37 nations [TK] to give that country a chance to rebuild. We have forged a new relationship with a democratizing Russia for the stability of all of Europe. Over a half
dozen of the states East of the Elbe have settled old disputes. Free markets are spreading
prosperity from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today, the people of virtually every nation in Europe --
from the emerging middle classes of Latvia and Romania, to those who yearn for true democracy
in Serbia and Albania -- want to be part of the community we are building. And all of us support
their aspirations.

Our work has been diverse, with Italian and French peacekeepers in Albania; OSCE monitors in
Bosnia; EU support for reform in virtually every former communist economy and the shining
promise of EU enlargement. But NATO remains at the heart of our common effort. As we enter a
new century, NATO remains the indispensable alliance.

Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe by
adapting our alliance for new missions, opening its doors to new members and building
relationships with new partners. Now, we see the results of our labors. Forty-two days ago in
Paris, we signed the NATO-Russia Founding Act -- our commitment to a new relationship
between old adversaries. Today, we are inviting the first of Europe's new democracies to join our
alliance-- fully, finally, and forever. Tomorrow, we will sign a charter with Ukraine and launch
the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council so that all of NAO's partners have a forum where their
voices will be hard and their views known. By our actions, we are realizing the vision of 1949
and the promise of 1989.
This summit will achieve three core objectives. It will make our alliance stronger. It will make it broader. And it will make NATO better able to contribute to peace throughout Europe.

We will make the alliance stronger by continuing the vital work begun last summer in Berlin to develop a stronger European Security and Defense Identity. We will approve a new relationship between NATO and the Western European Union which will allow our allies to use NATO assets for European-led missions.

We are also in the process of reviewing NATO's military command structure. I am confident that review will produce a simplified, more efficient structure better able to meet the demands of new missions -- and one that ensures that our European allies will be able to assume substantially greater leadership in NATO's military commands. I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join this reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.

Second, we will make our alliance broader -- not to add real estate, but to add real value to NATO, and real cohesion to a broader Europe.

Today, I trust that we will make three strong additions to our alliance. Poland: the nation that first let loose freedom's call from behind the Iron Curtain, and which pioneered the difficult transformation to open societies and open markets. The Czech Republic: whose Velvet Revolution proved the power of ideas and the strong will of a nation that was always a part of
Europe. And Hungary, which literally pushed a hole through the Iron Curtain in 1989, and which has done so much to heal the ancient divisions of Southeastern Europe, and which now hosts the NATO bases that allowed our troops to deploy safely and successfully to Bosnia.

Over the past seven years, these states and their people have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their reforms are still in progress, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible and will continue. They have settled outstanding disputes with their neighbors and established outward-looking foreign policies. They have established civilian control of their armed forces and shown they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements NATO membership demands. Through such actions, they have already contributed to our security.

The addition of these states requires the ratification by each of our countries. Each of our peoples will want to know that the risks are reasonable, that the costs will be equitably shared, and that the Alliance will remain strong. I am pleased to be joined at this summit by distinguished members of both chambers and both political parties from the United States Congress, who will help pursue such questions in the coming months. We will not make this new security commitment lightly -- but neither will we fail to carry through on today's decision. By 1999, these three states should be full members of the Alliance.
Proof that this process of enlargement will be good for our alliance and good for our new allies can be found here in this city and this great country. NATO last admitted a new member fifteen years ago. That new member is today our host. Then, Spain was striving to overcome the legacy of a half century of dictatorship. Its membership in NATO and the EU strengthened both of those organizations, while bolstering its young democracy.

Just as Spain was a pathfinder for the states we admit today, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will be pathfinders for others. Their quick and successful integration into the Alliance will prove the utility of our enlargement strategy, and create momentum for others to follow. Today we have committed that we will keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. We exclude no European democracy. We know that there are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, we will welcome them.

Third and finally, at this summit we are taking steps that will better enable NATO to reach out to all its partners -- and contribute to peace beyond the borders of its members. A few weeks ago in Sintra, with our 27 partner states, we endorsed substantial new cooperation in the successful Partnership for Peace program. We also launched the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. It will give NATO’s partners a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in the decision-making process for operations to which they contribute. I look forward to the working session of the EAPC tomorrow.
We are also building new bonds of cooperation with states outside the Alliance. The Founding Act we signed with Russia in May joins our alliance and a great nation in common cause for an undivided, democratic Europe. We must build on that commitment to give it real substance, build trust between NATO and Russia and together build a new Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation strengthens peace and stability in Europe.

Tomorrow, we will sign a new Charter that will establish a distinctive partnership between NATO and Ukraine: Ukraine's independence, prosperity, and security are pivotal to a stable and peaceful Europe. The Charter signifies our commitment to continue erasing old lines by welcoming Ukraine as our partner in building an undivided continent.

Through all of these efforts, we are realizing the dream that has motivated but eluded our peoples for decades, if not centuries -- the dream of a transatlantic community that lives without division, without tyranny, and without war.

We still have many challenges as we pursue that vision -- first and foremost a lasting peace in Bosnia. We can be proud of the role NATO has played in Bosnia to date. It ended the fighting and has given the parties the breathing room they need to rebuild their land and their lives. For the first time ever, Russians and Americans, Germans and Poles along with soldiers from all corners of Europe have served side-by-side -- a model for the future of European security. But our work in Bosnia is not finished -- and the stability of Europe and credibility of the Alliance
remain at stake. We must rededicate ourselves to implementing the Dayton peace accords, successfully completing SFOR's mission, and creating a just peace throughout Bosnia.

We also must fulfill the promise of the steps we have taken today. The ratification and integration of our new members must be quick and successful. We must continue to help those not in the first wave prepare to meet the responsibilities of membership. We must work with Russia to develop the kind of cooperation that the new Founding Act makes possible. And we must continue our efforts to adapt our Alliance in its internal work and external efforts to promote security.

If we continue on the course we have set today, however, I am confident that future generations will look back on this summit and say that the work we did together provided a capstone for the divisions of the 20th century, and laid the cornerstone for peace and security in the 21st.
Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

Today we are present at the re-creation of our alliance, and of the transatlantic community.

A half century ago, our predecessors made a bold commitment: to join together so that our community of values and interests would never again be violently ripped apart. They were haunted by the memory of war, resolved to resist aggression, and guided by the conviction that Europe would one day be undivided, democratic, and at peace.

Eight years ago -- because we defended freedom in Europe's west, and because of those who fought for freedom in Europe's east -- the founding vision of NATO's authors seemed within reach. Yet the reality remained elusive. Europe had come together in spirit but not yet in fact. War erupted in Bosnia. Reform in Russia was fragile. Europe's new democracies stood free, but outside the institutions that defined our community of freedom. Some voices questioned the utility and permanence of this alliance.

Today those doubts are stilled. Today the lamps are coming on all over Europe. Together, we have helped light them.
We have stopped the fighting in Bosnia, and launched a remarkable coalition to give that country a chance to rebuild. We have opened the way to the closest relationship between Russia and the West in that great nation's thousand-year history. Over a half dozen of the states East of the Elbe have settled old disputes. Free commerce flows from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Today, the people of virtually every nation in Europe -- from the emerging middle classes of Latvia and Romania, to those who yearn for true democracy in Serbia and Albania -- want to be part of the community we are building. And we support their aspirations.

