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001. memo	To President Clinton from Samuel Berger and Stephanie Streett. Subject: Communications plan for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia, and Ukraine (7 pages)	n.d.
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Speechwriting (Thomas Rosshirt)
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FOLDER TITLE:

[Memorial Day] [3]

Jamie Mettrailer.

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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DRAFT**COPY**ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Communications Plan for Your Trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia and Ukraine

I. PURPOSE

Review and approve the themes and key public events for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia and Ukraine.

II. COMMUNICATIONS OBJECTIVES

Your trip to Europe has four principal messages:

- You are being awarded one of Europe's top honors - the Charlemagne prize - because of your successful leadership and contribution to European integration. Aachen is the linchpin of the trip that gives the opportunity to highlight significant accomplishments -- in adapting and enlarging NATO; bolstering new democracies in central and eastern Europe and the Baltics; stabilizing the Balkans; and strengthening the ties between the U.S. and the EU -- as well as the challenges that remain.
- *Work to do:* Integrating Southeast Europe and Russia/NIS into the Trans-Atlantic Mainstream are the two missing pieces to complete the puzzle of a peaceful, undivided, democratic Europe. This trip is in part about filling in those missing pieces.
- We've just seen the first transition from one democratically-elected leader to another in Russia's history. The jury is still out on what kind of leadership we will see from the new government. That's all the more reason to engage both the Russian leadership and the Russian public, to encourage deeper economic reform, to champion democratic freedoms, to reduce the nuclear danger, to advance our arms control agenda and to manage one of our most important relationships. Our agenda is much broader than arms control.
- Through the U.S.-EU summit and other public events you will do in Portugal and Germany, you will highlight how the U.S.-European global partnership includes acting together to address problems beyond Europe to build peace, freedom, stability and prosperity. Sharing the burdens of leadership helps us maximize its benefits.

BACKGROUND

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The overarching theme of the trip is completing a peaceful, undivided and democratic Europe, a vision you laid out in your speech in Brussels in January 1994. Seven years later, Europe is more united than ever before. Our relations with our allies are broader and deeper than at any time since World War II. Our cooperation has produced unprecedented prosperity for both sides of the Atlantic, halted ethnic cleansing in the Balkans and aided Russia's transformation.

The Charlemagne prize in Aachen is being awarded for your leadership in European integration - in adapting and enlarging NATO (proving the critics wrong about the effects of NATO expansion on the relationship with Russia); bolstering new democracies in central and eastern Europe and the Baltics; stabilizing the Balkans; supporting the EU's efforts to build a monetary union and common foreign policy; and strengthening the ties between the U.S. and the EU. But there is still work to be done. What must come out of this trip is the sense of active commitment to progress on the two missing pieces of the puzzle: integrating Southeastern Europe and Russia/NIS into the transatlantic mainstream.

At the same time, you can use your stops in Portugal and Germany to define the relationship under a new light and pose some new challenges. You can demonstrate how our partnership with Europe has progressed beyond the borders of our alliance to build peace, freedom, stability and prosperity in other parts of the world. Portugal has sought to use its EU Presidency to focus Europe's attention on challenges in Africa and the developing world. You can illustrate the global focus of our partnership by calling for more cooperation in, and funding for, combating infectious disease. You can highlight this again in Germany when you meet with a new generation of young leaders working in Southeast Europe and Russia.

Clearly, media interest in the trip will focus on Russia and your first meeting with President Putin. We want to convey that this is a working visit with a broad agenda of establishing a relationship with the newly elected government, stress the importance of continued engagement with Russia and the newly independent states, and continue our people-to-people contact. We want to seize the opportunity afforded by Russia's recent elections to make progress on economic reform, arms control, and threat reduction, while encouraging Putin to preserve Russia's democratic gains and expressing our concerns about human rights, press freedom and Chechnya. We want to lower expectations that this summit is about reaching an arms control agreement.

In the wake of a Russian public affairs offensive over NMD and early Putin moves on START II and CTBT ratification, we now face a situation where an arms control breakthrough is the bar that's being set as the measure of the trip's success. Those who are pushing for delay on an NMD decision argue that you are going to Russia to get an arms control agreement; that any deal you reach will either go too far or not far enough; and if, in fact, we don't emerge with an agreement, define the trip as a failure and say

that's a good thing. It's important to focus on the overall relationship and bigger picture goals because even though we have very important work to do in this area, this visit is about more than arms control.

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Over the course of your visit, you can emphasize support for democracy and civil society and stress America's support for tolerance and openness. You will meet with leaders and members of key religious communities, and do a radio interview with an independent media station that reaches millions of Russians. Your final public event in Russia will be a speech to the Duma, reinforcing by your presence that the relationship between the U.S. and Russia is broader than Putin.

Your visit to Ukraine can underscore to the other nations that emerged from the Soviet Union that our policies in the region are not just Russia-focused. The final image of the trip will be your address to a large, cheering crowd on St. Michael's square in Kiev.

