



## Inventory for FOIA Request 2018-1191-F

### Daniel Fried's Records on NATO Enlargement

#### Extent

42 folders, approximately 3,121 pages

#### Access

Collection is open to all researchers. Access to Clinton Presidential Records is governed by the Presidential Records Act (PRA) (44 U.S.C. Chapter 22, as amended) and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (5 U.S.C. 552, as amended) and therefore records may be restricted in whole or in part in accordance with legal exemptions.

#### Copyright

Documents in this collection that were prepared by officials of the United States government as part of their official duties are in the public domain. Researchers are advised to consult the copyright law of the United States (17 U.S.C. Chapter 1) which governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

#### Provenance

Official records of William Jefferson Clinton's presidency are housed at the Clinton Presidential Library and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under the provisions of the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

#### Processed by

Staff Archivist, 2024. Previously restricted materials are added as they are released.

#### Scope and Content

The materials in FOIA 2018-1191-F are a selective body of documents responsive to the topic of the FOIA. Researchers should consult the archivist about related material.

This collection contains Daniel Fried's files related to NATO enlargement. Ambassador Fried joined the National Security Council's Central and Eastern European Affairs Directorate in 1993. Previously, he had worked in the Foreign Service in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad), Belgrade, and Warsaw. While at the NSC, his work focused primarily on the Central European nations of Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland. He often served as a notetaker for meetings between President Clinton or Cabinet officials and their counterparts in these countries. In 1997, he was appointed the U.S. Ambassador to Poland. Stephen Flanagan took over his responsibilities at the NSC (see FOIA 2018-1190-F).

The disintegration of the Soviet Union and dissolution of the Warsaw pact in the late 1980s led to

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security concerns in central and eastern Europe. In response, the North Atlantic Cooperation Council was formed and allowed for multilateral political cooperation and consultation in the region. At the same time, many of the newly independent nations were turning westward in search of stability, security, and economic prosperity. This led to the establishment of the Partnership for Peace in 1994, a program aimed at creating trust and cooperation between the nations of NATO and other European countries. Most of these countries were newly independent post-Soviet states, including Russia. Eventually, the Partnership for Peace came to be seen as an unofficial steppingstone to eventual NATO membership. Indeed, the official Declaration from the 1994 Brussels Summit, where NATO announced the Partnership for Peace, reads, “We expect and would welcome NATO expansion that would reach to democratic states to our East, as part of an evolutionary process, taking into account political and security developments in the whole of Europe.”

The pace and mechanics of NATO enlargement continued to be a subject of debate between the U.S. and its allies for much of the 1990s. In 1997, at the Madrid Summit, Czechia, Hungary, and Poland were invited to begin accession talks. Then, in 1999, NATO issued a statement interpreting Article 10 of the Charter as an “Open Door Policy” for enlargement. Czechia, Hungary, and Poland were admitted that year. As of 2024, NATO has expanded to include 31 additional nations.

Daniel Fried’s files focus on the early discussions regarding NATO enlargement, including the mechanisms for expansion, Russian opposition, and the implementation of the Partnership for Peace. The records consist of correspondence, memorandums, and reports on these topics. There is also a copy of the December 1993 report from the Committee on Eastern Europe and Russia in NATO, “Bringing Eastern Europe and Russia into NATO.” Much of the collection consists of Ambassador Fried’s handwritten notebooks. These contain both his daily work notes as well as his notes from those Presidential and Cabinet-level meetings he attended as notetaker. In addition to discussions on NATO and the Partnership for Peace, these notes reference other ongoing issues in Central and Eastern Europe, including the instability in the former Yugoslavia and the civil unrest in Albania in 1997.

The researcher should note that many of the records related to this FOIA case are closed for national security reasons.

### **System of Arrangement**

Records that are responsive to this FOIA request were found in these collection areas—Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office.

Staff and Office files were maintained at the folder level by staff members within their individual offices and document all levels of administration activity.

Staff and Office files are processed at the folder level, that is, individual documents are not selected and removed from a folder for processing. While this method maintains folder integrity, it frequently results in the incidental processing of documents that are not wholly responsive to the subject area.

The following is a list of documents and folders processed in response to FOIA 2018-1191-F:

**Box 1****Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files**

National Security Council

Central and Eastern European Affairs

Fried, Daniel

NATO [1] [OA/ID 519]  
NATO [2] [OA/ID 519]  
NATO [3] [OA/ID 519]  
NATO [4] [OA/ID 519]  
Germany [OA/ID 519]  
NATO, 1994 [OA/ID 1195]  
Partnership for Peace [1] [OA/ID 1195]  
Partnership for Peace [2] [OA/ID 1195]

**Box 2**

Fried Chron Files, June 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Chron Files, May 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Chron Files, April 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Chron Files, March 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Chron Files, February 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Chron Files, January 1995 [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [1] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [2] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [3] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [4] [OA/ID 1195]

**Box 3**

Fried Notebooks [5] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [6] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [7] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [8] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [9] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [10] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [11] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [12] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [13] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [14] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [15] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [16] [OA/ID 1195]

**Box 4**

Fried Notebooks [17] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [18] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [19] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [20] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [21] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [22] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [23] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [24] [OA/ID 1195]  
Fried Notebooks [25] [OA/ID 1195]

**Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files (continued)**

National Security Council

Central and Eastern European Affairs

Fried, Daniel

Fried Notebooks [26] [OA/ID 1195]

Fried Notebooks [27] [OA/ID 1195]

Fried Notebooks [28] [OA/ID 1195]

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