

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 147				
Document ID: 9302895				
Row: 44	Section: 1	Shelf: 6	Position: 2	Stack: V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	re. Meeting with President Goncz of Hungary (2 pages)	04/21/1993	P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 147

### FOLDER TITLE:

9302895

2015-0133-M

rs1148

### 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: 9302895  
RECEIVED: 28 APR 93 11

TO: GROSSMAN, M

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 30 APR 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

MEMCON

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY

ACTION: ITOH SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 01 MAY 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: KUPCHAN

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC

KUPCHAN

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

DISPATCHED BY ASK DATE 4/29/93 BY HAND W/ATTCH

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 ITOH  
002

Z 93043014 FOR DECISION  
X 93043020 ITOH SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 930430 GROSSMAN, M

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: ASK LOG # 2875  
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT  
 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG WA A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
<u>W</u> DepExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>WA</u>	
ExecSec			
Staff Director			
D/APNSA			
APNSA			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>WA 4/30</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>3</u>		<u>DA</u>
_____			
_____			

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

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

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

COMMENTS:

29 APR 95 13 45

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9302895  
DATE 30 APR 93

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
MR. MARC GROSSMAN DEPARTMENT OF STATE ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE 2201 C STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20520	_____	_____	_____

COPY: ORIGINAL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBM Date: 5/11/2018  
2014-0154-M

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2895

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

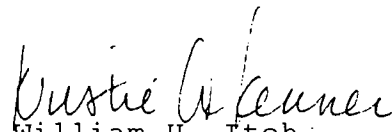
April 30, 1993

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Presidential Meeting with President Goncz of  
Hungary (U)

Attached is a copy of the memorandum of conversation for the  
President's April 21 meeting with President Goncz of Hungary.  
Please ensure a copy is provided Eyes Only for Secretary  
Christopher and a copy is transmitted Eyes Only via NODIS  
channels to Ambassador Thomas in Budapest. (S)

  
William H. Itoh  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
As Stated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2895

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 28, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH: JENONNE WALKER *J*

FROM: CHARLES KUPCHAN *CK*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation with President  
Arpad Goncz of Hungary on April 21

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KBNARA*, Date *5/11/2018*  
*2015-0133-M*

Attached at Tab I is the Memorandum of Conversation between the  
President and President Goncz of Hungary on April 21.

RECOMMENDATION

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

Approve *Wau* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Memorandum of Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.01)  
5/11/2013 KBN

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Goncz of Hungary

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Anthony Lake  
Charles Kupchan, NSC Staff, Notetaker

President Arpad Goncz  
Pal Tar, Ambassador to the U.S.  
Bela Szombati, Presidential Advisor

DATE, TIME: April 21, 1993, 4:35 - 4:55 pm  
AND PLACE: Blue Room

President Goncz: Let me congratulate you on your election. Hungary is a front-line state and is therefore in a very dangerous situation. We must live with Serbia as a neighbor for a long time to come. The No-Fly Zone has changed the situation. AWACS over our territory and over the Adriatic are no longer doing only surveillance, but also guiding and targeting. We have a hot line to the Serbian Chief of Staff. We know what each other's forces are doing. We also have many Hungarians in Serbia. And there are 300,000 Serb refugees waiting to take the place of the Hungarians living in Vojvodina. We are prepared to take refugees if necessary. But we already have 750,000 unemployed. The sanctions make the situation doubly difficult; Hungary has lost about \$500 million. We do, however, have a moral obligation to accept refugees. The U.S. should be aware of these burdens. Another element is that in eastern Slavonia there are four Croatian brigades. If there is violence between Croatia and Serbia, it might spill over into Hungary. On the Serb side of the border, there are tanks dug in. The Croatians may use Hungarian territory as a passageway into Serbia. The losing side will likely take refuge in Hungary. These events could threaten Hungary, which has thus far been an island of stability. (S)

I have been speaking with President Kucan of Slovenia. We are discussing a plan that would give rights to all ethnic groups and that could lead to a lasting solution. If you decide to use force, you should deliver one decisive blow. You should use force in a way that minimizes the number of victims. The Serbian economy is already in bad shape. The Serbs need 100,000 tons of fuel for agricultural works this summer. They also need to stockpile fuel for the army. Oil tanks are easy to find and target, and they are usually located away from populated areas. Fuel is critical to waging war. If artillery is destroyed, it can be replaced. But if fuel reserves are depleted and the Danube is sealed, the Serbs will be incapacitated. (S)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

The President: Do you think this the most effective method of stopping the Serbs? (S)

President Goncz: Yes, I do. If they Danube is sealed, the Serbs simply cannot get sufficient fuel by truck. Sealing the Danube is key. (S)

The President: I have limited time. Your comments interest me a great deal. We support Hungary. It is time to make a decision on how to deal with Bosnia. I will discuss your suggestions with my advisors and get back to you. (S)

President Goncz: I will be at your disposal. We think developments in Russia are key. Political change in Russia should be viewed as a process -- it is not linked to just one person. Ukraine is also very important. We are Ukraine's gateway to the West. Their stability is important to us. We must get integrated into the West within ten years. With modernization, technical assistance, investment, and markets, Hungary and Central Europe will no longer be buffer states, but extensions of the West. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 151				
Document ID: 9304437				
Row: 44	Section: 1	Shelf: 8	Position: 2	Stack: v

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9304437  
RECEIVED: 16 JUN 93 14

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 06 JUL 93  
SOURCE REF: 9313555

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY  
HS

YUGOSLAVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: STATE TRANSMITTAL - DIRECT REPLY

ACTION: RECD S/S DIRECT REPLY

DUE DATE: 22 JUN 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HOLL

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

HOLL  
WALKER

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

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

OPENED BY: NSJEB CLOSED BY: NSKDB DOC 3 OF 3

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DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KSM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001  
003

Z 93061614 PENDING STATE RECOMS  
X 93070817 RECD S/S DIRECT REPLY

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: GONCZ, ARPAD

DOC DATE: 11 MAY 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY YUGOSLAVIA  
HS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY RE YUGOSLAVIA

ACTION: PENDING STATE RECOMS DUE DATE: 22 JUN 93 STATUS: D

STAFF OFFICER: STATE LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  
STATE

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO  
BAKER JANE  
CLARKE  
HOLL  
ITOH  
KENNEY  
KUPCHAN  
SODERBERG  
VAN ERON  
WALKER

*See  
cust/otc  
100724*

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

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

OPENED BY: NSJEB CLOSED BY: DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9313555

Date July 6, 1993

FOR: Mr. William Itoh  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council Staff  
The White House

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBN Date: 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

REFERENCE:

To: President Clinton  
From: Hungarian President Arpad Goncz  
Date: May 11, 1993  
Subj: Letter of thanks

WH Referral Dated: June 14, 1993  
NSCS ID# (if any): 9304437

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.  
 A draft reply will be forwarded.  
 A translation is attached.  
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.  
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.  
 The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.  
 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

*C.A. Helms, for*  
Director  
Secretariat Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED

OUTGOING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

PAGE 01 STATE 200162 011907Z 032746 S068833  
ORIGIN: HU (02)

INFO: EEY (03) EUR (05) PA (01)  
----- 01/1920Z A3 AC (TOTAL COPIES: 011)  
ORIGIN EUR-00

INFO LOG-00 AMAD-01 CPR-02 C-01 OASY-00 TEDE-00 ADS-00  
NSCE-00 PA-02 PRS-01 SSC-01 SSO-00 SS-00 USIE-00  
CORE-00 /009R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/EE: J C MAYHEW: JCM  
APPROVED BY: EUR: T WESTON  
EUR/EE: T H GERTH, EUR/EE: T SNELL, S/S: GTDAVIES,  
S/S-O: JMJONES S/S-C: TFILIPEK  
NSC: KAKENNEY

-----D2283F 011908Z /38

P 011902Z JUL 93  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 200162

ALSO FOR SSC  
E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OPDC, HU, US  
SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT GONCZ  
(SS 9313555)

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE  
PRESIDENT TO PRESIDENT GONCZ AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME.  
THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND I ENJOYED OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH  
YOU LAST APRIL. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE LEARN FIRST-HAND  
OF THE CONCERNS AND PRIORITIES OF AN IMPORTANT PARTNER  
SUCH AS HUNGARY. WE APPRECIATED YOUR SPECIAL PERSPECTIVE  
ON THE CRISIS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND KNOW THAT WE SHARE  
A RESOLVE TO BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT.

THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO ASSIST THE  
INTEGRATION OF HUNGARY AND ITS CENTRAL EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS  
INTO EUROPE AND THE WEST AND WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO  
HELP IN THAT PROCESS.

SHARE YOUR WISH TO BE ABLE TO CONTINUE OUR CONVERSATION  
AT A LATER DATE AND HOPE THAT OUR BUSY SCHEDULES WILL  
ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON  
CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

4437

June 14, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. William Itoh  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council Staff  
The White House

SUBJECT: Alerting NSCS on Presidential  
Correspondence

Enclosed is the original of a letter to President Clinton from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz which is transmitted for your information.

This correspondence was received in the Information Resources Management Section of the Executive Secretariat on June 12, 1993. A copy has been assigned to the appropriate bureau for action.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Farlee Wood".

Chief, S/S-IRM/RMD  
Information Resources Management Section  
Records Management Division  
Executive Secretariat  
647-2991



A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF HUNGARY

4437

The Hon. William J. Clinton  
President of the  
United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Budapest, May 11, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

This letter is to thank you and Vice President Gore for the opportunity to discuss with both of you the state of US-Hungary relations and especially the two priority issues of Hungarian foreign policy, that is our integration into Europe and the West, and the efforts to solve the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

It is sad but not surprising that the situation there has not changed substantially and I can only hope that firm and united action by the international community in the short run and an enforcement of minority rights (rather than aspirations to change borders) in the long run will help solve this troubling crisis.

Mr. President, it was moving to attend the Holocaust Memorial events, it was important for me to be able to present to you a Hungarian view of the "Yugoslav" conflict and, as I mentioned to you, it would be nice to be able to continue this conversation in Budapest or Washington.

Sincerely,

*Árpád Göncz*  
/ Árpád Göncz /

PHOTOCOPY  
MISC. HANDWRITING

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF HUNGARY

The Hon. William J. Clinton  
President of the  
United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 177				
Document ID: 9309766				
Row: 44	Section: 2	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: v

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9309766  
RECEIVED: 14 DEC 93 10

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: GONCZ, ARPAD

DOC DATE: 10 DEC 93  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

HS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY RE MTG W/ PRES IN PRAGUE

ACTION: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE DATE: 17 DEC 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: NONE

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION


FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BAKER JANE  
FRIED  
ITOH  
KENNEY  
SODERBERG  
STATE  
WALKER

COMMENTS: NO ACTION REQUIRED PER DAN FRIED

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 12/14 BY HAND W/ATTCH  
OPENED BY: NSJEB CLOSED BY: NSJEB DOC 1 OF 1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KSM NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-m

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DGC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001

X 93121410 FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

001 931210

STATE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9309766  
DATE 10 DEC 93

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY RE MTG W/ PRES IN PRAGUE  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
STATE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ROOM 7224 2201 C STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20520	_____	_____	_____

COPY: ORIGINAL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBY Date: 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-m

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

REFERRAL

DATE: 14 DEC 93

MEMORANDUM FOR: GROSSMAN, M

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: GONCZ, ARPAD

DATE: 10 DEC 93

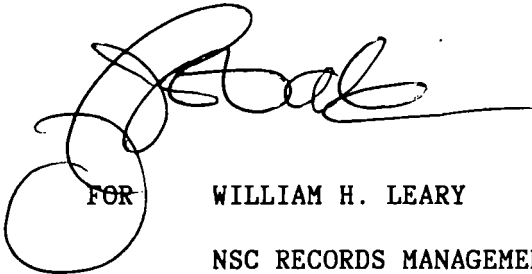
SUBJ: LTR TO PRES FM PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY RE MTG W/ PRES IN PRAGUE

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REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:



FOR

WILLIAM H. LEARY

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM NARA, Date 5/11/2013  
2015-0133-M

*Unofficial translation*

A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKÉNEK HIVATALA

9766

The Honorable  
Bill Clinton  
President of the  
United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

Budapest, December 10, 1993.

Dear Mr. President,

Allow me to thank you for your invitation to the meeting with Central European state and government leaders in Prague.

I am convinced that this meeting will be an excellent forum to discuss issues vital for European security and democracy as well as for our countries.

I am pleased to accept your invitation and look forward to meeting you in January.

Sincerely,

Árpád Göncz

# MIR MARKER

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

Original OA/ID Number: 468				
Document ID: 9400597				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 2	Position: 2	Stack: v

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 09 FEB 94  
SOURCE REF: 9401390

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

HS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR TO PRES FM PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY

ACTION: NO REPLY REQUIRED PER STATE

DUE DATE: 29 JAN 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: STATE

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

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

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

OPENED BY: NSJEB

CLOSED BY: NSJEB

DOC 3 OF 3

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001  
003

Z 94012610 PENDING STATE RECOMS  
X 94021008 NO REPLY REQUIRED PER STATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

0597

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9401390

Date February 9, 1994

FOR: Mr. William Itoh  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council Staff  
The White House

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: KBM Date: 5/11/2013  
2015-0133-M

REFERENCE:

To: President Clinton  
From: Hungarian President Goncz  
Date: December 18, 1993  
Subj: Thank you letter re passing of Prime Minister Antall

WH Referral Dated: January 24, 1994  
NSCS ID# (if any): \_\_\_\_\_

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- Other (see remarks).

REMARKS: This is a response to our condolence message on the death of Prime Minister Antall. No further response necessary.

  
Director  
Secretariat Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

Translating Division

LS No. 143519  
JS  
Hungarian

President of the  
Republic of Hungary

His Excellency  
William J. Clinton  
President of the  
United States of America  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message of condolence at the passing of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, expressing the sorrow you share with me, the people and government of Hungary, and above all with the Prime Minister's family.

Dr. Jozsef Antall's qualities as a human being and statesman were instrumental in commencing the nation's progress toward long-awaited democracy under his direct guidance. That this progress has not been interrupted by the Prime Minister's untimely death is perhaps his signal merit and greatest achievement.

Budapest  
December 18, 1993

[s] Árpád Göncz



A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF HUNGARY

Öexcellenciája  
William J. Clinton úr  
az Amerikai Egyesült Államok elnöke  
Washington, D.C.

Tisztelt Elnök Úr!

