

Dos

CONFIDENTIAL

XVII.9a

CSH
CL

RELEASED IN FULL

JOINT STAFF
INFO SERVICE CENTER

IMMEDIATE ZYUM RUFHNAAS902 3531834
O 191833Z DEC 91
FM USMISSION USMATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7342
INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUM NEW YORK PRIORITY 5555
AMCONSUL ST PETERSBURG PRIORITY 0087
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY 4245
USNMR SHAPE BE//INTAF// PRIORITY

OF THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY, THE EC AND CSCE -- SHOULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE. THE NEEDS ARE GREAT, AND THE TIME IS SHORT. WE SHOULDN'T WASTE TIME DEBATING THE RELATIVE MERITS AND ROLES OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS. EACH CAN -- AND SHOULD -- DO ITS PART.

FIVE IMPRESSIONS

LET ME BEGIN BY SHARING WITH YOU FIVE BASIC IMPRESSIONS FROM MY TRIP.

FIRST, THE SOVIET UNION AS WE HAVE KNOWN IT HAS COLLAPSED. THERE HAS BEEN AN ASTOUNDING CENTRIFUGAL DEVOLUTION OF POWER EITHER TO REPUBLIC OR LOCAL OFFICIALS. IN SOME CASES THERE IS A VACUUM WITH POWER FLOATING SOMEWHERE IN THE ETHER, WAITING FOR SOMEONE TO GRAB IT. THE CENTRAL MINISTRIES HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED OR EFFECTIVELY TAKEN OVER BY RUSSIA -- A FACT GRAPHICALLY ILLUSTRATED WHEN THE UNION DEFENSE MINISTER SHAPOSHNIKOV AND UNION INTERIOR MINISTER BARANNIKOV JOINED MY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN.

SECOND, WHILE THE OLD SOVIET UNION IS GONE, IT HAS YET TO BE REPLACED BY ANYTHING CONCRETE. THE COMMONWEALTH OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR COHERENCE AND COORDINATION ON CRITICAL QUESTIONS LIKE NUCLEAR COMMAND AND CONTROL. IT MAY ALSO OFFER THE STRONGEST IMPEDIMENT TO FURTHER DISINTEGRATION AND THE CHAOS THAT THAT DISINTEGRATION COULD BREED. IT MAY ALSO PROVIDE THE

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 06 USMATO 06002~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN; MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~T.O. 13358 - DECL - OADR~~

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

BEST MEANS TO PREVENT CONFLICTS AND MANAGE DISPUTES BETWEEN REPUBLICS.

BUT IT IS STILL BEING FLESHED OUT, AND IT'S NOT CLEAR THAT THE PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS MEAN THE SAME THINGS WHEN THEY SPEAK OF A COORDINATING MECHANISM. THE MEETING IN ALMA ATA ON DECEMBER 21 COULD BE A PIVOTAL STEP IN SORTING OUT BASIC QUESTIONS ABOUT THE COMMONWEALTH.

THE REAL WILD CARDS IN THE COMMONWEALTH PROCESS ARE UKRAINE AND CENTRAL ASIA. UKRAINE SEEMS TO WANT TO USE IT PRIMARILY AS A WAY TO ACCOMMODATE AND REASSURE RUSSIA AND IS WARY OF BUILDING IT UP FOR FEAR OF RECREATING A CENTER. NAZARBAYEV AND THE CENTRAL ASIANS ARE READY TO JOIN THE COMMONWEALTH, PROVIDED THEIR DESIRE TO SEE IT HAVE SOME INSTITUTIONAL UNDERPINNING IS MET AND THEY ARE TREATED AS EQUALS BY THE SLAVIC REPUBLICS. BUT THAT COULD CONFLICT WITH UKRAINE'S VIEW OF A MINIMALIST COMMONWEALTH. FOR NOW, WE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGING THE REPUBLICS TO SORT OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES GIVEN THE HIGH STAKES THEY HAVE IN PRODUCING BASIC UNDERSTANDING ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY ISSUES.

