

# MR

# MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number:				141
Document ID:	9300961			
Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
44	1	3	2	V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Beth Sanner to Anthony Lake re. Holocaust Museum Opening (2 pages)	03/03/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001b. memo	Sanner to Lake re. Proposed Presidential Meeting for Czech President Havel (1 page)	02/26/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 141

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9300961

2015-0773-M  
 rs1275

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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]  
 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300961  
RECEIVED: 25 FEB 93 08

TO: STEPHANOPOULOS, G

FROM: VANIK, CHARLES A

DOC DATE: 03 MAR 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC  
CM  
MP

VISIT  
AP

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

ZANTOVSKY, MICHAEL

SUBJECT: ADDL REQUEST FOR PRES WORKING VISIT W/ PRES HAVEL OF CZECH REPUBLIC  
ON 21 & 22 APR

ACTION: NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

DUE DATE: 01 MAR 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: SANNER

LOGREF: 9301076

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSMEM      CLOSED BY: NSMBN      DOC 3 OF 3

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KBL/NARA, Date 12/1/2017

2015-0773-m

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RECORD ID: 9300961

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 SANNER  
002 LAKE  
002 SANNER  
003 SANNER  
003

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 93022508 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE  
Z 93030113 FOR SIGNATURE  
Z 93030313 FOR REDO  
Z 93031520 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  
X 94111818 NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

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National Security Council  
The White House

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LOG # 0961

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SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

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DOCLOG WW A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
DepExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>WW</u>	<u>A</u>
ExecSec	<u>2</u>	<u>WW</u>	_____
Staff Director	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
D/APNSA	_____	_____	_____
APNSA	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>WW/14</u>	<u>A</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	<u>BB</u>
<u>Sanner</u>	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>A - Redo</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

See 0961  
add on #1  
for final  
action

National Security Council  
The White House

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LOG # 0961

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BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG UN A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
DepExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>JK</u>	<u>A</u>
ExecSec	<u>2</u>	<u>JK</u>	_____
Staff Director	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
D/APNSA	_____	_____	_____
APNSA	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>5</u>	<u>JK</u>	<u>A</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
<u>Sanner</u>	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>A- Redo</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action  I = Information  D = Dispatch  R = Retain  N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

See 0961  
add on #1  
for final  
action

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: SM LOG # 0961

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG MM A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
DepExecSec	<u>One</u> 1	<u>Mark</u>	<u>A</u>
ExecSec	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	_____
Staff Director	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
D/APNSA	_____	_____	_____
APNSA	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
<u>Ganner</u>	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>A- Redo</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

NO CORRECTIONS NOTED  
ON ANY PAGE - PERHAPS  
BY PHONE?

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

TO: LAKE  
CHRISTOPHER, W

FROM: ALBRIGHT, M

DOC DATE: 22 FEB 93  
SOURCE REF:KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC  
CMVISIT  
AP

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

ZANTOVSKY, MICHAEL

SUBJECT: CZECH PRES VISIT TO US / 20 OR 21 APR

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE DUE DATE: 01 MAR 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: SANNER LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

## DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
SANNERFOR CONCURRENCE  
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WALKERCOMMENTS: (3)

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OPENED BY: NSMEM CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBN NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0961  
Redo

March 3, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER *Re: for JW*

FROM: BETH SANNER *Bs*

SUBJECT: Holocaust Museum Opening

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0773-M (1.01)  
12/1/2017 KBN

We have a number of outstanding requests from heads of state to see the President during the Holocaust Museum Opening between April 20 and April 22. The President has already agreed to deliver the key note remarks at the dedication ceremony on April 22 at 11:00 a.m. (according to a Gearan-Hale memo dated 22 February).

The Holocaust Museum has requested that the President hold a reception on April 20, between 4:00-6:00 p.m. for high-level visiting officials, members of Congress, and key contributors. We concur with this suggestion. The Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, Harvey Meyerhoff, has offered to pay for the reception, if appropriate.

We also propose that the President hold separate meetings with several visiting heads of state. Today, President Clinton offered to meet with Polish President Walesa if he attends the opening. The Poles are extremely pleased with the offer, but have not come to a final decision. Ambassador Simons will be following up with the Poles and we will forward a separate scheduling request for his visit pending confirmation from Warsaw.

We have an urgent request from President Havel to approve a meeting with the President. Havel is under considerable pressure from the Germans to accept a state visit in Germany at the time of the opening, which would be Havel's first as the new Czech president. Havel would prefer to visit Washington on his first trip West, but feels he cannot refuse the Germans to attend the Holocaust ceremonies unless he is assured of a meeting with President Clinton. We strongly recommend Clinton see Havel, who is a committed Atlanticist and arguably the most respected statesman of Eastern Europe.

We also strongly encourage a Presidential meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev. Bulgaria's democratic government needs our support perhaps more than any other in Eastern Europe. Despite a continuing economic decline compounded by sanctions on

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2

Iraq and Serbia, Bulgaria has forged a responsible and active foreign policy, particularly in the Balkans. It has also made significant improvements in enfranchising and politically integrating its ethnic Turkish minority -- the ethnic Turkish party is now a coalition partner in the government as well as an active participant in parliament. A Presidential meeting for Zhelev would do more to strengthen the most promising democratic government in the Balkans than almost anything else we can do in the short run, save ending the war in Bosnia. Our inability to see Zhelev risks sending the signal that we are drawing new lines separating Europe.

Austrian President Klestil has requested a brief meeting with the President during the opening. Klestil also has indicated he will not come to Washington if the President is unable to see him. We support a short meeting. It would have enormous value in closing out the Waldheim era and restoring U.S.-Austrian relations.

Concurrences by: Jane Holl *fly for TH*

#### RECOMMENDATION

That the President hold a reception for high-level visiting officials, members of Congress, and key contributors on April 20 from 4:00-6:00 p.m. and that you forward the memo at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That you forward the schedule proposals for Presidential meetings with Havel, Zhelev, and Klestil at Tabs II, III, and IV.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

#### Attachments

Tab I Schedule Proposal for Reception  
Tab A Previous Request from Mark Gearan  
Tab II Schedule Proposal for Havel  
Tab III Schedule Proposal for Zhelev  
Tab IV Schedule Proposal for Klestil  
Tab V Status of Invitations to Heads of State

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0961

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## Schedule Proposal

date        /        /       

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ACCEPTREGRETPENDING

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TO:

Marcia L. Hale  
Assistant to the President and Director  
of Scheduling and Advance

FROM:

Anthony Lake

REQUEST:

President to Host White House Reception

PURPOSE:

For the President to host a reception  
for high-level visiting officials,  
members of Congress, and distinguished  
contributors participating in the  
opening of the Holocaust Museum.

BACKGROUND:

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council has requested that the President host a reception for the key participants involved in the museum's opening. This will be an excellent opportunity for the President to meet with a large number of important people, both domestic and foreign, without scheduling separate meetings. It is important to thank those involved in this historic and noble undertaking.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: April 20, 4:00pm

DURATION: 2 hours

LOCATION: East Room, The White House

PARTICIPANTS: To be determined.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Reception

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open pool.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KBN/NARA, Date 12/1/2017

2015-0773-M

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RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Beth Sanner, x5732

Attachment

Tab A Previous Request from Mark Gearan

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MEMORANDUM

822-6464

188, You

TO: MARCIA HALE  
FROM: MARK GEARAN *ref*  
RE: HOLOCAUST MUSEUM OPENING  
DATE: 22 FEBRUARY 1993

---

I met today with Harvey Meyerhoff, Chairman of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, his Vice Chair, William Lowengerg, and the Executive Director, Sara Bloomfield regarding their opening week activities.

Two items of importance:

- 1) They are requesting a White House reception on Tuesday, April 20 from 4:00 - 6:00pm for key Members of Congress involved in the Museum, heads of state in Washington for the opening and key contributors. They expect 250 - 350 people. Meyerhoff offered to pay, if appropriate.
- 2) The dedication of the Museum is on April 22 at 11:00am and have invited the President to attend and deliver the keynote remarks.

I feel strongly the President should attend the dedication ceremony, and if at all possible host a reception.

cc: Alexis Herman  
Rahm Emanuel

*MCFT*  
Accepted -  
11 AM ceremony  
send to  
Ann Stephanie  
and Ann Stock

*Rep. Ellison Lake*  
*(102) 457-4217*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Schedule Proposal

WASHINGTON

date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

ACCEPT

REGRET

PENDING

TO:

Marcia L. Hale  
Assistant to the President and Director  
of Scheduling and Advance

FROM:

Anthony Lake

REQUEST:

President Meeting with Czech President  
Havel

PURPOSE:

To schedule a 30 minute Presidential  
meeting with President of the Czech  
Republic Václav Havel

BACKGROUND:

President Havel will be in Washington to  
attend the ceremonies for the opening of  
the Holocaust Museum on April 20-22.  
Havel is regarded by many as the most  
respected statesman in Eastern Europe.  
A meeting will help support Havel and  
his commitment to humanism, democracy,  
and international engagement.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: April 20 or 21, Open

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: To be determined.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Meeting and Photo Op

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open pool.

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC

CONTACT: Beth Sanner, x5732

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By KBNARA, Date 12/1/2017  
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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

## Schedule Proposal

date        /        /       

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ACCEPT

REGRET

PENDING

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TO: Marcia L. Hale  
Assistant to the President and Director  
of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Anthony Lake

REQUEST: Presidential Meeting with President  
Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria

PURPOSE: To schedule a 30 minute Presidential  
meeting with President Zhelev of  
Bulgaria

BACKGROUND: Bulgarian President Zhelev is the force  
behind Bulgaria's democratic and  
economic reforms. Under pressure from  
continuing economic difficulties and the  
threat of spreading Balkan conflicts,  
Bulgaria's democracy needs our support.  
The President's meeting will provide  
Zhelev with the ammunition he needs at  
home to continue Bulgaria's responsible  
and helpful foreign policy and an active  
economic reform program.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: None.

DATE AND TIME: April 20, 21, or 22, Open

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: To be determined.

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Meeting and Photo Op

REMARKS REQUIRED: To be provided by NSC.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open pool

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

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By KBNARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

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RECOMMENDED BY:

NSC

CONTACT:

Beth Sanner, x5732

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Schedule Proposal

WASHINGTON

date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

ACCEPT

REGRET

PENDING

TO:

Marcia L. Hale  
Assistant to the President and Director  
of Scheduling and Advance

FROM:

Anthony Lake

REQUEST:

Presidential Meeting with President  
Thomas Klestil of Austria

PURPOSE:

To establish official contact with  
Austrian officials in the wake of Kurt  
Waldheim's departure from office.

BACKGROUND:

Klestil has requested a brief meeting  
with the President to offer an exchange  
of views on the situation in the former  
Yugoslavia and the upcoming human rights  
conference in Austria.

More important, however, a brief meeting  
with the President would have enormous  
value in closing out the Waldheim era  
-- marred by our Watch List decision  
which rendered Kurt Waldheim ineligible  
to enter the U.S. and resulted in the  
severing of all official contact with  
Waldheim during his tenure as Austrian  
President (1986-1992) -- and restoring  
U.S.-Austrian relations to their normal  
excellent state.

Although Klestil is expected to come to  
Washington for the opening of the  
Holocaust Memorial Museum, we understand  
that he will not come if a meeting with  
the President is not possible.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: No record

DATE AND TIME: April 22, 1993, Open

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: To be provided by NSC.

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By KBNARA, Date 12/1/2017

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OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Photo Op followed by brief private meeting.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Not required

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open photo, writing pool

FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Recommended

SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required

RECOMMENDED BY: NSC, State

CONTACT: Jane E. Holl, x4996

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**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL**

March 3, 1993

**Summary of Invitation**

The Holocaust Museum has provided the following list indicating the status of invitations as of February 24. Acceptances include the following:

Austria - President Klestil (pending Presidential meeting)

Bulgaria - President Zhelev (Bulgarian Embassy has not yet confirmed)

Czech Lands - President Havel (pending Presidential meeting)

France - Minister of Veteran Affairs Mexandou

Italy - Participant to be determined.

Lithuania - Former President Landsbergis.

Portugal - President Soares

Others are still considering, including President Walesa.

**HEADS OF STATE OPENING INVITATIONS**

2/24/93

COUNTRY	INVITEES	EVENTS	RESPONSE	DATE MAILED
Australia	Governor General Hayden Prime Minister Keating	Dedication Arlington (Flag Transfer)	Gov. Gen. -- NO	10/15
Austria	President Klestil Chancellor Vranitzky	Dedication	Pres. -- YES	10/22
Belarus	Chairman Shushkevich Prime Minister Kebich	Dedication	A meeting between Miles and Dr. Anatoly Mikhailev, Senior Advisor to Chairman, is tentatively scheduled for March 2.	9/25
Belgium	King Baudouin I Prime Minister Dehaene	Dedication	P.M. -- NO	9/25
Bulgaria	President Zhelev Prime Minister Dimirov	Dedication	Pres. -- YES	10/15
Canada	Governor General Hnatyshyn Prime Minister Mulroney	Dedication Arlington (Flag Transfer)	Gov. Gen. -- NO	10/15
Czech Republic	Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus President Vaclav Havel	Dedication		11/16; 2/9 Havel
Slovak Republic	Prime Minister Meciar			

Denmark	Queen Margrethe II Prime Minister Schueter	Dedication Arlington (Scroll to Queen)	Embassy called for additional info.	10/15
Estonia	President Meri Prime Minister Laar	Dedication	P.M. -- NO	11/16
France	President Mitterrand Prime Minister Beregovoy Mme. Magda Trocme	Dedication Arlington (Scroll of Gratitude to James Trocme - grandson; Medal to President)	P.M. -- NO  Minister of Veterans Affairs - Mr. Mexandou appointed by Pres. but nothing official from French Embassy.  James Trocme will accept Scroll on behalf of family	10/15 12/9 -- Letter to Mme. Trocme
Germany	President Von Weizsacker Chancellor Kohl	Dedication	Requested additional info.	10/22
Greece	President Karamanlis Prime Minister Mitsotakis	Dedication	Pres. -- NO	9/25
Hungary	President Goncz Prime Minister Antall	Dedication		9/25
Israel	President Herzog Prime Minister Rabin	Dedication	Pres. -- UNLIKELY P.M. -- NO (Sen formal statement)	10/15

Italy	President Scalfaro Prime Minister Amato	Dedication	Italy -- YES Attendee to be named later thru Amb.	9/25
Latvia	President Gorbunovs Prime Minister Godmanis	Dedication	Pres. -- NO P.M. -- NO Designated Amb. Kalnins to attend.	9/25
Lithuania	President Landsbergis Former Prime Minister Abisala Prime Bronislovas Lubys	Dedication	Former Pres. Landsbergis -- YES (He's now "Deputy of the Seimas; Leader of the Opposition")	9/25 1/4 - Invitation to new P.M.; new Pres. to be elected 2/14
Luxembourg	Grand Duke Jean Prime Minister Santer	Dedication	Grand Duke -- NO P.M. -- NO Both have appointed Amb. Berno to attend.	9/25
Moldova	President Snegur Prime Minister Sangheli	Dedication		10/28
Netherlands	Queen Beatrix Prime Minister Lubbers	Dedication	P.M. -- NO	9/25
New Zealand	Governor General Dame Catherine Tizard Prime Minister Bolger	Dedication Arlington (Flag Transfer)	Gov. Gen. -- NO P.M. -- MAYBE Will give firm answer early 1993	10/15
Norway	King Harald V Madam Prime Minister Brundtland	Dedication	King -- NO P.M. -- NO	9/25

Poland	President Walesa Madame Prime Minister Schocka Amb. Bartoszewski (Vicars)	Dedication Arlington (Scroll to Amb. Bartoszewski)		10/15 12/9 - letter to Amb. Bartoszewski 1/28 - letters to Walesa and Ministers from Miles; letter to Amb. B. noting acceptance
Portugal	President Soares Prime Minister Silva	Dedication	Pres. - YES P.M. - NO Appointed ambassador to attend.	9/25
Romania	President Iliescu Prime Minister Vacaroiu	Dedication		Radu Ioanid hand-delivered mid Nov.
Russia	President Yeltsin Newly appointed Prime Minister	Dedication Arlington (Medal to President Yeltsin)		10/15 1/28 re-send - letters (letters reported lost)
Spain	King Juan Carlos I President Gobieros	Dedication	King - NO Pres. - NO Reps. for both leaders may be appointed.	9/25

Sweden	King Carl XVI Gustaf Prime Minister Bildt Mme. Nina Lagergren Prof. Guy von Dardel (Wallenberg's half-sister and brother)	Dedication Arlington (Scroll to Mme. Lagergren and Prof. Von Dardel)	In contact with Count Peder Bonde of Va., a Wallenberg cousin.	10/15  12/9 to Mme. Lagergren 2/24 re-send to Mme. Lagergren and Prof. Von Dardel
Switzerland	Newly appointed Pres. Ogi Former Pres. Felber	Dedication	Pres. - NO Swiss Amb. designated to attend.	10/29; 2/12
Ukraine	President Kravchuk Prime Minister Kochnev	Dedication Arlington - Role in Red Army acknowledged	Pres. - NO P.M. - NO Appointed Amb. Bilorus to attend. (Requested speaking role)	10/15
United Kingdom	Queen Elizabeth Prime Minister Major	Dedication Arlington (Medal) to P.M. Major	Requested additional info.	10/15

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0961

February 26, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER

FROM: BETH SANNER

SUBJECT: Proposed Presidential Meeting for Czech President Havel

Czech Republic President Havel has been invited to attend the Holocaust Museum opening in Washington on April 21. Czech Ambassador Zantovsky has requested, through Madeleine Albright (Tab A), that Havel meet with President Clinton during his visit.

We strongly recommend that the President meet with Havel on April 20 or April 21. The understandable focus of attention on Western Europe and Russia, including visit announcements, is fueling fears by the Central and Southeastern Europeans that their region is no longer of key interest to the U.S. Havel's visit to Washington is a perfect opportunity to reverse this impression and to articulate our policy toward the region. Arguably the most recognized and respected statesman of Eastern Europe, Havel is the perfect interlocutor to convey this message.

Havel is under pressure to accept an invitation to visit Germany at the time of the museum opening, but would prefer to make his first foreign trip to the U.S. He would not come to Washington without a Presidential meeting. An expedited decision on this visit would help Havel in dealing with the German invitation.

There will be other heads of state attending the Holocaust Museum ceremonies, perhaps, for example, Herzog, Mitterrand, Klestil, Zhelev, and Soares. We have asked State Department to put together a list of attendees so decisions regarding other leaders can be made as soon as possible.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve a meeting with the President and send the memo at Tab I to Presidential Scheduling.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Hale

Tab A Incoming from Albright

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PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.02)  
12/1/2017 K8H

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

0961

Staff W)  
Advance Copy  
TO T. Lake



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS

February 22, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO : ✓Mr. Anthony Lake, National Security Advisor  
Mr. Warren Christopher, Secretary of State

FROM : Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, USUN

SUBJECT: Czech President Havel's Visit to the United States

The Czech Ambassador Michael Zantovsky informed me that President Havel of the Czech Republic has been invited to come to the United States to participate in a holocaust commemoration on April 21 in Washington. President Havel would very much like to see President Clinton on April 20 or 21 as part of what would become a working visit.

I recommend such a meeting very highly. Havel's moral and political standing within Central Europe is undisputed. He has spoken out about taking further action in the former Yugoslavia and a visit with President Clinton would allow us to pursue one part of our diplomatic strategy of getting Europeans to put pressure on the warring factions. President Havel is going to Germany to visit President Weizsacker and, given our strategy of getting the Germans to put pressure on the Croats, perhaps a joint statement by Havel and Weizsacker would be appropriate.

To the best of my knowledge, there are no other Central European heads of state coming to the holocaust commemoration. I do think, however, that President Herzog of Israel will be there as well as President Mitterand of France.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526  
Department of State Guidelines,  
September 11, 2006

By KRM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-1

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number:				146
Document ID:				9302333
Row: 44	Section: 1	Shelf: 6	Position: 1	Stack: V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	From Anthony Lake re. Meeting with Czech Republic President <del>Vaclav Havel</del> (5 pages)	04/19/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001b. memo	Clinton Wharton to POTUS re. Meeting with Vaclav Havel... (2 pages)	04/14/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001c. talking points	re. Points to be Made for Meeting with President Vaclav Havel (3 pages)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001d. report	re: Biography (3 pages)	04/14/1993	P1/b(1)
001e. cable	re. Vaclav Havel: Same Man, Different Role (8 pages)	04/15/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001f. report	re. Czech Foreign Policy (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001g. report	re. Czech Republic: Economic Situation (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001h. report	re. U.S. Assistance to the Czech Republic (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001i. report	re. Czech Republic: Security Issues (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001j. report	re. Czech Republic: Bilateral Security Assistance (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001k. report	re. Czech Republic: Trade and Investment (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001l. talking points	[Duplicate of 001c] [incomplete copy] (1 page)	04/00/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
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### FOLDER TITLE:

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2015-0773-M  
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### RESTRICTION CODES

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

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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]  
 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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 b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
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 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 19 APR 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
AP

VISIT  
PC

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ VACLEV HAVEL ON 20 APR

ACTION: NOTED BY PRES DUE DATE: 16 APR 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KUPCHAN LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

KUPCHAN  
NSC CHRON  
WALKER

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB CLOSED BY: NSJDA DOC 2 OF 2

-SECRET-

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBNARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-m

## ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 KUPCHAN  
002 PRESIDENT  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 93041309 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE  
Z 93041917 FOR INFORMATION  
X 93080608 NOTED BY PRES

## DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE    DISPATCH FOR ACTION

002 930419  
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DISPATCH FOR INFO

VICE PRESIDENT  
WH CHIEF OF STAFF  
STEPHANOPOULOS, G

Rec'd 4/17 11:34 AM  
National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 2333

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG A/O \_\_\_\_\_

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DepExecSec	_____	_____	_____
ExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>Copy</u>	_____
Staff Director	<u>2</u>	<u>WD</u>	_____
D/APNSA	_____	_____	_____
APNSA	<u>3</u>	<u>OK SUR</u>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>4/19</u>	<u>TO PODESTA</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	_____	<u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Exec Sec has diskette

b/d. at back

Rec'd 4/17 11:34am

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 2333

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ExecSec	1	Copy	
Staff Director	2	WS	
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NSC Secretariat	5		<u>N</u>
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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_

(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

*W. ad back*

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

*Exec Sec has diskette*

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~~SECRET~~ attachment

2333

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
4.20.93

93 APR 19 PM 5:31

April 19, 1993

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *Has APPROVED*  
SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Vaclav Havel, 5:00 pm to  
6:00 pm, April 20, 1993

Your meeting with President Havel will consist of a photo opportunity and a one-hour meeting.

This book contains:

MUST READ ITEMS:

**Scenesetters**

- NSC Scope Paper
- Memorandum from the Acting Secretary of State
- Talking Points
- Press Statement

Additional Background Materials:

- Biographical Information
- Background Papers

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White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KYM NARA, Date 12/1/2017*  
2015-0773-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with  
~~SECRET~~ attachment  
Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

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93 APR 20 P 8:50

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 19, 1993

MEETING WITH CZECH REPUBLIC

PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

DATE: April 20, 1993

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 5:00 pm - 6:00 pm

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

I. PURPOSE

To strengthen the relationship between the U.S. and the Czech Republic, demonstrate that the U.S. intends to remain fully engaged in Eastern Europe, and encourage the Czechs to continue playing a prominent role in the international community.

KEY POINTS

- Commend the Czech Republic for the remarkable progress it has made in building a stable democracy and a market economy.
- Assure Havel that the U.S. intends to remain fully engaged in Europe and that we will continue to be responsive to the interests and needs of countries in Eastern Europe.
- Express admiration for the peaceful and democratic fashion in which Czechoslovakia split and reaffirm your commitment to sustaining good relations with both the Czech Republic and Slovakia.
- Encourage the Czechs to continue playing a beneficial role in the international community. They are enforcing sanctions against the former Yugoslavia, participating in UN peacekeeping, advocating adherence to CSCE principles on human rights and conflict prevention, and promoting regional cooperation on security issues.
- Stress that the U.S. shares Czech concerns about the situation in Russia and review the steps we are taking to bolster Yeltsin's position. Because entry into NATO is not possible at least in the near future, urge Havel to rely on the North Atlantic Cooperation Council

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2015-0773-M (103)  
12/1/2017 KBN

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(NACC), regional cooperation, and military-to-military contacts to alleviate Czech security concerns.

- Affirm your support for the Czech Republic's entry into the EC, but stress that trade agreements within Europe should not disadvantage U.S. firms.

## II. BACKGROUND

The Czech Republic has become one of our most important partners in Eastern Europe. Czech success in political and economic reform serves as a model for other countries in the region. Ethnic tension between Czechs and Slovaks did lead to the breakup of Czechoslovakia, but the split was handled in a peaceful and democratic fashion. As a former dissident and defender of human rights, Havel is a strong advocate of international institutions and of efforts to build an international community based on democratic values. These attitudes and the international role that Havel envisages for the Czech Republic complement well our own international objectives.

Havel's internationalism has been tempered by the views of Prime Minister Klaus. Klaus, who as Prime Minister has considerably more power than Havel, is less enthusiastic about playing a prominent role in international or regional institutions, and is more concerned about pursuing policies that bring immediate and concrete benefit to the Czech Republic. Havel's visit serves as an opportunity for you to express U.S. support for a prominent Czech role in Europe and to encourage the Czech Republic to serve as a catalyst for regional cooperation. We intend to work closely with the Czechs to build multilateral approaches to challenges faced by the region as a whole.

While Havel is adapting to his new role as a less influential president, he clearly misses the passionate days of the Velvet Revolution, or even his dissident days as a playwright. Observers say he at times is bitter or depressed at the passing of the Revolution. He still enjoys the limelight of Presidential politics, however, despite the fact that Prime Minister Klaus is now the key policymaker, not Havel. You might want to read the cable attached to the biographical section of these briefing materials for additional insights into Havel. I have also attached a sample of his writing for your review.

**DOMESTIC POLITICS:** The Czech Republic has made substantial progress in building a stable democracy. Havel and Klaus both enjoy strong popular support. In parliament, the four-party ruling coalition faces little resistance from a fragmented opposition. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, however, the existence of democratic institutions does not translate into the existence of democratic society. Czech democracy is still in a nascent phase; civic and participatory values are only gradually taking root among

the populace. You should express our admiration for how well the Czechs have handled political reform and encourage them to continue building democracy both at home and throughout the region. The Czechs can be particularly helpful in assisting Slovakia with its reform effort.

ECONOMIC SITUATION: The transition to a market economy is well under way, and the Czech Republic has already forged strong economic ties to the West. Economic reform has involved price liberalization, quick privatization of state enterprises, and adherence to very strict fiscal and monetary policies. Most economic indicators are good: inflation is running at 10%, the balance of payments is in surplus, and foreign exchange reserves are growing. Economic reform has, however, caused a deep recession and a sizable drop in GDP since 1990. Unemployment is expected to increase sharply later this year, fueling concern about the need for a social safety net. The government hopes to pass over 100 pieces of economic legislation by June to further the reform process and revamp legal codes pertaining to banking and other business activities.

In combination with other donors, the U.S. has committed over \$500 million to assist economic and political reform in the Czech and Slovak Republics. Through FY 1992, Czechoslovakia received over \$117 million in grant assistance from the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act. The Czech-American Enterprise Fund continues to promote private sector development by providing loans, equity capital, and technical assistance. We have also devoted resources to strengthening democratic institutions and addressing environmental problems. Since the Republic split, separate programs have been set up for the Czech and Slovak republics.

Havel may raise the issue of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The Eastern Europeans have benefitted from these programs over the years and want to see them continued. Your effort to consolidate the overseas broadcasting program has raised concerns that you will cancel Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. You can assure Havel that you support continued broadcasts to the Czechs. The issue is under active review and is more a question of how, not whether, to continue broadcasts to the region.

FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY: The Czechs have proved to be a very valuable partner in the international community. They contribute to UN peacekeeping efforts, host the CSCE secretariat in Prague, are concerned about global environmental issues, and are enforcing sanctions against the former Yugoslavia and participating in the delivery of humanitarian relief. The Czechs are also interested in Eastern Europe's non-permanent UN Security Council seat opening next year, and are seeking to obtain the endorsement of the East European group. You should express appreciation for the Czech Republic's international role and our desire

to work closely with the Czechs in promoting peace and democracy in Europe.

Although the Czech Republic faces no immediate security threats, Prague is concerned about instability in the former Soviet Union and the possibility that Russia, should its reform effort falter, might again pursue an expansionist foreign policy. In light of these concerns, the Czechs would like to enter NATO as soon as possible. Because the U.S. and its European allies agree that it is still too soon to consider NATO enlargement, we continue to encourage the Czechs to address their security concerns through other avenues. Prague should take full advantage of its partnership with NATO provided through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC). The U.S. has initiated an expanded program of military-to-military contacts which educates Czech military and defense ministry personnel in courses in this country. The U.S. has recently proposed that a bilateral working group meet biannually to address defense issues of mutual concern. You should urge the Czechs to strengthen the Visegrad process, an evolving forum for regional cooperation among the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary. You should note their growing political and economic ties to the European Community and express understanding of their desire for full membership. You can also express approval of the Czechs' desire to enter the Council of Europe (COE) -- both the Czech Republic and Slovakia must reapply as newly independent countries -- and their willingness to accept binding rulings from the COE's human rights court.