Köszönöm, hogy kifejezte: Ön is osztozik a gyászban, amely dr. Antall József miniszterelnök elhunytával bennünket, a Magyar Köztársaság népét, kormányát és mindenek fölött a miniszterelnök családját érte.

Dr. Antall József emberi és politikai kvalitásai sokat segítettek abban, hogy az ország az ő közvetlen irányításával elinduljon az áhított demokrácia felé. E folyamatot nem szakítja meg miniszterelnökünk fájdalmas, megrendítő halála - és talán éppen ebben összegezhető az ő szolgálata és legnagyobb teljesítménye.

Budapest, 1993. december 18.

Göncz Árpád  
/ Göncz Árpád /



S/S 9401390

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

January 24, 1994

0597

**MEMORANDUM FOR:** Mr. William Itoh  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council Staff  
The White House

**SUBJECT:** Alerting NSCS on Presidential  
Correspondence

Enclosed is the original of a letter to President Clinton from Hungarian President Arpad Goncz which is transmitted for your information.

This correspondence was received in the Information Resources Management Section of the Executive Secretariat on January 21, 1994. A copy has been assigned to the appropriate bureau for action.

*Charles W. Alexander*  
for Chief, S/S-IRM/RMD  
Information Resources Management Section  
Records Management Division  
Executive Secretariat  
647-2991

0597

Unofficial Translation

The Hon. William J. Clinton  
President of the  
United States of America  
White House  
Washington, D.C.

Budapest, December 18, 1993

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your expression of sharing the grief having fallen upon us, the people and government of the Republic of Hungary, and most of all the family with the passing away of Prime Minister József Antall.

Dr. József Antall's qualities as a Man and a Politician contributed greatly to the country's evolution under his leadership towards the democracy we aspire to. Our Prime Minister's painful, tragic death will not stop this evolutionary process, and this is perhaps the gist of his vocation and greatest achievement.

/ Árpád Göncz /  
President of the Republic  
of Hungary



A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKE

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF HUNGARY

Öexcellenciája

William J. Clinton úr

az Amerikai Egyesült Államok elnöke

Washington, D.C.

Tisztelt Elnök Úr!

Köszönöm, hogy kifejezte: Ön is osztozik a gyászban, amely dr. Antall József miniszterelnök elhunytával bennünket, a Magyar Köztársaság népét, kormányát és mindenek fölött a miniszterelnök családját érte.

Dr. Antall József emberi és politikai kvalitásai sokat segítettek abban, hogy az ország az ő közvetlen irányításával elinduljon az áhított demokrácia felé. E folyamatot nem szakítja meg miniszterelnökünk fájdalmas, megrendítő halála - és talán éppen ebben összegezhető az ő szolgálata és legnagyobb teljesítménye.

Budapest, 1993. december 18.

PHOTOCOPY  
MISC. HANDWRITING

*Göncz Árpád*  
/ Göncz Árpád /

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# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>001a. talking points</del>	<del>re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz and Slovak President Kovac (4 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001b. memo</del>	<del>re: Meeting with Presidents Goncz and Kovac of Hungary and Slovakia (1 page)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001c. talking points</del>	<del>re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz and Slovak President Kovac (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001d. memo</del>	<del>re: Meeting with President Goncz and Kovac of Hungary and Slovakia (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/20/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001e. talking points</del>	<del>re: Points to be Made for Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz and Slovak President Kovac (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/20/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
001f. report	re: U.S. Government Report (2 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 9/19/2016</i>	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)
001g. report	re: U.S. Government Report (2 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 9/19/2016</i>	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)
<del>001h. paper</del>	<del>re: Meeting with Slovak President Michal Kovac and Hungarian President Arpad Goncz (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001i. talking points</del>	<del>re: Talking Points to be Made for Meeting with Slovak President Michal Kovac and Hungarian President Arpad Goncz (3 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001j. paper</del>	<del>re: Slovak-Hungarian Relations (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001k. paper</del>	<del>re: Slovakia (3 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001l. paper</del>	<del>re: Hungary (2 pages)</del>	<del>06/21/1994</del>	<del>P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>

**COLLECTION:**

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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]

- 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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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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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001m. report	[Duplicate of 001f] (2 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 9/19/2016</i>	03/28/1994	P1/b(1)
001n. report	[Duplicate of 001g] (2 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 9/19/2016</i>	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Goncz])  
 OA/Box Number: 476

**FOLDER TITLE:**

9404778

2015-0133-M  
rs1150

**RESTRICTION CODES**

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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 20 JUN 94  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY  
AP

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

KOVAC, MICHAL

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY & PRES KOVAC OF SLOVAKIA - 21 JUN

ACTION: NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DUE DATE: 18 JUN 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: NSJWF CLOSED BY: NSDRS DOC 3 OF 3

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE  
002 FRIED  
003 PRESIDENT  
003

Z 94061715 FWD TO PRESIDENT FOR INFORMATION  
Z 94062008 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  
Z 94062018 FOR INFORMATION  
X 94062114 NOTED BY PRESIDENT

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE

DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

003 940620  
003 940620  
003 940620

VICE PRESIDENT  
WH CHIEF OF STAFF  
STEPHANOPOULOS, G

TO: ITOH

FROM: GROSSMAN, M

DOC DATE: 17 JUN 94  
SOURCE REF: 9414054

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY  
AP

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: PAPERS FOR PRES MTG W/ HUNGARIAN & SLOVAK PRES ON 21 JUN

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 18 JUN 94 STATUS: X

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

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  
FRIED

FOR CONCURRENCE  
SODERBERG

FOR INFO  
BERGER  
EMERY  
HALL  
HILLIARD  
ITOH  
KENNEY  
SCHIFTER  
SIGLER

COMMENTS:

*Workproduct in Paper 4778 No action req'd.*

*DFried*

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBYNARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-m



National Security Council  
The White House

REC'd 6/17  
6:40PM

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 4778

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

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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	_____	_____	_____
Kenney	<u>1</u>	<u>W</u>	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	<u>2</u>	<u>W</u>	<u>redo</u>
Lake	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	_____	_____	_____
<u>Fried</u>	<u>3</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:

CC: NS

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

Ex Sec's office has sheets

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CARD 1 OF 7

~~THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 4/21/94~~  
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT GONCZ AND SLOVAK PRESIDENT KOVAC

OVERALL

- CONGRATULATIONS ON EAST-WEST INSTITUTE AWARD.
- YOUR SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY, FREE MARKETS, MULTI-ETHNIC SOCIETIES, AMICABLE RESOLUTION OF BILATERAL ISSUES, KEY TO BUILDING NEW EUROPE.
- JULY TRIP TO RIGA, WARSAW WILL UNDERSCORE U.S. COMMITMENT TO INTEGRATING NEW CEE DEMOCRACIES INTO WEST, BUILDING ON JANUARY PRAGUE SUMMIT.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 2 OF 7

SECURITY, PFP

- PFP OFF TO GOOD START; IS THE ROAD TO NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR NEW DEMOCRACIES. PLEASED YOU HAVE JOINED.
- NATO'S EXPANSION A QUESTION OF WHEN AND HOW, NOT WHETHER. NO OUTSIDE COUNTRY HAS A VETO. REJECT RUSSIAN "SPHERE-OF-INFLUENCE" OVER CEE.
- NEED TO ENSURE NATO'S EXPANSION OCCURS IN WAY THAT THREATENS NO ONE; INCREASES STABILITY AND SECURITY.
- PFP A PRACTICAL TOOL TO GET MILITARY COOPERATION UNDERWAY.

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.03)  
5/11/2018 KBH

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CARD 3 OF 7

**BOSNIA/SERBIA; REGIONAL ISSUES**

- BOSNIA REPRESENTS CEE NIGHTMARE; YOUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE ETHNIC TOLERANCE, REGIONAL STABILITY. IS THE OPPOSITE.
- APPRECIATE YOUR SACRIFICES: SLOVAKIA'S UNPROFOR CONTRIBUTION; HUNGARIAN AWACS ARRANGEMENT WITH NATO.
- ARE WATCHING SITUATION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN VOJVODINA.

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CARD 4 OF 7

**ECONOMICS**

- BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE COME A LONG WAY. TRANSFORMATION TO FREE MARKET SYSTEM NOT EASY. BUT COSTS OF NOT TRANSFORMING EVEN HIGHER.
- NEED TO MAINTAIN MACROECONOMIC STABILITY; CONTROL DEFICITS OR INFLATION COULD WIPE OUT MANY GAINS.
- PLEASED U.S. IS FIRST PLACE IN HUNGARIAN FOREIGN INVESTMENT. WANT TO DO MORE IN SLOVAKIA AND NEW GOVERNMENT SEEMS WELL DISPOSED TOWARD FOREIGN INVESTMENT.
- VIBRANT FREE MARKET, PRIVATE SECTOR, WILL LEAD WAY TO RECOVERY AND EVENTUAL PROSPERITY. BUT

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CARD 5 OF 7

UNDERSTAND NEED TO DEAL WITH SOCIAL  
DISLOCATION.

**U.S. ASSISTANCE**

- SINCE PRAGUE, HAVE MOVED AHEAD ON INITIATIVES TO INCREASE TRADE AND INVESTMENT, PROMOTE REGIONAL COOPERATION, SUPPORT LOCAL DEMOCRACY.
- o EXPECT SOON TO ANNOUNCE DATE FOR FALL CEE TRADE AND INVESTMENT CONFERENCE. SUPPORTING HUNGARIAN, SLOVAK MEMBERSHIP IN OECD. PUTTING TOGETHER DEMOCRACY NETWORK PROGRAM.
- o WARSAW TRIP WILL INCLUDE CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING ON JULY 7; I WILL PARTICIPATE.

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CARD 6 OF 7

- LOOKING AT WAYS TO HELP REFORMING COUNTRIES DEAL WITH SOCIAL DISLOCATIONS, UNEMPLOYMENT, TIGHTEN COORDINATION WITH EU, IFI'S, OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES.
- o IDEAS INCLUDE MICRO-LENDING PROGRAMS TO HELP SMALL BUSINESS GET STARTED, HOUSING SECTOR REFORMS.
- WILL WORK TO KEEP MARKETS OPEN, AVOID PROTECTIONISM, KEEP EU ENLARGEMENT ON TRACK.

**INVITATIONS**

- (TO GONCZ, IF ASKED): CSCE BUDAPEST SUMMIT IN DECEMBER A MAJOR EVENT; UNDERPINNING OF NEW EUROPE; CONSIDERING MY SCHEDULE AT BUSY TIME.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CARD 7 OF 7

-- (TO KOVAC, IF ASKED): U.S. WILL BE WELL  
REPRESENTED AT SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING IN  
AUGUST. TREASURE UNIQUE ALBUM OF DOCUMENTS,  
PHOTOS OF UPRISING YOU GAVE ME IN PRAGUE.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.04)  
5/11/2018 KBH

MEETING WITH  
PRESIDENTS GONCZ AND KOVAC OF HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA

DATE: June 21, 1994  
LOCATION: Oval Office  
TIME: 10:30 am  
  
FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

I. PURPOSE

To support reformist, pro-Western efforts by Goncz and Kovac.

II. BACKGROUND

The meeting is the message. Hungarian President Goncz (goontz) and Slovak President Kovac (KO-vatch) represent reformist forces in their countries, now under pressure. You can convey our central message: market reforms and democracy are the keys to CEE's future; the U.S. will help.

Goncz and Kovac will receive a joint award June 22 from the Institute for East-West Studies in New York for contributions to international understanding. Madeleine Albright will present the award they deserve it. Hungarian-Slovak tensions -- over Slovak treatment of its large ethnic Hungarian minority, Slovak fears of Hungarian irredentism, and disputes over the Gabcikovo dam on the Danube -- are a potential flashpoint. These issues were exploited by nationalists in both countries, especially former Slovak Prime Minister Meciar. Relations quickly improved following Meciar's replacement -- for which Kovac was responsible -- by a broad, reformist coalition; Goncz and Kovac led high-profile conciliation efforts.

Slovakia's government, supported by Kovac, faces elections in September. Meciar is challenging it with an increasingly nationalist and statist platform. In Hungary, the post-communist Socialist party won last month's elections and an uneasy leftist-liberal coalition will likely take power. Hungary's Socialists appear committed to continuing reforms but the political base for reform is weakening.

Goncz is a former democratic dissident. Avuncular and thoughtful in style and liberal in politics, he is the most popular politician in Hungary. Kovac is different: though a former apparatchik economist with a formal style, he has emerged as a major force for political stability and reform. You met with both in Prague.

*This is why we're in Slovakia/Kovac from A on Hungary / Goncz*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4778

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT GONCZ AND SLOVAK PRESIDENT KOVAC

**Overall**

- Congratulations on East-West Institute Award.
- Your support for democracy, free markets, multi-ethnic societies, amicable resolution of bilateral issues, key to building new Europe.
- July trip to Riga, Warsaw will underscore U.S. commitment to integrating new CEE democracies into West, building on January Prague summit.

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.05)  
5/11/2018 KBH

**Security, PFP**

- PFP off to good start; is the road to NATO membership for new democracies. Pleased you have joined.
- NATO's expansion a question of when and how, not whether. No outside country has a veto. Reject Russian "sphere-of-influence" over CEE.
- Need to ensure NATO's expansion occurs in way that threatens no one; increases stability and security.
- PFP a practical tool to get military cooperation underway.

**Bosnia/Serbia; Regional Issues**

- Bosnia represents CEE nightmare; your efforts to promote ethnic tolerance, regional stability is the opposite.
- Appreciate your sacrifices: Slovakia's UNPROFOR contribution; Hungarian AWACS arrangement with NATO.
- Are watching situation of Hungarian minority in Vojvodina.

**Economics**

- Both countries have come a long way. Transformation to free market system not easy. But costs of not transforming even higher.
- Need to maintain macroeconomic stability; control deficits or inflation could wipe out many gains.
- Pleased U.S. is first place in Hungarian foreign investment. Want to do more in Slovakia; way now may be open. *why?*
- Vibrant free market, private sector, will lead way to recovery and eventual prosperity. But understand need to deal with social dislocation.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

**U.S. Assistance**

- Since Prague, have moved ahead on initiatives to increase trade and investment, promote regional cooperation, support local democracy.
- Looking at ways to help reforming countries deal with social dislocations, unemployment, tighten coordination with EU, IFI's, other Western countries.
- Will work to keep markets open, avoid protectionism, keep EU enlargement on track.

