

CHARTER

3/04 -- 1100

(Includes SYG Solana changes *in bold italics*)SYG  
Changes**DRAFT****CHARTER OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE NORTH ATLANTIC  
TREATY ORGANIZATION AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION****Section I. Preamble -- Building a New Europe**

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Russian Federation commit themselves to seize the unprecedented opportunity before them to build together a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic community based on the principles of democracy, integration and cooperative security. NATO and the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as NATO and Russia, intend to develop, on the basis of mutual interest and transparency, a strong, stable and enduring partnership.

Their shared goal is to overcome the vestiges of earlier confrontation and to strengthen mutual trust and cooperation in order to enhance security and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area. This Charter sets forth the goals of consultation, cooperation, and joint action that will constitute the core of this partnership. By concluding this document, we reaffirm our determination to give concrete substance to our shared commitment to build a stable, peaceful and undivided Europe, whole and free, to the benefit of all its peoples.

By making this commitment of national policy at the highest political level, we mark the beginning of a fundamentally new relationship between NATO, its members and Russia. In doing so, we acknowledge the extent of the changes that have swept Europe since the end of the Cold War.

NATO has undertaken a historic transformation -- a process that will continue. In 1990, the Alliance declared that it no longer considered the Soviet Union an adversary; a year later, it revised the strategic doctrine governing its actions to reflect this basic shift in orientation. While maintaining its collective defense posture, NATO has radically reduced and continues to adapt its conventional and nuclear forces to reflect the changed European security situation. NATO has strengthened its political functions and focused on new missions of peacekeeping and crisis management in support of the UN and the OSCE, such as in Bosnia, to address new security challenges in close association with other countries and international organizations. ***NATO is in the process of developing a European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within the Alliance.*** It will continue to develop a broad and dynamic pattern of cooperation with all interested European countries through the Partnership for Peace and the Atlantic Partnership Council. Its members ~~will develop~~ NATO's Strategic Concept to ensure that it is fully consistent with Europe's new security challenges and the goal of cooperation among all European states in meeting those challenges.

Russia continues its own dramatic political and economic transformation as it builds democracy. Russia no longer regards NATO as an adversary, has revised its military doctrine accordingly and is committed to reducing and restructuring significantly its conventional and nuclear forces. Russia is already undertaking new forms of cooperation with NATO and other European states, as in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia.

These changes in NATO, in Russia and in the European security environment make possible a fundamentally new relationship between NATO and Russia -- one of strategic partnership. NATO and Russia are committed to building an increasingly closer and more cooperative relationship. We agree that the development of this strategic partnership is a reciprocal and open-ended process, without predefined limits, that can make a significant and lasting contribution to the development of a stable, peaceful and undivided Europe.

**Section II. Commitment to Shared Principles**

We affirm in this Charter our shared commitment to pursue and defend together the further development of a stable, peaceful and undivided Europe. We are convinced of the importance of giving practical meaning to the concept of the indivisibility of security among all the states in the Euro-Atlantic community. NATO and Russia will work together to contribute to the establishment in Europe of common and comprehensive security that offers an equal voice and stake for all states, whether inside or outside existing alliances.

*Handwritten notes:* "We are convinced" (with underline), "explains", "benefits", "provides", "benefits", "replace w common?"

*Handwritten notes:* "benefits will be shared."

To help achieve this goal, we will act together in strengthening and modernizing the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, including developing further its role as a principal instrument in preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, crisis management, post-conflict rehabilitation and regional security cooperation. The OSCE, as the only pan-European security organization, has an essential role to play in European peace and security. In strengthening the OSCE, we will strive through our actions together to prevent any possibility of returning to a Europe of division and confrontation, or the isolation of any state.

Consistent with the OSCE's model for the pursuit of cooperative security in the 21st century, NATO and Russia will seek the widest possible cooperation and coordination among all participating-states of the OSCE. Our objective is the creation in Europe of a common space of security and stability, without dividing lines or spheres of influence limiting the sovereignty of any nation, achieved through a transparent process that itself strengthens mutual confidence and openness. The challenges we face on the threshold of a new century require us to find cooperative solutions to common problems.

*Handwritten notes:* "we are convinced of the importance of taking additional measures to underscore in practical terms"

NATO and Russia recognize that our shared task of strengthening security for the benefit of all countries requires addressing challenges beyond those of earlier eras. This Charter signals a new era in Europe, an era without divisions or the confrontations of past years. But it also is concluded at a time when we face new threats. Aggressive nationalism, proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, terrorism, persistent abuse of human rights and unresolved territorial disputes all pose a threat to our common peace, prosperity and stability.