Our work has been diverse, with Italian and French peacekeepers in Albania; OSCE monitors in Bosnia; EU support for reform in virtually every former communist economy and the promise of EU enlargement. But NATO remains at the heart of our common effort. As we enter a new century, NATO remains the indispensable alliance.

Three years ago in Brussels, we began to build a new NATO for a new Europe by adapting our alliance to new missions; opening its doors to new members; and building relationships with new partners. Now, we see the results of our labors. Forty-two days ago in Paris, we signed the NATO-Russia Founding Act -- our commitment to a new relationship between old adversaries.

Today, we are inviting the first of Europe's new democracies to join our alliance -- fully, finally, and forever. By our actions, we are realizing the vision of 1949 and the promise of 1989.

This summit will achieve three objectives. It will make our alliance stronger. It will make it broader. And it will make NATO better able to contribute to peace throughout Europe.
We will make the alliance stronger, in the first place, by welcoming our host country, Spain, as she prepares to take her full place in our integrated military command.

We will also continue the work begun last summer in Berlin to develop a stronger European Security and Defense Identity. We will approve a new relationship between NATO and the Western European Union which will allow our allies to use NATO assets for European-led missions.

We are also in the process of reviewing NATO's military command structure. I am confident that review will produce a simplified, more efficient structure better able to meet the demands of new missions -- and one that ensures that our European allies will be able to assume substantially greater leadership in NATO's military commands. We hope that France will join this reformed command structure, reflecting the leading role that great nation has played in the Alliance's first military operations in Bosnia.

Second, we will make our alliance broader -- not simply to add real estate, but to add real value to NATO, and real cohesion to a broader Europe.

Today, I trust that we will make three strong additions to our alliance. Poland: the nation that first let loose freedom's call from behind the Iron Curtain, and which pioneered the difficult transformation to open societies and open markets. The Czech Republic: whose Velvet
Revolution proved the power of ideas and the strong will of a nation that was always a part of Europe. And Hungary, which literally tore down the Iron Curtain in 1989, and which has done so much to heal the ancient divisions of Southeastern Europe, and which now hosts the NATO bases that allowed our troops to deploy safely and successfully to Bosnia.

Over the past seven years, these states and their people have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their reforms are not complete, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible and will continue. They have settled every outstanding dispute with their neighbors and established outward-looking foreign policies. They have established civilian control of their armed forces and shown they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements NATO membership demands. Through such actions, they have already contributed to our security.

The addition of these states requires the ratification by each of our countries. This process should and will produce vigorous deliberations. Each of our peoples will want to know that the risks are reasonable, that the costs will be equitably shared, and that the Alliance will remain strong. I am pleased to be joined at this summit by distinguished members of both chambers and both political parties from the United States Congress, who will help pursue such questions in the coming months. We will not make this new security commitment lightly -- but neither will we fail to carry through on today's decision. By 1999, these three states should be full members of the Alliance.
Proof that this process of enlargement will be good for our alliance and good for our new allies can be found here in this city and this great country. NATO last admitted a new member fifteen years ago. That new member is today our host. Then, Spain was striving to overcome the legacy of a half century of dictatorship. Its membership in NATO and the EU strengthened both of those organizations, while bolstering its young democracy.

Just as Spain was a pathfinder for the states we admit today, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic will be pathfinders for others. Their quick and successful integration into the Alliance will prove the utility of our enlargement strategy, and create momentum for others to follow.

Today we have committed that we will keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. We exclude no European democracy. We know that there are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, we will welcome them.

Third and finally, at this summit we are taking steps that will better enable NATO to reach out to all its partners to contribute to peace beyond the borders of our membership. A few weeks ago in Sintra, with our 27 partner states, we endorsed substantial new cooperative measures in the successful Partnership for Peace program. We also launched the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. It will give NATO's partners a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in the decision-making process for operations to which they contribute. I look forward to the working session of the EAPC tomorrow.
Extending security beyond NATO’s borders is not an abstraction, as we have just seen in Albania. I want to thank Italy, France, Spain, Turkey, Greece, Romania and other nations -- NATO members and non-members -- that joined together to help restore peace and stability to that nation. This was not a NATO operation, but it would have been far less effective without the experience gained through NATO and the Partnership for Peace. Thanks to the leadership of Italy and the contributions of all these nations, Albania held elections that hold the promise of putting the country back on the road toward stability and prosperity.

We are also building new bonds of cooperation with states outside the Alliance. The Founding Act we signed with Russia in May joins our alliance and a great nation in common cause for an undivided, democratic Europe. It provides the basis for consultation, coordination and, where appropriate, joint decision-making and action. We must build on that commitment to give it real substance, build trust between NATO and Russia and together build a new Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation strengthens peace and stability in Europe.

In addition, tomorrow, we will sign a new Charter that will institutionalize a distinctive partnership between NATO and Ukraine. Ukraine’s independence, prosperity, and security are pivotal to a stable and peaceful Europe. The Charter signifies our commitment to continue erasing old lines by welcoming Ukraine as our partner in building an undivided continent.
Through all of these efforts, we are realizing the dream that has motivated but eluded our peoples for decades, if not centuries -- the dream of a transatlantic community that lives without division, without tyranny, and without war. We still have many challenges as we pursue that vision.

Our most pressing concern is Bosnia. In the aftermath of the Cold War, Bosnia was NATO’s first challenge and its first success. A NATO-led multinational coalition ended the fighting and has given the parties the breathing room they need to rebuild their land and their lives -- and make peace self-sustaining. For the first time ever, Russians and Americans, Germans and Poles, along with soldiers from all corners of Europe have served side-by-side -- a model for the future of European security. But our work in Bosnia is not finished and the stability of Europe and credibility of the Alliance remain at stake. We must rededicate ourselves to implementing the Dayton peace accords, successfully completing SFOR’s mission, and creating a just peace throughout Bosnia.

We also must fulfill the promise of the steps we have taken today. The ratification and integration of our new members must be quick and successful. We must work with Russia to develop the kind of cooperation that the new Founding Act makes possible. And we must continue our efforts to adapt our Alliance in its internal work and external efforts to promote security.
If we continue on the course we have set today, however, I am confident that future generations will look back on this summit and say that the work we did together provided a capstone for the divisions of the 20th century, and laid the cornerstone for peace and security in the 21st.
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MADRID DECLARATION ON EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY AND COOPERATION

Issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Madrid on 8th July 1997

1. We, the Heads of State and Government of the member countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, have come together in Madrid to give shape to the new NATO as we move towards the 21st century. Substantial progress has been achieved in the internal adaptation of the Alliance. As a significant step in the evolutionary process of opening the Alliance, we have invited three countries to begin accession talks. We have substantially strengthened our relationship with Partners through the new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and enhancement of the Partnership for Peace. The signature on 27th May of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and the Charter we will sign tomorrow with Ukraine bear witness to our commitment to an undivided Europe. We are also enhancing our Mediterranean dialogue. Our aim is to reinforce peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.

