

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe], December 1994 [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

Executive Secretary-Itoh, William

Original OA/ID Number:

825

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34	5	4	2	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Copy. For the President from Anthony Lake. Subject: The CSCE Summit in Budapest. Record ID: 9409384. (5 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
001b. paper	Copy. NPT/Security Assurances/START I/Ceremony. (2 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
002a. memo	Duplicate of 001a. (5 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
002b. paper	Duplicate of 001b. (2 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
003. cable	Copy. Revised Scenario for Budapest START/NPT/Security Assurances Ceremony. (5 pages)	12/01/1994	P1/b(1)
004a. memo	Duplicate of 001a. (5 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
004b. memo	Duplicate of 001b. (2 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
005. memo	Copy. For the President from Warren Christopher. Subject: Your Participation in the Budapest Summit. (2 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)
006a. memo	NPT/Security Assurances/START I Ceremony. (1 page)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
006b. paper	Ukraine NPT Accession: Security Assurances for Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. (4 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
006c. paper	Ukraine: NPT and Security Assurances. (2 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Executive Secretary (William Itoh)
OA/Box Number: 825

FOLDER TITLE:

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] December 1994 [2]

2014-0846-F
vz3339

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 29, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: WILL ITOH *WZ*
SUBJECT: Briefing Time for CSCE

Scheduling has blocked an hour on the President's schedule for CSCE prep time Thursday (noon-1:00 p.m.).

The first 30 minutes will be speech prep in the Oval Office to review the first draft of the President's CSCE intervention. In addition to the speechwriters, I suggest that you and Sandy Vershbow be included in the speech prep session.

The second part of the session will take place in the Cabinet Room and will be devoted to a review of the schedule and substantive issues at CSCE. I recommend the following agenda:

- I. INTRODUCTION (ANTHONY LAKE)
- II. SCHEDULE OVERVIEW (BILLY WEBSTER/ERSKINE BOWLES)
- III. THE CSCE PROCESS AND THE BUDAPEST SUMMIT (VERSHBOW)
- IV. DENUCLEARIZATION CEREMONY AND (BURNS/BELL)
START I ENTRY INTO FORCE
- V. HUNGARIAN BILATERAL (SCHIFTER/FRIED)

Following is a suggested list of participants for the substantive prep session:

The President
Leon Panetta
Anthony Lake
George Stephanopoulos
Mark Gearan
Dee Dee Myers
Erskine Bowles
Billy Webster
Samuel Berger
Leon Fuerth
Alexander Vershbow

Richard Schifter
Nick Burns
Robert Bell
Rose Gottemoeller (back bench)
Anthony Gardner (back bench)
Dan Fried (back bench)

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That you and Sandy Vershbow attend the speech prep session in the Oval Office (12:00-12:30 pm).

Approve  Approve with change _____ Disapprove _____

2. That you approve the agenda above for the briefing in the Cabinet Room (12:30-1:00 pm).

Approve  Approve with change _____

3. That you approve the proposed list of participants for the briefing in the Cabinet Room.

Approve  Approve with change _____

OFFICIAL DELEGATION: CSCE/BUDAPEST HUNGARY

White House

THE PRESIDENT

Erskine Bowles, Deputy Chief of Staff for
White House Operations

Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

Bruce Lindsey, Counselor to the President

Mark Gearan, Assistant to the President and Director of
Communications

Dee Dee Myers, Assistant to the President and
Press Secretary

Terry Bish, Special Assistant to the President for
Scheduling and Advance

Andrew Friendly, Special Assistant to the President and
Presidential Trip Advisor

Stephen Goodin, The President's Aide

National Security Council

William Itoh, Executive Secretary

Robert G. Bell, Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for National Security Affairs

Alexander Vershbow, Special Assistant to the President
and Senior Director for European Affairs

Tom Ross, Special Assistant to the President and Deputy
Press Secretary

Daniel Fried, Director for Central and Eastern Europe

Nicholas Burns, Special Assistant to the President and
Senior Director for Eurasian Affairs

Rose Gottemoeller, Director for Eurasian Affairs

Antony Blinken, Presidential Speechwriter

Colonel James W. Reed, Deputy Executive Secretary and
Director, Situation Room

Department of State

Warren Christopher, Secretary of State

Ambassador Madeleine Albright, U.S. Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

David Gergen, Counselor

Lynn Davis, Under Secretary for International
Security Affairs

Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs

Ambassador Samuel Brown, U.S. Ambassador to the
Convention for Security of Central Europe

12/3/94 6 p.m.

