
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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Documents from this Mandatory Declassification Review were released in full or released in part.

Those documents released with redactions have been restricted under Section 1.4 (d) of E.O. 13526 or (b)(6) of the FOIA.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

02-Apr-1993 10:11 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX_MAIL@OEOB
SANNER@A1@OEOB
GATI@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB
BURNS@A1@OEOB

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2014-0656-M (1.02)
2/27/2017 KBH

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MERI

<DIST>
SIT: BURNS FICKLIN GATI SANNER VAX WHSR_IN
<PREC>
IMMEDIATE
<CLAS>
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
<OSRI>
RUEHTLA
<DTG>
021454Z APR 93
<ORIG>
AMEMBASSY TALLINN
<TO>
SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1501
<SUBJ>

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MERI

<TEXT>
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ TALLINN 000549

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, EN
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MERI

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT MERI FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON CONCERNING THE VANCOUVER SUMMIT.
3. BEGIN TEXT:

HAVING JUST LISTENED WITH GREAT INTEREST TO YOUR SPEECH ON AID TO THE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE EMERGED FOLLOWING THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION, I WANTED TO SHARE WITH YOU SEVERAL OF MY REACTIONS. FIRST, I AM VERY GRATEFUL THAT YOU SEE THE ISSUE OF STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN REGIONAL TERMS RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ALONE. THAT IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT. SECOND, I WELCOME YOUR CALLS FOR COOPERATION TO ENSURE THAT DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CAN PROCEED. WE IN ESTONIA ARE DOING EVERYTHING WE CAN TO PROMOTE THOSE VALUES. AND THIRD, I WANT TO BRING TO YOUR

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ATTENTION SEVERAL OF OUR CONCERNS WITH REGARD TO THE UPCOMING SUMMIT.

I UNDERSTAND JUST HOW IMPORTANT THE STABILITY OF RUSSIA IS TO YOU AND TO THE ENTIRE WORLD, BUT I HOPE THAT YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES UNDERSTAND THAT STABILITY THERE WILL NEVER BE REAL IF IT IS PURCHASED AT THE COST OF ALLOWING RUSSIA A FREE HAND IN WHAT USED TO BE CONTROLLED BY THE SOVIET UNION. RUSSIA MUST RECOGNIZE THE IMPERATIVES OF DEMOCRACY AND THE FREE MARKET. HAVING HEARD YOUR WORDS, I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT YOU SHARE MY VIEW THAT THE THREE ARE INTERRELATED AND WILL EXPRESS THAT CONVICTION TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN VANCOUVER.

WITH BEST WISHES FOR YOUR SUCCESS THERE AND HOPE TO MEET YOU IN THE NEAREST FUTURE, I REMAIN, SINCERELY YOURS, LENNART MERI. END TEXT.
FRASURE

BT

#0549

NNNN

<SECT>

SECTION: 01 OF 01

<SSN>

0549

<TOR>

930402100218 M0318662

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

3350

23-Jun-1993 05:07 EDT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SIGLER@A1@WHSR
POTTS@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB
BURNS@A1@OEOB

FROM: White House Situation Room
(WHSR@A1@WHSR)

SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT MERI (9310546)

<DIST>
PRT: COMM
SIT: BURNS FICKLIN OLEARY_H POTTS SIGLER WHSR_IN WHSR_OUT

<PREC>
IMMEDIATE
<CLAS>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

<OSRI>
RUEHC
<DTG>
230238Z JUN 93
<ORIG>
SECSTATE WASHDC
<TO>

RUEHSD/AMEMBASSY TALLINN 4407 IMMEDIATE
INFO ZEN/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 2207
ZEN/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 8624
ZEN/AMEMBASSY RIGA 5039
RUFHSC/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 4052
RUEHVL/AMEMBASSY VILNIUS 4659
<SUBJ>

LETTER TO PRESIDENT MERI (9310546)

<TEXT>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 189757
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: PREL, EN, US
SUBJECT: LETTER TO PRESIDENT MERI (9310546)

REF: TALLINN 549

1. THE EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING
LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO ESTONIAN PRESIDENT MERI. NO
SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW, AND THE WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT

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PER E.O. 13526
2014-0656-M (1.03)
2/27/2017 KBH

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

INTEND TO MAKE THE LETTER PUBLIC.

2. BEGIN TEXT

DEAR PRESIDENT MERI,

AMBASSADOR TALBOTT AND TOBY GATI OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY STAFF RECENTLY RETURNED FROM ESTONIA. I WAS EXTREMELY INTERESTED IN AND ENCOURAGED BY THEIR REPORT OF YOUR COUNTRY'S PROGRESS IN REESTABLISHING ITS DEMOCRACY AND REVIVING ITS ECONOMY. I ALSO WANTED TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF SUPPORT BEFORE MY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN VANCOUVER.

BY ALL ACCOUNTS, ESTONIA HAS ACHIEVED REMARKABLE PROGRESS. YOU ARE TO BE CONGRATULATED FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS AND ABLE LEADERSHIP DURING SUCH A CHALLENGING PERIOD.

THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR ESTONIA'S REFORMS DURING THE CHALLENGING MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD. I AM PLEASED THAT WE WILL SOON OPEN A BALTIC-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND TO PROMOTE SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BUSINESSES IN ESTONIA AND THE OTHER BALTIC COUNTRIES. IT IS MY HOPE THAT OUR NEW MILITARY LIAISON PROGRAM ALSO WILL HELP YOUR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE YOUR MILITARY AND ITS FUNCTIONS UNDER A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

THE U.S. HAS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ESTONIA LATVIA AND LITHUANIA WHICH IS REINFORCED BY THE NEARLY ONE MILLION BALTIC-AMERICANS LIVING IN THE U S OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE BALTIC STATES IS UNWAVERING. AS IS OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE TO PLAY AN ACTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING THE RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM ALL THREE BALTIC STATES. I VERY MUCH VALUE OUR EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH ESTONIA. I LOOK FORWARD IN THE COMING YEARS TO HEARING YOUR VIEWS NOT ONL' CONCERNING OUR BILATERAL AGENDA, BUT ALSO ABOUT OUR COMMON CONCERNS AND SHARED OBJECTIVES IN THE REGION.

SINCERELY
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT CHRISTOPHER

BT

#9757

NNNN

<SECT>

SECTION: 01 OF 01

<SSN>

9757

<TOR>

930623045818 M0458962

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT ULMANIS

AMBASSADOR SILINS: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE UNITED STATES HAS WORKED ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OF THE ISSUE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA AND ESTONIA. A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE WE MET IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 27, BUT FINAL AGREEMENT HAS PROVED ELUSIVE.

I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT IN MY TELEPHONE CALL TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON DECEMBER 22, I AGAIN RAISED THE TROOP WITHDRAWALS, WITH THE AIM OF ELICITING HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE. WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON MY CONVERSATION BY SENDING A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT TO MOSCOW NEXT WEEK FOR PRE-SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, LED BY OUR CONCERNS ON THE BALTICS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO MY CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN, I WOULD VERY MUCH URGE YOU TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO SEEK AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON THE ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE OPERATION OF THE SKRUNDA FACILITY.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN LATVIA AND RUSSIA WOULD NOT ONLY BE WELCOMED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT WOULD ALSO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES BETWEEN RIGA AND MOSCOW AND STRENGTHEN REGIONAL STABILITY. I BELIEVE THE PROSPECTS FOR FINAL AGREEMENT NOW ARE PROMISING, AND I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THIS SHARED OBJECTIVE. AS YOU WORK TOWARD THIS GOAL, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT. I AM SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO PRESIDENT MERI.

IN CLOSING, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF LATVIA A PLEASANT HOLIDAY SEASON AND A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

SINCERELY

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2014-0656-M (1.08)
2/27/2017 KBH

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
CLINTON

LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT MERI

AMBASSADOR FRASURE: PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRESIDENT MERI

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE UNITED STATES HAS WORKED ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OF THE ISSUE OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM ESTONIA AND LATVIA. A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE WE MET IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 27, BUT FINAL AGREEMENT HAS PROVED ELUSIVE.

I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT IN MY TELEPHONE CALL TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON DECEMBER 22, I AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF TROOP WITHDRAWALS, WITH THE AIM OF ELICITING HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE. WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON MY CONVERSATION BY SENDING A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT TO MOSCOW NEXT WEEK FOR PRE-SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, LED BY OUR CONCERNS ON THE BALTICS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO MY CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN, I WOULD VERY MUCH URGE YOU TO MAKE A PERSONAL EFFORT TO SEEK AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON THE ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ESTONIA. SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD NOT ONLY BE WELCOMED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT WOULD ALSO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES BETWEEN TALLINN AND MOSCOW AND STRENGTHEN REGIONAL STABILITY. I BELIEVE THE PROSPECTS FOR FINAL AGREEMENT OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS ARE PROMISING, AND I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THIS SHARED OBJECTIVE. AS YOU WORK TOWARD THIS GOAL, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT. I AM SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS.

IN CLOSING, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF ESTONIA A PLEASANT HOLIDAY SEASON AND A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

SINCERELY,

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2014-0656-M (1.09)
2/27/2017 KBH

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

9975

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG
SIT: COQ FILE HILLIARD PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER SUM2 WHSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> SECRET

<DTG> 232129Z DEC 93

FM WHITE HOUSE

EO 13526 1.4d

NIACT

~~SECRET~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS
QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E. O. 13526

2014-0656-M (1.05)
2/27/2017 KBH

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT MERI AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL
FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE UNITED STATES
HAS WORKED ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OF THE ISSUE OF
THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM ESTONIA AND LATVIA. A
SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE WE MET
IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 27, BUT FINAL AGREEMENT HAS PROVED
ELUSIVE.