The Czechs have expressed interest in purchasing advanced weaponry from the U.S. Prague does not now have sufficient funds for such purchases. In addition, our policy precludes transfers of advanced weaponry to East European countries because arms sales could fuel a regional arms race, divert resources from reform, and complicate relations with Moscow.

TRADE AND INVESTMENT: Few trade or investment disputes disrupt U.S.-Czech economic relations, though areas of conflict do loom on the horizon. U.S. exporters will be at an increasing disadvantage as free trade agreements between the Czech Republic and the EC are phased in. You should encourage Czech integration into Western Europe, but stress that U.S. economic interests should not suffer as a result. U.S. firms continue to invest in the Czech Republic -- their activities account for roughly 20% of the \$2 billion in foreign investment. We are particularly pleased with Prague's decision to use American technology to complete the nuclear power plant at Temelin. While the recent Bilateral Tax Treaty will serve as an incentive for further investment, U.S. firms have complained about the new income tax rate, which is considerably higher than in other European countries. The Czechs, in turn, have complained about their restricted access to the U.S. market, particularly for agricultural products. The Czechs,

Hungarians, and Poles have all inquired about negotiating free trade agreements with the U.S. We have responded that such agreements can be contemplated only after we conclude the NAFTA and the Uruguay Round.

PRESS STATEMENT: While there is no formal press statement planned, you should take advantage of the photo opportunity at the start of the meeting to state your commitment to strong U.S.-Czech relations. We have drafted a statement for your use in that setting.

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PER E.O. 13526  
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1993

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL:OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
 FROM: Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. *CRW*  
 Acting Secretary  
 SUBJECT: Meeting with Vaclav Havel, President of the  
 Czech Republic

I. SETTING

President Havel's visit to attend the opening of the Holocaust Museum is his third to the United States since the overthrow of communism in 1989. His most recent trip was a state visit in October of 1991, when he was President of Czechoslovakia. We understand that during this visit, Havel plans to raise security issues and environmental problems.

Havel comes as President of the three-month old Czech Republic. While he remains extremely popular abroad, Havel has a much smaller political role as Czech President than he did as President of Czechoslovakia. Prime Minister Klaus exerts much greater influence, particularly on domestic matters.

Power-sharing talks between Czechs and Slovaks following last June's elections led to a peaceful and negotiated split of Czechoslovakia, a sharp contrast with the fate of the former Yugoslavia. While Havel personally struggled to save the Federation, he -- like most Czechs and Slovaks -- has adjusted quickly to the new realities.

Some strains between the two states remain, though patient negotiations are slowly resolving these issues. A larger problem is a sense among Czechs that they have shed the "dead weight" of the less-developed Slovakia and are ready to charge ahead into Europe. We and other Western countries should continue to emphasize that Slovakia's success will bear directly on the Czech Republic's fortunes, and that Slovakia's failure would have dire consequences for its neighbor.

The Czech Republic under President Havel and PM Klaus is politically stable and well advanced towards its goal of creating a prosperous market-oriented economy. The Czechs have embraced the economic reform program Klaus initiated in 1990, and are moving quickly to undo 40 years of socialist economics. While several obstacles remain, the long-term economic prospects for the Czech Republic are bright.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The political relationship between the U.S. and the Czech Republic remains positive and virtually unchanged from that we enjoyed with post-communist Czechoslovakia. We see frequent cultural and business exchanges between our two countries, and each maintains a welcoming attitude toward nationals of the other. Government to government relations are friendly, and the Czechs take pains to seek out and support U.S. positions on almost all international issues.

As PM Klaus' government moves closer toward integration with Western Europe, however, tensions in our economic relationship may increase. The Czechs are currently negotiating an association agreement with the EC, and will press for full EC membership in the near future. We have told the Czechs we support their integration with the West, but we must continue to make clear that such integration should not be at the expense of U.S. businesses.

The Czechs, like the Slovaks, Poles and Hungarians, look to the U.S. and to NATO to guarantee their security. Most Czechs still remember Russian tanks moving into Prague in 1968 and feel it will be a long time before the Russians can be fully trusted as responsible international actors. While they understand expansion of NATO is not currently on the table, they will continue to press us for ever more explicit guarantees of their security.

During Havel's state visit in 1991, U.S. officials were criticized for focusing on Havel's years as a dissident, and not on the present problems of then-Czechoslovakia. We have given Havel personal accolades in his previous trips -- we should give emphasis during this visit to the future direction of the Czech Republic.

## II. TOPICS

- o Express our continuing interest in developments in the Czech Republic and throughout Central and Eastern Europe despite our present attention to events in Moscow.
- o Affirm our support for Czech integration into the West, but stress the importance of regional cooperation.
- o Stress the importance of continued close cooperation between Slovakia and the Czech Republic.
- o Seek Havel's views on developments in Russia, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere in the region, and brief him on U.S. views.
- o Affirm our commitment to provide assistance in support of economic and political reforms in the Czech Republic.

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

CZECH DOMESTIC CONDITIONS

Czech Political Situation

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2015-0773-m (1.05)  
12/1/2017 KBH

- The U.S. had an excellent relationship with Czechoslovakia, and we look forward to continuing that relationship with the Czech Republic.
- The final split of the Czech and Slovak Republic cannot have been easy, but the peaceful and democratic separation set an example for the world.

U.S. Economic Assistance

- The U.S. will remain fully engaged in Eastern Europe and we are committed to helping you make a successful transition to market democracy.
- I want you to know that our help for Russia will not come at your expense. We see your success as important for Russia as well. Russians need to see that the transition to market democracy can be made successfully and peacefully.
- I would welcome your views on the U.S. assistance effort and what we could do to improve it.

CZECH FOREIGN POLICY

General

- We appreciate the active role you play in the international community. Your contributions to UN peacekeeping efforts and your position as host of the CSCE secretariat show that the Czech Republic will continue to be a valued partner in international affairs.
- We encourage the Czech Republic to serve as a catalyst for regional cooperation and intend to work closely with you to build multilateral approaches to challenges faced by the region as a whole.

Defense and Security Policy

- We share your concern about the situation in Russia and are taking steps to bolster Yeltsin's position.
- Expansion of NATO membership is not part of the current agenda. I would encourage the Czech Republic to take full

advantage of the opportunities for dialogue and practical cooperation with NATO through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) as well as NATO's Group on Defense Matters (GDM).

- The Visegrad (VEE-sheh-grad) Group is a valuable initiative to promote regional coordination and a potential model for other countries undergoing political and economic transformation.
- We understand that the Czech Republic is working to eliminate its SS-23 missiles, which we believe is an important contribution to arms control objectives.

#### Former Yugoslavia

- We appreciate your firm support for sanctions enforcement and your role in UNPROFOR. What are your views on the next steps for the international community?

#### Military Contacts/Security Assistance

- We are hopeful that our expanding program of military-to-military contacts, including the establishment of a U.S. military liaison team in Prague and our training offered to Czech military and defense personnel, can help you address some of your defense needs.
- We also hope that our new Bilateral Working Group on Defense Matters can serve as a forum for discussion of your security concerns and help identify areas where the U.S. can provide advice and assistance.

#### Trade and Investment

- We support your integration into Western Europe and the EC. However, U.S. firms should not be unfairly disadvantaged in the process.
- The Czech Republic must ensure that the climate for foreign investment remains hospitable. Many U.S. investors have complained about your new income tax rates, which are higher than in other European countries.

#### UN Security Council Seat (If Asked)

- I understand that the Czech Republic is interested in the East European non-permanent Security Council seat which is coming open next year.
- We intend to defer to the decision of the regional group, so it will be important for the Czech Republic to obtain the support of the group.

U.S. Excess Defense Articles (If Asked)

- In order to be eligible to receive U.S. excess defense articles (EDA), I must first issue a determination that the Czech Republic meets the criteria for inclusion in our Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. Czechoslovakia's previous eligibility is not transferable.
- That determination will be made based on a number of issues, including our evaluation of the Czech Republic's arms export control safeguards. I hope this can happen soon.

Environment (If Asked)

- Through a U.S.-Czech partnership and through public as well as private initiatives, I hope we will continue to address both global and regional environmental challenges.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (If Asked)

- Although we plan to seek greater efficiencies in how the Radios are managed, we have not yet decided how this is best done. I can assure you, however, that U.S. broadcasts to the Czech Republic will continue.
- We hope to step up our assistance to independent radio, television, and newspapers in Eastern Europe.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON  
ON HIS MEETING WITH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
April 20, 1993

It is a great pleasure to welcome to the White House one of this Century's heroes of freedom, President Vaclav (VAS-lav) Havel of the Czech Republic. His courage throughout the dark days of communism and his principled leadership during the Velvet Revolution have been an inspiration to me and all who are committed to freedom and democracy.

We will long remember the courageous struggle against communism waged by the people of the Czech Republic and those of Slovakia. They peacefully broke the yoke of communism. They re-established democracy. They embarked on market reforms. It is especially fitting that this champion of justice and freedom represents his nation at the opening of the Holocaust Museum here in Washington. His presence underscores the commitment of the Czech people to combat racism and bigotry in all forms and at all times.

We in the United States are impressed by what the Czech people have accomplished. We are impressed that the difficult division of a nation was conducted through negotiation rather than strife. We are impressed by the sacrifices the Czech people have made to build a market economy and a democratic government.

This peaceful progress toward justice and prosperity is important for other nations as well. It provides a model for the many

states now making the difficult transition toward free institutions. And it inspires all people, including our own, who are striving toward the ever-advancing ideal of democracy. That is why Americans stand firmly behind the efforts of the Czech people and are proud to be your partners.

The Czech Republic has assumed an important role in the international community. I commend its cooperation with its neighbors to ensure that political and economic reforms continue across the region for the benefit of all. I look forward to working with the Czechs in the UN, CSCE, NACC and other international arenas to deepen our consultation and cooperation on all our common political and security challenges.

The Czech and American people have a long history of friendship. Czech culture, brought to us by Americans of Czech descent, has enriched our nation. I am especially proud the United States is represented at the UN by an American born in Prague, Madeleine Korbel Albright. Since the Velvet Revolution, U.S.-Czech relations have flourished. Thousands of tourists, students, and scholars are now moving between our two nations. Ever more U.S. businesses are investing in the Czech Republic, and ever more Czech goods are available in the United States.

I look forward to close cooperation with President Havel, with the Czech Republic, and with all our friends in Central and Eastern Europe to build upon the changes begun in 1989.

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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NSC FOR WALKER

VIENNA ALSO HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINR, EZ

SUBJECT: VACLAV HAVEL: SAME MAN, DIFFERENT ROLE

REF: PRAGUE 3312

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: VACLAV HAVEL IS A MUCH LESS CENTRAL AND POWERFUL FIGURE AS PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC THAN HE WAS AS FEDERAL PRESIDENT. CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITS, A STRONG, ASSERTIVE CZECH GOVERNMENT, AND THE ABSENCE OF A REAL POLITICAL BASE ALL CIRCUMSCRIBE HAVEL'S INFLUENCE. HE IS ADAPTING TO HIS NEW ROLE, BUT WITH DIFFICULTY, AND SEEMS SOMEWHAT BITTER OR DEPRESSED AT THE PASSING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA IN CZECH POLITICS. THAT SAID, HE REMAINS WILLING TO TAKE A POSITIVE APPROACH, AS A SPOKESMAN FOR DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND IN PRODDING THE CZECHS TO ADDRESS SOME OF THEIR SHORTCOMINGS. A

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## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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ROLE THAT HAVEL CANNOT AND WILL NOT PLAY, HOWEVER, IS THAT OF COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE FEISTY AND OFTEN ABRASIVE PRIME MINISTER KLAUS. HAVEL'S CHARISMA SHOULD NOT LEAD US TO TREAT HIM AS SOMETHING MORE THAN HE CAN BE. HE STILL HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY AS A CHIEF OF STATE, BUT NO LONGER AS A VIRTUAL HEAD OF GOVERNMENT. CZECH POLICY IS DEFINITELY THE PRIME MINISTER'S PRESERVE. END SUMMARY.

3. CZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL IS MUCH THE SAME MAN AS WHEN HE LAST VISITED WASHINGTON IN OCTOBER 1991: AN INTELLECTUAL INTENT ON KEEPING MORAL AND ETHICAL VALUES AT THE FOREFRONT OF CZECH CONSCIOUSNESS, WHO SPEAKS FROM BITTER EXPERIENCE OF THE COST OF SEEING THOSE VALUES SUBMERGED. AT THE SAME TIME, HAVEL'S POLITICAL SITUATION, HIS POWERS, AND HIS INFLUENCE ON CZECH SOCIETY HAVE CHANGED GREATLY SINCE THE LAST CZECHOSLOVAK ELECTIONS IN JUNE 1992.

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### FROM VITAL CENTER TO THE POLITICAL PERIPHERY

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4. AS PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC, HAVEL, ASSISTED BY A STAFF OF LONG-TIME PARTNERS FROM DISSIDENT DAYS, WAS THE TRUEST EMBODIMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC CZECH AND SLOVAK STATE. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS WEAK, WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE FINANCE MINISTRY UNDER VACLAV KLAUS. CZECH/SLOVAK DIFFERENCES PARALYZED THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT ON MOST KEY ISSUES. AT THE SAME TIME, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW DID NOT GIVE THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FEDERATION'S TWO COMPONENT REPUBLICS THE ATTRIBUTES OF TRUE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS. IN THIS SEEMING POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL VACUUM, VACLAV HAVEL AND THE CURRENT OF POPULAR OPINION HE REPRESENTED WERE THE CENTER THAT COULD HOLD, AT LEAST FOR A TIME, AND KEEP

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THINGS FROM FALLING APART.

5. THE JUNE 1992 ELECTIONS, HOWEVER, PROVED A WATERSHED BOTH FOR THE COMMON CZECH AND SLOVAK STATE AND FOR THE POSITION OF VACLAV HAVEL. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE TWO REPUBLICS PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF FORCEFUL POLITICIANS, WHO WERE VERY SURE OF THEMSELVES AND HAD STRONG POLITICAL PARTIES AT THEIR BACKS -- VACLAV KLAUS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND VLADIMIR MECIAR IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC. IT QUICKLY BECAME CLEAR THAT THE GOALS OF KLAUS AND MECIAR WERE IRRECONCILABLE IN A COMMON STATE, AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT EMERGED AFTER THE ELECTIONS CLEARLY HAD ONLY ONE PURPOSE: THE PEACEFUL, ORDERLY, EFFICIENT LIQUIDATION OF FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS. JUST AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LOST MOST OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE, SO DID THE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTIONS DE FACTO STRIP THE FEDERAL PRESIDENCY OF MOST OF ITS  
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SIGNIFICANCE.

6. HAVEL FAILED TO WIN REELECTION IN VOTING ON JULY 3, 1992. (HE CAME UP SHORT IN THE SLOVAK SECTION OF THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY'S CHAMBER OF NATIONS.) RATHER THAN FACE DEFEAT AGAIN IN OTHER ROUNDS OF PRESIDENTIAL BALLOTTING OR CONTINUE IN CARETAKER STATUS, HAVEL RESIGNED THE PRESIDENCY EFFECTIVE JULY 20 AND WENT INTO A SORT OF EXILE. BY ALL INDICATIONS, THIS WAS A DIFFICULT PERIOD FOR HIM PERSONALLY. HIS CRITICS CAME INCREASINGLY INTO THE OPEN, PARALLELING HIM TO A CAPTAIN WHO HAD ABANDONED

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A SINKING SHIP. (EVEN IN LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES, MARITIME METAPHORS ARE OFTEN EFFECTIVE.) LEADERS OF KLAUS'S CIVIC DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ODS) WERE INTENSELY CRITICAL OF HAVEL FOR MEETING WITH MORAVIAN AUTONOMISTS AND LEFTIST OPPOSITION REPRESENTATIVES DURING THIS PERIOD, AND RUMORS BEGAN TO CIRCULATE ABOUT ALTERNATE CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, ONCE IT WAS CREATED.

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A DIFFERENT PRESIDENTIAL ROLE

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7. DESPITE THOSE RUMORS, HAVEL WAS ELECTED AS CZECH REPUBLIC PRESIDENT ON JANUARY 26, BUT HE FOUND HIS NEW CIRCUMSTANCES VERY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE HE HAD ENJOYED AS FEDERAL PRESIDENT. SOME SIGNS ARE IMMEDIATELY VISIBLE -- HIS STAFF HAS DROPPED FROM APPROXIMATELY 450 TO AROUND 180, AND THE PEOPLE AROUND HIM ARE VIEWED AS "FUNCTIONARIES", LACKING THE STRONG POLITICAL PROFILE FROM DISSIDENT DAYS THAT USED TO CHARACTERIZE HAVEL'S STAFF. ADD TO THIS THE FACT THAT HAVEL'S INFLUENCE DE FACTO IS LIMITED BY THE PRESENCE OF AN ASSERTIVE CZECH GOVERNMENT WITH A SELF-CONFIDENT AND POPULAR PRIME MINISTER. WITH THE SMASHING DEFEAT OF THE CENTRIST CIVIC MOVEMENT (OH) IN LAST JUNE'S ELECTIONS, HAVEL HAS NO REAL POLITICAL BASE. FURTHERMORE, THE CZECH REPUBLIC CONSTITUTION APPROVED LAST DECEMBER CLEARLY PROVIDES FOR PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT, AND LIMITS PRESIDENTIAL POWERS RATHER NARROWLY.

8. PAVEL TIGRID, A LONG-TIME FRIEND WHO CONTINUES TO ADVISE THE PRESIDENT INFORMALLY, TOLD THE AMBASSADOR RECENTLY THAT HAVEL WAS "ADAPTING TO THE REALITY OF HIS ROLE...BUT IT'S FRUSTRATING ... A DAILY STRUGGLE FOR HAVEL." THAT SEEMS AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION. SOME OF HAVEL'S OLD COLLEAGUES FROM THE DISSIDENT PERIOD -- FATHER VACLAV MALÝ AND

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ZDENEK URBANEK, FOR EXAMPLE -- ARGUE THAT HAVEL HAS SOLD OUT FOR THE SAKE OF HIGH OFFICE AND WOULD DO WELL TO BECOME "CITIZEN HAVEL" AGAIN. THE PRESIDENT APPARENTLY AGREES THAT HE CANNOT BRING HIMSELF TO LET GO OF PUBLIC AND POLITICAL LIFE. IN A TELLING INTERVIEW IN THE APRIL 10-12 "SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" (SEE FBIS VIENNA, AU1204195193), HAVEL SAID THE FOLLOWING: "I HAVE LONG SINCE FOUND OUT THAT PUBLIC LIFE -- AS WELL AS POLITICS -- IS A STRANGE ANIMAL, WHICH, ONCE YOU ARE IN ITS CLAWS, WILL NEVER RELEASE YOU AGAIN. .... I HAVE BEEN DEVOURED BY PUBLIC LIFE. IT IS IN MY NATURE. I SIMPLY HAVE TO BE INVOLVED IN POLITICS."

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CHANGING TIMES  
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9. HAVEL IS CLEARLY UNHAPPY THAT CZECH SOCIETY AND POLITICS HAVE ENTERED THE "POST-DISSIDENT ERA." ASKED BY "SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" TO REFLECT ON THE DIMINISHING PUBLIC ROLE OF MANY PROTAGONISTS OF THE

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~~SUBJECT: VACLAV HAVEL: SAME MAN, DIFFERENT ROLE~~

VELVET REVOLUTION, HAVEL SAID: "SOCIETY HATES LOOKING BACK AND HATES LOOKING CLOSELY AT ITSELF. IT PARTICULARLY HATES LOOKING AT THOSE WHO, CONTRARY TO THE MAJORITY, OFFERED RESISTANCE TO THE TOTALITARIAN REGIME, SOMETHING WHICH MANY PEOPLE WERE UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO DO.... PEOPLE HARDLY EVER IDENTIFY THEMSELVES WITH THOSE WHO WERE DIFFERENT, WHO OFFERED RESISTANCE." WITH A TOUCH OF NOSTALGIA, HE ALSO NOTED: "WE NO LONGER LIVE IN REVOLUTIONARY

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TIMES, IN WHICH PEOPLE ARE GENEROUS AND ABLE TO SWALLOW EVEN UNPLEASANT THINGS."

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WHAT ROLE FOR HAVEL?  
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10. DESPITE SOME BITTERNESS, HAVEL CLEARLY REMAINS AMONG THE "GENEROUS" PEOPLE, AND CONTINUES HIS EFFORTS TO FOCUS THE ATTENTION OF CZECHS ON THE MORAL AND ETHICAL DIMENSIONS THAT, IN HIS VIEW, SHOULD BE PART OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE. SUCH A MORAL FOCUS IS MORE APPROPRIATE IN SOME CASES THAN IN OTHERS. HAVEL'S EMPHASIS THAT NATO IS FIRST AND FOREMOST AN ALLIANCE TO PROTECT COMMON VALUES (REFTEL) IS CERTAINLY A USEFUL CORRECTIVE TO MORE NARROWLY UTILITARIAN VIEWS OF THE ALLIANCE'S PURPOSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVEN MANY PEOPLE SYMPATHETIC TO HAVEL'S VIEWS QUESTION THE WISDOM OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC RAISING THE MORAL DIMENSION OF THE POSTWAR EXPULSION OF THE SUDETEN GERMANS DURING HIS STATE VISIT TO AUSTRIA MARCH 15.

11. WITH A SHARP, ANALYTICAL EYE TOWARD HIS OWN PEOPLE, HAVEL HAS IDENTIFIED, TO OUR MIND CORRECTLY, A CZECH WEAKNESS WITH POTENTIALLY SERIOUS IMPLICATIONS. UNDERNEATH A VENEER OF BLACKEST PESSIMISM, MANY CZECHS HAVE A STRONG SENSE OF SUPERIORITY VIS-A-VIS NEIGHBORING PEOPLES SUCH AS THE SLOVAKS, POLES, AND HUNGARIANS, AND, MINDFUL OF WARTIME EPISODES, EVEN VIS-A-VIS THE GERMANS. AS HE AGAIN TOLD THE "SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG": "THE CZECHS ARE SOMEHOW FINDING IT VERY HARD TO DEAL WITH THEIR OWN HISTORY IN A BUSINESSLIKE MANNER."

12. IN THIS LIGHT, IT SEEMS THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT ROLE VACLAV HAVEL MAY YET PLAY IN CZECH HISTORY IS PRECISELY THAT OF STIMULATING DEBATE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY THAT OTHERWISE COULD REMAIN UNDER WRAPS. IT IS A ROLE WORTH PLAYING, AND

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IS CONSISTENT WITH BOTH HIS PERSONAL INCLINATIONS AND THE OBJECTIVE PARAMETERS OF THE OFFICE HE HOLDS.

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NO COUNTERWEIGHT TO KLAUS  
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13. THERE IS ANOTHER ROLE THAT HAVEL CANNOT AND WILL NOT PLAY, I.E. AS SOME TYPE OF COUNTERWEIGHT TO PRIME MINISTER KLAUS. IT IS TRUE THAT THEIR CHARACTERS AND PERSONAL PREDILECTIONS DIFFER. NONETHELESS, HAVEL HAS NEITHER THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY NOR A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION THAT WOULD SERVE AS INSTRUMENTS TO CHALLENGE KLAUS. THERE ARE CASES IN WHICH CONSTITUTIONALLY WEAK PRESIDENTS HAVE STEPPED INTO THE VOID LEFT BY GOVERNMENTS OR POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT HAVE DISCREDITED THEMSELVES (RECENT ITALIAN EVENTS BEING A CASE IN POINT). THIS IS DECIDEDLY NOT THE CASE, HOWEVER, IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC. THE ONLY MECHANISM HAVEL WOULD HAVE TO CHALLENGE THE GOVERNMENT ON A POLICY MATTER WOULD BE A PUBLIC EXPRESSION OF DISAGREEMENT. HAVEL IS WELL AWARE, HOWEVER, OF THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF DEMONSTRATING PUBLICLY A LACK OF UNITY BETWEEN

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SUBJECT: VACLAV HAVEL: SAME MAN, DIFFERENT ROLE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER. HE IS LIKELY TO USE SUCH AN INSTRUMENT ONLY IN THE ABSOLUTELY LAST RESORT.

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CONSEQUENCES FOR US POLICY  
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14. IN DEALING WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL, WE NEED TO

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KEEP IN MIND THE FACT THAT HE IS NOW A CHIEF OF STATE, WITHOUT THE AIR OF A HEAD OF GOVERNMENT THAT SEEMED TO FOLLOW HIM AS CSFR PRESIDENT. HAVEL REMAINS AN UNUSUAL AND HIGHLY ATTRACTIVE FIGURE ON THE WORLD SCENE. HIS CHARISMA IS OF A VERY DIFFERENT SORT THAN THAT OF PRIME MINISTER KLAUS. ALTHOUGH INCLINED TOWARD DEPRESSION, HAVEL IS LIKELY TO SOUND A POSITIVE APPEAL FOR CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL VALUES. IN EXPRESSING THE DESIRES OF THE CZECH PEOPLE, HE WILL CONCENTRATE ON AREAS OF CLEAR CONSENSUS. (SECURITY AND THE ENVIRONMENT, WHICH HE PLANS TO RAISE IN WASHINGTON PER REFTEL, ARE THE CZECH EQUIVALENT OF "MOM AND APPLE PIE.") PRIME MINISTER KLAUS IS MUCH MORE VISIBLY THE POLITICIAN, ALWAYS PURSUING HIS OWN PARTICULAR POINT OF VIEW OR PROGRAM, AND ALTERNATELY CHARMING, ABRASIVE, SARCASTIC, AND PATRONIZING.

15. OUTSIDE THE CZECH REPUBLIC, AT LEAST, HAVEL IS A MUCH MORE ATTRACTIVE PERSONALITY THAN KLAUS. THAT DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT WE SHOULD TREAT HAVEL AS SOMETHING MORE THAN HE CAN BE. WE NEED TO RESPECT THE DIVISION OF AUTHORITY -- MORAL AND POLITICAL -- THAT THE CZECHS HAVE WORKED OUT WITH NO SMALL EFFORT. HAVEL MAY BE MORE PRO-AMERICAN THAN THE EUROPEANIST KLAUS, AND MORE PLEASANT TO DEAL WITH, BUT IT IS KLAUS WHO MAKES CZECH POLICY.

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ADDRESS BY VÁCLAV HAVEL,  
PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC,  
AT THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 22, 1993

Mr. President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I remember a time when some of my friends and acquaintances used to go out of their way to avoid meeting me in the street. Though I certainly didn't intend it to be so, they saw me, in a way, as a voice of their conscience. They knew that if they stopped and talked with me, they would feel compelled to apologize for not openly defying the regime too, or to explain to me why they couldn't do it, or to defend themselves by claiming that dissent was pointless anyway. Conversations like this were usually quite an ordeal for both sides, and thus it was better to stay away from them altogether.

Another reason for their behavior was the fear that the police were following me, and that just talking to me would cause them complications. It was easier not to go near me. Thus, they would avoid both an unpleasant conversation and the potential persecution that could follow. In short, I was, for those friends, an inconvenience. And inconveniences are best avoided.

For long decades, the chief nightmare of the democratic world was communism. Today -- three years after it began to collapse like an avalanche -- it would seem as though another nightmare has replaced it: post-communism. There were many, not just in the west, but in the east as well, who had been looking forward to the fall of communism for years, and who had hoped that its collapse would mean that history had at last come to its senses. Today, these same people are seriously worried about the consequences of that fall. Some of them may even feel a little nostalgic for a world that was, after all, slightly more transparent and understandable than the present one.

I do not share sentiments of that kind. I think we must not understand post-communism merely as something that makes life difficult for the rest of the world. I certainly didn't understand communism that way. I saw it chiefly as a challenge, a challenge to thought and to action. To an even greater extent, post-communism represents just that kind of challenge.

Anyone who understands a given historical phenomenon merely as an inconvenience will ultimately see many other things the same way:

the warnings of ecologists, public opinion, the vagaries of voters, public morality. It is an easy, and therefore seductive way of seeing the world and history. But it is extremely dangerous because we tend to remain aloof from things that inconvenience us and get in our way, just as some of my acquaintances avoided me during the communist era. Any position based on the feeling that the world, or history, is merely an accumulation of inconveniences inevitably leads to a turning away from reality, and ultimately, to resigning oneself to it. It leads to appeasement, even to collaboration. The consequences of such a position may even be suicidal.

\* \* \*

What in fact do we mean by post-communism? Essentially, it is a term for the state of affairs in all the countries that have rid themselves of communism. But it is a dangerous simplification to put all these countries in one basket. While it is true that they are all faced with essentially the same task -- that is, to rid themselves of the disastrous legacy of communism, to repair the damage it caused, and to create, or renew, democracy -- at the same time, and for many reasons, there are great differences between them.

