

**Calendar No. 74**110TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION**S. 494****[Report No. 110-34]**

To endorse further enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to facilitate the timely admission of new members to NATO, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 6, 2007

Mr. LUGAR (for himself, Mr. DODD, Mr. VOINOVICH, Mr. SUNUNU, Mr. SMITH, Mr. MCCAIN, Mr. HAGEL, and Mr. BIDEN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

MARCH 9, 2007

Reported by Mr. BIDEN, without amendment

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**A BILL**

To endorse further enlargement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to facilitate the timely admission of new members to NATO, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “NATO Freedom Con-  
3 solidation Act of 2007”.

4 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5 Congress makes the following findings:

6 (1) The sustained commitment of the North At-  
7 lantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to mutual de-  
8 fense has made possible the democratic trans-  
9 formation of Central and Eastern Europe. Members  
10 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization can and  
11 should play a critical role in addressing the security  
12 challenges of the post-Cold War era in creating the  
13 stable environment needed for those emerging de-  
14 moeracies in Europe.

15 (2) Lasting stability and security in Europe re-  
16 quires the military, economic, and political integra-  
17 tion of emerging democracies into existing European  
18 structures.

19 (3) In an era of threats from terrorism and the  
20 proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the  
21 North Atlantic Treaty Organization is increasingly  
22 contributing to security in the face of global security  
23 challenges for the protection and interests of its  
24 member states.

25 (4) In the NATO Participation Act of 1994  
26 (title II of Public Law 103–447; 22 U.S.C. 1928

1 note), Congress declared that “full and active par-  
2 ticipants in the Partnership for Peace in a position  
3 to further the principles of the North Atlantic Trea-  
4 ty and to contribute to the security of the North At-  
5 lantic area should be invited to become full NATO  
6 members in accordance with Article 10 of such  
7 Treaty at an early date. . .”.

8 (5) In the NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act  
9 of 1996 (title VI of section 101(c) of title I of divi-  
10 sion A of Public Law 104–208; 22 U.S.C. 1928  
11 note), Congress called for the prompt admission of  
12 Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia  
13 to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and de-  
14 clared that “in order to promote economic stability  
15 and security in Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania,  
16 Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Moldova, and Ukraine  
17 . . . the process of enlarging NATO to include  
18 emerging democracies in Central and Eastern Eu-  
19 rope should not be limited to consideration of admit-  
20 ting Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slo-  
21 venia as full members of the NATO Alliance”.

22 (6) In the European Security Act of 1998 (title  
23 XXVII of division G of Public Law 105–277; 22  
24 U.S.C. 1928 note), Congress declared that “Poland,  
25 Hungary, and the Czech Republic should not be the

1 last emerging democracies in Central and Eastern  
2 Europe invited to join NATO” and that “Romania,  
3 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria . . . would  
4 make an outstanding contribution to furthering the  
5 goals of NATO and enhancing stability, freedom,  
6 and peace in Europe should they become NATO  
7 members [and] upon complete satisfaction of all rel-  
8 evant criteria should be invited to become full NATO  
9 members at the earliest possible date”.

10 (7) In the Gerald B. H. Solomon Freedom Con-  
11 solidation Act of 2002 (Public Law 107–187; 22  
12 U.S.C. 1928 note), Congress endorsed “. . . the vi-  
13 sion of further enlargement of the NATO Alliance  
14 articulated by President George W. Bush on June  
15 15, 2001, and by former President William J. Clin-  
16 ton on October 22, 1996”.

17 (8) At the Madrid Summit of the North Atlan-  
18 tic Treaty Organization in July 1997, Poland, Hun-  
19 gary, and the Czech Republic were invited to join  
20 the Alliance, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organi-  
21 zation heads of state and government issued a dec-  
22 laration stating “[t]he alliance expects to extend fur-  
23 ther invitations in coming years to nations willing  
24 and able to assume the responsibilities and obliga-  
25 tions of membership . . . [n]o European democratic

1 country whose admission would fulfill the objectives  
2 of the [North Atlantic] Treaty will be excluded from  
3 consideration”.

4 (9) At the Washington Summit of the North  
5 Atlantic Treaty Organization in April 1999, the  
6 North Atlantic Treaty Organization heads of state  
7 and government issued a communiqué declaring  
8 “[w]e pledge that NATO will continue to welcome  
9 new members in a position to further the principles  
10 of the [North Atlantic] Treaty and contribute to  
11 peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area . . .  
12 [t]he three new members will not be the last . . .  
13 [n]o European democratic country whose admission  
14 would fulfill the objectives of the Treaty will be ex-  
15 cluded from consideration, regardless of its geo-  
16 graphic location . . .”.

