CONTENTS

PRESIDENT & CONGRESS

The Making of the U.S NATO Enlargement Policy

VI. NATO-EAPC Fellowship Programme
1998-2000

Individual Research Project

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I. Introduction

At the Madrid Summit, held in July 1997, the then sixteen members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)[1] invited Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic to begin accession talks with NATO, therewith offering them the prospect of becoming full members of the Alliance in 1999.

The United States played a very important role in the period leading up to the decision to enlarge NATO. Since the end of 1993, NATO enlargement had become one of the key components of the Clinton Administration's foreign policy. The US also played a leading role in the period after 'Madrid' in which NATO member countries were to ratify the Protocols of Accession. Most NATO members did not commence their respective ratification processes until the US did[2], as it was generally thought to be wise to wait and see how the debate on NATO enlargement in the country that so far had been the driving force behind NATO enlargement would develop.[3] For this reason, the US debate on NATO enlargement that took place in Congress, and more specifically in the Senate in the period after the Madrid Summit is a very important matter to analyse in depth.

The US Congress, although having gone through different levels of 'assertiveness' in the history of US foreign policy making, on the whole is still believed to play a secondary role in the foreign policy making process. However, there are numerous occasions that can be singled out to contradict this statement. During the period between the Madrid Summit and the eventual US ratification of NATO enlargement, on 30 April 1998, a parallel was often drawn between the 'Treaty of Madrid' and the Treaty of Versailles. US President Wilson was -just as Clinton was with regard to the 'Madrid Treaty'- a driving force in the process leading up to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Both treaties were to have a major impact on the existing international security order. The fact that the US Senate had rejected the Treaty of Versailles, and the known consequences of this rejection, were stressed repeatedly by many senators and commentators in order to underline the significance of the role of Congress in the making of the US policy of NATO enlargement.

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[1] Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States.

[2] Only Canada, Denmark, Germany and Norway ratified the Protocols of Accession before the debate in the US Senate started.

[3] Jeremy D. Rosner, 'Will Congress back admitting new members?', *NATO Review* (January 1997), pp.12-14, p.12.

Not only did several senators remind President Clinton frequently of what had happened to the Versailles Treaty. Also, on numerous occasions they insisted on the Senate's constitutional role in the field of foreign policy. President Clinton was warned repeatedly that he was expected to provide the Senate with appropriate information on the Administration's NATO enlargement policy in time for them to make a well considered decision. In March 1998, for this precise reason, Senate majority leader Trent Lott announced that the Senate had decide to postpone the voting until after the Spring recess. NATO enlargement, he explained, was too important an issue to be pushed through the Senate quickly. Lott stressed that the Administration, as well as the NATO allies, needed to be aware of the concerns of the Senate before *any* treaty was submitted for ratification.[4]

The above discussions highlights an assumption that the US Congress, and in particular the US Senate, was a very powerful actor in the making of the US policy of NATO enlargement. But, was this indeed the case? What role did Congress exactly play in the making of this policy? Or, what role could it play in the NATO enlargement policy making process? This paper will discuss the role the US Congress played in the making of the US-NATO enlargement policy and analyse to what extent and under what circumstances the US Congress was able to influence the Clinton Administration's NATO enlargement policy. The paper will argue that Congress was not as tough a hurdle as many made it out to be. Granted, in the period in which the Administration's NATO-enlargement policy came into being, the Republican-led Congress did manage to influence the Clinton Administration. However, there were also many other actors in the field of foreign policy making that constrained Clinton into adjusting his policy with regard to NATO. It can even be argued that the Congressional stance on NATO enlargement was not so much taken into consideration by the Clinton Administration, but more or less 'taken over', for it proved to be a useful theme in the 1996 presidential elections. This meant that after 1996, NATO enlargement was a policy pursued by both the executive and the legislative branch. By the time it was up to the Senate to ratify the Protocols of Accessions for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic there was simply not much left to oppose anymore.

In the first chapter of this paper, in which a brief overview will be given of prevailing views of the role of Congress in foreign policy making, it will become clear that when analysing the role of Congress in this field

[4] George Schild, 'Tensions in American Foreign Policy between President and Congress', *Aussenpolitik*, Vol. 49 4th Quarter (1998), pp.56-66, p.62.

one can soon detect a discrepancy between the 'constitutional role' of Congress and the role it plays in reality. Most scholars agree that 'the White House matters more than Congress'.[5] However, the reasons they present in defence of this vary considerably. Also, there are several circumstances and factors that can be said to increase the extent to which Congress can assert influence over foreign policy issues. On the basis of this brief overview of some of the existing literature on the topic, a theoretical framework in which to analyse the questions under consideration will be developed. Chapter two will analyse which actors and factors determined the shaping of the Clinton Administration's NATO-policy in order to be able to make a judgement on how large Congressional influence was in comparison to other influences. In the two following chapters, the focus will be on the issues of the costs of NATO enlargement and the consequences of enlarging NATO for US-Russian relations. These two issues proved to be crucial considerations in the formulation of the US NATO-policy. Both chapters, although touching upon the role of Congress before the Madrid Summit, will primarily focus on the actual debates that took place during Senate hearings on these two topics in the period in between October 1997 and April 1998. In the conclusion, the results of this study will be summarised and an answer will be given to the question to what extent and under what circumstances the US Congress was able to influence the Clinton Administration's NATO enlargement policy.

[5] James M. Lindsay, 'Congress and Foreign Policy: Why the Hill Matters', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.107 No.4 (1992-1993), pp. 607-628, p.608.

II. The President, Congress and the Making of Foreign Policy

'The American President has foreign policy powers that would have made Caesar, Ghenghis Khan or Napoleon bit their nails with envy'[6]

Most scholars that have analyzed the role of Congress in the field of foreign policy have pointed out that there is a discrepancy between the constitutional role of Congress and the role Congress plays in the actual foreign policy making process. They generally hold the opinion that Congress plays a secondary role in the field of foreign policy. However in doing so, they use different arguments to support this observation. In this chapter the reasons stated in some of the literature on the limited Congressional role in foreign policy will be discussed.

The framers of the US Constitution were faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, they wanted a democratic decision making process in the field of foreign policy. On the other hand, in order to act swiftly and decisively, a fast and efficient policy making process was required. Compromises needed to be made in order to strike a balance between the demands of the state system and the democratic needs of the internal order. Hence, they vested the exclusive responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy in the federal government but divided its authority in this field between the President and Congress. [7]

The Constitution granted the President the power to nominate ambassadors, negotiate treaties, and receive foreign emissaries. Congress, or more specifically, the Senate, was given the power to confirm diplomatic, military, and political appointments. Also treaties needed to be negotiated with the 'advice' of the Senate and would only become effective after the Senate had given its 'consent' by ratifying it with a two-third majority vote.

Pletcher gives an explanation for the fact that only the Senate, and not also the House of Representatives, received part of the power to make treaties in his article on Congressional-Executive relations in the early days of the American Republic.[8] He explains that in the state model of former ruler England, the power to conduct treaties had been fully in the hands of the Executive. In the United States this power, up to that point, had been fully in the hands of Congress. It was decided that the Senate should share the power to make treaties with the

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[6] Statement made by President Truman. Quoted in: Karl von Vorys, *American Foreign Policy: Consensus at Home, Leadership Abroad* (Westport/London 1997), p.21.

[7] John Spanier and Eric M. Uslaner, *How American Foreign Policy Is Made* (New York 1975), p. 13.

[8] David M. Pletcher, 'What the Founding Fathers intended: Congressional-Executive Relations in the Early American Republic' in: Michael Barnhart, *Congress and United States Foreign Policy* (New York 1987), pp.127-136

President as the House of Representatives was thought to be too flighty and cumbersome for the requirements of diplomacy. Unlike the Senate, the House of Representatives was faced with elections every other year. The two-third-majority requirement was decided upon so as to safeguard the rights of large regional minorities. [9]

Besides the above mentioned powers, Congress was given the power to investigate the operations of the various executive departments that participated in the formulation and implementation of the foreign policy of the United States. The President, in turn, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Thus, although the President clearly became the nation's Chief Diplomat and Commander-in-Chief, the fact that he had to share his power in the field of foreign policy created a 'build-in' system of checks and balances.

Very quickly after the Constitution was drafted, however, it became clear that the division of powers between the President and Congress in the field of foreign policy was open to interpretation. The President soon appeared to be clearly in charge of foreign policy.[10] The reasons for this, as will be discussed in the following, are numerous.

Views on the role of Congress in the making of foreign policy

James Robinson claims that the congressional role in the making of foreign policy is primarily one of legitimating and amending policies initiated by the Executive to deal with problems usually identified by the Executive. He argues that Congress holds a disadvantage in all three of the aspects of foreign policy making, these being the need for large amounts of technical information, short decision time, and great financial cost.[11]

Congress, in Robinson's view, too often is dependent on information collected and processed by the Executive's bureaucracy.[12] Members of Congress are even said to lack confidence in their own information on foreign affairs and for this reason are said to be timid in the field of foreign policy. [13]

The time factor also works to the disadvantage of Congress. It simply is not capable of reacting as fast as the President to developments abroad.

Even the Congressional power to appropriate (or not to appropriate) funds, according to Robinson, hardly gives Congress the ability to take the initiative in the field of foreign policy. Congress, by virtue of its constitutional

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[9] Ibid, p.129.
[10] Karl von Vorys: American Foreign Policy, p.18.
[11] James A. Robinson, *Congress and Foreign Policy Making: a Study in Legislative Influence and Initiative* (Homewood 1962), p.191- 193.
[12] Ibid, vi.
[13] James M. Lindsay, *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Baltimore/London 1994), p.141-142.

authority to appropriate funds, at first glance seems to hold an advantage over the Executive by being able to determine the limits of the financial contributions to foreign affairs for 'presidents cannot spend money that Congress refuses to appropriate'.[14] However, even though the Executive possesses no constitutional mandate to impound funds, presidents have declined to use money for purposes directed by Congress. Whether or not, as Lindsay points out[15], presidents gain little support for ignoring Congress's power of the purse or not, is not really relevant. What is, is that it is more difficult for Congress to appear in the role of initiator in the field of foreign policy than it is for the President.