I will not go into all the problems encountered by post-communist countries; experts are no doubt already writing books on the subject. I will mention only some of the root causes of the phenomena that are arousing the greatest concern in the democratic West, phenomena such as nationalism, xenophobia, and the poor moral and intellectual climate which -- to a greater or lesser extent -- go along with the creation of the new political and economic system.

The first of these causes I see in the fact that communism was far from being simply the dictatorship of one group of people over another. It was a genuinely totalitarian system, that is, it penetrated every aspect of life and deformed everything it touched, including all the natural ways people had evolved of living together. It profoundly affected all forms of human behavior. For years, a specific structure of values and models of behavior was deliberately created in the consciousness of society. It was a perverted structure, one that went against all the natural tendencies of life, but society nevertheless internalized it, or rather was forced to internalize it.

When communist power and its ideology collapsed, this structure collapsed along with it. But people couldn't simply absorb and internalize a new structure immediately, one corresponding to the elementary principles of civic society and democracy. The human mind and human habits cannot be transformed overnight; to build a new system of living values and to identify with them simply takes time.

In a situation where one thing has collapsed and something new does not yet exist, many people feel empty and frustrated. This state is

fertile ground for phenomena like the hunt for scapegoats, for radicalism of all kinds, and for the need to hide behind the anonymity of a group, be it socially or ethnically based. It encourages hatred of the world, self affirmation at all costs, the feeling that everything is now permitted and the unparalleled flourishing of selfishness that goes along with it. It gives rise to the search for a common and easily identifiable enemy, to political extremism, to the most primitive cult of consumerism, to a carpetbagging morality, stimulated by the historically unprecedented restructuring of property relations, and so on and so on. Thanks to its former democratic traditions and to its unique intellectual and spiritual climate, the Czech Republic, the westernmost of the post-communist countries, is relatively well off in this regard, compared with some of the other countries in the region. Nevertheless we too are going through the same great transformation that all the post-communist countries are, and we can therefore talk about it on the basis of inside knowledge.

Another factor that must be considered in any analysis of post-communist phenomena is the intrinsic tendency of communism to make everything the same. The greatest enemy of communism was always individuality, variety, difference -- in a word, freedom. From Berlin to Vladivostok, the streets and buildings were decorated with the same red stars. Everywhere the same kind of celebratory parades were staged. Analogical state administrations were set up, along with the whole system of central direction for social and economic life. This great shroud of uniformity, stifling all national, intellectual, spiritual, social, cultural or religious variety, covered over any differences and created the monstrous illusion that we were all the same. The fall of communism destroyed this shroud of sameness, and the world was caught napping by an outburst of the many unanticipated differences concealed beneath it, each of which -- after such a long time in the shadows -- felt a natural need to draw attention to itself, to emphasize its uniqueness and its difference from others. This is the reason for the eruption of so many different kinds of old-fashioned patriotism, revivalist messianism, conservatism, and expressions of hatred towards all those who appeared to be betraying their roots or identifying with different ones.

The desire to renew and emphasize one's identity, one's uniqueness, is also behind the emergence of many new states. Nations that have never had countries of their own feel an understandable need to experience independence. It is no fault of theirs that the opportunity has come up decades or even centuries after it came to other nations.

This is related to yet another matter: for a long time, communism brought history, and with it all natural development, to a halt. While the Western democracies have had decades to create a civil society, to build internationally integrated structures, and to learn the arts of peaceful international co-existence and cooperation, the countries ruled by communism could not go through this creative process. National and cultural differences were

driven into the subterranean areas of social life, where they were kept on ice and thus prevented from developing freely, from taking on modern forms in the fresh air, from creating, over time, the free space of unity in variety.

At the same time many of the nations suppressed by communism had not even enjoyed freedom before its advent, and thus had not had a chance to resolve many of the basic questions of their existence as countries. Consequently thousands of unsolved problems have now suddenly burst forth into the light of day, problems left unsolved by history, problems we had wrongly supposed were long forgotten. It is truly astonishing to discover how, after decades of falsified history and ideological manipulation and massaging, nothing has been forgotten. Nations are now remembering their ancient achievements and their ancient suffering, their ancient suppressors and their allies, their ancient statehood, and their former borders, their traditional animosities and affinities -- in short, they are suddenly recalling a history that, until recently, had been carefully concealed or misrepresented.

Thus in many parts of the so-called post-communist world, it is not just the regional order (sometimes referred to as the Yalta order) that is being corrected. There are also attempts to correct certain shortcomings in the Versailles order, and even to go further back into history and exploit the greatest freedom some of them have ever had to make complete amends. It is an impossible desire, of course, but understandable nevertheless.

If we wish to understand the problems of the post-communist world, or some of them at least, then we must continually remind ourselves of something else. It is easy to deny the latent problems, ambitions, and particularities of nations. It is easy to make everything the same by force, to destroy the complex and fragile social, cultural and economic relationships and institutions built up over centuries, and to enforce a single, primitive model of central control in the spirit of a proud utopianism. It is as easy to do that as it is to smash a piece of antique, inlaid furniture with a single blow from a hammer. But it is infinitely more difficult to restore it all, or to create it directly.

The fall of the communist empire is an event on the same scale of historical importance as the fall of the Roman empire. And it has similar consequences, both good and extremely disturbing. It means a significant change in the countenance of today's world. The change is painful and will take a long time. To build a new world on the ruins of communism might be as long and complex a task as the creation of a Christian Europe -- after the great migrations -- once was.

\* \* \*

What are we to do if we don't wish to understand post-communism simply as a new inconvenience that would be better avoided by sticking our heads in the sand and minding our own business?

I think the most important thing is not just to take account of external and more or less measurable phenomena like the gross national product, the progress of privatization, the stability of the political system and the measurable degree to which human rights are observed. All of these things are important, of course, but something more is necessary. There must be an effort to understand the deep events taking place in the womb of post-communist societies, to take note of their historical meaning and think about their global implications. It must be understood that these are not the curious woes of a distant and circumscribed part of the world, but events that concern everyone, and all of our present-day civilization. The temptation must be resisted to adopt a disparaging and slightly astonished attitude, one based on a subconscious feeling of superiority on the part of observers who are better off. Just as Czechs should not sneer at the problems of Tadzhikistan, so no one should sneer at the problems of the Czech Republic. Any point of departure, therefore, should involve deep insight and a deep sense of co-responsibility. It is only against this background of understanding that meaningful ways of assistance can be sought.

It seems to me that the challenge offered by the post-communist world is merely the current form of a broader and more profound challenge to discover a new type of self-understanding for man, and a new type of politics that should flow from that understanding. As we all know, today's planetary civilization is in serious danger. Modern man thinks of himself as the lord of creation and not just a part of it, and his vanity is rapidly destroying his hope of survival. Because he is not grounded in a humble respect for the order of being, modern man allows himself to be driven by his particular interests. He is no longer capable of governing his behavior in a way that takes account of the general interest. We are rationally capable of describing, in vivid detail, all the dangers that threaten the world: the deepening gulf between the rich and the poor parts of the world, the population explosion, the potential for dramatic confrontations between different racial and cultural groups, the arming of whom no one seems able to stop, the nuclear threat, the plundering of natural resources, the destruction of the natural variety of species, the creation of holes in the ozone layer, and the unstoppable global warming. What is unsettling is that the more we know about such dangers, the less able we seem to deal with them.

I see only one way out of this crisis: man must come to new understanding of himself, his limitations, and his place in the world. He should grasp his responsibility in a new way, and reestablish a relationship with the things that transcend him. We must rehabilitate our human subjecthood, and liberate ourselves from the captivity of a purely rational perception of the world. Through this subjecthood and the individual conscience that goes with it, we must discover a new relationship to our neighbors, and to the universe and its metaphysical order, which is the source of the moral order.

We live in a world in which our destinies are tied to each other more closely than they ever have been before. It is a world with a single planetary civilization, yet it contains many cultures that, with increasing vigour and singlemindedness resist cultural unification, reject mutual understanding, and exist in what amounts to latent confrontation. It is a deeply dangerous state of affairs and it must be changed. The first step in this direction can be nothing less than a broad-based attempt by these cultures to understand each other, and to understand each other's right to existence. Only then can a kind of world-wide pluralistic metaculture, a self-preservational minimum on which everyone can agree, begin to form. It is only in the context of such a metaculture that a new sense political responsibility -- global responsibility -- can come into being. And it is only with this newly born sense of responsibility that the instruments can be created that will allow humanity to confront all the dangers it has created for itself.

The new political self-understanding I am talking about clearly means a definitive departure from the understanding of the world that considers history, foreign culture, foreign nations, and ultimately all those warnings about our future, as a mere agglomeration of annoying inconveniences that disturb our tranquillity.

A quiet life on the peak of a volcano is just as illusory as the notion I talked about at the beginning: that by avoiding an encounter with a dissident in the street, we can avoid the problem of communism and the question of how to deal with it.

Ultimately, I understand post-communism as one of many challenges to contemporary man -- regardless of what part of the world he lives in -- to awaken to his global responsibilities, and to awaken to them before it is too late.

\* \* \*

Ladies and gentlemen,  
Dear Friends,

This afternoon I had the honor of taking part in the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

On this occasion, as I have so often before, I asked myself how could this have happened? How could people in the twentieth century, aware of the theory of relativity, of quantum mechanics, who have penetrated to the heart of the atom and are exploring the reaches of outer space, have committed acts of horror so awful that to call them bestial would be to do an incredible disservice to all those creatures who happen not to be human. How could they have permitted it to happen?

In the context of what I have been talking about here, one aspect of a possible answer occurs to me. It was a failure of democracy,

the politics of appeasement, giving way to evil: what in my country we call the spirit of Munich. The inability of Europe and the world to recognize the emerging evil in time and stop it from growing to such monstrous proportions is merely another form of what I have called here an understanding of the world as an agglomeration of inconveniences. The issue here is the absence of a wider sense of responsibility for the world.

Czechs remember well a statement made by a democratic statesman shortly before he signed the Munich agreement, the real beginning of all the horrors of the Second World War. He was appalled, he said then, that his country was digging trenches and trying on gas masks "because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing". It is a classic example of how suicidal it is to try and avoid difficulties. This politician regarded Nazism as a problem that would go away if he stuck his head in the sand, or as it were crossed over to the other side of the street.

And so the chosen people were chosen by history to bear the brunt for all of us. The meaning of their sacrifice is to warn us against indifference to things we foolishly believe do not concern us.

In today's world, everything concerns everyone. Communism also concerned everyone. And it is also a matter of concern to everyone whether or not, and in what way, we manage to build a new zone of democracy, freedom, and prosperity on its ruins.

Every intellectual and material investment in the post-communist world that is not haphazard but based on a deep understanding of what is happening there, will repay the whole world many times over.

And not only that. It will also be one more step on the thorny journey of the human race towards a new understanding of its responsibility for its own destiny.

Thank you for your attention.

NEW YORK  
REVIEW, April 9 '92

## Paradise

Václav

## 1.

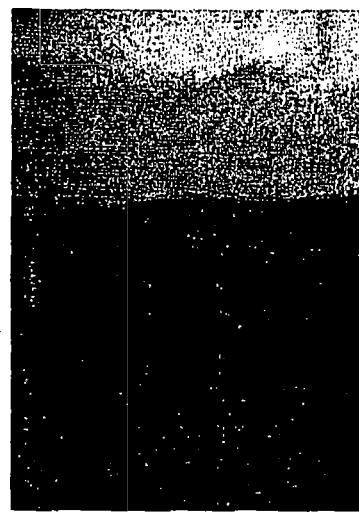
The return of freedom to a place that became morally unhinged has produced something that it clearly had to produce, and therefore something we might have expected. But it has turned out to be far more serious than anyone could have predicted: an enormous and blindingly visible explosion of every imaginable human vice. A wide range of questionable or at least ambivalent human tendencies, quietly encouraged over the years and, at the same time, quietly pressed to serve the daily operation of the totalitarian system, has suddenly been liberated, as it were, from its straitjacket and given free rein at last. The authoritarian regime imposed a certain order—if that is the right expression for it—on these vices (and in doing so “legitimized” them, in a sense). This order has now been broken down, but a new order that would limit rather than exploit these vices, an order based on a freely accepted responsibility to and for the whole of society, has not yet been built, nor could it have been, for such an order takes years to develop and cultivate.

And thus we are witnesses to a bizarre state of affairs: society has freed itself, true, but in some ways it behaves worse than when it was in chains. Criminality has grown rapidly, and the familiar sewage that in times of historical reversal always wells up from the nother regions of the collective psyche has overflowed into the mass media, especially the gutter press. But there are other, more serious and dangerous, symptoms: hatred among nationalities, suspicion, racism, even signs of fascism; vicious demagogic, intrigue, and deliberate lying; politicking, an unrestrained, unheeding struggle for purely particular interests, a hunger for power, unadulterated ambition, fanaticism of every imaginable kind; new and unprecedented varieties of robbery, the rise of different mafias; the general lack of tolerance, understanding, taste, moderation, reason. And, of course, there is a new attraction to ideologies, as if Marxism had left behind it a great, unsettling void that had to be filled at any cost.

**A** look around our political scene (whose lack of civility is merely a reflection of the more general crisis of civility) should suffice: with half a year to go before the elections, almost every political activity, including debates over extremely important legislation in parliament, is taking place in the shadow of a pre-election campaign, of an extravagant hunger for power and a willingness to gain the favor of a confused electorate by offering them a colorful range of attractive nonsense. Mutual accusations, denunciations, and slander among political opponents know no bounds. One politician will undermine another's work only because both belong

to different political parties. Partisan considerations still visibly take precedence over unprejudiced and pragmatic attempts to arrive at a reasonable and useful solution to problems. Analysis is pushed out of the press by scandal-mongering. (Supporting the government in a good cause is considered practically shameful; kicking it in the shins, on the contrary, is praiseworthy.) Sniping at politicians who declare their support for another political group is a matter of course. Anyone can accuse anyone else of intrigue, incompetence, of having a shady past and shady intentions.

Demagogic is everywhere, and even matters as serious as the natural longing of a people for autonomy fuel power plays and stimulate deliberate lying to the public. Many members of the so-called *nomenklatura* who, until



Prague Castle

very recently, were faking their concern for social justice and the working class, have cast aside their masks and, almost overnight, have openly become a class of speculators and thieves. Many a once-feared Communist is now an unscrupulous capitalist shamelessly and unequivocally laughing in the face of the same worker whose interests he once claimed to defend.

**C**itizens are becoming more and more clearly disgusted with all this, and their disgust is understandably directed against the democratic government that they themselves have elected. Exploiting this situation, many unsavory characters have been gaining popular favor with ideas such as, for instance, the need to throw the entire government into the Vltava River. Still, I am persuaded time and time again that a huge potential of good will is slumbering within our society.

In such a state of affairs, politicians have a duty to awaken this slumbering, or bewildered, potential to life, to offer it a direction, to ease its passage, to encourage it and give it room, or simply hope. They say a nation has the politicians it deserves. In some senses this is true: politicians are truly a mirror of the society and a kind of embod-

# Paradise Lost

by Havel

iment of its potential. At the same time—paradoxically—the opposite is also true: society is a mirror of its politicians. It is largely up to the politicians which social forces they choose to liberate and which they choose to suppress, whether they choose to rely on the good in each citizen, or on the bad. The former regime systematically mobilized the worst human qualities, like selfishness, envy, and hatred. This was far from merely being something we deserved: it was, at the same time, responsible for the way we became. Those who find themselves in politics therefore bear a heightened responsibility for the moral state of society, and it is their responsibility to seek out the best in that society, to develop and strengthen it.

In the 1980s, a certain Californian-Czech philosopher devoted not a little

way that made sense, since violence, as we know, breeds more violence. This is why most revolutions degenerate into dictatorships that devour their own children and produce new revolutionaries who prepare for new violence, unaware that they are digging their own graves and pushing society again onto the deadly merry-go-round of revolution and counter-revolution.

Communism was overthrown by life, by thought, by human dignity. Our recent history has confirmed that the Californian-Czech professor is wrong. Likewise, those who still claim today that politics is chiefly the manipulation of power and public opinion, and that morality has no place in it, are just as wrong. Political intrigue is not real politics, and although you can get away with it for a time, it does not



—view from the Černínský Palác. Photograph by Josef Sudek

energy to a series of articles in which he subjected the "anti-political politics" of Charter 77 to crushing criticism and, in particular, to the way I explained that notion in my essays. Trapped in his own Marxist fallacies, he believed that as a scholar he had scientifically comprehended the entire history of the world as a history of violent revolutions and vicious power struggles. The idea that the force of truth, the power of a truthful word, the strength of a free spirit, conscience, and responsibility—not armed with machine-guns, with no longing for power, and no political intrigue—might actually change something was quite beyond the horizon of his understanding. Naturally, if you understand decency as merely a "superstructure" of the forces of production, then you can never understand political power in terms of decency.

Because his doctrine had taught him that the bourgeoisie would never voluntarily surrender its leading role and that it must be swept into the dustbin of history through violent revolution, this philosopher assumed there was no other way to sweep away the Communist government either. Yet it turned out to be possible. Moreover, it turned out to be the only way to do it. Not only that, it turned out to be the only

bring much hope of lasting success. Through intrigue one may easily become prime minister, but that will be the extent of one's success: one can hardly improve the world that way.

Genuine politics, politics worthy of the name, and in any case the only politics that I am willing to devote myself to, is simply serving those close to oneself: serving the community, and serving those who come after us. Its deepest roots are moral because it is a responsibility, expressed through action, to and for the whole, a responsibility that is what it is—a "higher" responsibility, which grows out of a conscious or subconscious certainty that our death ends nothing, because everything is forever being recorded and evaluated somewhere else, somewhere "above us," in what I have called "the memory of Being," an integral aspect of the secret order of the cosmos, of nature, and of life, which believers call God and to whose judgment everything is liable. Genuine conscience and genuine responsibility are always, in the end, explicable only as an expression of the silent assumption that we are being observed "from above," and that "up there" everything is visible, nothing is forgotten, and therefore earthly time has no power to wipe away the pangs brought

Paradise Lost p.3

on by earthly failure: our spirit knows that it is not the only one that knows of these failures.

If there is to be a minimum chance of success, there is only one way to strive for decency, reason, responsibility, sincerity, civility, and tolerance: and that is decently, reasonably, responsibly, sincerely, civilly, and tolerantly. I'm aware that in everyday politics this is not exactly a practical way of going about it. At the same time, however, I have one great advantage: among my many bad qualities there is one that is fortunately missing: a longing or a love for power. Not being bound by it, I am essentially freer than those who, when all is said and done, cling to their power or their position somewhat more, and this allows me to indulge in the luxury of behaving untactfully.

I see the only way forward in that old, familiar injunction "to live in truth." Journalists, and in particular foreign correspondents, often ask me how the idea of "living in truth," the idea of "antipolitical politics" or the idea of politics subordinated to conscience can, in practice, be carried out. They are curious whether, finding myself in high office, I have not had to revise much of what I once wrote as an independent critic of politics and politicians. Have I not been compelled to lower my former "dissident" expectations of politics, by which they mean the standards I derived from the "dissident experience" and which are therefore scarcely applicable outside that sphere?

There may be some who won't believe me, but after more than two years as president in a land full of the kind of problems that presidents in stable countries never even dream of, I can safely say that I have not been compelled to recant anything of what I wrote earlier, or to change my mind about anything. In fact, my opinions have been confirmed. Despite the political distress I face every day, I am still deeply convinced that politics is not essentially a disreputable business; and to the extent that it is, it is only disreputable people who make it so. I would concede, however, that it can, more than other spheres of human activity, tempt one to disreputable practices and that therefore it places higher demands on people. But it is simply not true that a politician must lie or intrigue. That is utter nonsense, very often spread about by people who—for whatever reasons—wish to discourage others from taking an interest in public affairs.

Of course in politics, as elsewhere in life, it is impossible and pointless to say everything, all at once, to just anyone. But that does not mean having to lie. What you need is tact, the proper instincts, and good taste. One surprising experience from "high politics" is this: I have discovered that good taste is more important than a postgraduate degree in political science. It is essentially a matter of form: knowing how long to speak, when to begin and when to finish, how to say something politely that your opposite number might not want to hear, how to say, always, what is most essential in a given moment, and not to speak of what is not essential or uninteresting, how to insist on your own position without offending, how to create the

kind of friendly atmosphere that makes complex negotiations easier, how to keep a conversation going without prying or, on the contrary, without being aloof, how to balance serious political themes with lighter, more relaxing topics, how to plan one's journeys judiciously and how to know when it is more appropriate not to go somewhere, when to be open and when reticent, and to what degree.

But more than that, it means having a certain instinct for the time, the atmosphere of the time, the mood of people, the nature of their worries, their frame of mind—these too can perhaps be more important than sociological surveys. An education in political science, law, economics, history, and culture is an invaluable asset to every politician, but I am still persuaded, again and again, that it is not the most important asset. Qualities like fellow-feeling, the ability to talk to others, insight, the capacity to grasp quickly not only problems but also human character, the ability to make contact, a sense of moderation: all these are immensely more important in politics. I am not saying, heaven forbid, that I myself am endowed with these qualities; not at all! These are merely my observations.

To sum up: if your heart is in the right place and if you have good taste, not only will you pass muster in politics, you are destined for it. If you are modest and do not lust after power, not only are you not unsuitable for politics, you belong there. The *sincqua non* of a politician is not the ability to lie; he need only be sensitive and know when, to whom, what, and how to say what he has to say. It is not true that a person of principle does not belong in politics; it is enough for his principles to be leavened with patience, deliberation, a sense of proportion, and an understanding of others. It is not true that only the unfeeling cynic, the vain, the brash, and the vulgar can succeed in politics; all such people, it is true, are drawn to politics, but in the end, decorum and good taste will always count for more.

My experience and observations confirm that politics as the practice of morality is possible. I do not deny, however, that it is not always easy to go that route, nor have I ever claimed the opposite.

## 2.

This is what I wrote (some months ago) when I tried to review the experience I had gained during my presidency. At that time I had no way of knowing that I would soon find that there were occasions when it was indeed difficult to go that route. Again fate played a joke on me: it punished me for my self-confident words by presenting me with an immensely difficult dilemma: what was I to do when a democratically elected parliament passed a bill which I did not consider morally proper, yet which our Constitution required me to sign.

It was a bill aimed at preventing those who had violated human rights in the past from holding offices in public administration. The public in my country find it hard to accept that in many offices they encounter the same people who were working there under

the totalitarian regime. Their anger is justified and parliament's desire to purge the public administration of these people is entirely legitimate. The problem is that the relevant legislation is based on the principle of collective responsibility; it prohibits certain persons from holding certain offices solely on the basis of their membership in certain groups defined by external characteristics, without giving them the right to have their cases considered individually. This runs counter to the basic principles of democratic law. The files kept by the now abolished secret police are made the highest, the final, the one and only criterion of eligibility. It is a necessary law, an extraordinary law, a rigorous law. Yet at the same time, from the viewpoint of fundamental human rights, it is a highly questionable law.

What was I to do in that situation?

Basically, there were two choices. The first was to do my duty, sign the bill, thus ratifying it, and then reconcile myself to my signature being on a paper with whose contents I could not fully agree. The second alternative was to simply refuse to sign the bill. In that case it would have become effective even without my signature and I would have found myself in open conflict with our parliament, thus precipitating a political crisis and aggravating still further the rather unstable situation in my country. It would have been a typically dissident-like, a morally pure yet immensely risky act of civil disobedience. My friends were divided on the matter, some advising me to sign, others to refuse.

In the end, I decided on a third option: I signed the bill, and proposed that parliament amend it. Under the Constitution, the parliament is obliged to consider my proposal, though not, of course, to accept it. Thus it may well happen that the bill, having become law, will be valid in its present wording, with my name on it, and that a number of people will be unfairly treated as a result.\*

I do not know whether my solution was a good one. I do not know whether I have helped or harmed my fellow citizens. History can probably be the only judge to that. But I still believe that politics, in its very essence, does not necessarily require one to behave immorally. My latest experience, however, confirms the truth of something that, until some weeks ago, I did not really appreciate—that the way of truly moral politics is not simple, or easy.

—translated from the Czech  
by Paul Wilson

\*Translator's note: In October 1991 President Havel addressed a letter to the Federal Assembly (parliament), in which he criticized this "Iustification" law on two grounds: that it contradicted the Charter of Human Rights which had been legislated into the Czechoslovak constitution, and that in some sections it is based on the principle of collective guilt. He asked the deputies to consider the letter as his initiative for introducing amendments to the law. As of mid-March, the Federal Assembly has not yet debated or discussed any amendment to the law, and several of the most important political parties have gone on record as rejecting any notion of introducing amendments.

June 25, 1992

## A Dream for Cz

Václav H

A Dream  
For Czechoslovakia  
p.1

I often think about what our country will be like in ten, fifteen, or twenty years, and I regret that I cannot, for a moment at least, leap over the hard years that lie ahead and look into our future.

That life is unfathomable is part of its dramatic beauty and its charm. So is the fact that we know nothing about our own future, except that some day we will die. Nevertheless, let me attempt to describe, briefly, the kind of Czechoslovakia I would like to see and strive for with my limited powers.

I will, in short, dream for a while.

In the first place, I hope, the atmosphere of our lives will change. The shock of freedom, expressed through frustration, paralysis, and spite, will have gradually dissipated from society. Citizens will be more confident and proud, and will share a feeling of co-responsibility for public affairs. They will believe that it makes sense to live in this country.

Political life will have become more harmonious.<sup>1</sup> We will have two large parties with their own traditions, their own intellectual potential, clear programs, and their own grass-roots support. They will be led by a new generation of young, well-educated politicians whose outlook has not been distorted by the era of totalitarianism. And of course there will be several smaller parties as well.

Our constitutional and political system will have been created and tested. It will have a set of established, gentlemanly, unbendable rules. The legislative bodies will work calmly, with deliberation and objectivity. The executive branch of government and the civil service will be inconspicuous and efficient. The judiciary will be independent and will enjoy popular trust, and there will be an ample supply of new judges.<sup>2</sup> We will have a small (40,000 strong?), highly professional army with modern equipment, part of which will come under an integrated European command. A smaller, elite unit will be part of the European peacekeeping force. A well-functioning, courteous police force will also enjoy the respect of the population, and thanks to it—though not only to it—there will no longer be anything like the high crime rate there is now.

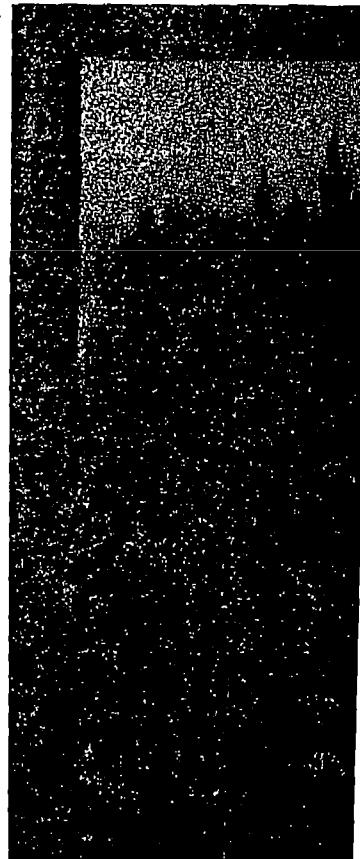
At the head of the state will be a gray-haired professor with the charm of a Richard von Weizsäcker.

We will, in short, be a stable Central European democracy that has found its identity and learned to live with itself.

<sup>1</sup>Forty-two registered political parties and coalitions competed in the elections. The actual number of parties is far greater. —PW

<sup>2</sup>In the transitional period Havel is writing about, it has been difficult to find judges who are not compromised by their past and can be trusted to hand down independent decisions. At present there are 675 vacancies on the bench in the Czech lands, and about 150 in Slovakia. —PW

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Josef Sudek: *View of Prague*

Czechoslovakia will be a highly decentralized state with confident local governments. People's primary interest will be in local elections rather than the parliamentary ones. Each town and city will have its own individual face and its own inimitable spiritual climate—the pride of the local authorities. Municipalities will finance their affairs from municipal taxes, rather than from transfer payments, and will no longer need to complain constantly about never having enough funds, or to seek revenue from the ownership of various enterprises. The governments and administrations of the different historical regions will be intricately structured: Moravia and Silesia will once again have their own regional governments, including their own assemblies; other regions (northern Bohemia? eastern Slovakia?) will have some degree of autonomy, though to a lesser extent.

The whole country will be crisscrossed by a network of local, regional, and state-wide clubs, organizations, and associations with a wide variety of aims and purposes. This network will be so complex that it will be difficult to map thoroughly. Through it, the rich, nuanced, and colorful life of a civilized European society will emerge and develop.