Our common effort to meet these and other challenges to peace and security, to which we commit ourselves through this Charter, will be built upon the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the Euro-Atlantic community. This will not contradict in any way the central role of the UN Security Council in maintaining international peace and security; nor does it contradict the role of the OSCE as the inclusive and comprehensive organization for consultation, decision-making and cooperation in its region and as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

We reaffirm our commitment to act to fulfill in good faith the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Helsinki Final Act and all pertinent OSCE documents, and other basic documents adopted by mutual consent. Building upon the concepts embodied in these documents, NATO and Russia also will base their relationship on a shared commitment to the following principles:

- development, on the basis of equality, of relations that are aimed at strengthening mutual trust and openness;
- acknowledgment of the vital role democracy, political pluralism, *the rule of law*, respect for human rights and civil liberties, and the development of free market economies play in the development of common prosperity and comprehensive security;
- refraining from the threat or use of force against any state, including against its sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence, - in any manner inconsistent with the *Charter* of the United Nations and *with the Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations Between Participating States contained in the Helsinki Final Act*;
- the right of all states in Europe freely to choose or change their security arrangements, including treaties of alliance, as they evolve and in accordance with their international obligations;
- respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of states, including the inviolability of borders from non-peaceful change and the rejection of any idea of spheres of influence;

- mutual transparency in creating and implementing defense policy and military doctrines;
- prevention of conflicts and settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with UN and OSCE principles;
- indivisibility of security affecting every state in the OSCE area;
- fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law, *treaties* and international agreements, *obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights as well as of the Helsinki Final Act and all subsequent OSCE documents, including the Charter of Paris, and the documents adopted at the Lisbon OSCE Summit;*
- *settlement of any dispute between NATO and Russia by peaceful means, making use of the framework of political consultation at all levels both sides have agreed upon.*

### Section III. Mechanism for Consultation and Decision-Making (The NATO-Russia Joint Council)

*reliance on?*

To foster further development of their relationship and to provide the means to address Europe's future security challenges together, NATO and Russia will create the NATO-Russia Joint Council, hereinafter referred to as the Joint Council. The central objective of this Joint Council will be to build the spirit and substance of cooperation and common action between the parties, in order to enhance the security of all European nations and diminish the security of none. Our goal will be to build increasing levels of trust, unity of purpose and habits of consensus and cooperation between NATO and Russia. When disagreements do arise, we will approach them in the spirit of pragmatism and tolerance which befits the partnership we seek to build. We will settle them by peaceful means within the framework of political consultations which the parties intend to develop at all levels.

*mutual respect.*

The Joint Council will provide a mechanism for NATO and Russia to consult, coordinate and, to the maximum extent possible where appropriate, act jointly to address security issues of common concern. NATO and Russia will pursue these principal goals:

- to encourage mutual confidence-building and long-term cooperation between NATO and Russia;
- to reduce and resolve any differences that might arise between them;

- to develop as broad and regular a pattern of cooperation as possible;
- to seek to coordinate decision-making and promote joint action, to the extent possible, on decisions that affect the legitimate interests of either party.

Our shared objective is to identify and pursue as many opportunities for joint action as possible. We expect that over time, as we further build the relationship, additional opportunities for joint action may emerge. ~~Such joint endeavors would not infringe upon or restrict the rights of either party to independent decision-making and action. Nor does this Charter in any way provide either party with a right of veto over the actions of the other. It cannot be construed as a means to disadvantage the interests of other states in Europe.~~ Each side will remain free to decide and act independently, while taking the results of the consultations into account, if such endeavors have not been successful. This will not adversely affect the interests of other states.

In the event that the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any Joint Council member is threatened by a non-member, NATO and Russia will immediately consult with each other within the Joint Council.

The Joint Council, and related activities to support its purposes, will be built upon the principles of reciprocal responsibilities and transparency. In the course of their consultations and cooperation, NATO and Russia undertake to inform each other regarding the respective challenges they face and the measures they intend to take, of their own accord, to address them.

To accomplish these goals, the Joint Council will meet at a variety of levels and in different forms, according to the subject matter and the desires of both parties. Sessions of the Joint Council will include defense officials as warranted by the subjects under discussion. The Joint Council will meet at the ministerial level at least twice annually, in conjunction with the semi-annual ministerial meetings of the North Atlantic Council, and at least monthly at the level of ambassadors/permanent representatives to the North Atlantic Council. The Joint Council may also meet at the level of Heads of State and Government, including on the occasion of NATO Summits. *The Joint Council may establish committees or working groups for individual subjects or areas of cooperation on an ad hoc or permanent basis as appropriate.*

The Joint Council will also meet at the level of military representatives and CHODs. This body will meet not less than twice each year, on the occasion of the semi-annual meeting of NATO Chiefs of Defense Staffs, and at least monthly at the level of military representatives. It may also convene experts, as appropriate.