**-PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE NPT/SECURITY ASSURANCES/START I CEREMONY
DECEMBER 5, 1994
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY**

President Yeltsin, President Kuchma, President Lukashenko [Lou-ka-SHENKO], President Nazarbayev [Na-zair-BUY-ev], Prime Minister Major, distinguished guests.

Today we herald the arrival of a new and safer era for our peoples and for all the world.

We have witnessed many signatures. Taken together, they add up to one great stride. In the half century of the nuclear age, nations may never have moved so dramatically to reduce the danger nuclear weapons pose to life on our planet.

The path to this moment has been long and extraordinarily hard. Almost 15 years have passed since the first negotiations on START I Treaty. Yet today, perseverance, courage and common sense have triumphed.

Skeptics claimed that the nuclear threat would only grow after the Soviet Union dissolved.

Thanks to the wisdom and statesmanship of the leaders who join me here, we have proven the skeptics wrong.

Ukraine's accession to the Non-Proliferation Treaty completes one of the boldest moves ever away from nuclear precipice. That nation has joined Belarus and Kazakhstan in finding the strength to rid itself of the terrible weapons inherited from the Soviet Union. These countries have shown the vision to grasp the moment for peace. Presidents Lukashenko, Nazarbayev and Kuchma: You could do no greater service for your nations, your neighbors and all the peoples of the world.

Creating security in the post-Cold War era requires that we unite, not divide. The pledges on security assurances that President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Major and I have given these three nations moves us further toward that goal. They underscore our commitment to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of these three states.

Finally, today we have reached a milestone in fulfilling the promise of this new era. We have signed the START I Treaty. START I is the first treaty that requires nuclear powers to destroy missile launchers as well as missiles. It creates the best verification system ever agreed upon. In all, it will eliminate over 9,000 warheads from the global arsenal.

START I makes the momentum toward more arms reductions unstoppable. President Yeltsin and I have vowed to work to put the START II Treaty into force at our next summit in 1995. And START II promises even deeper cuts. It will help lead to the future we have all dreamed of for so long: A future in which the nuclear threat that has hung over our heads for nearly 50 years is dramatically reduced. I can think of no greater gift to ourselves and our children.

On this historic afternoon, we have shown that today's community of free nations can and will create a safer globe than did the divided world of yesterday.

Together, we have defeated pessimism. We have helped beat back the threat of nuclear war. And we have lighted the way to a more peaceful day -- one when the shadow of destruction is finally vanquished from the earth.

Thank you.

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006a. memo	NPT/Security Assurances/START I Ceremony. (1 page)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Executive Secretary (William Itoh)
OA/Box Number: 825

FOLDER TITLE:

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] December 1994 [2]

2014-0846-F
vz3339

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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006b. paper	Ukraine NPT Accession: Security Assurances for Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. (4 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Executive Secretary (William Itoh)
OA/Box Number: 825

FOLDER TITLE:

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] December 1994 [2]

2014-0846-F
vz3339

RESTRICTION CODES

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006c. paper	Ukraine: NPT and Security Assurances. (2 pages)	12/04/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Executive Secretary (William Itoh)
OA/Box Number: 825

FOLDER TITLE:

CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] December 1994 [2]

2014-0846-F
vz3339

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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DRAFT REMARKS

NPT/SECURITY ASSURANCES/START I CEREMONY

Presidential colleagues and Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have just been privileged to witness an extraordinary diplomatic event, one that marks a real watershed in our mutual efforts to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to reduce their numbers and the threat they represent.

The occasion of today's meeting would not have been possible were it not for the truly statesmanlike actions of the governments of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine to forswear becoming nuclear weapon states, by acceding to the Nonproliferation Treaty. President Lukashenko has faithfully followed the path Belarus set upon when it acceded to the NPT in 1993. We praise President Nazarbayev's leadership in guiding Kazakhstan to NPT accession earlier this year. And now, President Kuchma has brought Ukraine into this important nonproliferation regime.

All three leaders and all three countries are to be heartily congratulated for their restraint and vision. That vision is the way to a peaceful future for all peoples of the world. By acceding to the NPT, they have set ringing examples of how to further strengthen the Treaty, which we expect to extend indefinitely next year. They also have greatly enhanced global stability and security, and eliminated arsenals that would have hindered their countries' integration into the full range of international political and economic institutions.

I am also pleased to have signed with President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Major and Presidents Lukashenko, Nazarbayev and Kuchma, respectively, memoranda on security assurances for Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. These assurances underscore the importance all of us attach to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of these three countries. They also reaffirm our long-standing position that NPT parties receive assurances against the use of nuclear weapons and our commitment to seek UN Security Council action should any become the victims of, or be threatened by, aggression in which nuclear weapons are used. The memoranda make clear that the international community takes a strong interest in the stability and security of these countries.