**Invitations**

- (To Goncz, if asked): CSCE Budapest Summit in December a major event; underpinning of new Europe; considering my schedule at busy time.
- (To Kovac, if asked): U.S. will be well represented at Slovak National Uprising in August. Treasure unique album of documents, photos of uprising you gave me in Prague.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 20, 1994

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/21/94

MEETING WITH

PRESIDENTS GONCZ AND KOVAC OF HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA

DATE: June 21, 1994

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:30 am

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

**DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0133-M (1.06)

5/11/2018 KBH

I. PURPOSE

To support reformist, pro-Western efforts by Goncz and Kovac.

II. BACKGROUND

The meeting is the message. Hungarian President Goncz (goontz) and Slovak President Kovac (KO-vatch) represent reformist forces in their countries, now under pressure. You can convey our central message: market reforms and democracy are the keys to CEE's future; the U.S. will help.

Goncz and Kovac will receive a joint award June 22 from the Institute for East-West Studies in New York for contributions to international understanding. Amb. Albright will present the award. They deserve it. Hungarian-Slovak tensions -- over Slovak treatment of its large ethnic Hungarian minority, Slovak fears of Hungarian irredentism, and disputes over the Gabcikovo dam on the Danube -- are a potential flashpoint. These issues were exploited by nationalists in both countries, especially former Slovak Prime Minister Meciar. Relations quickly improved following Meciar's replacement this spring -- for which Kovac was responsible -- by a broad, reformist coalition; Goncz and Kovac led high-profile conciliation efforts.

Slovakia's coalition government, supported by Kovac, faces elections in September. Meciar is challenging it with an increasingly nationalist and statist platform. Kovac, though a former apparatchik economist with a formal style, is a major force for political stability and reform.

After four years of center-right rule in Hungary, the post-communist Socialist party won last month's elections and a leftist-liberal coalition will likely take power. Hungary's Socialists appear committed to continuing reforms but the political base for reform has been weakened. Goncz is a former democratic dissident. Avuncular and thoughtful in style and liberal in politics, he is the most popular politician in Hungary. You met Kovac and Goncz in Prague.

PHOTOCOPY  
WUC HANDWRITING

III. THE AGENDA

You should laud the encouraging new tenor of Slovak-Hungarian relations, particularly the efforts of leaders on both sides to resolve rather than inflame difficult issues. As we approach your July trip, you should stress the U.S. commitment to a democratic, secure and undivided Europe.

**Security, PFP:** Both have joined. The Slovaks especially welcomed PFP as a "breathing space" to catch up with its Visegrad partners, who had outstripped it in reforms. Both countries worry the U.S. will consign their region to a Russian sphere of influence or give Moscow a "special relationship" in NATO. The Slovaks, new and raw in their sovereignty, are trying hard to build ties with us; their PFP presentation document was of good quality.

**Bosnia/Serbia:** Hungary faces a security problem to its south and fears Serbia could hold hostage the large Hungarian minority in the Vojvodina. Nevertheless, Hungary has allowed NATO AWACS to use Hungarian airspace. Slovakia has troops in UNPROFOR.

**Economics:** After a very promising start, Hungary remains mired in recession. General reform fatigue and unemployment (12 percent) produced electoral defeat of the center-right government. Hungary has attracted considerable foreign investment, however, with the U.S. in first place with \$3.1 billion in direct investment. Slovakia -- saddled with a high budget deficit as Czech transfers ceased and too much unprofitable heavy industry -- has faced far greater challenges in restructuring. Foreign investment is low (totaling around \$366 million since 1989; \$47 million from the U.S.), unemployment high (14 percent) and recession lingers. The new government is trying to turn it around.

**U.S. Assistance:** We have made Slovakia a priority and accelerating our efforts in high-visible ways in the run-up to the elections, focusing on technical assistance in financial and privatization. Hungary was an early recipient of U.S. assistance and we have successes to show on the privatization and entrepreneurial side. In both countries, we are changing our approach: focussing priorities, greatly stepping up coordination with the EU, World Bank and key Western countries (Germany), and doing more to help address social dislocations, e.g., unemployment.

**Invitations:** The Hungarians want you to attend the CSCE Summit in Budapest in early December; a decision is pending. The Slovaks want high-level U.S. representation to the 50th Anniversary of the Slovak WWII Uprising; Amb. Albright may represent us.

Attachments

Tab A Core Points

Tab B Biographies

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT GONCZ AND SLOVAK PRESIDENT KOVAC

**Overall**

- Congratulations on East-West Institute Award.
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- July trip to Riga, Warsaw will underscore U.S. commitment to integrating new CEE democracies into West, building on January Prague summit.

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- NATO's expansion a question of when and how, not whether. No outside country has a veto. Reject Russian "sphere-of-influence" over CEE.
- Need to ensure NATO's expansion occurs in way that threatens no one; increases stability and security.
- PFP a practical tool to get military cooperation underway.

**Bosnia/Serbia; Regional Issues**

- Bosnia represents CEE nightmare; your efforts to promote ethnic tolerance, regional stability is the opposite.
- Appreciate your sacrifices: Slovakia's UNPROFOR contribution; Hungarian AWACS arrangement with NATO.
- Are watching situation of Hungarian minority in Vojvodina.

**Economics**

- Both countries have come a long way. Transformation to free market system not easy. But costs of not transforming even higher.
- Need to maintain macroeconomic stability; control deficits or inflation could wipe out many gains.
- Pleased U.S. is first place in Hungarian foreign investment. Want to do more in Slovakia and new government seems well disposed toward foreign investment.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0133-M (1.07)  
5/11/2013 KBM

- Vibrant free market, private sector, will lead way to recovery and eventual prosperity. But understand need to deal with social dislocation.

#### **U.S. Assistance**

- Since Prague, have moved ahead on initiatives to increase trade and investment, promote regional cooperation, support local democracy.
  - o Expect soon to announce date for fall CEE Trade and Investment Conference. Supporting Hungarian, Slovak membership in OECD. Putting together Democracy Network program.
  - o Warsaw trip will include CEE Foreign Ministers meeting on July 7; I will participate.
- Looking at ways to help reforming countries deal with social dislocations, unemployment, tighten coordination with EU, IFI's, other Western countries.
  - o Ideas include micro-lending programs to help small business get started, housing sector reforms.
- Will work to keep markets open, avoid protectionism, keep EU enlargement on track.

#### **Invitations**

- (To Goncz, if asked): CSCE Budapest Summit in December a major event; underpinning of new Europe; considering my schedule at busy time.
- (To Kovac, if asked): U.S. will be well represented at Slovak National Uprising in August. Treasure unique album of documents, photos of uprising you gave me in Prague.

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001f. report	re: U.S. Government Report [partial] (2 pages)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 476

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9404778

2015-0133-M  
rs1150

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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]
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- 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]

**Michal KOVAC**  
(Phonetic: KOHvahch)

**SLOVAKIA**

*President (since February 1993)*

*Addressed as: Mr. President*

As independent Slovakia's first elected president, Michal Kovac has used his limited constitutional powers to try to preserve political stability and steer his country toward greater democracy, in our judgment. In November 1993 Kovac, who has the power to ratify ministerial appointments, refused to accept then Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's nominee for privatization minister, [redacted]

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] The following month, exercising his prerogative to submit legislation to parliament, Kovac proposed an amendment to a law to allow southern towns with large Hungarian minorities to use both Slovak and Hungarian in the names of their towns; the amendment was intended to ease tensions, [redacted]

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] In February 1994 Kovac refused Meciar's demand that he accept the resignation of then Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, publicly maintaining that Meciar had to find an acceptable replacement for the Foreign Minister first. [redacted]

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

**Career Data**

Kovac was apparently successful in the old Communist system during his early career. He graduated from the Bratislava School of Economics in 1954 and worked there as an assistant for a year. From 1956 until 1971 he was assigned to the regional institute of the Czechoslovak State Bank. He lectured at Cuba's central banking school from 1964 until 1965, and he was deputy director of a Czechoslovak bank in London during 1967-69.



©

Kovac, who during the late 1960s was a strong public supporter of then Communist Party head Alexander Dubcek, disapproved of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and rebelled against the subsequent normalization campaign; he was subsequently demoted to a lesser post in the Bratislava city office. [redacted] 3.5c

In December 1989 Kovac was named Minister of Finance in the first postrevolutionary Slovak Government. He was elected to the Federal Assembly in June 1990 as a candidate from the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement. After the VPN split, he joined the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS)—led by then Slovak Republic Prime Minister Meciar—in April 1991. The following month Kovac resigned from the Finance Ministry to protest Meciar's removal from the republic prime-ministership. Kovac was named HZDS deputy chairman in June 1991. He was reelected to the Federal Assembly in June 1992 and became Speaker; he held this post until 31 December 1992, when the federal parliament ceased to exist. Kovac represented his country at the opening of the Holocaust Museum in Washington in 1993. [redacted] 3.5c

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2015-0133-1105126/116 KDE

***The Presidential Couple***

*Kovac and his wife, Emilia, a professor at the Bratislava Economics University, are highly popular in Slovakia. Public opinion polls rate Kovac as the most trustworthy politician in the country, and he gets high marks for his willingness to meet with delegates from various districts to hear their concerns and discuss political developments. Emilia Kovac is frequently seen shopping at the K-Mart in Bratislava.*

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

*Although Kovac's wife does not appear to get involved in politics, she takes a strong interest in her husband's career.*

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

3.5c

**Personal Notes**

Kovac was born on 5 August 1930 in Lubisa, East Slovakia. He does not speak English. He and his wife have two grown sons; their older son is studying for an M.B.A. at the London Business School. 3.5c

16 June 1994

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001g. report	re: U.S.Government Report [partial] (2 pages)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 476

### FOLDER TITLE:

9404778

2015-0133-M  
rs1150

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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**Arpad GONCZ**  
(Phonetic: goontz)

HUNGARY

*President (since 1990)*

*Addressed as: Mr. President*

Former playwright Arpad Goncz has been affectionately referred to in the Hungarian press as the grandfather of his country, and he consistently places at or near the top of public preference polls. To his countrymen, this former political prisoner (1957-63) is a symbol of those Hungarians who suffered for their participation in the uprising against Communist rule in 1956.

EO 13526 1.4c

As President, Goncz has employed his moral authority to weigh in on public policy matters that he deems essential—or injurious—to Hungary's continuing democratization. For instance, he strongly criticized the former government's efforts to control the state-owned media, calling such action "unhealthy." Goncz recently oversaw the national election in May, which saw the reemergence of the left into power.

A founding member of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Goncz was nominated for the presidency by the late Prime Minister Jozsef Antall as part of an intricate deal engineered to forge a better working relationship between the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the SZDSZ. In return for SZDSZ concessions, which facilitated the coalition's ability to pass important legislation, Antall gave the SZDSZ a say in some government appointments and a role in restructuring the Hungarian media. Goncz had not been prominent in party affairs before he was nominated for the presidency. He has since relinquished his SZDSZ membership—which was widely seen in the press as a gesture to underline his determination to remain above party politics. Nevertheless, Goncz has occasionally made press statements that have been attacked by the governing coalition parties as blatantly partisan.



©

#### Determining the President's Place

press reports indicate that Goncz chafes at constitutional ambiguities restricting his position and that he had been frustrated by Antall's effort to limit presidential authority. his training as a lawyer has made him a staunch advocate of constitutional democracy; he has often said publicly that he is a "constitutional" president and feels it his duty to be the conscience of the government. The Budapest press chronicled in detail Goncz's battles with Antall over the president's legal role in overseeing the military; appointing and dismissing government officials; and, in general, maintaining the presidency as part of a democratic system of checks and balances. a 1991 Constitutional Court ruling on the scope of presidential and prime-ministerial powers was theoretical and vague enough to allow both adversaries to feel vindicated; however, it widened the rift between the two men that lasted until Goncz's reconciliation with Antall on his deathbed. At that meeting Goncz presented his old friend with Hungary's highest honor.

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EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

### Foreign Policy Priorities

Goncz has told the press that Hungary's top foreign policy priority is winning full EU membership and gaining access to West European markets, achievements he views as crucial to the rebuilding of his country's economy. He supports his country's eventual admission to NATO [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

He has also emphasized his conviction that the key to lasting peace is resolution of the treatment of ethnic minorities: "If Europe can solve this problem, then it can solve any problem in the future." For his part, Goncz has reached out to Hungarian Jewish and Gypsy minorities during his tenure as President. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

### Early Life and Career

Goncz was born in Budapest on 10 February 1922. He earned a doctorate of laws in 1944. Goncz later fought in Hungary's anti-Nazi resistance and, following the Communist takeover in 1948, became a laborer. During his imprisonment, Goncz mastered English by translating Winston Churchill's wartime memoirs for his Communist captors. He was released in 1963 and found work as a translator. [redacted]

1.4c, 1.4d

he has translated "an entire bookcase" of American literature, including former President Bush's autobiography, *Looking Forward*.

3.5c

Goncz is characterized [redacted] as speaking fluent, if grammatically imperfect, English. He and his wife, Maria Zsuzsanna, own

1.4c, 1.4d

an elegant cottage on the northern shore of Lake Balaton, an idyllic spot where they are most at home. The couple has four children. [redacted]

3.5c

16 June 1994

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

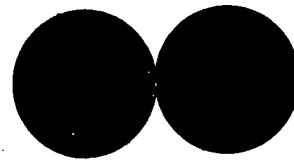
June 17, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Hungarian and Slovak Presidents



Attached for your approval is a briefing memo for the President's meeting June 21 with Presidents Goncz and Kovac of Hungary and Slovakia.

Concurrences by: *DF* Helen Walsh, *DF* John Beyrle, *DF* Don Kerrick

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

- Tab I Briefing Memorandum
- Tab A Talking Points

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KGM* NARA, Date *5/11/2013*  
2015-0133-M

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S/S 9414054

Staff

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 17, 1994

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DECL:OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Papers for the President's Meeting with Hungarian and  
Slovak Presidents, June 21, 1994 10:30 a.m.

Attached are a briefing memo, background papers and  
biographies for the President's use in his meeting with Slovak  
President Kovac and Hungarian President Guncz on June 21.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

  
Marc Grossman  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

Clinton/Kovac/Guncz Papers

UNCLASSIFIED (with ~~SECRET~~ attachments)

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MEETING WITH  
SLOVAK PRESIDENT MICHAL KOVAC AND  
HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT ARPAD GONCZ

DATE: JUNE 21, 1994  
LOCATION: WHITE HOUSE  
TIME: 10:30 A.M.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**

2015-0133-M (1.10)  
5/11/2018 KBH

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Hungarian President Goncz and Slovak President Kovac will receive awards from the Institute for East-West Studies in New York June 22 for exceptional contributions to international understanding.