\_\_\_\_\_The Joint Council will be the principal tool of consultation between the parties in times of crisis or for any other situation affecting the stability of peace throughout the region. ~~Either NATO or Russia may convene the Joint Council at its discretion.~~ Extraordinary meetings of the Joint Council will take place in addition to its regular

meetings on the request of the other side, to allow for prompt consultations, in case of emergencies. To support the work of this Joint Council, NATO and Russia will establish necessary administrative structures between them. These will include:

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- the exchange of permanent political representatives of ambassadorial rank, accredited with the Office of the NATO Secretary General and with the Office of the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation, respectively;

- the exchange of permanent senior military representatives, accredited with NATO's Military Committee and with the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, respectively.

The Russian Federation will establish a permanent Liaison Mission to NATO headed by a political representative at the rank of Ambassador for the purposes of the Council as well as for Russia's participation in the Partnership for Peace and the Atlantic Partnership Council. A senior military representative and his staff will be part of the Liaison Mission for the purposes of the military cooperation.

The agenda for regular sessions will be established jointly. The NATO Secretary General and the Russian Foreign Minister will work out detailed, mutually-satisfactory arrangements for the routine operations of the Joint Council; these arrangements will be in place for the inaugural meeting of the Joint Council, which will be held no later than (DATE).

~~The Joint Council will include as one of its components a joint military council. This body will meet not less than twice each year, on the occasion of the semi-annual meeting of NATO Chiefs of Defense Staffs, and at least monthly at the level of military representatives in NATO's Military Committee and their appropriate Russian counterparts. It may also convene experts, as appropriate.~~

The Joint Council will strive to engage in three distinct activities:

- pursuing the broadest possible range of consultations on the topics listed below and on any other political or security issue determined by mutual consent;
- on the basis of these consultations, developing joint initiatives in which the parties would agree to speak or act in parallel;
- making joint decisions and taking joint action as agreed after consultation, *including planning, preparation and implementation of joint operations once agreement is established for them.*

Any actions undertaken by NATO or Russia, together or separately, will be consistent with the UN Charter and the OSCE's governing principles.

Recognizing the importance of deepening contacts between the legislative bodies of the states covered, NATO and Russia also will work to promote expanded dialogue and cooperation between the North Atlantic Assembly and the Russian Federal Assembly.

#### Section IV. Areas for Consultation and Cooperation

In building this strategic partnership, NATO and Russia will focus on specific areas of mutual interest. NATO and Russia commit themselves to explore the broadest possible degree of consultation and cooperation, in particular in the following areas:

- *issues of common interest related to security and stability in the OSCE area or to concrete crises, including the contribution of NATO and of Russia to security and stability in this area;*
- *conflict prevention, including preventive diplomacy, crisis management and conflict resolution, taking into account the role and responsibility of the UN and OSCE and the work of these organisations in these fields;*
- *undertaking joint peacekeeping and other military activities, including Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF) missions in support of the UN or OSCE, as outlined below; peacekeeping, which could include planning, preparing and exercising for, and execution of, joint operations in support of UN or OSCE, and in such cases, participation in CJTF at an early stage;*
- expanding Russian participation in the Partnership for Peace and the Atlantic Partnership Council;
- consulting on NATO and Russia's changing roles in strengthening European security, including on one another's evolving doctrine;
- exchanging information on defense policy, strategy and budgets;
- *arms control issues and confidence-building and security measures;*
- continuing discussions of nuclear safety issues, to include safe dismantlement of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear pollution of the sea;

- preventing the proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, combating nuclear trafficking and strengthening cooperation in specific arms control areas;
- *political and defense aspects of proliferation of* nuclear, biological and chemical weapons and their delivery means, including in the area of Theater Missile Defense; this would include exploring possible defense cooperation, to deter and protect against these weapons and their delivery means;
- striving for greater transparency, predictability and mutual confidence regarding the size and roles of their conventional forces;
- intensifying regular and reciprocal exchanges, to the maximum extent possible as appropriate, on nuclear weapons issues, including their doctrine, strategy and force posture,
- coordinating a program of expanded cooperation between respective military establishments, as further detailed below;
  - pursuing possible armaments-related cooperation through Russian association with the Conference of NATO Armaments Directors;
  - developing initiatives for conversion of defense industries;
  - developing mutually-agreed cooperative projects in the economic, environmental and scientific fields;
  - conducting joint initiatives and exercises in civil emergency preparedness and disaster relief;
  - combating the twin scourges of terrorism and drug trafficking;
  - improving public understanding of NATO and Russia's evolving relations, including by establishing a NATO documentation center or information office in Moscow.

short  
description  
of CNAO

~~combating the twin scourges of terrorism and drug trafficking~~

*Other areas can be added by mutual agreement.*

NATO and Russia commit to work together within the OSCE to cement further the political foundations of cooperative security among states and peoples throughout the OSCE region. They will strengthen and support the OSCE's special role in conflict prevention and crisis management, establishing additional means to maintain peace and security in Europe.



