



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

June 10, 2001

SUBJECT: SecDef Trip to Europe (June 4-9)

As you prepare for your trip to Europe I would like to share some observations and impressions from my trip. I met with officials in Turkey, Ukraine, and Macedonia and participated in defense minister meetings at NATO headquarters in Brussels, and regional meetings in Greece and Finland. Throughout the trip and in each of these meetings we emphasized several themes:

- Prosperity and economic opportunity require peace and stability in Europe and elsewhere. The military capability of the U.S. and its allies underpin peace and stability and make possible that prosperity.
- NATO remains the anchor of the U.S. commitment in Europe. Without that military capability and the cohesion of NATO, prosperity, economic opportunity and political freedom would be at risk. Defense investment and capabilities provide the insurance policy to avoid that risk.
- Those acquiring ballistic missiles and nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, do so in order to threaten our population centers. Those threats undeterred would cause countries to alter their behavior, become less involved in the world and increasingly isolationist, putting at risk global economic prosperity and with it political freedom. That is in none of our interests.
- It is time to fashion a new framework to address the threats of the 21st Century and our new security environment. Missile defense is but one element. Diplomatic and political efforts are needed as well, along with improved counter proliferation capabilities and the refashioning of our military.
- The U.S. is eager to continue consulting with its allies, friends, Russia and others on a new framework. No one nation can devise the framework for our collective security.
- The ABM treaty's time has passed. It now stands in the way of developing the means for defending populations. Moving beyond the ABM treaty is inescapable. To preserve peace and freedom, populations must be defended.

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U.S. Commitment to Europe

Allies welcomed U.S. assurances that we would not turn away from Europe even as we recognize the different circumstances which characterize Asia. The U.S. did not at present envision significant reductions in its troop strength in Europe or any major change to its nuclear posture in Europe. Our allies and friends appreciated our determination to consult closely with them on all aspects of security. The detail and candor of our threat and missile defense briefings underscored our commitment to consultations.

Missile Defense

We did not expect or witness overnight conversions. Free nations don't change views overnight and Ministers need to consult with their Prime Ministers. However, the detailed presentation of our approach to missile defense in the context of a new strategic framework was helpful in advancing our position. The use of satellite imagery in the brief to NATO ministers seemed to be effective in presenting the fact that proliferation is a real and growing threat. Only time will tell, but my two hour bilateral meeting with Russian MOD Ivanov could serve as a building block in the dialogue that will be necessary in fashioning a new framework. (I will forward a report of this meeting by separate memo.)

On the ABM treaty, some headway was made by pointing out that, in today's security environment, adherence to the treaty amounts to a "policy of vulnerability" to WMD in the hands of leaders like Saddam Hussein. This is a policy that no head of state could justify. The failure to develop defenses leaves a leader with two unsatisfactory options: giving in to blackmail or preemption. The head nods around the table suggest that this argument struck a responsive chord with a number of ministers.

Macedonia

In my meeting with the new Macedonian Minister of Defense, I praised their achievement thus far in keeping the all-party government together and keeping Albanians in the military. He asked for anti-terrorist training and greater NATO involvement in disarming the rebels. At one point, he seemed to be pressing for an intervention by NATO troops, a plea he seemed to reiterate a day later at a meeting of the Southeast European defense ministers. The Greek, Turkish and Bulgarian ministers at the meeting all expressed grave concern over the situation in Macedonia. I refrained from providing any encouragement for the idea of direct U.S. troop involvement inside Macedonia, although it is a subject that could well be coming to your desk soon.

Bosnia

I reiterated our intention to approach any troop reductions in the context of the NATO six-month review process. I stressed the importance of getting the organizations charged with civil implementation to do their job. This view was echoed by a number of

ministers and I was able to get a beefed up statement included in the final communiqué. However, there remains a decided lack of a plan and the political will to get the job done. Until the civil work is done, troops will need to remain. We need to push hard on this.

NATO Enlargement Decisions

Countries aspiring to NATO membership made clear that U.S. leadership was essential to getting on with enlargement. I was struck by the Polish minister's observation that Poland's relationship with Russia has improved considerably since Poland came into NATO. I was equally impressed by Danish advocacy of NATO membership for the Baltic states as critical for regional stability. The Baltic countries required reassurance that we would not cut a deal with the Russians that traded Baltic membership in NATO for Russian cooperation on the ABM treaty and missile defense. I assured them that that would not happen, and that each issue would be dealt with on its merits.

I personally support inviting more members into NATO at the Prague Summit in November 2002. I believe that the approach for your trip to begin to provide U.S. leadership on this issue is right and look forward to discussing it with you prior to your trip.

Turkey

In Turkey I met with the Prime Minister, Ministers of Defense and Foreign Affairs and the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces. I stressed our longstanding support for Turkey's security concerns with the EU. I declined to become involved in Turkey's efforts to reopen the deal it is negotiating with the EU on Turkey's participation in EU-led operations. I told the Turks that the deal on the table was likely as good as they were going to get. This issue could figure during your trip as each side – Turkey and the EU – looks to the US to help them achieve their goals.

In each meeting I expressed U.S. gratitude for Turkish support of Operation Northern Watch. The Deputy CHOD stressed that American sensitivity to Turkish concerns over the rules of engagement had been, and would continue to be, essential in securing Parliamentary renewal of ONW.

Ukraine

President Kuchma gave me his assurance that he would maintain Ukraine's western orientation. Given the inclination of various factions within Ukraine to be drawn into the Russian political and economic orbit, and given continued Russian pressure to force Ukraine closer, we need to pressure Kuchma to deliver on this

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4

assurance. I believe that our political pressure should be accompanied by real support of efforts by Kuchma to bring Ukraine closer to the West, despite the obvious problems they are having.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "R. A. ...".

Cc: Vice President Dick Cheney
Secretary of State Colin Powell
National Security Advisor Dr. Condi Rice

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