Hungarian-Slovak tensions -- over Slovak treatment of its large ethnic Hungarian minority, Slovak fears of Hungarian irredentism and disputes over the Gabcikovo dam -- are a potential flashpoint in the otherwise rapidly prospering Visegrad region. They are also clearly exacerbated by the political manipulations of nationalists in both countries. Relations quickly improved following the new Slovak coalition's pledge to lower internal ethnic and political tensions.

Public support from you will resonate with particular strength now. Kovac and Goncz -- both closely identified with democratic reform and coexistence -- represent continuity at a time of deep political turmoil in both countries. A new leftist coalition, led by the post-communist Socialist party, is likely to take power in Hungary, while Slovakia's pro-reform coalition faces a stiff challenge from nationalists in parliamentary elections this fall.

These leaders' strong desire to see their countries in NATO and the EU -- and an equally powerful wish for stronger trade, security and intelligence links with the U.S. -- gives us an opening not only to encourage continued internal reforms but to stress the need to negotiate potentially explosive tensions over minority issues and the Gabcikovo dam.

With formerly communist parties playing key roles in new coalitions in both countries, this meeting is well-timed to reiterate our conviction that there is no "third way" between Communism and the free market. Foreign investment is the engine that will drive Central and Eastern Europe's economic transformation; a settled political environment and a peaceful multi-ethnic society are vital in attracting Western business interests to each country.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

Your meeting can accomplish three key goals: boost the efforts of Presidents Goncz and Kovac to lower tensions between the uneasy neighbors; enhance the electoral chances of pro-reform forces in Slovakia's upcoming September elections; and signal the need for continued free-market economic reforms to Hungary's new, Socialist-led coalition.

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-2-

The need for intensified political and security cooperation, respect for individual rights of all citizens and continued rapid economic reform should form the core of your message to the two Visegrad leaders.

You should laud the encouraging new tenor of Slovak-Hungarian relations, particularly the conscious efforts by leaders on both sides of the border to resolve, not inflame, bilateral disputes, noting that Bosnia provides stark evidence of where unrestrained nationalism and ethnic conflict can lead. (Both countries have contributed to resolving the Bosnian conflict as well: Slovakia has troops in UNPROFOR, Hungary has borne many sacrifices in enforcing UN sanctions against Serbia, including allowing NATO AWACs to use Hungarian airspace.)

You should reiterate for the two leaders our fundamental commitment, outlined at your last meeting in Prague, to a democratic, secure, undivided Europe. We can already see important progress: military and political cooperation are burgeoning under the Partnership for Peace; we continue to work to reduce trade barriers worldwide; the OECD has welcomed the Visegrad states' applications.

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TALKING POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
SLOVAK PRESIDENT MICHAL KOVAC AND  
HUNGARIAN PRESIDENT ARPAD GONCZ

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.11)  
5/11/2018 KBH

Democratic Change

- It is a great pleasure to see you again. Significant political changes have taken place in both countries in the five short months since our discussions in Prague.
- The fact that these changes are taking place in a constitutional and peaceful way in Hungary and Slovakia demonstrates once again that democracy is taking firm root in both countries.
- We look forward to close, cooperative relations with both governments and welcome your continued firm commitment to democracy, to free-market economic reforms, to rapid integration with Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Prague Initiatives

- We continue to press forward with the important initiatives we discussed in Prague.
- The key goal remains the rapid integration of your states in a prosperous, secure, unified Europe.
- Political and security contacts are already burgeoning under Partnership for Peace. Let me reassure you that NATO expansion is a question of when rather than if, and that no outside nation has a veto over NATO's decisions in this.
- We will continue to work with you and our other partners to reduce barriers to trade throughout the world.

Regional Cooperation

- But just as important as all these initiatives are your vital contributions to stability and cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe.
- We have seen in Bosnia the terrible price of unrestrained nationalism and ethnic conflict. Once these passions have ignited into violence, quenching them fully can take generations.
- By working to calm, rather than inflame, ethnic and nationalist feelings, to negotiate points of difference between your peoples rather than engage in polemics, you have both shown great leadership.

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-2-

- We applaud your commitment to guaranteeing the rights of all citizens in your countries, regardless of ethnic, religious or racial origin.
- We applaud your concerted efforts to carry on a close dialogue with citizens from minority groups as you deal with their concerns.
- And we applaud your commitment to using international mediation mechanisms to resolve bilateral disputes, such as the International Court of Justice to adjudicate the Gabcikovo dam issue.

East-West Institute Award

- So, let me offer you my warm congratulations on receiving the East-West Institute's Award for Exceptional Contributions to International Understanding.
- By working to create free markets, stable political environments and peaceful multi-ethnic societies, you are making a vital contribution to creating the unified Europe we pledged to seek in Prague.

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Drafted: TGibbons *TJ*  
SEEEYCZE 1462 x7-1457

Cleared: EUR: AVershbow *N*  
EUR/EE: TSnell  
P: DRussell  
E: STsai  
S/P: SFlanagan  
DRL: CSmetana  
EUR/EEA: BBraun *TJ*

SLOVAK-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

Recent political setbacks for nationalists in both countries--combined with high-profile conciliation efforts by Presidents Goncz and Kovac--have significantly improved relations between the uneasy neighbors.

The Moravcik government in Slovakia, which ousted the nationalist Meciar regime with key support from Kovac, has quickly delivered on promises to lower internal and regional tension by improving relations with Slovakia's large ethnic Hungarian minority (550,000 people, 11 percent of population). The Slovak parliament recently approved a government bill allowing the use of non-Slovak personal names, as sought by ethnic Hungarians and required by the Council of Europe last summer. A contentious debate continues, however, over Moravcik's efforts to allow bilingual road signs.

Hungarian politicians have also contributed to the improved climate. The recent parliamentary campaign was remarkably free of nationalist rhetoric regarding Hungary's current borders or the 5 million ethnic Hungarians living in neighboring countries. Socialist leader Gyula Horn, whose party is likely to lead the next government, has already signalled that improved relations with Hungary's neighbors will be a central foreign policy priority. He has pointedly avoided former PM Antall's claim to be leader of 15 million Hungarians (only 10 million of whom live within Hungary's current borders).

Tensions Remain

But Slovakia will continue to view Hungary as the chief potential threat to its territorial integrity and security. Both Slovakia and Hungary recently received MiG-29s from Russia as payment for debt and Slovakia's meager defense forces now train to repulse theoretical Hungarian attacks. Moravcik has reiterated his desire for a bilateral cooperation treaty with Hungary, but restated a fundamental demand that Budapest agree to respect current borders. Budapest wants concessions on minority linguistic and cultural rights.

Gabcikovo Dam

The Gabcikovo dam issue remains in arbitration before the International Court of Justice; we have strongly supported this as the best avenue for a solution. The two countries recently failed to reach an interim Danube water-sharing agreement in negotiations brokered by the EU. While we should avoid any direct mediation effort in this dispute, President Clinton should laud their continued efforts to negotiate a settlement.

Disagreement over the dam escalated this spring after an accident temporarily closed the locks and disrupted Danube traffic. Hungary has abrogated the 1977 treaty under which it agreed to the massive hydroelectric/lock project, which is already operating. Slovakia refuses to abandon the project, citing the approximately \$100 million invested so far.

Drafted: TGibbons *TG*  
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EUR/EE: TSnell  
P: DRussell  
E: STsai  
S/P: SFlanagan  
DRL: CSmetana  
EUR/EEA: BBraun

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SLOVAKIA

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PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-m (1.13)  
5/11/2018 K3H

POLITICAL SITUATION

Prime Minister Moravcik's pro-reform coalition--which took power in March and spans the spectrum from reformed communists to nationalists--has already made headway in accelerating economic reforms and promoting ethnic and political tolerance and regional cooperation, particularly with Hungary.

The coalition counts President Michal Kovac as a close ally. Kovac took a serious political risk in helping to force out former Prime Minister Meciar with a scathing public indictment of his menacing and divisive political tactics.

As in Poland and Hungary, the former communist party is playing a central cabinet role. The Democratic Left Party (SDL) holds two key economic portfolios and the defense ministry, but SDL leaders have repeatedly underscored to high-level USG officials their party's commitment to free-market economic reforms and rapid Western integration, including full membership in NATO.

Election Prospects

The disparate coalition partners face a stiff challenge from Meciar and his nationalist allies in elections September 30. Meciar and his HZDS party could well win a plurality, but would have trouble forming a coalition. They have alienated all but the most ardent nationalists and President Kovac would do everything in his power to prevent another Meciar government.

Barring a HZDS landslide, a broad coalition similar to the current government is likely; Kovac would probably tap Moravcik or SDL leader Weiss to lead such a coalition. But given Meciar's striking ability to drag himself off the canvas, we have tread a fine line in our public support for Moravcik's pro-reform coalition, praising policies rather than individuals or parties.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

The new coalition has pledged to maintain tight fiscal and monetary policies and to accelerate the torpid pace of privatization. Although the previous government stabilized prices, it continually battled severe foreign exchange crises and failed to meet the IMF target for the budget deficit. In 1993, Slovakia slogged through its fourth year of recession, with real GDP falling by four percent and unemployment climbing to over 14 percent. The government reported that 47 percent of the population lived below the poverty line in 1993.

Slovakia has attracted little foreign investment, about \$366 million since 1989; the United States has invested only around \$47 million. The U.S. accounts for less than five percent of Slovakia's trade (U.S. exports of \$34 million, and imports from Slovakia of \$65 million). The U.S. has extended to Slovakia most favored nation (MFN) status and GSP benefits.

Economic Assistance

Through FY 1993, the U.S. committed over \$145 million to economic and political transformation in Slovakia, including approximately \$64 million of Support for East European Democracy (SEED) funds. Priority areas for assistance are privatization/industrial restructuring, financial and business sector development, and democratic pluralism initiatives. The Slovak-American Enterprise Fund has made 30 investments totalling over \$18 million in Slovakia.

Partnership for Peace

PFP offers Slovakia a "breathing space" to catch up to the other Visegrad members, which have outstripped it in political, economic, and military reforms. Slovaks of all political stripes seek reassurance that their new state has not been consigned by the U.S. to the Russian sphere of influence, and that Russia will not have a "special relationship" with NATO. Slovakia has presented a draft of its PFP Presentation Document, which DOD officials praised, and SecDef Perry signed an Memorandum of Understanding with Slovakia last month.

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E: STsai  
S/P: SFlanagan  
DRL: CSmetana  
EUR/EEA: BBraun

*TG*

Political Situation

Hungary, politically stable and co-operative since communism collapsed, held elections in May. The campaign focused on the economy and the decline in the standard of living since 1990. Reform communists, the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSP), won an absolute majority, but have engaged the center-left Alliance of Free Democrats (SDS), which garnered nearly twenty per cent of the seats, in negotiations to form a coalition. MSP Leader Gyula Horn will likely become Prime Minister after the new Parliament convenes later this month. Although the Presidency is non-partisan, President Goncz is identified with the SDS.

The elections demonstrated continued marginalization of the extreme left and right. Unreformed communists garnered only 3.3 percent of the vote; ultranationalists 1.4. Also, the elections were judged free and fair; a large turnout conferred legitimacy on results. Finally, although the parties of the out-going government did poorly, all six parties that won seats in 1990 remain in Parliament; a sign of continuity that maintains broad political representation.

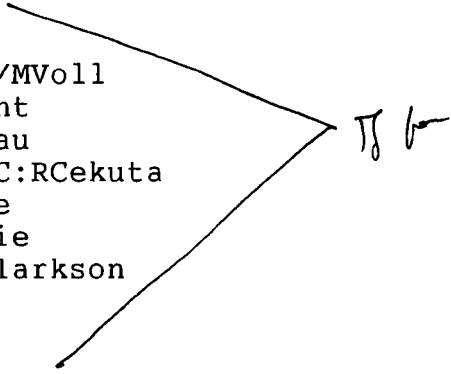
In meetings with senior USG officials, including Under Secretary Davis, the MSP has pledged to continue democratic reforms and progress toward a free market economy, to cooperate with the U.S. and to pursue integration into Western economic and security structures. We have told the MSP we will evaluate governments on their policies and practices, not their past, and have expressed confidence that, if the MSP keeps its promises, we will be able to work with the new government. Hungarian foreign policy generally complements U.S. policy. It is not expected to change dramatically other than to place more emphasis on regional cooperation and less on ethnic issues.

Economic Situation

The Hungarian economy remains mired in its fifth year of deep recession, a result of undertaking needed economic reforms, collapse of the former COMECON trade, and recession in western Europe. Real GDP in 1993 fell by two percent, and is down 25 percent since 1989. The government held inflation to 23 percent in 1993, and unemployment is over 12 percent.

Positively, the private sector has grown rapidly, generating over 50 percent of GDP. Hungary has reoriented its trade towards Western Europe; 70 percent in 1993. It has also attracted some \$7.2 billion in direct foreign investment, the most in the region. The U.S. is the largest foreign investor at \$3.1 billion in direct investment. While few barriers now affect Hungarian goods and most enter duty-free, trade with the U.S. stands at less than two percent of Hungary's total trade. In 1993, U.S. exports reached \$433.9 million; Hungarian exports \$400.5 million. One of Hungary's main foreign policy goals is European Union membership, for which it applied in April, but does not expect admittance before the end of the decade.