THIRD, THE STRATEGIC COROLLARY TO THE DEBATE OVER THE SHAPE OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS THE QUESTION OF COMMAND AND CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS. YELTSIN, NAZARBAYEV, SHUSHKEVICH, AND KRAVCHUK ALL SEEM INTENT ON RESOLVING IT IN A WAY THAT MEETS OUR CONCERNS BECAUSE THEY DO UNDERSTAND HOW MUCH THIS MATTERS TO THE WEST. BUT EACH HAS A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT VIEW AS TO HOW THEY MIGHT GO ABOUT DOING THAT. INDIVIDUALLY, I WAS REASSURED BY WHAT I HEARD. BUT WHEN TAKEN TOGETHER, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SEVERAL DIFFERENCES TO WORK OUT.

13-M-3457

~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 06 USMATO 06002~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED

SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN; MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~T.O. 13358 - DECL - OADR~~

TAGS: NATO, NAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

~~CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT~~

2. FOLLOWING IS INTERVENTION MADE BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991, AT NATO HEADQUARTERS, BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

SECRETARY-GENERAL WOERNER, COLLEAGUES:

I WOULD LIKE TO REPORT ON THE TRIP I HAVE JUST COMPLETED. OF COURSE, REPORTING ON A REVOLUTION IN PROGRESS IS A DIFFICULT TASK AND FORMULATING A POLICY TO HELP CHANNEL THAT REVOLUTION IN POSITIVE DIRECTIONS IS NO LESS EASY.

BUT I BELIEVE WE IN THE WEST -- ESPECIALLY THE MEMBERS OF THIS ALLIANCE -- MUST ACT IN CONCERT NOW FOR WE FACE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO TURN THE DEMISE OF COMMUNISM INTO A VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM. WERE THE DEMOCRATS IN RUSSIA, UKRAINE, BELARUS, AND ELSEWHERE TO FAIL, WE WOULD ALL SUFFER. WE WOULD ALL FACE SEVERE CONSEQUENCES BOTH TO OUR INTERESTS AND OUR VALUES. AND OUR HOPES FOR AN ENDURING PEACE TO REPLACE THE CONFRONTATION OF THE COLD WAR WOULD BE DASHED.

WE ARE ALL AWARE OF THE GRAVE DANGERS POSED BY ANARCHY OR AN AUTHORITARIAN REVERSAL IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. WHAT WE NEED TO DECIDE NOW IS HOW BEST TO WORK TOGETHER TO HELP THE NEW DEMOCRATS IN THE REPUBLICS TO PRESERVE THEIR CHANCE TO BUILD DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS.

MY JOURNEYS OF THE LAST WEEK HAVE SERVED ONLY TO REINFORCE AND MAKE MORE URGENT THE VIEWS I OUTLINED A WEEK AGO AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY: WE MUST DIVIDE OUR LABORS AND COLLECTIVELY ENGAGE THE SOVIET PEOPLES IN THIS SEASON OF NEED TO BRING THEM HOPE -- HOPE THAT LIFE CAN GET BETTER, HOPE THAT THEIR EXPERIMENTS WITH DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS CAN WORK, HOPE THAT THEY, TOO, CAN JOIN THE DEMOCRATIC COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS.

IN THIS EFFORT, THIS ALLIANCE -- ALONG WITH THE OTHER PILLARS

ACTION (U,6,7,8,F)

INFO QUAL CONTROL(1) SECDEF-N(1) DARPA(1)
ASD:RA(2) USDA:P&L(1) USDA:IP(2) USDA:STNF(1)
ASD:PA&E/EPF(1) ASD:PA&E/DAMIS(1) OASD:C3I-INT(1)
USDP:EAP(2) USDP:DASDEUR(2) USDP:DSAA(1) USDP:NSP(1)
USDP:PPFS(1) USDP:DTSA/SP(1) USDP:ESM(1) USDP:VP(1)
USDP:LOS(1) USDP:TNF(1) USDP:IEEA(1) USDP:TSD(1)
USDP:EW ECON(1) USDP:EUR POL(1) USDP:SEE(1)
USDP:NATOPOL(1) DIO-WE(1)
+SAFE

MCN=91358/02039 TOR=91353/1836Z TAD=91358/0807Z CDSN=MAJ685

PAGE 1 OF 4
191833Z DEC 91

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
A.T.S. EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: SEP 01 2015