I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT IN MY TELEPHONE CALL TO PRESIDENT
YELTSIN ON DECEMBER 22, I AGAIN RAISED THE QUESTION OF TROOP
WITHDRAWALS, WITH THE AIM OF ELICITING HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION
TO THIS ISSUE. WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON MY CONVERSATION BY
SENDING A SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT TO MOSCOW NEXT WEEK FOR
PRE-SUMMIT DISCUSSIONS ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES,
LED BY OUR CONCERNS ON THE BALTICS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO MY CONVERSATION WITH
PRESIDENT YELTSIN, I WOULD VERY MUCH URGE YOU TO MAKE A
PERSONAL EFFORT TO SEEK AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON
THE ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND
ESTONIA. SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD NOT ONLY BE WELCOMED
THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT WOULD ALSO LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR
IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES BETWEEN TALLINN AND MOSCOW AND
STRENGTHEN REGIONAL STABILITY. I BELIEVE THE PROSPECTS FOR
FINAL AGREEMENT OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS ARE PROMISING,
AND I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL
SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THIS SHARED OBJECTIVE. AS
YOU WORK TOWARD THIS GOAL, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO

SECRET

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

DO WHAT IT CAN TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT. I AM SENDING A
SIMILAR LETTER TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS.

IN CLOSING, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU AND THE
PEOPLE OF ESTONIA A PLEASANT HOLIDAY SEASON AND A HAPPY AND
PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#2418

NNNN

<MSGID> M0797434

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG
SIT: COQ FILE HILLIARD PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER SUM2 WHSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> SECRET

<DTG> 232130Z DEC 93

FM WHITE HOUSE

EO 13526 1.4d

NIACT

~~SECRET~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526

2014-0656-M (1.06)
2/27/2017 KBH

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT ULMANIS AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL
FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AS YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS THE UNITED STATES
HAS WORKED ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT OF THE ISSUE OF
THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA AND ESTONIA. A
SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SINCE WE MET
IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 27, BUT FINAL AGREEMENT HAS PROVED
ELUSIVE.

I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT IN MY TELEPHONE CALL TO PRESIDENT
YELTSIN ON DECEMBER 22, I AGAIN RAISED THE TROOP WITHDRAWALS,
WITH THE AIM OF ELICITING HIS PERSONAL ATTENTION TO THIS
ISSUE. WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON MY CONVERSATION BY SENDING A
SENIOR AMERICAN DIPLOMAT TO MOSCOW NEXT WEEK FOR PRE-SUMMIT
DISCUSSIONS ON A NUMBER OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, LED BY OUR
CONCERNS ON THE BALTICS.

MR. PRESIDENT, IN A SIMILAR VEIN TO MY CONVERSATION WITH
PRESIDENT YELTSIN, I WOULD VERY MUCH URGE YOU TO MAKE A
PERSONAL EFFORT TO SEEK AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN ON
THE ISSUES THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN RUSSIA AND
LATVIA, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE
OPERATION OF THE SKRUNDA FACILITY.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN LATVIA AND RUSSIA WOULD NOT ONLY BE
WELCOMED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, BUT WOULD ALSO LAY THE
FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVED BILATERAL TIES BETWEEN RIGA AND
MOSCOW AND STRENGTHEN REGIONAL STABILITY. I BELIEVE THE
PROSPECTS FOR FINAL AGREEMENT NOW ARE PROMISING, AND I VERY

IMMEDIATE

SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

MUCH HOPE THAT YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACHIEVE THIS SHARED OBJECTIVE. AS YOU WORK TOWARD THIS GOAL, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO DO WHAT IT CAN TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT. I AM SENDING A SIMILAR LETTER TO PRESIDENT MERI.

IN CLOSING, MR. PRESIDENT, I WOULD LIKE TO WISH YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF LATVIA A PLEASANT HOLIDAY SEASON AND A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#2419

NNNN

<MSGID> M0797433

SECRET

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT MERI AS SOON AS APPROPRIATE. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

*Personal
Lennart: (per Ben)*
HAVE

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIGNING OF THE ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN AGREEMENTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM ESTONIA AND SOCIAL GUARANTEES FOR RUSSIAN MILITARY PENSIONERS. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU HAVE OPENED A NEW ERA IN YOUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE VERY SENSITIVE DECISIONS THAT THESE AGREEMENTS EMBODY AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE STATESMANSHIP AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND THEM. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT ON PALDISKI IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE ALL THESE AGREEMENTS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY.

AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT.

SINCERELY,

~~William J.~~
~~BILL~~ CLINTON
^

*Bill Clinton
(correct)*

(END TEXT)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE

AMBASSADOR IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AS SOON AS APPROPRIATE. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU FOR THE RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN AGREEMENTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL FROM ESTONIA OF RUSSIAN TROOPS AND SOCIAL GUARANTEES FOR RUSSIAN MILITARY PENSIONERS IN ESTONIA. THESE AGREEMENTS OPEN A NEW ERA IN RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ESTONIA~~S~~ AND CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I KNOW FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS IN NAPLES, AND ESPECIALLY FROM YOUR MOST RECENT LETTER OF JULY 25, THE DIFFICULTIES YOU FACED IN YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED IN CONSIDERING THE ESTONIAN PROPOSALS I CONVEYED TO YOU IN NAPLES~~S~~ AND FOR YOUR AGREEMENT TO MEET PRESIDENT MERI ~~AND SEEK~~ TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES PERSONALLY. THE FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM THE BALTICS ON AUGUST 31 WILL BE VIEWED AS A POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF RUSSIA'S STATED INTENTION TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF HER NEIGHBORS.

AGAIN, BORIS, PLEASE ACCEPT MY SINCERE THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS FOR ALL YOU HAVE ACHIEVED ON THIS HISTORIC DAY. I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN SEPTEMBER THAT WILL FOCUS ON OUR AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

BILL

(END TEXT)

VERY

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PER E.O. 13526
2014-0656-M (1.17)
2/27/2017 KBH

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEYRLE FILE SUM SUM2 WHSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 160447Z JUL 94

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHRA/AMEMBASSY RIGA
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ
FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT MERI AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR PRESIDENT MERI:

IT WAS A PLEASURE TO MEET YOU AGAIN IN RIGA. I GREATLY ENJOYED OUR
DISCUSSION OVER LUNCH. AS YOU KNOW, I PASSED YOUR LETTER TO
PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN NAPLES AND WE SPENT A GOOD DEAL OF TIME
DISCUSSING THE DETAILS OF THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL NEGOTIATIONS. DESPITE
PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S STATEMENTS ON THE SUBJECT DURING OUR SUBSEQUENT
PRESS CONFERENCE, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT AN AGREEMENT IS WELL
WITHIN REACH THAT WOULD PROVIDE FOR RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL BY
AUGUST 31.

THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES ARE NOT LARGE, BUT THEY ARE SENSITIVE. IT
SEEMS CLEAR FROM OUR SUBSEQUENT CONTACTS WITH RUSSIAN OFFICIALS THAT
MOSCOW REMAINS CONCERNED PRIMARILY ABOUT AN ESTONIAN REGULATION
THAT, FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE, BARS A POSITIVE DECISION ON RESIDENCY
PERMITS FOR ANY RETIREE BORN AFTER JANUARY 1, 1930. WE CONTINUE TO
CITE YOUR WRITTEN ASSURANCE TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN THAT THE MAJORITY
OF APPLICANTS CAN COUNT ON RECEIVING RESIDENCE PERMITS, AS WELL AS
THE OVERWHELMING APPROVAL RATE OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED TO DATE.
BUT YOU SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE RUSSIANS CONSIDER THE EXISTENCE OF
THIS REGULATION AS A CONTRADICTION IN FACT OF YOUR ASSURANCES OF
GOOD FAITH. YOU MAY WANT TO ADDRESS THIS ISSUE DIRECTLY IN YOUR
DISCUSSIONS WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN.

I UNDERSTAND SOME DIFFERENCES REMAIN OVER PALDISKI. THESE, HOWEVER,
STRIKE ME AS TECHNICAL QUESTIONS. WITH A FLEXIBLE AND PRAGMATIC
APPROACH ON BOTH SIDES, THEY SHOULD BE EASILY RESOLVABLE.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2014-0656-17 (1.25)
2/27/2017 KSH

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTO ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

I WAS ENCOURAGED TO LEARN THAT DEPUTY MINISTERS MALK AND CHURKIN PLAN TO MEET SOON TO PREPARE THE GROUNDWORK FOR YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. AS I HAVE WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN, I URGE YOU TO AGREE TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE FOR YOUR MEETING, IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO A MUTUALLY-SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION BEFORE AUGUST 31. I HAVE INSTRUCTED SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND MY NATIONAL SECURITY STAFF AND OUR EMBASSY IN TALLINN TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH YOUR OFFICIALS. WE STAND READY TO HELP THE PROCESS MOVE FORWARD IN ANY WAY WE CAN.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#3933

NNNN

<MSGID> M1154359

IMMEDIATE

CONFIDENTIAL

5665

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 03

PRT: BERGER FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE SUM SUM2 WHSR_SPECIAL

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 160501Z JUL 94

FM WHITE HOUSE

EO 13526 1.4d

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

SECTION 1 OF 2

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

OUR MEETING IN NAPLES CONSTITUTED, AS USUAL, A VERY FULL AND
FORWARD-LOOKING DISCUSSION THAT HAS PUT US ON TRACK FOR A PRODUCTIVE
WASHINGTON SUMMIT IN SEPTEMBER. WE HAVE ALREADY LAUNCHED OUR
INTERNAL SUBSTANTIVE PREPARATIONS AND ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO
MEETINGS AMONG OUR OFFICIALS IN AUGUST AND EARLY SEPTEMBER TO PLAN
THE SCHEDULE AND SUBSTANCE OF OUR SUMMIT.

