

FOIA Marker

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National Security Council - European Affairs

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
V	17	9	5	3	35370	48124		NSC 1133

Folder Title:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Letter	[Letter]	2	12/11/2003	P1/b1; P5;
002a	Memorandum	Memorandum	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
003	Memorandum	Memorandum	3	11/11/2003	P1/b1; P5;
004	Email	[Memorandum] - To: Michael J. Ma, et al. - From: Kurt D. Volker	2	11/11/2003	P1/b1; P5;
005a	Memorandum	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
006	Memorandum	Memorandum	1	10/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;
006a	Memorandum	Memorandum	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]

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

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006b	Memorandum	[Memorandum]	3	10/15/2003	P1/b1; P5;
007	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Ambassador	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
010	Email	[Memorandum] - To: Michael J. Ma, et al. - From: Kurt D. Volker	5	10/23/2003	P1/b1; P5;
011	Cable	[Cable]	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
012	Email	[Email] - To: Kurt D. Volker, et al. - From: R. Nicholas Burns	2	11/07/2003	P1/b1; P5;
013	Email	[Email] - To: Kurt D. Volker, et al. - From: Rod Fabrycky	2	11/07/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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014	Draft	[Report]	2	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
015	Letter	[Letter]	1	02/11/2003	P1/b1;
015a	Report	[Report]	12	01/31/2003	P1/b1;
016	Letter	[Letter]	1	02/11/2003	P1/b1;
016a	Report	[Report]	4	02/04/2003	P1/b1;
017	Letter	[Letter]	1	02/18/2003	P1/b1;

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018	Letter	[Letter]	1	02/18/2003	P1/b1;
018a	Report	[Report]	9	N.D.	P1/b1;
019	Letter	[Letter]	1	02/25/2003	P1/b1;
019a	Report	[Report]	9	N.D.	P1/b1;
020	Letter	[Letter]	1	03/11/2003	P1/b1;
020a	Report	[Report]	11	N.D.	P1/b1;

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021	Letter	[Letter]	1	01/28/2003	P1/b1;
021a	Report	[Report]	2	N.D.	P1/b1;
022	Email	[Email]	3	01/24/2003	P1/b1;
023	Letter	[Letter]	1	01/17/2003	P1/b1;
024	NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/ RMO Profile	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1;
024a	Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1;
024c	Memorandum	Memorandum	2	03/01/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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024d	Draft	[Report]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;
024e	Routing Memo	[Routing Memorandum]	1	N.D.	P1/b1;
024f	Receipt	Distribution Receipt	1	03/01/2003	P1/b1;
024g	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Kurt Volker and Lisa Tepper	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;
024h	Draft	[Report]	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;
025	Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Kurt Volker and Lisa Tepper	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

December 15, 2003

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR CONDOLEEZZA RICE

THROUGH: DANIEL FRIED

FROM: KURT VOLKER *KV*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on ESDP

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President updating the President on European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) following the December 11-13, 2003 EU Summit.

Concurrences by: Jim Marrs, Kori Schake *KV*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 12/15/2013

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines
E.O. 13526, SEC 3.4(B), Sept. 11, 2006
By NH NARA, Date 5/15/14

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	[Memorandum] - To: Michael J. Ma, et al. - From: Kurt D. Volker	2	11/11/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

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2014-0064-F

2014-0050-F

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 14, 2003

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR CONDOLEEZZA RICE

THROUGH: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

FROM: KURT VOLKER *KV*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on ESDP

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President updating him on European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in advance of his State Visit to the United Kingdom.

