INDEX

academics, opposition to NATO enlargement by, 121 Acheson, Dean, 176, 178, 274, 356 n.60 "Advancing our European Security Agenda" memo (NSC), 73-75, 77-78 Afanassievsky, Nikolai, 172 AFL-CIO, 280 AFNorth command, 167 AFSouth command, 167–169, 342 n.139 Ahtisaari, Martii, 159 Alastair Buchan lecture, IISS, 31-32 Albright, Madeleine K.: Ashcroft and, 284, 358 n.97; Baltic policy, 239; NATO and, 219, 220-221, 279; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 205–208; Partnership for Peace, 62–63, 68–69; personal history and vision, 176-181, 344 n.9; Poland, 197, 346 n.49; pre-Helsinki negotiations (March 1997), 198-200; protocols of accession, signing of, xv, xix-xx; Senate hearings testimony, 259-261, 271, 272-275, 282; Senate ratification vote, 285, 286-287,

288, 358 n.85; Yeltsin meeting (Feb. 1997), 179-180 American Jewish Committee (AJC), 152 Ananicz, Andrzej, 54 Antall, Jozsef, 9–11, 14, 17, 53, 148 arms control negotiations, Vienna CFE, 194-195 arms sales, Russian, 108, 109 Ashcroft, John, 284–285, 287–288, 358 n.97 Aspin, Les, 21, 45–46, 52 Athens, 1993 NATO Foreign Ministers' meeting, 28-29 Atlantic Partnership Council, 167 Atlanticism, 148 Auschwitz concentration camp, 151–152 authoritarianism, post-communist threat of, 43 Baker, James, 4–7

Baltic-Americans, 159

Baltic states: Albright and, 239; Baltic Action Plan, U.S., 160–163; Baltic states (continued): Baltic-Americans, support of, 159; "Baltic Challenge" military exercise, 233–234; Hanseatic League, 230, 276; history, 155–156; Madrid summit (1997), 239, 243, 244–245, 246–248; NATO membership candidacy issues, 158-163, 340 n.102; Nordic neighbors and, 159-160; Russia and, 161, 192–193, 200–203, 230–231; Talbott and, 229–231; U.S.-Baltic Charter, 231-238, 276-277, 351 n.47 Bandler, Don, 342 n.139 Berger, Sandy: Baltic policy, 237, 276; NATO enlargement, 24, 27, 61, 64, 78, 319 n.12; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 210; pre-Helsinki negotiations (March 1997), 199 Berlin, Isaiah, 75 Berlin compromise, ESDI, 167, 168 Berlin Foreign Ministers meeting (1996), 139, 358 n.16 Bessmertnykh, Alexander, 10 Biden, Joseph, 259, 261, 263, 273–274, 275-276 Biegun, Steve, 270–271 Bildt, Carl, 158 Bindenagel, J.D., 240 Birkavs, Valdis, 233 Bitterlich, Joachim, 240 Blair, Tony, 243-244 Blinken, Donald, 128 Blot, Jacques, 47 Bosnia war: Clinton policy, 21-23, 126–127; Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs), 34–35; Dayton peace agreement, 293; Holbrooke and, 76-77; Hungarian participation, 128-129; nationalism and, 15-16; NATO, effect on, 124–125, 128, 132–133, 135; Operation Deliberate Force, 127–128; NATO-Russia cooperation, 125, 129-132; Vance-Owen Plan, 21, 22 Brazauskas, Algirdas, 161–162 Brown, Hank, 80–82, 85, 120 Brussels, Foreign Ministers meeting (1994), 93–94 Brussels summit (1994), 59, 65 Brzezinski, Ian, 255

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 17, 56–57

- Burns, Nick, 73
- Bush, George, 3, 4–7, 17, 311 n.7

Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities (BLSP), 281

CANE (Coalition Against NATO Expansion), 281

Carter, Ash, 28

Ceausescu, Nicolae, 149, 226

Central and East European Coalition (CEEC), 56, 80

- Central and Eastern Europe: criteria for NATO membership, 147; EU overtures, 12; NATO, early 1990s overtures toward, 12–17; Nazi-confiscated property, 152, 337 n.69, 337–338 n.71; OSCE and, 11; Partnership for Peace, 54–55, 61–63, 66; post-communist authoritarianism, threat of, 43; stabilization and integration, 24–25, 27, 31, 33; Yalta system of division, 2, 7–11. See also specific countries
- Central Europe. See Central and Eastern Europe
- CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty), 146, 194–195
- Chace, James, 23
- Charter 77 (Czechoslovakia), 9
- Charter of Paris (1990), 11, 309 n.25
- Chechnya, Russian invasion of, 102, 103, 108
- Chernomyrdin, Victor, 189, 311 n.4
- Chirac, Jacques: Bosnia, 126; elected President, 103; France's reintegration into NATO, 136–137, 168–169; Madrid summit (1997), 238–239, 241–245, 247–248; NATO enlargement, stance on, 88, 143; NATO-Russia negotiations issues, 183–185, 343 n.149; Romanian NATO candidacy, 214–215, 349 n.5
- Christopher, Warren: Athens NATO meeting (1993), 28–29; Bosnia policy, 22; diplomats opposing enlargement, letter from, 121; Hungary and Russia trip (1993), 53; Kozyrev meetings (1995), 107–108, 110, 113–114; Moscow trip (March 1996), 145; and NATO