Drafted: EUR/EE:RNorman JK  
05/15/94 647-3191 SEEEYHUN 1173  
Cleared: EUR:AVershbow  
EUR:RLitt  
EUR/EE:TGerth  
EUR/EE:RMoore/MVoll  
EUR/RPM:JWinant  
PM/DRSA:RBebeau  
EB/TDC/BTA/DTC:RCekuta  
TFSR01:JGBurke  
EB/ESP:HRBordie  
PM/EXP/DTP:JClarkson  
ACDA:SBurk  
P:DRussell  
E:BLowry



# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001m. report	[Duplicate of 001f] [partial] (2 pages)	03/28/1994	P1/b(1)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 476

### FOLDER TITLE:

9404778

2015-0133-M  
rs1150

### 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]
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- 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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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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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- 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]

**Michal KOVAC**  
(Phonetic: KOHvahch)

**SLOVAKIA**

*President (since February 1993)*

*Addressed as: Mr. President*

As independent Slovakia's first elected president, Michal Kovac is actively trying to institute democracy and steer his country toward a free market economy. US Embassy officials say he sees his role as helping to preserve political stability, and, in our view, since the fall of 1993 he has used his limited constitutional powers to do so: for instance, in November 1993 Kovac, who has the power to accept or reject ministers, refused to accept former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's nominee for privatization minister [redacted]



[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d  
[redacted] Exercising his prerogative to submit legislation to the parliament, in early December 1993 he proposed an amendment to a law that would allow southern towns with large Hungarian minorities to use both Slovak and Hungarian in the names of their towns to ease tensions. In February 1994 Kovac refused the resignation of Meciar's rival and then Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, maintaining that Meciar had to find an acceptable replacement for the Foreign Minister first. [redacted]

[redacted]  
EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

**Career Data**

As a loyal apparatchik, Kovac was successful in the old Communist system. He graduated from the Bratislava School of Economics in 1954 and worked there as an assistant for a year. From 1956 until 1971 he was assigned to the regional institute of the Czechoslovak State Bank. He lectured at Cuba's central banking school from 1964 until 1965, and he was deputy director of a Czechoslovak bank in London during 1967-69. Kovac, who was a strong supporter of then head of the Communist Party Alexander Dubcek during the late 1960s, disapproved of the 1968 Soviet invasion of

[redacted]  
EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

**The Presidential Couple**

*Kovac and his wife, Emilia, a professor at the Bratislava Economics University, are highly popular in Slovakia. Public opinion polls rate Kovac as the most trustworthy politician in the country, and he gets high marks for his willingness to meet with delegates from various districts to hear their concerns and discuss political developments.*

[redacted]  
EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

*Emilia Kovac is frequently seen shopping at the K-Mart in Bratislava. Although she does not appear to get involved in politics, she takes a strong interest in her husband's career.* [redacted]

[redacted]  
EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted]  
3.5c

Czechoslovakia and rebelled against the subsequent normalization campaign; he was then demoted to a lesser post in the Bratislava city office. [redacted] 3.5c

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526  
2015-0133-M

05/26/16 KDE

(continued)  
LDA M 94-11570

In December 1989 Kovac was named Minister of Finance in the first postrevolutionary Slovak Government. He was elected deputy to the Federal Assembly in June 1990 as a candidate from the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement. After the VPN split, he joined the HZDS—led by then Slovak Republic Prime Minister Meciar—in April 1991. In May Kovac resigned from the Finance Ministry to protest Meciar's removal from the republic prime-ministership. Kovac was named HZDS deputy chairman in June. He was reelected in the June 1992 federal elections and became parliamentary speaker; he held this post until 31 December 1992, when the federal parliament ceased to exist. Kovac represented his country in the United States in May of 1993 for the opening of the Holocaust museum. 3.5c

**Personal Notes**

Kovac was born on 5 August 1930 in Lubisa, east Slovakia. He does not speak English. He and his wife have two grown sons, and their older son is studying for an MBA at the London Business School. 3.5c

28 March 1994

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001n. report	[Duplicate of 001g] [partial] (2 pages)	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)

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**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 476

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**FOLDER TITLE:**

9404778

2015-0133-M  
rs1150

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**RESTRICTION CODES**

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

**Arpad GONCZ**  
(Phonetic: goontz)

**HUNGARY**

**President (since 1990)**  
**Addressed as: Mr. President**

Arpad Goncz, a former playwright, has been affectionately referred to in the Hungarian press as the grandfather of his country, and he consistently places at or near the top of public preference polls. To his countrymen, this former political prisoner (1957-63) is a symbol of those Hungarians who suffered for their participation in the uprising against Communist rule in 1956.

EO 13526 1.4c

As President, Goncz has employed his moral authority to weigh in on public policy matters that he deems essential—or injurious—to Hungary's continuing democratization. For instance, he has strongly criticized the government's efforts to control the state owned media as unhealthy. Goncz will oversee a national election in May 1994 occasioned by the death of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in December 1993. He has told the press that, in a maturing democracy, the second election is usually more important than the first.

A founding member of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), Goncz was nominated for the presidency by the late Antall as part of an intricate deal engineered to forge a better working relationship between the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the SZDSZ.

In return for SZDSZ concessions, which facilitated the coalition's ability to pass important legislation, Antall gave the SZDSZ a say in some government appointments and a role in restructuring the Hungarian media. Goncz had not been prominent in party affairs before he was nominated for the presidency. He has since relinquished his SZDSZ membership in what was widely seen in the press as a gesture to underline his determination to remain above party politics. Nevertheless, Goncz

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

has occasionally made press statements that have been attacked by the governing coalition parties as blatantly partisan.

**Determining the President's Place**

press reports indicate that Goncz chafes at constitutional ambiguities restricting his position and that he had been frustrated by Antall's effort to limit presidential authority. his training as a lawyer has made him a staunch advocate of constitutional democracy; he has often said publicly that he is a "constitutional" president and feels it his duty to be the conscience of the government. The Budapest press chronicled in detail Goncz's battles with Antall over the President's legal role in overseeing the military; appointing and dismissing government officials; and, in general, maintaining the presidency as part of a democratic system of checks and balances.

a 1991 Constitutional Court ruling dealing with the scope of presidential and prime-ministerial powers was theoretical and vague enough to allow both adversaries to feel vindicated, but it widened the rift between the two men that persisted until Goncz's rapprochement with Antall on his deathbed, in which he presented his old friend with Hungary's highest honor.

**Foreign Policy Priorities**

Goncz has told the press that Hungary's top foreign policy priority is winning full EU membership and gaining access to West European markets, achievements he views as crucial to the rebuilding of his country's economy. He supports his country's eventual admission to NATO.

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d  
He has also

DECLASSIFIED IN PART  
PER E. O. 13526  
2015-0233-M (continued)  
08126116 KDE LDA M 94-12408

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

emphasized his conviction that the key to lasting peace is resolution of the treatment of ethnic minorities, saying, "If Europe can solve this problem, then it can solve any problem in the future." For his part, Goncz has reached out to Hungarian Jewish and Gypsy minorities in his tenure as President.

[Redacted]

EO 13526 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

**Early Life and Career**

Goncz, who was born in Budapest on 10 February 1922, earned a doctorate of laws in 1944. He later fought in Hungary's anti-Nazi resistance and, following the Communist takeover in 1948, became a laborer. During his imprisonment Goncz mastered English by translating Winston Churchill's wartime memoirs for his Communist captors. He was released in 1963 and found work as a translator. [Redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d he has translated "an entire bookcase" of American literature, including former President Bush's autobiography, *Looking Forward*. [Redacted] 3.5c

Goncz and his wife own [Redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d an elegant cottage on the northern shore of Lake Balaton, an idyllic spot where they are most at home. Goncz is characterized [Redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d as speaking fluent, if grammatically imperfect, English. He and his wife, Maria Zsuzsanna, have four children. [Redacted] 3.5c

28 April 1994

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 201				
Document ID: 9404996				
Row: 44	Section: 3	Shelf: 4	Position: 2	Stack: v

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	re: The President's Meeting with the Hungarian and Slovak Presidents (4 pages)	06/21/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 201

### FOLDER TITLE:

9404996

2015-0133-M  
rs1149

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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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)]

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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: LAKE

FROM: FRIED  
SCHIFTER

DOC DATE: 22 JUN 94  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: SLOVAK REPUBLIC  
AP

HUNGARY

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

KOVAC, MICHAL

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ & PRES KOVAC

ACTION: LAKE APPROVED RECOM

DUE DATE: 25 JUN 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

LOGREF:

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: NSCLG

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 1 OF 1

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE  
001

Z 94062219 FOR DECISION  
X 94062316 LAKE APPROVED RECOM

National Security Council  
The White House

4996

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # \_\_\_\_\_  
 URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT  
 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG PA A/O \_\_\_\_\_

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	_____	_____	_____
Kenney	1	<i>[Signature]</i>	_____
Itoh	_____	_____	_____
Soderberg	_____	_____	_____
Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
West Wing Desk	2	<i>[Signature]</i>	<i>[Signature]</i>
NSC Secretariat	3	_____	<i>[Signature]</i>

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

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

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

COMMENTS:

20 JUL 94 11 43

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

*Exec Sec's Office has desk shell*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 22, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: RICHARD SCHIFTER *RS*

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with the Presidents of  
Slovakia and Hungary

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM/NARA, Date 5/11/2013  
2015-0133-M

Attached at Tab I is the Memorandum of Conversation of the  
President's meeting June 21 with President Kovac of Slovakia and  
President Goncz of Hungary.

RECOMMENDATION

That Will Itoh file the attached Memorandum of Conversation for  
the record.

Approve ✓ *Wan* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum of Conversation of the President's Meeting  
with the Presidents of Slovakia and Hungary

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.02)  
5/11/2018 KBN

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with the Hungarian and Slovak Presidents (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
The Vice President  
Strobe Talbott, Acting Secretary of State  
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Donald Blinken, U.S. Ambassador to Hungary  
Theodore Russell, U.S. Ambassador to Slovakia  
Daniel Fried, NSC Notetaker

President Arpad Goncz  
Hungarian Ambassador Pal Tar  
Bela Szombati, Diplomatic Advisor to the President

President Michal Kovac  
Slovak Ambassador Branislav Lichardus  
Pavol Demes, Foreign Policy Advisor to the President

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: June 21, 1994, 10:40-11:15 am  
The Oval Office (U)

After delegations were seated, the press was invited in; the President made a brief statement. The President said that the United States was very honored to welcome the Hungarian and Slovak Presidents. They were on their way to New York to receive a well-deserved award for their common commitment to democracy and reform. They had supported both steadfastly, with great courage and consistency. The President noted that he had enjoyed very much the relationship they had had in developing the Partnership for Peace and in other areas. The President offered congratulations to the people of Hungary and Slovakia for their steadfastness, even in the face of great difficulty. The President concluded by noting that during the meeting they would discuss the role of the U.S. in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) now and in the years ahead. The press then left. (U)

By mutual agreement, President Goncz began. He thanked the President for receiving him and President Kovac. He hoped this meeting was a sign that a new era was beginning in Hungarian-Slovak relations, one marked by genuine reconciliation. Elements of this reconciliation should include security for Slovakia, Slovak borders that were open and easy to cross and a solution to

issues involving national minorities -- both Slovaks in Hungary and Hungarians in Slovakia. This would be better for both countries, for Central European stability, and for the United States. (S)

This was an important moment in Hungary, President Goncz continued. The May elections meant that a new government shortly would take power. Goncz offered his assurance that the new government -- with the Hungarian Socialist Party the leading elements -- would continue the overall direction of Hungary's foreign and domestic policies of the past four years. In particular, the new government would cooperate with its neighbors and continue moving toward a market economy. Hungary was grateful for U.S. assistance in this area and wanted to see it strengthened. Hungary in particular valued OPIC's increased involvement; the recent OPIC mission had been very successful in exploring areas of possible U.S. investment. The U.S. was the number one foreign investor in Hungary, which was to be welcomed. The new government would further social reconciliation, but would use monetary (rather than command-socialist) means to administer and modernize the economy. (S)

President Goncz presented to President Clinton a letter from outgoing Prime Minister Peter Boross conveying his best wishes and emphasizing Hungary's intention to achieve full membership in Western institutions, including via the Partnership for Peace. President Goncz also conveyed orally greetings from Gyula Horn, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party and most likely the next Prime Minister. Under the new government, President Goncz emphasized, friendship and cooperation with the United States would remain a priority. (S)

The political transfer of power was proceeding smoothly, President Goncz continued, demonstrating the maturity of Hungarian democracy. This was a change of governments, not a change of system. For new democracies, the second election was perhaps even more important than the first, because it represented a continuity of democracy. The Hungarian elections were honest, fair and unambiguous. He had just learned that the coalition talks (between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the liberal Free Democrats) had succeeded; the new Parliament was likely to meet on June 28 and a new government likely would be formed within 1-2 weeks. (S)

In sum, President Goncz concluded, the United States could count on the new government. Today's meeting was a firm demonstration of U.S. support for democracy and reconciliation in Central Europe, and he welcomed it. (S)

President Kovac opened his remarks by thanking President Clinton for receiving him and President Goncz. Both he and President Goncz were committed to reconciliation, and this meeting demonstrated that the United States and President Clinton understood the importance of democracy, reform and reconciliation in Central Europe. Thus, President Clinton was fulfilling his promise made in the Prague summit. (S)

In Prague, President Kovac continued, President Clinton had stated that the security of CEE was important to the security of the United States. This was a very important statement, especially in the absence of NATO membership for the CEE countries. It meant a lot to the governments and publics of the region. It gave them confidence and strengthened their resolve to continue reforms. He and others had noticed that following the Prague summit the United States had paid greater attention to CEE. Slovakia especially felt this and appreciated it. The recent OPIC mission, U.S. support for OECD membership for the Visegrad countries, U.S. leadership in developing PFP and the understand of the U.S. for the recent political changes in Slovakia were all evidence of strong and welcome U.S. engagement in the region. This was important in order to show Slovaks that they were not forgotten. (C)

A new coalition government had been established in Slovakia, President Kovac continued, a centrist reform coalition headed by Prime Minister Moravcik. This was a broad coalition including the Christian Democrats and the (ex-communist) Party of the Democratic Left, and had brought a welcome sense of peace to Slovak political life. This was a relief to the Slovak public and the government was now able to deal with the complex problems of economic reform. (C)

In this context, continued President Kovac, Slovakia had three requests to make of the U.S.:

-- First, Slovakia hoped for as much "moral and other" U.S. support as possible as elections approached, scheduled for September 30 or October 1. He hoped the elections would return to power the current coalition. This would be best for reform and for reconciliation with Hungary. He fully expected the new Hungarian government would continue, as President Goncz said, the general policy direction of the outgoing government. So there was a real chance to bring this process to fruition. He did not believe former Prime Minister Meciar would be able to return to power. It was possible that Meciar's HZDS party would obtain a plurality, but it would not obtain a majority and likely would be unable to form a governing coalition. Still, U.S. support would be important. (C)

-- Second, Slovakia hoped for greater U.S. investment, especially as it resolved its internal problems. Hungary enjoyed about \$8 billion of foreign investment, and the U.S. was the largest foreign investor. The Czech Republic had attracted about \$3 billion and the U.S. share was very high as well. Slovakia, however, had attracted only about \$600 million of foreign investment, and the U.S. was only number three or four. (C)

-- Third, Slovakia hoped for U.S. efforts to encourage West European countries to open their markets as much as possible to Slovak and Central European products generally. (C)

In conclusion, President Kovac stressed that the overwhelming majority of the Slovak people wanted the U.S. to remain in Europe. Slovakia would speed its own reforms and resolve its own problems, but the U.S. had a role to play in Central Europe. This meeting demonstrated the contribution the U.S. could make to reform and reconciliation in the region. (S)

