H. Res. 468

In the House of Representatives, U.S.,

October 7, 2002.

Resolved,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This resolution may be cited as the "Transatlantic Security and NATO Enhancement Resolution of 2002".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The House of Representatives makes the following findings:

- (1) Since 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has played an essential role in guaranteeing the security, freedom, and prosperity of the United States and its partners in the Alliance.
- (2) NATO, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, has proved to be an indispensable instrument for forging a trans-Atlantic community of nations working together to safeguard the freedom and common heritage of its peoples and promoting stability in the North Atlantic area.

- (3) NATO is the only institution that promotes a uniquely transatlantic perspective and approach to issues concerning the security of North America and Europe and remains the only multilateral security organization demonstrably capable of conducting effective military operations and preserving security and stability of the Euro-Atlantic region.
- (4) The security, freedom, and prosperity of the United States remain linked to the security of the countries of Europe.
- (5) NATO remains the most visible and significant embodiment of United States engagement in Europe and therefore membership in NATO remains a vital national security interest of the United States.
- (6) NATO enhances the security of the United States by providing an integrated military structure and a framework for consultations on political and security concerns of members which could impact the Alliance.
- (7) The security of NATO member countries is inseparably linked to that of the whole of Europe, and the consolidation and strengthening of democratic and free societies on the entire continent is of direct and material importance to the NATO Alliance and its partners.
- (8) The sustained commitment of the member countries of NATO to a mutual defense has been a major

contributing factor in the democratic transformation of Central and Eastern Europe.

- (9) Members of the Alliance can and should play a critical role in addressing the security challenges of the post-Cold War era and in creating the stable environment needed for Central and Eastern Europe to successfully complete political and economic transformation.
- (10) NATO should remain the core security organization of the evolving Euro-Atlantic architecture in which all countries enjoy the same freedom, cooperation, and security.
- (11) NATO's military force structure, defense planning, command structures, and force goals must be sufficient for the collective self-defense of its members, and should be capable of projecting power when the security of a NATO member is threatened, and provide a basis for ad hoc coalitions of willing partners among NATO members to defend common values and interests.
- (12) NATO must act to address new post-Cold War risks emerging from outside the treaty area in the interests of preserving peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area, including—
 - (A) risks from rogue states and non-state actors possessing nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons and their means of delivery;

- (B) transnational terrorism and disruption of the flow of vital resources; and
- (C) conflicts outside the treaty area stemming from unresolved historical disputes and the actions of undemocratic governments and sub-state actors who reject the peaceful settlement of disputes.
- (13) All NATO members should commit to improving their respective defense capabilities so that NATO can project power decisively and sustain operations over distance and time.
- (14) The requirements to provide collective defense, to project power, and to sustain operations dictate that European NATO members possess military capabilities to rapidly deploy forces over long distances, sustain operations for extended periods of time, and operate jointly with the United States in high-intensity conflicts.
- (15) NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative, which is intended to improve the defense capabilities of the European Allies, particularly the deployability, mobility, sustainability, and interoperability of Alliance forces, must continue to be pursued by all members of the Alliance in order to develop balanced capabilities.
- (16) With a few exceptions, European members of NATO have been deficient in maintaining required military capabilities and providing defense spending at levels

adequate to meet these capability shortfalls. Failure of the European NATO members to achieve the goals established through the Defense Capabilities Initiative could weaken support for the Alliance in the United States over the long term.

- (17) Members of the Alliance must also recognize that the campaign against new and emerging threats to the security of the Alliance requires other non-military capabilities and efforts to be effective. Thus, the need to enhance intelligence-sharing and cooperation, both bilaterally between Alliance members and partners and within the Alliance collectively, the facilitation of enhanced coordination among Alliance member's law enforcement agencies, and improved police and judicial cooperation and information exchanges are critical to the overall effort.
- (18) NATO has embarked upon an historic mission to share its benefits and patterns of consultation and cooperation with other nations in the Euro-Atlantic area through both enlargement and active partnership.
- (19) NATO has enlarged its membership on four different occasions since 1949.
- (20) The NATO summit meeting to be held in the fall of 2002 in Prague will provide an historic opportunity to chart a course for NATO in the new millen-

nium by reaffirming the importance of NATO to the collective security of the Euro-Atlantic region, by addressing new threats, developing new capabilities, and by extending invitations to additional countries of Europe to become members of the Alliance.

- (21) The governments of NATO member countries have stated that enlargement of the Alliance is a further step toward the Alliance's basic goal of enhancing security and extending stability throughout the Euro-Atlantic region.
- (22) The enlargement process of NATO helps to avert conflict, because the very prospect of membership serves as an incentive for aspiring members to resolve disputes with their neighbors and to push ahead with reform and democratization.
- (23) The Partnership for Peace, created in 1994 under United States leadership, has fostered cooperation between NATO and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and offers a path to future membership in the Alliance.
- (24) At the Washington Summit of the NATO Alliance in April 1999, the NATO heads of state and government issued a communique declaring "[we] pledge that NATO will continue to welcome new members in a position to further the principles of the [North Atlantic]

Treaty and contribute to peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area".