BECAUSE I AM DETERMINED THAT OUR SEPTEMBER DISCUSSIONS BE AS FUTURE-
ORIENTED AS POSSIBLE, I AM RETURNING IN THIS LETTER TO THE SUBJECT
OF ESTONIA IN THE HOPE THAT, THROUGH COOPERATIVE ACTION NOW, WE CAN
REMOVE THE SUBJECT OF BALTIC TROOP WITHDRAWALS FROM OUR AGENDA THIS
SUMMER ONCE AND FOR ALL. I RECOGNIZE THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS ISSUE
IN YOUR INTERNAL POLITICAL DEBATE, AND THUS I WILL CONTINUE TO USE
THIS PRIVATE CHANNEL TO COMMUNICATE MY THOUGHTS. AT THIS DELICATE
JUNCTURE I FEEL THERE IS NOTHING TO BE GAINED FROM FURTHER PUBLIC
PRONOUNCEMENTS. IN THE FIRM CONVICTION THAT GOOD RELATIONS
BETWEEN THE BALTIC STATES AND RUSSIA ARE KEY TO PEACE AND STABILITY
IN THE BALTIC REGION, I WILL CONTINUE MY OWN PERSONAL ADVOCACY WITH
BALTIC LEADERS ON BEHALF OF A TOLERANT AND INCLUSIVE POLICY TOWARDS
RUSSIAN AND OTHER ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THESE THREE COUNTRIES. THIS
IS AN ISSUE OF PRINCIPLE WITH ME, AND AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR
OVERALL POLICY. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, CONSISTENT WITH THE
REPORTS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WE DO NOT SEE IN THESE
COUNTRIES A PATTERN OF ABUSES OF INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED HUMAN
RIGHTS STANDARDS.

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PAGE 02 OF 03

I KNOW THAT BY NOW YOU HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT FURTHER ON THE LETTER I BROUGHT TO YOU FROM PRESIDENT MERI OUTLINING THE PROPOSALS THAT COULD RESOLVE THE LAST OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN YOUR TROOP WITHDRAWAL NEGOTIATIONS. AS I SAID IN NAPLES, I BELIEVE THAT THE ESTONIAN POSITIONS REPRESENT A SERIOUS EFFORT TO FIND CREATIVE, PRAGMATIC SOLUTIONS TO PRODUCE AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL BRING ABOUT RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL BY AUGUST 31. IN ORDER NOW TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT, I HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT CAN RESPOND IN AN EQUALLY CONSTRUCTIVE WAY SO THAT YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MERI CAN BE PRODUCTIVE.

I APPRECIATE YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT ESTONIAN REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ELIGIBILITY OF MILITARY PENSIONERS FOR RESIDENCE PERMITS. WE HAVE GONE BACK TO THE ESTONIAN LEADERSHIP ON THIS QUESTION, AND THEY HAVE RECONFIRMED PRESIDENT MERI'S WRITTEN ASSURANCE TO YOU THAT THE MAJORITY OF THESE PEOPLE CAN COUNT ON RECEIVING RESIDENCE PERMITS. INDEED, ACCORDING TO INFORMATION FROM THE ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT, THE MAJORITY OF RETIREES ARE ALREADY ELIGIBLE FOR RESIDENCY, AND NOT ONE CASE HAS BEEN TURNED DOWN. THE ESTONIANS RECENTLY EXTENDED THE REGISTRATION PERIOD UNTIL THE SUMMER OF 1995 AND ARE WILLING TO INCLUDE THE CSCE AS A NEUTRAL BODY IN THIS PROCESS.

AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL, THROUGH OUR HOUSING VOUCHER PROGRAM, ESPECIALLY WITH THOSE SENSITIVE CATEGORIES OF INDIVIDUAL RETIREES WHERE THE ESTONIANS WOULD PREFER NOT TO GRANT A RIGHT OF RESIDENCY. BUT THE ESTONIANS HAVE ASSURED US AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL THAT SUCH INSTANCES WILL BE THE EXCEPTION, NOT THE RULE. THEY HAVE ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT DEPORT ANYONE WHO IS DENIED A RESIDENCE PERMIT.

ON THE QUESTION OF PALDISKI, I BELIEVE THE ESTONIANS HAVE CONCEDED AN IMPORTANT POINT OF PRINCIPLE BY AGREEING TO A RUSSIAN CIVILIAN PRESENCE BEYOND AUGUST 31 IN ORDER TO REMOVE THE FUEL RODS AND OTHER SENSITIVE EQUIPMENT. THE REMAINING ISSUES STRIKE ME AS TECHNICAL QUESTIONS THAT YOUR TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD EASILY RESOLVE WITH A
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FINAL SECTION OF 2

FLEXIBLE AND PRAGMATIC APPROACH.

I WAS ENCOURAGED BY YOUR COMMITMENT IN NAPLES TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT MERI ON THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL ISSUE. AS I NOTED TO YOU, IT WAS OUR WORK AT THE MEETING IN MOSCOW IN JANUARY AND YOUR SUBSEQUENT PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS THAT FINALLY BROUGHT THE LATVIAN NEGOTIATION TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. I URGE YOU TO GIVE

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PAGE 03 OF 03

THAT SAME EFFORT NOW TO THE ESTONIAN TALKS AND TO SET A DATE FOR A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MERI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF YOU MEET WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS AS WE DISCUSSED IN NAPLES, I AM CONVINCED WE CAN MAINTAIN FORWARD MOMENTUM AND DEAL WITH THE FEW REMAINING QUESTIONS IN A DECISIVE, POSITIVE FASHION. I BELIEVE A SOLUTION THAT WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO RUSSIA AND ESTONIA IS CLOSE AND, AS I TOLD YOU, I STAND READY TO HELP THE PROCESS IN ANY WAY I CAN. I HAVE ALSO ASKED SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WHO WILL MEET MINISTER KOZYREV ON TWO SEPARATE OCCASIONS BEFORE THE END OF JULY, TO KEEP THIS ISSUE AS A PRIORITY ON HIS AGENDA, AND WE ARE IN DIRECT, HIGH-LEVEL CONTACT WITH THE ESTONIANS.

BORIS, IT REMAINS MY FIRM VIEW THAT WE MUST NOT MISS THE CHANCE TO PUT RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN RELATIONS ON A NEW PATH BY ACHIEVING AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT MERI. BY MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO WITHDRAW YOUR REMAINING TROOPS FROM ESTONIA BY AUGUST 31, WE CAN MOVE ON TO OTHER CRITICALLY IMPORTANT ISSUES IN SEPTEMBER.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

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*President
Republic of Estonia
Kadriorg Palace, Tallinn*

Dear Mr. President:

During our working lunch with the Presidents of Latvia and Lithuania in Riga, we discussed the importance of energy to economic and national security in the Baltic region. You expressed an interest in assisting Baltic efforts to secure a safe and reliable energy supply.

Since August 1993, Presidents Brazauskas and Ulmanis have been co-operating with me on a number of energy initiatives. Our highest priority has been the diversification of our natural gas supplies. Although Estonia now has emergency alternatives, Latvia and Lithuania are still entirely dependent on the CIS and Russia. This unhealthy dependence could be remedied through a North-South (trans-Baltic) Gas Project.

By the year 2000, total natural gas consumption in Finland, the Baltics and Poland will reach 30-35 billion cubic metres. In addition to the compelling economic rationales for diversifying our gas supply, the Baltic Republics have a common strategic interest with Finland, Poland, and the eastern portion of Germany in seeking access to reliable gas supplies in Western Europe and Scandinavia.

The essence of the project consists of building a gas pipeline that begins at the North Sea, passes through Sweden and Finland, proceeds through the Baltic states, and connects to the gas network of Central and Western Europe.

This project meets the gas needs of the host countries while incorporating the billions of cubic metres of underground storage in Latvia and creating a strategically important ring transmission system for Central and Eastern Europe.

A ring system ensures a stable supply of gas regardless of technical failures, deposit exhaustion, or political instability while storage facilities provide flexibility to allow gas companies to meet seasonal variations in demand. As a welcome side effect, a reliable and affordable gas supply will reduce the need for the construction of new nuclear power stations and bolster the political will to retire Soviet-era nuclear power stations that have aged or were initially constructed with unsafe designs.

As you know, the Russian Federation has in recent years yielded quite often to the temptation to use gas supplies to accomplish political objectives. These actions have caused incalculable damage to the efforts by moderates and businessmen in the Baltic states to establish open and friendly relations with Russia. Voters will never agree to economic cooperation with Russia as long as the most prominent model for such integration is one of exploitative dependence.

Eliminating Baltic energy dependence on Russia, will be the most important benefit of the trans-Baltic Gas Project. It will allow Baltic leaders to take advantage of the position of the Baltic states as a natural gateway for trade between the Europe and the CIS. The Baltics and the CIS must create relationships that recognize our mutual interest in economic growth and prosperity. Those relationships are the key to resolving our current disagreements and to preventing such disagreements from spiralling in the future.

The next step toward the realization of this project is obtaining a thorough feasibility study. This study should cover the technical, economic, commercial, and financial viability of the project while weighing the strategic value of the pipeline. We expect that such a study would cost approximately ECU 500,000 (US\$ 625,000).

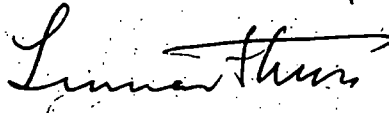
Knowing of the expertise of American companies in this field, we would welcome US participation in all phases of this project from the initial feasibility

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studies to financing, construction, and operation of the pipeline. US funding for the initial study will guarantee American participation in the project, while taking an inexpensive, but important, first step toward safe and reliable energy supplies in Eastern Europe.

Thank you again for your visit. I know that Their Excellencies Ulmanis and Brazauskas join me in my appreciation for your frank advice, sympathetic ear, and the unselfish support provided by you and the American people.

Sincerely Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lennart Meri".

