
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

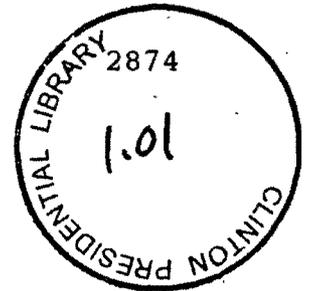
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Lech Walesa of Poland

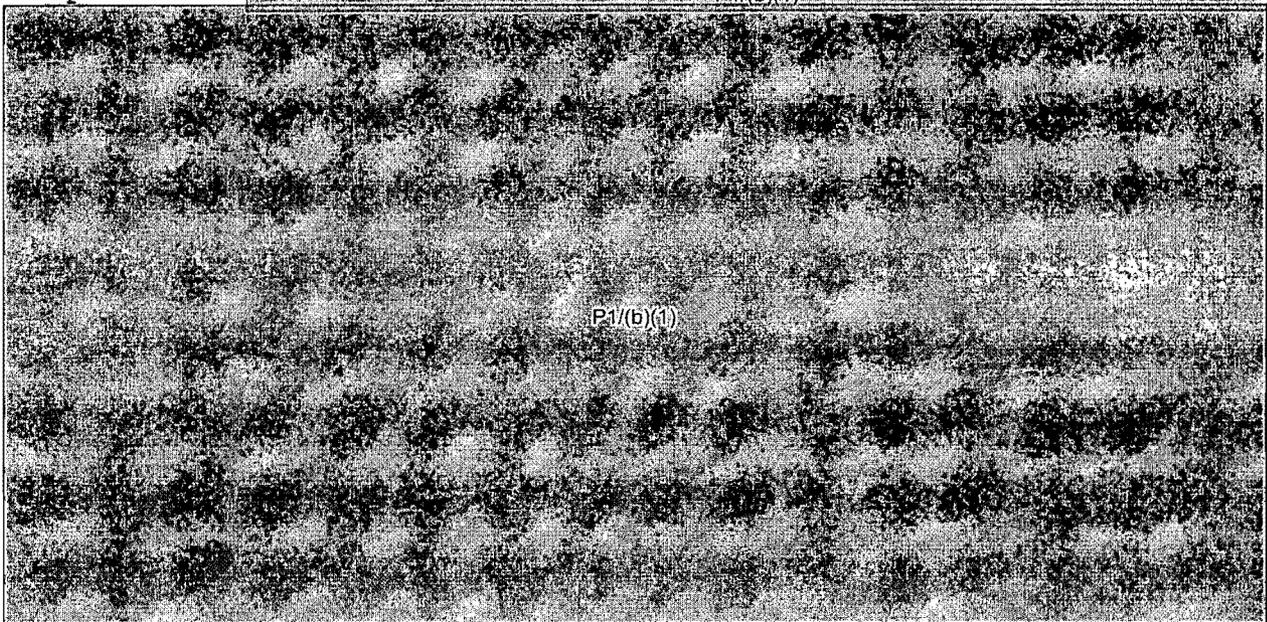
PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Charles Kupchan, NSC Staff, Notetaker

Lech Walesa, President of Poland
Krzysztor Skubiszewski, Minister of Foreign
Affairs
Janusz Ziolkowski, Minister of State, Office
of the President
Kasimier Dziewanowski, Ambassador to the U.S.
Mieczyslaw Wachowski, Secretary of State,
Office of the President
Zbigniew Lewicki, Interpreter

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: April 21, 1993 2:00 - 3:00 pm
Oval Office

President Walesa: I was a leader of the revolution in Poland. But I had no idea of the eventual outcome: the overturning of Communism. Now we are faced with post-communism and the task of building structures to replace communist society. A key part of this process has to be increased reliance on regional cooperation.