- enlargement, xviii, 43, 49, 51–52, 64; Partnership for Peace, 61, 70; Prague endorsement of enlargement (March 1996), 144–145; Primakov meetings (1996), 142, 172–174; Russia policy, 20; Stuttgart speech (Sept. 1996),
- 166–167, 341 n.128
- Churkin, Vitaly, 92
- Ciampi, Carlo, 26
- Ciorbea, Victor, 228
- Claes, Willy, 104, 105
- Clark, Wesley, 88
- Clinton, Bill: Baltic presidents and, 233, 277; Bosnia policy, 21-23, 332 n.88; Bucharest trip (July 1997), 239; Bush policies, opinion of, 311 n.7; European trip (Jan. 1994), 61, 64–69; G-8 summit, Denver (1997), 225; Helsinki summit (March 1997), 200-204; Hungary and Romania bilateral issues, 149-150; Kohl visit (June 1997), 223, 349 n.16; Lewinsky affair, 280-281; London visit (Nov. 1995), 132–133; Madrid summit (1997), 240-242, 244, 247, 248, 249-250; Major meeting (April 1995), 112–113; Mamedov meeting (July 1996), 166; NATO candidates, selection of, 223-224; and NATO enlargement, xvi-xvii, xviii, 23-27, 97, 98; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 210–211; OSCE summit (Budapest, 1994), 92, 94–95; P-8 summit, Moscow (April 1996), 146; Poland trips, 78-79, 248-249, 322-323 n.61; Republican criticism of NATO policy, 83–88; Romania trip (July 1997), 176, 249; Russia, and approach to NATO enlargement, 343 n.150; Russia trip (Jan. 1994), 67-68; SNOG senators meeting (June 1997), 262-264; State of the Union addresses, 175, 280; V-E Day Fiftieth Anniversary summit, Moscow, 113, 115–117; Walesa visit (June 1996), 163-164; West Point address (May 1997), 262; Yeltsin, letters exchanged with, 109-110, 140, 189; Yeltsin, personal relationship with, 89, 112, 145–146; Yeltsin summits, 1993

Vancouver, 20, 131; Yeltsin visit (1994), 89–90, 324 n.82

- Clinton Administration: Baltic Action Plan (BAP), 160–163; Baltic policy, 228-238, 276-277, 351 n.47; Bosnia policy, 21–23, 126–127; foreign policy dynamics, 27; French reintegration into NATO, 167-169; hegemonic behavior, accusations of, 221-222, 249; implementation of NATO enlargement, 166–167, 174; Inter-Agency Working Group (IWG) on NATO, 34-35, 68, 88; Madrid summit, negotiations prior to, 223-228; Madrid summit (1997), 238-248; May-for-May deal with Russia, 112, 114-117; NATO candidates, selection of, 216-221, 222–223; NATO enlargement, debate over, 27-28, 33-37, 42-46, 48-52, 64; NATO enlargement, strategy on, 88-89, 105; NATO-Russia relationship strategy, 106, 169-174, 182, 190, 193; policy development, on NATO enlargement, 60-61, 72-78, 86-89, 97-98, 101-102, 144-145; Republicans, political pressure from, 27, 79–86, 119-121; Russia, priority on, 20-21, 27-28, 292-293, 296-299; Russia policy, Talbott and, 20-21; S/NERO (NATO Enlargement Ratification Office), 253–254; strategy paper on Russian relations, 141-142; Western Europe, consensus-building in, 101-103, 137-139, 142-143, 299-303. See also Albright, Madeleine K.; Christopher, Warren; Holbrooke, Richard; Lake, Anthony; Perry, Bill; Senate NATO enlargement ratification campaign; Talbott, Strobe Coalition Against NATO Expansion (CANE), 281 Cohen, Ben, 281 Cohen, Richard, 258–259 Cohen, William, 274–275, 349 n.15 Collins, Jim, 356 n.59 Combined Joint Task Forces (CJTFs), 34–35, 138
- command posts, NATO. See military command posts, NATO