R-2

CONFIDENTIAL

JOINT STAFF
INFO SERVICE CENTER

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: SEP 01 2015

ON THIS ISSUE, I THINK WE HAVE A WINDOW TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TELL THESE LEADERS THAT WE WANT TO SEE SAFE, RESPONSIBLE, AND RELIABLE CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER A SINGLE COLLECTIVE AUTHORITY. HOW THEY DEFINE THAT AUTHORITY IS UP TO THEM. THEY SEEM TO BE MOVING TOWARD SOME FORM OF COLLECTIVE POLITICAL CONTROL, AND WE SHOULD SUPPORT THIS IDEA. OUR BOTTOM LINE MUST BE THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE THE CREATION OF ANY ADDITIONAL INDEPENDENT COMMAND AUTHORITY OR MORE THAN ONE NUCLEAR STATE ON THE TERRITORY OF THE FORMER USSR.

FOURTH, SINCE THE COUP, THE ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED DRASTICALLY. IN MOSCOW, THE LINES FOR FOOD ARE VERY LONG, AND WITH WINTER'S ONSET, THE PUBLIC IS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS. VIRTUALLY EVERYONE I MET WAS CONCERNED WITH THE DANGER OF A SOCIAL EXPLOSION, ESPECIALLY IN RUSSIA AND ESPECIALLY IN MOSCOW, ST. PETERSBURG, AND THE INDUSTRIAL CITIES OF THE URALS. THEIR CONCERN -- WHICH IS A VERY REAL ONE -- IS THAT THE PROCESS OF PRICE LIBERALIZATION COULD VERY QUICKLY LEAD TO HYPERINFLATION. THIS -- COMBINED WITH RAPIDLY RISING UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE EXHAUSTION OF RESERVES -- COULD PUT PEOPLE IN THE STREET AND OPEN THE WAY TO A DEMAGOGUE. IN BELARUS, UKRAINE AND KAZAKHSTAN THE FOOD SITUATION IS BETTER, BUT THEIR VERY REAL FEAR IS THAT RUSSIA'S PRICE LIBERALIZATION WILL SIPHON OFF ALL THEIR PRODUCTS.

WHILE EVERYONE FINDS ZHIRINOVSKY LAUGHABLE, THEY FEEL HIS THEMES TOUCH A NERVE IN THE RUSSIAN POPULACE -- A NERVE A MORE SKILLFUL TOTALITARIAN DEMAGOGUE MAY BE ABLE TO EXPLOIT. SHEVARDMAZJE FEELS THE SITUATION IS LIKELY TO BECOME MOST CRITICAL BY FEBRUARY. WE SHOULD NOT DISCOUNT THAT POSSIBILITY.

FINALLY, ON SOME MAJOR POLICY QUESTIONS -- NOTABLY FORMING THE

BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 03 OF 00 USNATO 05802~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED
SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC;
PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN;
MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~E.O. 12958, DECL. OADR~~
TAGS: NATO, NAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC
MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

COMMONWEALTH AND FORESTALLING A SOCIAL UPHEAVAL -- THE THING I WAS MOST STRUCK BY WAS THE ABSENCE OF ANY CONSENSUS ABOUT WHAT TO DO NEXT. THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM HAS CREATED SO MANY MASSIVE PROBLEMS, ARRIVING EACH ON TOP OF THE OTHER, THAT MOST LEADERS ARE BASICALLY OVERWHELMED WITH THEIR PROBLEMS. THEY ARE SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS, BUT MANY OF THEIR ANSWERS CUT ACROSS OR CONTRADICT ONE ANOTHER. AND WITH LITTLE KNOWLEDGE OF HOW FREE MARKETS AND DEMOCRACY WORK IN PRACTICE, THEY ARE LOOKING OUTSIDE FOR HELP AND ASKING FOR OUR IDEAS AND GUIDANCE.

ALL OF THE LEADERS, HOWEVER, WERE INTERESTED IN SOLUTIONS THAT COULD SUPPORT LEGITIMACY. EACH IS TRYING TO BUILD HIS LEGITIMACY -- WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD AS THE LEADER OF A NEW AND INDEPENDENT STATE, AND WITH HIS PEOPLE AS THE LEADER OF A PEOPLE SET FREE FROM THE CENTER. AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT, THIS PUTS THE WEST IN A VERY STRONG POSITION TO AFFECT THEIR THINKING AND BEHAVIOR.