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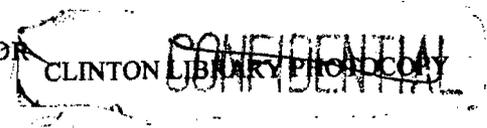


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The President: I agree with your general outline of the situation. We want to provide assistance and develop trade with Poland and all former communist countries. The U.S. is the second largest investor in Poland, and we hope to encourage more U.S. investment. There are some outstanding trade disputes in the areas of unfair tariffs resulting from association agreements with the EC, intellectual property rights, and arms sales. But these are the types of disputes that normally arise in relations between states. The U.S. has the responsibility to support all countries that are standing up for freedom. In this respect, we support Russia. We do not believe that Russia is at present too strong. (S)

President Walesa: [REDACTED] P1/(b)(1)

[REDACTED] P1/(b)(1)

The President: We have given money to help nuclear power plants become safer. We have also tried to pursue investments in Russia that enhance privatization and economic reform, strengthen the energy sector, and provide new housing. President Yeltsin wants to bring Russian troops home, but lacks houses for them. The army still controls nuclear weapons, so we have to be careful. In all respects, the U.S. must be on the side of democracy and reform. (S)

Minister Skubiczewski: [REDACTED] P1/(b)(1)

[REDACTED] P1/(b)(1)

The President: We have a three-prong strategy of assistance. First, we are trying to promote democracy in Russia and ensure that Russia pursues a peaceful foreign policy. Second, we have a strategy for promoting reform in all the republics -- whether they be nuclear or non-nuclear states. Third, we are building our relationships with countries in Central Europe so that they will serve as a source of stability throughout the region. Poles must understand that the U.S. and Poland share enduring interests. We must build on these shared interests. Your country's influence will grow in coming years. No matter what happens in Russia on Sunday, we all face important tasks and Poland has a large responsibility in the international community.

(C)

President Walesa: [Redacted] P1/(b)(1)
[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

The Vice President: Reform in Poland continues to be a difficult task. You have moved very quickly; you are the most advanced in the post-Communist world in terms of democracy and free markets. Poland is also a good friend of the United States. We have the opportunity to push this relationship forward and build a long-term partnership. Poland's most important contribution is in providing the ideas and concepts needed to make political and economic change happen. (C)

President Walesa: [Redacted] P1/(b)(1)
[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

The President: You are saying we should start with the other republics and then later focus on Russia? (C)

President Walesa: [Redacted] P1/(b)(1)
[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

Minister Skubiczewski: [Redacted] P1/(b)(1)
[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

The President: We have asked all Russian troops to be withdrawn from the foreign soil. We must roll back the threat of imperialism and remnants of the communist system. I am worried

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short run the military might revolt and cause a setback in Russia. I hear your central message: Do not put all our eggs in one basket. As you know, my first appointment was to create an ambassador to oversee assistance to all republics of the NIS. We are trying to keep reform moving forward throughout the region.

(C)
President Walesa:

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-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
Madeleine Albright, Ambassador to the UN
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Charles Kupchan, NSC Staff, Notetaker

President Vaclav Havel
Alexandr Vondra, Deputy Foreign Minister
Michael Zantovsky, Ambassador to the U.S.
Ladislav Spacek, Assistant to the President
Alexandra Brabcova, Interpreter

DATE, TIME: April 20, 1993 5:00 - 6:00 pm
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Havel: Thank you for taking the time to see me. I am here to talk about all issues. I would like to tell you about events in the Czech Republic and discuss broader European issues, U.S.-Czech relations, and other international issues. (U)

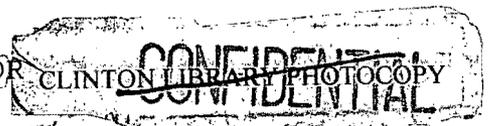
Our federation split in a peaceful fashion -- something very unusual in history. And I think this split will enhance, not erode, stability in Europe. The Czech Republic desires to build on the foundation laid by Czechoslovakia; there will be continuity between the behavior of Czechoslovakia and the behavior of the Czech Republic. I am still the president. I desire to deepen already good relations with the United States. These good relations started before World War I and it is now time to continue them. (U)

Czechs believe that a continued U.S. presence in Europe is needed. We welcome more contact with the U.S. U.S. investments are already substantial. Many American students are coming to study in the Czech Republic. The basis for our new relationship is that we now share democratic values. (U)

I would not like to dwell too long on my country; other topics deserve more attention. Just let me say that we are now working on a large-scale privatization program; we are transforming our legal and political system; and we have had two free elections. We now want to focus on entering NATO and the EC because we see ourselves as Europeans who embrace European values. The Czech

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Republic wants to help implant these values in the center of Europe. We had that role before World II -- before we were overrun by Nazism and Soviet domination. (S)

Enough on my country. Let me extend to you a cordial invitation to visit Prague. Your wife is invited too. My wife is also interested in health care. And Prague is beautiful. (U)

The President: As you know, I visited Prague in 1970. I remember it well. I remember the snow on the bridges. (U)