17 (10) In May 2000 in Vilnius, Lithuania, the  
18 foreign ministers of Albania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Lat-  
19 via, Lithuania, the Republic of Macedonia, Romania,  
20 Slovakia, and Slovenia issued a statement (later  
21 joined by Croatia) declaring that—

22 (A) their countries will cooperate in jointly  
23 seeking membership in the North Atlantic  
24 Treaty Organization in the next round of en-

1 largement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organi-  
2 zation;

3 (B) the realization of membership in the  
4 North Atlantic Treaty Organization by one or  
5 more of these countries would be a success for  
6 all; and

7 (C) eventual membership in the North At-  
8 lantic Treaty Organization for all of these coun-  
9 tries would be a success for Europe and for the  
10 North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

11 (11) On June 15, 2001, in a speech in Warsaw,  
12 Poland, President George W. Bush stated “[a]ll of  
13 Europe’s new democracies, from the Baltic to the  
14 Black Sea and all that lie between, should have the  
15 same chance for security and freedom—and the  
16 same chance to join the institutions of Europe—as  
17 Europe’s old democracies have . . . I believe in  
18 NATO membership for all of Europe’s democracies  
19 that seek it and are ready to share the responsibil-  
20 ities that NATO brings . . . [a]s we plan to enlarge  
21 NATO, no nation should be used as a pawn in the  
22 agenda of others . . . [w]e will not trade away the  
23 fate of free European peoples . . . [n]o more  
24 Munichs . . . [n]o more Yaltas . . . [a]s we plan  
25 the Prague Summit, we should not calculate how lit-

1       tle we can get away with, but how much we can do  
2       to advance the cause of freedom”.

3           (12) On October 22, 1996, in a speech in De-  
4       troit, Michigan, former President William J. Clinton  
5       stated “NATO’s doors will not close behind its first  
6       new members . . . NATO should remain open to all  
7       of Europe’s emerging democracies who are ready to  
8       shoulder the responsibilities of membership . . .  
9       [n]o nation will be automatically excluded . . . [n]o  
10      country outside NATO will have a veto . . . [a] gray  
11      zone of insecurity must not reemerge in Europe”.

12          (13) At the Prague Summit of the North Atlan-  
13      tic Treaty Organization in November 2002, Bul-  
14      garia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slo-  
15      vakia, and Slovenia were invited to join the Alliance  
16      in the second round of enlargement of the North At-  
17      lantic Treaty Organization since the end of the Cold  
18      War, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
19      heads of state and government issued a declaration  
20      stating “NATO’s door will remain open to European  
21      democracies willing and able to assume the respon-  
22      sibilities and obligations of membership, in accord-  
23      ance with Article 10 of the Washington Treaty”.

24          (14) On May 8, 2003, the United States Senate  
25      unanimously approved the Resolution of Ratification

1 to Accompany Treaty Document No. 108–4, Proto-  
2 cols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on Acces-  
3 sion of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Roma-  
4 nia, Slovakia, and Slovenia, inviting Bulgaria, Esto-  
5 nia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slo-  
6 venia to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-  
7 tion.

8 (15) At the Istanbul Summit of the North At-  
9 lantic Treaty Organization in June 2004, the North  
10 Atlantic Treaty Organization heads of state and gov-  
11 ernment issued a communiqué reaffirming that  
12 NATO’s door remains open to new members, declar-  
13 ing “[w]e celebrate the success of NATO’s Open  
14 Door Policy, and reaffirm today that our seven new  
15 members will not be the last. The door to member-  
16 ship remains open. We welcome the progress made  
17 by Albania, Croatia, and the former Yugoslav Re-  
18 public of Macedonia (1) in implementing their An-  
19 nual National Programmes under the Membership  
20 Action Plan, and encourage them to continue pur-  
21 suing the reforms necessary to progress toward  
22 NATO membership. We also commend their con-  
23 tribution to regional stability and cooperation. We  
24 want all three countries to succeed and will continue  
25 to assist them in their reform efforts. NATO will

1 continue to assess each country's candidacy individ-  
2 ually, based on the progress made towards reform  
3 goals pursued through the Membership Action Plan,  
4 which will remain the vehicle to keep the readiness  
5 of each aspirant for membership under review. We  
6 direct that NATO Foreign Ministers keep the en-  
7 largement process, including the implementation of  
8 the Membership Action Plan, under continual review  
9 and report to us. We will review at the next Summit  
10 progress by aspirants towards membership based on  
11 that report".

12 (16) Georgia and Ukraine have stated their de-  
13 sire to join the Euro-Atlantic community, and in  
14 particular, are seeking to join the North Atlantic  
15 Treaty Organization. Georgia and Ukraine are work-  
16 ing closely with the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-  
17 tion and its members to meet criteria for eventual  
18 membership in NATO.