Lennart Meri

Tallinn, July 18, 1994

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FOR AMBASSADOR.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU FOR THE RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN AGREEMENTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL FROM ESTONIA OF RUSSIAN TROOPS AND SOCIAL GUARANTEES FOR RUSSIAN MILITARY PENSIONERS IN ESTONIA. THESE AGREEMENTS OPEN A NEW ERA IN RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND ESTONIA AND CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I KNOW FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS IN NAPLES, AND ESPECIALLY FROM YOUR MOST RECENT LETTER OF JULY 25, THE DIFFICULTIES YOU FACED IN YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED IN CONSIDERING THE ESTONIAN PROPOSALS I CONVEYED TO YOU IN NAPLES AND FOR YOUR AGREEMENT TO MEET PRESIDENT MERI TO RESOLVE THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES PERSONALLY. THE FINAL WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM THE BALTICS ON AUGUST 31 WILL BE VIEWED AS A VERY POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF RUSSIA'S STATED INTENTION TO RESPECT THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF HER NEIGHBORS.

AGAIN, BORIS, PLEASE ACCEPT MY SINCERE THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS FOR ALL YOU HAVE ACHIEVED ON THIS HISTORIC DAY. I LOOK FORWARD TO OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN SEPTEMBER THAT WILL FOCUS ON OUR AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

SINCERELY,

BILL

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PAGE 02 OF 02

END TEXT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

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FOR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT MERI AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL TO FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR LENNART:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIGNING OF THE ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN AGREEMENTS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM ESTONIA AND SOCIAL GUARANTEES FOR RUSSIAN MILITARY PENSIONERS. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU HAVE OPENED A NEW ERA IN YOUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA AND HAVE MADE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE VERY SENSITIVE DECISIONS THAT THESE AGREEMENTS EMBODY AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE STATESMANSHIP AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE ESTONIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND THEM. WE LOOK FORWARD TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT ON PALDISKI IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE ALL THESE AGREEMENTS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY.

AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

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Clinton
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*President
Republic of Estonia
Kadriorg Palace, Tallinn*

October 13, 1994

Dear Bill:

Allow me to express my deep gratitude to you for your efforts to help make my meeting with President Yeltsin in Moscow last July a positive breakthrough for Estonia's relations with Russia. 26 July in Moscow marked the beginning of a new era in Estonian-Russian relations.

Regrettably, after the signing of the 26 July agreements the Russian side began a large-scale demobilization of its military officers on Estonian territory. Russian officers have protested against such an unlawful procedure in their 15 August letter to President Yeltsin, a copy of which was handed over to our Foreign Ministry. It says: "The fleet is not being withdrawn from Estonia in agreement with the treaty signed by the two presidents, but rather is being demobilized on the spot. We are told to look out for ourselves." Such behavior is creating social tensions in Estonia and froding the mutual trust we have managed to build.

A list of about 400 Russian military who were demobilized in violation of the treaty has also been handed over to the US Embassy in Tallinn. You will find it attached to my letter. Russian servicemen in civilian clothes trying to get across the border to Russia have been sent back by Russian authorities on the assertion that the troops had already been withdrawn by August 31.

Mr. William J. Clinton
The President of the United States of America
Washington, DC

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The total number of Russian officers in Estonia lately removed from active service to the army reserves is estimated to be one thousand. This serious breach of the July 26 Agreement must be settled immediately before it heightens social tensions and becomes a subject of international controversy. The latter will unfortunately undermine the credibility of Russian foreign policy, something we hope to prevent.

Considering these circumstances, I take the liberty of asking you, Mr. President, to make use of appropriate diplomatic channels to remind Russia of its international commitments.

Sincerely Yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lennart Meri". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned below the closing "Sincerely Yours,".

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**List of Russian naval officers and members of their families
(dating from August 31, 1994) who, in breach of treaty,
were transferred to the reserve and left behind
in the Republic of Estonia after July 26, 1994**