At every stop you will encounter more than just government leaders and political figures. In Portugal, you will speak with scientists and students; in Germany, with young civil society leaders; in Russia, with religious leaders, to the Russian people through your radio interview, Duma speech, and with a Sunday stroll in Victory Park; and in Ukraine with next generation leaders at an Embassy-hosted reception, with the broader public through your speech in St. Michaels Square and a visit to a collective farm that's being privatized.

IV. KEY EVENTS AND MESSAGES

Monday, May 29 - Arlington Cemetery

- Memorial Day speech

Your speech can help frame the trip, expressing honor and gratitude for the sacrifices of war heroes who helped contribute to the shape of today's world -- a peaceful, undivided democratic Europe and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Tuesday, May 30 - Lisbon

- **Arrival Ceremony/Statement**
- **Meeting with students, teachers, scientists at Pavilion of Knowledge**
- State Dinner

You will begin your visit to Portugal with an **arrival ceremony** with President Sampaio at the picturesque Geronimos Monastery in the town of Belem, on the outskirts of Lisbon. Your **arrival statement** will outline the elements and themes of the trip, underscore why Portugal, a loyal ally with a tradition of exploration and crossing frontiers is a fitting first destination. - In Portugal's "Golden Age," this coastal area served as the main launching point for the Portuguese Armada. The monastery, built in memory of Vasco de Gama's discovery of a sea route to India, used to house monks who provided "spiritual guidance" to sailors. You and Sampaio will review an honor guard, and you will lay a wreath at the tomb of the Portuguese poet Luis Camões.

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In the afternoon you will **tour Lisbon's Pavilion of Knowledge** and meet with scientists, teachers, and students. Built for EXPO 98, the museum currently houses exhibits on cutting-edge research, including infectious diseases, as well as an exhibit on Portugal's GLOBE program (the internet-based environmental education program that was launched by the Vice President). The tour and discussion will be led by the Museum's Portuguese-American Science Advisory Board chairman, Dr. Alexander Quintalinha -- a specialist on infectious disease who was born in Mozambique and taught at UC Berkeley. You can announce a joint project on combating Malaria in Sao Tome, preview the U.S.-EU initiative on infectious disease and address the national security dimension of HIV/AIDS and infectious disease.

In the evening you will attend the **State Dinner** and make a brief toast.

Wednesday, May 31 - Lisbon

- US-EU Summit Meeting
- **U.S. - EU Press Conference**

Following the U.S.-E.U. summit meeting at the Queluz Palace (an old royal residence outside of Lisbon that has been likened to a mini-Versailles), you will hold a joint press conference with Prime Minister Guterres and Commission President Prodi. This is an opportunity to focus on core security and trade issues, including Southeast Europe, European defense, Russia, the WTO round. You can also highlight new cooperative initiatives with the EU, including redoubled efforts to fight HIV/AIDS and relieve famine in Africa.

Possible Deliverables: Agreements on data privacy, biotech consultative form, joint statements on Southeast Europe, Russia, Ukraine-Chornobyl, Africa infectious disease, WTO round, science and technology projects, high speed networks, patent registration, GDIN.

Thursday, June 1 - Berlin

- **Meet with young people working on joint projects in Southeast Europe and Russia**
- Reichstag tour

Following your courtesy call with President Rau, you will participate in a **discussion with young civil society leaders** at the Reichstag. These are young leaders working through initiatives created by German and American NGOs that are building democracy and the structures of civil society in the Balkans, in Eastern Europe, and Russia. They will describe their projects to you and your host, the President of the Bundestag Thierse, and possibly Chancellor Schroeder as well. This event will be televised throughout Germany as the first of our American Voices series (part of Expo 2000), and it will demonstrate the depth of transatlantic ties, and how those ties are evolving: no longer limited just to

government activity or exchanges between our two countries themselves, but extend the new reach of our values and the civil institutions that embody them.

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Immediately after, you will **tour the Reichstag** to see the impressive embodiment of Germany's democracy in a new century: reflecting on the hard-won lessons of the past, housing the institutions grown during the proud 50 years since formation of the Federal Republic. Architecturally, the building has an openness and solemnity that reflects German democracy and its commitment to an open future. Finally, you are scheduled to **meet with Chancellor Schroeder** over dinner in a local Berlin restaurant.

Friday, June 2 - Aachen and Berlin

- **The Charlemagne Prize, Aachen**
- Third Way Dinner

On Friday morning you will fly to **Aachen** where, after touring the Cathedral, you will be presented with the **Charlemagne Prize** and **give a speech**. Charlemagne was crowned emperor in Aachen, the westernmost city in Germany, on Christmas Day in the year 800. Charlemagne chose Aachen as his winter palace because of the areas' hot springs. From the eighth century to the ninth, Aachen was a center of power extending from a Roman-Frankish core areas across the Germanic tribal regions. At his Aachen court, Charlemagne assembled scholars from England, Ireland, Spain, Lombardy and Italy, creating an intellectual and artistic center. The concept of "Europe" as a distinct geographic, political and cultural entity is tied to Charlemagne.