RECOGNITION

BECAUSE OF THIS, I THINK WE SHOULD APPROACH RECOGNITION WITH THIS IN MIND. AND WE SHOULD CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ONE ANOTHER IN DOING SO. BESIDES THE ASSISTANCE WE CAN PROVIDE, THE STRONGEST LEVER WE HAVE OVER HOW THEY WORK OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES IS OUR MORAL AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE. SIMPLY PUT,

THEY WANT TO BE LIKE US. AND WE SHOULD HELP THEM TO DO SO. IN THIS WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY CREATED BY THE END OF THE OLD SYSTEM, WE SHOULD USE OUR AUTHORITY AND PRESTIGE TO HELP THEM MAKE THE RIGHT CHOICES ON ISSUES CRITICAL TO OUR INTERESTS.

RUSSIA, UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BELARUS SHOULD KNOW THAT IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH US, WE EXPECT THEM TO:

- ENSURE SAFE, RESPONSIBLE, AND RELIABLE CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER A SINGLE AUTHORITY;
- TAKE PART IN JOINT EFFORTS TO ENSURE THE SAFETY, SECURITY, AND DISABLEMENT AND ACCELERATED DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS;
- PUT INTO EFFECT THE LEGISLATIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL BASIS TO ENSURE STRICT EXPORT CONTROLS THAT WILL PREVENT PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, THEIR TECHNOLOGIES, AND THE KNOW-HOW TO MAKE THEM;
- JOIN FULLY IN THE START AND CFE REGIMES; AND
- FOR UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BELARUS, JOIN THE NPT AS NON-NUCLEAR STATES AND AGREE TO FULL-SCOPE IAEA SAFEGUARDS.

THE PRESIDENTS OF EACH OF THESE GAVE ME COMMITMENTS TO TAKE THESE ACTIONS.

I COULD ARGUE THAT THESE SECURITY CRITERIA -- IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL CRITERIA SET FORTH IN THE FIVE PRINCIPLES WE OUTLINED ON SEPTEMBER 4TH (AND A COMMITMENT TO FREE MARKETS) -- REPRESENT THE STANDARDS WE SHOULD USE IN BUILDING RELATIONS WITH THESE NEW POLITICAL ENTITIES. THEY SHOULD ALSO GUIDE OUR ASSISTANCE EFFORTS. THEY CLEARLY -- AND RATHER REMARKABLY -- ARE GUIDING ALL THE REPUBLIC PRESIDENTS AS THEY SEEK TO BUILD THEIR AUTHORITY AND LEGITIMACY AND AS GUIDELINES IN SHAPING THEIR LAWS AND LEGISLATION.

BT
~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 04 OF 00 USNATO 05802~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED
SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC;
PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN;
MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~E.O. 12958, DECL. OADR~~
TAGS: NATO, NAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC
MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM

YET WHILE THESE STANDARDS APPEAR TO HAVE REAL INFLUENCE ON THE POLITICAL ELITES IN EACH OF THE REPUBLICS, ON THE GROUND THE PEOPLE ARE GETTING MORE AND MORE ALIENATED BY WHAT THEY SEE AS POLITICAL BICKERING THAT HAS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH MAKING THEIR LIVES EASIER, LET ALONE BETTER. QUITE FRANKLY, THEY ARE INCREASINGLY FED UP, AND THEY ARE LOOKING FOR ANSWERS ANYWHERE THEY CAN FIND THEM.

IF THE SITUATION WERE TO CONTINUE TO PLAY OUT THIS WAY, I THINK THERE WOULD BE A GOOD POSSIBILITY THAT SHEVARDMAZJE'S FEAR OF A SOCIAL EXPLOSION COULD COME TRUE. PEOPLE WITHOUT HOPE MAY SEE THE DEMAGOGUE'S PRESCRIPTIONS AS THE SEEMINGLY EASIEST CHOICE, AND THAT COULD LEAD TO THE DEMOCRATS BEING SWEEPED FROM POWER -- AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A FUNDAMENTAL AND POSITIVE TRANSFORMATION IN THE WEST'S SECURITY BEING LOST.

IN THE FOUR MONTHS SINCE THE COUP, WE HAVE WORKED WITH THE UNION AND REPUBLICS TO TRY AND HELP THEM GET THEIR ACT

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

JOINT STAFF
INFO SERVICE CENTER

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: SEP 0 1 2015

TOGETHER, BUT THEY HAVE NOT -- AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL IN THE SHORT TERM.