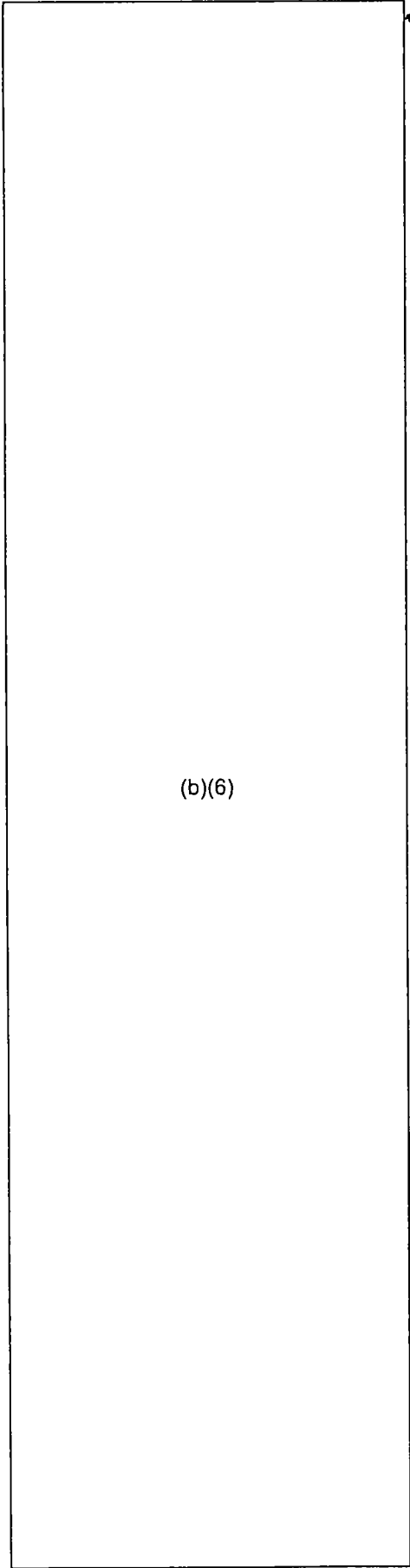
Officers

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Families

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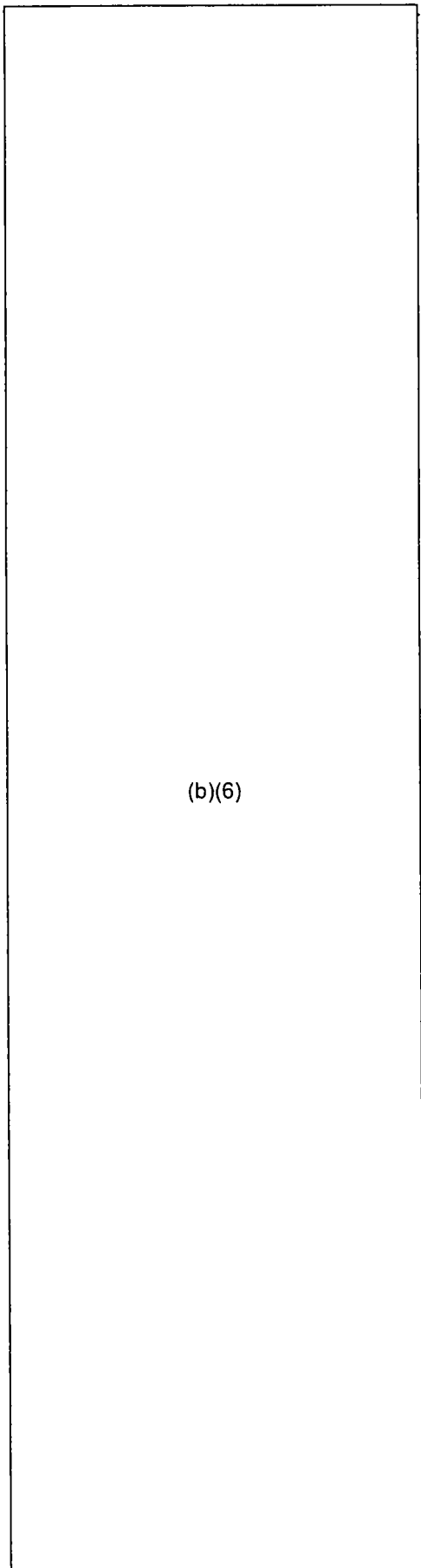
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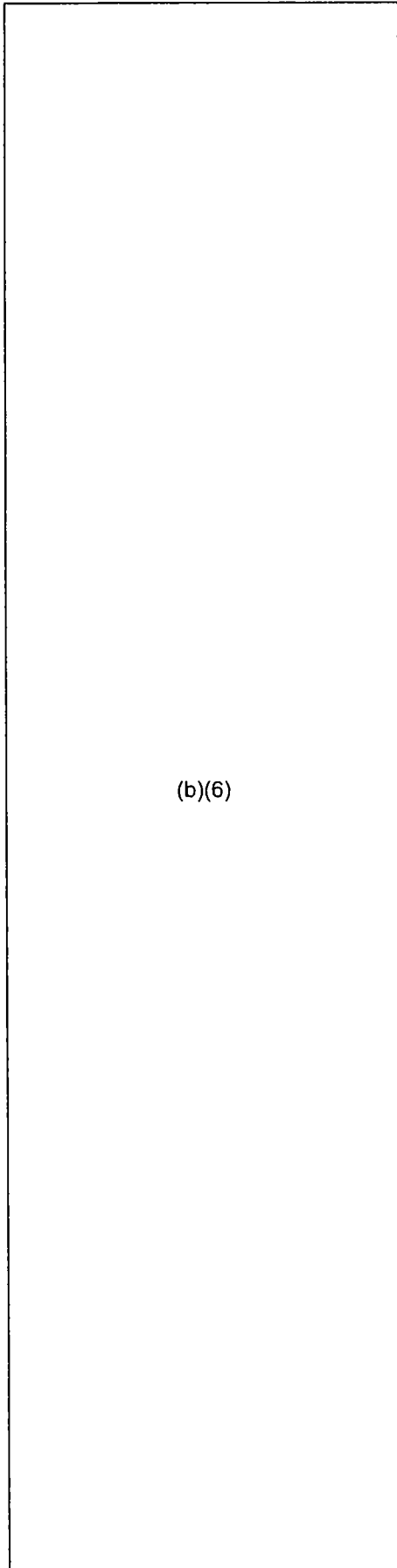
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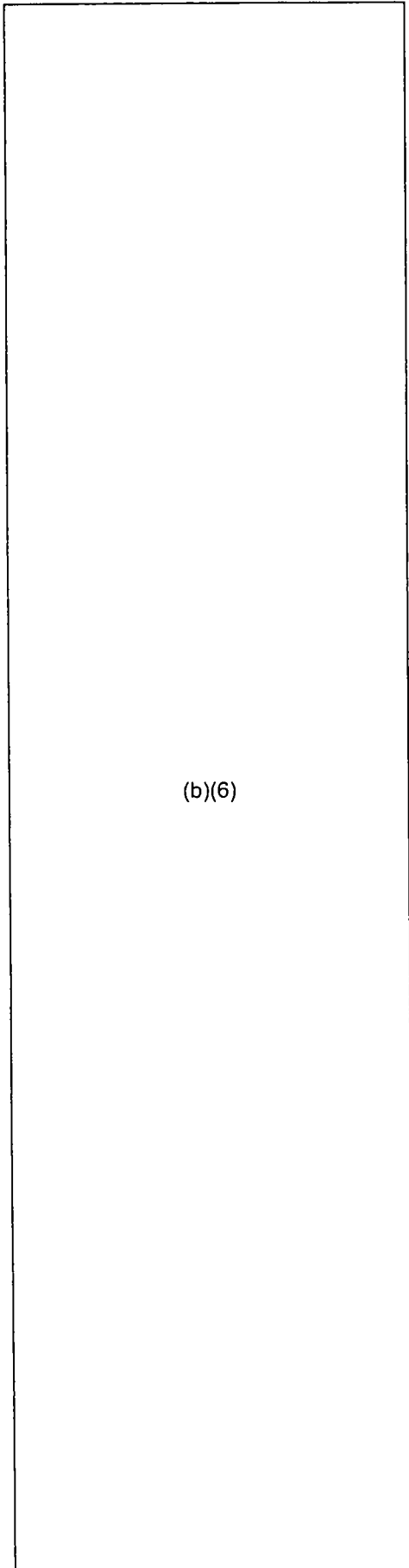
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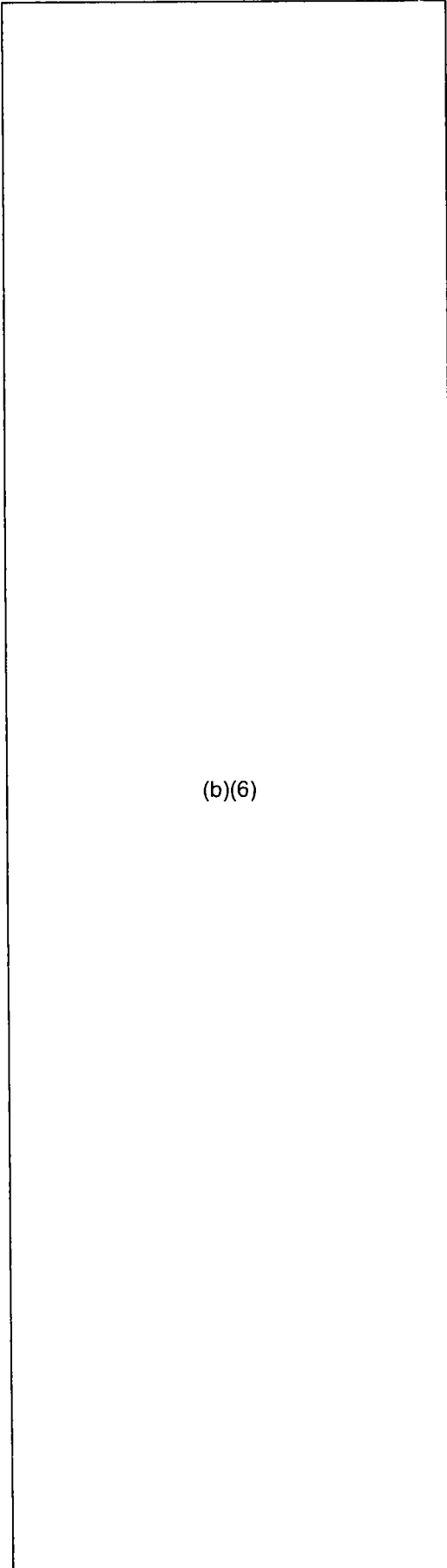
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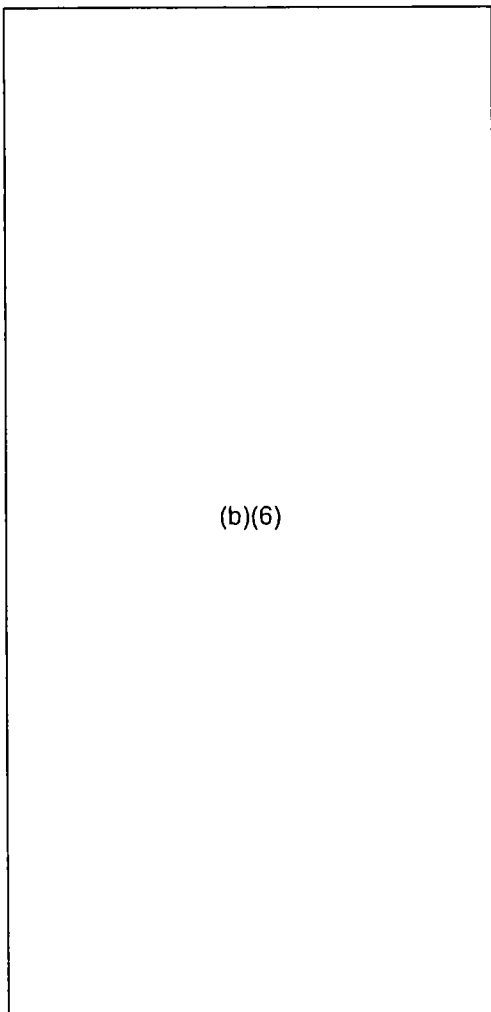
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

**List of Russian army officers and members of their families
(dating from August 25, 1994) who, in breach of treaty,
were transferred to the reserve and left behind
in the Republic of Estonia after July 26, 1994**

Officers

(b)(6)

Families

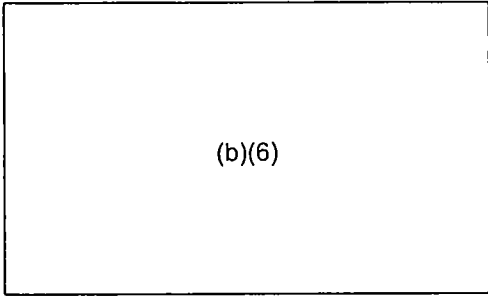
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- wife, 2 children, father
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- wife, 1 child

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

**List of Russian servicemen in the military base of Paldiski
(dating from September 15, 1994) who, in breach of treaty,
were transferred to the reserve and left behind
in the Republic of Estonia after July 26, 1994**

(b)(6)

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(b)(6)



*President
Republic of Estonia
Kadriorg Palace, Tallinn*

Kadriorg, June 9, 1995

Dear Bill:

On 31 May 1995, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev signed documents in Noordwijk that would create a special relationship between Russia and NATO. Although this step seems to indicate a shift in Russia's prior policy of opposition to NATO expansion, I feel very strongly that the countries of Eastern and Central Europe still have much cause for concern.

On May 26 President Walesa urged NATO to continue expansion of its membership to other countries despite Poland's own problematic status. Through his statement, I felt that he had embraced a more global security view, thereby overcoming the tendency to look only at national security interests.

When thinking about NATO expansion I feel that the original role of the organization has almost been lost; - after all, NATO is not a club, it is a defence alliance and should always remain as such.

The zone between Berlin and Moscow has twice this century been witness to war and violence. In both cases, the wars occurred after the Western powers initially refused to become involved. In doing so a crisis situation emerged at a far higher cost than would have been the case had they intervened earlier. Today we face the same problem in the Balkans.

Stability in Central and Eastern Europe is essential in the new global order, as events in this region are of great importance to Russia on the east and to neighbouring Western Europe as well.

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington D. C.

.J2

However, there is a tendency to talk about NATO enlargement along the lines of different divisions. Even if it is obvious that the enlargement is a step-by-step process, it is also clear that the approach of different divisions will send wrong kind of signals. Overlooking the Baltic states for membership in the first round of expansion because of their proximity to Russia would have serious security implications. Moscow would almost certainly react to a partial expansion: the possibility of NATO including even Poland is now driving Russian pressure on Belarus. Lithuania would also be at risk in a partially expanded NATO because of Kaliningrad. Further hesitation by NATO could lead to an even more disturbing scenario by sending Russia the message that the Baltic states are not only "undefensible" but also are part of the Russian sphere of influence.

Creating grey zones on the world's security map cannot be in anyone's interest in the world today. In this sense, Estonia and the rest of the Baltic States are key players in the stability of Eastern Europe.

Today it is clearer than ever that NATO expansion is absolutely necessary. As recently as 18 April, Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev declared that the use of direct military force might be necessary to protect Russian compatriots abroad.

Recent attempts by Russia to forge a "special relationship" with NATO are a cause of much concern to the Baltic States. Even as Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev was signing the NATO-PfP documents in the Netherlands, his deputy in Kaliningrad reiterated Russia's stance of fierce opposition to NATO expansion. In fact, after signing the documents of cooperation with NATO through the Partnership for Peace program, Kozyrev stated that Russia's stance toward NATO expansion remained unchanged. It is this stance that worries Estonia.