The Charlemagne Prize was established in 1949 to recognize individuals who have played key roles in European integration. You are the first American president to receive the prize. George Marshall and Henry Kissinger have received it, as have Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer, Winston Churchill, Francois Mitterrand, Jacques Delors and Felipe Gonzalez. Prime Minister Blair received it last year. You will be introduced by Chancellor Schroeder (who will be introduced by Mayor Linden of Aachen.) The event will be attended by a number of world leaders and laureates of the Prize, including King Juan Carlos of Spain and President Havel of the Czech Republic.

Your speech will pull together the various themes of the trip. It will define your European vision: you will look back at what has been accomplished since you laid out your goals in Brussels in 1994; you will look west to our old allies; you will look east to our new ones and, most importantly, you will look forward to what we must still accomplish together and thereby lay out a series of new goals. The speech will be carried live on German TV. The ceremony will be followed by a reception, where you can make brief remarks, reiterating the core message of your speech: transatlantic friendship is a key element of European unity - that the two are not in conflict, but inseparable and will remain that way. You will then greet townspeople and others in a ropeline.

Upon returning to Berlin, you will attend the **Conference on Progressive Governance** Dinner, hosted by Chancellor Schroeder at Charlottenburg Palace, a historic building in

West Berlin. You will make **brief remarks** at the beginning of the dinner, with **more substantive remarks** in the open press portion at the top of the next day's session.

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Saturday, June 3 - Berlin and Moscow

- **Conference on Progressive Governance, Berlin**
- **Meeting/Dinner with President Putin, Moscow**

You will **make remarks** at the opening of the **Third Way Conference** Saturday morning. A communique will be issued at the end of the conference.

On Saturday evening, you will have a **meeting/working dinner with President Putin**. The pictures of your first encounter will be important, and we recommend business attire. We want to convey "getting down to business" and avoid the inaccurate charge that we're embracing Putin without question.

Sunday, June 4 - Moscow

- **Meetings with religious leaders at an orthodox church, a synagogue and a mosque**
- Meetings with President Putin
- **Press Conference with President Putin**
- **Interview with independent media**

On Sunday morning you will visit Christ the Savior Church, Poklonnaya Gora Synagogue (also called the Jewish Heritage and Holocaust Museum) and the Memorial Mosque. You will talk with leaders and members of key religious communities, underscoring our commitment to religious freedom and human rights. Both the synagogue and mosque are located in Victory Park, so we propose a stroll in the park, talking/mingling with Sunday park-goers.

In the afternoon, after a series of meetings, you and President Putin will hold a **joint press conference** at the Kremlin.

That evening, you would do an **interview on an independent media radio show**, called Ekho Moskv.

Monday, June 5 - Moscow

- **Remarks to the Duma, Moscow**
- Arrival Ceremony, Kiev
- Bilateral meeting with President Kuchma
- Visit to Rada and meeting with political leaders

On Monday morning, you will **address the Russian Duma**. For all the changes Russia has undergone, an important part of your message can be the same as the message of your first speech to the Russian people more than six years ago: The question is not whether Russia will regain its strength -- it will and it should. The question is how it will define

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its strength. This is the first time an American president has addressed the Duma and by doing so you will underscore the importance of democratic institutions and elected representatives and convey that the U.S. relationship with Russia is broader than personalities.

Your key message in Ukraine is support for implementation of reforms and for integration with Europe. This theme will give a moral and political boost to the reform efforts underway. And your presence there will underscore that our policy toward the region is not focused only on Russia. In Kiev, there will be an **arrival ceremony**. You will go to a **meeting with President Kuchma**, make a **courtesy call on the Rada leadership** and participate in an Embassy-hosted **reception with next-generation leaders**.

Tuesday, June 7 - Kiev

- **Remarks to the people of Ukraine**
- **Land Titling Event**

On Tuesday morning, we propose that you and President Kuchma make **brief remarks to reporters** announcing the closure of Chornobyl, the lifting of commercial launch quotas and a \$20 million multi-year microcredit program to provide loans to Ukrainian small businesses.

You will then go to St. Michael's square to **address a large crowd**. Against a colorful and festive backdrop, you will give brief remarks underscoring that Ukraine's road to Europe is open; that Ukraine today enjoys the best chance in its history to fulfill its aspirations; and that we will do our part to help as long as Ukraine stays on the proven path of economic reform.

After the speech, on your way to the airport, you will **stop at a countryside farm and participate in a land titling event**, turning what was once collective Soviet farm property over to private ownership. AID has been working with local governments and collective farms on the legal framework for the transfers. This event will have tremendous resonance with Ukrainians as a symbol of their country's transformation and the opportunities it brings.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the key messages and events for your trip to Portugal, Germany, Russia and Ukraine.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____