A new Europe is emerging, a Europe of greater integration and cooperation. An inclusive European security architecture is evolving to which we are contributing, along with other European organisations. Our Alliance will continue to be a driving force in this process.

2. We are moving towards the realisation of our vision of a just and lasting order of peace for Europe as a whole, based on human rights, freedom and democracy. In looking forward to the 50th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty, we reaffirm our commitment to a strong, dynamic partnership between the European and North American Allies, which has been, and will continue to be, the bedrock of the Alliance and of a free and prosperous Europe. The vitality of the transatlantic link will benefit from the development of a true, balanced partnership in which Europe is taking on greater responsibility. In this spirit, we are building a European Security and Defence Identity within NATO. The Alliance and the European Union share common strategic interests. We welcome the agreements reached at the European Council in Amsterdam. NATO will remain the essential forum for consultation among its members and the venue for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defence commitments of Allies under the Washington Treaty.
3. While maintaining our core function of collective defence, we have adapted our political and military structures to improve our ability to meet the new challenges of regional crisis and conflict management. NATO's continued contribution to peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the unprecedented scale of cooperation with other countries and international organisations there, reflect the cooperative approach which is key to building our common security. A new NATO is developing: a new NATO for a new and undivided Europe.

4. The security of NATO's members is inseparably linked to that of the whole of Europe. Improving the security and stability environment for nations in the Euro-Atlantic area where peace is fragile and instability currently prevails remains a major Alliance interest. The consolidation of democratic and free societies on the entire continent, in accordance with OSCE principles, is therefore of direct and material concern to the Alliance. NATO's policy is to build effective cooperation through its outreach activities, including the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, with free nations which share the values of the Alliance, including members of the European Union as well as candidates for EU membership.

5. At our last meeting in Brussels, we said that we would expect and would welcome the accession of new members, as part of an evolutionary process, taking into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe. Twelve European countries have so far requested to join the Alliance. We welcome the aspirations and efforts of these nations. The time has come to start a new phase of this process. The Study on NATO Enlargement - which stated, inter alia, that NATO's military effectiveness should be sustained as the Alliance enlarges - the results of the intensified dialogue with interested Partners, and the analyses of relevant factors associated with the admission of new members have provided a basis on which to assess the current state of preparations of the twelve countries aspiring to Alliance membership.

6. Today, we invite the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland to begin accession talks with NATO. Our goal is to sign the Protocol of Accession at the time of the Ministerial meetings in December 1997 and to see the ratification process completed in time for membership to become effective by the 50th anniversary of the Washington Treaty in April 1999. During the period leading to accession, the Alliance will involve invited countries, to the greatest extent possible and where appropriate, in Alliance activities, to ensure that they are best prepared to undertake the responsibilities and obligations of membership in an enlarged Alliance. We direct the Council in Permanent Session to develop appropriate arrangements for this purpose.

7. Admitting new members will entail resource implications for the Alliance. It will involve the Alliance providing the resources which enlargement will necessarily require. We direct the Council in Permanent Session to bring to an early conclusion the concrete analysis of the resource implications of the forthcoming enlargement, drawing on the continuing work on military implications. We are confident that, in line with the security environment of the Europe of today, Alliance costs associated with the integration of new members will be manageable and that the resources necessary to meet those costs will be provided.
8. We reaffirm that NATO remains open to new members under Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Alliance will continue to welcome new members in a position to further the principles of the Treaty and contribute to security in the Euro-Atlantic area. The Alliance expects to extend further invitations in coming years to nations willing and able to assume the responsibilities and obligations of membership, and as NATO determines that the inclusion of these nations would serve the overall political and strategic interests of the Alliance and that the inclusion would enhance overall European security and stability. To give substance to this commitment, NATO will maintain an active relationship with those nations that have expressed an interest in NATO membership as well as those who may wish to seek membership in the future. Those nations that have previously expressed an interest in becoming NATO members but that were not invited to begin accession talks today will remain under consideration for future membership. The considerations set forth in our 1995 Study on NATO Enlargement will continue to apply with regard to future aspirants, regardless of their geographic location. No European democratic country whose admission would fulfill the objectives of the Treaty will be excluded from consideration. Furthermore, in order to enhance overall security and stability in Europe, further steps in the ongoing enlargement process of the Alliance should balance the security concerns of all Allies.

To support this process, we strongly encourage the active participation by aspiring members in the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the Partnership for Peace, which will further deepen their political and military involvement in the work of the Alliance. We also intend to continue the Alliance's intensified dialogues with those nations that aspire to NATO membership or that otherwise wish to pursue a dialogue with NATO on membership questions. To this end, these intensified dialogues will cover the full range of political, military, financial and security issues relating to possible NATO membership, without prejudice to any eventual Alliance decision. They will include meetings within the EAPC as well as periodic meetings with the North Atlantic Council in Permanent Session and the NATO International Staff and with other NATO bodies as appropriate. In keeping with our pledge to maintain an open door to the admission of additional Alliance members in the future, we also direct that NATO Foreign Ministers keep that process under continual review and report to us.

We will review the process at our next meeting in 1999. With regard to the aspiring members, we recognise with great interest and take account of the positive developments towards democracy and the rule of law in a number of southeastern European countries, especially Romania and Slovenia.

The Alliance recognises the need to build greater stability, security and regional cooperation in the countries of southeast Europe, and in promoting their increasing integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. At the same time, we recognise the progress achieved towards greater stability and cooperation by the states in the Baltic region which are also aspiring members. As we look to the future of the Alliance, progress towards these objectives will be important for our overall goal of a free, prosperous and undivided Europe at peace.

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9. The establishment of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council in Sintra constitutes a new dimension in the relations with our Partners. We look forward to tomorrow's meeting with Heads of State and Government under the aegis of the EAPC.

The EAPC will be an essential element in our common endeavor to enhance security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic region. Building on the successful experience with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and with Partnership for Peace, it will provide the overarching framework for all aspects of our wide-ranging cooperation and raise it to a qualitatively new level. It will deepen and give more focus to our multilateral political and security-related discussions, enhance the scope and substance of our practical cooperation, and increase transparency and confidence in security matters among all EAPC member states. The expanded political dimension of consultation and cooperation which the EAPC will offer will allow Partners, if they wish, to develop a direct political relationship individually or in smaller groups with the Alliance. The EAPC will increase the scope for consultation and cooperation on regional matters and activities.

10. The Partnership for Peace has become the focal point of our efforts to build new patterns of practical cooperation in the security realm. Without PfP, we would not have been able to put together and deploy so effectively and efficiently the Implementation and Stabilisation Forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the participation of so many of our Partners.

We welcome and endorse the decision taken in Sintra to enhance the Partnership for Peace by strengthening the political consultation element, increasing the role Partners play in PfP decision-making and planning, and by making PfP more operational. Partners will, in future, be able to involve themselves more closely in PfP programme issues as well as PfP operations. Partner staff elements will be established at various levels of the military structure of the Alliance, and the Planning and Review Process will become more like the NATO force planning process. On the basis of the principles of inclusiveness and self-differentiation, Partner countries will thus be able to draw closer to the Alliance. We invite all Partner countries to take full advantage of the new possibilities which the enhanced PfP will offer.