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 70 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 308 n.20, 309 n.25 Congress, U.S., xviii-xix, 86, 152. See also Democrats; Republicans; Senate NATO enlargement ratification campaign Constantinescu, Emil: Clinton visit (July 1997), 176, 249; election of, 214; Germany trip (July 1997), 239-240; Romania candidacy, 227, 351–352 n.53; Romanian reforms, 349 n.4 Contract with America, 83, 119, 323-324 n.72 Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), 146, 194–195 Cooperative Bridge 94 exercise, 69 costs, of NATO enlargement, 138-139, 271–272, 355 n.53 Council for a Livable World, 267 Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), 9 Craig, Greg, 256, 257, 278, 353 n.15 Czech Republic: Clinton visit (Jan. 1994), 65-66; Germans, expatriated, 147; NATO membership candidacy issues, 147-148; U.S., interest in engaging, 309-310 n.29; Yeltsin visit (1993), 39Czechoslovakia: NATO, early overtures toward, 14-15, 17; Soviet troop withdrawal, 9; "Velvet Divorce," 154; Warsaw Pact, dissolution of, 9-11; Yalta system, dismantling of, 7, 9 D/SACEUR (European Deputy SACEUR), 138, 167-168 Davis, Lynn, 36-37, 42-43, 205 Dayton peace agreement, 293 de Charette, Hervé, 139, 333 n.3, 334 n.16 Defense Department, U.S.: cost estimates for NATO enlargement, 271–272; NATO enlargement debate, 27-28, 45-46, 48, 87-88. See also Clinton Administration Dehaene, Jean-Luc, 120

Dell, Chris, 160 Democrats, 122, 261. See also Clinton Administration Denmark, 244–247. See also Nordic countries Deputies Committee, 112, 349 n.8-9 Dienstbier, Jiri, 14 dissidents, Central and East European, 8-11 Dobbins, Jim, 34 Dole, Bob, 120, 162, 165-166 Donilon, Tom, 36, 76 Drew, Nelson, 127 Drnovsek, Janez, 226 Drzycimski, Andrzej, 39 Eagleburger, Larry, 17 EAPC (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council), 248 Edelman, Eric, 13, 44 Eidintas, Alfonsas, 159 Eisenhower, Susan, 265 Eliasson, Jan, 160 Estonia. See Baltic states EU (European Union), 12, 187, 308 n.20 Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), 248 Europe, Central and Eastern. See Eastern and Central Europe Europe: East/West division of, 2–3, 7–11; U.S. vision of, 290. See also Eastern and Central Europe European Deputy SACEUR (D/SACEUR), 138, 167-168 European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), 35, 137, 167 European Security Commission, 11 fast-track approach to NATO enlargement, 44-45, 50-51 Finland, 159-160 Finley, Julie, 256, 257 Foreign Ministers meetings, NATO. See summits and meetings, NATO Fort Riley, Kansas, 131

France: EU expansion, approach to, 12; Madrid summit (1997), 238–239, 241, 242, 245–248; NATO enlargement, stance on, 46–47, 102–103, 327 n.10, 328 n.16; NATO-Russia negotiations issues, 183–185, 343 n.149; reintegration into NATO, 136–137, 167–169, 333 n.3; Romania candidacy, support for, 214–215, 218–220, 224, 225, 349 n.5; U.S. policy shift on NATO, response to, 91. *See also* Chirac, Jacques

Frasure, Robert, 127

Freeman, Chaz, 46

- Fried, Dan: Baltic policy, 160; "Dan Fried SAT Test," 147; NATO enlargement policy proposal, 72–73; Poland, 197, 287; RAND workshop, 13
 Friedman, Tom, 122, 283–284, 359 n.102
- Fuerth, Leon, 188–189
- G-8 summit, Denver (June 1997), 225 Gaddis, John Lewis, 252–253 Gati, Charles, 43 GCC (Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission), 20, 311 n.4 Geoana, Mircea, 228, 239 Geremek, Bronislaw, xix, 63, 78 Germany: Czech Republic, and expatriated Germans, 147; Madrid summit (1997), 239–240, 242–243, 246–248; NATO candidates, position on, 223, 225; NATO enlargement, stance on, 30, 31-32, 47, 102, 142-143, 313 n.40-n.41; NATO-Russia negotiations issues, 183-185; New Traditions conference (1994), 87; Poland, priority placed on, 102; reunification, 1-7, 307-308 n.7; U.S. policy shift on NATO, response to, 91–92. See also Kohl, Helmut Gilman, Benjamin, 82, 119–120 Gingrich, Newt, 79, 80, 165 globalization, 290-291 Goncz, Arpad, 23 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 4–7, 10–11, 16–17 Gore, Al: Estonia visit (1995), 160, 340 n.106, 351 n.47; Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission (GCC), 20, 311 n.4; Moscow trip (1994), 95–96;
 - NATO enlargement, views on, 97; New Traditions conference, Berlin, 87; Partnership for Peace, 63–64