President Clinton responded that the U.S. would try to encourage more U.S. investment in Central and Eastern Europe and would continue to push the European Union to open its markets for CEE products. Changes of government were natural as conditions changed. This is not a cause for concern. It was most important for reforms to continue and for the overall policy to go in the right direction. The United States would remain engaged in CEE; Central Europeans could rest assured that we would do our part. The President hoped that the United States would be the number one investor in Slovakia as well. (S)

President Goncz asked whether the President would attend the December CSCE Summit in Budapest. President Clinton responded simply that he would like to visit Budapest and that December was one possibility. (S)

# MIR MARKER

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Document ID: 9409688				
Row: 44	Section: 4	Shelf: 7	Position: 3	Stack: V

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	re: President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Gyula Horn of Hungary (4 pages)	12/05/1994	P1/b(1) KBH 9/21/2018

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 484

### FOLDER TITLE:

9409688

2015-0133-M

rs1151

### RESTRICTION CODES

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

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9409688  
RECEIVED: 06 DEC 94 18

TO: BRILL, K

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 08 DEC 94  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

MEMCON

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

HORN, GYULA

SUBJECT: MEMCON FM PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ & PM HORN OF HUNGARY ON 5 DEC

ACTION: REED SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 09 DEC 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC

FRIED

SCHIFTER

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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DISPATCHED BY JP DATE 12/8 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSGP

CLOSED BY: NSGP

DOC 2 OF 2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBNARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 ITOH  
002

Z 94120815 FOR DECISION  
X 94120815 REED SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 941208 BRILL, K

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 9688  
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 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG AB A/O \_\_\_\_\_

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Sens			
Itoh			
Soderberg			
Berger			
Lake			
Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>JWR 12/8</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			
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A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

cc: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS:

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Exec Sec Office has diskette WJ

National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 9688  
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	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Reed	<u>1</u>	<u>JWR</u>	
Sens			
Itoh			
Soderberg			
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Situation Room			
West Wing Desk	<u>2</u>	<u>JWR 12/8</u>	<u>D</u>
NSC Secretariat			
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A = Action    I = Information    D = Dispatch    R = Retain    N = No Further Action

cc: \_\_\_\_\_

COMMENTS:

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9688

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

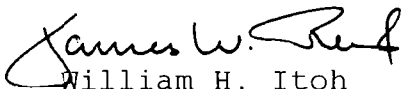
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR KENNETH BRILL  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation from the President's  
Meeting with President Arpad Goencz and Prime  
Minister Horn of Hungary, December 5, 1994 (Ø)

Attached for the information of the Secretary of State is the  
memorandum of conversation from the President's December 5  
meeting with Hungarian President Arpad Goencz and Prime Minister  
Horn. Please treat it as "Nodis." You may forward it to our  
Ambassador in Budapest via Nodis, eyes only cable. (Ø)

  
William H. Itoh  
*for* Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A

Memorandum of Conversation

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015 - 0133 - M

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9688

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
2015-0133-m (1.17)  
5/11/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: President Arpad Goencz and Prime Minister  
Gyula Horn of Hungary

PARTICIPANTS: U.S.

The President  
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State  
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
Ambassador Donald Blinken  
Assistant Secretary Richard Holbrooke  
Erskine Bowles, Deputy White House  
Chief of Staff  
Ashton Carter, Undersecretary of Defense  
Lt. General Dan Christman, JCS  
Daniel Fried, NSC Staff (Notetaker)

Hungarian

President Arpad Goencz  
Prime Minister Gyula Horn  
Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs  
Ambassador to the U.S. Gyorgy Banlaki  
Assistant to the President Zsolt Rabai  
Political State Secretary in the Prime  
Minister's Office Andras Toth  
Administrative State Secretary at MFA  
Ferenc Somogyi  
Deputy State Secretary at MFA Istvan Pataki  
Director General of MFA Istvan Kovacs  
(Notetaker)

DATE, TIME December 5, 1994, 12:10-12:35 pm  
AND PLACE: Budapest Convention Center

The U.S. and Hungarian press and photographers were admitted into the meeting room in two successive waves. Neither President Clinton nor the Hungarian leaders responded to the several shouted questions. The meeting began following the media's departure.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

President Clinton: It is wonderful to be here in Budapest, even for so short a time.

President Goencz: This is an important day and a useful set of meetings. Short though your visit may be, it is a pleasure to see you. I will be in Washington January 17 in connection with the 50th Anniversary commemoration of Raoul Wallenberg's disappearance and hope to see you then. I now turn to Prime Minister Horn, who will speak for us both.

Prime Minister Horn: This Hungarian Government, like the previous one, seeks membership in NATO. We greatly appreciate what the U.S. has done with respect to NATO expansion. We understand that actual expansion will not take place rapidly. I met with President Yeltsin yesterday to discuss this issue among others. There are significant differences between us: Yeltsin believes that NATO's expansion threatens Russian interests. We, however, believe that it would be in Russia's interest to have as its neighbors stable countries whose security was guaranteed by NATO. We agreed with Yeltsin to continue our dialogue. I believe that Russia should not be allowed to veto NATO expansion; nevertheless, the U.S. and other NATO members should consider Russian views as expansion proceeds.

Hungary also is pursuing membership in the European Union. With this in mind, Hungary is making its economy "transparent," continuing to implement reforms and harmonizing its legal system to correspond to EU norms. All of these efforts would continue.

President Clinton: I want to respond to what you said about the European Union and your economic reforms. We support Hungary's aspirations with respect to EU membership. We also want to encourage and support Hungary in its economic reforms. Hungary is going through a difficult period and the U.S. wants to help -- to rally the international financial institutions to support Hungary's reforms and progress toward EU membership.

You mentioned NATO membership. I have little to add to what I said earlier today. I was a bit surprised at President Yeltsin's outspokenness this morning about NATO expansion. I have not said anything in public with which Yeltsin was not already familiar. The Partnership for Peace was developed to send a signal that we sought to build a united and not divided Europe. Military exercises with Russia and the Partnership for Peace exercise with Poland in September were important steps forward. In 1995 we plan to hold 12 PFP exercises. Following President Yeltsin's speech it is important to make clear that NATO expansion is not an aggressive step aimed at Russia but is a process to support European security. The U.S. and its NATO partners will continue to work along these lines.

President Goencz: I spoke to President Yeltsin yesterday. The Russians send different messages to different countries. We are sensitive to Russian concerns and will continue to consult with Russia. But Hungary will be guided by its interests. We understand security in a wider context than simple military security; it includes economic and environmental elements. Moreover, security must be European-wide, though with NATO the most important element. The process of European integration includes the EU, NATO and other institutions. It must proceed broadly. In this context, technology transfer to Hungary is important to ensure NATO compatibility and we hope for progress.

I recall expressing support for OPIC (the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation) when we met last June. I was very pleased therefore by the OPIC mission to Hungary you dispatched last October. We seek not assistance but rather U.S. support for trade and investment. It also would be useful in this context to strengthen the Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund. NATO is an important element of Hungarian security but so are our relations with our neighbors. We want to be more active in strengthening these relations and believe that security of borders ought to be confirmed as well as rights of (Hungarian) minorities in these countries. The CSCE has a major role to play in this context, as does the Council of Europe and other multilateral organizations. Finally, I would like to stress Hungary's commitment to a market reforms, even after the elections held earlier this year.

President Clinton: I have two additional points to make. First, I want to thank you for your cooperation in ending arms transfers to Iran. This is an important issue and we can put it behind us. Second, in my United Nations General Assembly speech last September, I proposed establishment of a Law Enforcement Training Academy in Europe. Cooperation to fight organized crime is one element of national security and this Academy could play a major role.

President Goencz: First, the matter with respect to Iran is settled. Second, we are very pleased by your offer of Budapest as a home for this Academy. We know you had considered several capitals and are delighted that you chose Budapest.

Mr. Lake: Can we announce today our agreement on establishment of the Academy in Budapest?

President Goencz: (After consultation with the Hungarian side) Yes, we can accept your suggested draft announcement.

President Clinton: (Ending the meeting) It was a pleasure seeing you again and talking with you.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
4

President Clinton: (Ending the meeting) It was a pleasure seeing you again and talking with you.

(Immediately following the meeting, Mr. Lake approached Foreign Minister Kovac and added that the President had intended to extend to Prime Minister Horn an invitation to meet with him in Washington at some point during the first half of 1995, with dates to be arranged. Foreign Minister Kovac responded that this was good news.

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 5, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH: RICHARD SCHIFTER *RS*

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation from the President's Meeting with President Arpad Goencz and Prime Minister Horn of Hungary, December 5, 1994

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By *KRM/NARA*, Date *5/11/2018*  
*2015-0133-m*

Attached is the Memorandum of Conversation from the meeting between the President and President Arpad Goencz and Prime Minister Horn on December 5, 1994. We suggest that the Memorandum be provided to the Department of State.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached transmittal memo to Kenneth Brill.

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

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

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

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to State

Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9409688  
DATE 08 DEC 94

SUBJECT: MEMCON FM PRES MTG W/ PRES GONCZ & PM HORN OF HUNGARY ON 5 DEC  
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: ORIGINAL

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: KCB Date: 5/11/2018

2015-0133-M

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC SECRETARIAT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 598				
Document ID: 9505995				
Row: 44	Section: 5	Shelf: 10	Position: 2	Stack: V

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9505995  
RECEIVED: 02 AUG 95 15

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: GONCZ, ARPAD

DOC DATE: 24 JUL 95  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

HS

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN PRES GONCZ LTR RE US / HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

ACTION: NFAR PER FRIED

DUE DATE: 05 AUG 95 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

GRAY

STATE ✓

COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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OPENED BY: NSDRS

CLOSED BY: NSDRS

DOC 1 OF 1

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KGM NARA, Date 5/11/2013  
2015-0133-M

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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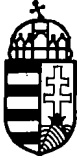
DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

001 950724

STATE



*Embassy of the Republic of Hungary*

The Honorable  
William J. Clinton  
President of the United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

5995  
*Secretariat, per  
Don Fried, please  
put in the system.  
NFAL.  
Thanks.  
Nancy*

July 26, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

I was instructed by President of the Republic of Hungary Mr. Árpád Göncz to forward to you the text of President Göncz's response to your letter of June 26, 1995.

"The Honorable  
William J. Clinton  
President of the United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

July 24, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for your kind letter of congratulation on my re-election as President of the Republic of Hungary.

Let me assure you that during my second term of office I shall continue to work to strengthen the democratic institutions and the foundations of a free market economy in Hungary as well as to enhance her reintegration into the Euro-Atlantic institutions. I am convinced that Hungary's future membership in NATO and the European Union would significantly contribute to the long term stability and prosperity of the whole Euro-Atlantic region.

While facing the unparalleled challenges of the political and economic transformation, we highly appreciate the United States' continuous and solid support for Hungary's transition and reintegration. It is indeed encouraging to realize, Mr. President, that the quest for ever closer cooperation between our nations are well founded on mutually accepted values and goals.

Sincerely yours,


/s/

Árpád Göncz  
President of the  
Republic of Hungary"

There will be no original letter followed.

Allow me, Mr. President, to avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you the assurance of my highest consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Gábor Horváth', written in a cursive style.

Gábor Horváth  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9505995

REFERRAL

DATE: 02 AUG 95

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: GONCZ, ARPAD

DATE: 24 JUL 95

SUBJ: HUNGARIAN PRES GONCZ LTR RE US / HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

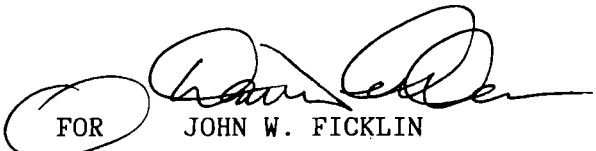
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COMMENT:

FOR



JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9505995  
DATE 24 JUL 95

SUBJECT: HUNGARIAN PRES GONCZ LTR RE US / HUNGARIAN RELATIONS  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE

TIME

SIGNATURE

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
ROOM 7224  
2201 C STREET, NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20520

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

COPY: 2

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS  
Initials: KBN Date: 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

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PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

# MIR MARKER

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Document ID: 9600192				
Row: 44	Section: 6	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: v

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memcon	re. Bilateral Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz of Hungary and Prime Minister Horn (5 pages)	01/13/1996	P1A(1) KBH 9/2/2018

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
NSC Records Management  
([Goncz])  
OA/Box Number: 1081

### FOLDER TITLE:

9600192

2015-0133-M

rs1152

### 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

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RECEIVED: 16 JAN 96 11

TO: BURNS, W

FROM: SENS

DOC DATE: 19 JAN 96  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

MEMCON

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

HORN, GYULA

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES 13 JAN MTG W/ PRES GONCZ OF PM HORN OF HUNGARY

ACTION: HARMON SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 19 JAN 96 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: VERSHBOW

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

EXECSEC  
FICKLIN  
NSC CHRON ✓  
VERSHBOW

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

1-19-96

BY HAND

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OPENED BY: NSGP

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 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-m

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

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National Security Council  
The White House

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Berger	_____	_____	_____
Lake	_____	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____
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National Security Council  
The White House

PROOFED BY: \_\_\_\_\_ LOG # 0192  
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Soderberg			
Berger			
Lake			
Situation Room			
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Records Mgt.	<u>3</u>	<u>[Signature] 1/19</u>	<u>diskette</u>

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

cc:

COMMENTS:

Exec Sec Office has diskette [Signature]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

0192

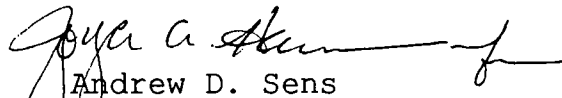
January 19, 1996

DECLASSIFIED ...  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBNARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WILLIAM J. BURNS  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation Between the President  
and President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn of  
Hungary (U)

The attached Memorandum of Conversation between the President and  
President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn of Hungary 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  
Hungary for the Ambassador only. (S)

  
Andrew D. Sens  
Executive Secretary

Attachment  
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Andrew D. Sens  
Reason: 1.5 (b,d)  
Declassify On: 01/19/06

T  
A  
B

A.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.18)  
5/11/2018 KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Bilateral Meeting with Hungarian President  
Goncz of Hungary and Prime Minister Horn

PARTICIPANTS: The U.S.  
The President  
Donald M. Blinken, U.S. Ambassador to Hungary  
Madeleine Albright, U.S. Permanent  
Representative to the United Nations  
General John Shalikashvili, Chairman of the  
Joint Chiefs of Staff  
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs  
General George A. Joulwan, the Supreme Allied  
Commander of Europe and U.S. Commander-in-  
Chief of Europe Command  
Samuel Berger, Deputy Assistant to the  
President for National Security Affairs  
Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of  
State for European and Canadian Affairs  
Robert Hunter, U.S. Ambassador to NATO  
Michael McCurry, Assistant to the President  
and White House Press Secretary  
Alexander Vershbow, Senior Director for  
European Affairs, NSC Staff, Notetaker

Hungary  
President Arpad Goncz  
Prime Minister Gyula Horn  
Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs  
Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti  
Chief of Staff Janos Deak  
State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi

DATE, TIME January 13, 1996, 11:38 - 11:58 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Tazsar Air Force Base, Hungary

The President: I would like to say on behalf of the American people how very much we appreciate the wonderful reception that our soldiers have received here in Hungary. I thank you, Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, to all the leaders of your country, especially to the Defense Minister and the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff. We are very, very grateful for the cooperation that we've had. (U)

I think it's a remarkable thing that Hungary and the United States are involved as partners for peace now, and they have received us here in this mission of peace in our staging area for Bosnia. Just think, it's been barely more than six years ago when Hungary was a member of the Warsaw Pact. What would have been unthinkable then now seems perfectly normal because we've been working together so closely for the last couple of years. (U)

And I know I speak for all the American people and especially for the military, Mr. President, when I say thank you. We are very grateful. I have just met with our commanders and our troops; they're doing very well here, thanks to you. We're enjoying it and we appreciate it. (U)

President Goncz: I can even say that it is symbolic. Four or five years ago, I think it would have been unthinkable to meet here with the President of the United States of America either in Washington or in Budapest -- the least unthinkable to be able to meet in a small Hungarian village. In addition to the fact that on such an important occasion, your presence here as well as your personal presence, Mr. President, shows the commitment of the United States to ensure the peace in the region. (C)

It is a moral obligation to us because we defend the same values and we have common interests. It is a great pleasure for me that we have this meeting and that we are part of this great operation. This is a partnership for peace in the genuine sense of the word. It's a lot more than what we have done in the Partnership itself. This is also an opportunity for us to get accustomed to each other's working methods.