Life in the towns and villages will have overcome the legacy of grayness, uniformity, anonymity, and ugliness inherited from the totalitarian era. It will have a genuinely human dimension. Every main street will have at least two bakeries, two sweet shops,

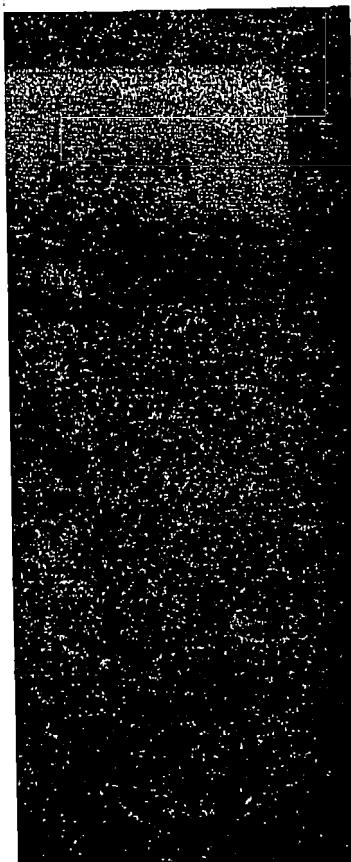
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# zechoslovakia

A Dream  
For Czechoslovakia  
p. 2

✓ Havel



✓ *View from the Seminarska garden*

two pubs, and many other small shops, all privately owned and independent. Thus the streets and neighborhoods will regain their unique face and atmosphere. Small communities will naturally begin to form again, communities centered on the street, the apartment block, or the neighborhood. People will once more begin to experience the phenomenon of home. It will no longer be possible, as it has been, for people not to know what town they find themselves in because everything looks the same.

Prefabricated high-rise apartment blocks and other kinds of gigantic public housing developments will no longer be built. Instead, there will be developments of family houses, villas, townhouses, and even low-rise apartment buildings. They will be better constructed, more varied, and on a more human scale.

Both the historical cores of our cities and towns, and their prewar suburbs, will be sensitively revitalized and renovated in such a way as to preserve the specific charm of each, while the risk of the buildings collapsing on people's heads is eliminated. It will no longer take a young married couple a decade of hard work, involving all their relatives, to find themselves an apartment. Once a varied network of competing construction firms and societies is created, many people will be astonished at how quickly a great deal can be done.

Existing high-rise housing estates, where so many people have made

their homes over the last four decades, will be enlivened in different ways—some redesigned and altered, others gradually phased out to make room for something more adequate for the twenty-first century. People can—as we know—get used to anything, so why should they not get used to shops in apartment buildings, children playing in parks, and streets and squares that are more than just blank spaces on a plan?

The houses, gardens, and sidewalks will be clean, tidy, and well cared for, because they will belong to someone; for every piece of real estate, there will be someone with a reason to look after it. All the dead spaces, which in Prague, I understand, account for more than one third of the city's land area—spaces that no one knows the real purpose of (are they meadows, parking lots, construction sites, rubbish dumps, factory yards, or a combination of all of the above?)—will be turned into something specific. Some areas will be intelligently built on, and others will be converted to parks or something else. Apart from completing the construction of the superhighways that form our share of the European network, we will have good local highways lined with trees, the occasional motel or rest stop, and gas stations owned by competing firms. Towns will not grow every which way, like tumors, without regard for the most efficient use of available space (and thus without regard too for the land and the countryside). Best use will be made of every square meter, since it will once again have a value and an owner.

In short, the villages and towns will once again begin to have their own distinctive appearance, culture, style, cleanliness, and beauty. We can't expect to become a Switzerland or a Holland; we will remain ourselves, but our outer face will stand comparison with these countries. We will not have to feel ashamed—either before ourselves or before foreigners—of the environment in which we live. On the contrary, that environment will become a source of quiet, everyday pleasure for us all.

The railways, transportation, communications, and distribution networks will probably be partly state-owned, partly private but under state control, and partly owned by companies in which the state has a stake. I truly don't know what combination will be best in our case; different developed countries do it differently. But I hope that natural development and wise decisions will create the optimum model.

Apart from that, everything will be privatized, including the largest enterprises. Business corporations will be the rule, but there will also be cooperatives, individual private owners, and other types of ownership. Foreign companies, firms, and entrepreneurs will obviously play a large role. Our economy can hardly be expected to recover without extensive foreign investment and a flow of capital in our direction. Firms of different provenance will be present, so we will not be

excessively dependent on any single country. Large-scale privatization has been organized to ensure a respectable degree of participation by domestic investors. There is a great wealth of skill and enterprising spirit in our society. Were this potential to be continually pushed out of the way by foreign skills and entrepreneurialism, it might well lead to considerable social tensions, and it would not even be just.

As we know, money is the life-blood of economics. The circulation of money should be streamlined by a well-developed network of banks and savings institutions. Perhaps the single European currency now under discussion will be introduced here, but, if not, by that time our crown will be firm and fully convertible. A new and comprehensible tax system will have to be operating, including tax offices, tax advisers, and tax-fraud investigators—in short, everything that is part of a healthy fiscal and monetary system.

The real pioneers today, those who are blazing a trail to the market economy, are our first entrepreneurs, who often must overcome unbelievable obstacles. In the future society I am imagining, there will already be a very strong and powerful stratum, not just of small entrepreneurs, but also of middle-range and perhaps even large-scale entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs will be the engine of our economic life, and will have the respect of society—which by this time will understand that ownership is not a vice, not something to be ashamed of, but rather a commitment, and an instrument by which the general good can be served.

The employee—and I would like to emphasize this especially, because we often forget about it—will be as respected as the entrepreneur or the employer. A firm's prosperity will depend as much on the people who work there as on the owner. Once this is recognized and accepted, people can feel that what they do and how they do it matters.

The previous regime presented itself as the government of the working class, yet it was able to make work such an anonymous process, and to obscure its value and significance so thoroughly, that workers lost something immensely important to everyone: the knowledge that their work meant something. The results of their work were dumped into the maw of the unified state economy, and they had no idea whether their work made a contribution or was done utterly in vain. The workers, and in fact all citizens, became a single, enormous, anonymous body called "the masses" or "the working masses," a giant army of robots fulfilling quotas and plans, but with no control over the results of their work. True, work (or "honest work," as it was often called) was the subject of constant homilies by the regime, but in reality, respect for work declined. Work is always personal, and one does it well when one knows what it is for and what it will become—when one can take pride in it or know it will receive recognition. Only then can one enjoy work, and take a personal interest in what one does, the company one works for, the quality and outcome of one's efforts.

It may sound paradoxical to those

brought up in the world of Communist ideology, but only with the renewal of the market economy, in which companies become legal entities under particular and responsible ownership, will respect for work be renewed as well. Diligence and skill will be recognized and rewarded; the self-esteem of all workers will be enhanced, and that includes all that goes with working-class self-esteem, such as working-class solidarity, the development of an authentic trade-union movement, the emergence of self-education movements, and the enrichment of the general culture.

In our case, something that could contribute to the self-esteem of employees and thus to the atmosphere of social peace would be—though I don't yet know to what extent—privatization via coupons, which citizens could purchase and convert to shares in newly privatized companies. This process would strengthen the perception that everyone had an equal chance. In a relatively simple way, and without needing access to capital, any employee could choose to become an "employer"—that is, a co-owner of some enterprise.

There will, of course, be unemployed people. I hope there will not, however, be more than is necessary and unavoidable in a market economy (3 percent? 5 percent?). The state will support every measure by which unemployment can be dealt with, from the creation of new job opportunities and requalification programs to commissioning work from private firms, to, in some cases, even investment in public works. All such measures are better than merely paying out unemployment insurance, not only because—directly or indirectly—they create new value, but also because of the distressing social and psychological consequences of living on unemployment.

A great transformation and rebirth are awaiting agriculture. The Communist regime, guided by the ideological doctrine of parity between rural and urban areas, treated agriculture as a single gigantic industrial plant, and turned farmers into employees. A system of enormous transfer payments kept rural areas relatively well off, as far as their standard of living went, but the price they paid was extensive proletarianization. Farm villages ceased to be true villages and became more like dormitory communities for agricultural laborers. Farmers were no longer close to their livestock or the soil. Animals were moved from pastures and well-kept stables laid with clean straw into vast factory barns where they stand in stalls on metal grates, often never seeing the sun or having the run of a meadow in their entire lives. These barns were painted with toxic disinfectant. The land was polluted with chemical fertilizers. Ploughing under the strips and hedgerows dividing the fields and introducing heavy machinery led to the destruction of the ecological balance, to erosion, and to the disintegration, compacting, and deadening of the soil, which in turn led to more excessive chemical fertilizing and the expensive liquidation of pests that would otherwise be eaten by the birds that had been driven from the fields. The yields are decent, it is true, but the produce is

not of high quality, and the meat sometimes contains toxic substances.

All of this must be changed, and it will obviously take years. I can imagine, however, that ten years from now this great rebirth of agriculture should be basically complete. It should definitely not rage through the land the way the whirlwind of collectivization in the 1950s did. But it should leave our countryside looking essentially different. First of all, our villages will once again have become villages, modern and pleasing to the eye. The natural connections between their traditional *raison d'être*—a place for people to live, for the raising of livestock, and for the cultivation of the fields—must be gradually renewed. Agriculture should once again be in the hands of the farmers—people who own the land, the meadows, the orchards, and the livestock, and take care of them. In part, these will be small farmers who have been given back what was taken from them; in part, larger family farms; and in part (and a large part, at that) modest cooperatives of owners or commercial enterprises. The gigantic cooperative enterprises are not working, and should be divided and transformed.

Of course, the slaughterhouses, dairies, processing industries, and wholesale networks will all be privatized. The farmers themselves know best—and new farmers will quickly learn—how to renew the ecological balance, how to cultivate the soil and gradually bring it back to health. I also believe that a portion of the agricultural land should simply be left fallow, converted to pasture land, or reforested. We have few forests, while there is already, and probably will be in the future, a surplus of agricultural products.

A traditional scale and proportion should be restored to our environment, and we must renew the old connections between its elements. This concerns not only our once-picturesque countryside, woods, and fields, but also the farm buildings, the churches, chapels, and wayside crosses. I am not harboring an antiquarian desire to return to the time of my youth, when work in the fields was incredible drudgery. I would be completely satisfied if, in ten years, our rural areas looked and functioned something like the rural areas in, for example, Denmark. I am continually shocked at how sharply our western border [with Germany] stands out, both from the air and from the ground. On one side of the border there are neat, well-kept fields, pathways, and orchards, and among them perfectly tended estates and farms. Every square meter—again—is being used for something, and you can see in it evidence of human care, based on respect for the soil. On the other side there are extensive fields with crops lying unharvested on the ground, stockpiles of chemicals, unused land, land crisscrossed with tire tracks, neglected pathways, no rows of trees or woodlots. Villages are merely the remains of villages, interspersed with something that resembles factory yards or production halls. There is mud everywhere, and occasionally, like a fist in the face, an ugly new prefab apartment building, utterly out of place in a rural setting. At the same

time, the countryside is set about with monstrous shiny silos painted with poison.

Perhaps the most difficult thing of all will be the ecological revival of our land, its devastated countryside and polluted cities.

But even here—with a little imagination—we can see that in ten or fifteen years things could be essentially different. There should be, as I have said, an increase in woodlots, which will contribute to the amount of oxygen in the air. There should also be a decrease in sulphur dioxide and all harmful atmospheric emissions. The thermal-electricity generating plants that are not closed down will convert to clean combustion technology (I saw this working in Sweden), or will be provided with scrubbers and filters. Our overdeveloped and insanely concentrated chemical industry will, I hope, be brought under control. There are projects for saving the dying forests and for recultivating the destroyed countryside. But a little of the moonscape in northern Bohemia,<sup>3</sup> with its open pit mines and dead trees, will still remain, since revitalizing it completely will take many decades.

Ecologists are already working on plans to regenerate our rivers and to treat effluent wastes. It makes no sense to build power sources and industries that destroy nature, the air, and the water, and then turn around and invest the profits in measures to rectify the damage. We must achieve a situation in which firms are compelled to choose alternatives that are ecologically sounder, though this may mean far higher initial investment. This cannot be done without the participation of the state, well-thought-out economic policies, and strict ecological laws. The state must systematically make use of all the means it has to compel companies to behave responsibly. If it does so, the results will certainly be visible in ten years.

What will the international position of our country be?

If everything goes well, we will be full members of the European Community, we will have a firm place in the growing pan-European association, and we will have solid guarantees of our security, flowing from the security system that Europe will have developed by that time. In other words, we will have essentially built our new home in Europe. Our independence will have substance, meaning, and context. We will no longer feel naked, helpless, isolated, forgotten, and threatened.

Ján Carnogurský, the present premier of Slovakia, often speaks about how Slovakia wants its own star on the future flag of Europe, and its own seat at the table. The European firmament is large and I see no reason why there shouldn't be two independent stars in it, Czech and Slovak, though from a distance they might look like a binary star. By the time the European Community has a firmly integrated politi-

<sup>3</sup>Most of the brown coal in north Bohemia is recovered through open pit mining, which has devastated large tracts of the countryside. As well, many of the forested areas in the northwest have been killed by emissions from the thermal-electricity plants that burn the coal, and from the chemical factories.

cal leadership, by the time we are part of its monetary union, by the time not only tourists but workers and capital are flowing freely across our borders, by the time those borders are only a formality and we are bound in many things by an integrated legislative system and have handed over many powers to supranational institutions or, instead, to individual regions—by that time the number of stars we have in the European flag will not seem as important as it may seem to some today.

Nevertheless, if our citizens wish it, they will have every right to change the number of stars on the flag; there will be far fewer obstacles, dangers, and problems involved in the division of our country in ten years than there are today. But this is all the more reason for thinking that, if separation

is really what is meant by the demand for two stars, it is not very clever to emphasize it too strongly today. A country that declares its own existence as temporary, that reveals its disinclination to go on existing for much longer, will not enjoy a great deal of confidence. No partner is going to perceive us as solid and trustworthy, as a country that stands behind what it does because it is sure of its identity and is therefore responsible for itself. If we intend to defer separation for practical reasons, then for the same practical reasons we should defer any talk of separation.

Nations have their own identities—spiritual, intellectual, cultural, and political—which they reveal to the world each day through their actions. This is true as well of Czechs and of Slovaks. Our identity is something that other European countries have long recognized, and will continue to recognize through our everyday deeds. We should talk about any eventual changes in our identity as a state the moment we genuinely want to change it. After all, we will have a right to do so at any time.

Marxists considered everything that was not material production as its "superstructure." I personally have never agreed with a division of human affairs into what is primary and what is secondary. I've spent many years of my life participating in "material production," but I never had the feeling that my spirit, my intellect, my consciousness—in other words, what makes me a person—was somehow

determined by that. On the contrary, if I produced something, I produced it as a person—that is, a creature with a spirit and a conscious mastery of his own fate. It was the outcome of a decision made by my human "I," and, to a greater or lesser extent, that "I" had to share in my material production.

In a way, what Marxists understand as social being really does determine social consciousness. In another way, however—and for me this is far more decisive—it is social consciousness that determines social being. Even communism first had to be thought up; only afterward could it be brought into existence.

If I have left my thoughts on what spiritual and intellectual life will be like at the beginning of the next century to the end of these reflections on the future, it is not because I perceive that life as a "superstructure." In fact, just the opposite is true: I want to talk about it last because it seems to me the most important.

All my observations and all my experience have, with remarkable consistency, convinced me that, if today's planetary civilization has any hope of survival, that hope lies chiefly in what we understand as the human spirit. If we don't wish to destroy ourselves in national, religious, or political discord; if we don't wish to find our world with twice its current population, half of it dying of hunger; if we don't wish to kill ourselves with ballistic missiles armed with atomic warheads or eliminate ourselves with bacteria specially cultivated for the purpose; if we don't wish to see some people go desperately hungry while others throw tons of wheat into the ocean; if we don't wish to suffocate in the global greenhouse we are heating up for ourselves or to be burned by radiation leaking through holes we have made in the ozone; if we don't wish to exhaust the nonrenewable, mineral resources of this planet, without which we cannot survive; if, in short, we don't wish any of this to happen, then we must—as humanity, as people, as conscious beings with spirit, mind, and a sense of responsibility—somehow come to our senses.

I once called this coming to our senses an existential revolution. I meant a kind of general mobilization of human consciousness, of the human mind and spirit, human responsibility, human reason.

Perhaps, in light of this view, it makes sense that I cannot consider upbringing, education, and culture as mere ornaments to decorate and beautify life, and enrich our leisure time.

So how do I see our future in this sphere?

I hope it won't be taken as further proof of my crypto-socialism if I say that our state—regardless of how poor it may be—should not stint in cultivating its spiritual and intellectual life, in cultivating education. In the most advanced countries, government investment is directed first and foremost toward education, science, and culture. Every crown the state invests in those fields will return to it a thousand-fold, though the profit cannot be measured by standard accounting procedures.

The methods of achieving such cultivation will obviously be varied, and will correspond to market conditions.

They will be subject to public control but will be separated, as far as possible, from the civil service, and designed to achieve maximum plurality. Along with grants, there will be charitable foundations, tax write-offs and relief funds, grants, and so on.

The most basic sphere of concern is schooling. Everything else depends on that.

What will our schools be like? I think that in ten years they should be fully reformed and consolidated. The point, understandably, is not just the reconstruction of school buildings or the supply of computers and new textbooks. The most important thing is a new concept of education. At all levels, schools must cultivate a spirit of free and independent thinking in the students. Schools will have to be humanized, both in the sense that their basic component must be the human personalities of the teachers, creating around themselves a "force field" of inspiration and example, and in the sense that technical and other specialized education will be balanced by a general education in the humanities.

The role of the schools is not to create "idiot specialists" to fill the special needs of different sectors of the national economy, but to develop the individual abilities of the students in a purposeful way, and to send out into life thoughtful people capable of thinking about the wider social, historical, and philosophical implications of their specialities. All those who today seriously and deeply concern themselves with scientific disciplines—from chemistry or mathematics, all the way to zootechnology—must somehow be touched by basic human questions such as the meaning of our being, the structure of space and time, the order of the universe, and the position of human existence in it. The schools must also lead young people to become self-confident, participating citizens; if everyone doesn't take an interest in politics, it will become the domain of those least suited to it.

The universities will not select students; everyone must have access to education. But all students must, at the same time, reckon with the fact that they may not pass muster, and even if they do, and finish their studies, their lives after that will be chiefly in their own hands. No one will guarantee them work in their field. The state will no longer regulate the admission of students and the employment of university graduates according to the needs of some five-year plan. The more citizens who complete university, the better. I do not see what harm it can do for a businessman, a restaurant owner, or an official of the state to have studied law.

Our universities will be decentralized and richly diversified. The recently established regional universities will be breathing more easily. Each school will develop its own speciality, something unique to attract students, such as a reputation for a high level of academic achievement in a particular discipline, an important scientific team, or a remarkable pedagogue or researcher who is known for his own "school."

Many of our students will complete their studies abroad, and then return and start teaching in our schools. Teachers from abroad will be welcomed to teach here as well, of

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course—something that is already happening.

Since time immemorial, a part of human culture has been man's care for himself, for the body in which the spirit resides—that is, for his own health. The culture of healing may be a less visible aspect of life, yet it is perhaps the most important indicator of the humanity of any society.

Therefore I pose this as my last question: What will our health-care services look like in this new world I'm trying to imagine?

A whole new health system should be built by then. It will be a liberal system, which means that patients and doctors will have a choice. State and university health facilities will be interconnected with local and private systems, and with systems run by churches and charities. A large proportion of doctors will have private practices, and this—among other things—will help to decentralize the health-care system. Hospitals, clinics, and the present national health institutes will also be partially privatized, with part remaining public, and part remaining under state ownership but leased to private practitioners and their teams. Getting medical care will no longer be the bureaucratic nightmare it has been for the past forty years.

Doctors will be paid for their services through a new system of general health insurance, and in some cases they'll be paid directly. If this prospect worries some people, let me remind them that health care is not free today: we all pay for it through our taxes. The difference is that until

recently we didn't have any control over the money we paid out. (Who could tell how much of our taxes went to pay the dentist, and how much to build the Palace of Culture?) Nor did we have any say in the level of services provided. We will continue to pay for health service as we do today; the only difference will be that we will know precisely how much we are paying, to whom, for what, and why. Yet the health-insurance system will make up for the ironies of nature, through which a rich person may never be sick a day in his life and a poor person may require expensive heart operations.

The most important aspect of health care, however, is the same as in everything else: the personal relationship between doctor and patient. People are not just racks on which to hang various organs—kidneys, stomach, and so on—that can be repaired by specialists, as you would repair a car. They are integral beings in whom every part is intimately interrelated, and in whom everything is mysteriously connected to the spirit. That is why we are best treated by a doctor to whom we are not just anonymous biological mechanisms, but individual, unique, and familiar human beings. In short, hospitals and doctors' offices will no longer be either state institutions that dispense prescriptions and certificates of incapacity, or state repair shops for broken-down robots. And it's not only patients who dream about the state of affairs I describe here; doctors long for it as well.

There is also much to be done in the area of care for the disabled. The state

will offer incentives to enterprises that offer jobs to the disabled. They must be guaranteed the supportive devices they need. New homes must be built for the elderly and for mentally incapable children; such institutions are now in a shocking condition. Some of these functions may be taken over by the church, others will be undertaken by private institutions and foundations, yet others will be run by the community, and some will continue to be operated by the state. The main thing that must be changed, however, is our attitude to the physically and mentally handicapped. We have too often pretended they don't exist. We have looked on indifferently while they were pushed out to the margins of society.

I will not go on about my dreams and imaginings for all the areas that have little to do with material production, but without which a genuinely dignified human life on earth is unthinkable. I will only summarize what many wise people are thinking about every day, in far more specific terms than I can employ here.

All these areas have one thing in common. Today, everything is in preparation: projects, concepts, draft legislation; in ten years or so, much of all that could well be realized. For the time being, the educational system, scientific research, the health service, social welfare, and culture are all badly off. Almost no one has any money for anything, and often the feeling prevails that everything is falling apart. In a way this is true. The former centralist, bureaucratic, and dys-

functional system of support for what cannot be self-supporting is collapsing. The new system, in all its aspects, is being born, prepared, thought through. But it is not yet up and working.

In ten years it will be working—it must be. It is vitally important for all of us that it should be. I have said on various occasions that none of the big problems in this country, from ecological, economic, and technical matters to political ones, will be resolved quickly and successfully if they are not undertaken by educated and cultivated people who are at the same time decent people. And the basic measure of the general state of decency is how a society cares for its children, its sick, its elderly, and its helpless. In other words, how it looks after its own.

The state is not something unconnected to society, hovering above or outside it, a necessary and anonymous evil. The state is a product of society, an expression of it, an image of it. It is a structure that a society creates for itself as an instrument of its own self-realization. If we wish to create a good and humane society, capable of making a contribution to humanity's coming to its senses, we must create a good and humane state. That means a state that will no longer suppress, humiliate, and deny the free human being, but will serve all the dimensions of that being. That means a state that will not shift our hearts and minds into a special little niche labeled "superstructure," tolerated and developed for decorative purposes only. □

—translated from the Czech  
by Paul Wilson

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## CZECH FOREIGN POLICY

The Czech Republic sees itself as a Western nation temporarily derailed from economic and political development during forty years of communism. The Czech Government's principal foreign policy goal is full integration with the West, including membership in the EC and NATO.

President Havel and Prime Minister Klaus have very different views about the Czech Republic's role in the world. Klaus the practical economist sees little use for any organization or effort that does not provide direct benefit to the Czech Republic. Havel, the former dissident and human rights advocate, believes civilized states have a moral obligation to promote democratic ideals. This difference manifests itself on issues such as the former Yugoslavia, where Klaus grudgingly approved limited Czech participation in UNPROFOR, while President Havel has called for greater international efforts in Bosnia.

Havel and Klaus also have different views about the importance of the Visegrad process. Formal cooperation between Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary were initiated at a February 1991 summit in Visegrad, Hungary. While Havel has been a strong proponent of regional cooperation, Klaus has long disparaged the usefulness of most international fora. He has called the Visegrad grouping a creation of the West, designed to compartmentalize and restrain the more advanced countries of Eastern Europe. He is especially opposed to attempts to institutionalize Visegrad. However, given that the process enjoys strong support in Poland and Hungary, Klaus has recently toned down his criticisms. Perhaps in an effort to mend fences with Klaus, Havel has recently retreated from of his former vocal endorsement of the process.

The U.S. has consistently viewed Visegrad as a valuable initiative in regional coordination and a useful model for other countries. We stress that the more often countries interact, the easier it is to solve differences and diffuse tensions. We particularly want the Czech government to accept that it has a special responsibility to assist Slovakia with its reform effort.

While the Czechs have good relations with the U.S., most senior GOC officials believe their immediate interests lie with Western Europe. This emphasis on Europe has caused some tension with the U.S. on trade matters. Overall, however, the Czechs routinely support U.S. positions and look to the U.S. for leadership on issues of importance.

President Havel will probably ask for our support for the Czechs' bid to win the East European non-permanent seat on the UN Security Council, which comes open next year. Belarus is also actively lobbying for the seat. The U.S. has traditionally supported the candidate selected by the regional group.

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## CZECH REPUBLIC: ECONOMIC SITUATION

The Czech Republic has maintained Czechoslovakia's firm commitment to economic reform. The seeds of a market-based economy have been firmly planted and strong economic ties have been forged with the West. Although many obstacles remain before the Czechs can declare their reforms complete, the long-term economic prospects for the Czech Republic are bright.

With Havel's support, Finance Minister Klaus (who is now Prime Minister) introduced an ambitious reform program in 1991 focused on price liberalization, quick privatization of state enterprises, and very strict fiscal and monetary policies. The rigorous nature of the program was one of the causes of the Czech-Slovak split -- the Slovaks wanted to moderate the pace and depth of the reforms to conform to conditions in Slovakia. The boldest move was the start of "voucher privatization" in 1992. By next year the Czechs plan to transfer the bulk of ownership from state to private hands. The government is also actively seeking foreign investment. About \$2 billion has been invested to date, mainly from Germany and the U.S.

The introduction of the reforms, coinciding with the collapse of the Soviet-bloc trading system, threw Czechoslovakia into a deep recession. Real GDP fell by over 20% during 1990-92. Unemployment is only 3%, but is expected to increase sharply later this year following introduction of a new bankruptcy law. As many as one-third of Czech firms could fail. An increase in social tensions is likely to follow. A wave of bankruptcies will also put pressure on the budget, and threaten the fragile banking system.

Most other economic indicators are good: inflation is around 10%. The balance of payments is in surplus, and foreign exchange reserves are growing. The country has relatively little foreign debt. Shortly after the split, the Czech Republic signed an agreement with the IMF, which Prague has portrayed as proof of the success of the Czech economic program.

Recognizing that their economic fortunes remain entangled, the Czechs have generally tried to coordinate with the Slovaks, who have the weaker of the two economies. Prior to the split of the CSFR, Czech and Slovak officials hammered out a series of agreements to smooth the transition to two economies. Based on performance to date, however, the economic cost of the split will be significant for both countries. A common currency lasted for only one month. A customs union still exists, but Czech-Slovak trade is only about half of last year's level. Tensions between the two are rising over the unresolved division of the former central bank's assets and liabilities.

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## U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Since 1990, the U.S., in coordination with other bilateral and multilateral donors, has committed over \$550 million (including OPIC and EXIM credits) to assist with economic and political transformation in the Czech and Slovak Republics. U.S. programs underway last year in Czechoslovakia have been continued in both new republics since January.

Czechoslovakia received over \$117 million in grant assistance from the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act funds through FY 1992. Approximately 60 percent of this assistance benefitted the Czech Republic. Priority areas for assistance are economic restructuring and private sector development, including privatization of the state industrial sector, as well as strengthening new democratic institutions.

The Czech-American Enterprise Fund is the largest activity in the U.S. assistance portfolio in the Czech Republic. The U.S. has promised to provide \$65 million; full capitalization will be achieved in FY 1994. The Fund offers loans, equity capital, and technical assistance to promote private sector development.

The U.S. has made a substantial commitment to support privatization in the Czech Republic. A team of transaction advisers provided by A.I.D. has helped the Czech Ministry of Privatization in large-scale privatization through foreign investment. U.S. experts have helped the Czechs attract commitments for over \$4 billion in direct foreign investment.

Assistance to remedy environmental problems and improve energy efficiency is also a priority. Responding to Czech concerns, we have provided about \$10 million in environmental assistance to Czechoslovakia. Much of this has gone into a substantial transborder effort to combat severe pollution in Silesia. We also provided a \$15 million Environment Sector Grant to cover costs for U.S. imports.

The Czech Republic benefits from the Trade Enhancement Initiative, designed to remove U.S. barriers to East European exports. A liberal textile agreement was concluded in 1991. This agreement expires in May 1993, and the Czechs have urged that it be extended.

The U.S. assistance program has been the quickest and most responsive of all Western donors. With the benefit of three years' experience, the U.S. now provides assistance based on a targeted strategy that reflects the priorities of the Czech Government while preserving the flexibility to make course corrections as new needs and new priorities arise. Given the progress with reform in the Czech Republic, we envision phasing down the assistance program over the next few years.

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CZECH REPUBLIC: SECURITY ISSUES

The Czech Republic sees its security as being closely linked to NATO and the West as a whole. While it does not face any immediate external threats, Prague is concerned about potential instability in the NIS and is wary of possible future security threats from the east.