130–131 Grossman, Marc, 276, 278–279 Hadley, Steve, 255–256 Haekkerup, Hans, 52, 163 Hamilton, Dan, 160 Hanseatic League, 230, 276 Harriman, Pamela, 136, 143, 343 n.149 Havel, Vaclav: Clinton meetings, 23, 24, 65–66, 124; NATO membership goal, 17; NATO trip (1991), 14–15; *New York Times* article, 262; Paris conference (1991), 12, 309 n.28; Warsaw Pact, dissolution of, 10–11, 309 n.21 Helms. Jesse: Albright and 255: enlarge-

Grachev, Pavel, 38-39, 70-71, 111,

Helms, Jesse: Albright and, 255; enlargement, support for, 269–270, 275;
Russia, hard line on, 120; NATO enlargement, Senate hearings on, 270–271, 273, 274; Slovakia, 338 n.82;
SNOG meeting with Clinton, 263; *Wall Street Journal* op-ed (July 1997), 266–267

Herzog, Roman, 250

- Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 274, 356 n.60
- Holbrooke, Richard: Assistant Secretary of State, appointment as, 76–77, 322 n.51; Baltic policy, 160; Bosnia, 21, 127; and NATO enlargement, 34, 77, 258–259, 322 n.52; NATO policy shift, role in, 86–88; Poland, 151; Romania, 149
- Holocaust, Poland and, 151-152
- Holocaust Memorial Museum, 23, 25
- Horbulyn, Voloymyr, 157
- Horn, Gyula, 148, 149-150
- Hungary: Bosnia participation, 128–129; Christopher visit (1993), 53; NATO, early overtures toward, 14, 17; NATO membership candidacy issues, 148–150, 336 n.53; Partnership for Peace (PfP), reaction to, 54; Soviet troop withdrawal, 9; Warsaw Pact, dissolution of, 9–11
- Hunter, Robert, 101
- Hurd, Douglas, 22, 102
- Hutchison, Kay Bailey, 124, 266
- Hyde, Henry, 82
- Hyde Park summit (Oct. 1995), 131

IFOR (Implementation Force, Bosnia), 125 IIP (Individual Partnership Program), 117 IISS (International Institute of Strategic Studies), 30, 41 Iliescu, Ion, 149–150 Ilves, Tom, 160, 162 Individual Partnership Program (IIP), 117 intensified dialogues, 138, 140, 334 n.12 Inter-Agency Working Group (IWG) on NATO, 34-35, 68, 88 International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), 30, 41 Ischinger, Wolfgang, 222 isolationism vs. internationalism, U.S., xvii, 26 Italy, 215–216, 218, 242, 245, 247 Ivashov, Leonid, 70, 207–208 Jackovich, Vic, 226, 350 n.31 Jackson, Bruce, 255–257 Jacobovits, Adriaan, 25 Jacobson, Max, 161 Jankowski, Father Henryk, 152, 337 n.68 Jeszenszky, Geza, 53 Jewish Americans, 152 Jewish communities, Central and Eastern European, 152 Joulwan, George, 69, 130, 131–132 Juppé, Alain, 102–103, 327 n.11 Kalnins, Ojars, 159, 162–163 Kaplan, Roger, 264–265 Karaganov, Sergei, 118 Kavan, Jan, xix Keegan, John, 265 Kennan, George, 252 Kievenaar, Buzz, 276 Kinkel, Klaus, 143 Kissinger, Henry, 120-121, 191-192, 261-262 Kohl, Helmut: German reunification, 3;

Madrid summit (1997), 240–243, 247–248, 250; moratorium on enlargement, proposed, 142–143; NATO candidates, 223; on NATO enlargement, 47, 102, 122–124; NATO-Russia negotiations issues, 183–185; U.S. policy

shift on NATO, response to, 91-92; Yeltsin meeting (Jan. 1997), 181 Kokoshin, Andrei, 118 Kolodziejczyk, Piotr, 150–151 Konrad, Gyorgy, 8, 16 Korbel, Josef, 177 Kosovo, 304 Kovac, Michal, 154–155 Kovacs, Laszlo, 128, 148-149 Kozminski, Jerzy, 78, 123, 151–152, 197, 280 Kozyrev, Andrei: "Areas of Profound Dialogue between Russia and NATO," 117; Bosnia, 129-130; Christopher meetings, 70, 107–108, 110, 113–114; OSCE summit (Budapest, 1994), 95; Partnership for Peace, 54, 71–72, 117–118; on Poland NATO membership, 38–39; Primakov vs., 48 Kruzel, Joseph, 35-36, 127 Kugler, Richard, 30 Kukan, Milan, 226 Kundera, Milan, 8 Kwasniewski, Aleksandr, 63, 151, 152–154