- (25) In 1999 NATO launched a Membership Action Plan designed to help interested Partnership for Peace countries prepare for membership by offering advice and assistance on programs and membership-related issues.
- (26) The Membership Action Plan establishes certain political, economic, social, and military-related goals that aspiring candidate nations are expected to meet, including the peaceful resolution of territorial disputes, respect for democratic procedures and the rule of law, human rights, democratic control of the military and other military reforms, and a commitment to stability and well-being through economic liberty and social justice.
- (27) In May 2000 in Vilnius, Lithuania, nine nations of Europe issued a statement (later joined by a tenth) declaring that their countries will cooperate in jointly seeking NATO membership in the next round of NATO enlargement and since then have taken concrete steps to demonstrate this commitment, including their participation in Partnership for Peace activities and their commitment to the concept of the Membership Action Plan.

- (28) On June 15, 2001, in a speech in Warsaw, Poland, President George W. Bush stated "[all] of Europe's new democracies, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and all that lie between, should have the same chance for security and freedom—and the same chance to join the institutions of Europe".
- (29) The enlargement of the NATO Alliance to include as full and equal members additional democracies in Europe will serve to reinforce stability and security in Europe by fostering their integration into the structures which have created and sustained peace in Europe since 1945.
- (30) As new members of NATO assume the responsibilities of Alliance membership, the costs of maintaining stability in Europe will be shared more widely. The concurrent assumption of greater responsibility and development of greater capabilities by new members of NATO will further reinforce burdensharing.
- (31) The membership of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland has strengthened NATO's ability to perform the full range of NATO missions by providing bases, airfields, and transit rights for NATO forces during Operation Allied Force in the Balkans, by their contributions of military forces to NATO missions in Bosnia

and Kosovo, and by their support for Operation Enduring Freedom.

- (32) The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, due to their similar recent history, have bolstered NATO's capability to integrate former communist nations into a community of democracies and have served as mentors to other countries that aspire to join NATO.
- (33) In supporting NATO enlargement all candidate countries must be fully aware of the costs and responsibilities of NATO membership, including the obligation set forth in Article X of the North Atlantic Treaty that new members be able to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area, and further to ensure that all countries admitted to NATO are capable of assuming those costs and responsibilities.
- (34) For those candidate countries that receive an invitation to join NATO at the Prague Summit, the process of joining NATO does not end with the invitation but rather with meeting the full responsibilities of a NATO member, including the completion of issues identified by the Membership Action Plan, which will continue beyond Prague.
- (35) In considering the enlargement of NATO at Prague and in issuing invitations to the candidate countries who have made significant progress toward achiev-

ing their objectives in the Membership Action Plan established by NATO, there is a recognition that each country invited to join NATO should accede on a common date but before the date on which the next announced NATO summit is to take place.

- (36) The countries that will be invited to begin accession negotiations with NATO at the NATO summit in Prague should not be the last such countries invited to join NATO and there should be a continuing process and progress toward the admission of additional democracies in Europe beyond 2002 depending on the degree to which those countries meet the criteria set forth in NATO's Membership Action Plan.
- (37) The process of NATO enlargement entails the consensus agreement of the governments of all 19 NATO member countries and ratification in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

SEC. 3. COOPERATION BETWEEN NATO AND THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

The House of Representatives makes the following findings:

(1) The admission into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) of new members from countries in Eastern and Central Europe, such as the Czech Republie, Hungary, and Poland, will not threaten any other country.

- (2) Since the end of the Cold War, NATO has attached particular importance to the development of constructive and cooperative relations with the Russian Federation in order to overcome remaining vestiges of confrontation and competition in order to strengthen mutual trust and cooperation between NATO and the Russian Federation.
- (3) In 1994, building on previous efforts at cooperation, Russia joined the Partnership for Peace Program, further enhancing the emerging NATO-Russian Federation dialogue.
- (4) On May 27, 1997, in an expression of strong commitment to work together to build a lasting and inclusive peace in the Euro-Atlantic area, the heads of state and government of NATO and the Russian Federation signed the ground-breaking "Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security Between NATO and the Russian Federation".
- (5) On March 18, 1998, the Russian Federation formally established its mission to NATO and appointed a senior military representative to facilitate military and defense-related cooperation between NATO and the Russian Federation.

- (6) Since 1998, NATO and the Russian Federation have worked cooperatively with each other in the Balkans and elsewhere setting the stage for the ability of an enlarged NATO to continue the cooperative spirit embodied in the Founding Act.
- (7) On May 28, 2002, in an historic step toward the Alliance's long-standing goal of building a secure, cooperative, and democratic Euro-Atlantic area, NATO took the decisive and substantial step of deepening the NATO-Russian Federation relationship by establishing the new NATO-Russia Council.