From 1989 through 1992, Czechoslovakia's civilian governments worked to reform the military, by subordinating it to civilian control and redefining its mission to better reflect post-Cold War realities. The new Czech Republic is pursuing a similar course, and is eager for advice and assistance from the U.S. and other NATO countries. Czech Defense Minister Baudys has made clear that his priority is to achieve a smaller, more professional military that is integrated with Western security structures to the greatest extent possible.

Proliferation. The Czech Republic's defense industries are largely antiquated and ill-equipped to compete on the world market. They remain important, however, as a source of employment and foreign exchange. We have held lengthy discussions with the Czechs (and previously with the CSFR) on the need to refrain from arms sales to "pariah regimes" and countries in regions of instability. Czechoslovakia in general maintained a good record of controlling its arms exports and avoiding possibly destabilizing arms sales; we are encouraging the Czech Republic to follow the same course.

U.S. Arms Sales. Although Czechoslovakia was eligible for both commercial and government-to-government (FMS) sales, the Czech Republic is only eligible to buy commercially, pending FMS recertification. The Czech Republic is interested in purchasing advanced western weaponry, particularly F-16 fighters. Prague does not now have the funds for such purchases. In any case, our policy precludes transfers of advanced weapons systems to East European countries because such sales could fuel a regional arms race, divert resources needed for reform, and complicate relations with Moscow. Czechoslovakia was eligible for both commercial and government-to-government U.S defense sales; following the split the Czech Republic remains eligible to buy commercially, but a new presidential determination will be needed before it can buy U.S. weaponry under the FMS program.

NATO Membership. The Czech Republic would like to become a full member of NATO as soon as possible. Our position is that we may at some time in the future wish to consider enlarging NATO, but we do not believe the time is ripe for considering the issue now. We understand Prague's security concerns and have encouraged the Czechs to take full advantage of the benefits of their partnership with NATO through the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC).

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## CZECH REPUBLIC: BILATERAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE

In recent years our military and security cooperation with the Czech Republic has expanded considerably. Progress would have been even more rapid if not for the Czech-Slovak split, which delayed bilateral cooperation in many areas. In addition to the NATO and NACC programs, in which Prague participates as a liaison partner, we have provided assistance to the Czech Republic bilaterally in a number of areas.

### Military-to-Military Contacts

A U.S. military liaison team will arrive soon in Prague to coordinate a growing schedule of military exchanges, visits and seminars. These will be conducted both in the Czech Republic and at facilities in Germany and the U.S.

Contact activities aim at promoting civilian control over and democratization of the Czech military. We have not engaged in discussions of combat-related topics, nor are we prepared to conduct joint exercises, except for possible multilateral peacekeeping exercises within the NACC framework.

### Security Assistance

The Czech Republic participates in our International Military Education & Training (IMET) program, which funds the participation of Czech military and defense ministry in DOD courses of instruction in the U.S. Remaining FY 1993 IMET funding for Czechoslovakia was divided when the split occurred, with two-thirds of the funding going to the Czech Republic and one-third to Slovakia.

The Czech Republic has not received any additional security assistance, such as Foreign Military Financing (FMF) or Economic Support Funds (ESF). The Czechs have requested U.S. financial assistance to modernize their armed forces, but we have informed them that funds are not available for that purpose in our security assistance budget.

### Bilateral Working Group

Deputy Secretary of Defense Perry recently proposed to Czech Defense Minister Baudys that our countries form a Bilateral Working Group (BWG) on Defense Matters, which would meet biannually to address issues of mutual concern. Baudys accepted the offer, and we hope to hold the first session in Washington later this year. This is similar to existing BWGs with Poland and Hungary.

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PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0773-M (1.12)  
12/1/2017 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

CONFIDENTIAL

CZECH REPUBLIC: TRADE AND INVESTMENT

The U.S. has relatively few trade or investment disputes with the Czech Republic. However, Prague's desire to secure membership in the EC creates the potential for conflict. Several U.S. firms have alleged that their European competitors are using the Czech's EC goals to their advantage, by warning that EC membership hinges on preferential treatment for European firms. The Czech government has denied that it is susceptible to such pressure, however.

While Germany is the Czechs' largest trading partner and the largest foreign investor, the U.S. accounts for about 20% of the \$2 billion in foreign investment. Some Czech officials have told us they try to favor U.S. firms whenever possible to balance the heavy German presence. Nonetheless, U.S. exporters will be at an increasing disadvantage as the free trade agreements with the EC and EFTA are phased in.

Many investors complain about the difficulty of concluding deals in the Czech Republic, but this complaint is common throughout Eastern Europe. The bureaucratic procedures remain cumbersome. The Czech government no longer provides incentives for foreign investors. One strong disincentive at present is the very high income tax rate (47% on worldwide income) in place since January.

The Czechs have complained about access to the U.S. market, particularly for agricultural products protected by quotas. Prime Minister Klaus has long maintained that market access is more important to the Czech economy than assistance. The Czechs, along with the Hungarians and the Poles, have recently inquired about the possibility of reviving the proposal (mentioned by President Bush in a campaign speech) of a free trade agreement with the U.S. This would be difficult to accomplish technically given their association agreements with the EC. We have told the Eastern Europeans that additional free trade agreements can only be contemplated after concluding the NAFTA and the Uruguay Round.

Several Czech officials have complained about the inclusion of Czechoslovakia in the USG's 1992 "National Trade Estimate" as a country which imposed trade barriers. In fact, the report was for the most part complimentary, indicating that most problems were resolved as of January 1993.

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2015-0773-M (1.13)  
12/1/2017 KBN

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U.S. Excess Defense Articles (If Asked)

- In order to be eligible to receive U.S. excess defense articles (EDA), I must first issue a determination that the Czech Republic meets the criteria for inclusion in our Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program. Czechoslovakia's previous eligibility is not transferable.
- That determination will be made based on a number of issues, including our evaluation of the Czech Republic's arms export control safeguards. I hope this can happen soon.

Environment (If Asked)

- Through a U.S.-Czech partnership and through public as well as private initiatives, I hope we will continue to address both global and regional environmental challenges.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (If Asked)

- ~~Although I am planning to consolidate Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Voice of America, I can assure you that U.S. broadcasts to the Czech Republic will continue.~~
- We hope to step up our assistance to independent radio, television, and newspapers in Eastern Europe.

Although we plan to seek greater efficiencies in how the Radios are managed, we have not yet decided how this is best done. I can assure you, however, that U.S. broadcasts to the Czech Republic will continue.

# MR

# MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 146				
Document ID: 9302372				
Row: 44	Section: 1	Shelf: 6	Position: 1	Stack: v

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9302372  
RECEIVED: 14 APR 93 09

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: WHARTON, C

DOC DATE: 14 APR 93  
SOURCE REF: 9307631

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC

AP

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

SUBJECT: BRIEFING PAPER FOR PRES MTG W/ PRES HAVEL OF CZECH REPUBLIC

ACTION: OBE / STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN      DUE DATE: 17 APR 93      STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KUPCHAN      LOGREF:

FILES: PA      NSCP:      CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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OPENED BY: NSJDA      CLOSED BY: NSVJD      DOC 2 OF 2

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By K3MNARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORD ID: 9302372

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 KUPCHAN  
002 KUPCHAN  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 93041409 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE  
Z 93041513 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  
X 95021612 OBE / STATUS OF ORIGINAL UNKNOWN

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Case Number: 2015-0773-M

# MR

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Original OA/ID Number:				147
Document ID:	9302875			
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# MR

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Original OA/ID Number:				477
Document ID:	9405327			
Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
44	4	5	2	V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	From Anthony Lake re: Telephone Call Czech President Vaclav Havel (1 page)	07/02/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made in Telephone Call with Czech President Havel (1 page)	07/00/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001c. memo	[Duplicate of 001a] (1 page)	07/02/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001d. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	07/00/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	07/00/1994	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 477

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9405327

2015-0773-M  
 rs1278

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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]  
 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 02 JUL 94  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC

TELCALL

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

SUBJECT: PRES TELCALL TO CZECH PRES VACLAV HAVEL ON 4 JUL

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT DUE DATE: 05 JUL 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSJEB CLOSED BY: NSASK DOC 2 OF 2

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECORD ID: 9405327

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 LAKE  
002 PRESIDENT  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 94070212 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION  
Z 94070218 FOR INFORMATION  
X 94070517 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE    DISPATCH FOR ACTION

002 940702  
002 940702

DISPATCH FOR INFO

VICE PRESIDENT  
WH CHIEF OF STAFF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 5327

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG \_\_\_\_\_ A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	<u>1</u>	<u>JWR</u>	<u>Review</u>
Kenney	_____	_____	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>8875</u>	<u>W</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>	_____	<u>N</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

recd 7/2  
2:40 pm  
National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 5327

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG RA A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	_____	_____	_____
Kenney	_____	_____	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	<u>1</u>	<u>NS</u>	_____
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>Copy</u>	_____
Lake	<u>3</u>	<u>ReWth/BS</u>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>RA 7/2</u>	<u>D TO PODESTA</u>
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
<u>A = Action</u>	<u>I = Information</u>	<u>D = Dispatch</u>	<u>R = Retain</u>
<u>N = No Further Action</u>			

cc: VP McLarty Other \_\_\_\_\_

Should be seen by: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

2 JUL 94 11 25

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5327  
7/5

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1994

TELEPHONE CALL

CZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

DATE: July 4, 1994

LOCATION: Camp David

TIME: 9:00 am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Havel on his receipt of the Liberty Medal and to convey the USG decision to move RFE/RL to Prague.

II. BACKGROUND

Havel will receive the annual Liberty Medal in Philadelphia at 10:00 am on July 4. General Shalikashvili will represent the Administration. Following the ceremony, Havel will travel to Maine to visit former President Bush before departing the United States that evening. You saw Havel during the June trip and he agrees a meeting is not necessary during this trip.

The most pressing bilateral issue is the RFE/RL move to the former Federal Parliament Building in Prague. In January, you told Havel you strongly supported the move but that the issue had to be studied in light of Congressional concerns. We have worked out an arrangement which permits you to tell Havel we are ready to move to Prague subject to securing the necessary approval from the Congress. While the funds for the move are still in flux, we believe that with careful oversight we can ensure the move to Prague can be achieved within the current \$75 million cap set by Congress. Havel will welcome your decision. You should ask Havel not to publicize it for a few days as we notify Congress. We will work out a joint announcement.

Apart from RFE, you can discuss themes of the July trip; you will see Czech Foreign Minister Zieleniec during the CEE Foreign Ministers reception July 7. Havel also would be interested in your June 21 meeting with Slovak President Kovac and Hungarian President Goncz. The Czech Republic is doing relatively well economically and the government of Prime Minister Klaus is stable.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be made

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.1b)

12/1/2017 KBN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE IN TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

- Congratulations on receipt of Liberty Medal.
- Selection Commission termed you a "champion of democratic and human rights." Let me add: you and others remade our world. Our task now to realize potential you opened.

RFE

- Right occasion to tell you I accept generous Czech offer of ~~Seagram~~ former Federal Parliament Building. We have decided to move Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to Prague.
- In January, told you I wanted move, but budgetary and issues were complex. My decision is subject to Congressional concurrence, which may not be easy to obtain. I will work hard to try to get it.
- Request Czech Government delay announcing decision until we notify Congress. Should coordinate announcements.
- Know Czech government will do everything to make move a success.

*① Czech agree  
with US on new in  
between*

*② Seagram*

July Trip

- Leave for Europe tomorrow and will first travel to Latvia to meet Baltic leaders. Next stop is Poland, where will meet with CEE foreign ministers. Look forward to seeing Foreign Minister Zieleniec (ZHEL-en-ets.). G-7 Summit, Germany, EU Summit.
- Main message in Riga, Warsaw, will be integration of new democracies into expanded community of market democracies. Consolidate victory of 1989.
- With G-7, will stress renewal of global economy. Themes linked: growing world economy will bring swift benefits to CEE; advance integration.

Slovakia, Hungary.

- Had good meeting June 21 with Presidents Kovac (KO-vach) of Slovakia and Goncz (GUENTS) of Hungary.
- Pleased by their commitment to democracy, reform, ethnic toleration.
- Need to show Slovakia -- new government -- that West will not turn its back; democratic option is possible.
- Want to work with new Hungarian coalition government -- with ex-communists as leading partner. Its policies are important, not its ideological past.

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.17)

12/1/2017 KBH

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5327

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1994

TELEPHONE CALLCZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

DATE: July 4, 1994

LOCATION: Camp David

TIME: 9:00 am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE PL

~~SDO: —  
PLEASE HOLD  
FOR PICK-UP  
BY PODESTA'S  
OFFICE.~~~~WIND~~~~Face[d  
to Camp  
David.~~I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Havel on his receipt of the Liberty Medal and to convey the USG decision to move RFE/RL to Prague.

II. BACKGROUND

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The most pressing bilateral issue is the RFE/RL move to the former Federal Parliament Building in Prague. In January, you told Havel you strongly supported the move but that the issue had to be studied in light of Congressional concerns. We have worked out an arrangement which permits you to tell Havel we are ready to move to Prague subject to securing the necessary approval from the Congress. While the funds for the move are still in flux, we believe that with careful oversight we can ensure the move to Prague can be achieved within the current \$75 million cap set by Congress. Havel will welcome your decision. You should ask Havel not to publicize it for a few days as we notify Congress. We will work out a joint announcement.

Apart from RFE, you can discuss themes of the July trip; you will see Czech Foreign Minister Zieleniec during the CEE Foreign Ministers reception July 7. Havel also would be interested in your June 21 meeting with Slovak President Kovac and Hungarian President Goncz. The Czech Republic is doing relatively well economically and the government of Prime Minister Klaus is stable.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be made

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 135262015-0773-M (1.18)  
12/1/2017 KBN~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POINTS TO BE MADE IN TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

- Congratulations on receipt of Liberty Medal.
- Selection Commission termed you a "champion of democratic and human rights." Let me add: you and others remade our world. Our task now to realize potential you opened.

RFE

- Right occasion to tell you I accept generous Czech offer of former Federal Parliament Building. We have decided to move Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to Prague.
- In January, told you I wanted move, but budgetary and issues were complex. My decision is subject to Congressional concurrence, which may not be easy to obtain. I will work hard to try to get it.
- Request Czech Government delay announcing decision until we notify Congress. Should coordinate announcements.
- Know Czech government will do everything to make move a success.

July Trip

- Leave for Europe tomorrow and will first travel to Latvia to meet Baltic leaders. Next stop is Poland, where will meet with CEE foreign ministers. Look forward to seeing Foreign Minister Zieleniec (ZHEL-en-ets.). G-7 Summit, Germany, EU Summit.
- Main message in Riga, Warsaw, will be integration of new democracies into expanded community of market democracies. Consolidate victory of 1989.
- With G-7, will stress renewal of global economy. Themes linked: growing world economy will bring swift benefits to CEE; advance integration.

Slovakia, Hungary.

- Had good meeting June 21 with Presidents Kovac (KO-vach) of Slovakia and Goncz (GUENTS) of Hungary.
- Pleased by their commitment to democracy, reform, ethnic toleration.
- Need to show Slovakia -- new government -- that West will not turn its back; democratic option is possible.
- Want to work with new Hungarian coalition government -- with ex-communists as leading partner. Its policies are important, not its ideological past.

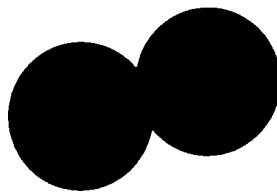
**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0773-M (1.19)  
12/1/2017 KRM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5327

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 2, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD SCHIFTER *DS*  
FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*  
SUBJECT: President's Phone Call with Czech President Havel

The telephone call is scheduled for 9:00<sup>am</sup>, July 4.

Concurrence by: Mort Halperin *MH*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Memorandum to the President attached at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President for Phone Call with  
President Havel

Tab A Points to be Made

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBN NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0713-M

POINTS TO BE MADE IN TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

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- In January, told you I wanted move, but budgetary and issues were complex. My decision is subject to Congressional concurrence, I will work hard to ~~ensure we obtain~~ <sup>try to get</sup> it.
- Request Czech Government delay announcing decision until we notify Congress. Should coordinate announcements.
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not be  
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# Getting Real On Central Europe

By Zbigniew Brzezinski

**P**resident Clinton's visits to Latvia and Poland next week, as well as his participation in the Group of Seven summit meeting in Naples a few days later, signal a more comprehensive and strategically coherent U.S. policy toward the former Soviet bloc.

Generated by a working alliance between the National Security Council and the Defense Department, the policy seeks to sustain realistic cooperation with Russia while also enlarging the scope of European security. Both the symbolism and the substance of the President's trip are likely to underline these important themes.

The emerging strategy recognizes that the post-Communist transformation in Central Europe has moved beyond the economic phase; the central issue is now the region's relationship to the rest of Europe, especially with regard to security. And this strategy recognizes that in the former Soviet Union, a stable and cooperative relationship between Russia and Ukraine is critical to the successful political and economic transformation of both countries.

A product of serious debates within the Administration and outside it, the new, more realistic U.S. policy seeks to consolidate and formalize the new landscape that has arisen since the

**Clinton will take overseas a new strategy for building unity and security.**

Soviet Union's collapse. Its critical objective remains the fashioning of a cooperative relationship between the West and Russia, but it recognizes that this goal is compatible with the progressive deepening of Europe's political unity and the expansion of its security perimeters. Indeed, simultaneously promoting friendly links with Russia and enhancing Central Europe's security is likely to prove more productive than concentrating on one or the other.

The schedule for Mr. Clinton's trip has a strategic logic. In Riga, he is bound to underline American sympathies for the three small Baltic democracies — echoing the Scandinavian countries, which have become impressively committed to the survival of these former victims of Stalinist expansion. In a remarkable and obviously deliberate formulation, the Swedish Prime Minister recently referred to them as Sweden's "near abroad," adding that his country would not be indifferent if their independence was again threatened.

In affirming U.S. support for the Baltic republics, Mr. Clinton would not be offending the Russians. Except

*Zbigniew Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter.*

for extremists, most Russians accept the separate status of these republics. Russian troop withdrawals are likely to be completed on schedule; even the large Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia are developing a stake in the continued independence of these countries, given their impressive economic performance.

In Warsaw, Mr. Clinton will face a more complex issue. The Poles fear that U.S. policy toward Central Europe has become a function of U.S. policy toward Russia. They resent this, and so do the Hungarians and Czechs. At the same time, Russia has made it clear that it opposes the expansion of NATO to Central Europe.

The President's visit is unlikely to resolve the issue of Central European membership in NATO, even though some progress is likely. When Russia joined the Partnership for Peace last week, the alliance made it absolutely clear that Russia did not gain a veto on NATO decisions regarding membership, while Germany in particular has indicated that it favors the expansion of NATO into the geopolitical no-man's land between itself and Russia.

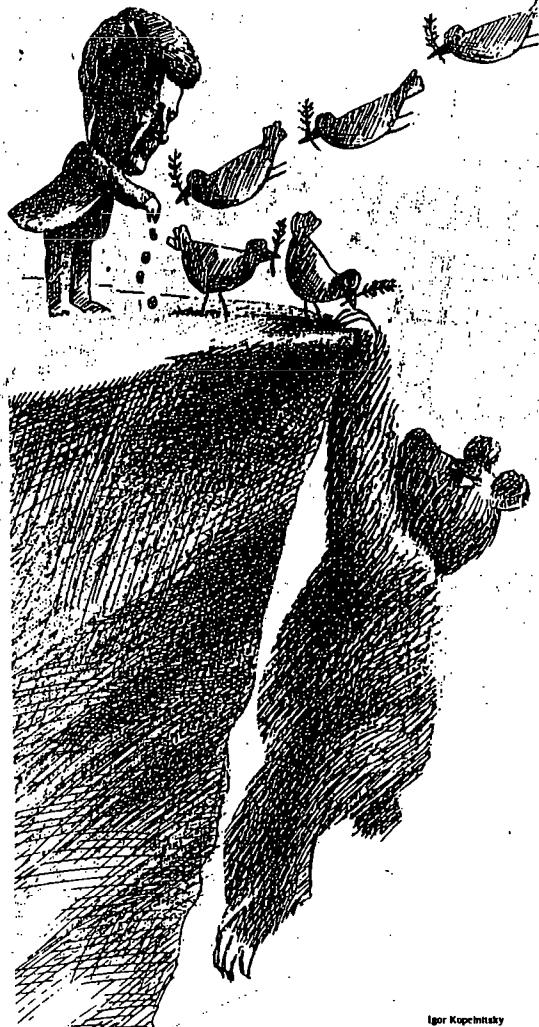
Under these circumstances, the President will have the opportunity to stress two critically important themes: that the expansion of NATO is a natural process, closely connected with the widening of Europe's unity, and that any such expansion will reinforce a stable relationship with Russia. After all, the reconciliation of Central Europe and Russia is more likely in a setting of security than in a geopolitical vacuum. Mr. Clinton might add that an expanding NATO would be prepared to undertake a special treaty relationship with Moscow, commensurate with Russia's status as a major power and now also a friendly one.

The theme of reconciliation will be especially resonant in Warsaw. The Poles are about to observe the 50th anniversary of the 1944 Warsaw uprising, which was suppressed by the Germans after 63 days of fighting while the Russians sat passively on the other side of the Vistula River. By contrast with the Normandy events, the Poles have wisely invited both the German and the Russian leaders to symbolize their desire for genuine reconciliation. The President will thus have an ideal setting to make it clear that reconciliation and wider security reinforce each other and that the U.S. is prepared to clarify the criteria and time frames of NATO membership.

Finally, in Naples, the Group of Seven industrial powers are likely to address the theme that political instability and economic crisis in Ukraine will benefit no one. President Boris Yeltsin will be there — all to the good, since Western concern for Ukraine's future should not be viewed as an anti-Russian preoccupation.

**A** more stable and non-imperial Russia is more likely to emerge if there is a stable and secure Ukraine. That is why the Group of Seven, and the U.S. in particular, are preparing to affirm their interest in Ukraine's well-being and to offer aid as long as Kiev shows its willingness to undertake long-delayed economic reforms.

So far, it has not done so. After the presidential runoff election between President Leonid Kravchuk and Leo-



Igor Kopeinitsky

nid Kuchma, the former Prime Minister, that has been mandated by Sunday's election, the Group of Seven should twist the arm of the next president to appoint a dynamic economic reformer as prime minister and give him full political support. In taking the lead on this issue, the Clinton Administration would show an important evolution in its thinking.

**T**he signs of greater sensitivity to Central European security concerns and the increased emphasis on Ukraine are part of a larger and welcome adjustment in U.S. priorities. Ukraine is no longer ignored or slighted. The White House is consciously stressing its support for Ukrainian independence; Secretary of State Warren Christopher has gone out of his way to emphasize U.S. support for Ukraine's territorial integrity on the sensitive issue of Crimea, and Defense Secretary William Perry has been truly energetic in furthering U.S.-Ukrainian military cooperation.

As of this year, aid to the former Soviet Union is no longer ignoring the non-Russian states; in fact, about half of it is now directed to them. This major reallocation reflects a growing recognition that a stable group of nations in the former Soviet Union is

infinitely preferable to a renewed imperial structure — indeed, that a return to empire would probably even doom the still uncertain prospects for Russian democracy.

At a time when the Clinton Administration is under assault for its foreign policy, it is good to be able to welcome the makings of a more realistic and coherent strategy for post-cold-war Europe. □

# Getting Real On Central Europe

By Zbigniew Brzezinski

**P**resident Clinton's visits to Latvia and Poland next week, as well as his participation in the Group of Seven summit meeting in Naples a few days later, signal a more comprehensive and strategically coherent U.S. policy toward the former Soviet bloc.

Generated by a working alliance between the National Security Council and the Defense Department, the policy seeks to sustain realistic cooperation with Russia while also enlarging the scope of European security. Both the symbolism and the substance of the President's trip are likely to underline these important themes.

The emerging strategy recognizes that the post-Communist transformation in Central Europe has moved beyond the economic phase; the central issue is now the region's relationship to the rest of Europe, especially with regard to security. And this strategy recognizes that in the former Soviet Union, a stable and cooperative relationship between Russia and Ukraine is critical to the successful political and economic transformation of both countries.

A product of serious debates within the Administration and outside it, the new, more realistic U.S. policy seeks to consolidate and formalize the new landscape that has arisen since the

for extremists, most Russians accept the separate status of these republics. Russian troop withdrawals are likely to be completed on schedule; even the large Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia are developing a stake in the continued independence of these countries, given their impressive economic performance.

In Warsaw, Mr. Clinton will face a more complex issue. The Poles fear that U.S. policy toward Central Europe has become a function of U.S. policy toward Russia. They resent this, and so do the Hungarians and Czechs. At the same time, Russia has made it clear that it opposes the expansion of NATO to Central Europe.

The President's visit is unlikely to resolve the issue of Central European membership in NATO, even though some progress is likely. When Russia joined the Partnership for Peace last week, the alliance made it absolutely clear that Russia did not gain a veto on NATO decisions regarding membership, while Germany in particular has indicated that it favors the expansion of NATO into the geopolitical no-man's land between itself and Russia.

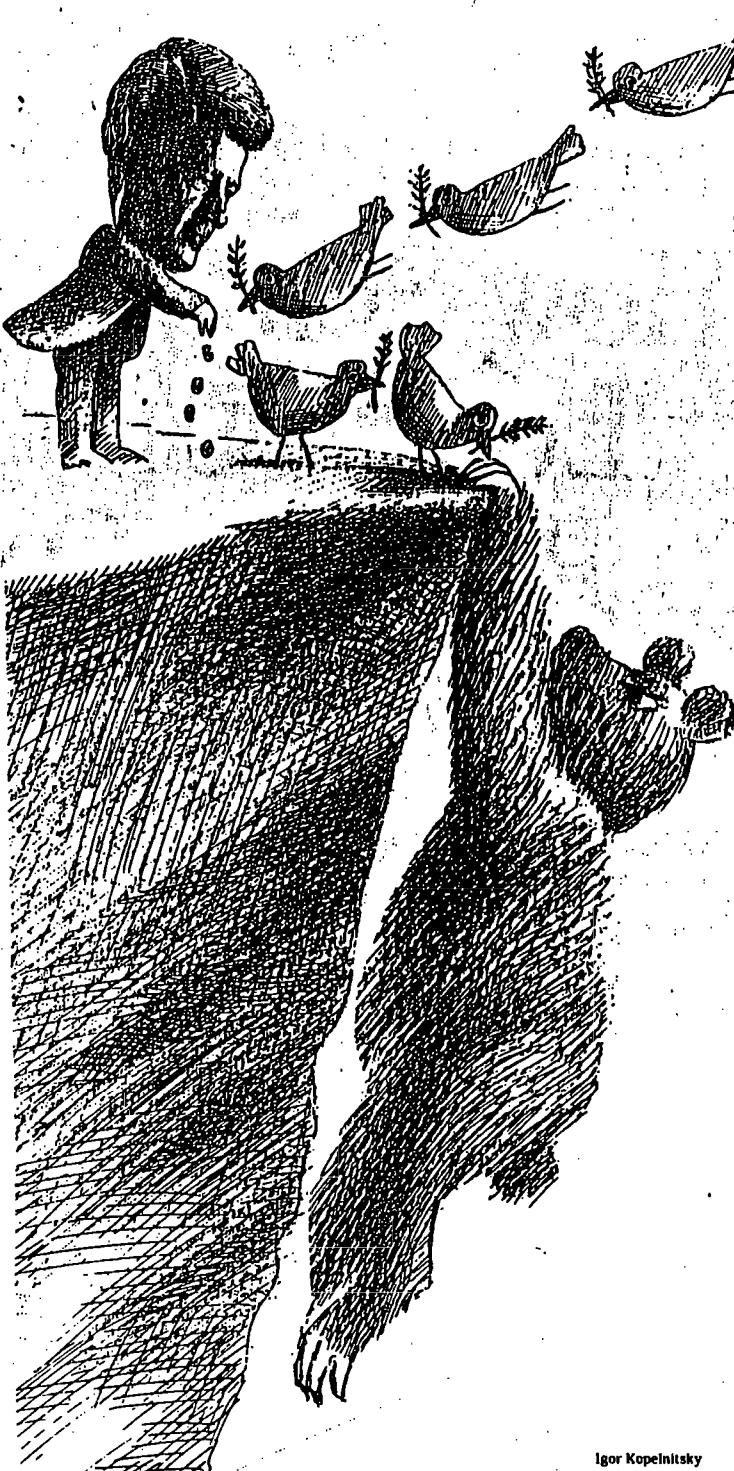
Under these circumstances, the President will have the opportunity to stress two critically important themes: that the expansion of NATO is a natural process, closely connected with the widening of Europe's unity, and that any such expansion will reinforce a stable relationship with Russia. After all, the reconciliation of Central Europe and Russia is more likely in a setting of security than in a geopolitical vacuum. Mr. Clinton might add that an expanding NATO would be prepared to undertake a special treaty relationship with Moscow, commensurate with Russia's status as a major power and now also a friendly one.