THE PROBLEMS ARE SIMPLY TOO LARGE FOR THEM TO FIND SOLUTIONS ON THEIR OWN. THEY ARE ASKING FOR OUR HELP. THEY NEED OUR HELP. AND WE SHOULD GIVE IT. FROM YELTSIN TO KRAVCHUK, I WAS TOLD THAT ONLY A MASSIVE WESTERN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE EFFORT COULD STAVE OFF A SOCIAL EXPLOSION.

WE, IN SHORT, CAN OFFER SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PROBLEMS AND CONCRETE WAYS TO IMPLEMENT THEM.

ON THIS TRIP ALONE, I HEARD FROM THE KAZAKHS THAT THEY NEED SURGICAL SUPPLIES AND FROM THE BELORUSSIANS THAT THEY NEED BABY FOOD, MEDICINE, VEGETABLE OIL, AND GRAIN FOR ANIMALS. THE UKRAINIANS SAID THEY NEED INSECTICIDES, AND WHEN I TOLD THEM WE HAD NO PROGRAM IN THAT AREA, IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT FRANCE DID. SUCH VARIED NEEDS REQUIRES A COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL EFFORT.

AS WE MOVE FORWARD WITH CONCRETE PLANS, LET ME STRESS ONE POINT: IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE WEST MONITOR DISTRIBUTION OF OUR SUPPLIES. AS WE LEARNED IN THE FAMINE OF 1921-1923, WITHOUT SUCH SUPERVISION HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES ARE LIKELY TO BE DIVERTED OR WASTED.

THAT'S WHY LAST WEEK WE CALLED FOR A WESTERN POLICY OF COLLECTIVE ENGAGEMENT, CATALYZED BY A COORDINATING CONFERENCE, TO HELP THE DEMOCRATS THROUGH THIS WINTER AND NEXT YEAR. OBVIOUSLY, MY SPEECH AND THE PROPOSAL FOR A COORDINATING CONFERENCE WAS INTENDED AS A CALL TO ACTION AS MUCH TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS TO OUR ALLIES AND OTHERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

BUT ANOTHER REASON WE PROPOSED THE COORDINATING CONFERENCE -- AND DID SO IN SUCH A PUBLIC WAY -- WAS TO BEGIN TO CREATE A SENSE OF HOPE WITHIN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA ESPECIALLY, BUT ALSO UKRAINE, BELARUS, KAZAKHSTAN, ARMENIA, KYRGYZSTAN, AND ELSEWHERE NEED TO SEE CONCRETE SIGNS OF THE CONCERN OF THE REST OF THE WORLD TO HELP AND BRING HOPE. WERE WE TO BE SEEN AS NOT SUPPORTIVE OF THEIR DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT, RIGHT WHEN THEY NEED OUR ENGAGEMENT MOST, THAT WOULD HAVE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR IT WOULD PLAY EASILY INTO THE HANDS OF ZHIRINOVSKY AND OTHERS LIKE HIM.

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 05 OF 08 USNATO 05902~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED
SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC;
PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN;
MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~E.O. 12958, DECL. OADR~~

TAGS: NATO, MAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC
MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS JUST CORRESPONDED WITH YOUR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE CONFERENCE, AND I WILL BE SENDING A LETTER PRESENTING OUR PRELIMINARY VIEWS ON HOW THE CONFERENCE MIGHT BE ORGANIZED. I WILL NOT GO INTO THE DETAILS OF THE LETTER HERE, BUT LET ME STRESS ONE POINT: WE DO NOT INTEND THE COORDINATING CONFERENCE TO BECOME EITHER A PLEDGING CONFERENCE OR THE SINGLE MECHANISM BY WHICH THE WORLD COORDINATES ITS ASSISTANCE TO THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. WE DO NOT INTEND THAT IT IN ANY WAY REPLACE, DIMINISH, OR IMPINGE UPON OTHER COORDINATING MECHANISMS OR EFFORTS.