Moscow must not succeed in pressuring NATO to include or exclude certain countries. Russia must not have a veto on either membership or the kinds of troops and weapons available on the territory of Eastern European countries. As it stands, no Russian government could agree on a coherent policy. The very idea of negotiating with Russia on this issue is to condemn the expansion. To allow Russia to dictate European regional security policy would certainly be a grave mistake.

Sincerely Yours,
Lennart Meri

Lennart Meri

4001

9609861

Vilnius, May 29, 1996

Dear Mr. President:

We, the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania meeting now in Vilnius and as your long-standing friends, we wanted to take this opportunity to send you our greetings, our latest ideas about European Union and NATO enlargement, and our hopes that we will soon have the opportunity to meet with you and Secretary Christopher to discuss these matters.

As you know, we remain fully committed to the idea that our countries must be full members of united Europe that means being part of both European Union and NATO. We have welcomed your statements and those of Secretary Christopher on this point and consequently wanted to send you our joint statement made following our May 28 meeting.

Obviously, we would like to join both institutions as soon as possible; and equally obviously, we understand some of the challenges. We are already aware of what we must do to meet EU standards and we will work closely with the European Union to do so.

With regard to NATO, we also are making great strides strengthening our democracy, defense potential, interoperability and co-operation. But for us, NATO has an additional importance: once we become part of the alliance, the recovery of our independence will be guaranteed and our friendly relations with the neighbours will be supported. In seeking NATO membership, we do not mean that we demand NATO to defend us from somebody immediately. Rather, we are convinced that our membership in the alliance will represent a definitive break on any attempt to turn the clock back to the past.

William J. Clinton
President
The United States of America

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We welcome NATO's decision to enlarge and appreciate your personal contribution towards it. At the same time we are fully aware of how difficult it will be for NATO to implement this historic decision.

However, we would feel very much concerned about the Alliance's decision to invite some of Central European states to join NATO, while leaving others in undefined position.

This is why we appeal to you to understand the difficulties such a situation could land us in. If some countries are included, but we are not, in the first tranche, some third countries might decide to act on that basis — and in ways that would threaten both security and that of Europe and the North Atlantic region as a whole.

Consequently, we would like to urge on you the formula, first the "who" and then the "when". If you and the other NATO countries identify us as members to be, that would make a major contribution to our democracy, security and well being.

These are all difficult questions for you and for us, and we very much hope that we will have the opportunity for an extended conversation with you when we are in the United States at the end of June.

We remain convinced that involvement and contribution of the United States in stability of Europe is of crucial significance. We do believe that US will continue supporting Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania along their way to regain appropriate place among the family of democratic nations.

With all good wishes we remain,

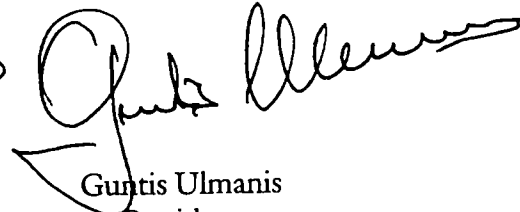
Sincerely yours,



Algirdas Brazauskas
President
Republic of Lithuania



Lennart Meri
President
Republic of Estonia



Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with Presidents Ulmanis of Latvia,
Brazauskas of Lithuania and Meri of Estonia
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.
The President
The Vice President
Strobe Talbott, Acting Secretary of State
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Lawrence Taylor, U.S. Ambassador to Estonia
James Swihart, U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania
Larry Napper, U.S. Ambassador to Latvia
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the
President for National Security Affairs
Dan Fried, Senior Director for Central and
Eastern European Affairs, NSC Staff,
Notetaker
Alvin Skipsna, Latvian interpreter
Emilija Sakadolskis, Lithuanian interpreter

Latvia
Guntis Ulmanis, President
Ojars Kalnins, Ambassador to the U.S.
Armands Gutmanis, Presidential Adviser
Eva Eihmane, Interpreter

Lithuania
Algirdas Brazauskas, President
Alfonsas Eidintas, Ambassador to the U.S.
Povilas Gylys, Foreign Minister
Edward Tuskenis, Interpreter

Estonia
Lennart Meri, President
Toomas H. Ilves, Ambassador to the U.S.
Riina Kionka, General Director of the
Political Department, Foreign Ministry

DATE, TIME June 25, 1996, 1:50 - 2:30 p.m.
AND PLACE: Cabinet Room

The President: It is a great pleasure to see you. I have looked forward to this meeting. (To President Ulmanis) Perhaps you can start, Mr. President. (U)

President Ulmanis: Thank you, Mr. President. I recall your visit to Riga two years ago. When I landed in the United States and saw your Statue of Liberty, I recalled how you visited our monument of freedom in Riga. Your visit symbolized your commitment to the freedom of the Baltic states and your support for our common values. I know that our visit here is a continuation of that process. (U)

The 20th century has seen great tragedies, but ultimately the values of Western civilization have shown themselves to be durable. It was principally to safeguard these values that the central institutions of the West -- the European Union and NATO -- were created. Latvia considers itself a part of Western civilization so it is natural that Latvia would want to join these key institutions. (U)

We are in the process of transforming ourselves to realize Western values -- the values of a tolerant, democratic and open society. The results of Latvia's presidential elections this month confirmed that these values are accepted in Latvia. With these elections, the government has gained the possibility to increase the pace of reforms and the pace of its approach to the EU and NATO. (U)

We understand that the way to the EU and NATO is through cooperation among the Baltic states and we see one another as partners in this process. Latvia sees its place as a country embedded in a unified Europe. There is no alternative; we do not wish to be isolated or apart. (U)

With respect to Russia, we felt until recently a trend of gradually improving relations. But recently, in the course of the Russian election campaign, we see some worrying trends. We frankly are concerned. Latvia does not have the feeling it can defend itself on its own and the recent changes in the CFE regime do not increase such feelings. (U)

The United States is the leader of security in Europe and should show the way forward. The Baltic states are located within Europe's security perimeter, if at the outer edge. Yet, Latvia doubts whether all NATO members really understand this. NATO speaks of enlargement to Central Europe, but what is the place of the Baltic states in this? The Baltic states should be included in this process from the beginning. We see that since your visit to Riga there has been a change much for the better. But we want this process to go even further. (U)

President Brazauskas: Thank you for meeting with us here. To be quite direct, we look to your support for our membership in NATO, for a decision now in principle that the Baltic states ultimately will be included. The prospect of integration with the West has proven very important to convincing our people to proceed faster with reforms; it has solidified our pro-Western orientation and bolstered our cooperation with one another. Indeed, the prospect of integration with the West has strengthened our cooperation with Poland. We need your help to continue strengthening our democratic and economic reforms. (S)

Success of the Baltic states in reforms will help Russia by showing how reforms can really work. Our success and integration with NATO and the EU will bolster security throughout Europe. Lithuania is now developing a national defense system. Just five years ago, our people stood before Soviet tanks. Now Lithuania is active in the Partnership for Peace; we are helping with the implementation of the Dayton peace accords and are working with our neighbors. (S)

We need a clear sign that the West does indeed care about the Baltic states, about our democracy and market reforms. The enlargement of NATO means more security for all; it means our return to Europe. On May 28, we three wrote to you proposing that the Baltic states be included in NATO's enlargement process. I believe that Lithuania needs to be named as part of the "who" - one of the countries that will join NATO eventually -- even if the "when" cannot yet be decided. We understand the difficulty of this challenge for NATO; we understand that not all possible NATO members can be added at once. So there is less concern about when we join NATO; the "when" depends on each country's preparations. But we wish to know that we will get there eventually. (S)

President Meri: Thank you, Mr. President. I have five points and will be brief. Next time I will have even fewer than five. (U)

First, against all odds and many expectations, despite the fact that we started well behind the Central European states, the Baltic states are leaders in reforms. (U)

Second, we hope Russia can do what we have done. But we cannot ignore the policies of threats and intimidation from Russia since 1991 and 1992. These come from the highest levels and lower down. We believe the U.S. should speak out against this. We greatly appreciate the U.S. evaluation of our progress in integrating the ethnic-Russian population. We note that Vice President Gore, during his visit to Tallinn in March 1995, called

us a model to the world in this regard. We take this as a reference point. (S)

We urge you, Mr. President, to take a firmer stance toward Russia on these questions. The OSCE, the Council of Europe and the U.S. State Department have evaluated our policies toward the Russian minority and we accept this. Yet Russia's policy is calculated to slow down Estonia's integration, to isolate the Baltic states. This is not an issue on which one can split the difference but one in which truth must be respected. (S)

Three, Estonia understands the financial, political and other difficulties associated with NATO enlargement. We believe that the United States should state that the door to NATO remains open to the Baltic states. We believe that the United States should state that Russian threats directed at the Baltic states are not acceptable to you. Russian policies seek to draw a line through Europe; they refuse to accept the continuity of our statehood, which suggests that they do not really accept our independence. This is the real source of Russian opposition to Baltic membership in NATO. We frankly fear new lines being drawn by Moscow around the question of NATO enlargement. So we urge that you make clear, and that you do so publicly, that the Baltic states are part of the West and that the United States would resist efforts to change that fact. (S)

Four, I do not wish to focus on the CFE Treaty. The CFE regime serves the security of the region and the agreement and the recent changes have been signed and completed. We ask, however, that the U.S. show support for Baltic security through integration and through developing close consultations on security issues. (S)

Fifth and last, I ask you, Mr. President, to speak to President Yeltsin and to Chancellor Kohl with respect to the issue of the Baltic states. I hope you can enlist Kohl's support and Yeltsin's understanding that the U.S. is deeply interested in the Baltic states and supports Baltic integration. (S)

President Clinton: First, thank you for your statements. I wrote some notes down before our meeting and some more notes while you were speaking. Let me turn to these. (U)