The theme of reconciliation will be especially resonant in Warsaw. The Poles are about to observe the 50th anniversary of the 1944 Warsaw uprising, which was suppressed by the Germans after 63 days of fighting while the Russians sat passively on the other side of the Vistula River. By contrast with the Normandy events, the Poles have wisely invited both the German and the Russian leaders to symbolize their desire for genuine reconciliation. The President will thus have an ideal setting to make it clear that reconciliation and wider security reinforce each other and that the U.S. is prepared to clarify the criteria and time frames of NATO membership.

Finally, in Naples, the Group of Seven industrial powers are likely to address the theme that political instability and economic crisis in Ukraine will benefit no one. President Boris Yeltsin will be there — all to the good, since Western concern for Ukraine's future should not be viewed as an anti-Russian preoccupation.

**A** more stable and non-imperial Russia is more likely to emerge if there is a stable and secure Ukraine. That is why the Group of Seven, and the U.S. in particular, are preparing to affirm their interest in Ukraine's well-being and to offer aid as long as Kiev shows its willingness to undertake long-delayed economic reforms.

So far, it has not done so. After the presidential runoff election between President Leonid Kravchuk and Leo-



Igor Kopeinitsky

nid Kuchma, the former Prime Minister, that has been mandated by Sunday's election, the Group of Seven should twist the arm of the next president to appoint a dynamic economic reformer as prime minister and give him full political support. In taking the lead on this issue, the Clinton Administration would show an important evolution in its thinking.

infinitely preferable to a renewed imperial structure — Indeed, that a return to empire would probably even doom the still uncertain prospects for Russian democracy.

At a time when the Clinton Administration is under assault for its foreign policy, it is good to be able to welcome the makings of a more realistic and coherent strategy for post-cold-war Europe. □

**T**he signs of greater sensitivity to Central European security concerns and the increased emphasis on Ukraine are part of a larger and welcome adjustment in U.S. priorities. Ukraine is no longer ignored or slighted. The White House is consciously stressing its support for Ukrainian independence; Secretary of State Warren Christopher has gone out of his way to emphasize U.S. support for Ukraine's territorial integrity on the sensitive issue of Crimea, and Defense Secretary William Perry has been truly energetic in furthering U.S.-Ukrainian military cooperation.

As of this year, aid to the former Soviet Union is no longer ignoring the non-Russian states. In fact, about half of it is now directed to them. This major reallocation reflects a growing recognition that a stable group of nations in the former Soviet Union is

Soviet Union's collapse. Its critical objective remains the fashioning of a cooperative relationship between the West and Russia, but it recognizes that this goal is compatible with the progressive deepening of Europe's political unity and the expansion of its security perimeters. Indeed, simultaneously promoting friendly links with Russia and enhancing Central Europe's security is likely to prove more productive than concentrating on one or the other.

The schedule for Mr. Clinton's trip has a strategic logic. In Riga, he is bound to underline American sympathies for the three small Baltic democracies — echoing the Scandinavian countries, which have become impressively committed to the survival of these former victims of Stalinist expansion. In a remarkable and obviously deliberate formulation, the Swedish Prime Minister recently referred to them as Sweden's "near abroad," adding that his country would not be indifferent if their independence was again threatened.

In affirming U.S. support for the Baltic republics, Mr. Clinton would not be offending the Russians. Except

Zbigniew Brzezinski was national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter.

# MR

# MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number:				203
Document ID:	9405356			
Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001 telcon	re: Telcon with Czech President Havel (2 pages)	07/04/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 203

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9405356

2015-0773-M

rs1277

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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]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9405356  
RECEIVED: 05 JUL 94 07

TO: LAKE

FROM: FRIED  
SCHIFTER

DOC DATE: 05 JUL 94  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TELCON  
HS

CZECH REPUBLIC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: TELCON OF HAVEL CONVERSATION 4 JUL

ACTION: REED APPROVED RECOM DUE DATE: 08 JUL 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

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CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

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OPENED BY: NSCLG

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 1 OF 1

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DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By K81 NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-1

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RECORD ID: 9405356

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 LAKE  
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CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 94070512 FOR DECISION  
X 94070517 REED APPROVED RECOM

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National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: *BB*

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West Wing Desk	<i>2</i>	<i>BB 2/5</i>	<i>N</i>
NSC Secretariat	<i>3</i>	_____	<i>N</i>
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A = Action

I = Information

D = Dispatch

R = Retain

N = No Further Action

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Other

Should be seen by:

(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5356

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 5, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~ANTHONY LAKE~~ WILLIAM ITOH (JW)

THROUGH: RICHARD SCHIFTER *RS*

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: Havel Telcon Memorandum of Conversation

Attached at Tab I is the Memorandum of Conversation of the President's telephone call to Czech President Havel on July 4.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Memcon at Tab I for forwarding to the files.

Approve *JW* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and Czech President Havel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KRM* NARA, Date *12/1/2017*  
2015 - 0773 - m

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5356

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Czech President Havel (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
President of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel  
Lisa Silhankova, Interpreter  
Daniel Fried, NSC Notetaker

DATE, TIME July 4, 9:05-9:16 am  
AND PLACE: Camp David/Philadelphia - Four Seasons Hotel  
(U)

President Clinton greeted President Havel, expressing delight at being able to speak with Havel and offering his congratulations at Havel's receipt of the Liberty Medal. (U)

President Havel said he was grateful for the call and thanked President Clinton for his expression of congratulations. Havel also offered his congratulations on the occasion of America's Independence Day. (U)

President Clinton observed that Havel's receipt of the Liberty Medal was an apt reminder of the freedom celebrated on Independence Day. (U)

President Havel thanked the President for the thought. He remembered their meeting in Prague last January and said he would be happy to meet again to deepen the already very strong bilateral ties. While there might well be no time on the President's schedule for a return to Prague, perhaps they could meet elsewhere (the Czech Ambassador later clarified this point to NSC/staff, noting that the Czechs also had in mind a meeting in 1995). Havel said he was very pleased to hear of the President's forthcoming trip to Poland and Latvia, which was another manifestation of U.S. interest in the security of Central and Eastern Europe. (S)

President Clinton noted that he would be meeting with the CEE foreign ministers in Warsaw and was looking to meeting the Czech Foreign Minister. (U)

President Havel interjected that Foreign Minister Zieleniec would certainly go to Warsaw. (U)

President Clinton continued that he had recently had a good meeting with Slovakia's President Kovac and Hungary's President Goncz. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773-m (1.15)  
12/1/2017 KBN

President Havel observed that he was aware of the meeting when the two Presidents were in the U.S. June 21-23 to receive an award from the Institute for East West Studies. This was an important visit and he was pleased that Kovac and Goncz had come to the United States and had been received by President Clinton. President Havel referred to President Clinton's June 30 letter concerning continued support in the UNSC for the Iraqi sanctions regime. The Czech Republic, Havel stressed, appreciated the letter and would insist that Iraq respected all UNSC stipulations. Havel remarked that CJCS General Shalikashvili would be present at the Liberty Medal ceremony and that he looked forward to being able to talk to him then. (S)

President Clinton said that he hoped Havel and Shalikashvili, who would represent the U.S. at the Liberty Medal presentation, would have the chance for a good conversation. The President turned to RFE/RL, saying that this appeared to be a good occasion to inform the Czech government that the U.S. was prepared to accept the generous Czech offer to help RFE/RL move to Prague to occupy the former Federal Parliament Building. (S)

President Havel responded that he was very happy, indeed delighted, to hear of this decision. The Czech Republic attached a good deal of importance to the matter and looked forward to seeing the move successfully completed. (S)

President Clinton referred to their discussion in Prague last January, when he had told Havel of his interest in seeing RFE/RL move to Prague. As he said then, the move involved complex budgetary issues. (S)

President Havel remarked that he understood the problem and was pleased that the U.S. had found a way to resolve them. (S)

President Clinton continued that the issue remained complex for the Congress, and that Congressional agreement was necessary to proceed with the move. That might prove difficult though the President believed it would be possible. Nevertheless, in light of the need to work closely with the U.S. Congress, he asked the Czech Government to delay its announcement and coordinate closely with the USG. It could be very difficult to obtain Congressional assent to the move if an announcement took place before Congress had been notified properly. (S)

President Havel said he would convey this request to the Czech Government and that Prague would coordinate announcements with the U.S. (S)

President Clinton closed the conversation, wishing Havel a great day and asking him to convey regards to former President and Mrs. Bush. (U)

President Havel said he would do so and asked that the President give his best regards to Mrs. Clinton. (U)

# MR

# MARKER

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Document ID:	9507764			
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001: memcon	re: Meeting with Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech Republic (3 pages)	10/21/1995	P17D(T) KBH 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 610

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9507764

2015-0773-M  
 rs1279

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**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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]  
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 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9507764  
RECEIVED: 24 OCT 95 07

TO: BRILL, K

FROM: SENS

DOC DATE: 26 OCT 95  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC

MEMCON

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLEV

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES 21 OCT MTG W/ HAVEL OF CZECH REPUBLIC

ACTION: SENS SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 27 OCT 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

LOGREF:

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FOR ACTION

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EXECSEC  
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NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY WRS DATE 10-26-95 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSASK      CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 2 OF 2

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KSM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-m

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9507764

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 SENS  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 95102517 FOR SIGNATURE & DECISION  
X 95102615 SENS SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

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002 951026 BRILL, K

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National Security Council  
The White House

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Berger	<u>copy</u>	✓	_____
Lake	<u>copy</u>	✓	_____
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A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

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COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

National Security Council  
The White House

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Berger	copy	✓	_____
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[A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action]

CC:

COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette yes

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7764

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

October 26, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. KENNETH C. BRILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation Between the President  
and President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic  
(U)

The attached Memorandum of Conversation between the President and President Havel of the Czech Republic is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our Embassy in Prague for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (U)



Andrew D. Sens  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Memcon with President Havel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens  
Reason: 1.5(b) (d)  
Declassify on: 1.6, X5

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0173-m

TAB A

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Vaclav Havel, President of the  
Czech Republic (U)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.  
The President  
Madeleine Albright, U.S. Permanent  
Representative to the United Nations  
Daniel Fried, Senior Director for Central  
and Eastern European Affairs NSC  
(Notetaker)

Slovakia  
Vaclav Havel, President of Czech Republic  
Michal Zantovsky, Ambassador to U.S.  
Pavel Seifter, Foreign Affairs Advisor  
to President Havel  
Ladislav Spacek, Presidential Spokesman  
(Notetaker)

DATE, TIME October 21, 1995, 1:00-1:20 p.m.  
AND PLACE: National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library,  
Library Room

The President: It's good to see you. (U)

President Havel: You have a very tight schedule, so I would like  
to skip preliminaries and go straight to the issues. (U)

The President: That's fine. (U)

President Havel: First, the Czech Republic is following closely  
and greatly appreciates your initiative in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I  
have conveyed to President Izetbegovic our support for the  
current process underway. We do support this process and are  
prepared to send a Czech unit, at our expense, to help implement  
a peace settlement. I repeat: at our expense. We are not  
looking for charity. I have only one request -- that this unit  
not be placed under Russian command. We have a good deal of  
historical experience under Russian generals and have no wish to  
repeat it. I have discussed with Minister Perry and General

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Andrew Sens  
Reason: 1.5(b), (d)  
Declassify On: 1.6, X5

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PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.21)

12/1/2017 KBM

Shalikashvili the details of Czech participation in Bosnia. We want to be associated with NATO forces and under U.S. command.

(X)

With respect to the peace process in Bosnia, we place great hopes in the talks due to begin on October 31. In my opinion, and this is shared by the great majority of Czechs, it is important to preserve the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. What is at stake is the principle of coexistence of different nationalities within one state. This principle goes beyond the intrinsic importance of Bosnia itself. We must avoid giving the impression that Karadzic and what he stands for has gained politically what he strove to gain on the battlefield. Political recognition of aggression would only inspire more. (X)

Let me continue by saying that I believe the United States is aware of its responsibility in Europe and the world. The United States won the Cold War but it has not yet won the peace. The new order of the world has still not emerged and it cannot emerge without the participation and leadership of the United States.

(X)

It is in this context that I would like to turn to the issue of NATO and NATO's expansion. We have examined NATO's recent study of the process of expansion. We have worked out our reply. I read this study and must say that it quite good. We must build on the study. In my view, discussions should start next year, in 1996, on which countries will join the Alliance and when. Time is working against us. The Czech Republic and not just our country wants to be anchored in the world. We should no longer hang in a vacuum, as has been the case during the six years since 1989. It is in the interests of Europe as a whole that we speedily build a new structure for security. (X)

I said that time is working against us. Two years ago, Yeltsin told us that he had no objections to the Czech Republic joining NATO. Look at what he says now. The situation in Russia could get worse if the communists win the Parliamentary elections or Yeltsin loses the Presidential elections, if indeed these elections are even held. (X)

What I have said does not mean that I lack appreciation for the progress already made, for example, the Partnership for Peace. I attended part of the Cooperative Challenge exercise, a Partnership for Peace exercise. The Partnership works and works well. But the Central European states believe you must go further. We all want to have good relations with Russia. But on some issues one cannot yield. (X)

In particular, the West should not yield on the issue of NATO's enlargement for the sake of reassuring Russia. If you did, if you postponed NATO enlargement in order to calm Russia, it would mean that you had accepted Russia's logic that NATO is in fact an enemy that is approaching Russia and that you had agreed to slow what was fundamentally an anti-Russian process. I do not accept the whole logic. Such arguments are themselves a relic of the Cold War. NATO's enlargement is not part of a balance of power game in which the balance is tipping against Russia through NATO's expansion. The issue is rather how NATO, Russia and the United States can become partners. Russia's argument that NATO is too strong and is drawing too close to its borders is simply not acceptable on principle. (S)

One more thought and I will conclude my long lecture. A vacuum in nature sucks in outside forces. Thus, a security vacuum in Central Europe would encourage the projection of Russian geo-political interests that hearken back to Soviet times. We see this process taking place in the Balkans now. The dynamic of a prolonged lack of clarity in Central Europe would not be good for Russia or for Russian democracy. (S)

There is no danger of a Soviet-era type of military occupation of Central Europe. But the danger does exist of political and economic pressures on Central Europe that would seek to perpetuate a dependency. For example, the Russian Minister of Nuclear Power recently reproached the Czech Republic for pursuing an upgrade of the Temelin nuclear power station through Westinghouse, saying that the Czech Republic should not generate a fight with Russia by seeking Western technology in the nuclear energy field. He said that the Czech Republic depended on Russia for oil and gas and, besides, "We are all Slavs." (S)

The President: First, let me discuss Bosnia. Thank you for being willing to participate in a peacekeeping mission in Bosnia. I remember our conversation about Bosnia at Madeleine Albright's residence in June. Events in Bosnia gave us an opening to do more there. The fall of Srebrenica and the lack of action by the West Europeans was one factor. I responded by saying that the United States would have to take action; we could not stand by. NATO then did take action. At about the same time, Croatia began its ground offensive. Croatia's advance eased the problem on the ground because, as a result, the parties to the conflict each possess about half the territory of Bosnia. (S)

We now have two problems. First, can we make a peace agreement? We will try, beginning in about ten days. Second, what will take place in Eastern Slavonia? We are working on both issues. (S)

With respect to NATO, I understand your point. In fact, this was the argument I made to Yeltsin when we last met. His reaction to the NATO issue is a response to domestic pressure. He wants to be reelected and I don't know whether he can be. I will be firm with him and make clear that we will proceed with our plans in a careful, deliberate fashion. We can work with Russia and should continue to do so. I have the impression that some West Europeans may be more willing to bend to Russian pressure than I am. So you should work with the West Europeans and encourage them to continue on the steady path we have developed. We can do this without pushing Yeltsin too much. (S)

The question is whether Yeltsin will press us too much before his election to make a commitment not to do anything about NATO enlargement even after his election. That would be a problem. We cannot delay a great deal longer because NATO enlargement is something we have to do. I believe that both elections in Russia will be held. I just hope we won't get pressure from Yeltsin to make a public commitment not to make decision on the who and when of NATO enlargement in 1996. This would be bad. I expect a very difficult meeting with Yeltsin. It could be very hard. What he said about Kozyrev was simply unfair. (S)

You should talk to other NATO Allies about your concerns. I essentially agree with what you said. First, we should elicit the reactions of Partners to NATO's study. NATO then should meet and see about a timetable for further action. I have the personal impression, a feeling, that the end of 1996 might be an acceptable time for the Allies to address the question of who and when. I'm not sure. But I am sure that there will be no negative promises to Yeltsin about NATO. We must be clear. (S)

Regarding Bosnia, it may be possible to work out some sort of shared mission with Russia and give him something to take home from the meeting at Hyde Park. But he said that there can be no Russian forces under a NATO commander. We cannot have two commands for a mission in which combat and fighting may take place. (S)

If Russia moves in an aggressive direction in Europe we may have to speed up the NATO process. We have kept it slow and it could stay slow if Russia relented. But an aggressive Russia would make us reconsider this. (S)

President Havel: Our time is drawing to a close. Let me thank you for your time for this meeting, for coming to the museum and for your speech. I will attend your dinner. I will keep my fingers crossed about your meeting with Yeltsin. (S)

The President: I have one more matter. It would be helpful if you could repeat in the U.S. and to the Congress that you support our effort in Bosnia and are prepared to send troops to support it. Congress knows that the American people are reluctant to become involved. They want not so much to block our involvement but to be able to blame me if it goes wrong; to say that was my fault. In fact, if it goes wrong it would be my fault. Still, Congress might not approve our involvement and I would have to go in anyway. This would be difficult. It would help if you were able to speak out about this. (S)

President Havel: That is not a problem I believe you in fact are on the right course. (U)

The President: You are very well known in the United States and popular and can influence the debate. (S)

It's been good to see you again. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9507764  
DATE 26 OCT 95

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES 21 OCT MTG W/ HAVEL OF CZECH REPUBLIC  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

MR. KENNETH C. BRILL  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE  
2201 C STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

PRINT LAST NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

COPY: 1 + DISK

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBM Date: 10/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGMT, ROOM 379 OEOB  
PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

7764

October 25, 1995

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW D. SENS

FROM:

DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation which took place on October 21, 1995, between the President and President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic at the dedication of the National Czech and Slovak Museum and Library in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I transmitting the Memorandum of Conversation to the Department of State.

That the attached Memorandum of Conversation be filed for the record.

Approve *ADS* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to State

Tab A Memcon with President Havel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (b) (d)

Declassify on: 1.6, X5

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGM/NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015 - 0713 - M

*See*  
Case Number: 2015-0779-M; 2015-0773-M

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 2033				
Document ID: 9803125				
Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 1	Position: 1	Stack: V

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number:				2034
Document ID:				9803202
Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: v

UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9803202  
RECEIVED: 05 MAY 98 08

TO: KENNEY, K

FROM: DAVIES

DOC DATE: 06 MAY 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TELCON

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: TELCON BTW POTUS & PRES HAVEL ON 4 MAY

ACTION: RICE SGD MEMO DUE DATE: 11 MAY 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN LOGREF:

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC

FICKLIN

FLANAGAN

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 5/6 BY HAND 

OPENED BY: NSGP CLOSED BY: NSTSM DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9803202

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BERGER  
001  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 98050614 FOR DECISION  
Z 98050615 KERRICK APPROVED RECOMS  
X 98050615 RICE SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE      DISPATCH FOR ACTION

002 980506 KENNEY, K

DISPATCH FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 3202

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG TS A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff			
Rice	13	④ 5/5/6	④
Davies			
Kerrick	2	④ 5/6	
Steinberg		copy	
Berger		cep	
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	4	TIME 5.6	④
Records Mgt.	5	④ 5/6	D w/disk

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: SRB { TIME  
JS 5.6

98 MAY 5 pm 652

COMMENTS:

Should this  
be NO  
Classified?

Exec Sec Office has diskette lf

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 3202 \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PPS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG TS A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
<i>JG</i> Cosgriff	_____	_____	_____
Rice	<u>13</u>	<u>(R) 5/5 5/6</u>	<u>copy</u>
Davies	_____	_____	_____
Kerrick	<u>2</u>	<u>(R) 5/6</u>	_____
Steinberg	_____	<u>copy</u>	_____
Berger	_____	<u>copy</u>	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>TIME 5.6</u>	<u>D</u>
Records Mgt.	<u>5</u>	<u>(R) 5/6</u>	<u>D w/disk</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: SRB TIME  
JS 5.6

198 MAY 5 96 6:02

COMMENTS:

Should this  
be NO  
Classified?

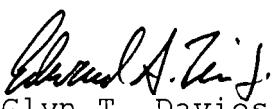
Exec Sec Office has diskette LG

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

May 6, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of StateSUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with  
President Havel of the Czech Republic

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and President Havel is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in the Czech Republic for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only.

  
For: Glyn T. Davies  
Executive SecretaryAttachment  
Tab A      Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Havel of the Czech Republic

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
President Havel

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Bonnie Glick and Tom Crowell

DATE, TIME May 4, 1998, 12:53 - 12:56 p.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Los Angeles, California

The President: Hello.

President Havel: Hello.

The President: I just wanted to call and see how you're doing.

President Havel: I am very glad to hear you, Bill, I'm in Innsbruck, Austria.

The President: I know, I've been keeping up with you and wanted to see how you are doing.

President Havel: Yes, my situation is much better and I hope the day after tomorrow I can go back to Prague. Thank you very much for calling.

The President: I wanted to say how happy I was about the Senate vote on NATO. I knew you would be happy.

President Havel: Our government and our parliament, both chambers, have now ratified. We know the important role you and Madeleine, and the whole Democratic Administration played in the enlargement process. We thank you very much because it is a big deal, not only for our three countries, but also for the future

peace in all of Europe. I spoke about it many times and you know about it.

(LINE DROPPED)

President Havel: Hello?

The President: Hello, I'm sorry we got cut off.

President Havel: I was speaking about the big thanks which we all owe to your Democratic Administration, and you personally, and Madeleine for enlargement. It is a big deal. You did much not only for our three countries but for future peace in all Europe. Thank you very much.

The President: You're welcome. You know, I had a wonderful experience trying to get this done. I have enjoyed every time you and I are together, and I'm glad to hear you sounding better. You sound strong. Give my regards to your wife.

President Havel: Thank you very much, she is sitting here with me, I greet her and she greets you too, and please send my greetings to your wife and Chelsea.

The President: Thank you, I will. I hope to see you soon.

President Havel: You are always welcome in Prague. Hillary has certainly explained to you how easy it is to have a private, rather than a political visit.

The President: Thank you so much.

President Havel: Thank you for calling me, and I wish you everything good in your hard work.

The President: Thank you. Goodbye friend.

President Havel: Goodbye, goodbye.

-- End of Conversation --

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9803202  
DATE 06 MAY 98

SUBJECT: TELCON BTW POTUS & PRES HAVEL ON 4 MAY  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE  
2201 C STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PRINT LAST NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

COPY: ORIG +DISK

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGMT, ROOM 379 OEOB  
PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

3202

May 4, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER *DR*

FROM: STEPHEN J. FLANAGAN *SJF*

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Havel of the Czech Republic  
on May 4, 1998

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation  
between the President and President Havel which took place on  
May 4, 1998.

RECOMMENDATIONS

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of  
Telephone Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve  Disapprove

That the attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation be filed  
for the record.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memo to State

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with President Havel of the Czech Republic

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
President Havel

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Bonnie Glick and Tom Crowell

DATE, TIME May 4, 1998, 12:53 - 12:56 p.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Los Angeles, California

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President Havel: Hello.

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President Havel: Our government and our parliament, both chambers, have now ratified. We know the important role you and Madeleine, and the whole Democratic <sup>Administration</sup> played in the enlargement process. We thank you very much because it is a big deal, not only for our three countries, but also for the future

peace in all of Europe. I spoke about it ~~in~~ many times and you know about it.

(LINE DROPPED)

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The President: Thank you so much.

President Havel: Thank you for calling me, and I wish you everything good in your hard work.

The President: Thank you. Goodbye friend.

President Havel: Goodbye, goodbye.

-- End of Conversation --

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number: 2057				
Document ID: 9806101				
Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 9	Position: 1	Stack: v

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. talking points	re: Summary Points to be Made for Meeting with Czech President Havel Restricted Session (2 pages)	09/11/1998	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001b. talking points	re: Summary Points to be Made for Meeting with Czech President Havel Expanded Session (1 page)	09/11/1998	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001c. talking points	[Duplicate of 001a, incomplete copy] (1 page)	09/11/1998	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001d. talking points	re: NATO Summit/Open Door (2 pages)	09/11/1998	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001d, incomplete copy] (1 page)	09/11/1998	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 2057

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9806101

2015-0773-M

rs1280

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**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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]  
 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
 b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]  
 b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 15 SEP 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC

AP

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMO & TALKING POINTS FOR PRES 16 SEP MTG W/ CZECH PRES  
HAVEL

ACTION: ORIGINAL MTG CARDS RETURNED DUE DATE: 09 SEP 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN LOGREF: 9805459

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

FLANAGAN  
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: PRES WELCOMING REMARKS ALSO RETURNED

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP CLOSED BY: NSDRS DOC 5 OF 5

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KSM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015 - 0773 - m

## ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 FLANAGAN  
002 FLANAGAN  
003 FLANAGAN  
004 BERGER  
005 PRESIDENT  
005  
005

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 98090309 PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER  
Z 98090809 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  
Z 98090911 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  
Z 98091412 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION  
Z 98092115 FOR INFORMATION  
X 98092115 NOTED BY PRESIDENT  
X 98101516 ORIGINAL MTG CARDS RETURNED

## DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTIONDISPATCH FOR INFO

005 980915  
005 980915

VICE PRESIDENT  
WH CHIEF OF STAFF

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
9-16-98

An idea I have wanted  
to pursue with you:  
I think we should think about  
making clear that the 21st century should  
be century of tolerance in contrast to 20th century

SECRETARY OF STATE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

~~SECRET~~

9-16-98

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
MEETING WITH CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL  
RESTRICTED SESSION

HAVEL'S ROLE IN EUROPE'S  
TRANSFORMATION

Global Economy

- Honor your contribution to advancement of democracy in Europe and celebrate Czech Republic's impending NATO membership.
- Whole of Europe inspired by your leadership of Charter 77 and Civic Forum. Remarkable how much progress made since 1989.

RUSSIA

- Moscow trip demonstrated engagement important in times of crisis. Stressed need to respect democratic procedures.
- Primakov's confirmation fills political void, but may not address economic crisis. We share similar concerns about other initial appointments; so important to stay engaged and show Russia all its interests are being taken into account.

• U.S. needs NATO to succeed —  
reassured Czechoslovakia

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5 (b, d)

Declassify On: 9/11/08

PHOTOCOPY  
WJC HANDWRITING

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M(1.22)  
12/1/2017 KBN

~~SECRET~~

2

- Despite public opposition, Yeltsin did not raise enlargement in private and welcomed deeper practical ties with NATO.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-16-98

SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
MEETING WITH CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL  
EXPANDED SESSION

NATO ACCESSION PROCESS

- Looking forward to working as Allies. Know your Parliament approved accession, and expect Allies to ratify by year-end.

MEETING NATO FORCE GOALS

- Czech Republic has significant military contribution to make to Alliance. Fulfillment of NATO assigned force goals is highest priority. Secretary Cohen will review key items for Czech Republic.
- Success will reinforce NATO's "Open Door" by showing that new members don't require massive aid.

~~SECRET~~

Reason: 1.5 (b, d)

Declassify On: 9/11/08

PHOTOCOPY  
WJC HANDWRITING

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773-M (1.23)  
12/1/2017 KBN

SECRET

2

- Despite public opposition, Yeltsin did not raise enlargement in private and welcomed deeper practical ties with NATO.

(A)

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addresse NATO would  
not be the factor of  
any mutual work of

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773-M (1.24)  
12/1/2017 KSM

~~SECRET~~

**THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN**

9-16-98

2

NATO SUMMIT/OPEN DOOR

- Washington Summit will set course for renewed and strengthened security partnership. Adopt new Strategic Concept that addresses full spectrum of security challenges in 21<sup>st</sup> Century.
- Summit will also reinforce NATO's openness to new members. No decisions, but determined to maintain momentum of process. Keep door open and help partners pass through.

ENHANCED REGIONAL ROLE

- Value your country's engagement in Bosnia, from UNPROFOR to SFOR, where Czech battalion has recounted itself well.
- Look for creative ways to play larger regional role by promoting political and economic reforms in Ukraine and Southeast Europe.

KOSOVO

- Working to improve situation on three tracks: negotiations for settlement, humanitarian assistance and NATO planning.

~~SECRET~~

PHOTOCOPY  
WJC HANDWRITING

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0713-M (1.25)  
12/1/2017 K8H

~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
9-16-98

3

- Must work urgently to keep already disastrous humanitarian situation from developing into major catastrophe.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

- Economic reform single most important task facing Czech Republic. Hope new government keeps up momentum.
- Support EU accession, but important U.S. firms not restricted unfairly from Czech market in run-up to accession.