With the expanded range of opportunities comes also the need for adequate political and military representation at NATO Headquarters in Brussels. We have therefore created the possibility for Partners to establish diplomatic missions to NATO under the Brussels Agreement which entered into force on 28th March 1997. We invite and encourage Partner countries to take advantage of this opportunity.

11. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation, signed on 27th May 1997 in Paris, is a historic achievement. It opens a new era in European security relations, an era of cooperation between NATO and Russia. The Founding Act reflects our shared commitment to build together a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area on the principles of democracy and cooperative security. Its provisions contribute to NATO's underlying objective of enhancing the security of all European states, which is reinforced also through our actions here in Madrid. It provides NATO and Russia a
framework through which we intend to create a strong, stable and enduring partnership. We are committed to working with Russia to make full use of the provisions of the Founding Act.

Through the new forum created under the Founding Act, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, NATO and Russia will consult, cooperate and, where appropriate, act together to address challenges to security in Europe. The activities of the Council will build upon the principles of reciprocity and transparency. The cooperation between Russian and NATO troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina and between the staffs at SHAPE demonstrate what is possible when we work together. We will build on this experience, including through PfP, to develop genuine cooperation between NATO and Russia. We look forward to consulting regularly with Russia on a broad range of topics, and to forging closer cooperation, including military-to-military, through the Permanent Joint Council, which will begin work soon.

12. We attach great importance to tomorrow's signing of the Charter on a Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine. The NATO-Ukraine Charter will move NATO-Ukraine cooperation onto a more substantive level, offer new potential for strengthening our relationship, and enhance security in the region more widely. We are convinced that Ukraine's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty are a key factor for ensuring stability in Europe. We continue to support the reform process in Ukraine as it develops as a democratic nation with a market economy.

We want to build on steps taken to date in developing a strong and enduring relationship between NATO and Ukraine. We welcome the practical cooperation achieved with the Alliance through Ukraine's participation within IFOR and SFOR, as well as the recent opening of the NATO Information Office in Kyiv, as important contributions in this regard. We look forward to the early and active implementation of the Charter.

13. The Mediterranean region merits great attention since security in the whole of Europe is closely linked with security and stability in the Mediterranean. We are pleased with the development of the Mediterranean initiative that was launched following our last meeting in Brussels. The dialogue we have established between NATO and a number of Mediterranean countries is developing progressively and successfully, contributes to confidence-building and cooperation in the region, and complements other international efforts. We endorse the measures agreed by NATO Foreign Ministers in Sintra on the widening of the scope and the enhancement of the dialogue and, on the basis of their recommendation, have decided today to establish under the authority of the North Atlantic Council a new committee, the Mediterranean Cooperation Group, which will have the overall responsibility for the Mediterranean dialogue.

14. We welcome the progress made on the Alliance's internal adaptation. Its fundamental objectives are to maintain the Alliance's military effectiveness and its ability to react to a wide range of contingencies, to preserve the transatlantic link, and develop the European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) within the Alliance. We recognise the substantive work which has been carried out on the development of a new command structure for the Alliance; the implementation of the Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTF) concept; and the building of ESDI...
within NATO. We attach great importance to an early and successful completion of this process. Building on the earlier reductions and restructuring of the Alliance's military forces, it will provide the Alliance with the full range of capabilities needed to meet the challenges of the future.

15. We welcome the substantial progress made on the development of a new command structure which will enable the Alliance to carry out the whole range of its missions more effectively and flexibly, support our enhanced relationship with Partners and the admission of new members, and provide, as part of the development of ESDI within NATO, for European command arrangements able to prepare, support, command and conduct WEU-led operations.

We note that essential elements of the new command structure have been identified and will form the basis for further work. We must maintain the momentum of this work. We have, accordingly, directed the Council in Permanent Session, with the advice of the Military Committee, to work on the resolution of outstanding issues with the aim of reaching agreement on NATO's future command structure by the time of the Council Ministerial meetings in December.

16. Against this background, the members of the Alliance's integrated military structure warmly welcome today's announcement by Spain of its readiness to participate fully in the Alliance's new command structure, once agreement has been reached upon it. Spain's full participation will enhance its overall contribution to the security of the Alliance, help develop the European Security and Defence Identity within NATO and strengthen the transatlantic link.

17. We are pleased with the progress made in implementing the CJTF concept, including the initial designation of parent headquarters, and look forward to the forthcoming trials. This concept will enhance our ability to command and control multinational and multiservice forces, generated and deployed at short notice, which are capable of conducting a wide range of military operations. Combined Joint Task Forces will also facilitate the possible participation of non-NATO nations in operations and, by enabling the conduct of WEU-led CJTF operations, will contribute to the development of ESDI within the Alliance.

18. We reaffirm, as stated in our 1994 Brussels Declaration, our full support for the development of the European Security and Defence Identity by making available NATO assets and capabilities for WEU operations. With this in mind, the Alliance is building ESDI, grounded on solid military principles and supported by appropriate military planning and permitting the creation of militarily coherent and effective forces capable of operating under the political control and strategic direction of the WEU. We endorse the decisions taken at last year's Ministerial meeting in Berlin in this regard which serve the interests of the Alliance as well as of the WEU.

We further endorse the considerable progress made in implementing these decisions and in developing ESDI within the Alliance. In this context we endorse the decisions taken with regard to European command arrangements within NATO to prepare, support, command and conduct WEU-led operations using NATO assets and capabilities (including
provisional terms of reference for Deputy SACEUR covering his ESDI-related responsibilities both permanent and during crises and operations), the arrangements for the identification of NATO assets and capabilities that could support WEU-led operations, and arrangements for NATO-WEU consultation in the context of such operations. We welcome inclusion of the support for the conduct of WEU-led operations in the context of the ongoing implementation of the revised Alliance defence planning process for all Alliance missions. We also welcome the progress made on work regarding the planning and future exercising of WEU-led operations, and in developing the necessary practical arrangements for release, monitoring and return of NATO assets and the exchange of information between NATO and WEU within the framework of the NATO-WEU Security Agreement.

We note with satisfaction that the building of ESDI within the Alliance has much benefitted from the recent agreement in the WEU on the participation of all European Allies, if they were so to choose, in WEU-led operations using NATO assets and capabilities, as well as in planning and preparing for such operations. We also note the desire on Canada's part to participate in such operations when its interests make it desirable and under modalities to be developed. We direct the Council in Permanent Session to complete expeditiously its work on developing ESDI within NATO, in cooperation with the WEU.

19. The Alliance Strategic Concept, which we adopted at our meeting in Rome in 1991, sets out the principal aims and objectives of the Alliance. Recognizing that the strategic environment has changed since then, we have decided to examine the Strategic Concept to ensure that it is fully consistent with Europe's new security situation and challenges. As recommended by our Foreign Ministers in Sintra, we have decided to direct the Council in Permanent Session to develop terms of reference for this examination, and an update as necessary, for endorsement at the Autumn Ministerial meetings. This work will confirm our commitment to the core function of Alliance collective defence and the indispensable transatlantic link.