Concurrences by: *[Signature]* Jim Maars, Kori Schake

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab 1 Suggested Points to Make

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ESOP

TRANSCRIPT

Programme(s)	Radio 4 Today Programme
Date & time	Thursday 23rd October 2003 0810
Subject / interviewee	Iran and Europe – Jack Straw
Prepared by:	David Griffiths
Contact numbers:	020 7276 1080 – Pager 07659 137 572 – 24hrs, every day

John Humphrys: *It seems only yesterday it was the big fault line in British politics, it tore the Conservatives apart, well now they have sorted themselves out on that more or less for the time being anyway and they have other things to worry about like the leadership. And now they are trying to return Europe to the top of the political agenda, to cause trouble for the government. The issue this time is not the Euro, it is the new constitution. They want a referendum, Tony Blair says no. So they are launching a nation-wide petition today hoping to gather millions of signatures which they will then present to Parliament. The Foreign Secretary Jack Straw who has just come back from Iran, is making a big speech himself on Europe tonight, the positive case for it and he is on the line. Good morning Mr Straw.*

Jack Straw: Good morning John.

JH: *A word about Iran first, obviously from your point of view and your colleagues, a very successful trip?*

JS: Well it was successful as far as it went. What we have managed to achieve was an agreed statement from the government in Iran and three foreign ministers who were present about the co-operation by Iran with the International Atomic Energy Agency, Their agreement, the Iranians agreement to sign the IAEA additional protocol. A mouthful but that means to accept an international treaty addition for much more intrusive inspections than they have had before. And they have agreed to suspend voluntarily all of the uranium enrichment and reprocess, reprocessing activities as defined by the IAEA. And in return we have said that if they do those things, if they bring themselves in, fully in to line with their obligations then there are things that we can do too. But as I said in Tehran on Tuesday evening, the words are

important but the tests of the words is action. And obviously we look and hope and expect that Iran will stand by the agreements that we made which hook in very tightly to the obligations on them posed by the IAEA.

JH: *Did you while you were there, did you warn Iran about meddling in Iraq? I have been reading an interview that Sir Jeremy Greenstock has given to the Guardian and he is deeply worried about it clearly.*

JS: No I didn't. We were focusing on this issue and this issue alone. So far as Iran is concerned it has obviously got entirely legitimate interests in respect of Iraq, it has had a terrible war, suffered under a terrible war with Iraq. President Khatami said very poignantly to the three of us and repeated at a press conference, that we didn't need to talk to him about Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction, his own people had suffered grievously from Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction. And of course, for the majority Shia population in Iraq there is a religious connection between the two countries because Iran is overwhelmingly Shia as well and many of the Iranian's holy sites are in Iraq. And one of the terrible, many terrible things that happened after the Iraqi regime was that ordinary Iranians were denied the opportunity to go for pilgrimage to these ...

JH: *But do you, do you*

JS: ... holy sites. Now just to come on to Jeremy Greenstock ...

JH: *Because Sir Jeremy Greenstock says it is unacceptable what they are doing there and, and the role of a Tehran backed militia there is malign. Strong language.*

JS: ... well there are issues we have taken up with the Iranian government, I have to say over all that we are grateful to the Iranian government for the co-operation which we have received both in respect of Iraq and also in respect of Afghanistan. Where, because they are sandwiched between these two countries which are both have (indistinct) ...

JH: *Is Sir Jeremy right?*

JS: ... well there are elements of Iranian society which have been causing disruption in Iraq and the, that is a matter which we have taken up with the Iranian government. In so far as over all co-operation with the Iranian government is concerned, we are broadly satisfied with the degree of co-operation that we have received. We obviously remain engaged with them.

JH: *So Sir Jeremy is not right?*

JS: Well I have just put that in context.