## SECTION V. Military Dimension

### Promoting Mutual Military Transparency, Restraint and Confidence

As part of this broader effort to build a new relationship and reinforce security within Europe, the members of NATO and Russia commit to observe and to implement fully their arms control obligations regarding conventional armed forces in Europe. They will meet fully their obligations arising under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) and related agreements. They will work together in Vienna with the other states-parties to adapt the CFE Treaty to more accurately reflect Europe's changed strategic landscape since the Treaty was first negotiated, with the objective of concluding as soon as possible a framework agreement on adaptation and the adaptation agreement itself as expeditiously as possible.

The members of NATO and Russia acknowledge their common responsibility to achieve greater stability and security in Europe. ~~They will strive for greater transparency, predictability, and mutual confidence with regard to their land and air forces.~~ In particular, the members of NATO and Russia will work together with the other states-parties to ensure that an adapted CFE treaty will continue to preclude any destabilizing build-up of forces in different regions of Europe. They will take steps to ensure that, as the security environment in Europe continues to evolve, the military threat to any state will not increase.

To that end, they will strive for greater transparency, predictability and mutual confidence with regard to their land and air forces. ~~the members of NATO and Russia~~ They will work together with the other states-parties to adapt and enhance the CFE Treaty's viability and effectiveness, and to comply fully with and to strengthen the Vienna Document's measures to build confidence and security. They remain committed to using the tools of arms control and confidence-building to replace military confrontation with a pattern of security relations based on peaceful cooperation.

*[Following language is bracketed in NATO version, with note that it "could be used to address the nuclear aspects of the military dimension. Exact wording and context in which it is to be used is to be considered further."]* NATO and Russia will intensify regular exchanges on nuclear weapons issues, including on the status of their existing, respective unilateral initiatives involving elimination of and restraint in the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons, to ensure continued stability and predictability. As a first step, the parties will conduct regular and reciprocal exchanges, to the maximum extent possible as appropriate, on their nuclear doctrine, strategy and resultant force posture. The exchanges will include discussions of the process by which NATO and Russia make decisions concerning nuclear issues and the manner in which they have changed their force posture in light of Europe's new strategic landscape.

*The members of NATO reaffirm their position that NATO has no intention, no plan and no reason to deploy nuclear weapons on the territory of any new member state nor does it foresee any future need to do so.*

NATO and Russia will explore initiatives to enhance regional air traffic safety and to increase air traffic capacity through cooperative efforts focused on modernized techniques for civilian and military air traffic control. ~~These initiatives may include peacetime air sovereignty systems and methods.~~

### **Expanding Cooperation Between Military Establishments**

NATO and Russia will reinforce the expanded political-military consultations and cooperation through the Joint Council with an enhanced dialogue between the senior military authorities of NATO and its members and of Russia. They will implement a program of significantly expanded military-to-military engagement and practical cooperation between NATO and Russia at all levels, including through a strengthened Partnership for Peace. Consistent with the tenets of the Joint Council, this enhanced military-to-military dialogue will be built upon the principle that neither party views the other as a threat nor seeks to disadvantage the other's security. ~~This enhanced military-to-military dialogue will include regularly-scheduled reciprocal briefings on NATO and Russian military doctrine, strategy and resultant force posture and will include the broad possibilities for joint exercise and training involving NATO and Russian forces.~~

To support this enhanced dialogue and the military components of the Joint Council, NATO and Russia will establish military liaison missions, led by general/flag officers, in major NATO and Russian commands. This initiative is fully consistent with our shared objective of promoting enhanced Russian participation in the Partnership for Peace. As a first stage, Russia will establish permanent military liaison missions at NATO headquarters in Brussels, at SHAPE headquarters in Mons, Belgium and at SACLANT headquarters in Norfolk, Virginia. In turn, NATO will establish a mission in Moscow to conduct liaison activities with the Russian General Staff and the Ministry of Defense. *The missions will be granted adequate access to all relevant authorities.* NATO and Russia will explore in greater detail creation of additional liaison missions in military commands below the major command level.

To enhance their strategic partnership and ensure this partnership is grounded to the greatest extent possible in practical activities and direct cooperation, NATO and Russia's respective military authorities will explore the further development of a concept for joint NATO-Russia peacekeeping operations. This initiative would build upon the current Bosnian experience and relate the positive lessons learned there to NATO's establishment of Combined Joint Task Forces. Once developed, this concept could serve as a basis for the Joint Council's consideration of the capabilities,

preparations and resources -- to include size, level of participation, training and exercise requirements -- needed for joint NATO-Russia operations.