A further rather negative conclusion Robinson draws that is interesting in the context of this paper is that he claims that the influence of Congress in the making of treaties is less great than appears from the Constitution. Over the years Congress has become less intensively involved and consulted in the negotiation phases of treaties.[16] Famous, in this respect, is the story of George Washington's humiliating experience when he sought the advice of the Senate on a treaty with the Cree Indians in 1789. Von Vorys writes: "The Senate made a big stir about it. The President had to sit by in their chamber while they haggled over procedure and debated at length various ancillary trivia. Disgruntled Washington never again turned for advice, nor did his successor. And the Senate tacitly accepted this." [17]

Over the years Presidents have had little reason to fear the Senate, for even thought the Senate can amend treaties and make reservations, senators have only occasionally used this opportunity. In fact, they hardly ever rejected a treaty. Also, Congressional involvement in international agreement is often avoided by negotiation Executive agreements instead of international treaties. [18] And, as most foreign policy is forged by Executive agreements, Presidential statements and promises that do not need to be approved by Congress, a lot of policy shaping, thus, takes place outside the congressional sphere of influence.[19]

The authors Jordan, Taylor and Korb in their analysis of American foreign policy making[20] present three different reasons to explain the secondary role of Congress.

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[14] Ibid, p.158.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Robinson: Congress and Foreign Policy Making: p. 46-48.
[17] Karl von Vorys: American Foreign Policy, p. 18. See for a slightly different version of the story: James A. Nathan and James K. Oliver, *Foreign Policy Making and the American Political System* (Baltimore/London 1994), p. 99.
[18] Nathan and Oliver: Foreign Policy Making, p. 99.
[19] Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policy Making of Defense and Foreign Affairs* (New York. 1971), p. 69
[20] Amos A. Jordan, William J. Taylor, Jr., and Lawrence J. Korb, *American National Security: Policy and Process* (Baltimore/London 1989)

First, they claim that the American public expects the President to take the lead in foreign politics.[21] Lindsay argues that this makes it hard for Congress to criticise the President on foreign policy, for voters could interpret this criticism as a way of undermining the President and could potentially blame Congress for putting the national interest at risk. [22] At the same time, when members of Congress criticise Presidential foreign policy for it is costing constituents too much tax money or - in case of weapon reduction programmes- too many jobs, challenging the President can have favourable effects for individual members of Congress.[23]

Second, Jordan, Taylor, and Korb argue that the power within Congress is not centralised due to the many different committees that are at work in Congress. For this reason, a decision made by Congress is never a result of a discussion throughout the whole congressional body. It is the result of a lot of committee work. And because every committee concentrates on its own particular field it is hard for individual member of Congress to keep an overview.[24] Some authors, on the other hand, have pointed out the advantages of the Congressional committee system. Susan Webb Hammond in her study on the role of Congress in foreign policy underlines the fact that when it comes to the introduction of new ideas or to reactions to prevailing views by policy makers, the decentralised organisational model of Congress offers a lot of opportunities. However, when it comes to fast co-ordination and initiative as required in negotiating treaties, she admits, this form of organisation is less effective.[25]

Third, Jordan, Taylor, and Korb conclude that members of Congress lack expertise as well as information when it comes to conducting foreign policy.[26] Lindsay mentions exactly the same when accounting for Congressional timidity on foreign policy.[27] Jordan, Taylor and Korb blame the lack of expertise and information on the way committees work. On the one hand, they admit, the committee system results in members developing a certain expertise. However, on the other, it causes this expertise to be concentrated on a specific element of the committee's work. Members of Congress therefore do not have the ability to completely oversee all that is happening within their area of expertise (which is most often something in the field of domestic policy), let alone of what is happening outside of it.[28]

Webb disagrees with Robinson, Jordan, Taylor and Korb when it comes to the Congressional 'information-disadvantage'. She states that due to the fact that there is more information available nowadays, advantages for Congress have

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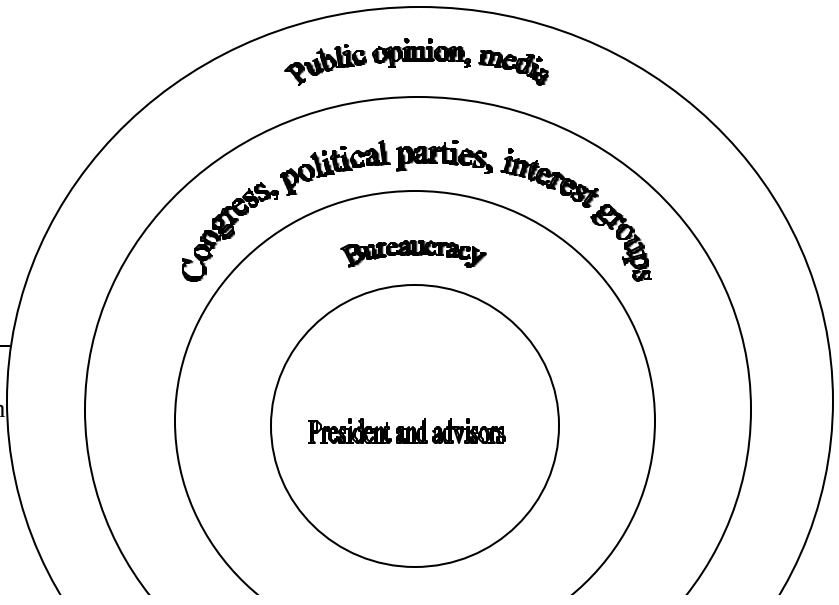
[21] Ibid, p.112.
[22] Lindsay: Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy, p. 142.
[23] Ibid, p. 157.
[24] Jordan: American National Security, p.113.
[25] Susan Webb Hamond, 'Congress in Foreign Policy' in: Edmund S. Muskie, Kenneth Rush, and Kenneth Thompson, *The President, the Congress and Foreign Policy* (Lanham 1986), pp. 67-91, p.90.
[26] Jordan: American National Security, p. 114.
[27] Lindsay: Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy, p. 142.
[28] Jordan: American National Security, p.113.

been created. Individual members of committees, which she names besides committees and subcommittees as central actors within Congress, have more opportunities to influence outcomes of policy by, for instance participating in trips abroad or negotiations with foreign governments.[29]

As stated before, Robinson, Jordan, Tayor, and Korb do not endorse this view. They feel that the enormous amount of often complex information, in combination with the fact that mostly executive departments are responsible for the making of this increased flow of information, works to the advantage of the President. The President, in their view, thus clearly is the most important actor in the foreign policy making process.

Morton H. Halperin[30] also names the President as the most important actor in the foreign policy making process. In his study he shows that presidential decisions are the result of the interplay between Congress and President, public and private interests, domestic and foreign politics, personal interests and developments abroad. When it comes to power and influence, however, in his view the presidential bureaucracy has much more of a 'say' in the decision of the President than Congress has. Spanier and Uslaner seem to agree with Halperin. According to them, the decision-making arena on foreign policy questions is best described as a set of concentric circles. The smallest, inner circle contains the actors that actually make the decisions on most of the foreign policy questions. Here we find the President and his closest advisers. Beyond this inner circle are three more circles. Each successively is said to have less of an impact on the foreign policy decision.

Figure 1. Spanier and Uslaner's concentric circles of power in the foreign policy making process



[29] Ibid, p. 82-83.
[30] Morton H. Halperin

Source: John Spanier and Eric M.Uslaner, *How American Foreign Policy Is Made* (New York 1975), p.55.

One can conclude form Figure 1. that just as Halperin, Spanier and Uslaner give a more prominent role to the Presidential bureaucracy than to Congress.

Nevertheless, there are factors that lead some authors to adhere a less pessimistic view of the role of Congress. Congress does possess means to counterbalance the Executive's advantage. In other words, there are ways for Congress to enhance its influence on the foreign policy making process.

One of the ways Congress can increase its influence is by organising hearings. This way Congress is able to gather its 'own' information on strategic decisions.[31] In these hearings Congress can call on witnesses to testify, to explain policy and answer questions from senators. Also, during these hearings different views on policies can be given by pressure groups, independent think tanks, academic experts, and so on and so forth. Hearings this way offer a way to counterbalance the Executive's 'information advantage'.

Another way is for Congress to conduct its own research.[32] Not everybody agrees, however, that the fact that Congress in the 1970s created bodies such as the Congressional Research Service (CRS) and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) freed Congress from its information disadvantage. Nathan and Oliver claim, on the contrary, that 'Congress's dependence upon the executive's information and analysis of policy options seemed to increase as the complexity of governance and the sheer weight of numbers ..[ ]…cascaded on the Congress's collective consciousness. The initiative for providing the numbers, and indeed, for defining the problems lay with the Executive, and the

[31] Jordan: American National Security, p.114.
[32] Ibid.

best that CBO can do was to say whether the data the executive provided were good or bad'.[33]

Finally, Congress is said to be able to use its freedom in the field of foreign policy, due to the fact that relatively speaking few pressure groups are active in it, to enhance its influence. Congressmen when taking decisions in the field of foreign policy thus cope with less pressure than is the case when making decisions with regard to domestic issues. [34] Again, in the literature on the congressional role in foreign policy making, opinions on the extent to which public opinion enhances or limits the role of Congress vary greatly. In the following some views on the role of public opinion and its effect on the respective role of Congress and President will be further discussed.