20. We reiterate our commitment to full transparency between NATO and WEU in crisis management, including as necessary through joint consultations on how to address contingencies. In this context, we are determined to strengthen the institutional cooperation between the two organisations. We welcome the fact that the WEU has recently undertaken to improve its capacity to plan and conduct crisis management and peacekeeping operations (the Petersberg tasks), including through setting the groundwork for possible WEU-led operations with the support of NATO assets and capabilities, and accepted the Alliance's invitation to contribute to NATO's Ministerial Guidance for defence planning. We will therefore continue to develop the arrangements and procedures necessary for the planning, preparation, conduct and exercise of WEU-led operations using NATO assets and capabilities.

21. We reaffirm our commitment to further strengthening the OSCE as a regional organisation according to Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations and as a primary instrument for preventing conflict, enhancing cooperative security and advancing democracy and human rights. The OSCE, as the most inclusive European-wide security organisation, plays an essential role in securing peace, stability and security in Europe. The principles and
commitments adopted by the OSCE provide a foundation for the development of a comprehensive and cooperative European security architecture. Our goal is to create in Europe, through the widest possible cooperation among OSCE states, a common space of security and stability, without dividing lines or spheres of influence limiting the sovereignty of particular states.

We continue to support the OSCE's work on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-First Century, in accordance with the decisions of the 1996 Lisbon Summit, including consideration of developing a Charter on European Security.

22. We welcome the successful holding of elections in Albania as a vital first step in providing the basis for greater stability, democratic government and law and order in the country. We stress, in this context, the importance of a firm commitment by all political forces to continue the process of national reconciliation. We also welcome the crucial role of the Italian-led Multinational Protection Force, with the participation of several Allies and Partners, in helping to create a secure environment for the re-establishment of peace and order. We value the efforts of the OSCE as the coordinating framework for international assistance in Albania, together with the important contributions made by the EU, WEU and the Council of Europe. We are following closely events in Albania and are considering measures through the Partnership for Peace to assist, as soon as the situation permits, in the reconstruction of the armed forces of Albania as an important element of the reform process. Continued international support will be essential in helping to restore stability in Albania.

23. We continue to attach greatest importance to further the means of non-proliferation, arms control and disarmament.

We welcome the progress made since the Brussels Summit, as an integral part of NATO's adaptation, to intensify and expand Alliance political and defence efforts aimed at preventing proliferation and safeguarding NATO's strategic unity and freedom of action despite the risks posed by nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) weapons and their means of delivery. We attach the utmost importance to these efforts, welcome the Alliance's substantial achievements, and direct that work continue.

We call on all states which have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Chemical Weapons Convention. Recognising that enhancing confidence in compliance would reinforce the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, we reaffirm our determination to complete as soon as possible through negotiation a legally binding and effective verification mechanism. We urge the Russian Federation to ratify the START II Treaty without delay so that negotiation of START III may begin.

We support the vigorous pursuit of an effective, legally binding international agreement to ban world-wide the use, stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines. We note the positive developments in the Conference on Disarmament. We further note the progress made by the Ottawa Process with its goal of achieving a ban by the end of the year.

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24. We continue to attach utmost importance to the CFE Treaty and its integrity. In this context, we welcome the entry into force of the CFE Flank Agreement on 15th May 1997 and underline its importance for regional stability. We share the commitment of all thirty States Parties to continue full implementation of the CFE Treaty, its associated documents, and the Flank Agreement. We confirm our readiness to work cooperatively with other States Parties to achieve, as expeditiously as possible, an adapted CFE Treaty that takes account of the changed political and military circumstances in Europe, continues to serve as a cornerstone of stability, and provides undiminished security for all. NATO has advanced a comprehensive proposal for adaptation of the CFE Treaty on the basis of a revised Treaty structure of national and territorial ceilings. The Allies have already stated their intention to reduce significantly their future aggregate national ceilings for Treaty-Limited Equipment. We look forward to working with other States Parties on the early completion of a Framework Agreement on CFE adaptation.

25. We reaffirm the importance of arrangements in the Alliance for consultation on threats of a wider nature, including those linked to illegal arms trade and acts of terrorism, which affect Alliance security interests. We continue to condemn all acts of international terrorism. They constitute flagrant violations of human dignity and rights and are a threat to the conduct of normal international relations. In accordance with our national legislation, we stress the need for the most effective cooperation possible to prevent and suppress this scourge.

26. The steps we have taken today, and tomorrow's meeting with our Partners under the aegis of the EAPC, bring us closer to our goal of building cooperative security in Europe. We remain committed to a free and undivided Euro-Atlantic community in which all can enjoy peace and prosperity. Renewed in structure and approach, strengthened in purpose and resolve, and with a growing membership, NATO will continue to play its part in achieving this goal and in meeting the security challenges in the times ahead.

27. We express our deep appreciation for the gracious hospitality extended to us by the Government of Spain. We are looking forward to meeting again on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty in April 1999.
Statement by President Clinton to the North Atlantic Council
(As Delivered -- Based on Prepared Remarks and Notes)

Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

First I would like to thank Prime Minister Aznar for his hospitality in hosting this important meeting. I am also very pleased to be joined in Madrid by leading members of our Congress, from both houses and both parties.

Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe -- taking on new missions and new partners. Part of that effort included changes in NATO's command structure. I want to confirm my belief that we will make the alliance stronger by continuing to develop the European Security and Defense Identity and giving Europe a greater role within NATO. By working toward a simplified, more efficient military command structure, we will be better able to meet the demands of new missions.

In this regard, I welcome Spain's intention to fully integrate into NATO's military command. And I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join a reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.

With respect to enlargement, I believe we should make our alliance broader by inviting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO, for the following reasons: Over the past seven years, these are the countries that have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their work is still in progress, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have now pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible, just as our offer of NATO membership is irreversible. It is important to remember that fact when we make our decision. There is no precedent for removing or disinviting members from the Alliance.

Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic have settled outstanding disputes with their neighbors. They have established civilian control of their armed forces and shown that they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements NATO demands. I believe we can afford the cost to ourselves of adding these three countries to NATO's strength.
I also believe that these three countries' smooth and successful integration will create momentum for others to follow. Today, we must commit to keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. I believe we should exclude no European democracy. There are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, I believe we should welcome them.

We should not discount the other steps that NATO is taking with its partners. Tomorrow we will hold the first summit-level meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. I am sure that everyone of us is happily surprised by just how successful the Partnership for Peace has been in enabling more than two dozen countries to work closely with NATO. The new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council will give these countries a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in decision-making for operations to which they contribute. The enhancement of the Partnership for Peace will also speed countries along the road to eligibility for NATO membership.

To conclude, Mr. Secretary General, our position is that we should decide today to admit three countries to the Alliance. Since this is an irreversible step, we should offer membership to those countries that are irreversibly committed to democratic reforms, while keeping the door firmly open to the admission of other countries in the future.

# # #
Three and a half years ago, at our last Summit in Brussels, the NATO allies agreed to set our alliance on a new course for a new century.