We have issued a brief, joint statement on European security and the implementation of the January 14 Trilateral Statement. The objective of our policy is clear: In developing a new European security architecture, our aim is to unite Europe, not re-divide it. Any steps we take to adjust institutions to post-Cold War realities must enhance the security and stability of all CSCE states. Tomorrow, in another step that will advance the security of all CSCE states, the CSCE Summit will adopt an agreement on nonproliferation principles, representing the commitment of its members to a safer and more stable Europe. The actions we have witnessed today reflect those principles and make them part of the reality of European security.

Finally, we have taken a major step in strategic arms control by bringing the START I Treaty into force. This Treaty will significantly reduce the threat posed by nuclear weapons and will contribute to strengthening stability and predictability. With START I in force, I intend to seek early ratification of the START II Treaty, which provides for further reductions and enhancements to global stability. I look forward to working closely with my friend, President Yeltsin, so that we can exchange START II instruments of ratification at our next summit, as we agreed in Washington in September.

Before I close, let me thank the Government of Hungary for its cooperation in providing these facilities, and, again, let me congratulate Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine for their important commitments to nonproliferation that have allowed us to convene this special meeting today.

Thank you, very much.

CSCE Press Statement

In January in Brussels, I set out my view of a Europe of integration and inclusion, and of the need for a broad approach to security. We hope to take great strides toward building a common European security space at this historic Summit. With its inclusive and comprehensive view of European Security, the CSCE has a unique role to play.

When the Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975, divisions created by ideology, arms and armies largely defined our approach to Europe's security issues. CSCE was designed to transcend that decision. Now that the barriers which once separated European peoples have been lifted, we can embark on a path toward a more productive era of cooperation, and find better ways to prevent future conflict, further our arms control efforts, protect human rights, and strengthen economic links and investment among CSCE states. The CSCE can provide the blueprint for a new security architecture for the Euro-Atlantic community, a community that is multifaceted and indivisible.

Our tasks are not easy; too many areas of potential conflict remain in our common security space. To our credit, however, we have demonstrated our support for the newly admitted participating states as they work toward joining the European family of nations. As indicated in both the draft political declaration and our proposed mission statement of the new CSCE, we want to strengthen the CSCE's ability to manage conflict.

The elaborated peacekeeping principles we hope to agree to at this Summit will ensure CSCE's role as the primary instrument for conflict prevention and crisis management in the CSCE area.

Through understandings we hope to reach on arms control and non-proliferation principles, we can further reduce weapons levels in Europe and reinforce our commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes. I note particularly our significant accomplishments in the CSCE-wide non-proliferation commitments, including Ukraine NPT accession, the exchange of START I ratification instruments, and the joint statement which will be made by US/UK/Russia/Ukraine on European security. These are concrete examples of our commitment to realizing the aspirations this Summit will set forth.

The CSCE will be better prepared to deal with ethnic conflict, one of the most serious threats to European security. By combatting intolerance and aggressive nationalism, we can promote sustained democratic development throughout our area. By the end of our stay here, I hope to be able to say that we have taken concrete steps to address regional conflicts in such areas as Nagorno-Karabakh and the former Yugoslav states. And by expanding infrastructure and economic contacts among our nations, we will see that cooperation and trust can grow.

CSCE enjoys my full support in advancing these very important causes. President Ford, at the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, stressed the importance of promises kept, not promises made. Now we are building a foundation for a new, inclusive Europe. I look forward to working with fellow CSCE states to convert these hopeful words into deeds.

SCENARIO: SIGNING CEREMONY

Monday, December 5
10:45 - 11:45 a.m.

10:45 - 10:47 a.m.

Ukraine Signing

Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin, Kuchma, Lukashenko and Nazerbayev and Prime Minister Major take their positions on the stage (toe cards). President Clinton proceeds to podium and makes short opening statement. (2 minutes)

10:49 a.m.

Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kuchma and Prime Minister Major proceed to signing table and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Ukraine. (Each principal signs four documents). Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kuchma and Prime Minister Major stand and return to their positions behind the table (toe cards).

10:53 a.m.

President Kuchma presents Ukraine's instrument of NPT accession to Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major as leaders of the three NPT depository states.

10:55 a.m.

Belarus Signing

Presidents Lukashenko, Clinton and Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major proceed to the table and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Belarus. (Each principal signs four documents.) After signing, they stand and shake hands. President Lukashenko returns to his original standing position.

11:00 a.m.

Kazakhstan Signing

Presidents Nazerbayev approaches the treaty table. Presidents Nazerbayev,

Clinton and Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major are seated and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Kazakhstan. President Nazerbayev returns to his original standing position.

11:05 a.m.