(At this point the Press left the room)

Prime Minister Horn: I would like to add a few words since you are about to leave for Tuzla. We did not want to miss the opportunity to enjoy your hospitality on U.S. territory in Hungary. First, let me offer the thanks of our government for everything you have done to advance our bilateral relations. I would also like to add on behalf of the rest of our government that this represents the confidence that the United States has in us as a partner. I would like to underline that what the United

States did in producing the agreement in Dayton was of historic importance. It represents a model for the entire region. I would note that it would be of regret to us if Mr. Holbrooke were to quit, but we are grateful for his contribution. (C)

This air base is very dear to us. We should be able to obtain practical experience in working with the United States and other NATO countries. I would also add that there may be, on occasion, problems of an unforeseen or unpredictable nature that arise in the functioning of this base. If this happens, we should ask that our two ministers of defense get together immediately and solve them without leaving it to the bureaucracies. Mr. President, let me thank you once again for coming. (C)

The President: That is a very good suggestion, although I hope we won't have problems that can't be worked out on the ground. But if we do, then that is the way to solve them. I also want to congratulate you on the work you have done on economic reform and the progress you continue to make. I would like to say again that I think that our security relationship is working out even better than I imagined. This new mission is creating a new dimension for the Partnership for Peace and for the prospects for our future relations. As I said to the press, the U.S. believes that the expansion of NATO is appropriate and inevitable. We all know what the issue will be. We have no intention of giving the Russians a veto, but we must work not to isolate the Russians either. They will be sending troops to our mission in Tuzla and that could give them some feel for where we want to go. (C)

I know we have very little time and I am very sorry that I could not control the weather, but there is one personal issue I would like to raise. I have a very good friend, Millard Fuller, who founded an organization called Habitat for Humanity. He wants to do a big housing project in a town near Budapest called Godollo. Are you familiar with this? (U)

President Goncz: Yes. (U)

The President: I hope this project can go forward. Habitat for Humanity helps people to build their own homes. It has become the third largest builder of houses in the United States. It helps people in the U.S. who can't afford it build homes and is doing the same thing all over the world. So just by accident I got a note before this trip and therefore I thought I would mention it to you. (U)

Prime Minister Horn: Mr. President, if there is any need for help to this project, we are willing to provide it. (U)

The President: They need a go-ahead and some help with infrastructure -- building streets and utilities. (U)

How is my Ambassador doing? Does he show up for work every day? (U)

Prime Minister Horn: We don't see him every day, but only when it is important and necessary. (U)

President Goncz: Mr. President, I would like to raise one additional issue, reconstruction work in Bosnia. We are fully ready to participate in the reconstruction program. In that connection, we need to solve the problem of finding capital for that effort. The EXIM Bank can provide loans, but an insurance network needs to be created. What we are talking about is business for Hungarian firms, not aid -- we need to create opportunities for us and other countries like Slovenia to work together for the cause of reconstruction. It is a matter of putting together a banking organization. (U)

Prime Minister Horn: In the wake of our privatization program, an additional \$1 billion in U.S. investment has come in. This has enhanced the presence of U.S. firms in Hungary. So our relations are shaping up very well, not just with the European Union but with the United States. (U)

President Goncz: The French are the number three investors, after the U.S. and Germany. During the past quarter of the year we've done more privatization than in the previous five years. We've received some scolding for that. Living standards of our population have declined by more than 10%, and this makes things tough. But we do not want to make a U-turn. We think this country can endure this. You have shown confidence and trust and for that we are most grateful. The opportunity created by reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia should be seized and we would like to rely on your help. Let me repeat that we are not asking for aid, but a share of the business. (U)

The President: We will have conversations in Tuzla on the reconstruction effort as well as on the military operations. I want to make sure I am up-to-date. (U)

President Goncz: The World Bank has informed us that they would like to give priority to Hungary in this effort along with Slovenia. (U)

The President: Before we finish, let me also thank you for sending an engineering battalion to IFOR. General Joulwan says that we needed it very much. So thank you for sending it. (U)

CONFIDENTIAL

5

President Goncz: You are very welcome. I'm sure that it will work hard in its mission. (S)

-- End of Conversation --

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504  
January 19, 1996

0192

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

MEMORANDUM FOR ANDREW D. SENS

FROM: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *N*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation from the President's Meeting with President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Gyula Horn of Hungary, January 13, 1996

Attached at Tab A is the Memorandum of Conversation of the President's meeting with President Goncz and Prime Minister Horn on January 13, 1996.

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 *JA* \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to State  
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b,d)  
Declassify On: 01/19/06

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9600192  
DATE 19 JAN 96

SUBJECT: MEMCON OF PRES 13 JAN MTG W/ PRES GONCZ OF PM HORN OF HUNGARY  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
MR. WILLIAM J. BURNS DEPARTMENT OF STATE ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE 2201 C STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520	_____	_____	_____
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Initials: KBM Date: 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

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

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2039				
Document ID: 9803874				
Row: 45	Section: 5	Shelf: 3	Position: 1	Stack: V

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9803874  
RECEIVED: 28 MAY 98 11

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: GONCZ, ARPAD

DOC DATE: 21 MAY 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY  
HS

NATO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: APPRECIATION FOR POTUS SUPPORTING ACCESSION OF HUNGARY INTO NATO

ACTION: NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

DUE DATE: 09 JUN 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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COMMENTS: \_\_\_\_\_  
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OPENED BY: NSTTS      CLOSED BY: NSSWD      DOC 1 OF 1

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBYNARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9803874

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 FLANAGAN  
001

Z 98052811 APPROPRIATE ACTION  
X 98060117 NO FURTHER ACTION REQUIRED

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

001 980521

STATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: GONCZ, ARPAD

DOC DATE: 21 MAY 98  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY  
HS

NATO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: APPRECIATION FOR POTUS SUPPORTING ACCESSION OF HUNGARY INTO NATO

ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 09 JUN 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

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FLANAGAN

FOR CONCURRENCE  
MCELDFOWNEY  
WITKOWSKY

FOR INFO  
BANDLER  
BERGER  
DAVIES  
FORT  
KERRICK  
MALLEY  
POOLE  
STATE  
STEINBERG

COMMENTS: NFAR. Response to Potus' recent letter  
of congratulations in package 3167. J. Flanagan

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OPENED BY: NSTTS      CLOSED BY:      DOC 1 OF 1

**PRESIDENTIAL/NSA CORRESPONDENCE**  
**IMMEDIATE ACTION REQUIRED**

ACTION OFFICER: FLANAGAN LOG NUMBER: 3074  
DUE DATE: 9 JUN  
DATE STAFFED: 20 MAY

**CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:**



**PRESIDENT**



**NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR**

FROM: COIC2

PREPARE A RESPONSE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S OR NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR'S SIGNATURE WITHIN 10 DAYS. IF A LETTER DOES NOT REQUIRE A RESPONSE, PLEASE RETURN IT TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT (RM 379) WITH THIS FORM, ANNOTATED ACCORDINGLY.

3874



A MAGYAR KÖZTÁRSASÁG  
ELNÖKE  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF HUNGARY

Budapest, May 21, 1998.

The Honorable  
William J. CLINTON  
President of the United States of America  
The White House Office

Washington, D.C.  
USA

Dear Mr. President,

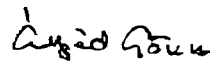
I would like to express my thanks for your firm commitment and assistance that has contributed so significantly to the ratification of the Protocol on the Accession of the Republic of Hungary to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The decision taken by the Administration and subsequently confirmed by the Senate reflects the firm position of the United States that considers Hungary as mature for accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and will further on look to Hungary as an ally. The ratification of the Accession Protocol is strengthening Hungary in its conviction that the measures taken in the interest of democratic transformation and the results achieved have met with recognition in the United States.

We are aware of the outstanding role that you personally and your Government have played in anchoring the democracies of Central Europe into the community of free and democratic nations and, in particular, in the advancement of the NATO enlargement process. As a future ally of the United States, Hungary is looking forward to the deepening and broadening of co-operation both in the framework of the Alliance and on a bilateral basis.

I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate once again my country's commitment to Euro-Atlantic integration and to the assumption of all rights and obligations stemming from NATO membership.

Sincerely yours,

  
Dr. Árpád Göncz

MAY 27 12:49

REFERRAL

DATE: 28 MAY 98

MEMORANDUM FOR: KENNEY, K

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION: TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: GONCZ, ARPAD

DATE: 21 MAY 98

SUBJ: APPRECIATION FOR POTUS SUPPORTING ACCESSION OF HUNGARY INTO NATO

---

REQUIRED ACTION: FOR INFORMATION

DUE DATE:

COMMENT:

FOR



JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9803874  
DATE 21 MAY 98

SUBJECT: APPRECIATION FOR POTUS SUPPORTING ACCESSION OF HUNGARY INTO NATO  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

DATE                      TIME                      SIGNATURE

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FOR THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
ROOM 7224  
2201 C STREET, NW  
WASHINGTON, DC 20520  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Initials: KBM Date: 5/11/2018

2015-0133-M

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OE0B



SF/SB  
F41

# The Embassy of the Republic of Hungary Washington, D.C.

3910 Shoemaker Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008  
Telephone: (202) 362-6730  
Telefax: (202) 966-8135, (202) 686-6412

Handwritten note in a circle: "MM - Could you pls put in system?"  
Handwritten signature: "Hos N"

**To:** Ms. Nancy McEldowney  
Director  
National Security Council

**Fax No.:** (202) 456-9150

**Date:** May 26 1998

**Re.:** President Göncz' Letter To President Clinton

**From:** Gábor Csaba, foreign policy analyst

**Number of pages:** 1+1

Dear Ms. McEldowney,

As agreed, I hereby fax you President Göncz' letter to President Clinton. As my colleague indicated to you, the original will be sent to you under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. György Bánlaci  
Ambassador of the Republic of  
Hungary

# MIR MARKER

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Original OA/ID Number: 2734				
Document ID: 9904428				
Row: 46	Section: 4	Shelf: 7	Position: 2	Stack: v

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
<del>001a. memcon</del>	<del>re: Restricted Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz (6 pages)</del>	<del>06/08/1999</del>	<del>P1/B(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001b. memcon</del>	<del>re: Expanded Meeting with Hungarian President Goncz (4 pages)</del>	<del>06/08/1999</del>	<del>P1/B(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001c. memcon</del>	<del>[Duplicate of 001a, incomplete copy] (3 pages)</del>	<del>06/08/1999</del>	<del>P1/B(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>
<del>001d. memcon</del>	<del>[Duplicate of 001b, incomplete copy] (1 page)</del>	<del>06/08/1999</del>	<del>P1/B(1) KBH 9/21/2018</del>

**COLLECTION:**

Clinton Presidential Records  
 NSC Records Management  
 ([Goncz])  
 OA/Box Number: 2734

**FOLDER TITLE:**

9904428

2015-0133-M  
rs1153

### 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.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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- 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: KENNEY, K

FROM: BRADTKE

DOC DATE: 28 SEP 99  
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY

MEMCON

PERSONS: GONCZ, ARPAD

SUBJECT: MEMCON BTW POTUS & PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY ON 8 JUN

ACTION: BRADTKE SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 12 JUN 99 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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FOR CONCURRENCE

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FLANAGAN  
NSC CHRON

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DATE 9/29

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DOC 2 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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002

Z 99092717 FOR DECISION  
Z 99092814 BRADTKE APPROVED RECOMS  
X 99092814 BRADTKE SGD MEMO

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE


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DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 990928 STATE

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE**

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

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
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JACOBSON	_____	_____	_____
POWELL	<u>1</u>	<u>BP 9/27</u>	<u>see edit</u>
SARGEANT	_____	_____	_____
BRADTKE	<u>2</u>	<u>W 9/27</u>	<u>Fix <del>done</del></u>
RUDMAN	_____	_____	<u>for signature</u>
STEINBERG	_____	_____	_____
BERGER	_____	_____	_____
SITUATION ROOM	_____	_____	_____
WEST WING DESK	<u>3</u>	<u>W 9/29</u>	<u>D</u>
RECORDS MGMT.	<u>4</u>	_____	<u>D+DISK</u>

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

99 SEP 27 04:58  
COMMENTS:

*Memorandum - Hurgain  
Pres. Gonzales & June*

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE yes

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

9/27

To Exec Sec

This did not get written up right away because it came just before the President's June trip to Europe. It was further delayed by the prep work for Sarajero and other priorities.

