

RELEASE IN FULL

Chris:

Toria told me about her conversation with you. I take the point about how a night note might be better. I also resorted to my entirely trustworthy Berger channel to get his advice. He thinks a night note is better, too. He says that Tony "religiously" passes along your night notes to the President -- usually first thing the next morning -- without covering memos or commentary; and that the President always reads them on the spot.

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October 3, 1994

NIGHT NOTE TO THE PRESIDENT

From Warren Christopher

Subject: NATO expansion and Summit Follow-Up

We need to move quickly to build on the your Summit with Boris Yeltsin, especially on the issue of a post-Cold War European security structure and NATO expansion.

During your one-on-one lunch Wednesday, you laid out the following guidelines for your approach to NATO expansion:

- 1 The Alliance will expand.
- 2 Certain Central European states will be among the first to enter. That will happen when they are ready to join and the Alliance is ready to admit them.
- 3 The Alliance, under your leadership, will pursue NATO expansion as part of your larger commitment to building an integrated, unified Europe.
- 4 The process will proceed in an orderly fashion, without surprises, and with maximum consultation among all whose interests are involved, including Russia.
- 5 As long as Russia remains on a reformist, integrationist course, the U.S. will remain determined to expand NATO in a fashion that is not hostile to Russia's legitimate interests (i.e., "not anti-Russian").

Yeltsin accepted this approach. He asked two things: first, that you describe the process as "gradual," and second, that, if asked, you and other U.S. officials will not rule out the possibility that Russia might itself one day be a member of NATO. On the first point, you reiterated him that by its very nature, the process will move fairly slowly; that even if the U.S. were to decide tomorrow to seek admission for new members, it would

take some time for the consultations with the other members and the Senate to run their course. On the second point, you agreed not to rule out eventual Russian membership.

You and Yeltsin agreed to stay in close touch on this subject. You held open the possibility of meeting at the CSCE Summit in Budapest in December, as long as there is important work to be done at your level and specifically between the two of you. The CSCE Summit might give us a chance to establish the right strategic concept and procedural mechanisms for advancing the mutually reinforcing goals of European integration and NATO expansion. I suggest that the State Department, working closely with the NSC staff and the Defense Department, move quickly to develop an approach with that goal in mind.