Exchange of START I Instruments

Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin, Kuchma, Lukashenko and Nazerbayev are seated. As the leaders of the five Lisbon Protocol signatory states, they sign a protocol of exchange of START I instruments of ratification.

11:09 a.m.

The signers stand and return to their original positions behind the treaty table.

11:10 a.m.

Statements

President Lukashenko of Belarus proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

11:15 a.m.

President Nazerbayev of Kazakhstan proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

11:20 a.m.

President Yeltsin of Russia proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

11:25 a.m.

President Kuchma of Ukraine proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

11:30 a.m.

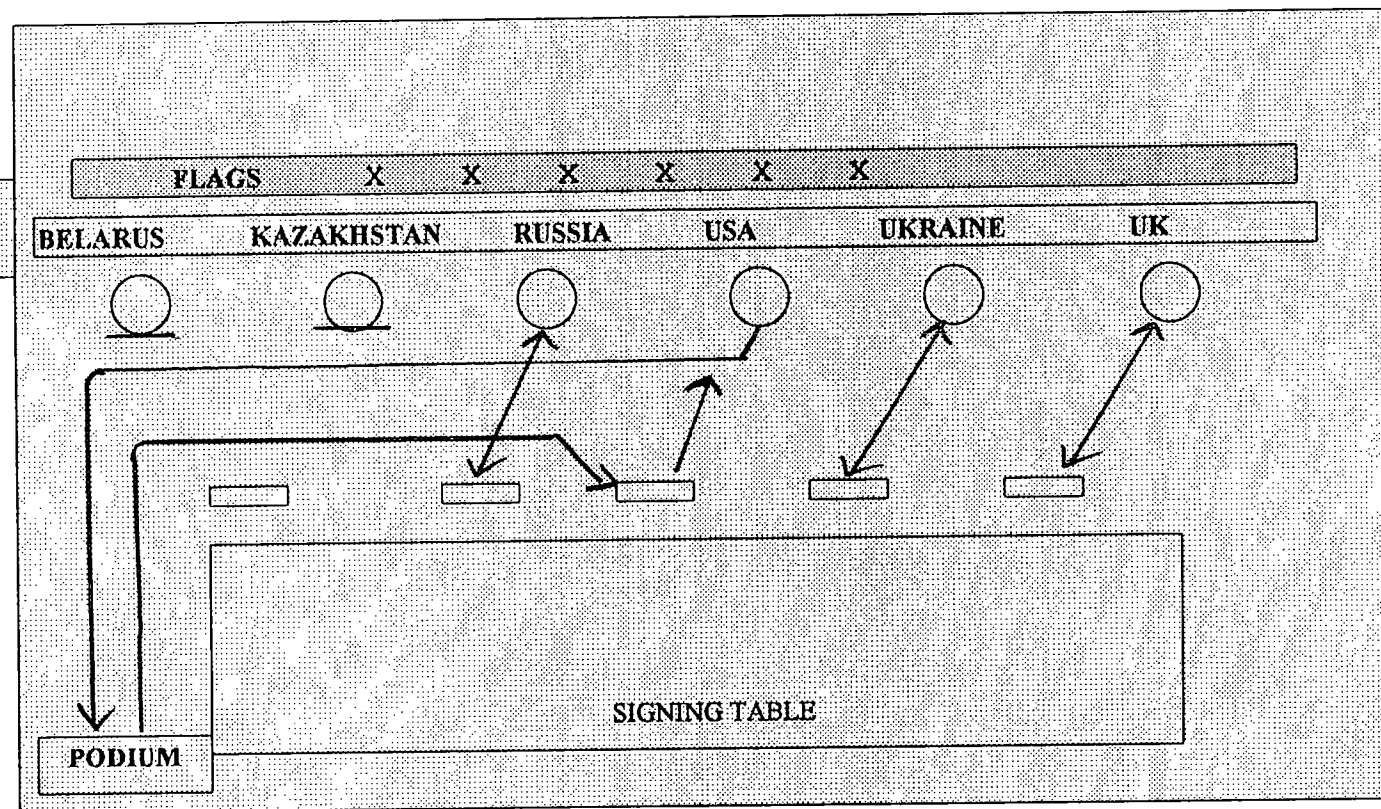
Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

11:35 a.m.

President Clinton proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement (3-4 minutes).