JH: *All right. But as far as the trip itself is concerned with our European allies, you, you said pretty successful. What does that say about Britain and Europe? Given the background of what is happening today with the Conservatives and their demands for a referendum on the constitution, your speech tonight saying you know, we have got to make the positive case for Europe. We clearly now have a sort of nascent foreign policy don't we?*

JS: Well the idea of a common foreign policy for Europe was literally first suggested by Margaret Thatcher in an interesting lecture in 1984. And it was put in to the treaties of the European Union not last year but in 1992, again by a Conservative government and on that occasion led by John Major. I think that my trip with these two foreign ministers illustrates if you like, the best of European co-operation. Here you have three strong, proud sovereign nation states but each of us have recognised that we can do much more together and achieve much more together than we can do if we do things separately. So we have pooled our sovereignty for this purpose. It was open to any of us, to Dominic De Villepin, my French counterpart, Joschkar Fischer my German counterpart at any stage to say well OK, we are not going to agree with the other two and we will withdraw to follow a German or a French foreign policy. But because we have been engaged on this, we have co-operated, we bring much more to the party and I think as a result of that the Iranians realised that they were not just facing these

individual countries but unofficially we were speaking for a common and agreed position ...

JH: *Next step, common defence policy?*

JS: ...on behalf of, allow me just to say on behalf of twenty five European nations. Now on common defence policy, a common defence policy again, was an element which was inserted in to the European Union treaties not in this new draft constitution but by John Major and the Conservatives and agreed by them in 1992. And allow me to say that illustrates a key point that I have been trying to get across over recent months. Which is that this draft constitutional treaty involves far less significant change than the treaties of Maastricht, the Single European Act in 1996 and other treaties. And that is why we say ...

JH: *(indistinct) ...*

JS: ... that there is no case for a referendum and we also say look to the exaggeration which is now made by our Conservative opponents.

JH: *... well before we look to the Conservatives let, let's look at what you have been doing. You signed up to this Franco, this is, the constitution as you say, you signed up to the Franco German plans for a, a European Union operational command headquarters, hugely worrying the Americans. The American ambassador thinks this is dreadful, Washington thinks this is dreadful. Why are we doing this if we are not heading for an ever closer union?*

JS: Well we haven't signed up to the Europe, the idea of a European Union operational headquarters, that is a significant issue which is yet to be resolved.

JH: *Well you have agreed to the idea of a vanguard of European Union states forging ahead etc, etc. I mean that is a ...*

JS: I don't, I don't ...

JH: *... wee bit of sophistry there isn't it?*

JS: ... no, it is not sophistry at all. I don't ...

JH: *So why are the Americans so upset about this?*

JS: ... well allow me just to say what has been agreed and what hasn't been agreed. Under arrangements which the British Prime Minister Tony Blair and President Chirac of France first agreed at Saint Marlow in 1998, Europe has accepted a situation, indeed encouraged a situation where if NATO is not available to undertake an operation outside the NATO theatre then either it is an operation which is conducted by European member states with the support of NATO's own assets as is now carrying on in Macedonia or if that is not available then it is called an EU autonomous operation of the kind that we and the French and others are conducting in ...

JH: *So why are the Americans so upset if it is as tepid as that?*

JS: *(indistinct)* ... well I, well it is a good question actually. What the American, what the Americans are worried about however, is if there to be an European Union operational headquarters separate from *(indistinct)* which is the NATO headquarters and separate from ...

JH: *And will there be one?*

JS: ... we don't think there is a case for it and I made that ...

JH: *So there won't be one?*

JS: ... well I made it clear ...

JH: *Are you clear about that?*

JS: ... yes and I made that very clear ...

JH: *Absolutely clear?*

JS: ... yes and I made that very clear in the House of Commons John, on Monday. Which is why I am surprised about your quotations that certainly don't come from me, nor from the Prime Minister. What we ...

JH: *Right.*

JS: ... what we already have is a European Union military staff which goes for ...

JH: *Sure.*

JS: ... strategic planning and what we are proposing is that that military staff should in fact be in a cell in NATO so there can be better co-ordination.

JH: *So the Americans got hold of the wrong end of the stick, nothing to worry about and that is that?*

JS: Look, no, just well ...

JH: *Well yes or no?*

JS: ... no ...