Kyl, Jon, 286

Lake, Anthony: Bosnia, 21, 126–127; Clinton European trip (1994), 29; French reintegration into NATO, 169; NATO enlargement debate, xviii, 24, 25, 27, 36; NATO enlargement policy proposal, 72, 73-74; NATO enlargement strategy, 61, 64, 77-78, 164-165; Partnership for Peace (PfP), 56–57 Landsbergis, Vytautis, 232–233 Larrabee, Steve, 30 Latvia. See Baltic states Lebed, Alexsandr, 111 Leotard, François, 47 Levitte, Jean-David, 342 n.139 Lewinsky, Monica, 280 Lewis, Sam, 36-37 Lithuania, 232–233, 238. See also Baltic states Lott, Trent, 255, 285-286 Lugar, Richard G., 30, 32-33, 37, 120, 330–331 n.64

Luik, Juri, 158 Lukin, Vladimir, 70

Madrid summit (1997), 165, 238–248, 355 n.53 Major, John, 22, 112-113, 132-133 Mamedov, Georgy: Clinton meeting, 166; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 205, 206-207, 209; pre-Helsinki negotiations, 199; Talbott meetings, 44, 106-107, 141, 171-172 Mandelbaum, Michael, 258–259, 266 Mansfield Amendment, 264 Marton, Kati, 128 Martonyi, Janos, xix May-for-May deal, 112, 114–117 McCaffrey, Barry, 33 McCarthy, James, 13 McConnell, Mitch, 119 Meciar, Vladimir, 154–155 meetings, NATO. See summits and meetings, NATO Melescanu, Teodor, 134-135, 149 Meri, Lennart, 159, 161–162, 229–230, 233-234, 237, 341 n.100 Michnik, Adam, 8, 9, 16, 257 Mikulski, Barbara, 82 military, U.S. See Defense Department, U.S. military command posts, NATO, 35, 138, 167-169 Military Committee, NATO, 138 military implications of NATO enlargement: enlargement study (1995), 103-104, 328 n.16; force deployments, 139, 194, 274–275, 356 n.60; post-Cold War missions, 278–279, 286, 304; rationale, strategic, 270; Russia negotiations, 194-198; weapons of mass destruction, 279, 304 Millon, Charles, 168-169 Milosevic, Slobodan, 304 mission of NATO, refocus of, 277-279, 286, 303-305 Mitterrand, François, 12 Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 156 Morris, Dick, 312 n.27 Moses, Al, 227–228, 249

Mroziewicz, Robert, 38 Munter, Cameron, 258

NACC (North Atlantic Cooperation Council), 17, 29, 35, 167 Nance, Bud, 353 n.11 National Security Council (NSC): on NATO enlargement, 56–57; strategy papers on NATO enlargement, 73–75, 77–78, 92, 164–165; troika on NATO enlargement, 73 National Security Revitalization Act (proposed), 120 nationalism, 15–16, 70, 104 NATO: as reinforcement of European division, 2; dissolution, calls for, 8-9, 10; Russia and, see Russia-NATO relationship; strategic concept of, rewrite of, 279, 286, 303-305; strategies on enlargement of, study on, 101, 103-104; summits and meetings. See summits and meetings, NATO NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act, 165 "NATO Enlargement Game Plan: June 96 to June 97" (NSC), 164–165 NATO Enlargement Ratification Office (S/NERO), 253–254, 258, 281 "NATO Expansion-Next Steps" memo (Berger), 79 NATO Expansion Act (proposed), 82 NATO Participation Act, 80, 323 n.65, 330 n.64 NATO Revitalization Act (Proposed), 82-83 NATO-Russia Founding Act, 198-200, 204-211 Nazi confiscations of property, 152, 337 n.67, 337-338 n.71 New Atlantic Initiative (NAI), 268, 358 n.85 New Traditions conference, Berlin (1994), 87New York Times editorials, opposing enlargement, 121–122, 283–284, 286–287 Nickles, Don, 256-257 nongovernmental organizations, support from, 275

Nordic countries, 159, 340 n.103. See also Denmark North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), 17, 29, 35, 167 Nowak, Jan, 56 NSC. See National Security Council nuclear weapons, 103, 122, 195 Nunn, Sam, 122, 124 Nurick, Bob, 160-161 Olechowski, Andrzej, 55, 61, 63, 151, 322 n.56 Olesky, Jozef, 153 Olszewski, Jan, 15 Op-ed war on enlargement, 118 OPCON (operational control), 132 Operation Deliberate Force (Bosnia), 127-128 OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), 11, 92-93, 94-95 Overseas Writers Club, 33 Oxman, Steve, 36, 54 P-8 summit, 146 Paris, Charter of (1990), 11 Partnership for Peace (PfP): Bosnia, effect of, 125; Central European reaction, 54-56, 61-63, 66; debate over, 35–36, 42, 50–51, 52–57; implementation, 69-72; launched, 1994 Brussels, 59, 65; NATO members' reactions, 52; "PfP plus," 139; Russia and, 53–54, 67-68, 69-72, 117 Pawlak, Waldemar, 151 peace activists, Western, 8-9 peacekeeping. See Partnership for Peace (PfP) Permanent Joint Council, NATO-Russia, 270–271, 273 Perry, Bill: Baltic policy, 163; Bosnia, 130–131; French reintegration into NATO, 168-169; NATO enlargement, opposition to, 96-98; "Perry Principles" for NATO qualification, 147; Russia, 28, 70-71, 90; Wehrkunde conference (Feb. 1995), 108-109 Petersen, Niels Helveg, 245–246