Views on the role of public opinion

Although of course not mentioned in the US Constitution, public opinion, besides the President and the Congress, is a third actor in the process of foreign policy making. The role of public opinion is relevant for this study because there is a relation between the role of public opinion and the role of Congress in the field of foreign policy. While both the President and Congress need popular support for the foreign policy programmes that are pursued, Congress is said by some to be more sensitive to public opinion than the President due to the frequency of Congressional elections.[35]

Opinion polls conducted in 1997 show that the American public was not very interested in the issue of NATO enlargement. Only 20% of the American population followed the news on NATO and on the Madrid Summit in 1997.[36] However, a substantial number of pressure groups was actively involved with the issue of NATO enlargement. The vast majority of them were campaigning for NATO enlargement. Among these were, for example, ethnic lobby groups such as the Polish American Congress (PAC) that combined efforts with other ethnic pressure groups through the Central and East European Coalition. Also, groups representing the defence industry and groups such as the New Atlantic Initiative, with a striking number of former Secretaries of State and other prominent ex-officials were very active in the 'pro-NATO enlargement movement'. The few opponents of NATO enlargement were represented by pressure groups and think tanks such as, for instance, the Arms Control Association, the British American Security Council (BASIC) and by a groups of academics led by former advisor to Clinton Michael Mandelbaum and Soviet-expert Susan Eisenhower. This situation seems to reflect the one Gabriel Almond describes in Vocke's analysis

[33] Nathan and Oliver: Foreign Policy Making, p.81-82.
[34] Hilsman: The Politics of Policy Making, p.69.
[35] Jordan: America National Security, p.115-116.
[36] US Information Agency. Office of Research and Media Reaction, *NATO Enlargement: The Public Opinion Dimension.. Research Report* (Washington, D.C October 1997), p.13.

of American foreign policy. He claims that on the whole the interest among the American public in world politics in limited and that only a small group of experts and intellectual individuals have a constant interest in foreign affairs.[37]

If one defines public opinion as the opinion of the mass public, than one could perhaps conclude that Congress in the case of NATO enlargement had an opportunity to assert its influence over the making of this policy, for the simple reason that the 'public' was quite ambiguous over the issue and was unlikely to 'punish' Congress for its decisions. However, if one defines 'public opinion' as the opinion of the foreign policy elite, it becomes a different story. Jordan, Taylor and Korb link the two by defining 'public opinion' as 'the will of the people'. This will, in their view, is rarely a spontaneous reaction. Moreover, it is 'a reaction to selective information presented by institutions and individuals'.[38] The media as well as pressure groups that use the media to 'get their message out' assume an important role in forging public opinion. For this reason, the pressure groups involved with the issue of NATO enlargement had to be taken seriously by Congress. However, as will be argued in the next chapter, the President, contrary to what is generally held to believe, proved to be more sensitive to public pressure than Congress was.

Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that throughout history Presidents have used the fact that the Constitution was open to interpretation in the field of foreign policy by securing greater power for the Executive branch. The secondary role of Congress has been ascertained by its limited access to information, the fragmentation of power within Congress, the lack of expertise among its members, and the cost- and time factor that work in favour of the executive. When it comes to Congress's power with regard to the ratification of international treaties, it has been argued that Congress over the years has been more or less excluded during the preparatory phase. Also, Congress is easily surpassable by drawing up Executive agreements instead of international agreements. Consequently, Congress is limited in its power to influence the making of foreign policy.

However, Congress also has been said to possess means to enhance its influence over the foreign policy making process. Members of Congress have increased the extent to which they are able to access information. Congressional hearings play a key role in this. And, although some scholars claim Congress is more 'sensitive' to public opinion that the President, Congress has been said to be able to increase its influence because there are not that many pressure groups active in this field.

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[37] William C. Vocke, *American Foreign Policy: An Analytical Approach* (New York 1976), pp.196-197.

[38] Jordan: American National Security, p.104.

III. The Making of the Presidential NATO Policy

On 24 February 1997 the Clinton Administration sent a report to Congress in which the arguments for enlargement were clearly stated. According to this report, the Clinton Administration's policy had to be seen as part of a 'broad strategy to foster a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe'. Also, 'support for German unification; assistance to foster reforms in Russia, Ukraine and other independent states; negotiation and adoption of the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty; and the evolution and strengthening of European security and economic institutions' were part of that strategy. Most importantly, NATO enlargement was pursued for it would 'help the United States and Europe erase outdated Cold War lines and strengthen shared security into the next century'. [39]

Clinton's NATO policy was by far not clear from the moment he came to power in 1992. Initially, Clinton experienced difficulties in defining his course in foreign policy.[40] By early 1994, however, Clinton started to shows signs of support for NATO enlargement. NATO enlargement was to become one of the main pillars of his foreign policy.

Several factors contributed to the formulation of Clinton's NATO enlargement policy. This chapter will discuss the factors that determined the presidential decision to pursue NATO enlargement. Then, by reflecting upon what was said on a role of Congress in foreign policy making in the previous chapter, it will briefly discuss to what extent and under what circumstances Congress was able to cast its influence over this phase in the NATO enlargement policy making process.

VII. The making of NATO policy in Clinton's first term

"He [Clinton] does it all for short term political reasons. He does it to win the elections". [41]

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[39] U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Canadian and European Affairs, ate, *Report to the Congress on Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications* (Washington, D.C. 24 February 1997) p. 1.

[40] Bruce W. Nelan, 'Clinton's obstacle course: the President's swing through Europe will test his ability to define America's role in a complex postwar world', *TIME Magazine* (Vol. 143. No.2, 17 January 1994)

[41] Wolf Blitzer, 'Open microphone catches Chrétien's criticism of Clinton ', *CNN World News* (9 July 1997)

The remark of the Canadian Prime Minister Chrétien, made during the Madrid Summit in July 1997, is an often-heard explanation for Clinton's NATO enlargement policy. Indeed, during the Presidential elections of 1992 Clinton gained a lot by winning over the support of the Americans from Central and East European descent. These ethnic groups, traditionally strong supporters of the Republic Party, had left the GOP in 1992 'en masse' out of frustration over President Bush's policy towards Russia. They felt Bush was too 'soft' on Russia and disapproved of his hesitant stance towards recognising breakaway Soviet republics.

Although the Americans of Central and East European descent only make up for about 8.5 per cent of the overall American population, they were capable of playing a key role in the 1992 Presidential elections, for most of them live in states that are important for a nation-wide victory and tend to have an above-average voter turnout. Clinton cleverly used this knowledge to his advantage by criticising Bush's policy towards Central and East Europe and Russia during his Presidential campaign. In the end, of the fourteen states that house these ethnic groups, Clinton managed to win in twelve.[42]

Despite the promises made during his election campaign Clinton initially did not give 'much thought to the issue of NATO's future'.[43] Clinton, just as his predecessor, was thought to be of the opinion that Russia should not be provoked. Several things, however, made him change his mind.

First of all, the campaigns of several Central and East European countries and also Germany are believed to have attributed to Clinton 'warming-up' to the idea of NATO enlargement.[44] The story goes that Clinton met Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel at the opening reception of the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. in April 1993. Both leaders in a personal conversation with the President expressed their eagerness to join NATO. 'After the meetings Clinton told his security advisor Anthony Lake how impressed he had been with the vehemence with which these leaders spoke, and Lake says Clinton was inclined to think positively towards enlargement from that moment'.[45]

Rudolf, although recognising that some of the influences on the evolution of the Presidential NATO policy came from abroad, argues that the policy making process was mostly driven by domestic

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[42] Dick Kirschten, 'Ethnics Resurging', *National Journal* (25 February 1995), pp. 484-487, p. 484.

[43] James M. Goldgeier, 'NATO Expansion: The Anatomy of a Decision', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 21 No. 1 (Winter 1998), pp. 85-102, p. 86.

[44] Peter Rudolf, 'The USA and NATO enlargement', *Aussenpolitik* , Vol. 47, No. 4 (1996), pp. 339-347, p. 339-340.

[45] Goldgeier: NATO Expansion, p. 86-87.

pressures.[46] Nelan gives a very original twist to this statement. He argues that besides the difficulties Clinton had in the beginning of his term with setting out a clear foreign policy, he experienced difficulties in dealing with the national media. Stories about his private life had been extensively covered. Because of this his popularity rates were dropping. Nelan claims it was the lack of respect Clinton received in 'Washington', which made him try and find it in foreign capitals by pushing for NATO enlargement.[47] This argument is perhaps a little bit too far fetched. One must reminded oneself that with the exception of Germany, the other NATO allies were not that enthusiastic about NATO enlargement at that point in time. 'Forcing' European capitals into accepting US Presidential NATO policy for 'the wrong reasons' would have damaged Clinton's reputation abroad as well.

Several scholars that have thoroughly analysed the decision to enlarge NATO point to the role of the Clinton Administration's in the President's decision making process. On 18 October 1993, during a meeting that was attended by national security advisor Anthony Lake, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Minister of Defence, Les Aspin and Joint Chief of Staffs Shalikashvili, the different attitudes towards enlargement within the Clinton Administration were expressed. Lake wanted to go ahead with enlargement quickly. Aspin and Shalikashvili preferred to postpone enlargement. Instead, they wanted to pursue intense military co-operation through the Partnership for Peace proposals. Christopher had taken over Talbott's opinion and wanted to proceed with a gradual enlargement. At the same time he expressed his concern about Russia's reaction.[48]

Eventually, 'the administration decided to expand NATO despite widespread bureaucratic opposition, because a few key people wanted it to happen'.[49] Anthony Lake was one of these key people. As stated above, he was very much for enlargement and encouraged the President to make references to NATO enlargement in speeches given throughout 1993 and 1994. Lake, in turn, used some of these Presidential statements to direct the National Security Council (NSC) staff into formulation a sound policy for NATO enlargement.[50] Another influential figure was Strobe Talbott, Clinton's advisor on the former Soviet states. Talbott is said to have convinced Christopher, who initially did not want enlargement to happen too quickly, to support

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[46] Peter Rudolf, 'The Future of the United States as a European Power: The case of NATO Enlargement', *European Security*, Vol. 5 No. 2 (Summer 1996) , pp. 175-195, p. 176.

[47] Bruce W. Nelan, 'Clinton's obstacle course', *TIME Magazine* Vol. 143 No. 2 (17 January 1994).

[48] Goldgeier: NATO Expansion, p. 90-91.

[49] Ibid, p.85.

[50] Ibid. See for more on Lake's role: Douglas Brinkley, 'Democratic Enlargement: The Clinton Doctrine', *Foreign Policy*, Vol.- No. 106 (Spring 1997), pp. 111-127.

enlargement of NATO with the three most democratic countries, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic. Talbott, a very close friend of Clinton, according to Rudolf was also able to convince Clinton to pursue NATO enlargement.[51]

Clinton in the end chose a solution that satisfied just about everybody within his administration. In early 1994, he formally proposed the Partnership for Peace. Besides that he started expressing more strongly his intention to eventually enlarge the Alliance. Also by proposing the Partnership for Peace at NATO Summit in Brussels in January 1994, Clinton sought to reassure his European allies of the US involvement in Europe's security, something some of the European allies had openly questioned.[52]

Clinton might have thought that the Partnership for Peace proposals tied in very well with the demands made by the leaders of the Central and East European ethnic groups as well. However, this did not prove to be the case. The Central and East European Coalition, established in late 1993 and made up of 16 ethnic pressure groups with ties to Central and Eastern Europe, expressed its unhappiness about the Partnership for Peace proposals. Their main objection was that the proposals did not entail clear deadlines for the admittance of new members.[53]

The Central and East European countries themselves had similar concerns. For this reason, the week after the Summit in Brussels, Clinton planned several meetings with Heads of State and Government to reassure them of America's involvement with their security. In the same week, Clinton also met with the Russian President Boris Yeltsin to convince him of the fact that NATO's plans were not something he should worry about.[54] It thus seems fair to conclude that although Clinton's NATO enlargement policy started to take shape from the end of 1993 and the beginning of 1994 and onwards, his policy at that point in time was still very much unclear. This is one of the reasons why, as will be discussed in the following section, some members of Congress used NATO enlargement as a subject to criticise the Clinton Administration during the Congressional elections of 1994.