JH: *A straight forward one, yes or no to that?*

JS: ... we don't believe that their anxieties are ones which in the event, will be followed through. What we of course understand is why they are worrying about the possibility of there being a large separate European Union operational headquarters which they would see and many others see ...

JH: *You are talking about large and things now. You are ...*

JS: ... in, in, in competition, in ...

JH: *... qualifying it now.*

JS: ... (indistinct) well as I say there is already a military staff but we are talking about proper operational headquarters, in competition to NATO. That is not what we want and it is one of the reasons why we want to see changes in two of the key articles which relate to defence inside this draft constitutional treaty. But ...

JH: *Right.*

JS: ... I am pretty happy, happy that I think we will achieve this.

JH: *Right, now you are not going to let us have a vote on the new constitution, even though the new constitution is a frightfully important thing. I mean does it or does not define the relationship between Britain and the rest of Europe and the prospects for the Euro and would last for generations? And you know why I am using that quote, because it is what Mr Blair himself said.*

JS: Look, it is an important document but it does not represent a change in the fundamental relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union ...

JH: *More important than Iraq according to Mr Blair when he said that.*

JS: ... it is not more important (indistinct) but what, what the Prime Minister was saying ...

JH: *Oh.*

JS: ... there was that getting it right was very important and of course that is true and we believe that ninety five percent we have got right. There are now important negotiations which we are conducting and I believe we will get the other five percent right. When we have that, what we will have a prosaic document, a, which is there to run the European Union with twenty five nations.

JH: *Prosaic? Defining the relationship between Britain and the rest of the Europe for*

generations is prosaic? It sounds pretty historic to me.

JS: Well because, as it happens John, it builds and in most cases, simply reflects the existing text. In one case for, for example it ...

JH: *So why then is it so important? Why did Mr ...*

JS: ... well ...

JH: *... Mr Blair choose to use that sort of language?*

JS: ... no, what he, what he was saying was that the outcome of the convention on the future of Europe and indeed the outcome of the intergovernmental conference is obviously of very great importance if we get it wrong (indistinct) ...

JH: *But we are not allowed to vote on it?*

JS: ... and so far as the voting is concerned, it is obviously the case that for all treaties, the default setting for decisions on this is a matter for Parliament and it is quite right too. And it doesn't lie in the mouth of Conservatives to say no, no, must have a referendum, they have never had a referendum on any single issue large or small in the whole of their history of government.

JH: *Yeah but that is the point, you have had, you have had lots of them and ...*

JS: Well we have had, yes.

JH: *... we can vote on Mayors for Hartlepool and all the other old clichés that we trot ...*

JS: Well ...

JH: *... out all the time and I know that you will argue that they are different. But the fact is here if the Tories, let's assume that the Tories now succeed in going around the country and not whipping up apathy but whipping up all sorts of signatures for this petition of theirs. They then present it to Parliament, millions of people sign this petition. Parliament will say no, no, no we are not, we are not interested in that or Parliament might say yeah actually, there out to be a constitution. But Mr Blair is absolutely determined that there shall not be.*

JS: Well I don't think that is going to happen first of all, the Conservatives are not exactly successful in their campaigns and this is a great diversion ...

JH: *(indistinct).*

JS: ... for them, not least from their own very significant internal divisions on Europe. Kenneth Clarke published, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer published an important pamphlet last week in which he drew attention to the fact that the natural consequence of the policy being pursued by Iain Duncan Smith and Bill Cash and Michael Ancram is a detachment of the United Kingdom from the European Union. Which for sure, would cause us very serious damage and would not increase our sovereignty but would decrease it. Because we would have to accept European Union rules of members of free trade areas...

JH: *But in this bit ...*

JS: ... we (indistinct) control.

JH: *... in this case even the Queen seems to be worried about it ...*

JS: Ah that is ...

JH: *... though, people, ten is going to, to undermine her, her role as sovereign so we are told ...*

JS: ... well it is ...

JH: *... she believes.*

JS: ... I wouldn't believe everything you read in newspapers, least of all ...