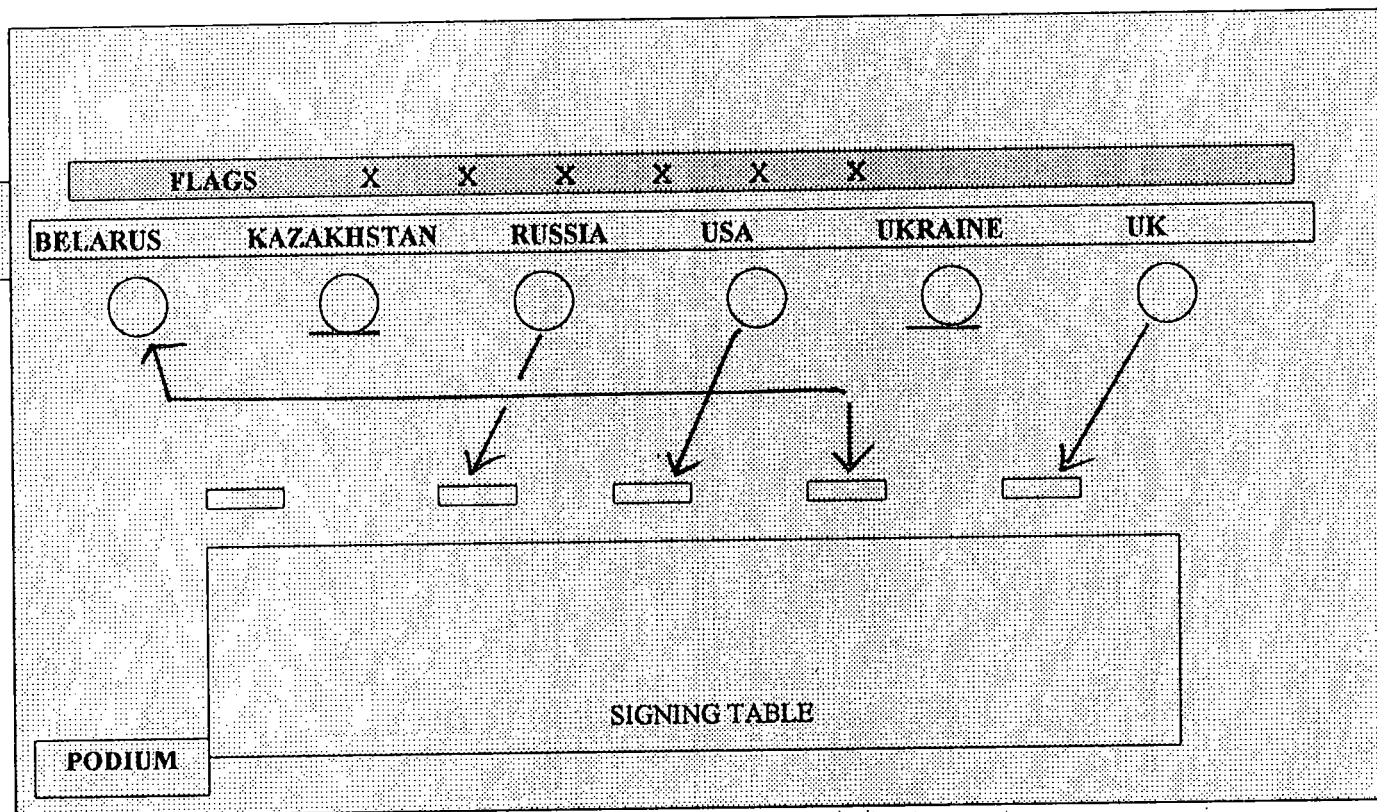
11:45 a.m.