The above mentioned absence of a clear policy created a vacuum that other political actors were more than willing to fill. The Republicans, who won the majority in Congress at the elections in 1994, used the subject of NATO enlargement mainly as a means to criticise the

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[51] Rudolf: The USA and NATO enlargement, p. 340.

[52] Jay Branegan, 'Clinton goes courting', *TIME Magazine*, Vol. 146 No. 23 (4 December 1995)

[53] Kirschten: Ethnics Resurging, p. 485.

[54] Nelan: Clinton's obstacle course, p. 1

Administration's 'Russia first policy'.[55] The moment the Republicans took over Congress they warned the White House that they were going to pursue an active role in both domestic and foreign politics. The Republicans incorporated this 'promise' in their party programme, the so-called 'Contract with America'.[56] One of the most important elements of the 'Contract with America' was the National Restoration Act. The House of Representatives passed this Act in February 1995. Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia) was an important man behind the 'Contract of America'. He wanted to cut down on economic aid to Russia and at the same time pursue a policy of rapid NATO enlargement. Bob Dole (R-Kansas), the then Senate Majority Leader, agreed with Gingrich. Fear for Russia seemed to be the motivation behind the National Restoration Act.[57] Until that time, friendly relationships with Russia had still claimed to be a priority for Clinton. The meetings between Yeltsin and Clinton always had proceeded relatively smoothly. Some claim that congressional influence at this point was quite severe. Church, for instance, is of the opinion that because Clinton was now faced with a Republican ruled Congress his policy, particularly the part that concerned Russia changed considerably. [58]

Congress also through more indirect means was able to influence the course of the Administration's policy. When Strobe Talbott was nominated for the position of Deputy Secretary of State, this had to be approved by Congress. While debating his potential appointment at several times senators criticised Talbott for being too soft on Russia.[59] It can thus easily be argued that Talbott (who as was pointed out before played a key role in the administration's decision making process) became a proponent of enlargement due to Congressional pressure.

Clinton's 'policy vacuum' also gave a lot of room for interest groups to dictate the foreign policy agenda with regard to Russia. In early 1995, Central and East European ethnic groups at several occasions expressed their concerns about Russia's cold war mentality. The President, again, paid a lot of attention to them. He had Richard Holbrooke, who at the end of 1994 had been installed as Assistant Secretary of State for European affairs, 'pull out all the stops in reassuring the [ethnic] leaders that the United States would not stand by if Russia tried to hassle with any of those countries'.[60]

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[55] Rudolf: The USA and NATO enlargement, p. 341.

[56] Richard N. Haass, 'Fatal Distraction: Bill Clinton's Foreign Policy', *Foreign Policy*, Vol.-No. 114.(Fall 1997), pp. 112-123, p. 114.

[57] Jonathan Dean, 'Losing Russia or Keeping NATO: Must We Choose?', *Arms Control Today*, Vol. 25 No. 5 (June 1995), pp.3-7, p. 6.

[58] George Church, 'Next, a cold peace', *TIME* , Vol.144 No.25, (19 December 1994)

[59] Rudolf: The Future of the United States, p. 177.

[60] Kirschten: Ethnics Resurging, p. 486.

So, both the majority in Congress and several pressure groups made it clear to Clinton that his policy needed to be adjusted and that he should commit himself to (fast) NATO enlargement. For this reason security advisor Lake advised the President that the time had come to make a firm statement on the issue. This was done in Prague were the president in January 1994 said that admittance of new members to NATO was no longer a matter of 'if', but a matter of 'when'. [61]

VIII.

IX. The making of NATO policy in Clinton's second term

During the Presidential elections of 1996 Clinton's opponent was Bob Dole. Together with Gingrich, Dole had heavily criticised Clinton's policy in his first term in office. The Republicans very much wanted to use NATO enlargement as an issue in their campaign. However, because Clinton had changed his policy, this was not really possible anymore.

Also in his second thrive for the presidency Clinton was aware of the voting behaviour of the Americans of Central and East European descent. The closer the elections approached the more firm Clinton was on his policy. All sorts of tactics were used of course. It should come as no surprise, for instance, that around this time the information that the Clinton Administration had sold weapons to former Soviet states to prepare them for NATO membership 'accidentally' came out. [62]

Halfway 1996, also Russian president Yeltin started his election campaign. In several of his campaign speeches he talked about the consequences of the by Clinton initiated NATO policy. At one occasion he even threatened to wage a war against Poland and other former Soviet states in case they would become members in the Alliance.[63] Also, in the following months Yeltsin made numerous fierce statements against NATO enlargement. In early 1997 he stated that he expected Clinton to make some adjustments in his NATO policy as to reach a compromise between the American and Russian stance towards NATO enlargement. During a conference in Helsinki where both Presidents met, Clinton, however, did nothing of the sort. On the contrary, Clinton managed to reach an agreement with Yeltsin (the Founding Act), which amongst other stated that they would no longer consider each other as adversaries and that they had the intention of overcoming old rivalries. This was indeed a diplomatic triumph for Clinton.[64]

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[61] Goldgeier, p.94.
[62] Kirschten, p.485.
[63] Bill Delaney, 'On invasion's anniversary, Yeltsin preaches against NATO expansion', *CNN World News* (22 June 1996)
[64] Christopher Ogden, 'A diplomatic triumph for Bill Clinton', *TIME Magazine*, Vol. 149 No. 21 (26 May 1997)

According to Ogden[65], Congress supported enlargement from the moment Clinton negotiated the Founding Act with Yeltsin in Helsinki. Two factors, in his opinion, made this Congressional support quite solid. One, Congress just as the President was sensitive to the voting behaviour of the Americans of Central and East European descent. Two, many Congressmen thought (even) more positive about NATO enlargement after the Founding Act was agreed upon. This applied to members of Congress with an anti-Russian attitude as well as to those who were afraid that Russia, due to NATO enlargement, would be isolated from its neighbours.

Although, as was mentioned before, the European allies initially were not enormously enthusiastic about Clinton's plans to enlarge NATO, most European nations by now had really warmed up to the idea. Headed by France and Italy they indicated that, besides Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, they wanted to admit Romania and Slovenia as well. A month before the NATO summit in Madrid started, Clinton stated the United States would be against that. The US woould not allow admittance of more than three new members.

The Role of Congress

As for the role of Congress, the above has shown that Congress was (only) one of the factors influencing Presidential policy. Especially throughout Clinton's first term in office, the time factor, contrary to what Robinson argued in the previous chapter, seems to have worked to the advantage of Congress, for due to the absence of a direct threat, the decision to enlarge NATO did not need to be taken quickly.

Furthermore, the lack of Presidential initiative allowed Congress to criticise his policy. It is apt to mention here, however, that 'opposition' from Congress during election times appeared to be synonym to opposition from the Republican majority in Congress. This opposition therefore might be attributed more to the influence of party politics than to the 'influence of Congress on Presidential policy in the making.

Nevertheless, in the years between 1993 and 1997, Congress took many initiatives carried with broad support among Congressmen from both sides of the political spectrum. On July 14, 1994 for instance, the Senate adopted an amendment proposed by John McCain (R-Arizona)**.** The amendment called upon the President to urge NATO to declare criteria and timetables for the admittance of new members into the alliance. A day later, the Senate adopted the 'NATO Participation Act', an initiative put forward by senators Hank Brown (R-Colorado) and Paul Simon (D-Illinois). The NATO Participation Act authorised the

[65] Ogden: A diplomatic triumph.

President to transfer excess defence articles to Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. It thus basically stated that these countries should be supported in their efforts to prepare for NATO membership.

Solomon remarks that regardless of the NATO Participation Act of 1994 and the amendments put forward to it in 1995, Congress was not able to dictate enlargement because 'various Congressional attempts were defeated in conference due to the lack of support in the House and vigorous lobbying on the side of the Administration'. [66]

Another Congressional initiative came with the 'NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act' of 23 July 1996. It identified Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as the three countries that had made the most progress in meeting the criteria set by NATO so far. It called for enlargement to be an open and continious process and allocated funds to help Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and also Slovenia with the transition to NATO membership. The Act was passed in both the House of Representatives and the Senate with an overwhelming majority. This led Representative Benjamin Gilman's to wish ouloud to 'never again hear that the Congress does not support NATO enlargement'. [67]

More initiatives in both the Senate and House of Representatives followed in 1997. In April of that year the Senate formed the NATO Observer Group. Twenty-eight senators, of whom half were Republicans and the other half Democrats, took place in the Group. Some of them were proponents, other opponents of enlargements. The Group set out to closely scrutinise the Administration and the way it continued to follow its policy of NATO enlargement. The senators' main worries were the costs involved with NATO enlargement and the policy conducted towards Russia. Also, the 'European Security Act of 1997' that was proposed in the House in the same month can be seen as an effort to direct the Administration's actions towards NATO enlargement in general and Russia in particular.

Although Gilman, who sponsored this initiative, claimed at the time that all these legislative efforts were a sign of Congressional consensus on the issue of NATO enlargement[68], not all members of Congress were completely convinced yet of the merits of the whole process and many of them still had some issues of concern. In June 1997, 20 senators sent a letter to Clinton in which they advised him to intensively discuss NATO enlargement with the Senate before going to Madrid. In the letter, the senators posed a number of questions, for example on the precise military implications of enlargement, the costs and the consequences for the relationship with Russia. The senators

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[66] Gerald B. Solomon, *The NATO Enlargement Debate, 1990-1997. Blessings of Liberty* (Westport/London 1998), p.65.

[67] Ibid, p. 99-100.