JH: *Well I (indistinct) ...*

JS: ... the Royal family John. Well I mean, I mean I am sure we are least of all on the Royal Family.

JH: ... *(indistinct) ...*

JS: Let us be (indistinct) about that. And that also illustrates the point about the, the myths that we have to deal with here, the absolute nonsense. There are six other European Union countries John, which are also monarchies. Never in any of those countries ...

JH: *What about ...*

JS: ... or at any serious level, allow me to finish ...

JH: ... *go on.*

JS: ... not at any serious level in the United Kingdom, has anyone remotely suggested that this draft constitution even if it suddenly went through unamended, in any way undermines the position of the sovereign. It is utter and complete ...

JH: *Well ...*

JS: ... nonsense. I ...

JH: ... *well if we are going to take notice of those countries in Europe, why don't we take notice of those countries that are going to have a referendum? Because they think this is the most important thing since sliced bread in Europe.*

JS: ... well they don't think it is the most important thing since sliced bread as it happens.

JH: *So why are they having referendums?*

JS: Because their constitutional arrangements differ, that is why. And ...

JH: *So do ours when we choose them to.*

JS: ... and, no, and allow me to say this, the Conservatives called for a referendum on Maastricht, indeed Iain Duncan Smith almost destroyed his own Party on that basis. He said at the time that you had to have a referendum on the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 because it represented such a threat to our sovereignty; it was the beginning of a Federal, a European Federal Super State. Then William Hague used identical language in arguing about the consequences of the Nice Treaty in the year 2000 and 2001. He said this was three steps towards a European Federal Super State. In neither case has that happened even though those treaties are now in force in both cases. But particularly in Maastricht the treaties represented a more significant change in the nature of the relationship between ourselves and the European Union and the Conservatives refused a referenda absolutely rightly because this is simply a development of our relationship, it is not a fundamental change ...

JH: Jack Straw ...

JS: ... and the reason if I may just make this point, the reason we need this new draft constitution is simply to make the European Union work better with twenty five members and produce more prosperity, more security for the people of Britain.

JH: ... *Jack Straw, many thanks.*

End

From: "Skinner, Charles B" <SkinnerCB@state.gov> on 10/24/2003 05:06:27 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc: Kurt D. Volker/NSC/EOP@EOP

Subject: Blair Press Conference

Full text of yesterday's press conference is attached. ESDP is highlighted in text and excerpted below:

QUESTION

The Foreign Secretary mentioned that there were a couple of areas of concern about the developing European Defence and Security Policy, could you say what they are and if you can't resolve them, what will you do.

PRIME MINISTER

Well, we won't agree to anything that's not right, and the two areas of concern are that it must be absolutely clear that for NATO countries the basic territorial defence rests with NATO, and the defence guarantee rests with NATO, and secondly in any structured co-operation, which we support in principle, it has got to be agreed between all 25 of the countries, so it is important that it only goes and develops in a way that is fully consistent with NATO. And that is what we will argue for and I believe we will be successful, and what I think is really important in this argument is for people to realise that we have a relationship with America and we have a relationship with Europe, and it is important to keep both of them in strong working order, and that's what we'll do.

QUESTION

..... that you didn't agree with?

PRIME MINISTER

Well, I don't think we will need to since we are in the overwhelming majority, but we won't agree obviously we have got such a lock on the process as does every other country but the fact is when we had a discussion in Europe last Thursday night, I would say virtually everyone was in agreement. No-one wants to see European Defence develop inconsistent with NATO, and all I would say to people about this is, look I started this at St Malo five and half years ago at the Anglo-French Summit. At that time, and you can go back and you can look at the cuttings, people told me this is the end of NATO, European Defence is going to wreck the transatlantic alliance, since when I have been through Kosovo, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, and now Iraq without any impact at all of an adverse nature on Britain's relations with America.