Try to improve rules w/ GATT

~~SECRET~~

- Must work urgently to keep already disastrous humanitarian situation from developing into major catastrophe.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

- Economic reform single most important task facing Czech Republic. Hope new government keeps up momentum.
- Support EU accession, but important U.S. firms not restricted unfairly from Czech market in run-up to accession.

Jennine Walker  
Ending term as  
Amb.

Shattuck pending  
confirmation.

6101  
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
9-16-98

9/15/98 8:25 pm  
Ted Widmer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS WELCOMING  
PRESIDENT VACLEV HAVEL  
OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
SEPTEMBER 16, 1998

Vaclav

Widmer

PHOTOCOPY  
WJC HANDWRITING

[acknowledgments: President Havel (HAH-vul), Mrs. 9-16-98

Havlova (HAH-vloe-vah)]

President Havel, it is a joy to welcome you to the

United States and to the White House. Your

remarkable life ~~tells a previous~~ <sup>embodies great</sup> lesson – that people

who love their country can ~~act to shape~~ <sup>change it</sup> it, even against

tremendous odds. ~~You have reminded us~~ that words

~~can be~~ <sup>are</sup> powerful instruments of change ... and that words

and deeds together can be the ~~mainstays~~ <sup>pillars</sup> of freedom.

Ten years ago, the world was a very different place.

Like half of Europe, Czechoslovakia lay shrouded

beneath a failed ideology. Aspirations were

~~stifled~~

suppressed. Debate was ~~stilled~~. You ~~yourself~~ spent

~~standing up and speaking out~~

years in jail for ~~expressing beliefs in~~ liberty and

human rights most of us take for granted. For

~~articulating an elemental belief in freedom of speech,~~

~~you were denied that same freedom.~~

Today, we celebrate the dramatic ~~progress from~~ <sup>movement out of</sup> that

very different world, ~~not so long ago. We celebrate~~  
~~toward~~

~~your freedom and the aspirations of all people who~~

~~insist on the right of self-determination.~~

We celebrate ideas, not ideologies. From South Africa to South Korea to South America, societies are redefining themselves, removing barriers to the imagination, struggling to find a new balance in a new world, cultivating the limitless resources of their people. That is a universal phenomenon – neither American nor European – but it owes a great deal to the inspiration provided by a single man, Vaclav Havel [VAHTS-loff HA-vul], who for years spoke up when it mattered – often at great personal cost.

9-16-98

We are now poised to build the world of the new century. More people than ever before are free to pursue their own destinies. We are grateful for the unprecedented achievement of the century we are leaving. But we are also aware that far too much of the 20th century saw division and dislocation ... nowhere more so than in the heart of Europe.

In the last decade, Europeans have gone far toward repairing the damage wrought by a century of war ... rebuilding old relationships and unifying the hopes and dreams of people who were arbitrarily separated for too long. No person has done better work toward this end than President Havel.

Since assuming office, you have provided a voice of dazzling eloquence to the debate over the Europe's future and the future of our world. A voice of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> the ~~the~~ the

You have articulated a politics of hope. You have reminded us that all nations, small and large, form a community. You have spoken forcefully about our collective obligation to the future. For our children's sake, we must do all we can to preserve our world and our community – backing up words with real deeds.

Since 1989, the Czech people have taken enormous strides to build a better world. You have made concrete contributions to the search for peace in Kosovo and Bosnia, where your soldiers stand watch with ours.

You have strengthened cooperation with your neighbors, and taken steps to heal past wounds with Germany and Russia. You are providing humanitarian assistance to Chernobyl victims in Ukraine and sharing with other states the lessons you have learned in building a vibrant, free market democracy. You have stood with the community of nations against military aggression in the gulf, sent peacekeepers to Africa and the former Soviet Union, and promoted efforts to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And soon you will be members of the most successful alliance in history – NATO.

Many challenges remain, of course. Economic and political reform is a bumpy road. It does not happen overnight. But together, we are building a stronger foundation for peace and prosperity.

*Looking toward Millennium. → got forward by  
uniting 1990 budget to peacekeeping*

At the end of your historic speech to Congress in 1990, you remembered that the people who founded America were bold in word and in deed. Mr. President, there is not a leader on earth whose words and deeds have meant more than your own. They will live on forever in the hearts and minds of all people who care about human dignity and the power of the imagination to shape our world.

On behalf of all Americans, I am honored to welcome  
you to the White House.

# # #

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN  
9-16-98

59 SEP 15 PM 5:21

**9/15/98 5:00 pm**  
**David Halperin**

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON  
REMARKS AT JOINT PRESS APPEARANCE  
WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL  
WASHINGTON, DC  
SEPTEMBER 16, 1998**

9-16-98

Good afternoon. President Havel [HAH-vul] and  
members of the Czech delegation:

Back in June, here in Washington, I spoke of a

remarkable trio of leaders, Each ~~had been a~~

~~courageous champion of freedom in his nation. Each~~

~~had been imprisoned by authoritarian rulers, None of~~

~~each, after~~

~~these brave heroes ever gave up, and now, after~~

decades of struggle, ~~each~~ is the President of his nation,

~~leading the way to a future of greater democracy,~~

~~justice, opportunity, and peace.~~

There is President Kim Dae Jung of South Korea, whom I was privileged to host in June. President Nelson Mandela of South Africa, who will be here next week. And President Vaclav [VAHTS-loff] Havel of the Czech Republic, with whom I am very proud to stand today.

In the 1968 Prague Spring, a celebrated young playwright boldly called for an end to one-party rule before Soviet tanks crushed the people's hopes. Vaclav Havel's plays were banned, he lost his job, but he carried on.

● **He was there in 1977 to spearhead the Charter 77 human rights movement, and for his activism he faced more than a decade of harassment, interrogation and incarceration. Still, he carried on and, in 1989, he was at the forefront of the Velvet Revolution that at last brought freedom to the Czech and Slovak peoples.**

● **There was exhilaration around the world when he spoke as President on the first day of January, 1990, and declared to his countrymen, “People, your government has returned to you.”**

~~President Havel's triumph is shared with his fellow citizens. I was proud to be among them when I visited the magnificent city of Prague in 1994. Once, the Czech people's great energy and creativity and joy were penned in by a repressive system. Now, freedom has unleashed the people's potential.~~

~~While we celebrate freedom, we know many challenges lie ahead. President Havel recently put it so well: "Something is being born," he wrote, "One age is succeeding another.... We live in a world where everything is possible and almost nothing is certain."~~

Our meetings today focused on seizing today's possibilities, so that the future will be more secure and prosperous for everyone. I am delighted that Foreign Minister Kavan [KAH-vahn] and Defense Minister Vetchy [VET-kee], representatives of the new government headed by Prime Minister Zeman [ZAY-mahn], as well as Mr. Tosovsky [TOH-shov-skee], Governor of the Czech National Bank, were able to be here to participate in these discussions.

President Havel's dreams of Central Europe's integration into the community of free nations are being realized faster than most people could ever have imagined. Our nations have become true security partners, working to build a world with greater tolerance and respect for human rights, to build a Europe that is a united, democratic and at peace for the first time in history. We discussed plans for next year's NATO summit here and the Czech Republic's preparations for integration into the Alliance.

● **Already, Czech troops are working side-by-side with our own in Bosnia, where we have just seen further heartening evidence that the Bosnian people are on the path to lasting peace -- a free election with strong turnout. We have stood together against Saddam Hussein. And Czech soldiers serve as peacekeepers and military observers in Macedonia, Georgia, Angola, Mozambique, Liberia.**

● **Today, we spoke about the urgent need to bring stability to Kosovo and prevent suffering there. We spoke of the current tensions in Albania.**

9-16-98

And we discussed ways to strengthen our cooperation  
against the terrible scourge of terrorism.

*My City speech is ten end in May*

We talked about my recent trip to Moscow, Russia's  
economic crisis, and measures to stabilize and contain  
the situation there. I underscored America's support  
for continued economic reforms in the Czech  
Republic, including greater openness for economic  
institutions, so their nation can continue to attract  
investment in the increasingly-competitive global  
economy.

I expressed our strong support for the Czech Republic's accession to the European Union, and for fair treatment of American businesses that will be affected.

The progress our nations are making as friends is possible only because of the courage of Vaclav Havel and the Czech people, who are fulfilling their dreams and inspiring the world. We will continue the hard work together, so everyone can reap the full benefits of our hard-fought freedoms.

Thank you.

# # #

Transfeatures Trude Feldman												
BBC Tom Carver	Christian Science Monitor Francine Kiefer	CCH	ABC 2 Josh Gerstein	ABC 3 Mark Halperin	CBS 2 Bill Plante	CNN 2 Andrea Koppel	FOX 2 Jim Angle	USIA	Tribune Broadcasting Gary Nurenburg	BBC Manoush Zomorodi	Nikkei Hitoshi Omae	Audio Video News Connie Lawn
Tribune Broadcasting Lisa Leigh	National Journal	VOA	Gannett	Copley George Condon	Nightly Business Report Darren Gersh	Christian Science Monitor Skip Thurman	Chicago Tribune Roger Simon	Baltimore Sun Susan Baer	New York Post Deborah Orin	Newhouse Newspapers	Congress Daily	Media General Marsha Mercer
Newsday Ken Fireman	Knight Ridder Jodi Enda	Boston Globe Ann Scales	Bloomberg Tim Loughran	Houston Chronicle Nancy Mathis	CNN Radio Noticias Jacobo Goldstein	New York Daily News Richard Sisk	Talk Radio News Service Ellen Ratner	Business Week Rick Dunham	Cox Bob Deans	Scripps Howard Ann McFeatters	McClatchy David Westphal/ Muriel Dobbin	St. Petersburg Times David Dahl
USA Today Bill Nichols	Washington Times Bill Sammon	NPR Mara Liasson	Dallas Morning News Susan Feeney	Newsweek Debra Rosenberg	Hearst Stewart Powell	AP Radio Mark Smith	AFP Gretchen Cook	<b>Czech Press</b>				
American Urban Radio April Ryan ④	Los Angeles Times	Time Karen Tumulty	Wall Street Journal Jeanne Cummings	U.S. News & World Report Ken Walsh	CBS Radio Mark Knoller/ Peter Maer	CBS 1 Scott Pelley	New York Times John Broder	<b>Czech Press</b>				
FOX 1 Wendell Goler	Washington Post John Harris	Reuters Larry McQuillan ③	CNN 1 Wolf Blitzer	ABC 1 Mike Von Fremd	AP Terry Hunt ②	NBC 1 David Bloom	UPI Helen Thomas ①	<b>Czech Press</b>				

#### SIX MEASURES WE MUST TAKE

- Work with Japan, Europe, and other nations to spur growth.
- Expand our efforts to enable viable businesses in Asia to emerge from crippling debt burdens so they can once again contribute to growth and job creation.
- Asked the World Bank to double its support for the social safety net in Asia to help people who are innocent victims of financial turmoil.
- Urge the major industrial economies to stand ready to use the \$15 billion in IMF emergency funds to help stop the financial contagion from spreading to Latin America and elsewhere.
- The Ex-Im Bank will intensify its efforts to generate economic activity in the developing world immediately in the next three months
- Congress must live up to its responsibility for continued prosperity by meeting our obligations to the IMF.

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number:				2059
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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memcon	re: Restricted Meeting with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (3 pages)	09/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001b. memcon	re: Expanded Meeting with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (5 pages)	09/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001c. memcon	[Duplicate of 001a, incomplete copy] (1 page)	09/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001d. memcon	[Duplicate of 001b, incomplete copy] (4 pages)	09/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001e. memcon	[Duplicate of 001b, incomplete copy] (2 pages)	09/16/1998	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 2059

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9806477

2015-0773-M  
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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]  
 P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]  
 b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]  
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 b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]  
 b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]  
 b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]  
 b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]  
 b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9806477  
RECEIVED: 21 SEP 98 18

TO: KENNEY, K

FROM: DAVIES

DOC DATE: 01 OCT 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC

MEMCON

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: MEMCON W/ CZECH PRES HAVEL ON 16 SEP 98

ACTION: DAVIES SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 26 SEP 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC  
FICKLIN  
FLANAGAN  
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By NSC NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-m

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RECORD ID: 9806477

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BERGER  
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CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 98092818 FOR DECISION  
X 98100111 KERRICK APPROVED RECOM  
X 98100111 DAVIES SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE      DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 981001 KENNEY, K

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National Security Council  
The White House

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URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM ~~PRS~~ NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG (3) A/O \_\_\_\_\_

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Rice			
Davies	3	6 10/1 (n) 9/17/70	
Kerrick	2		
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	4	TTC 10/1	8
Records Mgt.	5		1

**A = Action      I = Information      D = Dispatch      R = Retain      N = No Further Action**

CC:

**COMMENTS:**

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Memcon w/ Havel  
16 Sep 98  
98 SEP 28 PM 5656  
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Exec Sec Office has diskette 1/20

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National Security Council  
The White House

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LOG # 6277

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS NSC INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG 3 A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
Cosgriff	1	KPC 9/28	<u>2</u> <u>10/6/98</u> <u>BB</u>
Rice			
Davies	3	<u>6</u> <u>10/1</u>	
Kerrick	2	<u>10</u> <u>9/13/98</u>	
Steinberg			
Berger			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	4	KPC 10/1	<u>2</u>
Records Mgt.	5		<u>1</u>

A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

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Gen. Kerrick

KC change  
made

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June    on w/ Havel  
, Sep 98

38 SE

Exec Sec Office has diskette 1422

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

6477

October 1, 1998

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY

Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Conversations with Czech President  
Havel (U)

The attached Memoranda of Conversations between the President and President Havel are provided for the information of the Secretary of State. They must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. They may also be sent to our embassy in Prague for the Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (S)



Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A      Restricted Meeting  
Tab B      Expanded Meeting

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5(c)  
Declassify On: 9/28/08

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ~~KBM~~ NARA, Date ~~13/1/2017~~  
2015 - 0773-1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States  
The President  
The Vice President  
Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State  
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President  
for National Security Affairs  
Jenonne Walker, Ambassador to the Czech  
Republic  
Stephen Flanagan, Special Assistant to the  
President and Senior Director for Central  
and East European Affairs, NSC Staff  
(Notetaker)  
Michael Borek, InterpreterCzech RepublicVaclav Havel, President  
Jan Kavan, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Josef Tosovsky, Governor of the Czech  
National Bank  
Jiri Pehe, Director of the Political  
Department, Office of the President  
Alexander Vondra, Ambassador to the  
United States  
Petr Burianek, Deputy Director of the  
Political Department, Office of the  
President (Notetaker)  
Alexandra Brabcova, InterpreterDATE, TIME September 16, 1998, 10:25 - 10:50 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Havel: Coming back to Washington brings back many old memories of my previous visits to the United States and meetings with you and Hillary. It's very nice. (U)

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Reason: 1.5 (c)  
Declassify On: 09/28/08DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773-m (1.27)  
12/1/2017 KBH

The President: I remember your visits very well, particularly our early conversations on NATO. I think our relationship in NATO and our engagement in Europe is going to be even stronger. (U)

President Havel: NATO enlargement is not just a matter of concern to Europe. It guarantees America's engagement in Europe, which is a global achievement. (U)

The President: I fully agree. It helps assure our global engagement. It helps assure that we can lead the way to prevent future Bosnias and Kosovos. (S)

President Havel: This is precisely what I think. And I think it is time that we act on Kosovo before it is too late. (S)

The President: Let me tell you a little bit about my discussions with President Yeltsin. We had a good exchange on NATO. Yeltsin made the necessary protest in public, but he took a constructive attitude on Russia's relations with NATO in private. (S)

President Havel: From time to time Yeltsin needs to do and say things he doesn't really believe. Let's hope he stays. I think things have calmed down a bit in Russia now. (S)

The President: Yes, I think so. The first step to dealing with the current crisis is to have an effective government. (S)

The President: I think the Vice President has spoken to Primakov, haven't you? (S)

The Vice President: No. I wrote him a letter outlining some of our concerns and our desire to work with Russia as a responsible global partner. There are many challenges ahead. One is the fact that space program scientists have not been paid for six months. This provides a strong incentive for them to sell missile technology and information on weapons of mass destruction. (S)

President Havel: During the Cold War period the nuclear danger was more certain and calculable. Now our fear is that these systems could be launched by accident. (U)

On the economic situation, we have a certain amount of understanding of Russia's plight, because we are both part of

the post communist world. But Russia suffered under communism for three generations and that legacy is difficult to overcome. So problems that have taken two years to overcome in Czechoslovakia will take ten years in Russia, and what will take thirty years for my country to overcome will take Russia 150 years. (S)

The President: Our focus is not just on Russia alone right now. There are real problems in Asia, particularly Japan, after years of growth. We have a serious recession in a part of the world that produces one-third of the world's GDP. We are also looking at Latin America. Yesterday I spoke to the Presidents of Brazil and Mexico and Prime Minister Chretien about this. And I gave a speech on Monday about the global economy. (U)

President Havel: We have not seen through the depths of all these problems. (U)

The President: Treasury Secretary Rubin has said that we need to find a way to cushion the extreme fluctuations of the global economy without interrupting the natural flow of capital. (U)

President Havel: One has to be careful to not hand out blank checks. Czech banks can be separated from the bad aspects of the global economy and are therefore good partners for American business. It's not the responsibility of the government or president to tell investors which banks are good partners, it would be an invasion of freedom. (U)

U.S. investments in the Czech Republic are flourishing. The Procter and Gamble factory is moving right along. (U)

The President: Let's talk a little bit about NATO. (U)

President Havel: We need to keep the door open for the Baltics. In my opinion Romania and Slovenia should be the next in line for membership. (S)

The President: Maybe you would like to have about ten minutes here for a one-on-one discussion. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with President Vaclav Havel  
of the Czech Republic (U)

PARTICIPANTS: United States  
The President  
The Vice President  
Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State  
William Cohen, Secretary of Defense  
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Gene Sperling, Assistant to the President  
for Economic Policy  
Jenonne Walker, Ambassador to the Czech  
Republic  
Marc Grossman, Assistant Secretary of State  
for European Affairs  
James Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the  
President for National Security Affairs  
Leon Fuerth, Assistant to the Vice President  
for National Security Affairs  
Stephen Flanagan, Special Assistant to the  
President and Senior Director for Central  
and East European Affairs, NSC Staff  
(Notetaker)  
Michael Borek, Interpreter

Czech Republic  
Vaclav Havel, President  
Jan Kavan, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Vladimir Vetchy, Minister of Defense  
Josef Tosovsky, Governor of the Czech  
National Bank  
Alexander Vondra, Ambassador to the  
United States  
Jaromir Novotny, First Deputy Minister  
of Defense  
Ladislav Spacek, Presidential Spokesman  
Jiri Pehe, Director of the Political  
Department, Office of the President

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Reason: 1.5 (c)  
Declassify On: 09/28/08

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015 - 0773.m (1.28)  
12/1/2017 KBN

Political Section,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Roman Leszczynski, Director General of  
the Secretariat, Czech National Bank  
Antonin Hradilek, Deputy Chief of Mission  
Embassy of the Czech Republic, Washington  
Lucas Martin, Political Department, Office  
of the President  
Alexandra Brabcova, Interpreter

DATE, TIME  
AND PLACE: September 16, 1998, 11:00 - 11:50 a.m.  
Oval Office

The President: I just want to say a few things and then I want to hear what you and your colleagues have to say and to allow some of the others on my side of the table to address some issues. (U)

First, I want to turn to Kosovo. We are really at a turning point in this crisis. We have 50-100,000 or more internal refugees and we need to address their situation before winter sets in. We need to create the security conditions that will allow people to return to their homes soon. (S)

Secretary Cohen will talk a little more about NATO's plans on Kosovo. Ambassador Hill has had some success in working with the parties to begin serious negotiations on a settlement. (S)

We spoke earlier about the Asian financial crisis spreading to Latin America and further. We are working hard with a broad array of countries to head this off. (S)

On NATO, I recall that you were about the first person, well certainly the first non-American, to mention the idea of NATO enlargement to me. You were my conscience. Now we are going to atone for this advice. (Laughter) (U)

President Havel: America is the essential guardian of freedom, whether this country likes it or not. You have a great responsibility for what happens in the world. This is a point I am going to repeat at the press conference. This is a remarkable time. In the bipolar era, Americans had an easier time. You could maintain order and your interests by keeping up in the military competition with the Soviet Union. It's much more complicated now. There are great challenges to winning the peace. But the United States has an irreplaceable role to play.

You are the only country that can provide moral leadership in this complicated world and you must not shy away from difficult questions. (U)

The President: I have only one hard question for the Czech side. Your country has been a beacon for freedom and tolerance. As a friend, I have to say we have been distressed to see the stories about the mistreatment of the Gypsies (Roma). We would like to see the headlines change and hope all the political leaders in your country will speak out forcefully on this issue. I would also like to ask how you are coping with the Russian financial crisis. (S)

President Havel: We welcome such candid talk among friends. We need to move more vigorously in the struggle against racism. It helps me to hear this admonition from you. This government has set up a special office of Human Rights, which has made progress over the previous government. But implementation of various legislation has not been pursued enough. One of the parties has proposed the creation of an ombudsman for such issues, which I would favor. Hearing from more critical voices abroad will help us. Mr. Tosovsky could answer your second question. (S)

Mr. Tosovsky: We are working to address this problem. Our economy is small and relatively well-insulated from some of the initial shocks. We are trying to sort out the direct and indirect effects. We are slightly optimistic about our ability to manage the direct effects. We feel greater impact from the effects this global slowdown has on the EU and the United States. These secondary ripple effects have a greater impact on us. (U)

In Russia, people were not so prepared for the great changes as they were in the Czech Republic. Russia moved much quicker on privatization than anyone would have expected, but market institutions were not ready. It will take some time to correct. (S)

We are strongly in favor of continued liberalization, but without growth, it will be difficult to maintain support for reforms. Russia needs some breathing space. (S)

President Havel: I would ask the foreign minister to take the floor on the new government's efforts to deal with the Roma issue. I hope this government will be able to accomplish something quickly. I also hope that we can learn something from you on how to deal with prejudice. (S)

Minister Kavan: We have enacted new legislation to deal with employers who discriminate. We also have a commission to deal with discrimination in housing. The coalition has talked of tougher legislation and education on human rights. We want to deal with this problem of intolerance in a very forthright way.

(S)

President Havel: We are becoming one of the most diverse countries in the world. We are determined to make the 21<sup>st</sup> century one of greater tolerance. (U)

The President: Can I ask Mr. Tosovsky if the Russians have approached you to discuss lessons you have learned in the transformation of your economy? (S)

Mr. Tosovsky: I have not had direct contacts with my Russian counterpart, but will see him at the IMF/World Bank meetings.

(S)

The President: I have a little idea that maybe at the IMF/World Bank we could see if we could get the Russians to agree to systematic consultations with the Western countries and some of the countries like the Czech Republic that have successfully navigated the transition process. They could learn some valuable lessons from your experiences. (S)

I'd like Secretary Cohen to speak a bit about your military preparations for NATO. (U)

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I told you last year that you needed to rally people to stay with a serious defense program, even in periods of fiscal austerity. Your defense budget must be protected to ensure that NATO obligations can be met. Secretary Albright and I went to the Hill and assured the Congress that you would continue to move toward the goal, in annual increments, of devoting 2 percent of GDP to defense by 2000. This commitment must be sustained. (S)

There will be temptations to look for modern equipment, but it is important that you focus on restructuring your armed forces. You need to stay focused on developing a corps of non-commissioned officers (NCOs), pursuing items in your response to NATO's Defense Planning Questionnaire (DPQ), fulfilling force goals and undertaking a planning process to ensure effective allocation of resources. (S)

Minister Vetchy: We shall meet all these NATO obligations. We are now devoting 1.9 percent of our GDP to our defense budget. We are also making great strides in military education. We have one National Defense University and one secondary school for the training of NCOs. We are also making improvement of the living and social conditions of soldiers and officers a top priority. As for the Iraqi contingency, our chemical decontamination units will be ready whenever the call comes. (S)

Secretary Albright: Political developments in Slovakia remain troubling and we know it is difficult for the Czech government to take too forceful a stance on this issue given historical sensitivities. We have been actively engaged in monitoring the entire electoral process. After the elections, we will need to work together to think through next steps. Slovakia has been a bit of a black hole in the middle of Europe, however, it is dangerous for such a black hole to remain indefinitely. (S)

President Havel: No people are more aware of the Slovak situation than we are. We have spoken the same language for centuries and have many personal ties. Poland has been in a better position to speak out on this, but we have maintained an active dialogue with Warsaw on this issue. After the elections the first ten days will be critical. We will need to see what kind of government emerges and we need to have a dialogue on some of the problems that emerged after the breakup (of Czechoslovakia). It remains our priority to bring Slovakia into NATO and the EU and we will do everything possible to advance this goal. (S)

Deputy Minister Novotny: On the defense side, we have had joint staff exercises with the Slovak armed forces in Slovakia. (U)

The President: This is all very encouraging. We see eye-to-eye on most issues. But I'm afraid we have run out of time. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6477

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 28, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER *(D)P*  
FROM: STEPHEN J. FLANAGAN *SJF*  
SUBJECT: Memoranda of Conversations with Czech President  
Havel

Attached at Tabs A and B are the Memoranda of Conversations  
between the President and Czech President Havel which took place  
on September 16, 1998.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memoranda of  
Conversations at Tabs A and B to State

Approve  Disapprove

That the attached Memoranda of Conversations be filed for the  
record.