First, I agree that the Baltic states are a great success story of the post-communist world. We seek the integration of the Baltic states with the West; that's what we want. There will be no secret deals about the Baltics with anyone. (S)

Second, with respect to NATO enlargement, the first new members to join the alliance shall not be the last. The Baltic states

should be included in the new security order emerging in Europe, not excluded from any part of this process, including NATO. I cannot move independently of the other members of NATO, but you can see how I regard these issues, so you should not fear Baltic isolation. (S)

Three, we need to work to create facts of integration -- facts of economic, political and security cooperation. I thank you for your participation in the Partnership for Peace and in Bosnia. Your participation in Bosnia came at some expense and at some sacrifice. (S)

Four, in CFE we made the best arrangements we could in order to keep that treaty in force, to enhance the security that is in your interests. But we understand the need to consult with you and we will work with you. (S)

Five, with respect to Russian intimidation. I had a roundtable discussion with a group of Russians of all views during my last trip to Moscow. Many of these were reformers who do not at all support any imperial orientation or aggressive approach by Russia. But these people had the strong impression that there were problems with the Russian minority in Estonia and Latvia. These fears are exaggerated according to our information. I have spoken out against intimidation. But, on the other hand, these people, who would be your friends, had very strong views. Again, we believe their views are exaggerated, according to what we know. I will speak out against attempts at intimidation. But you should work to show those in Russia who do not want to define Russia's relations with its neighbors in terms of pressure and intimidation that you are aware of the need to establish multi-ethnic communities. Again, we think these accusations against the Baltic states are wrong, but we hope you can work at these issues anyway. (S)

President Meri: I agree with you. The day before yesterday I attended our victory celebrations in Narva, a frontier town on the Russian border. After the parade by the Estonian army I saw an outpouring of support from the many Russians there. I walked through the crowd and many simply trying to kiss me. The Russians there do not want to be part of this intimidation. They see that just across the river, only 50 meters away, things are quite different than they are in Estonia; it is another world. (S)

President Ulmanis: I have in my delegation here 30 businessmen. Half of these are not (ethnic) Latvians at all. These Russians are trying to form a new business-oriented world in which they can cooperate with the West. But the Russian government is trying to use these people against us. So let's counterpunch and

not allow Russia to play this against us, which they will if there is no reaction from the West. (S)

President Clinton: I will have the chance to speak to Chancellor Kohl in a few days at the G-7. I will raise these issues. About Russian rhetoric, I understand that they are in the middle of an election and this can create exaggerations that should not necessarily bother you. I think also that the Russians have been very sobered by the experience in Chechnya. This may be beneficial in the long run because the experience may discourage them from thinking in terms of domination. I also think that the recent internal changes in Russia may be helpful.

(S)

There is no doubt that I support Baltic freedom, integrity and integration. You should not overreact to Russian rhetoric which is being made with the election coming in just a few days. Someone mentioned the situation in Russia as being much different than in Estonia. There are some cities in Russia that are growing and dynamic. There is some good news. Elections often bring out inflammatory language and emotion. Kohl and I have only limited influence on events in Russia but we will discuss this and I will do what I can. (S)

Mr. Vice President, did you want to make a remark? (U)

The Vice President: Yes I did, but President Brazauskas wished to add something. (U)

President Brazauskas: We all spoke a great deal about NATO but please do not have the impression that this is self serving. For fifty years we were dominated; the results of WWII were abolished only in 1990. We are striving for a normal life, for normal politics. We are therefore striving for inclusion into NATO -- precisely to become normal. We understand that our approach may have awakened opposition in Russia, but Lithuania's relations with Russia are quite good. Still, you can play a great role; a statement from you can have a strong impact. We understand that we are on our own; that we must take care of our own problems domestically and in foreign relations. We are not bringing to NATO a whole set of problems. (S)

The President: Please understand I take no offense at your position. You are doing your jobs. You represent three democratic countries and I am very glad to see you. I don't know your history as you do but I have a good memory, from some distance, of what life was like before you were free. (S)

My hometown in Arkansas has a large Lithuanian community and I learned something of your history when I was growing up. When I

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went to Moscow years ago, as a student, I met an Estonian who had been a boxer on Estonia's Olympic team in the 1930s, during your independence. We spent New Year's Eve talking about what his country had been like when it was free. I knew a Latvian student then also and she spoke to me about what Latvia would be like when it became free in the future. So I understand your interests and respect them, even if I cannot say yet exactly what you want to hear. (C)

The Vice President: I would like to thank President Meri for the hospitality he extended to me during my trip to Tallinn in March 1995. Estonia's progress really is inspiring. You spoke of integration and there is another dimension to this via the Internet. I am not as familiar with Internet programs in Lithuania and Latvia, but Estonia has a very impressive plan in its schools. This also is important and can help. (U)

The President: Thank you all for coming. I think the Presidents stay here while the delegations proceed outside. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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*President
Republic of Estonia
Kadriorg Palace, Tallinn*

August 5, 1996

Dear Mr. President:

I have a delightful opportunity to ask my good colleague, Prime Minister Göran Persson, to pass on to you this letter, which I hope will partly continue and supplement your discussions with him and with me on June 25, 1996 on security policy issues. These topics are also central in Estonian-Swedish bilateral talks, which have been very frequent and businesslike at all possible levels. I take this opportunity to assure you that Estonia values Sweden's contribution to safeguarding the stability of the Baltic Sea region extremely highly.

However, the fate of the world is not determined by co-operation of small countries, no matter how good it is, although precisely this has been one of my political reveries. The people of Estonia join with me in valuing most highly the support of the United States to Estonia's freedom, independence, and integration with the Western structures, which you, Mr President, expressed at our meeting in Washington and for which we received reassurance from the words of Mrs Hillary Clinton: "Americans never lost faith in the sovereignty of the Baltic republics during the Cold War; and Americans will not lose faith in your march to democracy".

William J. Clinton
President
The United States of America

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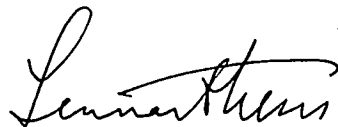
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There is only one security policy structure that is able not only to just admire the growth of the tender plant of democracy, but also to protect it. And inevitably there is just one country having a leading role in that structure.

Therefore I am sincerely glad that the resolution adopted by US Congress on 24 July, which named Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary as being the closest to NATO membership, also confirmed the necessity of US support for the accession of the Baltic states to NATO. While in Washington in June, we also heard straight from Congress leaders that "Congress will be very warm to include the Baltic states in NATO". These words had been uttered even before General Lebed found it possible to remark, in July, that Russia had no objections to the eastward enlargement of NATO. I find we must certainly make use of a sign like this signalling a change in Russia's former rigid stance in order to evolve a bolder discussion on NATO enlargement. At that time (15 July) I had a fruitful discussion about the same topics with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

I hope that the USA will continue in its pivotal role in the process of NATO enlargement, at the same time influencing other NATO members as well.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Lennart Meri', written in black ink.

Lennart Meri

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NATO ENLARGEMENT:

What the Baltics can expect from the "Open Door" policy and Charter commitments

TALKING POINTS

- The U.S. strongly supports NATO's "Open Door" policy. We have insisted that the first round of enlargement will not be the last, and NATO has committed to review the enlargement process again at its 1999 summit.
- At present, our principal concern is to ensure that this first round of enlargement, including ratification, is completed smoothly. It is too soon for commitments regarding the shape or timing of future rounds.
- For now, you should focus on making the best use of NATO's "Open Door:" take advantage of the intensified dialogues, Partnership for Peace enhancements, and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council to move toward greater integration with the Alliance.
- We will continue to help where we can. I fully support your continued work with our military experts to assess the needs of your countries' armed forces.

Baltic Charter (if asked)

- The Baltic Charter reflects our shared commitment to integration of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into European and global structures. It also underlines the intention of the U.S. to remain engaged in the region.
- The Charter addresses security in the broadest sense. It represents a joint commitment to regional stability and democratic development, which are the real keys to long-term security.
- My decision to Name Deputy Secretary Talbott to chair the Partnership Council reflects its importance for me.

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DECL: 1/15/97

Classified by EUR/NB Director Milovanovic;
reasons: 1.5 (b), (d)

Estonia

Estonia's importance in U.S. foreign and domestic policy transcends its size and population. The firm U.S. policy of not recognizing the Soviet Union's forcible incorporation of the three Baltic states is seen in the region and by the Baltic American community as a beacon of political steadfastness through half a century. U.S. support for the sovereignty of the Baltic states is a powerful signal of American global engagement, no matter how tough the neighborhood.

Since restoring independence in 1991, Estonia has undertaken radical economic reforms. In spite of differences in nuance, subsequent governments have all subscribed to reform policies that include large-scale privatization, a freely-convertible currency, a free trade regime, a balanced budget, and a flat-rate income tax. The rapid reforms have had their social costs; for some, especially in rural areas, the changes have been a psychological as well as an economic shock.

After free and fair elections in Spring, 1995, a series of fragile coalition governments led by the right-centrist "Coalition Party" have been formed and re-arranged, primarily as a result of scandals. The current "caretaker" government's survival until the next parliamentary elections in 1998 is not a foregone conclusion. There is little doubt that the basic pro-reform policy will continue no matter what combination of parties form the government.

Likewise, the foreign policy goal of rapid integration into European and Atlanticist economic and security structures has broad support. Estonia's progress has been recognized by the European Union, which has invited Estonia to begin accession talks this spring.

Estonia's charismatic president, Lennart Meri, has a weak constitutional mandate but has actively flexed his political muscle as a non-partisan statesman at the expense of weaker, partisan politicians. The loquacious (un-Estonian) and erudite foreign minister, Tom Ilves, is equally brilliant but sometimes has a "blind spot" in how he responds to emotionally charged issues. Raised in New Jersey by immigrant refugee parents, he grew up as an U.S. citizen and most recently was Estonia's Ambassador to the United States. He met the Secretary in Washington March 27.