However we have also recently done the operation in Macedonia and again in the Congo through European Defence, and hugely necessary it has been, so we should have both. We can have both provided they are consistent with each other, and they will be.

* * * * *

QUESTION

On the EU military, the concern one hears in Washington is that your having agreed last month to the idea of separate organisational structures for a

European military goes a good deal further than you went 5 years ago in St Malo and does indeed threaten to duplicate at best, and maybe compete with at worst, NATO. Have you explained to the Americans in the same way that you answered a previous questioner on this subject, and are they satisfied with that explanation? And specifically one point that seems to be a particular irritant in Washington will Britain ever support the creation of an independent headquarters as is being proposed by Belgium and Luxembourg and a few other countries in a Brussels suburb that would be quite apart from SHAPE and the NATO structure?

PRIME MINISTER

Well, Warren, first of all we made it clear at the time our opposition to the proposal that was made by the 4 countries for the Tevuren headquarters. Secondly it is not an issue between me and the Administration and I think if you looked at the comments of the US NATO Ambassador a few days ago, he made it clear. The UK is the US's closest ally, and we work closely on these issues and all the rest of it, and I am sure we will sort this out. But this is a debate that has been carrying on ever since St Malo. And our position has not changed. We don't want duplication and we certainly don't want competition with NATO. There won't be any such, and even if Britain were to agree it, which we won't, you look at those new countries coming into the European Union, they are not going to agree that. You ask the Italian Prime Minister, or the Spanish Prime Minister, they are not going to agree that either. Or the Dutch Prime Minister, or the Danish Prime Minister. This is an issue that - I entirely understand why it gets built up in the way that it does - that people have just got to look at the record. The record since St Malo has not been one of us either giving up on the transatlantic alliance or allowing EU defence to become a competitor to NATO. We have got no intention of doing that. We will never do that. But I want to say this other thing as well because it is the important reason why I carry on with European defence. I am not either giving up the ability of Europe to have a proper defence capability in circumstances where NATO i.e. America does not wish to be engaged because if we give up that opportunity, then we are depriving ourselves of the ability to conduct operations - for example peacekeeping operations in the Balkans - where America may not wish to be involved. Now we have got an example, the reason I support this so strongly. 10 or so years ago in Bosnia where it wasn't clear that there was the real ability or desire of America at that time to be engaged we had the most terrible situation that arose there as the result of the inability of Europe to have a proper capability itself. So in the end this is an article of faith with me and people have got to make up their minds whether they agree with it, or they don't agree with it.

But there are people who want to pull me apart from America. There are people who want me to pull me apart from the centre of Europe. I will not yield up either pillar of Britain's foreign policy in the early 21st century. Because it makes sense for Britain. We should be strong in Europe, strong with America, and wholly contrary to what people say the stronger you are with America, the better your position in Europe and actually the stronger you are in Europe the better an ally you can be for the United States of America, and whatever comes in and out of various people who have got their own axes to grind on this, that is where I stay because it is the right thing I think for my country. But the slight problem I would say that any critic of mine has got on this front, is that it is quite difficult to argue after the past year that I am a slothful ally of the US. I am absolutely the strongest ally the United States could have

but I know there will be certain situations for perfectly good reasons where the US doesn't want to undertake military operations, and the EU in those circumstances has got to have the capability to do so. One other point incidentally, there is no operation under what we are prepared to agree where you will not have to give the individual consent of each country to participate in each individual operation. In other words the other canard that is raised in these circumstances is that somehow there is some European Army to which we are going to give British troops and British troops will be used without the consent of the British Government. That is wrong. It is only in circumstances where the British Government or any other government agrees to participate in each individual operation that we participate.

* * * * *

QUESTION

Going back to European defence, in your previous answer you mentioned the attitude of several countries, Italy, Spain, the new members of the European Union. Do you see the risk of Old Europe and New Europe a division of attitude towards America and NATO?