We knew that if our common enemy of communism had been defeated, we still faced common dangers -- ethnic, religious and racial hatreds... extreme nationalism... the spread of weapons of mass destruction... the growing challenge of terrorism, international organized crime and drug trafficking. We also knew that we faced a historic opportunity -- to help strengthen and advance the remarkable gains of freedom, peace and security that were spreading throughout Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

To meet these dangers and seize these opportunities, we agreed that NATO should take on new missions, take in new members and work with new partners. Here in Madrid, the Summit we have just concluded is a major milestone in NATO's transformation. We are preparing the alliance that secured our peace and prosperity over nearly fifty years to rise to the challenges of the next fifty years and beyond.

First, we made NATO stronger by further streamlining its command structure -- and by giving Europe a greater role within NATO through the European Security and Defense Identity. Spain's
intention to fully integrate NATO’s military command will add to that strength -- and so would France’s re-integration into a reformed command structure, which I hope will come soon.

Second, we invited Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to join NATO -- and we committed to keep NATO’s door open to all of Europe’s new democracies that are ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. These first new allies will make NATO better able to defend the territory of its members and address challenges to our common peace. Their membership will help them secure the gains of democracy and free markets. It will encourage others who aspire to membership to continue reform and to resolve their differences peacefully. And it will help erase the artificial line in Europe drawn by Stalin after World War II and that has divided Europe for fifty years.

Finally, we strengthened our ties to NATO’s partners and continued to reach out to new ones. When we created the Partnership for Peace three and half years ago, I don’t think any of us realized how successful it would become. Now, more than two dozen countries work closely with NATO -- including in Bosnia. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council we launched at the leaders level in Madrid will provide NATO’s partners with a permanent forum to coordinate missions and give voice to their views.

We also signed a Charter with Ukraine -- whose independence, prosperity and security are pivotal to a stable Europe. Together with the NATO-Russia Founding Act we concluded in Paris this
Spring, it will join NATO with two great nations in common cause for an undivided, democratic and peaceful Europe.

For much of this century, Europe's trenches and walls kept its people apart. And two world wars and a Cold War caused a terrible toll in lives and treasure. The work we have done here will help anchor peace and stability in Europe for the new century that is about to begin -- and serve the security of all our people.
Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

First I would like to thank Prime Minister Aznar for his hospitality in hosting this important meeting. I am also very pleased to be joined in Madrid by leading members of our Congress, from both houses and both parties.

Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe -- taking on new missions and new partners. Part of that effort included changes in NATO’s command structure. I want to confirm my belief that we will make the alliance stronger by continuing to develop the European Security and Defense Identity and giving Europe a greater role within NATO. By working toward a simplified, more efficient military command structure, we will be better able to meet the demands of new missions.

In this regard, I welcome Spain’s intention to fully integrate into NATO’s military command. And I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join a reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.
With respect to expansion, I believe we should make our alliance broader by inviting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO, for the following reasons: Over the past seven years, these are the countries that have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their work is still in progress, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have now pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible, just as our offer of NATO membership in irreversible. It is important to remember that fact when we make our decision. There is no precedent for removing or disinviting members from the Alliance.

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I also believe that these three countries' smooth and successful integration will create momentum for others to follow. Today, we must commit to keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. I believe we should exclude no European democracy.

There are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, I believe we should welcome them.
We should not discount the other steps that NATO is taking with its partners. Tomorrow we will hold the first summit-level meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. I am sure that everyone of us is surprised by just how successful the Partnership for Peace has been in enabling more than two dozen countries to work closely with NATO. The new Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council will give these countries a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in decision-making for operations to which they contribute. The enhancement of the Partnership for Peace will also speed countries along the road to eligibility for NATO membership.

To conclude, Mr. Secretary General, our position is that we should decided today to admit three countries to the Alliance. Since this is an irreversible step, we should offer membership to those countries that are irreversibly committed to democratic reforms, while keeping the door firmly open to the admission of other countries in the future.

# # #
As Prepared for Delivery

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL INTERVENTION
MADRID, SPAIN
JULY 8, 1997

Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

Today we are present at the re-creation: of our alliance, and of the transatlantic community.

A half century ago, our predecessors made a bold commitment: to join together so that our community of values and interests would never again be violently ripped apart. They were haunted by the memory of war, resolved to resist aggression, and guided by the conviction that Europe would one day be undivided, democratic, and at peace.

Eight years ago -- because we defended freedom in Europe's west, and because of the valiant fight for freedom in Europe's east -- the founding vision of NATO's authors seemed within reach. Yet the reality remained elusive. Europe had come together in spirit but not yet in fact. War erupted in Bosnia. Reform in Russia was fragile. Europe's new democracies stood free, but outside the institutions that defined our community of freedom. Some voices questioned the utility and permanence of this alliance.

Today those doubts have quieted. We have stopped the fighting in Bosnia, and given its people a chance to rebuild their land. We have forged a new relationship with a democratizing Russia for the stability of all of Europe. Over a half dozen of the states East of the Elbe have settled old
disputes. Free markets are spreading prosperity from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today, the people of virtually every nation in Europe -- from the emerging middle classes of Latvia and Romania, to those who yearn for true democracy in Serbia and Albania -- want to be part of the community we are building. All of us support their aspirations.

Our work has been diverse, with Italian and French peacekeepers in Albania; OSCE monitors in Bosnia; EU support for reform in virtually every former communist economy and the shining promise of EU enlargement. But NATO remains at the heart of our common effort. As we enter a new century, NATO remains the indispensable alliance.

Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe by adapting our alliance for new missions, opening its doors to new members and building relationships with new partners. Now, we see the results of our labors. Forty-two days ago in Paris, we signed the NATO-Russia Founding Act -- our commitment to a new relationship between old adversaries. Today, I hope we will invite the first of Europe's new democracies to join our alliance-- fully, finally, and forever. Tomorrow, we will sign a charter with Ukraine and launch the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council so that all of NAO’s partners have a forum where their voices will be heard and their views known. By our actions, we are realizing the vision of 1949 and the promise of 1989.
This summit will help achieve three core objectives as we work toward making our alliance stronger, making it broader and making NATO better able to contribute to peace throughout Europe.

We will make the alliance stronger by continuing the vital work begun last summer in Berlin to develop a stronger European Security and Defense Identity. We will approve a new relationship between NATO and the Western European Union which will allow our allies to use NATO assets for European-led missions.

We are also in the process of reviewing NATO's military command structure. I am confident that review will produce a simplified, more efficient structure better able to meet the demands of new missions -- and one that ensures that our European allies will be able to assume substantially greater leadership in NATO's military commands. I welcome Spain's intention to fully integrate the military command. I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join this reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.

Second, together we should make our alliance broader -- not to add real estate, but to add real value to NATO, and real cohesion to a broader Europe.

Today, I believe we should make three strong additions to our alliance. Poland, the nation that first let loose freedom's call from behind the Iron Curtain, and which pioneered the difficult
transformation to open societies and open markets. The Czech Republic, whose Velvet
Revolution proved the power of ideas and the strong will of a nation that was always a part of
Europe. And Hungary, which literally pushed a hole through the Iron Curtain in 1989, and which
has done so much to heal the ancient divisions of Southeastern Europe, and which now hosts the
NATO bases that allowed our troops to deploy safely and successfully to Bosnia.