[68] See: Benjamin Gilman, 'How to Expand NATO', *The Washington Times* (23 April 1997)

demanded an answer before they would decide to vote upon the issue. [69] Asked about the significance of the letter one of its signers, Kay Bailey Hutchinson commented: "I do not think there is talk of organised opposition, I think there is a growing group of people with questions on enlargement."[70]

Clinton definitely took congressional concern about the potential cost of enlargement serious at this stage. Shortly before the Madrid Summit during a brief meeting with a congressional delegation, Clinton was once more reminded of the fact that he would encounter some heavy opposition during the ratification process in Congress if the cost of enlargement would be too high. [71]

This made him, to the great dissatisfaction of the especially the French, remain firmly committed to his stance towards enlarging NATO with three in stead of more members.

Conclusion

Numerous factors contributed to the making of the presidential policy towards NATO enlargement which, as has been shown in this chapter, began to take shape in late 1993, early 1994. In his first term in office, Clinton's policy only very slowly was beginning to take shape. Initially, Clinton pursued a course that he thought could please every actor involved. A good example of this was his Partnership for Peace proposals. The opponents of speedy enlargement (The Pentagon) could see these as a confirmation of their opinion. At the same time, proponents of quick or rather quick enlargement (Lake and the State Department) could interpret it as a positive sign.

Numerous actors have been said to be able to use the policy vacuum created by Clinton. Not only Congress, but also key people within the Administration such as Lake, Talbott and Holbrooke and the ethnic pressure groups active in the field were able to influence the President in the formulation of his NATO enlargement policy. Also (Republican) Congressmen made use of the policy vacuum by using 'NATO enlargement' as a subject to criticise the Clinton Administration during the Congressional elections of 1994. However, by the time of the Presidential elections of 1996 this 'tactic' did not work anymore, for Clinton had become more firm about his commitment to proceed with NATO enlargement.

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[69] Letter of 20 U.S Senators to President Clinton concerning admission of new members to NATO.

[70] Bruce Nelan, 'Beyond Cold Borders', *TIME Magazine,* Vol. 150 No. 2 (14 July 1997), pp. 1-5, p. 3.

[71] Wolf Blitzer and Steven Hurst, 'Clinton faces a fight at home and abroad over NATO expansion', *CNN Worl News* (7 July 1997).

The extent to which Congress influenced the making of NATO policy in the period leading up to the Madrid Summit in July 1997 is hard to indicate precisely. One of the reasons for this is that Congress ever since 1994 seemed to be supporting NATO enlargement to more or less the same extent as the Administration did. Both the Administration and Congress could of course benefit from this, for it would win over the support from American of Central and East European backgrounds. However, the President, contrary to what Jordan, Taylor and Korb have argued, seemed to be more ‘sensitive’ towards this ‘ethnic lobby’, for both in his 1992 and in his 1996 election campaign he had a lot to gain from winning over their support.

X. IV. The Debate on the Costs of NATO Enlargement

The costs related to NATO enlargement, as has become clear in the chapter III, was one of the main concerns expressed by Congress in the period leading up to the Madrid Summit in July 1997. It has already been concluded that these concerns led Clinton to decide not to invite more than 3 countries in the first round of NATO enlargement.

This chapter will mainly look at the role of Congress after the Madrid Summit.The role of Congress after the Madrid Summit was clear: it was up to the Senate to discuss the 'Madrid Treaty' and approve or disapprove of it by means of a vote. The way in which the Senate could enhance its influence over the making of foreign policy was to carefully consider the merits of the treaty and its implications for the broader conduct of foreign policy. In other words, in this phase, it was up to the Senate to make a good, well though through, and informed decision. This, however, was easier said than done. As will become apparent in the following, it proved hard to get a clear understanding of how much NATO enlargement would cost.

The cost studies

In order to make a well considered decision, senators had to familiarise themselves with the different cost estimates that were made of NATO enlargement.

Congress itself was the first to publish a study on the costs of enlargment in March 1996.[72] In September of that same year, the Californian based RAND co-operation also came out with a study on the costs of NATO enlargement.[73] Both these studies assumed the Visegrad countries[74] would become members in the first wave of NATO expansion. However, the studies differed in some of their other assumptions. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study, for instance, assumed that the new NATO members had to be defended against a possible Russian threat. The RAND study, on the other hand, saw NATO enlargement as being part of the grand strategy of creating stability in Europe. It specifically mentioned that it was not meant as a

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[72] See: CBO Papers, The Costs of Expanding the NTO Alliance (Washington, D.C. March 1996)

[73] See: Ronald D. Asmus, Richard L. Kugler, and Stephen Larrabee, 'What will NATO enlargement cost?', *Survival*, Vol. 38 No. 3 (Fall 1996) pp. 5-26.

[74] Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

way of preparing against a new Russian threat. It argued that in order to achieve a stable Europe, military changes were necessary in both member and new member states. A complete rebuilding of the armies, however, it did not deem necessary. Both studies discussed several options with their respective price labels ranging from $60.6 to $124.7 billion (in case of the CBO study) to in between $14-$20 and $52-$110 billion dollars (as calculated by the RAND co-operation).

In February 1997, the Pentagon published a cost study.[75] Also this study worked on some basic assumptions. In the Pentagon's view, a small group of non-specified Central European countries would join NATO in the first trench of enlargement. It was further assumed that NATO's existing strategic concept would serve as the foundation for meeting the defence requirements that resulted from enlargement and that in the existing strategic environment, there would be no need to station or permanently forward-deploy substantial NATO forces on the territories of new members. The costs attached to a mature collective defence capability would be incurred over 13 years, from 1997 through 2009. Also, the study mentioned that the standard NATO cost-sharing rules would be applied for new defence arrangements. This implied that individual NATO nations would have to pay for the maintenance and modernisation of their own national forces while costs for infrastructure would be shared where they qualified for common funding. The study concluded on the optimistic note that some portions of the estimated costs had already been incurred. In the end, the Ministry of Defence estimated the total costs of enlargement between $27 and $ 35 billion.

When the Pentagon study came out, it received some fierce criticism in the media. Carla Ann Robbins felt the estimates of the Administration were unexpectedly low. She explained this by stating that the Administration, in estimating the costs, had to take into consideration military and political consequences, the allies' reactions, but also defence experts within the Administration, who felt the Alliance would weaken as a result of NATO enlargement. [76] William Drozdiak, correspondent of *The Washington Post*, took it even further by calling the study a 'political sale' of NATO enlargement to Congress and to Russia.[77] Also Steven Erlanger of the *New York Times* claimed that there was lots of evidence to proof that the numbers were adjusted in order to find a balance between the conservatives in the Senate and

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[75] Bureau of Canadian and European Affairs. Department of State, *Report to the Congress on the Enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization: Rationale, Benefits, Costs and Implications* (February 1997)

[76] Carla Ann Robbins, Éastern Europe's NATO membership will cost the U.S less than expected', *Wallstreet Journal* (20 February 1997)

[77] William Drozdiak, 'NATO expansion 'on the cheap' may have surcharge', *Washington Post Foreign Service* (12 March 1997) p.AO1-5, p.2

the European allies that had to cut their budgets to meet the EMU-criteria on the one hand and the costs of enlargement on the other.[78]
On 2 December 1997 during the NATO Defence Ministerial meeting, the member states' defence ministers adopted NATO's Senior Resources Board study.[79] This study concluded that the costs to current and new NATO members in terms of additional infrastructure expenditure would be only US$ 1.5 billion. These costs would be spread out over a period of ten years.

The NATO study addressed only the costs directly related to enlargement and eligible for common funding. In addition, the guidance NATO used to identify what infrastructure improvements were needed was based on minimal military requirements and fulfilment of Article 5 commitments. As a result of that, the NATO's figures proved to be significantly lower than the numbers of the Pentagon's original estimate, and mere fractions of the CBO study's lowest figure.
Finally, in February 1998, the Pentagon released a second set of cost estimates.[80] This second Pentagon study confirmed NATO's projections. It recognised that infrastructure in the new member countries is in better shape than it had previously assumed. Finally, the earlier report suggested that the common budget would fund certain improvements which, in fact, the new members themselves will finance out of their national defence budgets. The new Pentagon study, issued in February 1998 accordingly anticipates that the American share of the enlargement costs will be roughly $400 million over 10 years or the standard 25% of the common budget. This is significantly less than the $4.9 billion - $6.2 billion range cited in its February 1997 study.
Thus, the different cost studies produced different outcomes. This resulted from the fact that they were all based on different assumptions. The costs of enlargement clearly depended on the answers to questions such as: to what extent is there is a threat to the Alliance? And if there is, what kind of forces is able to counter such a threat? And, what missions are seen as important to NATO?

After the Madrid Summit, the time had come for the Senate to try and get some answers to these questions. In the letter that was sent to the President in June 1997 some of them had already tried to do so. In September 1997, Clinton wrote to Congress in reply to this letter. Unfortunately, Clinton's letter did not contain concrete answers to the questions related to the costs of enlargement. He was very diplomatic

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[78] Steven Erlanger, Á war of numbers emerges over cost of enlarging NATO', *New York Times* (13 oktober 1997)
[79] US Department of State, Factsheet on NATO enlargement (11 February 1998).
[80] Report to Congress on the Military Requirements and Costs of NATO Enlargement (February 1998)

and very evasive in answering the questions posed. [81] By means of organising hearings, however, the Senate had the opportunity to counterbalance this information disadvantage. In the following section will see whether the Senate indeed did so, by analysing in more detail the cost debate that took place in the Senate.

Hearings

The Senate held two series of hearings on NATO enlargement. The first one took place in the fall of 1997. The second series took place in the spring of 1998. The Senate committees involved with the policy of NATO enlargement were the Budget Committee, the Armed Services Committee, the Appropriations Committee, and The Committee on Foreign Relations. Here, most attention will be given to the debates in the Committee on Foreign Relations and to a lesser extent the Appropriations Committee, for these committees organised most ofthe hearings about this topic. Also, they received more attention than other committees involved in the debate.

At the start of the ratification debates in the Senate, the media, that had predicted around the time of the Madrid Summit that the Senate would be very critical in the phase to come, at first glance seemed to be proven right. During the first two hearings of the Appropriations Committee that were held on the 21 and 22 October 1997, the senators were quite critical.