PfP. See Partnership for Peace Pickering, Thomas, 45, 47 Poland: Clinton visit to, 66-67, 78-79, 248–249; German concern over, 102; Jewish restitution issues, 152; Kwasniewski, election of, 152–154; military control issues, 150; NATO, early overtures toward, 13, 15, 17; NATO membership candidacy issues, 150–154; NATO-Russia negotiations and, 197, 346 n.49; Partnership for Peace (PfP), 54, 55, 61-63; "Poland Inc." elites, 76; Solidarity movement, xx, 8; Talbott visit, 75–76; Warsaw Pact, dissolution of, 9–11; WWII fighting, 265; Yalta system, dismantling of, 7-8; Yeltsin-Walesa joint communiqué (Aug. 1993), 37-40. See also Walesa, Lech Polish-American community, 56, 80 post-Cold War NATO missions, 278–279, 286, 303–305 post-communist authoritarianism, threat of, 43 Powell, Colin, 21 Prague Appeal, the (1985), 9, 308 n.14 Presidential election, U.S. (1996), 110-120 Primakov, Yevgeny: Albright, opinion of, 344 n.12; Christopher meetings (1996), 142, 172–174; hard-line views, 48; Helsinki summit, negotiations prior to, 192–193; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 204–205, 207–209, 210; pre-Helsinki negotiations (March 1997), 198–200; Russian Foreign Minister, appointment as, 140–142; Talbott meetings (1996), 141-142, 143-144, 170-171, 174; Western Europe tour (1996), 144 Principals Committee, 49-50, 51 Prodi, Romano, 242, 245, 247

Radio Free Europe (RFE), xxi RAND: Baltic policy, 160–161; late 1980s, xxi; mission of NATO, refocus of, 277; NATO enlargement, 30, 73; Polish Ministry of Defense conference (1990), 13 Rasmussen, Poul Nyrup, 244–245, 246, 247 Reagan, Ronald, 8 Reaganite wing, Republican Party, 79-80 Republicans: Central Europeans, ties to, 86; Contract with America, 83, 119, 323-324 n.72; NATO enlargement, political pressure on, 27, 79-86, 119-121; NATO enlargement, support for, xviii-xix; NATO enlargement ratification campaign, 261–262. See also Senate NATO enlargement ratification campaign Rey, Nicholas, 55-56 Riberholdt, Gunnar, 246 Rifkind, Malcolm, 22, 46, 142–143 Robertson, George, 356 n.61 Romania: Clinton visit (July 1997), 176, 249; French support for candidacy, 214-215, 218-219; Madrid summit (1997), 239–240, 242, 244–245, 246-248; NATO membership candidacy issues, 149–150, 214–216, 226–228, 349 n.4, 351-352 n.53 Rosati, Darius, 197 Rosner, Jeremy, 253–254, 258, 259–261 Ross, Dennis, 43 Roth, William, 255, 263, 323 n.63 Rozek, Edward, 81 Ruehe, Volker: Baltic states, 340 n.102; NATO enlargement, support for, 30, 31-32, 52, 313 n.40-n.41; RAND and, xxii; Russia, 90 Russia: anti-Western sentiment, 109; arms sales, 108, 109; Baltic policy, 161; Bosnia war and, 129–132; Chechnya invasion, 102, 103, 108; Clinton visit (1994), 67–68; Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE), 146, 194-195; domestic politics, and foreign policy, 109, 110, 117; elections, as NATO policy issue, 104–105, 116, 133; Gore visit (1994), 95-96; hardliner power struggle (1993), 45, 49; nationalism, 70, 104; NATO enlargement, opposition to, 141-142, 181-182; NATO enlargement as threat to, 43-44, 92; Nordic Europe, importance of, 340

n.103; Partnership for Peace, 67–68, 69–72, 117; Republican hard stance on, 83, 84–85; U.S. priority on, 27–28; V-E Day fiftieth anniversary summit, 109, 113, 114–117; Walesa-Yeltsin joint communiqué (Aug. 1993), 37–40. *See also* Russia-NATO relationship; Yeltsin, Boris