Ceremony concludes



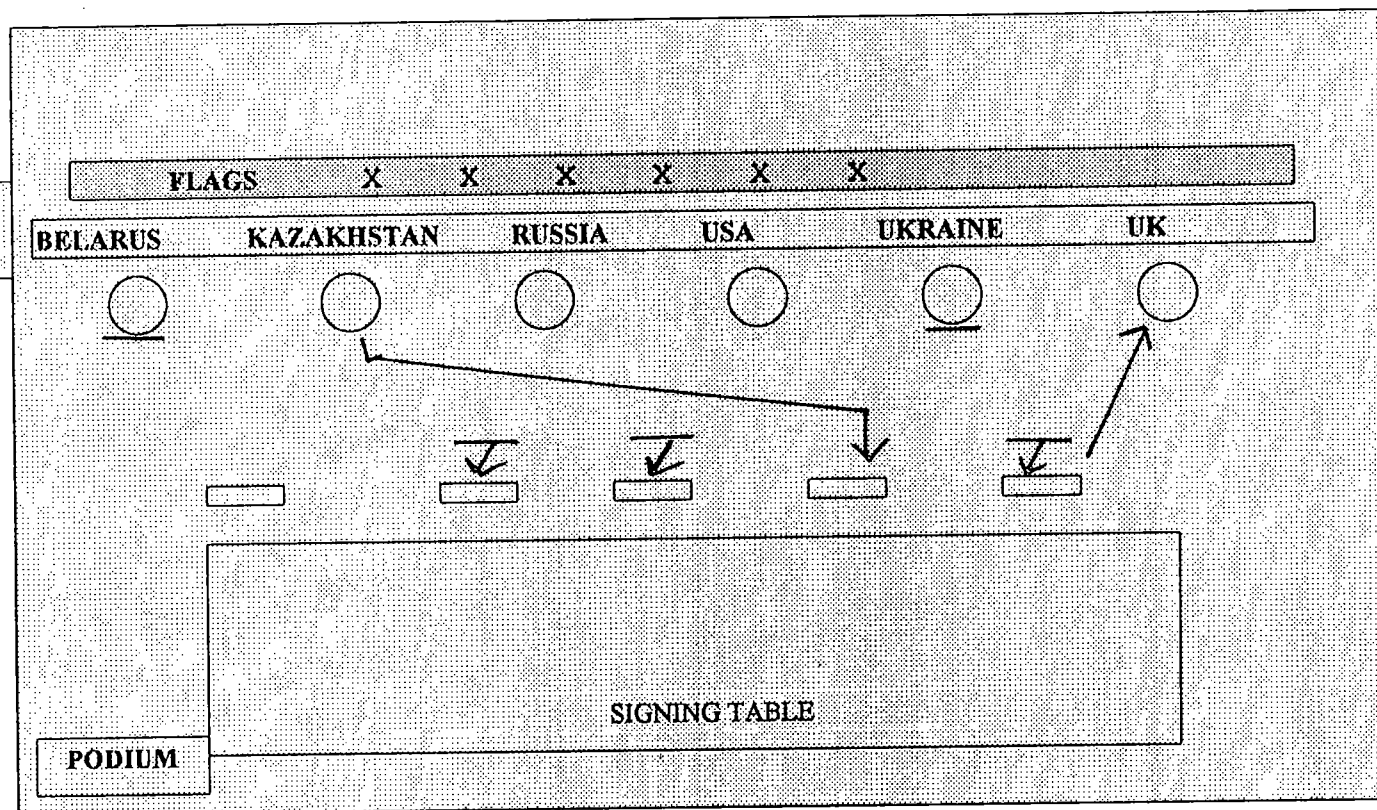
A. UKRAINE SIGNING

1. Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin, Kuchma, Lukashenko and Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Major take their positions on the stage (toe cards).
2. President Clinton proceeds to podium and makes short opening statement (2 minutes).
3. Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kuchma and Prime Minister Major proceed to signing table and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Ukraine.
4. Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Kuchma and Prime Minister Major stand and return to their positions behind the table.
5. President Kuchma presents Ukraine's instruments of NPT accession to Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major.



B. BELARUS SIGNING

1. Presidents Lukashenko, Clinton and Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major proceed to the table and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Belarus.
2. They stand and shake hands. President Lukashenko returns to his original standing position.