Over the past seven years, these states and their people have proved their readiness to join us at
this table. While their reforms are still in progress, they have met the highest standards of
democratic and market reform. They have pursued those reforms long enough to give us
confidence they are irreversible and will continue. They have settled outstanding disputes with
their neighbors and established outward-looking foreign policies. They have established civilian
control of their armed forces and shown they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements
NATO membership demands. Through such actions, they have already contributed to our
security. As members, they will add to NATO’s strength.

The addition of these states would require the ratification by each of our countries. Each of our
peoples will want to know that the risks are reasonable, that the costs will be equitably shared,
and that the Alliance will remain strong. I am pleased to be joined at this summit by
distinguished members of both chambers and both political parties from the United States
Congress, who will help pursue such questions in the coming months.
Proof that this process of enlargement will be good for our alliance and good for our new allies can be found here in this city and this great country. NATO last admitted a new member fifteen years ago. That new member is today our host. Then, Spain was striving to overcome the legacy of a half century of dictatorship. Its membership in NATO and the EU strengthened both of those organizations, while bolstering its young democracy.

Just as Spain was a pathfinder for the states I hope we will admit today, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic can be pathfinders for others. Their successful integration into the Alliance will prove the utility of our enlargement strategy, and create momentum for others to follow. Today we will commit to keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. We exclude no European democracy. There are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, we will welcome them.

Third and finally, at this summit we are taking steps that will better enable NATO to reach out to all its partners -- and contribute to peace beyond the borders of its members. A few weeks ago in Sintra, with our 27 partner states, we endorsed substantial new cooperation in the successful Partnership for Peace program. We also launched the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. It will give NATO’s partners a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in the decision-making process for operations to which they contribute. I look forward to the working session of the EAPC tomorrow.
We are also building new bonds of cooperation with states outside the Alliance. The Founding Act we signed with Russia in May joins our alliance and a great nation in common cause for an undivided, democratic Europe. We must build on that commitment to give it real substance, build trust between NATO and Russia and together build a new Europe in which every nation is free and every free nation strengthens peace and stability in Europe.

Tomorrow, we will sign a new Charter that will establish a distinctive partnership between NATO and Ukraine. Ukraine's independence, prosperity, and security are pivotal to a stable and peaceful Europe. The Charter signifies our commitment to continue erasing old lines by welcoming Ukraine as our partner in building an undivided continent.

Through all of these efforts, we are realizing the dream that has motivated but eluded our peoples for decades, if not centuries -- the dream of a transatlantic community that lives without division, without tyranny, and without war.

We still have many challenges as we pursue that vision -- first and foremost a lasting peace in Bosnia. We can be proud of the role NATO has played in Bosnia to date. It ended the fighting and has given the parties the breathing room they need to rebuild their land and their lives. For the first time ever, Russians and Americans, Germans and Poles along with soldiers from all corners of Europe have served side-by-side -- a model for the future of European security. But our work in Bosnia is not finished -- and the stability of Europe and credibility of the Alliance
remain at stake. We must rededicate ourselves to implementing the Dayton peace accords, successfully completing SFOR's mission, and creating a just peace throughout Bosnia.

We also must fulfill the promise of the steps we have taken today. The ratification and integration of our new members must be smooth and successful. We must continue to help those not in the first wave prepare to meet the responsibilities of membership. We must work with Russia to develop the kind of cooperation that the new Founding Act makes possible. And we must continue our efforts to adapt our Alliance in its internal work and external efforts to promote security.

If we continue on the course we have set today, however, future generations will look back on this summit and say that the work we did together provided a capstone for the divisions of the 20th century, and laid the cornerstone for peace and security in the 21st.
7/7/97 11 p.m.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
SPOKEN INTERVENTION
MADRID, SPAIN
JULY 8, 1997
Mr. Secretary General; Prime Minister Aznar; fellow leaders:

Today we are present at the re-creation: of our alliance, and of the transatlantic community.

A half-century ago, our predecessors made a bold commitment: to join together so that our community of values and interests would never again be ripped apart. They were guided by the conviction that Europe would one day be undivided, democratic, and at peace.
Eight years ago -- because we defended freedom in Europe's west, and because of the valiant fight for freedom in Europe's east -- the founding vision of NATO's authors seemed within reach. Yet the reality remained elusive. War erupted in Bosnia. Reform in Russia was fragile. Europe's new democracies stood free, but outside the institutions that defined our community of freedom. Some questioned the utility and permanence of this alliance.

Today those doubts have quieted. We have stopped the fighting in Bosnia, and given its people a chance to rebuild.
We have forged a new relationship with a democratizing Russia. Over a half dozen of the states East of the Elbe have settled old disputes. Free markets are spreading prosperity from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today, virtually every nation in Europe wants to be part of the community we are building. All of us support their aspirations.

NATO remains at the heart of our common security -- and the indispensable alliance. Three and a half years ago in Brussels, we began to construct a new NATO for a new Europe.
In Madrid, we will see the results of our labors as we work toward making our alliance stronger, making it broader, and making NATO better able to contribute to peace throughout Europe.

We will make the alliance stronger by continuing to develop the European Security and Defense Identity and giving Europe a greater role within NATO. We will keep working toward a simplified, more efficient military command structure, better able to meet the demands of new missions. I welcome Spain’s intention to fully integrate the military command.
And I truly hope that, in the very near future, France will join a reformed command structure, on terms acceptable to France and consistent with the military effectiveness of the alliance.

Together, I believe we should make our alliance broader by inviting Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into NATO. Over the past seven years, these states have proved their readiness to join us at this table. While their work is still in progress, they have met the highest standards of democratic and market reform. They have pursued those reforms long enough to give us confidence they are irreversible.
They have settled outstanding disputes with their neighbors. They have established civilian control of their armed forces and shown they are prepared to meet the stiff military requirements NATO demands. They will add to NATO's strength.

Their smooth and successful integration will create momentum for others to follow. Today, we will commit to keep the door of this Alliance open to all those ready to meet the responsibilities of membership. We exclude no European democracy.
There are other states that are close to being fully qualified to join. When they are ready and the time is right, we will welcome them.

Finally, at this summit we are taking steps that will better enable NATO to contribute to peace beyond the borders of its members. We will launch the first summit-level meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council. It will give countries in our successful Partnership for Peace program a forum for deeper consultations with the Alliance and greater participation in decision-making for operations to which they contribute.
The Founding Act we signed with Russia in May joins our alliance and a great nation in common cause for an undivided, democratic Europe. We must build on that commitment to give it real substance -- and together build a Europe in which every free nation strengthens stability.
Tomorrow, we will sign a Charter with Ukraine. Ukraine's independence, prosperity, and security are pivotal to a peaceful Europe. The Charter signifies our commitment to continue erasing old lines by welcoming Ukraine as our partner in building an undivided continent.

This summit is a milestone -- but not a culmination. We still have many challenges on the road to an undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe -- first and foremost a lasting peace in Bosnia. And we must make good on the steps we are taking this week, including bringing the first new members into NATO.
I am very pleased to be joined in Madrid by leading members of our Congress, from both houses and both parties.