I am very impressed with the peaceful split of Czechoslovakia. The progress you have made in democratic reform is remarkable. I hope that your country will continue to be a force for stability, peace, and democracy in Europe. We support your domestic reform efforts and your international role. I would like to hear your thoughts on relations between our two countries and on other European issues on which I have to make decisions. (U)

I am particularly concerned about the situation in Bosnia. There are now voices in this country and in Europe saying that we should do more. We are tightening the sanctions, but it is unclear that they will have their intended effect. It seems clear that the Serbs will not participate in peace negotiations as long as they keep winning. They continue to have an enormous arms advantage because of the embargo. What should the international community do? Should we end the embargo and give Muslims the ability to defend themselves? Should we seek UN authorization to use air power against artillery? What can we do to promote peace, stop ethnic cleansing, and prevent sending the wrong message to potential aggressors elsewhere? (S)

President Havel:

[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

[Redacted] P1/(b)(1)

The President: We will have to await the outcome of Sunday's referendum. I think Yeltsin would like to be more supportive; he did not block the tightening of sanctions. If he enjoys a big victory on Sunday, he may go along with further steps. Yeltsin has less influence over the Serbs than I thought. He has tried to stop the Serbs. Part of the problem is that the supporters of Serbs in Russia are his opponents. They limit his room for maneuver. (S)

President Havel:

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[Redacted]

The President: I agree. We are doing what we can through G-7 aid and through bilateral aid packages. We will ask Congress and our G-7 partners to help with privatization, nuclear safety and environmental clean-up, and housing for soldiers. Yeltsin's long-term stability depends on having the support of the military. We must therefore help to create better conditions for the military. (S)

President Havel: [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Secretary Christopher: I met President Havel three years ago. Now, as then, he is a heroic figure. What countries in central Europe represent the largest potential for ethnic tensions? Where do we need to engage in preventive diplomacy? (U)

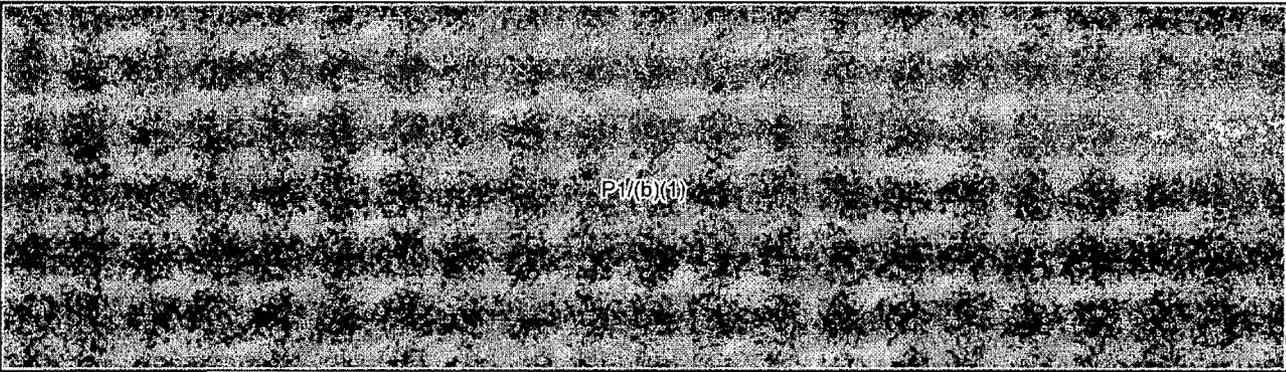
President Havel: [Redacted]

[Redacted]

The President: I agree that you should be a critical part of Europe, economically, politically, and strategically -- and a close friend of the United States. (C)

President Havel: [Redacted]

[Redacted]



Let me raise one final issue. The Czech Republic as a new country wishes to be seen as a nation that cares for more than its own narrow interests. We want to assume a broader responsibility. To achieve this, we would like to secure Eastern Europe's non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council. I feel duty-bound to mention this. We would like to work with Madeleine Albright there. (C)

The President: If the nomination of the regional group goes to the Czech Republic, we would be very pleased. (C)

President Havel: We have already won the support of some in the region; we need the support of others. (C)

The President: Tomorrow you and others leaders are coming to the White House. I hope it does not rain. (U)

President Havel: I will deliver a lecture at George Washington University tomorrow. I would like to give you the text. I will also present you with a copy of one of my books. I hope it becomes part of your library. (U)

-- End of Conversation --