On 21 October, both Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Minister of Defence William Cohen were called upon to testify. Albright claimed to be convinced that the American taxpayer would get its money worth by through enlarging NATO spreading peace and stability in Europe. Cohen added to this that the costs of enlargement would be lower than estimated in the Pentagon study of February 1997. Republican as well as Democratic senators made it clear that they were not convinced that the costs of enlarging NATO with three new members would not stay within the limits. Senator Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vermont) remarked that the committee was not in possession of hard facts and therefore was not able to make a responsible decision. The fact that the Senate could, at that point in time, only work with three each other contradicting costs studies agitated almost all senators present. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) expressed his frustration about this by asking: 'Who is right? And who exactly is going to pay what?'. [82]

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[81] Letter to 20 senators on NATO enlargement, answers 10 and 11.

[82] U.S. Government Printing Office, *Hearings before the Appropriations Committee United States Senate. October 22, 1997* (Washington, D.C. 1998)

During the second hearing of the Appropriations Committee in which Wesley Clark and Henry Shelton were called upon to testify, more critical remarks were made by senators. Reference was made to the escalating costs of the US military involvement in Bosnia. Some senators indicated that the Clinton Administration in the case of Bosnia had promised that the costs would remain low. Senator Ted Stevens (R-Nebraska), amongst others, wondered whether this would happen in case of NATO enlargement as well. Also, he expressed his concern about the effect of NATO enlargement and the emphasis of US foreign policy on Europe. This, in his view, diluted America's interests in other parts of the world. Stevens stated he felt it was unacceptable to allow for a reduction in the US presence in Asia, the Pacific, Latin America and the Middle East, caused by the effects of NATO enlargement. Senator Pete Domencini (R-New Mexico) agreed with Stevens on this. Kay Bailey Hutchinson drew attention to the fact that Great-Britain, France and Germany had claimed not to spent any extra money on enlargement. She wondered who then would have to make up for the difference. Even strong proponents of NATO enlargement such as Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-New Jersey) admitted that the reactions of the NATO allies were all but enthusiastic. And again, during this second hearing, many senators took the opportunity to complain about the absence of a detailed cost study that they could study before December.

During the hearings that were held by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations the witnesses had it far easier. On 28 October 1997 a hearing that dealt with the costs of enlargement was organised. Ivan Eland from the CATO Institute, Stephen Hadley, a former Department of Defence employee, Richard Kugler, one of the authors of the RAND study, and Walter Slocombe , Under-secretary of Defence for Policy, were called upon to testify. Slocombe and Kugler used their testimonies mainly to voice their support for NATO enlargement and to explain how their respective studies had come into being. Both claimed the costs of NATO enlargement were relatively low. Slocombe, like Albright and Cohen, predicted the costs would even be lower than expected. Ivan Eland had a different opinion. In his testimony he heavily criticised both the RAND and the Pentagon study. He claimed not means to believe their figures. Hadley, in turn, gave a more general statement in which he, as a proponent of enlargement, expressed the opinion that a solid and credible security guarantee should be given, that way implying that the money would be well spent.

The questions of the senators during this hearing were very diverse. Senator Hagel (R-Nebraska) wondered what would happen in case new members would not be able to come up with their share of the costs. Slocombe made clear that in that case there would be a problem. However, he stressed that this problem would not have to be

solved by the U.S. Just like his colleagues during the hearings of the Appropriations Committee, Hagel wanted an explanation for the differences in the several cost studies. The debate that followed therefore mainly went into the different assumptions on which the cost studies were based.
What is interesting to note is that different senators used the hearings for different purposes. Some used them to shape their own opinion. Others used them to convince others of their opinion. Senator Biden (D-Delaware) clearly belonged to the second category. Biden, who in the early 1990s had been quite sceptical about NATO enlargement, by 1997 had become his party's most vocal proponent of enlargement. Senator Biden had gone on a fact-finding mission to Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia in early 1997. For this reason he was very much familiar with the issues involved. Biden wrote a report on the trip and wanted this report to serve as a guidebook for other senators who were less familiar with the topic of NATO enlargement.[83] During the hearings he took on this role a similar 'guiding' role.

The above shows, that attempts to convince the Senate to ratify NATO enlargement not only came from the Administration, but also from within the Senate. Numerous reasons can be given for this. First of all, some senators, like for example Biden, had a personal interest in NATO enlargement NATO. Others, as was the case with senators representing states with high percentages of Americans of Central and East European descent, had votes to gain by supporting NATO enlargement.

Senators who were not closely scrutinized by their constituents had more of a free-vote, meaning that voting pro or against NATO enlargement would not be held against them during elections times. One would expect this category of senators to have been very critical during the cost debate. The argument that the American taxpayer should not pay for European security is easy to make and easy to 'score points' with. This, however, did not happen. Criticism, as was described in the above, remained rather superficial. Perhaps this is not as surprising as it seems. Also in states where there was less interest in NATO enlargement, constituents were open to the 'feel-good proclamations of 'embracing our partners and 'extending democracy to Central Europe'.[84] A voice for enlargement combined with some critical remarks on the costs was a solid combination with the most change of an 'award' of the voter. Thus, further than the semi-critical attitude of Biden most senators did not come.

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[83] Joseph R. Biden, *Meeting the Challenges of a Post-Cold War World: NATO Enlargement and U.S-Russia Relations. Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate* (Washington, D.C 1997).

[84] Center for Defense Information, *Defense Monitor*, Vol. XXVII No.2 (Washington, D.C. 1997), p.1.

The role of Congress

Chapter III concluded that the secondary role of Congress in the field of foreign policy could be ascertained by the fact that Congress has limited access to information, that it lacks centralised power and expertise. Also with regard to its budgetary powers it has been said that the 'cost factor' works to the advantage of the President. Some of these limitations also surfaced when the time had arrived for the Senate to use its powers of advice and consent in ratifying the 'Madrid Treaty'.

As for the limited access to information, clearly, it was difficult for members of Congress to get a good overview of the exact cost of enlargement. This was true as much before as after the Madrid Summit. However, this does not necessarily imply that Congress suffered from an 'information advantage', as defined by the authors mentioned in Chapter II. Congress as well as the Administration calculated the costs of enlargement. The Congressional study had even been conducted before the Pentagon's. Neither Congress nor the Administration thus had access to all the information, simply because it was not available. However, the fact that the Administration came very late with its study (especially the second one) can be seen as an information disadvantage of Congress. It at least shows that the Administration was not as committed 'to work closely and in a bipartisan manner with Congress as it pursues its policy' as it claimed it was.[85].

As for counter balancing the limited access to information by organising hearings, by calling on government officials like Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Defence Secretary William Cohen and many other knowledgeable people on the issue of costs, Congress seemed to have taken its task of 'counterbalancing' very seriously. However, having looked at the debate in the Senate more closely, it must be concluded that the level of debate was rather poor. Few senators actually took the opportunity to pose questions to the experts invited. And the critical questions that were asked stayed very much on the surface. Perhaps, this can be explained by the fact that it is almost impossible for senators to acquire all the detailed knowledge about financial as well as military aspects required for a complete understanding of the costs involved in NATO enlargement. Posing very specific questions can for this reason be a rather challenging task. It is

[85] U.S State Department: Report to Congress, p.1.

therefore fair to say that indeed in the field of foreign affairs some senators are very dependent on the executive's information. The hearings held on the costs of NATO enlargement did not do much to change that.

Another reason why the hearings simply could not have done a lot to change the information disadvantage of Congress, was that a only very few senators attended the hearings on NATO enlargement. Often not even the entire committee was present. Of course, each senator had the opportunity to read reports on the hearings or sent their staff members to the hearing, but in that case he or she depended on others senator's questions to obtain their information.

A remark can also be made in reaction to the statement that the influence of Congress in the field of foreign affairs is limited due to the many committees that are active in the field. Each committee holds the responsibility to monitor only a certain part of the policy. Therefore, it only has the insight on that particular part. At first glance this conclusion does not seem to be right. The Committee on Foreign Relations, for example, held hearing on several topics such as the general pros and cons of NATO enlargement, the costs, the military implications and so on and so forth. Its concerns about the costs were shared with other committees, such as the Appropriations and the Budget Committee.

Furthermore, unlike what most authors stated mentioned in Chapter III, there were some 'centralising forces' at work within the Senate. Senators such as Joseph Biden, but also for instance Jesse Helms, played prominent roles in the enlargement debate. However, the central role of these senators had more influence on the internal policy making process in Congress. It did not, as Robinson concluded, result in a more balanced division of power between President and Congress in the field of foreign policy. Also, because in this case these senators were pursuing the same policy goals as the Administration it is hard to measure to what extent their opinions were incorporated in the Administration's policy.

Conclusion

The hearings that took place in the period after the Madrid Summit, were used by the Senate to raise some concerns about the precise costs of enlargement, about the US financial contribution to enlargement, about the new members' capability of footing the bills, and about the consequences of enlargement on the fragile economies of the new members. What has become clear, is that Congress was not able to influence policy as much as it did before the Summit in Madrid. Perhaps the reason for this was, however, was the very fact that a vast bipartisan majority of Congress in that phase already had

shown to be in support of NATO enlargement. Seen from this perspective, a very critical Congressional attitude after the sighing of the Madrid Treaty would not seemed very credible anyway.

But even if Congress, from the beginning onwards, had opposed to spending money on enlargement, than most likely a situation similar to the 'Bosnia-situation' would have occurred. There are always 'creative ways' for the President to spent money on programmes without having to ask for the consent of Congress. Both 'Bosnia' and 'Íraq' have proven that.[86] In the case of NATO enlargement, however, nothing of the sort proved necessary. The Senate willingly endorsed the policy of NTO enlargement without having made sure that issues concerning the costs of NATO enlargement were clarified.

[86] US Senate Republican Policy Committee, *White House already spending budget surplus…and not for social security* (Washington D.C 11 March 1998)

Summary

The debate on NATO enlargement that was to proceed ratification of the Protocols of Accession of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic was believed to be of crucial importance by many US senators and commentators around the time of the Madrid Summit in July 1997. Many underlined the significance of the role of Congress in the making of the American foreign policy. However, the myth of a powerful Congress that does not defer to the Executive on foreign policy has been unraffled when applied to the making of the US NATO enlargement policy. Congress, in the period before the Madrid Summit was only one of several actors in the field of foreign policy that influenced the Presidential decision-making process. In the period after Madrid, contrary to was generally held to believe, Congress was not as tough a hurdle as it was made out to be. The issue of NATO enlargement could be pushed through the Senate in a relatively easy manner. On 30 April 1998 the US Senate approved the decision to enlarge the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) with an overwhelming majority. All proposed amendments on the resolution were rejected. The Senate had posed no restrictions on the Presidential decision to pursue NATO enlargement.