We are on the right course. If we stay on it, future generations will look back on this summit and say that the work we did together provided a capstone for the divisions of the 20th century -- and laid the cornerstone for peace and security in the 21st.

#  #  #
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members into NATO. I am very pleased to be joined in Madrid by leading members of our Congress, from both houses and both parties. Our legislatures have a fundamental role to play in enlarging NATO—just as they did in creating NATO.

We are on the right course. If we stay on it, future generations will look back on this summit and say that the work we did together provided a capstone for the divisions of the 20th century— and laid the cornerstone for peace and security in the 21st.
NATO SUMMIT INTERVENTION

General

- These are exciting times. Together NATO and its partners throughout Europe are throwing off old chains and forging in their place new bonds of friendship and cooperation.

- As Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a wise French philosopher — indeed, wise ahead of his time — once noted, "Man is born free." Our business here today is to do our best to make sure it stays that way, and that the chains of division and discord that Rousseau lamented in the rest of his remark are forever cast aside. ("Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains.")

- NATO's Madrid Summit is a historic opportunity to advance our effort to make Europe whole and free for the first time in its history.

- Our vision of a New NATO and a new Europe, free of divisions and anchored in our commitments to democracy, human rights and free markets, was established at the Alliance's last summit in Brussels in 1994.

- By giving birth to the Partnership for Peace, the Brussels Summit began the process of opening the Alliance to greater cooperation with other states and institutions in Europe which, like NATO, are committed to overcoming Europe's ancient divisions and laying the foundation of a stable and lasting peace for the next century.

- This process has continued to the present, most recently by the signing in Paris in May of the NATO-Russia Founding Act.

- We are here in Madrid today to take the definitive step of enlarging the Alliance, to set Europe firmly upon the path of stability that leads to greater security for all European nations.

Enlargement

- Today, a major step will be taken towards erasing old enmities as we invite Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to join the New NATO.

- These nations have made clear their commitment to NATO's values and purposes and their willingness to accept the responsibility and assume the burdens of helping the NATO to advance those purposes.

- We expect to welcome these great nations of Europe into our Alliance by the time of NATO's 50th anniversary in 1999.

- Others will follow where Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic are leading and NATO will remain just as ready to welcome them when they are fully prepared to join our ranks.
• The door to membership in NATO must and will remain open to others as they also become ready to assume their full responsibilities in our Alliance and as NATO itself becomes better prepared to welcome them to membership.

• This is NATO's solemn pledge. And today we will endorse new measures that will demonstrate our commitment to that pledge and to helping those who aspire to membership in this Alliance to better prepare themselves for that prospect.

NATO/Russia

• Already, NATO has taken a major step forward in its effort to help build a new Europe by concluding with Russia a new cooperative arrangement.

• The NATO/Russia Permanent Joint Council will ensure that NATO and Russia are able to consult regularly on European security issues and cooperate to the fullest extent possible.

• We are confident that, over time, the experience that we both derive from this effort will reinforce our trust in one another and make clear that we share common goals in our pursuit of peace and stability in Europe.

NATO/Ukraine

• Similarly, NATO will conclude here in Madrid a new cooperative agreement with another of Europe's great nations, Ukraine.

• I am confident that the Charter that we will sign with Ukraine tomorrow will open a new and fruitful chapter in the Alliance's cooperation with Ukraine.

EAPC and PfP

• In Brussels, we created the Partnership for Peace as a means of strengthening NATO's practical cooperation with others on a broad range of military activities.

• Several weeks ago in Sintra, Allies and Partners alike acknowledged the success of PfP by endorsing substantial new cooperative measures in PfP and by launching the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council to ensure that both our political as well as military cooperation is strengthened.

• These measures will ensure that Allies and Partners are able to meet the security challenges ahead in close collaboration and that the important views of NATO's partners will be taken fully into account as we face those challenges together.

Bosnia

• We face those challenges together today in Bosnia and I am confident that NATO will dedicate itself in full measure to ensuring that the Dayton Accords are fully implemented, that
people are restored to their lands and homes and that peace is restored to the region.

**European Security and Defense Identity**

- Not only is NATO a New Alliance in the sense that it has greatly strengthened its cooperation with others and now moved decisively to admit new members while keeping the door open for others to join us later, but ours is also a New Alliance internally as well.

- In Berlin in June of last year, the United States agreed with its European Allies that the time had come in the post-Cold War period to take another look at how NATO is structured and to make adjustments that would ensure that our European Allies were able to assume greater leadership in NATO's military commands.

- A great deal has been accomplished since the Berlin Ministerial in June 1996.

- Here in Madrid we will approve a new relationship between NATO and the Western European Union that will allow our European Allies the opportunity to rely on the Alliance's support in those situations where the WEU may need to act to manage a crisis.

- We also are in the process of completing a review of NATO's military command structure and I am confident that its outcome will ensure that our European Allies will be able to assume substantially greater leadership in NATO's military commands.

**U.S. Role in NATO**

- As we move to develop a stronger European Security and Defense Identity -- ESDI as we call it in the jargon of our Alliance -- I also want to reassure both our Allies and our partners in Europe that the United States will continue to remain steadfast in its commitment to a lasting peace in Europe.

- Our fundamental interests as a nation are as much at stake in Europe as that of our Allies and Partners on this continent.

- The Cold War is over, but many challenges remain ahead if we are to realize our dream of a Europe whole and free for the first time in its history.

- The United States understands that it has a vital national interest at stake in helping ensure a lasting peace in Europe.

- I am convinced that the American people will continue to support the efforts of their government in this critical endeavor so long as they are confident that our Allies and Partners in Europe are as committed to this task as they are.
• Twice this century the United States of America has answered the call in Europe and has given in the fullest measure of to ensure that liberty and justice prevailed.

• The people of the United States are deeply committed to these values -- just as they are also deeply committed to teamwork, cooperation and a sense of the need to face the world's challenges today, not alone, but in equitable cooperation with our partners.

• We Americans recognize that our relatively many blessings also convey upon us special responsibilities to ensure that those blessings are put to the service of others as well as ourselves.

• I am confident that the American people are fully aware of both their blessings and their responsibilities and that they will continue to accept their share of the future's burdens just as they work to secure its rewards.
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<td>002. cable</td>
<td>re: Madrid Summit, President Clinton's Speaking Roles Days One and Two (3 pages)</td>
<td>06/27/1997</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Anthony Blinken (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 3389

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- North Atlantic Council Intervention, 7/18/97

**RESTRICTION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2201(a)]:**
- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]:**
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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<td>003. talking points</td>
<td>Points to be Made in NATO Summit Debate on Whom to Invite for Accession Talks (3 pages)</td>
<td>07/01/1997</td>
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Looking again at the NAC statement -- and writing the community remarks -- I'm wondering if referring to adapting the Alliance as "strengthening" and taking in new partners as "broadening" doesn't cross some wires. Heretofore, we have said that by adding partners we were strengthening -- and that seems wise to me for the domestic debate. How about "recreating" or "refitting" or somesuch for adaptation. Particularly for the more public elaborations, seems to me we want the strongest adjective for enlargement....