NATO'S ROLE

NATO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN THIS EFFORT. FOR TO A PERSON, THE NEW LEADERS IN RUSSIA, UKRAINE, KAZAKHSTAN, AND BELARUS HOLD

THE ALLIANCE IN EXTRAORDINARY ESTEEM AND ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO IT. YELTSIN TOLD ME HE HOPES THE COMMONWEALTH'S DEFENSE UNION CAN SOMEDAY "BLEND" WITH NATO. CLEARLY, HE FELT THAT WITHOUT A LINK TO NATO, THE COMMONWEALTH WOULD BE ISOLATED AND THAT WOULD BE DESTABILIZING. SHAPOSHNIKOV SEEMS TO BE USING NATO'S STRUCTURE AS THE BASIS FOR DESIGNING HIS PLANS FOR NEW DEFENSE STRUCTURES FOR THE COMMONWEALTH. AND THE BELORUSSIANS TOLD US THAT REPUBLIC FORCES SHOULD BE UNITED TOGETHER IN AN ORGANIZATION LIKE NATO.

THERE IS NO BETTER POLITICAL SIGNAL WE COULD SEND TO THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIAN, UKRAINE, BELARUS, AND THE REST OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION THAN TO HAVE NATO PLAY A ROLE IN PROVIDING WESTERN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. IT WOULD SHOW THEM IN A CONCRETE WAY THAT WHAT WE HAVE SAID ALL ALONG IS TRUE: NATO IS A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE THAT CAN SUPPORT PEACE AS EFFECTIVELY AS IT HAS DETERRED AGGRESSION. THERE COULD BE NO MORE GRAPHIC SIGN THAT IN ENDING THE COLD WAR WE KNEW HOW TO BUILD A NEW PEACE THAN TO HAVE THE MILITARIES OF THE NATO NATIONS WORKING TOGETHER AND WITH OTHERS -- INCLUDING THE SOVIET MILITARY -- TO ALLEVIATE SUFFERING IN RUSSIA AND IN OTHER REPUBLICS. WHEN I RAISED THIS IDEA WITH YELTSIN AND OTHER REPUBLIC LEADERS, THEY ALL HEARTILY AGREED.

HERE IS WHAT NATO -- DRAWING UPON ORGANIZATIONS, EXPERTISE, AND RESOURCES ALREADY IN EXISTENCE -- CAN DO TO COORDINATE THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR HUMANITARIAN MISSIONS. NATO'S SENIOR CIVIL EMERGENCY COMMITTEE (SCEPC), IN CONJUNCTION WITH NATO'S MILITARY LOGISTICS STRUCTURES, CONTAINS THE CORE CAPABILITY NECESSARY TO SUPPORT A SUCCESSFUL RELIEF OPERATION. IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR SUBORDINATE BODIES, THERE EXISTS A COMBINATION OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE-SECTOR EXPERTISE THAT CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR QUICKLY.

DRAWING UPON THE NUMEROUS SURVEYS OF SOVIET NEEDS COMPLETED IN THE FALL, THE ALLIANCE'S ENERGY, FOOD, AND AGRICULTURE EXPERTS SHOULD HELP ASSESS CRITICAL NEEDS AND IDENTIFY THE BEST LOGISTICAL WAYS TO FILL THEM. NATO'S JOINT CIVIL-MILITARY MEDICAL COMMUNITY CAN DO THE SAME TO DETERMINE THE BEST WAYS TO MEET MEDICAL NEEDS. THE SCEPC SHOULD HELP IDENTIFY POTENTIAL NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF CRITICAL SUPPLIES SUCH AS FOOD, MEDICINE, AND BLANKETS.

THROUGH ITS EXTENSIVE CONTACTS WITH THE EUROPEAN TRANSPORT INDUSTRY -- AIR, RAIL, ROAD, AND CANALS -- THE SCEPC HAS THE ABILITY TO SERVE AS A LOGISTICAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR MOVING SUPPLIES TO AID THE REPUBLICS. OUR CIVIL TRANSPORTATION EXPERTS (AIR, SURFACE, AND WATERWAYS) SHOULD QUICKLY MAKE ASSESSMENTS OF THE PREFERRED METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION TO THE REPUBLICS.