19 (17) At a press conference with President Mi-  
20 khail Saakashvili of Georgia in Washington, D.C. on  
21 July 5, 2006, President George W. Bush stated that  
22 ". . . I believe that NATO would benefit with Geor-  
23 gia being a member of NATO, and I think Georgia  
24 would benefit. And there's a way forward through  
25 the Membership Action Plan . . . And I'm a believer

1 in the expansion of NATO. I think it's in the world's  
2 interest that we expand NATO”.

3 (18) Following a meeting of NATO Foreign  
4 Ministers in New York on September 21, 2006,  
5 NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer  
6 announced the launching of an Intensified Dialogue  
7 on membership between the Alliance and Georgia.

8 (19) At the NATO-Ukraine Commission Sum-  
9 mit in Brussels in February 2005, President of  
10 Ukraine Victor Yushchenko declared membership in  
11 NATO as the ultimate goal of Ukraine's cooperation  
12 with the Alliance and expressed Ukraine's desire to  
13 conclude a Membership Action Plan.

14 (20) At the NATO-Ukraine Commission For-  
15 eign Ministerial meeting in Vilnius in April 2005,  
16 NATO and Ukraine launched an Intensified Dia-  
17 logue on the potential membership of Ukraine in  
18 NATO.

19 (21) At the Riga Summit of the North Atlantic  
20 Treaty Organization in November 2006, the Heads  
21 of State and Government of the member countries of  
22 NATO issued a declaration reaffirming that NATO's  
23 door remains open to new members, declaring that  
24 “all European democratic countries may be consid-  
25 ered for MAP (Membership Action Plan) or admis-

1 sion, subject to decision by the NAC (North Atlantic  
2 Council) at each stage, based on the performance of  
3 these countries towards meeting the objectives of the  
4 North Atlantic Treaty. We direct that NATO For-  
5 eign Ministers keep that process under continual re-  
6 view and report to us. We welcome the efforts of Al-  
7 bania, Croatia, and the former Yugoslav Republic of  
8 Macedonia to prepare themselves for the responsibil-  
9 ities and obligations of membership. We reaffirm  
10 that the Alliance will continue with Georgia and  
11 Ukraine its Intensified Dialogues which cover the  
12 full range of political, military, financial and security  
13 issues relating to those countries' aspirations to  
14 membership, without prejudice to any eventual Alli-  
15 ance decision. We reaffirm the importance of the  
16 NATO-Ukraine Distinctive Partnership, which has  
17 its 10th anniversary next year and welcome the  
18 progress that has been made in the framework of  
19 our Intensified Dialogue. We appreciate Ukraine's  
20 substantial contributions to our common security, in-  
21 cluding through participation in NATO-led oper-  
22 ations and efforts to promote regional cooperation.  
23 We encourage Ukraine to continue to contribute to  
24 regional security. We are determined to continue to  
25 assist, through practical cooperation, in the imple-

1       mentation of far-reaching reform efforts, notably in  
2       the fields of national security, defence, reform of the  
3       defence-industrial sector and fighting corruption. We  
4       welcome the commencement of an Intensified Dia-  
5       logue with Georgia as well as Georgia's contribution  
6       to international peacekeeping and security oper-  
7       ations. We will continue to engage actively with  
8       Georgia in support of its reform process. We encour-  
9       age Georgia to continue progress on political, eco-  
10      nomic and military reforms, including strengthening  
11      judicial reform, as well as the peaceful resolution of  
12      outstanding conflicts on its territory. We reaffirm  
13      that it is of great importance that all parties in the  
14      region should engage constructively to promote re-  
15      gional peace and stability.”.

16           (22) Contingent upon their continued imple-  
17      mentation of democratic, defense, and economic re-  
18      form, and their willingness and ability to meet the  
19      responsibilities of membership in the North Atlantic  
20      Treaty Organization and a clear expression of na-  
21      tional intent to do so, Congress calls for the timely  
22      admission of Albania, Croatia, Georgia, Macedonia,  
23      and Ukraine to the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-  
24      tion to promote security and stability in Europe.

1 **SEC. 3. DECLARATIONS OF POLICY.**

2 Congress—

3 (1) reaffirms its previous expressions of support  
4 for continued enlargement of the North Atlantic  
5 Treaty Organization contained in the NATO Partici-  
6 pation Act of 1994, the NATO Enlargement Facili-  
7 tation Act of 1996, the European Security Act of  
8 1998, and the Gerald B. H. Solomon Freedom Con-  
9 solidation Act of 2002;

10 (2) supports the commitment to further en-  
11 largement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
12 to include European democracies that are able and  
13 willing to meet the responsibilities of Membership, as  
14 expressed by the Alliance in its Madrid Summit Dec-  
15 laration of 1997, its Washington Summit  
16 Communiqué of 1999, its Prague Summit Declara-  
17 tion of 2002, its Istanbul Summit Communiqué of  
18 2004, and its Riga Summit Declaration of 2006;  
19 and