SEC. 4. UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD NATO.

The House of Representatives declares the following to be the policy of the United States:

- (1) The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should remain the primary institution through which European and North American allies address security issues of transatlantic concern.
- (2) The member states of NATO should reaffirm, at the Prague Summit in the fall of 2002, the continued importance of NATO, renew their commitment to strengthen the transatlantic partnership, reinforce unity within NATO, maintain a vigorous capability to carry out collective defense, and harmonize security policies and strategies for transatlantic affairs.

- (3) At the Prague Summit, the Alliance, while maintaining collective defense as its core function, should as a fundamental Alliance task, continue to strengthen national and collective capacities to respond to new threats wherever such threats occur, including from abroad.
- (4) The Alliance, in addition to the strategic concept adopted by the Allies at the summit meeting held in Washington in 1999, must recognize the need to develop new capabilities, and agree to consider acting upon the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism by intensifying consultations among political and military leaders, and by developing comprehensive capabilities to counter these threats to the international community.
- (5) The Alliance should make clear commitments to remedy shortfalls in areas such as logistics, strategic airlift, command and control, modern strike capabilities, adequate shared intelligence, and the other requirements identified by NATO's Defense Capabilities Initiative necessary to provide the ability to carry out the full range of NATO's missions.
- (6) The Alliance must ensure a more equitable sharing of contributions to the NATO common budgets

and to overall national defense expenditures and capability-building.

- (7) The President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense should fully use their offices to encourage the NATO allies to commit the resources necessary to upgrade their capabilities to rapidly deploy forces over long distances, sustain operations for extended periods of time, and operate jointly with the United States in high intensity conflicts, thus making such NATO allies more effective partners.
- (8) The member states of NATO should commit to enhanced intelligence-sharing, law enforcement, police, and judicial cooperation, and expanded information exchanges within and among Alliance members in order to meet the challenges of new and emerging threats.

SEC. 5. POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

It is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) while maintaining its essential and inherent right to make its own decisions, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should seek to strengthen its relations with the Russian Federation as an essential partner in building long-term peace in Europe, and to that end, the new NATO-Russia Council, in which member states and the Russian Federation will work as equal

partners on mutually-agreed matters, should be welcomed and supported;

- (2) while retaining its primary commitment to collective defense, NATO enlargement should be carried out in such a manner as to underscore to the Russian Federation that NATO enlargement will enhance the security of all countries in Europe, including the Russian Federation; and
- (3) in seeking to demonstrate NATO's defensive and security-enhancing intentions to the Russian Federation, it is essential that neither fundamental United States security interests in Europe nor the effectiveness and flexibility of NATO as a defensive alliance be jeopardized.

SEC. 6. POLICY WITH RESPECT TO NATO ENLARGEMENT AND DESIGNATION OF COUNTRIES ELIGIBLE FOR NATO.

It is the sense of the House of Representatives that—

(1) at the Summit to be held in Prague in the fall of 2002, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) should extend invitations for accession negotiations to any appropriate candidate country that meets the objectives and targets for NATO membership as outlined in the Membership Action Plan process established by NATO in 1999, including—

- (A) a commitment to the basic principles and values set out in the Washington Treaty;
- (B) the capability to contribute to collective defense and the Alliance's full range of missions; and
- (C) a firm commitment to contribute to stability and security, especially in regions of crisis and conflict, and to be willing and able to assume the responsibilities of NATO membership;
- (2) the candidate countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia should be commended on the significant progress such countries have made thus far in political and economic liberty and military reform necessary for meeting the objectives for prospective members of NATO as set out in their own Membership Action Plans;
- (3) each candidate country, despite recognized Membership Action Plan deficiencies requiring further refinement, could in its own way contribute to stability, freedom, and peace in Europe as a whole, as many of such countries have done thus far in the Balkans and in Afghanistan, and would make a positive contribution toward furthering the goals of NATO should it become a NATO member country;

- (4) having made significant progress in reforming their societies and their military forces, and having developed reasonable, affordable, and sustainable plans to be able to work within the Alliance structure and to contribute positively to the collective defense of the Alliance and other NATO missions, the candidate countries of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia have met in a satisfactory manner, the criteria established by NATO in the Membership Action Plan process, would likely make a positive contribution to NATO, and should be invited to begin the accession process to join the Alliance at the Prague summit;
- (5) with respect to candidate countries invited to join NATO, such countries should accede on a common date before the next announced NATO summit is to take place;
- (6) after the Prague summit those candidate countries invited to join the Alliance should continue to participate in the Membership Action Plan until accession, and the accession process should take into account work conducted under the Membership Action Plan; and
- (7) the process of NATO enlargement should continue beyond the inclusion of such candidate countries invited to join NATO at Prague, to include those candidate countries not so invited at Prague as well as other

democratic European countries which may express interest in joining the Alliance, and which agree to utilize the Membership Action Plan to facilitate such NATO enlargement.

Attest:

Clerk.