Russia-NATO relationship: anti-Western sentiment, in Russia, 109; "Areas of Profound Dialogue between Russia and NATO," 117; arms sales, Russian, 108, 109; Baltic issues, 192-193, 200-203; Bosnia war cooperation, 125; British position, 183; Chechnya, 108; consultative mechanism, 191-192, 193; French position, 183–185; German position, 185–188; Gore-Yeltsin meeting (1994), 96; Helsinki summit (March 1997), 188-190, 200-204; May-for-May deal, 112, 114-117; membership for Russia, potential of, 48-49, 67, 109, 192, 297, 326 n.106; military issues, 194-198, 205, 208–209; NATO reform, Russian proposal of, 106-107; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 204-211; NATO shift from Russian containment, 110; objectives, Russian, 192–193; objectives, U.S., 190-192; Partnership for Peace and, 70-72; Permanent Joint Council, 270-271, 273; Russian antienlargement rhetoric, 199, 200; Russian concerns, 108; security arrangement, proposed, 51; "sentence from Hell" (SFH), 196-198; Talbott on, 74-75; U.S. strategies, 106, 169-174, 182, 193 Ryurikov, Dmitri, 94–95

S/NERO (NATO Enlargement Ratification Office), 253–254, 258, 281 SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander-Europe), 35, 167–168 SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander-Atlantic), 167–168, 353 n.11 Safire, William, 119 Saraigun Boonin, 127

Sarajevo, Bosnia, 127

Scharioth, Klaus, 41 Schoepflin, George, 336 n.53 Schwarzenberg, Karel, 14 security issue, European, 21, 24–25, 27, 31, 33 Seitz, Ray, 22 Senate Armed Services Committee, 259–261 Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 254-255, 259, 272-275 Senate NATO enlargement ratification campaign: Albright Senate testimony, 259–261; amendments and floor vote, Senate, 282-288; costs of enlargement, 271–272; Council for a Livable World, 267; Democrats, 261, 285; draft resolution, 282; hearings, 272-275, 282; Helms, conditional support from, 270; military rationale, 270; mission of NATO, refocus of, 277–279; NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, 270–271; New Atlantic Initiative support, 268; non-binding resolutions, 259; nongovernmental organizations, 275; opposition, 252-253, 265-267, 281; partisan politics, 252; political dynamics, 251-253; public support, 258, 282; Republicans, 252, 254-257, 261-262; S/NERO (NATO Enlargement Ratification Office), 253–254, 258, 281; Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 268, 282, 283; SNOG (Senate NATO Observers Group), 255, 262–264; USCEN (U.S. Committee to Expand NATO), 255–256, 353 n.14 Senate NATO Observers Group (SNOG), 255, 262–264 Senior Level Group, NATO, 139 "sentence from Hell" (SFH), 196-198 September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 305 Serbia. See Bosnia war Severn, Adrian, 227 Shalikashvilli, John, 13, 35–36, 62–63 Shevtsov, Leontiy, 131–132 Sintra, Portugal, Foreign Ministers Meeting (1997), 213, 218–221, 348 n.2 Siwiec, Marek, 153 Six Armies in Normandy (Keegan), 265

Skubiszewksi, Krzysztof, 6–7, 17, 39–40 Slovakia, 43, 154–155, 338 n.82, 348 n.1 Slovenia: Madrid summit (1997), 242, 243–247; NATO membership candidacy, 215–216, 217, 218, 222–223, 226, 349 n.15 SNOG (Senate NATO Observers Group), 255, 262-264 Solana, Javier: background and priorities, 135; European support for NATO enlargement, 182; Madrid summit (1997), 241-242, 246-247; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 204–205, 208–209; Russian negotiations, 183; Sintra ministerial meeting (1997), 348 n.2 Solidarity Movement, Poland, xx, 8 Soviet Union: collapse, 16–17; German unification issue, 3–7; hardliner coup attempt (1991), 16; NATO enlargement and, 14; Warsaw Pact, dissolution of, 10-11. See also Russia Srebrenica, Bosnia, 126 stability strategy for NATO enlargement, 24–25, 27, 31, 33 State Department, U.S., 46, 52-53, 141-142. See also Clinton Administration Steinberg, Jim, 237 Stevens, Ted, 263–264, 274–275 Suchocka, Hanna, 40 summits and meetings, NATO 1991 summit Rome, 17 1993 Defense Ministers (Travemuende), 52 1993 Foreign Ministers (Athens), 28-29 1994 Foreign Ministers (Brussels), 93-94 1994 summit Brussels, 59, 65 1996 Foreign Ministers (Berlin), 139, 358 n.16 1997 Foreign Ministers (Sintra), 213, 218–221, 348 n.2 1997 summit Madrid, 165, 238–248, 355 n.53 Sweeney, John, 280

TACON (tactical control), 132 Talbott, Strobe: Asmus and, xxii–xxiii; Baltic policy, 229–231, 233–234;