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Despite the legacy of Soviet occupation, Estonia is making progress in integrating hundreds of thousands of people who (or whose parents) were brought into Estonia under the Soviet Russification policies of the 1940s through the 1970s. Between 80,000 and 100,000 people of ethnic Russian background have been granted Estonian citizenship since 1991, and there are now six ethnic Russian members of parliament. Estonia is one of only seven states in the 39-member Council of Europe to permit non-citizens to vote in local elections. The government is issuing aliens passports to the approximately 250,000 non-citizen permanent residents. Despite Russian assertions of human rights violations, the U.S., other Western countries, and international observers including the resident OSCE mission have found no systematic pattern of human rights violations of the non-ethnic Estonian community.

Like its Baltic and CEE neighbors, Estonia is seeking membership in all Western political, economic, and security structures. Estonia is an associate EU member and hopes to be included among those countries eventually joining NATO. An active participant in the Partnership for Peace, Estonia has contributed troops to SFOR and UNIFIL and has received significant security assistance from the U.S. and Nordic countries. Estonia is worried that partial NATO enlargement will leave it in a security "gray zone" under possible Russian influence. While realistic about its chances of early membership in NATO, it is searching for a formula to demonstrate that it is being taken seriously as a prospective member. It looks to the U.S. to take the lead in supporting these aspirations.

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DECL: 1/15/08

Classified by EUR/NB Director Milovanovic;
reasons: 1.5 (b), (d)

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Latvia

President Ulmanis has limited powers but his pragmatic, step-by-step approach to reform helps Latvia continue reintegration with the West. Prime Minister Krasts has a right-wing political party base but is more of a caretaker of an improbable six-party coalition of centrists, leftists with murky Moscow connections, and right-wing nationalists. Parliament is fragmented in nine parties and alliances, making passage of reform legislation cumbersome and time-consuming. Parliamentary elections are due later this year. Politics remain controlled by ethnic Latvians; ethnic Russian citizens and residents are more focused on business.

After a severe banking and financial crisis in 1995, economic prosperity has now returned, despite stalled reforms. In 1997 the GDP grew 4%, inflation decreased to 7% from 14% in 1996, and unemployment stood at 7%. The GOL is committed to a budget deficit under 2% to meet IMF loan conditions. Banking and financial regulations remain weak. However, foreign banks have begun to buy Latvian banks--a healthy sign. Transit trade, portfolio investment, and money laundering are dominated by ethnic Russians and Russian businesses, a situation of great concern to GOL leaders. Main challenges are EU and WTO accession, attracting foreign investment, privatization, and rationalization of agriculture. Non-Latvians reportedly control 80% of the economy.

Relations with the U.S. are warm, although there still some underlying worry of "Yalta II," despite the U.S-Baltic Charter and other U.S. outreach efforts. Latvia is pleased that we had extended bilateral SEED assistance through FY98 and will continue to press for financial and legal technical assistance regionally. Latvia is courting U.S. trade and investment, but security cooperation remains the focus of our relationship.

Latvian-Russian relations are a mixed lot. Latvia is wary that Russia may not cease operation of the Skrunda early-warning radar in 1998 as scheduled by agreement, although all political signs indicate that Russia will withdraw on schedule. Ethnic Latvians are only 54% of the population and a minority in seven of the eight largest cities. The GOL pursues a low-key, pragmatic approach to Russian relations, striving to insulate areas where relations can expand, such as trade, from political questions such as a border agreement, which will take more time to resolve. 65% of the 730,000 non-citizens are ethnic Russian. Latvia's citizenship and naturalization laws are more restrictive than that of Estonia and non-citizens may not vote in local elections. However, Latvia's relations with Russia are correct, given the strength of the Russian business presence and Latvia's avoidance of open disputes with Russia. Latvia repeatedly allows

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Estonia to be its "lightning rod" for Russian unhappiness on such issues as the passage and implementation of citizenship, naturalization, and language laws; and talks with Russia over troop withdrawals and border demarcation.

Like its Baltic and CEE neighbors, Latvia is seeking membership in all Western political, economic, and security structures. Latvia is an associate EU member and hopes to be included among those countries eventually joining NATO. An active participant in the Partnership for Peace, Latvia contributes troops to SFOR and has received significant security assistance from the U.S. and Nordic countries. Latvia is worried that partial NATO enlargement will leave it in a security "gray zone" under possible Russian influence. While realistic about its chances of early membership in NATO, it is searching for a formula to demonstrate that it is being taken seriously as a prospective member. It looks to the U.S. to take the lead in supporting these aspirations.

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DECL: 1/15/08

Classified by EUR/NB Director Milovanovic;
reasons: 1.5 (b), (d)

Lithuania

Staunchly Catholic, Lithuania has a strong sense of national identity dating back to its days as a medieval empire stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Subsequently tied in a union with Poland for centuries, Lithuania became independent again from 1918 until 1940, when it was illegally annexed by the USSR. The Lithuanian language is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but Baltic, the prototypal Indo-European tongue.

Secretary Albright led a very successful visit to Lithuania on July 13. Inhabiting the largest Baltic country and having the overwhelming preponderance of Baltic-Americans (nearly one million), Lithuanians are sensitive about the comparatively lesser attention they have received than Estonia or Latvia, but are too proud to mention it officially.

Lithuania is undergoing a painful struggle to overcome 50 years of Soviet rule. Arguably the most isolated of the Baltic states during the Soviet period and lacking a strong commercial tradition, the country lags behind Latvia and especially Estonia in economic development. Lithuania is 4-5 years behind Poland, Hungary or the Czech Republic in this regard, with a per capita annual income of about \$2600. Social problems (unemployment, alcoholism, spouse abuse) are correspondingly serious. It also has Europe's highest suicide rate and a declining birthrate.

In a resounding parliamentary election victory in 1996, the Conservatives and Christian Democrats led by ex-President (and leader of the Sajudis independence movement) Landsbergis returned to power after having lost the 1992 elections for creating government gridlock and mismanaging the economy. Now the parliamentary chairman, Landsbergis at times has overshadowed his own government in power and prestige but failed in his bid to return to the presidency in December elections. On April 8-9 he was in Washington for meetings with the Secretary and Vice President.

The former government, now led by lame duck President and ex-Communist Party Chair Brazauskas, had made good progress in cutting inflation and privatizing housing and all but large enterprises until a banking crisis and a corruption scandal ousted the dynamic former Prime Minister in February 1996. Under pressure from the IMF and World Bank, the government made modest steps to deal with problems in the banking, financial and energy sectors. It also did what the previous Landsbergis/Vagnorius government had not: it built good relations with Poland and normal relations with Russia and Belarus.

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It remains to be seen whether the Conservative/Christian Democratic government wholly has abandoned its populist approach to economic and financial reform, whether it can stimulate greater Western investment, and whether it can overcome the [exaggerated] public perception that the government is not committed to fighting crime from within and without. The public honeymoon with the government appears to be lasting, but not for Landsbergis, whose abrasive and emotional demeanor relegated him to a distant third in the first round of balloting in the December presidential elections. The winner of the January 4 runoff election, Val Adamkus, is a retired USEPA official from Chicago and an American citizen.

Like its Baltic and CEE neighbors, Lithuania is seeking membership in all Western political, economic, and security structures. Lithuania is an associate EU member and hopes to be included among those countries eventually joining NATO. An active participant in the Partnership for Peace, Lithuania contributes troops to SFOR and has received significant security assistance from Poland, the U.S. and Nordic countries. Lithuania is worried that partial NATO enlargement will leave it in a security "gray zone" under possible Russian influence. While realistic about its chances of early membership in NATO, it is searching for a formula to demonstrate that it is being taken seriously as a prospective member. It looks to the U.S. to take the lead in supporting these aspirations.

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DECL: 4/25/98

Classified by EUR/NB Director Milovanovic;
reasons: 1.5 (b), (d)

Kaliningrad

Kaliningrad involves complex historical and legal questions with significant regional implications. The 1945 Potsdam Conference agreed in principle to transfer then-Königsberg to the USSR in a general peace settlement and subject to expert examination of the actual frontier. However, in April 1946 the Soviet Union unilaterally transferred the renamed Kaliningrad to the RSFSR. The Two-Plus-Four Agreement in 1990 settled Germany's border but did not address the status of Kaliningrad/Königsberg. Russia maintains that Kaliningrad is a part of Russia. Poland, Germany, and Lithuania have renounced claim to the area. The U.S. has recognized Russian administration of the region but has not taken a position on the question of sovereignty.

Lithuania and Russia signed a civil transit agreement on Kaliningrad in July 1991. In January 1995, both countries agreed to an ad hoc arrangement (supported by the U.S. since the arrangement protects Lithuanian sovereignty) permitting continued military transit. In return, Russia granted MFN to Lithuania. However, Russia has not yet implemented the full terms of its MFN agreement with Lithuania.

Lithuania has developed better relations with officials in Kaliningrad (for example, Lithuania is building housing there for Russian officers), and we want to continue to encourage it to cultivate good ties with the exclave.

Russian conventional military equipment in Kaliningrad is covered under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). Military personnel levels are reportable also under the terms of the agreement. According to reports, equipment and personnel levels in Kaliningrad have declined dramatically since January 1, 1993, when total troop levels were estimated to be near 80,000. Most of the remaining equipment is modern but not operational. We remain interested in the region and will continue to monitor the situation closely.

The estimated Russian military presence in Kaliningrad in March, 1997 includes approximately 15,000 ground units and naval infantry, 850 tanks, 1070 APC's, 380 artillery pieces, 12 surface-surface missiles, 50 attack helicopters, eight surface warships, 7 combat submarines, 70 light bombers, 12 reconnaissance aircraft, and 28 fighters/interceptors.

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