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 05 OF 08 USNATO 05902~~

STATE FOR EUR/RPM & EUR/SOV: REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED
SECDEF FOR USDP, ASD-ISP(EUR-NATO), AND DUSP(SEE)

VIENNA FOR CSBM; USVIENNA FOR CFE; BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC;
PARIS ALSO FOR OECD; HELSINKI FOR RIGA, VILNIUS AND TALLINN;
MOSCOW ALSO PASS KIEV

~~E.O. 12958, DECL. OADR~~

TAGS: NATO, MAC, PREL, UR, OVIP (BAKER, JAMES A, III)
SUBJECT: INTERVENTION BY SECRETARY BAKER AT THE NAC
MINISTERIAL, DECEMBER 19, 1991

AND DRAWING ON REPUBLIC AND LOCAL OFFICIALS AND THE SOVIET MILITARY, NATO SHOULD ASSESS WHAT SUPPORT IT COULD PROVIDE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE WITHIN THE REPUBLICS.

THESE ASSESSMENTS SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED QUICKLY, WORKING WITH BOTH REPUBLIC LEADERS AND, WHERE APPROPRIATE, THE SOVIET MILITARY. IN THIS WAY, NATO COULD BE IN A POSITION TO FORMULATE REALISTIC LOGISTICS PLANS PERHAPS BY THE TIME OF THE COORDINATING CONFERENCE AND THEREBY BACK UP OUR WORDS OF SUPPORT WITH ACTION.

MCN=91358/02039 TOR=91353/18362 TAD=91358/0807Z CDSN=MAJ685

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 3 OF 4
191833Z DEC 91
00 0000Z UTC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JOINT STAFF
INFO SERVICE CENTER

THROUGH THESE EFFORTS, WHAT MANY PEOPLE CALL JUST A MILITARY ALLIANCE COULD SHOW THAT IT TRULY IS A POLITICAL ALLIANCE THAT CAN PROVIDE HOPE IN TIMES OF PEACE -- INDEED, HOPE THAT MAY PRESERVE PEACE.

LIAISON

NATO'S EFFORTS WITH RESPECT TO LOGISTICS SUPPORT OF HUMANITARIAN NEEDS CAN HELP MEET A SHORT-TERM DEMAND TO REACH OUT TO THE EAST. BUT OVER THE LONG TERM, WE MUST STRENGTHEN OUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES. TOMORROW, AS WE INAUGURATE THE NORTH ATLANTIC COOPERATION COUNCIL, WE CAN DO JUST THAT.

EARLIER THIS MONTH, I OUTLINED SIX PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING OUR LIAISON PROGRAM. I WOULD HOPE THAT HERE IN BRUSSELS, WE COULD AGREE TO ALL SIX. THE MORE WE CAN INSTITUTIONALIZE OUR RHETORIC OF REASSURANCE WITH CONCRETE PROPOSALS, THE MORE WE CAN BRING OUR FORMER WARSAW PACT ADVERSARIES INTO THE EURO-ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND GIVE THEM HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE PROPOSALS I HAVE OUTLINED DO THAT ACROSS SEVERAL DIMENSIONS FROM DEFENSE CONVERSION TO CSCE. THEY CAN BE FUNDED THROUGH RESTRUCTURING OF NATO HEADQUARTERS INTERNATIONAL STAFF AND THROUGH A ONE-TIME, THREE PERCENT INCREASE IN THE 1992 NATO CIVIL BUDGET. I THINK SUCH A MODEST SUM WOULD NOT BE OVERLY BURDENSOME ON THE MEMBER STATES, AND WOULD HELP GREATLY TO INSTITUTIONALIZE THE LIAISON PROGRAM.

AS WE BUILD UP THE LIAISON PROGRAM, WE SHOULD EXPLORE WAYS TO INVOLVE RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND THE OTHER REPUBLICS. I WOULD SUGGEST WE TASK THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO COME UP WITH AN APPROACH TO INCLUDING THE REPUBLICS IN THE LIAISON PROGRAM, USING THE STANDARDS I SET OUT EARLIER.

END TEXT
TAFT
BT

DECLASSIFIED IN FULL
Authority: EO 13526
Chief, Records & Declass Div, WHS
Date: SEP 01 2015

Office of the Secretary of Defense
Chief, RDD, ESD, WHS
Date: 01 SEP 2015 Authority: EO 13526 + 5 U.S.C. § 552
Declassify: X Deny in Full: _____
Declassify in Part: _____
Reason: _____
MDR: 13 -M- 3457

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~