V. The Debate on Russia

In chapter III, the Congressional opinion about 'the issue of Russia' in the forming of the NATO enlargement policy has already been touched upon. This chapter will further discuss the role of Congress. It will mainly focus on the debate about the effects of NATO enlargement on the relationship with Russia that took place in the Senate in the period after the Madrid Summit. In doing so it will analyse to what extent the Senate used its powers with regard to international treaties to the fullest by analysing whether it made a considered decision before voting for the Protocols of Acessions. First, an overview will be given of the information available to the Senate before it started its deliberations on Russia.

XI. The Founding Act

In February 1997 the Administration informed Congress about its position on Russia. In the Report to Congress, the Administration stated it wanted to work on a constructive relationship with Russia. It saw the attempt to 'build up a strategic partnership with a democratic Russia' as a part of the grand strategy behind NATO enlargement, which was the build-up of a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe. Recognising the objections Russian leaders had raised, the report stated that Russia would eventually realise that in the long term, the initiative would also work in Russia's advantage. Furthermore, the report mentioned that the Administration, as well as NATO, had proposed a number of initiatives in order to establish make sure that co-operation between Russia and the West would take place in the creation of a safe and stable Europe.[87]

In the month after the report had been published, Yeltsin and other Russian leaders proclaimed to be strongly against NATO enlargement. However, communications between the US and Russia did not as a consequence reach an absolute low. On the contrary, Clinton was being closely information in regard to Russia's stance towards NATO enlargement.[88] At the end of March, Clinton and Yeltsin met in Helsinki. As a result of the agreements reached there, on 27 May 1997, the Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation was signed.

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[87] Department of State: Report to Congress, p. 14.

[88] John F. Harris, 'After NATO vote, doubts on US-Russia rapport, *The Washington Post* (4 May 1998), A16.

In the Founding Act, a political commitment to work together on peace in the Euro-Atlantic community was laid down. In order to achieve the aims of the Act, a Permanent Joint Council (PJC) was founded. This Council would, in case of disagreement, try to find solutions through political consultation. It was further agreed upon not to interfere with each others internal affairs. Also it was decided that agendas for the meetings would be drawn up together, that issues such as conflict prevention, joint UN or OSCE-mandated operations, arms reduction, nuclear safety, and terrorism could be put on the agenda.[89]

All this information was of course available to Congress. Nevertheless, a number of senators felt that the Administration's precise view on Russia was still not entirely clear. They adressed a number of questions to the President in a letter send at the end of June 1997. Two of these questions dealt with Russia. The first dealt with the concern about the potential threat posed by Russia's nuclear arsenal to U.S national security. The senators wondered if Russian discontent with NATO enlargement would prevent them from supporting further arms reduction agreements. The second question related to this dilemma. The senators inquired what the US had given up in terms of NATO's own freedom of action to deploy forces on the territory of the potential new members in order to ease Russia's pain about NATO enlargement. [90]

In an editorial in *The Washington Post*, senators Kay Bailey Hutchinson and John Warner argued that the letter to Clinton had to be seen as a 'indication of critical investigation'. The authors emphasised the fact that politicians from a broad political spectrum, ranging from Jesse Helms to Paul Wellstone, had signed the letter, because they were all of the opinion that the treaty deserved more of a debate.[91] The following section will look at the whether indeed 'Russia' was properly debated during the hearings that were organised by the Senate.

XII. Hearings

During the range of hearings that were held in the Senate on the subject of Russia many experts from outside and within the government were asked to testify. Also, in hearings that not

[89] Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Co-operation and Security between NATO and the Russian Federation (Paris 27 May 1997).
[90] Letter of 20 U.S Senators to Clinton: questions 9 and 10.
[91] John Warner and Kay Bailey Hutchinson, 'The missing NATO debate', *The Washington Post* (24 July 1997)

specifically dealt with Russia as the main topic, many experts were asked to state their opinion on Russia.

In the fall session two hearings that were organised by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations were specifically dedicated to the subject 'NATO and Russia'. Henry Kissinger testified in the first. Kissinger, a fierce proponent of enlargement, warned the senators that the Founding Act in time could damage the effectiveness of NATO. He pointed out that Russia throughout history had been an imperialistic nation. In his view Russia, despite the fact it had build a democratic political system, thus could again become a nationalistic and imperialistic nation. Kissinger advised the Senate to ratify the Protocols of Accession. However, he recommended that it should use 'its instruments of advice and consent…[and]…explicitely reassert the central role of the Atlantic Alliance for American foreign policy, and insist that nothing in any other document shall detract from the North Atlantic Council as the supreme body of the alliance'.[92] The Senate thus would have to find a way to express that the Permanent Joint Council would be a political instrument and that the North Atlantic Council would take fundamental decisions. Future Secretaries of State would have to get some sort of an instruction by the Senate, which made clear to everybody that the Russians would not be involved in discussions before NATO would make any decision.

Kissinger gave repeated this statement several times for numerous questions about how the Senate could prevent that NATO would not dilute as a result of the Founding Act were posed to him.

Judging from the remarks made by senators during the hearings, their opinions were quite divers. On a numbers of occassions senators expressed their concern about Russia's stance towards the West and in particular towards the US. Overall, however, the Founding Act seemed to have taken a lot of those concerns away. Some thought that too high of a price was paid for the Founding Act. Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina), the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, worried about the fact that the US had listing too much to Russia's protests against enlargement. The fact that an entire hearing had been dedicated to Kissinger's testimony could be seen as a way for Helms to underline his personal concern about the Founding Act. Most senators though were clear proponents of a relationship with Russia and the West. They wondered, however, to what extent NATO would be comitted to discuss security issues with Russia. Hagel (R-Nebraska) for instance wondered what the Russians wanted to get out of the Founding Act. He, and many senators with him, obviously wanted to be reassured that Russia should only get a voice and not a veto in NATO-

[92] Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, NATO-Russia Relationship - Part I. (30 October 1997)

related decisions. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering, who was called to testify during the second hearing on NATO-Russian relations, in response to senator Hagel stated that Congress should definitely see the Permanent Joint Council as a consultative mechanism. The Administration's goal, he stressed, was to keep up the dialogue. He underlined, as Albright had done in previous testimonies that internal NATO matters would not be up for discussion. [93]

Besides Pickering also a panel of non-governemntal experts testified. Among these was Jack Matlock, professor at the Institute for Advanced Study and America's last Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Matlock, the only witness who opposed NATO enlargement, argued that adding members to NATO would do nothing to protect the U.S from the real threat of weapons of mass destruction. 'It is going to be increasingly difficult to obtain Russian co-operation in securing this material if our actions are interpreted as attempts to exploit Russia's current weakness, as they are by most [Russian] officials…'. [94] He stated to disagree with the predominant feeling, expressed by witness Lieutentant General Odom, Director of National Security Studies at the Hudson Institute, that NATO would be static of it would not admit new memebers. Matlock pointed out that developments the Partnership for Peace proposal showed that NATO was all but a static organisation.

In the final hearing that was organised by the Committee on Foreign Relations in February 1998 on the issue of NATO enlargement[95], the subject of Russi came up as well. Albright reaffirmed the Administration's confidance in the partnership it could build up with a new, more democratic Russia. She stressed that Russia could succeed in its efforts to become a normal democratic power, but thought this transformation would only be delayed if Russia was given the opportunity to block NATO expansion.

XIII. The role of Congress

With regard to the issue of Russia, just as with the issue of the costs of NATO enlargement, Congress seems to have taken its task of counter-balancing the Administration's information advantage very seriously. Also, again there were 'centralising forces' at work within the Senate that were able to enhance Congressional influence in the making of the U.S NATO policy. The previous section has shown that Jesse Helms was able to play a central role in the Senate

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[93] Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, NATO-Russia Relationship – Part II, (Washington, D.C. 30 October 1997)

[94] Ibid.

[95] Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, Administration views on the Protocols to the North Atlantic treaty on Accession of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech republic (Washington, D.C. 24 February 1998)

debate on Russia. His distinct opinion on U.S-Russian relations, combined with his chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, made this possible. Kissinger, who had almost the exact opinion as Helms, was given his 'own' hearing with all the media attention that comes with that.

Helms himself also made some headlines when he wrote a letter to Madeleine Albright on 17 September 1997 in which he offered his assistance in getting the Senate willing to ratify NATO enlargement. In exchange she was asked to meet ten conditions. Among these conditions was the condition to reject Russia's attempt to set up a nuclear free zone in Central Europe. Helms also asked the Administration to give a clear picture of what was 'off-limits' for Russia, such as for instance the decision to further enlarge and the Russian rejections to make concessions regarding NATO enlargement through negotiating arms reductions.[96]

Hilsman concluded in chapter III that foreign policy is more determined by executive agreements than by treaties. The only thing senators can do in case they disagree with an executive agreement, such as for example the Founding Act, it is to indirectly protest against it. In case of the Founding Act this could have been done by a protest vote against enlargement. It is almost impossible to conclude, however, whether this indeed has happened. First of all, Congress, contrary to the Administration, never really spoke with one voice. The fact that the Senate did not come up in the end with a resolution on Russia (as proposed by Kissinger), seen from this point should not come as a surprise. Second, it is also almost impossible to determine to what extent Clinton took Congress into consideration while talking to Yeltsin in Helsinki. We do know, however, that Clinton returned from Helsinki with something both proponents and opponents of enlargement saw the act as something positive. Even Jack Matlock who in his testimony had called NATO enlargement 'a profound strategic blunder' was satisfied with the US's negotiations with NATO and Russia.

At a certain point during the 30 October hearing Matlock said he assumed that the Senate would like to know how the Administration looked at Russia's problems, how it wanted to deal with these problems and how this related to its plans for NATO. Biden, in reply made a remark that illustrates the amount of influence the Senate can assert in the field of foreign policy: 'We cannot make foreign policy We can initiate things…[ ] …But, ultimately, we basically react in the area of foreign policy'. [97]

Hilsman in chapter III also argued that the relatively low number of pressure groups active in the field of foreign policy, allowed the individual member of Congress more freedom in this field, than in the field of deomstic politics. Due to this freedom, members of Congress, in his view, would be more likely to disagree with the President. This, Hilsman argued, could serve as some

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[96] Daniel Plesch and Alistair Millar, 'The UN-NATO family', *The Washington Times* (30 October 1997), A23.