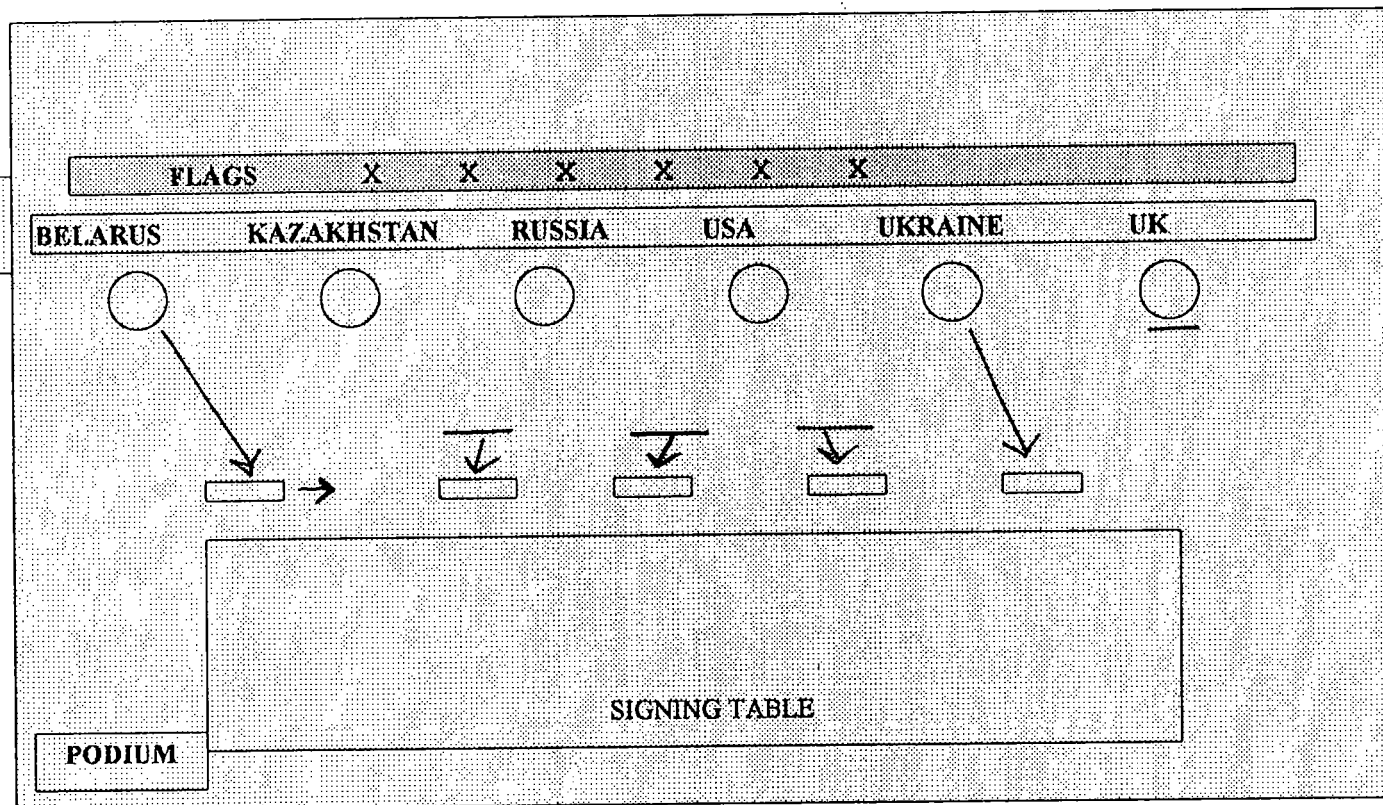


C. KAZAKHSTAN SIGNING

1. President Nazerbayev approaches the treaty table. Presidents Nazerbayev, Clinton and Yeltsin and Prime Minister Major are seated and sign the memorandum on security assurances for Kazakhstan.

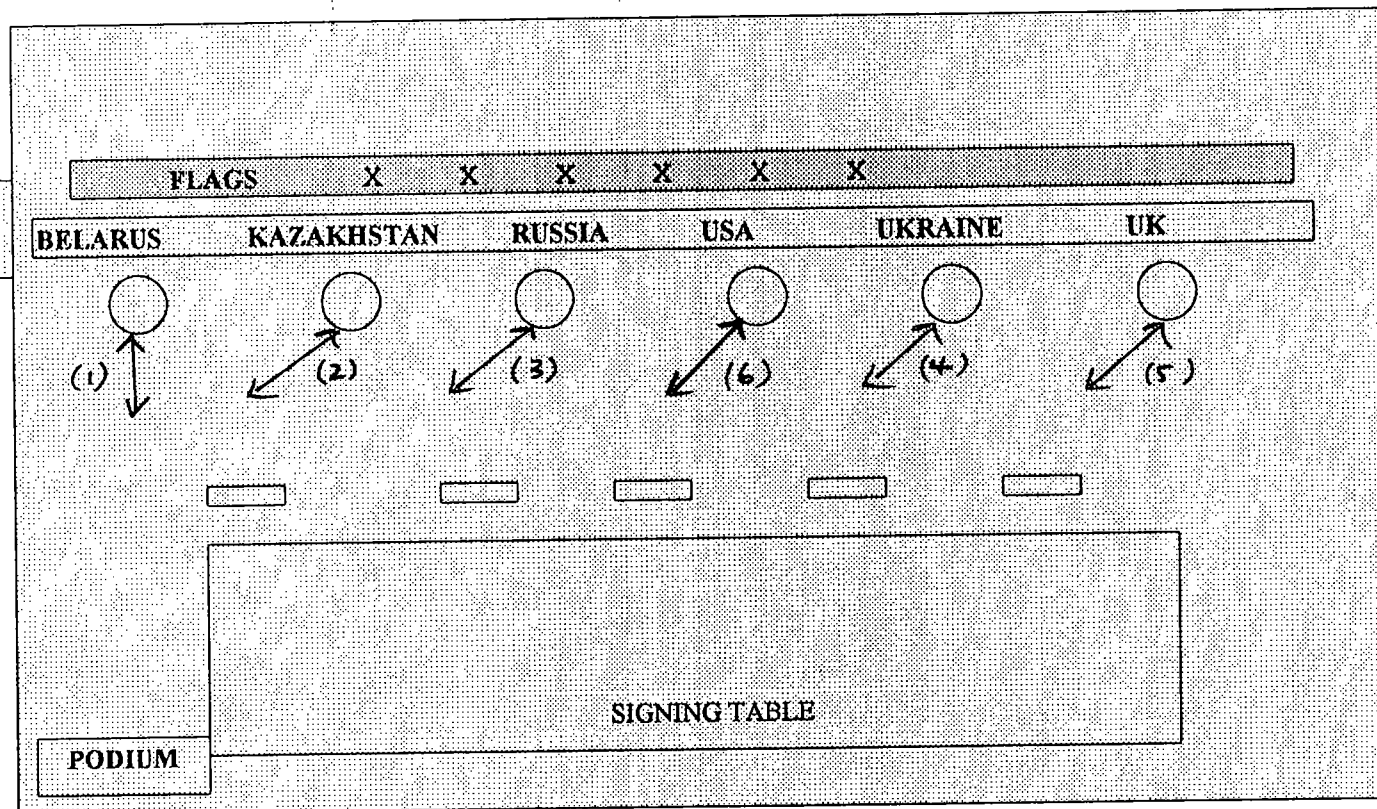
They sign and shake hands. PM Major returns to his seated position.