Approve  Disapprove

Attachments

Tab I Memo to State  
Tab A Memcon of Restricted Meeting  
Tab B Memcon of Expanded Meeting

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBN/NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015 - 0773-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(c)  
Declassify On: 9/28/08

the post communist world. But Russia suffered under communism for three generations and that legacy is difficult to overcome. So problems that have taken two years to overcome in Czechoslovakia will take ten years in Russia, and what will take thirty years for my country to overcome will take Russia 150 years. (O)

The President: Our focus is not just on Russia alone right now. There are real problems in Asia, particularly Japan, after years of growth. We have a serious recession in a part of the world that produces one-third of the world's GDP. We are also looking at Latin America. Yesterday I spoke to the Presidents of Brazil and Mexico and Prime Minister Chretien about this. And I gave a speech on Monday about the global economy. (U)

President Havel: We have not seen through the depths of all these problems. (U)

The President: Treasury Secretary Rubin has said that we need to find a way to cushion the extreme fluctuations of the global economy without interrupting the natural flow of capital. (U)

President Havel:<sup>b</sup> One has to be careful to not hand out blank checks. Czech Banks can be separated from the bad aspects of the global economy and are therefore good partners for American business. It's not the responsibility of the government or president to tell investors which banks are good partners, it would be an invasion of freedom. (U)

U.S. investments in the Czech Republic are flourishing. The Procter and Gamble factory is moving right along. (U)

The President: Let's talk a little bit about NATO. (U)

President Havel: We need to keep the door open for the Baltics. In my opinion Romania and Slovenia should be the next in line for membership. (O)

The President: Maybe you would like to have about ten minutes here for a one-on-one discussion. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

6477

Political Section,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Roman Leszczynski, Director General of  
the Secretariat, Czech National Bank  
Antonin Hradilek, Deputy Chief of Mission  
Embassy of the Czech Republic, Washington  
Lucas Martin, Political Department, Office  
of the President  
Alexandra Brabcova, Interpreter

DATE, TIME  
AND PLACE: September 16, 1998, 11:00 - 11:50 a.m.  
Oval Office

The President: I just want to say a few things and then I want to hear what you and your colleagues have to say and to allow some of the others on my side of the table to address some issues. (U)

First, I want to turn to Kosovo. We are really at a turning point in this crisis. We have 50-100,000 or more internal refugees and we need to address their situation before winter sets in. We need to create the security conditions that will allow people to return to their homes soon. (S)

Secretary Cohen will talk a little more about NATO's plans on Kosovo. Ambassador Hill has had some success in working with the parties to begin serious negotiations on a settlement. (S)

We spoke earlier about the Asian financial crisis spreading to Latin America and further. We are working hard with a broad array of countries to head this off. (S)

On NATO, I recall that you were about the first person, well certainly the first non-American, to mention the idea of NATO enlargement to me. You were my conscience. Now we are going to atone for this advice. (Laughter) (U)

President Havel: America is the essential guardian of freedom, whether this country likes it or not. You have a great responsibility for what happens in the world. This is a point I am going to repeat at the press conference. This is a remarkable time. In the bipolar era, Americans had an easier time. You could maintain order and your interests by keeping up in the military competition with the Soviet Union. It's much more complicated now. There are great challenges to winning the peace. But the United States has an irreplaceable role to play.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-1 (1.30)  
12/1/2017 KBN

~~6471~~

You are the only country that can provide moral leadership in this complicated world and you must not shy away from difficult questions. (U)

The President: I have only one hard question for the Czech side. Your country has been a beacon for freedom and tolerance. As a friend, I have to say we have been distressed to see the stories about the mistreatment of the Gypsies (Roma). We would like to see the headlines change and hope all the political leaders in your country will speak out forcefully on this issue. I would also like to ask how you are coping with the Russian financial crisis. (S)

President Havel: We welcome such candid talk among friends. We need to move more vigorously in the struggle against racism. It helps me to hear this admonition from you. This government has set up a special office of Human Rights, which has made progress over the previous government. But implementation of various legislation has not been pursued enough. One of the parties has proposed the creation of an ombudsman for such issues, which I would favor. Hearing from more critical voices abroad will help us. Mr. Tosovsky could answer your second question. (S)

Mr. Tosovsky: We are working to address this problem. Our economy is small and relatively well-insulated from some of the initial shocks. We are trying to sort out the direct and indirect effects. We are slightly optimistic about our ability to manage the direct effects. We feel greater impact from the effects this global slowdown has on the EU and the United States. These secondary ripple effects have a greater impact on us. (U)

In Russia, people were not so prepared for the great changes as they were in the Czech Republic. Russia moved much quicker on privatization than anyone would have expected, but market institutions were not ready. It will take some time to correct. (S)

We are strongly in favor of continued liberalization, but without growth, it will be difficult to maintain support for reforms. Russia needs some breathing space. (S)

President Havel: I would ask the foreign minister to take the floor on the new government's efforts to deal with the Roma issue. I hope this government will be able to accomplish something quickly. I also hope that we can learn something from you on how to deal with prejudice. (S)

Minister Kavan: We have enacted new legislation to deal with employers who discriminate. We also have a commission to deal with discrimination in housing. The coalition has talked of tougher legislation ~~and~~ and education on human rights. We want to deal with this problem of intolerance in a very forthright way. (S)

President Havel: We are becoming one of the most diverse countries in the world. We are determined to make the 21<sup>st</sup> Century one of greater tolerance. (U)

The President: Can I ask Mr. Tosovsky if the Russians have approached you to discuss lessons you have learned in the transformation of your economy? (S)

Mr. Tosovsky: I have not had direct contacts with my Russian counterpart, but will see him at the IMF/World Bank meetings. (S)

The President: I have a little idea that maybe at the IMF/World Bank we could see if we could get the Russians to agree to systematic consultations with the Western countries and some of the countries like the Czech Republic that have successfully navigated the transition process. They could learn some valuable lessons from your experiences. (S)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
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LOG 9806477  
DATE 01 OCT 98

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DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

Case Number: 2015-0773-M

# MR

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Original OA/ID Number: 2731				
Document ID: 9904018				
Row: 46	Section: 4	Shelf: 6	Position: 2	Stack: V

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER  
STREETT, S

DOC DATE: 25 MAY 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TELCALL  
ITALY  
GREAT BRITAIN

FRANCE  
NETHERLANDS  
HUNGARY

PERSONS: CHIRAC, JACQUES  
KOK, WIM

D'ALEMA, MASSIMO  
BLAIR, TONY

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY TELCALL

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ACTION: ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO

DUE DATE: 31 MAY 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DAVIES

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

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CODES:

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FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NSC CHRON

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DOC 1 OF 1

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RECORD ID: 9904018

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

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RUDMAN	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
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A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

100 JAN 5 am 8:16

COMMENTS:

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

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RUDMAN	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>1</u>	<u>3/15</u>	<u>N</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>2</u>	<u>1/10</u>	<u>OPEN</u>
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Date: 1-4-00

To: \_\_\_\_\_ RM re: Introspect Document No. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ ✓ NSC re: NSC No. 4018

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ID: 305760 SS      S E C R E T A R I E S      L O G

PAGE: A01

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FILM: \_\_\_\_\_ OP ID: CC      RECEIVED: 990525      DOC DATE: 990525

PERSON: \_\_\_\_\_ SAMUEL\_BERGER\_&\_STEPHANIE\_STRETT\_\_\_\_\_  
ORGANIZATION: NSC/\_LEGISLATIVE\_AFFAIRS\_\_\_\_\_SUBJ/DESC: FOREIGN\_POLICY\_PHONE\_CALLS\_\_\_\_\_  
4018\_\_\_\_\_

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## ACTION ASSIGNED:

AGY/OFF CODE DATE

ACTION COMMENTS

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TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

99 MAY 25 PM 5:48

TIME OF RECEIPT

## WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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PRIORITY  
ROUTINE

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DTG: \_\_\_\_\_

MESSAGE NO: \_\_\_\_\_ CLASSIFICATION: NOT CLASSIFIED PAGES: 2  
(Including Cover)  
FROM: Sean Malone \_\_\_\_\_ 202 / 456-2702 \_\_\_\_\_ Gr F1 / W Wing \_\_\_\_\_  
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Berger memo re Foreign Policy Phone Calls

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>PHONE NUMBER</u>
TO: KRIS ENGSKOV FOR THE PRESIDENT (Please give Kris 2 copies.)			

cc: Maria Echaveste

cc: Kirk Hanlin

REMARKS:

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 25, 1999

'99 MAY 25 PM1:32

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *OBW/SB*  
STEPHANIE STREETT *OBW/SB*

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Phone Calls

After your call to Chancellor Schroeder Monday, three calls remain to finish up your current round of consultations with foreign leaders: **Jacques Chirac; Massimo d'Alema and Wim Kok.**

(D'Alema's people also called late Monday to say he wants to talk to you for "two minutes" to thank you for your kind words at the Sons of Italy dinner Saturday night.)

You suggested to **Tony Blair** on Sunday that you might want to speak again with him "before the week is out." Do you want us to schedule a call?

You wanted to call **Vaclav Havel** to wish him a speedy recovery but he was not in shape to take your call. We sent him a get-well note from you. He is now out of the hospital and could take your call if you still want to place one.

Finally, **Elie Wiesel** would like to speak briefly with you before he leaves for Albania and Macedonia on Memorial Day.

Would you be willing to set aside an hour on Wednesday and Thursday morning to finish up these calls? We could try to schedule calls from 9:00 - 10:00 a.m. both days preceded by one short (five-minute) telephone prebrief before each session. We have not reached out to leaders' offices to check specific availability so as not to raise expectations, but we understand they are all in their capitals.

Okay to set aside 9:00-10:00 a.m. Wednesday and Thursday

Other time(s)

Discuss

cc: Nancy Hernreich

305760

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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99 MAY 25 PM 1:32

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UNCLASSIFIED  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9904018  
RECEIVED: 25 MAY 99 11

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER  
STRETT, S

DOC DATE: 25 MAY 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TELCALL  
ITALY  
GREAT BRITAIN

FRANCE  
NETHERLANDS  
HUNGARY

PERSONS: CHIRAC, JACQUES  
KOK, WIM

D'ALEMA, MASSIMO  
BLAIR, TONY

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY TELCALL

---

ACTION: OBE PER WEST WING DESK

DUE DATE: 31 MAY 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: DAVIES

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

---

D O C U M E N T   D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTTS      CLOSED BY: NSEMK

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9904018

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 PRESIDENT  
001

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 99052513 FOR DECISION  
X 99082616 OBE PER WEST WING DESK

UNCLASSIFIED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOVED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 40180  
URGENT NOT PROOVED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM ARS INT ARS  
BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG 7 A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
GIRE	_____	_____	_____
JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
SARGEANT	_____	_____	_____
BRADTKE	_____	_____	_____
RUDMAN	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>1</u>	<u>JS 9/26 08E</u>	<u>RETRN 8/26 08E</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>2</u>	<u>ENCL</u>	<u>RETRN</u>
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

199 AUG 26 PM 3458

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

5/25  
0848

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # \_\_\_\_\_

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG \_\_\_\_\_ A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
RICE	_____	_____	_____
DAVIES	1	✓	_____
KERRICK	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	2	_____	_____
BERGER	3	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	_____	_____	_____
RECORDS MGMT.	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

COMMENTS:

Foreign Policy  
Phone Calls

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 5/25 0848

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG 7 A/O \_\_\_\_\_

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 4018

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG 7 A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
RICE	_____	_____	_____
DAVIES	<u>1</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
KERRICK	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
BERGER	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	_____	_____	_____
RECORDS MGMT.	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

COMMENTS:

Foreign Policy  
Phone Calls

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
GIRE	_____	_____	_____
JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
SARGEANT	_____	_____	_____
BRADTKE	_____	_____	_____
RUDMAN	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>1</u>	<u>5/26 0826</u>	<u>PERWD</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>2</u>	<u>5/26 0826</u>	<u>PERWD</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

'99 AUG 26 PM 3:58

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*  
STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Phone Calls

After your call to Chancellor Schroeder Monday, three calls remain to finish up your current round of consultations with foreign leaders: **Jacques Chirac; Massimo d'Alema and Wim Kok.**

(D'Alema's people also called late Monday to say he wants to talk to you for "two minutes" to thank you for your kind words at the Sons of Italy dinner Saturday night.)

You suggested to **Tony Blair** on Sunday that you might want to speak again with him "before the week is out." Do you want us to schedule a call?

You wanted to call **Vaclav Havel** to wish him a speedy recovery but he was not in shape to take your call. We sent him a get-well note from you. He is now out of the hospital and could take your call if you still want to place one.

Finally, **Elie Wiesel** would like to speak briefly with you before he leaves for Albania and Macedonia on Memorial Day.

Would you be willing to set aside an hour on Wednesday and Thursday morning to finish up these calls? We could try to schedule calls from 9:00 - 10:00 a.m. both days preceded by one short (five-minute) telephone prebrief before each session. We have not reached out to leaders' offices to check specific availability so as not to raise expectations, but we understand they are all in their capitals.

\_\_\_\_\_ Okay to set aside 9:00-10:00 a.m. Wednesday and Thursday

\_\_\_\_\_ Other time(s)

\_\_\_\_\_ Discuss

cc: Nancy Hernreich

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: NANCY HERNREICH

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Phone Calls

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(D'Alema's people also called in late Monday to say he wants to talk to you for "two minutes" to thank you for your kind words at the Sons of Italy dinner Saturday night. You called d'Alema a "rock of stability and concern for a just outcome" in Kosovo.)

You had wanted to call **Vaclav Havel** to wish him a speedy recovery from his illness but he was not in shape to take your call. We sent him a get-well note from you. Havel is now out of the hospital and could take a call from you if you still want to place one.

Finally, **Elie Wiesel** would like to speak briefly with you before he leaves for Albania and Macedonia on Memorial Day. We can come back to you in a day or so to schedule a call.

For the others, though, would you be willing to set aside an hour on each of Wednesday and Thursday mornings to finish up these four calls? We could try to schedule calls from 9:00 - 10:00 a.m. both days preceded by one short (five-minute) telephone prebrief before each session. We have not reached out to leaders' offices to check specific availability so as not to raise expectations for a call, but we understand they are all in their capitals.

\_\_\_\_\_ Okay to set aside 9:00-10:00 a.m. Wednesday and Thursday

\_\_\_\_\_ Other time(s)

\_\_\_\_\_ Discuss

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: NANCY HERNREICH  
FROM: SAMUEL BERGER  
STEPHANIE STREETT  
SUBJECT: Foreign Policy Phone Calls

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                 Okay to set aside 9:00-10:00 a.m. Wednesday and Thursday

                 Other time(s)

                 Discuss

Case Number: 2015-0773-M

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number:				2731
Document ID:				9904047
Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
46	4	6	2	V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	From Samuel Berger re: Telephone Call with President Havel of the Czech Republic (1 page)	05/26/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001b. talking points	re: Points to be Made for Telephone Conversation with President Vaclav Havel (1 page)	05/26/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001c. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	05/26/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001d. memo	[Duplicate of 001a] (1 page)	05/26/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018
001e. talking points	[Duplicate of 001b] (1 page)	05/26/1999	P1/b(1) KBH 7/13/2018

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### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 2731

---

### FOLDER TITLE:

9904047

Rob Seibert  
 2015-0773-M  
 rs1282

### 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]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

#### Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9904047  
RECEIVED: 25 MAY 99 17

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 26 MAY 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TELCALL

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: TELCALL W/ PRES HAVEL

ACTION: OBE PER RECORDS MANAGEMENT

DUE DATE: 28 MAY 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BERGER

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSNHM CLOSED BY: NSGP DOC 2 OF 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KSM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015 - 0773-m

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9904047

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BERGER  
002 PRESIDENT  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 99052519 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION  
Z 99052619 FOR INFORMATION  
X 99082609 OBE PER RECORDS MANAGEMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 4047

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG SL A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
GIRE	_____	_____	_____
JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
SARGEANT	_____	_____	_____
BRADTKE	_____	_____	_____
RUDMAN	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>1</u>	<u>10/25</u>	<u>RE</u> <u>PERWMD</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>2</u>	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

198 ALIC 05 pm 8:16  
COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 4047

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG ENCL/ASO

  
JACOBSON

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
RICE	1	(P) 5/25	_____
DAVIES	_____	_____	_____
KERRICK	_____	_____	_____
STEINBERG	2	_____	_____
BERGER	3	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	4	ENCL 5/25	_____
RECORDS MGMT.	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
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_____	_____	_____	_____

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

COMMENTS:

*Please Call Pres Havel*

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE yes

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

## THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOVED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 4047

URGENT NOT PROOVED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG 7 A/O \_\_\_\_\_

SEQUENCE TO INITIAL/DATE DISPOSITION

GIRE \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

JACOBSON \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

POWELL \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

SARGEANT \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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BRADTKE \_\_\_\_\_

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RUDMAN \_\_\_\_\_

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STEINBERG \_\_\_\_\_

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BERGER \_\_\_\_\_

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SITUATION ROOM \_\_\_\_\_

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WEST WING DESK 1 \_\_\_\_\_28/25 \_\_\_\_\_SEE \_\_\_\_\_RECORDS MGMT. 2 \_\_\_\_\_PERIOD \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

1984 JUN 25 08 8:16

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE \_\_\_\_\_

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

## THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 4047

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG ENCL 10  
JACOBSON

SEQUENCE TO \_\_\_\_\_

INITIAL/DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DISPOSITION \_\_\_\_\_

POWELL

\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25

RICE

\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25

DAVIES

\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25

KERRICK

\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25

STEINBERG

\_\_\_\_\_  
2 (P) 5/25

BERGER

\_\_\_\_\_  
3 (P) 5/25

SITUATION ROOM

\_\_\_\_\_  
4 (P) 5/25

WEST WING DESK

\_\_\_\_\_  
4 (P) 5/25

RECORDS MGMT.

\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25\_\_\_\_\_  
1 (P) 5/25

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1999

'99 MAY 26 PM 6:41

TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
PRESIDENT HAVEL OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

DATE: TBD  
LOCATION: TBD  
TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

*(Signature)*

I. PURPOSE

- Wish Havel well.
- Update him on developments in Kosovo while pushing back on Greek-Czech peace plan.

II. BACKGROUND

Havel is still in the hospital but reportedly doing better. You sent him a letter over the weekend that went out by cable wishing him a speedy recovery and updating him on developments in Kosovo.

Since then, the Greeks and Czechs presented NATO Ambassadors with a joint proposal for a peace process in Kosovo. The plan represents a significant retreat from NATO's core conditions to stop the bombing. The plan calls for a "short, 2-3 day pause in the bombing." It also does not call for the withdrawal of all FRY forces from Kosovo or acknowledge the need for a NATO core security presence there.

Havel sees the shortcomings of the proposal and, in response to calls from Madeleine, has expressed his concerns to Prime Minister Zeman and Foreign Minister Kavan. NATO Ambassadors gave the plan a frosty reception, so the Czech government may be reassessing its approach. Still, it would be useful for you to raise the issue with him and suggest that he do what he can to encourage the government to back away from the plan.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be Made

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/25/09

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773-M (1.32)  
12/1/2017 KBN

305996

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

- Hope you are feeling better. Hillary and I want you to know that our thoughts are with you.
- Also wanted to update you on Kosovo.
- Cracks in the Milosevic regime are more and more evident. I am confident that NATO will achieve its objectives if Alliance remains united.
- Know you have been publicly supportive of air strikes and want to thank you for that.
- Concerned, however, about Czech-Greek proposal for a peace process in Kosovo that was introduced at a NATO luncheon on Tuesday.
- Plan seems to represent a significant retreat from NATO's five core conditions to stop bombing.
- Know Madeleine has already talked to you about this and urged Czech Foreign Minister Kavan not to move forward with it. Madeleine tells me you may share some of our concerns.
- Plan calls for a "short, 2-3 day pause in the bombing." It also runs counter to NATO policy on a "NATO core" international force and full Serb military withdrawal.
- Extremely important that Czech Republic not deviate from NATO policy at this time.
- There has been a major exodus of refugees from Kosovo over past few days into Macedonia and Albania. Refugees report continued atrocities and worsening conditions in Kosovo, giving further evidence of Milosevic's campaign of ethnic cleansing and terror.
- I am determined to end this conflict in a way that allows Kosovars to return to their homes and rebuild their lives in safety and peace.
- Again, hope you are feeling better. Wish you and Dagmar our very best.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/25/09

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-m (1.33)  
12/1/2017 KBN

TIME OF TRANSMISSION:

~~SECRET~~

TIME OF RELEASE:

99 MAY 26 PM 9:10

WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE:

IMMEDIATE  
PRIORITY  
ROUTINE

RELEASER:

DTG:

MESSAGE NO: \_\_\_\_\_ CLASSIFICATION: SECRET PAGES: 18  
(Including Cover)  
FROM: Sean Maloney 202 / 456-2702 Gr Fl / W Wing  
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Berger memos re Telephone Calls with  
(1) Czech Republic President Havel; (2) British Prime Minister  
Blair; and (3) NATO Leaders on Kosovo (Chirac and Kok)

<u>TO (AGENCY)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO</u>	<u>DEPT/ROOM NO.</u>	<u>PHONE NUMBER</u>
	To: KIRK HANLIN FOR THE PRESIDENT (please give Kirk 2 copies)		
	cc: Capt. Elliott Powell, NSC		
	cc: Maria Echaveste		

REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBM Date: 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4047

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

- Hope you are feeling better. Hillary and I want you to know that our thoughts are with you.
- Also wanted to update you on Kosovo.
- ~~As I told you in my letter,~~ cracks in the Milosevic regime are more and more evident. I am confident that NATO will achieve its objectives if Alliance remains united.
- Know you have been publicly supportive of air strikes and want to thank you for that.
- Concerned, however, about Czech-Greek proposal for a peace process in Kosovo that was introduced at a NATO luncheon on Tuesday.
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/25/09

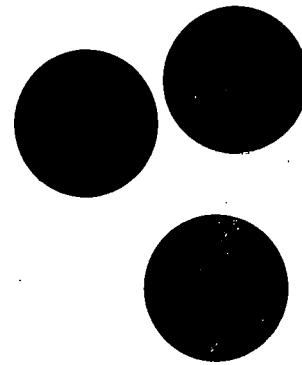
DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015 - 0773-m (1.34)  
12/1/2017 KBN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4047

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

May 26, 1999



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: STEPHEN FLANAGAN ~~SE~~

FROM: SUSAN BRADEN ~~SB~~

SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Call to Czech President  
Havel

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding talking points for his telephone call to Czech President Vaclav Havel. The President sent him a letter earlier in the week wishing him well. Havel was admitted to a military hospital in Prague last Thursday and is doing better but the doctors want to keep an eye on him in the hospital awhile longer.

On May 25, the Greeks and Czechs presented NATO PERPREPS with a joint proposal for a peace process in Kosovo which represents a significant retreat from NATO's core conditions to stop the bombing. In addition to wishing Havel well, the President should also probably encourage Havel to do what he can to minimize the damage.

Concurrence by: Mike Hurley ~~MH~~

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A Points to be Made Havel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/25/09

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KBNARA, Date 12/1/2017

2015-0773-1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE CALL WITH  
PRESIDENT HAVEL OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

DATE: TBD  
LOCATION: TBD  
TIME: TBD

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

- Wish Havel well.
- Update him on developments in Kosovo while pushing back on Greek-Czech peace plan.

II. BACKGROUND

Havel is still in the hospital but reportedly doing better. You sent him a letter over the weekend that went out by cable wishing him a speedy recovery and updating him on developments in Kosovo.

Since then, the Greeks and Czechs presented NATO Ambassadors with a joint proposal for a peace process in Kosovo. The plan represents a significant retreat from NATO's core conditions to stop the bombing. You should therefore raise the issue with him and suggest that he do what he can to encourage the government to back away from the plan. The plan calls for a "short, 2-3 day pause in the bombing." It also does not call for the withdrawal of all FRY forces from Kosovo or acknowledge the need for a NATO core security presence there.

Attachment.

Tab A Points to be Made

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 5/25/09

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.35)

12/1/2017 KBM

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

- Hope you are feeling better. Hillary and I want you to know that our thoughts are with you.
- Also wanted to update you on Kosovo.
- As I told you in my letter, cracks in the Milosevic regime are more and more evident. I am confident that NATO will achieve its objectives if Alliance remains united.
- Know you have been publicly supportive of air strikes and want to thank you for that.
- Concerned, however, about Czech-Greek proposal for a peace process in Kosovo that was introduced at a NATO luncheon on Tuesday.
- Plan seems to represent a significant retreat from NATO's five core conditions to stop bombing.
- Know Madeleine has already talked to you about this and urged Czech Foreign Minister Kavan not to move forward with it.
- Plan calls for a "short, 2-3 day pause in the bombing." It also runs counter to NATO policy on a "NATO core" international force and full Serb military withdrawal.
- Extremely important that Czech Republic not deviate from NATO policy at this time.
- There has been a major exodus of refugees from Kosovo over past few days into Macedonia and Albania. Refugees report continued atrocities and worsening conditions in Kosovo, giving further evidence of Milosevic's campaign of ethnic cleansing and terror.
- I am determined to end this conflict in a way that allows Kosovars to return to their homes and rebuild their lives in safety and peace.
- Again, hope you are feeling better. Wish you and Dagmar our very best.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/25/09

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-M (1.36)  
12/1/2017 KSH

# MR

# MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Original OA/ID Number:				2732
Document ID:	9904168			
Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
46	4	6	3	V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. telcon	re: Telephone Conversation with President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (2 pages)	05/27/1999	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018
001b. telcon	[Duplicate of 001a] (2 pages)	05/27/1999	P1/b(1) K8H 7/13/2018

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Havel and Tel\*...])  
 OA/Box Number: 2723

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9904168

2015-0773-M

rs1283

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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]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9904168  
RECEIVED: 01 JUN 99 09

TO: KENNEY, K

FROM: DAVIES

DOC DATE: 02 JUN 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
HS

TELCON

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: MEMO OF TELCON W/ PRES VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECH REPUBLIC ON 27 MAY 99

ACTION: DAVIES SGD MEMO DUE DATE: 04 JUN 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC  
FICKLIN  
FLANAGAN  
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_

DISPATCHED BY        DATE 6/02 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSNFM CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 2 OF 2

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KBM NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-m

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9904168

DOC ACTION OFFICER

001 BERGER  
001  
002

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

Z 99060121 FOR DECISION  
X 99060211 KERRICK APPROVED RECOM  
X 99060211 DAVIES SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE      DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 990602 KENNEY, K

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 41108

URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM PRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG ENR A/O \_\_\_\_\_

TMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
JACOBSON	<u>1</u>	<u>7/6/1</u>	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
RICE	_____	_____	_____
DAVIES	<u>3</u>	<u>7/6/2</u>	<u>Sign Tab I</u>
KERRICK	<u>2</u>	<u>7/6/2</u>	_____
STEINBERG	<u>enr</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
BERGER	<u>enr</u>	<u>✓</u>	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>4</u>	<u>7/6 DMR</u>	<u>D</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>5</u>	_____	<u>D+DISK</u>
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A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

100 JUN 1987

CC:

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE yes

I'm - recommend  
you sign out.

— D

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

## THE WHITE HOUSE

PROOVED BY: \_\_\_\_\_

LOG # 41108

URGENT NOT PROOVED: \_\_\_\_\_

SYSTEM RRS INT ARS

BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_

DOCLOG EMK A/O

TMA

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
JACOBSON	<u>1</u>	<u>2 6'</u>	_____
POWELL	_____	_____	_____
RICE	_____	_____	_____
DAVIES	<u>3</u>	<u>C 6/2</u>	<u>Sign Tab I</u>
KERRICK	<u>2</u>	<u>0 6/2</u>	_____
STEINBERG	<u>cyn</u>	_____	_____
BERGER	<u>cyn</u>	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>4</u>	<u>0/2 DMR</u>	<u>D</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>5</u>	_____	<u>D+DISK</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
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A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH

Don - Recommend  
for signout

N

100-100-100-100

CC:

D

COMMENTS:

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE MJS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4168

June 2, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with  
President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (U)

The attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between the President and President Havel of the Czech Republic is provided for the information of the Secretary of State. It must be distributed via NODIS channels and not below the Deputy Assistant Secretary (DAS) level. It may also be sent to our embassy in Prague for the Ambassador and/or Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (S)



Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A

Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5 (d)  
Declassify On: 6/1/09

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBL NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

## MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation with President  
Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (U)PARTICIPANTS: The President  
President Havel

Interpreter: Radovan Pletka

Notetakers: Miles Murphy, Roger Merletti,  
James Smith and Stephen FlanaganDATE, TIME May 27, 1999, 9:42 - 9:50 a.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Yulee, FloridaThe President: Hello, Vaclav? (U)President Havel: Hello. Thank you for calling me. I am speaking. (U)The President: It's nice to hear your voice. I hope you're feeling better. (U)President Havel: Thank you very much. My situation is not dangerous, but in my case the doctors don't take any chances. I have complications that could quickly lead to trouble. I have with me an interpreter. This isn't the man whom you know, but a young lady. I think it would be better to use your interpreter and my interpreter. (U)The President: Good. (U)President Havel: I am very pleased you are concerned about my health. Thank you very much for the letter. I will be released tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. My regards to you and your wife, and from Dasha. (U)The President: Thank you very much. I am so glad you are feeling better. The only other thing I wanted to say is, I am~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 5/28/09

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2015-0773-m (1.37)

12/1/2017 KRM

sure you have been notified that the war crimes tribunal indicted Milosevic and four others for their actions in Kosovo. I think this is a positive event and am looking forward to seeing what happens. I think we are moving in the right direction and believe we will see greater pressure in Serbia. We have a lot of indications that the Serbs may accept our conditions in the next several days, so we have to maintain the pressure. Obviously, no one could have known about the timing of the indictment, but on balance, it is not a bad thing. *(S)*

President Havel: Thank you very much for this information. What preparations are being made for a Security Council resolution? What are the conditions in this resolution? (U)

The President: I'm sorry. *(Speaking to the Czech translator)* Can you speak a little louder, young lady? I can barely hear you. (U)

Mr. Pletka: What is the situation with the resolution in the Security Council? (U)

The President: I have no idea, because the tribunal was set up as an independent body and the decision on the timing and substance of this was made entirely by Mrs. Arbour. (U)

President Havel: Yes, I know about the tribunal, and I think it was a good development. But my question was what preparations are being made for a Security Council resolution on Kosovo? *(S)*

The President: I don't know the answer to that, but I will find out and get back to you. I have been on vacation the last couple of days, but will get back to you. (U)

President Havel: Yes, thank you very much. I ask because if a resolution is accepted early, it could hasten other developments that would enhance conditions for a settlement. *(S)*

The President: I will be back in touch soon. It is good to hear you sounding so strong. (U)

President Havel: Thank you very much for the information, and I am ready anytime to discuss the agreement with you. (U)

The Presidnet: Thank you. Goodbye, Vaclav. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

CONFIDENTIAL

4168

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

June 1, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER (R)

FROM: STEPHEN FLANAGAN (SF)

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with  
Czech President Havel

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation  
with President Havel that took place on May 27, 1999.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to transmit the Memorandum of  
Telephone Conversation at Tab A to State.

Approve (O) Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the attached Memorandum of Telephone Conversation be filed  
for the record.

Approve (t) Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to State

Tab A Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

CONFIDENTIAL

Reason: 1.5 (d)

Declassify On: 5/28/09

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2004  
By KB/NARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4168

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Telephone Conversation with  
President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic (U)

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Glyn T. Davies  
Executive Secretary

Attachment

Tab A

Memorandum of Telephone Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5 (d)  
Declassify On: 5/28/09

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBUNARA, Date 12/1/2017  
2015-0773-m

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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President Havel

Interpreter: Radovan Pletka

Notetakers: Miles Murphy, Roger Merletti,  
James Smith and Stephen FlanaganDATE, TIME  
AND PLACE: May 27, 1999, 9:42 - 9:50 a.m. EDT  
Yulee, Florida

The President: Hello, Vaclav? (U)

*throughout*

President Havel: Hello. Thank you for calling me. I am  
speaking. (U)

The President: It's nice to hear your voice. I hope you're  
feeling better. (U)

President Havel: Thank you very much. My situation is not  
dangerous, but in my case the doctors don't take any chances. I have  
complications that could quickly lead to trouble. I have  
with me an interpreter. This isn't the man whom you know, but a  
young lady. I think it would be better to use your interpreter  
and my interpreter. (U)

The President: Good. (U)

President Havel: I am very pleased you are concerned about my  
health. Thank you very much for the letter. I will be released  
tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. My regards to you and your  
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Classified by: Glyn T. Davies  
Reason: 1.5 (d)  
Declassify On: 5/28/09

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0773.m (1.38)  
12/1/2017 KBN

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THE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Goodbye, Vaclav. (U)

-- End of Conversation --