20 (3) endorses the vision of further enlargement  
21 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization articu-  
22 lated by President George W. Bush on June 15,  
23 2001, and by former President William J. Clinton  
24 on October 22, 1996, and urges our allies in the  
25 North Atlantic Treaty Organization to work with the  
26 United States to realize a role for the North Atlantic

1 Treaty Organization in promoting global security,  
2 including continued support for enlargement to in-  
3 clude qualified candidate states, specifically by enter-  
4 ing into a Membership Action Plan with Georgia and  
5 recognizing the progress toward meeting the respon-  
6 sibilities and obligations of NATO membership by  
7 Albania, Croatia, Georgia, Macedonia, and Ukraine.

8 **SEC. 4. DESIGNATION OF ALBANIA, CROATIA, GEORGIA,**  
9 **MACEDONIA, AND UKRAINE AS ELIGIBLE TO**  
10 **RECEIVE ASSISTANCE UNDER THE NATO**  
11 **PARTICIPATION ACT OF 1994.**

12 (a) DESIGNATION.—

13 (1) ALBANIA.—The Republic of Albania is des-  
14 ignated as eligible to receive assistance under the  
15 program established under section 203(a) of the  
16 NATO Participation Act of 1994 (title II of Public  
17 Law 103–447; 22 U.S.C. 1928 note), and shall be  
18 deemed to have been so designated pursuant to sec-  
19 tion 203(d)(1) of such Act.

20 (2) CROATIA.—The Republic of Croatia is des-  
21 ignated as eligible to receive assistance under the  
22 program established under section 203(a) of the  
23 NATO Participation Act of 1994, and shall be  
24 deemed to have been so designated pursuant to sec-  
25 tion 203(d)(1) of such Act.

1           (3) GEORGIA.—Georgia is designated as eligible  
2           to receive assistance under the program established  
3           under section 203(a) of the NATO Participation Act  
4           of 1994, and shall be deemed to have been so des-  
5           ignated pursuant to section 203(d)(1) of such Act.

6           (4) MACEDONIA.—The Republic of Macedonia  
7           is designated as eligible to receive assistance under  
8           the program established under section 203(a) of the  
9           NATO Participation Act of 1994, and shall be  
10          deemed to have been so designated pursuant to sec-  
11          tion 203(d)(1) of such Act.

12          (5) UKRAINE.—Ukraine is designated as eligi-  
13          ble to receive assistance under the program estab-  
14          lished under section 203(a) of the NATO Participa-  
15          tion Act of 1994, and shall be deemed to have been  
16          so designated pursuant to section 203(d)(1) of such  
17          Act.

18          (b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—The designation of  
19          the Republic of Albania, the Republic of Croatia, Georgia,  
20          the Republic of Macedonia, and Ukraine pursuant to sub-  
21          section (a) as eligible to receive assistance under the pro-  
22          gram established under section 203(a) of the NATO Par-  
23          ticipation Act of 1994—

24                 (1) is in addition to the designation of Poland,  
25                 Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia pursu-

1 ant to section 606 of the NATO Enlargement Facili-  
2 tation Act of 1996 (title VI of section 101(c) of title  
3 I of division A of Public Law 104–208; 22 U.S.C.  
4 1928 note), the designation of Romania, Estonia,  
5 Latvia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria pursuant to section  
6 2703(b) of the European Security Act of 1998 (title  
7 XXVII of division G of Public Law 105–277; 22  
8 U.S.C. 1928 note), and the designation of Slovakia  
9 pursuant to section 4(a) of the Gerald B. H. Sol-  
10 omon Freedom Consolidation Act of 2002 (Public  
11 Law 107–187; 22 U.S.C. 1928 note) as eligible to  
12 receive assistance under the program established  
13 under section 203(a) of the NATO Participation Act  
14 of 1994; and

15 (2) shall not preclude the designation by the  
16 President of other countries pursuant to section  
17 203(d)(2) of the NATO Participation Act of 1994 as  
18 eligible to receive assistance under the program es-  
19 tablished under section 203(a) of such Act.

20 **SEC. 5. AUTHORIZATION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR**  
21 **COUNTRIES DESIGNATED UNDER THE NATO**  
22 **PARTICIPATION ACT OF 1994.**

23 Of the amounts made available for fiscal year 2008  
24 under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act (22  
25 U.S.C. 2763) such sums as may be necessary are author-

1 ized to be appropriated for assistance to the Republic of  
2 Albania, the Republic of Croatia, Georgia, the Republic  
3 of Macedonia, and Ukraine.

**Calendar No. 74**

110<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
1<sup>ST</sup> Session

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