[97] Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations (24 February 1998)

sort of counter balance to the Presidential prominence in the foreign policy making process.

However, it has become clear that primarily the senators that already knew they would vote for enlargement made very fierce statements. The ones who had doubts about the Presidential NATO policy, on the other hand, kept rather quiet. So, while a direct relation between the lobby groups and the opinion of senators can not be drawn, it can be said that the way the pro and anti-enlargement lobby was organised within and outside Congress showed a lot of similarities.

The influence of public opinion, or better said, of pressure groups influencing public opinion, on the role of Congress in the making of the policy aimed towards Russia, is also hard to precisley indicate. It has already been said that ethnic lobby groups pressured Clinton into adjusting his NATO policy. The same kind of pressure was put on Congress. Partly for this reason, the Republicans in Congress started to criticise Clinton's policy, which was said to be 'too soft on Russia'.

The (ethnic) lobby continued after the Madrid Summit. Organisations like the Polish American Congress urged their members to continue writing letters to senators to make them aware of their constituents' feelings concerning the treaty and Russia. When comparing this with the cost debate it becomes strikingly clear that besides the ethnic pressure groups far more groups and think tanks occupied themselves with the issue of Russia. Outside Congress the most influential opponents of NATO enlargement were the Arms Control Association, a groups of academics led by former advisor to Clinton, Michael Mandelbaum, and Soviet expert Susan Eisenhower.

The Arms Control Association emphasised the relation between NATO enlargement and possible difficulties in arms control negotiations. Mandelbaum even wrote a book in which he discussed the many arguments against enlargement.[98] He elaborated on his opinion during a testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on 9 October 1997. Also Susan Eisenhower was called upon to testify.

Also a number small think tanks and lobby groups spoke against NATO enlargement. The Fourth Freedom Forum, the Peace Action Education Fund, the Physicians for Social Responsibility, Women's Actions for New Directions, the Center for Defense Information and the British American Security Council (BASIC) are organisations that for different reasons were against enlargement. These organisations, however, were not able to greatly influence public opinion and individual members of Congress. Partly this was due to their strong differences in motivation. Partly because their campaigns started too late and were badly co-ordinated.

With regard to Russia, the group that was lobbying pro-enlargement was not only bigger, but also far all better organised. This become clear during the November 5 hearing of the Committee on Foreign Relations which was

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[98] See: Michael Mandelbaum, *The Dawn of Peace in Europe* (New York 1996)

dedicated to ‘public opinion on NATO enlargement’.[99] Through lobbying a number of organisations tried to get themselves invited to testify at this hearing. In the end there were ten witnesses invited: eight of them testified for enlargement, only two against. Three witnesses represented respectively the polish, Hungarian and the Czech community in the United States. Furthermore, the Jewish Committee was present. These ethnic pressure groups made it very clear they expected to be protected against Russia. Then, there were also groups representing the army, the academic world and several think tanks.

XIV. Conclusion

The exclusive power of the President to communicate with foreign governments gives him a lot of freedom to give direction to foreign policy. The 'Founding Act' that was signed by the President Clinton without him having to ask for Congressional consent, had a major impact on the direction of NATO-policy. The Senate's power to advise and to ratify treaties was therefore not enough to play a very influential role in the field of foreign policy. However, the Senate did counterbalance this by organising a number of very informative and constructive hearings on the topic of Russia. The debate during these hearings was of a good quality. Numerous experts were called to testify. The opinions of the Senators, contrary to the cost debate, varied extensively.

However, opposition from within the Senate against Clinton's policy remained limited. At first glance, this appears to be a proper reflection of the world outside Congress. There were more pressure groups lobbying for than against enlargement. Also the pro-enlargement movement was far better organised.

[99] Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, , Public Views on NATO Enlargement (5 November 1997)

VI. Conclusions

There is no doubt about the fact that Congress did cast its influence over US NATO policy. However, the exact extent of this influence is rather harder to determine precisely. Congress, for one, was not the only actor active in the policy making process. Besides the Republican dominated Congress, also influential figures within the Clinton Administration, such as, for example, Anthony Lake, Strobe Talbott, and Richard Holbrooke, the Central and Eastern European countries themselves, and numerous pressure groups pressed the Clinton Administration into adjusting the policy it initially pursued with regard to NATO. The fact that there were other players in the field with similar, or at least overlapping, agendas created the circumstances in which Congressional opinion could be incorporated into the Administration's policy towards NATO. As has become clear in the previous discussion, the initiative in NATO policy making process was taken out of 'Congressional hands' the moment President Clinton started using 'NATO enlargement' as a theme in his re-election campaign of 1996. Ever since that point on the role of the legislative branch in the making of US NATO policy was secondary to that of the role of the Executive.

Most US foreign policy experts will not be taken by surprise by this conclusion. The vast majority of scholars in this field rightfully claim that Congress is not as powerful as the President in the field of foreign policy making. It has several disadvantages. Congress, for example, is not able to make the rapid decisions that Presidents are often required to make in terms of foreign (and defence) policies. Also, it has been said to be less able to access information in the field of foreign policy. Furthermore, Congress' decentralised form of organisation has been mentioned as a reason for it being less able to, for instance, take initiatives. Last but not least, it has been stated that members of Congress in comparison to members of the executive branch possess less expertise in the field of foreign policy.

Congress, can counterbalance these disadvantages, for it possesses a number of means to enhance its role and influence in the field of foreign policy making. It can, for example, hold hearings to obtain certain information. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that individual members of Congress have more room for manoeuvre with regard to foreign politics in comparison to domestic issues, for less pressure groups are active in the field of foreign politics. This can enable the Senator in question to play a central role, and in this way influence the outcomes of policies. Finally, the budgetary powers of Congress provide it with the ability to influence the course of foreign policy even though some claim that this power can hardly be employed for initiating purposes.

Almost all the above mentioned dynamics all surfaced in the policy making processes that resulted in the Clinton Administration's policy of NATO enlargement. One exception has to be mentioned. The time factor in the context of NATO enlargement did not work to the advantage of the Executive. The situation in Central and Eastern Europe did not require a speedy reaction. Congress therefore did have the time to take initiatives. It indeed passed a number of bills which enabled NATO enlargement to take place even before Clinton started to adjust his policy.

On the whole, however, a less positive conclusion about the role of Congress must be drawn. In the period leading up to the signing of the 'Madrid Treaty', both with regard to the issues of 'costs' and 'Russia', Congress was not sufficiently informed and consulted by the Clinton Administration. This made it difficult for Congress to influence matters in a major way during this phase. The fact that Clinton was very much aware of Congressional budgetary powers led him, while negotiating the Treaty of Madrid, to pursue the idea of enlarging NATO with three instead of five members. The latter option, in his view, would not be accepted by Congress because of the higher costs involved. Thus Congress was able to influence Clinton's policy towards NATO enlargement in a more indirect manner when it came to the issue of the costs of NATO enlargement.

When it came to the question of 'Russia', on the other hand, Congress in this phase could hardly have a firm grip on Presidential policy. Clinton was able to use his exclusive right to communicate directly and sign executive agreements, such as the Founding Act, without having to consult Congress.

Many questions about NATO enlargement still remained after the Treaty of Madrid was signed in July 1997. By organising hearings the Senate had the opportunity to become more thoroughly involved in the Administration's NATO policy. However, especially during the first round of hearings that was organised in the Fall of 1997, the Senate was not able to obtain sufficient information on the costs of NATO enlargement. The were three cost studies available to the Senate in the Fall of 1997. Each was based on different assumptions and calculation, written with different agendas in mind and as a consequence of that contradicted one another to a great extent. It was only during the second round of hearings that were held in the Spring of 1998, that the NATO cost study and the new Pentagon study were available to the members of Congress.

The fact that the Clinton Administration was not able to estimate the precise costs of NATO enlargement as well does not alter the fact that Congress was faced with a 'information disadvantage' with regard to the issue of costs. The Clinton Administration failed to provide the Congress with information on the costs on NATO enlargement early

enough for the Congress, and more specifically the Senate, the Congressional body with the vested power to ratify international treaties, to make a decision based on insufficient information. Consequently, the Senate voted for enlargement without having a precise idea about what the costs would be.

Although many at the time felt that the hearings held by the Senate would counterbalance the 'information disadvantage' of Congress, this paper has proved that this was not always the case. First, the NATO enlargement debate took place only among a small number of senators. Second, the debate, especially about on costs of NATO enlargement, never really reached a high level. Proponents as well as opponents of enlargement, with the occasional exception, confined themselves to rather superficial comments and questions. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that most Congressional members lack expertise in the field of foreign policy, for they are more specialised in the domestic issues, to which they devote most of their time. The questions posed by senators during the hearings on the NATO-Russia relationship were of a higher calibre and, unlike the cost debate, resulted in more clarity about the issue. However, the better quality of the debate did not result in a unequivocal advice of the Senate or an imposed restriction.

Some senators have complained about the level of the NATO enlargement debate themselves. They claimed that the Senate had failed to perform its constitutional duty of seriously deliberating the decision to enlarge NATO.[100] A number of senators were, however, very much concerned with the matter. Senators such as Sam Nunn, Kay Bailey Hutchinson, Joseph Biden and Jesse Helms, to name a few, were able to play a central role in the debate. To what extent they affected other senators opinions is hard to establish however. What can be concluded, however, is that none of them was able to play such a 'centralising' role and thus counterbalance the power of the President in the making of the US NATO policy of enlargement. After months of occasional discussion NATO enlargement during some hearings, only a few days before the vote was due, the debate in the whole Senate really began. The issue of NATO enlargement, contrary to what Senator Lott was said to have implied before, was able to be pushed through the Senate in a relatively easy manner. On 30 April 1998, NATO enlargement was approved by a 80 to 19 vote. All proposed amendments on the resolution were rejected. The Senate had posed no restrictions on the (future) US NATO policy.

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[100] Eric Schmitt, 'Senate debates cap on NATO costs: as enlargement vote nears, first real discussions are held', *International Herald Tribune* (29 April 1998,.5.

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