Bosnian peacekeeping, Russia and, 129-130; Holbrooke, relationship with, 76; Kissinger critiques, response to, 191-192; Mamedov meetings, 106-107, 141, 171-172; NATO allies visits, 183-188; NATO enlargement, evolution of thinking on, xviii, 75-77, 321-322 n.50; NATO enlargement debate, 43–45, 46, 50–51, 316 n.73; NATO enlargement ratification campaign, 261; NATO enlargement strategy, 64; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 205-207, 209; NATO-Russia strategy, 169-174; OSCE summit (Budapest, 1994), 92-93, 94-95; pre-Helsinki negotiations (March 1997), 199; Primakov meetings (1996), 141, 143-144, 170-171, 174; Romanian relations, 239; Russia policy, 20-21, 43-44, 111-112; Ukraine, 157-158; V-E Day fiftieth anniversary summit, Moscow, 114-115; Warsaw trip (April 1994), 75-76. See also Clinton Administration Tarasyuk, Boris, 339 n.90 Tarnoff, Peter, 23, 91 Tefft, John, 204, 209 terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, 305 Thiessen, Marc, 267 Thurmond, Strom, 263 trans-Atlantic framework, 277-279, 305 Travemuende, Germany, Defense Ministers meeting (1993), 52 Treaty of Trianon (1920), 148 Truman, Harry S., 289 U.K. See United Kingdom Ukraine, 37, 156–158, 339 n.90–91 Ulmanis, Guntis, 161-162, 233 United Kingdom (U.K.): Madrid summit (1997), 243-244; NATO enlargement, stance on, 46, 101-102, 142-143; Talbott visit (1997), 183; U.S. policy shift on NATO, response to, 90-91; Yeltsin visit (1994), 89–90 United States. See Albright, Madeleine K.; Christopher, Warren; Clinton Administration; Holbrooke, Richard;

Lake, Anthony; National Security Council; Perry, Bill; Republicans; Talbott, Strobe; entries beginning "Senate" U.S.-Baltic Charter, 231-232, 235-238, 276-277 U.S. Senate. See entries beginning "Senate" USCEN (U.S. Committee to Expand NATO), 353 n.14 V-E Day fiftieth anniversary summit, Moscow, 109, 113, 114–117 van Voorst, Carol, 160 Vance-Owen Plan, 21, 22 Védrine, Hubert, 238, 240 Velvet Revolution, 9 Vershbow, Alexander "Sandy," 73, 79, 200 veterans organizations, 268 Visegrad Foreign Ministers, 10. See also Czech Republic; Hungary; Poland Vondra, Alexandr, 14, 309–310 n.29 Wachowski, Mieczyslaw, 85-86 Walesa, Lech: anti-Semitism controversy, 152; Clinton meetings, 23, 24, 66-67, 152, 163-164; diplomatic tactics, 55–56; election defeat, 152–153; military control issues, 150; NATO leaders, letter for, 40, 315 n.63; NATO membership goal, 17; Partnership for Peace, 61-63; Solidarity movement, xx; Yeltsin joint communiqué (Aug. 1993), 37-40 Walker, Jennone, 34, 35, 49 Wanniski, Jude, 269 Warner, John, 261, 263–264, 287, 358 n.84 Warsaw Pact, 2, 9-11, 308 n.18 Washington Treaty, 284-285, 289, 356 n.60 Waters, Laughlin E., 265 weapons of mass destruction, 279, 304 Wehrkunde conference, Munich (Feb. 1995), 108–109 Weisser, Ulrich, 30–32 the West, superiority over Russia, 296 West Point military academy, 262

Western European Union (WEU), 12, 137–138 Wiesel, Elie, 23 Wilecki, Tadeuz, 150–151 Woerner, Manfred: NATO enlargement debate, 40–42, 46, 49; Partnership for Peace (PfP), 52; Poland, 315 n.63; Soviet Union and NATO enlargement, 14

Yalta system, 2, 7–11, 226–227

Yanayev, Gennady, 10

Yeltsin, Boris: Albright meeting (Feb. 1997), 179–180; ascendancy, political, 16; Christopher meeting (March 1996), 145; Clinton, letters exchanged with, 109–110, 140, 189; Clinton, meetings with, 20, 67–68, 131, 146; Clinton, personal relationship with, 89, 112, 145–146, 298; Czech Republic

trip (1993), 39; Gore visit (1994), 96; hardliner power struggle (1993), 45, 49; Helsinki summit (March 1997), 200-204; illness, 187; Kohl meeting (Jan. 1997), 181; memoirs, 89; NATO enlargement, stance on, 37-40, 47-48; NATO-Russia Founding Act, 210-211; OSCE summit (Budapest, 1994), 94–95, 326 n.106; Partnership for Peace (PfP), 53–54; power struggle with hardliners (1993), 45; reelection, 166; U.K. trip (1994), 89-90; U.S. trip (1994), 89-90, 324 n.82; Walesa joint communiqué (Aug. 1993), 37-40 Yugoslavia. See Bosnia war; Kosovo; Slovenia

Zantovsky, Michael, 14 Zhirinovsky, Vladimir, 55 Zyuganov, Gennady, 72, 181