PRIME MINISTER

No, because in the end I think we will resolve it in favour of what I would say is the sensible position which is to do nothing that imperils NATO and the transatlantic alliance, but to recognise there will be circumstances where Europe wants to act on its own. And that's the obvious way through. I think it is supported by everybody. I actually believe it is supported by France and Germany. France may obviously come to this from different attitudes, but President Chirac and I have had a perfectly good working relationship on this issue over many, many years. We worked hard on it at St Malo, we have worked hard at it since then, and provided everybody knows what the rules of the business are, and the primary rule has got to be there must be nothing done that puts at risk NATO, because no-one will agree that. Everyone wants to make sure that the transatlantic alliance remains. It's there. It's a cornerstone of our defence. Nobody is going to give it up, but on the other hand why get ourselves in some desperate situation about the perfectly simple notion that where America doesn't want to be engaged, Europe can act. I think there is an entirely simple way through this if we concentrate on that practical rather than some of these questions that are more to do with symbolism

END ESDP EXCERPTS.

<<PM Press Conference 10-23-03.doc>>

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"Mitman, Matthias J" <MitmanMJ@state.gov>
"Burns, R Nicholas(BRUSSELS NATO)" <BurnsRN@state.gov>
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Email	[Memorandum] - To: Michael J. Ma, et al. - From: Kurt D. Volker	5	10/23/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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Email	[Email] - To: Kurt D. Volker, et al. - From: R. Nicholas Burns	2	11/07/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter]	1	02/11/2003	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

OA Num.:

NSC 1133

NARA Num.:

FOIA ID and Segment:

2014-0064-F

2014-0050-F

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	4	02/04/2003	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter]	1	02/18/2003	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter]	1	02/25/2003	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	9	N.D.	P1/b1;

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Letter	[Letter]	1	03/11/2003	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Report	[Report]	11	N.D.	P1/b1;

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

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Email	[Email]	3	01/24/2003	P1/b1;

**This marker identifies the original location of the withdrawn item listed above.
For a complete list of items withdrawn from this folder, see the
Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet at the front of the folder.**

COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

OA Num.:

NSC 1133

NARA Num.:

FOIA ID and Segment:

2014-0064-F

2014-0050-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Letter	[Letter]	1	01/17/2003	P1/b1;

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SERIES:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
NSC Profile Sheet	NSC/ RMO Profile	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1;

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SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Information Sheet	Action Data Summary Report	1	N.D.	P1/b1;

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National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: _____

LOG #

1837

URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____

SYSTEM

PSS

INT ARS

BYPASSED WW/DESK: _____

DOCLOG

27/28

A/O _____



SEQUENCE TO

INITIAL/DATE

DISPOSITION

HAINES

WEDDERIEN

LOEWER

PRAY

SCHULTE

EDSON

HADLEY

RICE

SITUATION ROOM

WEST WING DESK

RECORDS MGMT

3

SEP 3/1

D

4

NOV 3/4/03

2

2

JUN 24

1

JUN 2/28

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE



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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	Memorandum	2	03/01/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

OA Num.:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	[Report]	1	N.D.	P1/b1; P5;

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SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

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The George W. Bush Library

FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Routing Memo	[Routing Memorandum]	1	N.D.	P1/b1;

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COLLECTION:

National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Receipt	Distribution Receipt	1	03/01/2003	P1/b1;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Kurt Volker and Lisa Tepper	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Draft	[Report]	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Memorandum	[Memorandum] - To: Steve Hadley - From: Kurt Volker and Lisa Tepper	1	02/28/2003	P1/b1; P5;

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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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- 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]

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
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National Security Council - European Affairs

SERIES:

Volker, Kurt - Subject Files

FOLDER TITLE:

ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) [Folder 2] [1]

FRC ID:

35370

OA Num.:

NSC 1133

NARA Num.:

FOIA ID and Segment:

2014-0064-F

2014-0050-F

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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