2. ~~President Nazerbayev returns to his original standing position.~~



D. EXCHANGE OF START I INSTRUMENTS

1. Presidents Clinton, Yeltsin, Kuchma, Lukashenko and Nazerbayev are seated. They sign a protocol of exchange of START I instruments of ratification.
2. The signers stand and return to their original positions behind the treaty table.



E. STATEMENTS

1. President Lukashenko of Belarus proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement.
2. President Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement.
3. President Yeltsin of Russia proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement.
4. President Kuchma of Ukraine proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement.
5. Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom proceeds to podium and makes a brief statement.
6. President Clinton proceeds to podium m and makes a brief statement.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL STAFF

Anthony Lake	Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
William H. Itoh	Executive Secretary, NSC (Departs 11/30, return AF-1)
Robert Bell	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control
Nicholas Burns	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Russia/Ukraine/Eurasia Affairs
Alexander Vershbow	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs
Dan Fried	Director for Central and Eastern Europe
Jonathan Spalter	Director for Public Affairs
James Reed	Deputy Executive Secretary and Director, Situation Room
Neal S. Wolin	Executive Assistant to the National Security Advisor
Anthony Blinken	Director for Speechwriting
Kathy Veit	Administrative Assistant to the National Security Advisor
Wendy Gray	Administrative Assistant, Office of the Executive Secretary

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Wendy Gray	Administrative Assistant, Office of the Executive Secretary

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CSCE

Monday, December 5, 1994

9:00 - 10:30 a.m. Conference on Security and Cooperation in
Europe (CSCE) Opening Ceremony and
President's Statement

At the table:

The President
Secretary Christopher

Behind the table:

Anthony Lake
Samuel Brown (Head of U.S. CSCE Delegation)
Ambassador Richard Holbrooke
Sandy Vershbow

Additional seating in rear of conference
room:

Erskine Bowles
Ashton Carter
LtGen Dan Christman
David Gergen
Craig Dunkerley (Deputy Head of CSCE
Delegation)

11:00 a.m. - Signing Ceremonies with Presidents of
12:00 p.m. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan

The President (at signing table)
Secretary Christopher
Anthony Lake
Erskine Bowles
Mark Gearan
Dee Dee Myers
John Holum
Ashton Carter
LtGen Dan Christman
Jim Collins
Robert Bell
Nick Burns

1:05 - 1:30 p.m. Bilateral with Hungarian Prime Minister Horn
(to be confirmed) and President Goncz

The President
Secretary Christopher
Anthony Lake
Ambassador Richard Holbrooke
Ambassador Donald Blinken
Ashton Carter
Daniel Fried (notetaker)

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LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

CSCE

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9:00 - 10:30 a.m. Conference on Security and Cooperation in
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Delegation)

11:00 a.m. - Signing Ceremonies with Presidents of
12:00 p.m. Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan

The President (at signing table)
Secretary Christopher
Anthony Lake
Erskine Bowles
Mark Gearan
Dee Dee Myers
John Holum
Ashton Carter
LtGen Dan Christman
Jim Collins
Robert Bell
Nick Burns

1:05 - 1:30 p.m. Bilateral with Hungarian Prime Minister Horn
(to be confirmed) and President Goncz

The President
Secretary Christopher
Anthony Lake
Ambassador Richard Holbrooke
Ambassador Donald Blinken
Ashton Carter
Daniel Fried (notetaker)

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