This visit was largely symbolic. Gonzalez is not head of government. There were no pressing issues discussed. — Steve Flanagan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
THE WHITE HOUSE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

9/27

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 URGENT NOT PROOFED: \_\_\_\_\_ SYSTEM PRS INT ARS  
 BYPASSED WW DESK: \_\_\_\_\_ DOCLOG WAVO

qsb

	SEQUENCE TO	INITIAL/DATE	DISPOSITION
GIRE			
JACOBSON			
POWELL	1	EP 9/27	see below
SARGEANT			
BRADTKE	2	W 9/27	Fin <del>signature</del>
RUDMAN			
STEINBERG			
BERGER			
SITUATION ROOM			
WEST WING DESK	3	PR 9/28	
RECORDS MGMT.	4		DISK

A = ACTION I = INFORMATION D = DISPATCH R = RETAIN N = NO FURTHER ACTION

CC:

99 SEP 27 00:45:58  
 COMMENTS:

Moran - Hungarian  
 Pres. Gonzalez & Yone

EXEC SEC OFFICE HAS DISKETTE qsb

To File See

This did not get written up right away because it came just before the President's June trip to Europe. It was further delayed by the prep work for Sargis and other priorities.

This visit was largely symbolic. Gonzalez is not head of government. There were no pressing issues discussed.  
 Steve Flanagan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4428

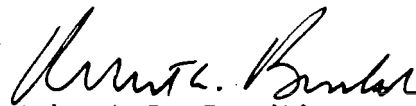
September 28, 1999

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By ~~KRM~~ NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-m

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Conversation from the President's  
Meetings with President Gonczi of Hungary  
June 8, 1999 (U)

Attached are the Memoranda of Conversation from the President's  
June 8, 1999 meetings with President Arpad Gonczi of Hungary  
during his State Visit to Washington. They 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. The Memoranda may also be sent to Embassy Budapest  
for the Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (U)

  
Robert A. Bradtke  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A Memcon of Restricted Meeting with President Gonczi  
Tab B Memcon of Expanded Meeting with President Gonczi

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 9/27/09

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2015-0133-M (1.19)  
5/17/2018 KBM

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with Hungarian President  
Goncz (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Peter Tufo, U.S. Ambassador to Hungary  
Marc Grossman, Assistant Secretary of State  
for European and Canadian Affairs  
Stephen Flanagan, Special Assistant to the  
President and Senior Director for Central  
and Eastern European Affairs, NSC Staff,  
Notetaker  
Laszlo Szimonisz, Interpreter

Arpad Goncz, President  
Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Geza Jeszenszky, Ambassador to the United  
States  
Denes Tomaj, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Andras Gulyas, Foreign Policy Advisor to the  
President  
Nandor Papp, Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 8, 1999, 10:45 - 11:25 a.m.  
AND PLACE: Oval Office

President Goncz: Thank you for the very warm reception. (U)

The President: I'm delighted to welcome you to the White House  
for Hungary's first State Visit. I have enjoyed our previous  
meetings and I know Hillary has greatly enjoyed her time with  
you. (U)

I have long admired your courage and integrity through the  
darkest days after 1956. Yet, even in prison, you devoted so  
much of your time to translating American authors. Millions of  
Hungarians know American literature because of you. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify on: 9/27/09

Your life and tenure as President has set a direction for Hungary's future as a leading member of Europe's democracies and a positive influence on all your neighbors. (U)

I appreciate your personal support on Kosovo and Hungary's strong contribution to NATO efforts, including use of airspace and airfields. I also appreciate the way Hungary handled the Russian convoys and overflight requests. (C)

Speaking of the Russians, they were part of the peace implementation force in Bosnia. In Kosovo, it will be a bit more complicated. That cooperation in Bosnia began in 1995 before the economic collapse and the other internal political problems. We may have to spread out the deployment of Russian forces because of their cultural affinity with the Serbs. We can't agree to give them their own sector or to a division of command and control with NATO troops. We have to deal with both disgruntled Yugoslav army units and the KLA. We need an effective command arrangement that cannot be manipulated by ethnic politics. (C)

President Goncz: I fully agree about the need for a unified NATO command. The Russians are proposing to interject themselves between the two segments of the population. (C)

The President: We can't have it be that the Russians only deploy in areas that have been largely Serb. If the Russians went into all four sectors, they could work better with NATO troops. (C)

I've talked to lots of Albanians. There will be a strong desire to punish the Serbs. We need a strong military presence to prevent this kind of retribution. (C)

President Goncz: There are traditions of vendetta in Serbia. I agree there is a need for special protection. (C)

The President: Tell Sandy and the team what you would do with the KLA. (C)

President Goncz: After the 1956 uprising, we had peacekeepers come in. The peacekeeping forces came in and both rioters and police joined them in policing the streets to restore order. The same happened in Palestine. Haganah at the end of World War II became the core of the Israeli Army. We need to turn today's guerilla fighter into a peacekeeper. We need to oust the

criminal element from the KLA, because we don't want criminals to be peacekeepers. (S)

The political vacuum needs to be filled in Serbia. After Milosevic is ousted, we have to avoid chaos. The first government that comes into power after Milosevic won't last forever. It will need to maintain order and ensure supplies reach the population. It will probably take a couple of governments before real reforms can begin. (S)

Our policy rests on the primacy of non-interference. We have welcomed the U.S. presence in Hungary, which has helped prevent a spillover of violence into Hungary. We can't exclude that it might happen. So some kind of American military presence in Hungary will be desirable for some time. (S)

The President: Do you think that Milosevic will be deposed over Kosovo? (S)

President Goncz: I can't predict how this will go. However, one way or the other he will go. Groups overseas will play a role. Panic and Varady and others will have some influence. There are another 300-400 others who might stand as the core of transitional government. We have to be careful in our intervention there. (S)

However, now that the war is over, we would like to become an economic Tazsar for reconstruction in southeast Europe. Hungary has good infrastructure and telecommunications as well as proximity to the region. You can travel from Budapest to Belgrade by road in half a day. All of the major U.S. companies are based in Hungary. We could be the hub of these efforts and host an ongoing relief presence. It is a matter of necessity that some kind of bridgehead will have to be set up and it might as well be in Hungary. (S)

Perhaps the next phase of negotiations could take up some of the other issues in the former Yugoslavia, including the Sandzak, Montenegro and the Vojvodina. All these issues could be addressed in some kind of comprehensive talks in Budapest. The first step to avert problems would be to enhance subsidiarity in these regions to give more local control and ease a lot of bitterness and pain. (S)

I'm prepared to go to Serbia within 24 hours after the first democratic government comes to power and extend a helpful hand. I'm in a good position to do this. I am close to the Hungarian

minority in Vojvodina. The Prime Minister and I agreed that I should take a background role on the war to facilitate this post-war role for me. I fully supported NATO's actions, but we knew that someone would need to be in a position to begin a post-war dialogue. (C)

Ambassador Tufo: The President and the Prime Minister have reached an agreement on the division of labor here. President Goncz will play a leading role on reconstruction. (C)

The President: What about reconstruction? What can be done? There has been enormous damage done to the economies of Macedonia, Albania, and Bulgaria, and some to Romania. Hungary will be critical to this recovery. How can Hungary play a role in this? Can we do more in Montenegro with Djukanovic? (C)

President Goncz: Montenegro has always seen itself as separate. The greatest threat to Milosevic is to say no aid to Serbia so long as Milosevic is in power. We can't be sure where the money goes in that country now, in any event. (C)

If responsibility is taken by the EU on democratization and reconstruction, just as you have taken the lead on the war, this can work. (C)

The worry of the applicant countries is that all this effort for Southeastern reconstruction and EU enlargement can't be accommodated under the common budget. If there is further delay, accession of these countries will be too late. (C)

The President: Look at Romania, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. They can't sustain democracy there without some progress on growth and development. The United States and the EU have a separate planning processes that we need to integrate. If Hungary goes into the EU, this will be good for Romania and Bulgaria. (C)

President Goncz: I agree. (C)

The President: Should we talk to the EU about doing more to accelerate this integration process?

Foreign Minister Martonyi: Well, Romania and Bulgaria already have Europe (accession) agreements and the Commission wants to conclude "stabilization and association" agreements with Macedonia and Albania. (C)

The President: Should we accelerate NATO expansion to take in Slovenia? (S)

Foreign Minister Martonyi: Slovenia, yes. We have always favored Slovenia. (S)

President Goncz: Romania is the most important politically because of the strategic space it occupies between Russia and Serbia. The West must block that channel between Russia and Serbia. The current government has lowered the intensity of its efforts in NATO, but its intentions and orientation are clearly with the West. Accession of Romania to NATO and the EU would be highly desirable. (S)

The President: I am concerned that Romania is doing so poorly economically. That is why I did not favor its inclusion in the first round of NATO enlargement. I like President Constantinescu very much. But I think we have to see real improvement in the Romanian economy. (S)

President Goncz: Constantinescu is a first-class person. (S)

Foreign Minister Martonyi: You know that Slovakia is also on a democratic track because of the elections last September. (S)

The President: So Slovakia, Slovenia, and Romania. There is a danger of Bulgaria being isolated. Stoyanov is quite good. (S)

President Goncz: I mentioned Romania with so much intensity because of the fear of political reversal next year. Also, we feel some special responsibility for the two million Hungarians living in Romania. (S)

Mr. Berger: I would like to go back to Serbia. I agree that Milosevic will survive if he makes it through the winter. One thing we will have to grapple with is humanitarian assistance. We need some general humanitarian exemption. (S)

President Goncz: We are sending in relief through the Red Cross and multilateral agencies. (U)

Foreign Minister Martonyi: We need to look carefully at how we encourage democratic forces in Serbia -- we sometimes only look at the optimistic scenario. Perisic and others coming to power. What if Seselj and others on the nationalist right emerge from the political power struggle? (S)

Mr. Berger: The mere fact that bombing continued after the agreement was telling and did more to undermine confidence in Milosevic than all the previous five weeks of bombing. (C)

The President: I think we need to join the others. (U)

President Goncz: Thank you, Mr. President. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526  
2015-0133-M (1.20)  
5/11/2013 KGH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Expanded Meeting with Hungarian President  
Goncz (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President  
Charlene Barshefsky, U.S. Trade  
Representative  
John Podesta, Chief of Staff  
Samuel Berger, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
Peter Tufo, U.S. Ambassador to Hungary  
Lawrence Summers, Deputy Secretary of the  
Treasury  
Stephen Ricchetti, Assistant to the  
President and Deputy Chief of Staff  
James Steinberg, Deputy Assistant to the  
President for National Security Affairs  
Lael Brainard, Deputy Assistant to the  
President for International Economic  
Policy and Deputy Director of the National  
Economic Council  
Marc Grossman, Assistant Secretary of State  
for European and Canadian Affairs  
Franklin Kramer, Assistant Secretary of  
Defense for International Security Affairs  
Stephen Flanagan, Special Assistant to the  
President and Senior Director for Central  
and Eastern European Affairs, NSC Staff  
Susan Braden, Director for Central and  
Eastern European Affairs, NSC Staff,  
Notetaker  
Laszlo Szimonisz, Interpreter  
  
Arpad Goncz, President  
Janos Martonyi, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Attila Chikan, Minister of Economic Affairs  
Geza Jeszenszky, Ambassador to the United  
States  
Gyorgy Suranyi, Chairman, Hungarian National  
Bank

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify on: 9/27/09

Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, Member of Parliament  
Karoly Szunyogh, Head of the Office of the  
President  
Gen. Ferenc Vegh, Commander of Hungarian  
Defense Forces  
Denes Tomaj, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Andras Gulyas, Foreign Policy Advisor to the  
President  
Andras Farago, Spokesman  
Laszlo Varkonyi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Nandor Papp, Interpreter

DATE, TIME June 8, 1999, 11:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.  
AND PLACE: Cabinet Room

The President: We just had a very good discussion on Kosovo, the Balkans and Vojvodina. I would like to use the remainder of our time to talk about whatever you or your Ministers would like. (S)

President Goncz: One issue that was not mentioned is the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest's effort to open economic information offices in Southern Hungary for U.S. and Hungarian businesses. This represents an enormous breakthrough in our relations because it helps create jobs in a part of Hungary where unemployment is the highest. At the same time, the U.S. companies doing business there also realize it provides them a window to Ukraine without having to locate there. As they say, "money in Ukraine is lying on the ground, but if you pick it up you will get stabbed in the back." Hats off to your Ambassador in Hungary. This is a bold step for the United States, for industry and for Hungary. The Minister of Economy and Chairman of the National Bank are here to talk about other economic issues. They live in this atmosphere and can talk about it.

(S)

The President: This is good to hear. Ever since I became President, I have been trying to get our embassies to focus more on economic and commercial issues because this is what gives people hope for their future. Unfortunately not everyone does as well as Ambassador Tufo does. I thank him for that. (S)

On Ukraine, I have spent many hours trying to figure out what to do. I went there, we have worked very hard to help them with their economy and they have this agreement with NATO; but, there is a lot more work to be done. Ukraine is a profoundly

important country. If it fails economically, I am concerned that the political reaction will be to look backward, along the lines of Belarus. If Ukraine were to follow this track, it would be a very serious issue. If you have any suggestions for us I would like to hear them. (S)

President Goncz: The one thing I can say is that while we were both under Soviet rule for a long time, Democratic reform started earlier in Hungary than Ukraine. Unlike Hungary, the first democratic babies have yet to be born in Ukraine. What's difficult in the whole situation is the importance of Ukraine. The sovereignty of Ukraine is not that of a democratic country, but it would be worse if it were not a sovereign country at all. Ukraine will be expensive for the West, but it will be more expensive if there were not a Ukraine. (S)

The President: We have already talked about the reconstruction of Southeast Europe after the war, but you mentioned something else, the enormous work we have ahead in getting Serbia reconciled with the countries in the region and the Kosovar Albanians. Milosevic wreaked so much havoc in Kosovo and in Bosnia. How can we reduce the lust for vengeance? (S)

President Goncz: The people in Kosovo are farther away from the rest of Europe, even than Serbia. It's inconceivable to think that hostilities will end in less than two generations. The same is true in Bosnia. As far as forgiveness is concerned, we have to leave it to them. Also, I am fully aware that the air attacks were not against the Serb people, but in the minds of the Serb people, it's extremely hard to separate. I would have preferred it if the first missile had killed Milosevic because we would have an easier job for ourselves than we do now. I would like to say that your consistency and courage throughout this crisis have been of historical dimensions. (S)

The President: Well, now we have to make it work. (S)

Minister Chikan: The reconstruction of the region will be a very hard task. We need IFI involvement. (S)

The President: Hungary can be a model for Southeast Europe. The reconstruction effort is huge. We have to get all the refugees home and housed and then there is the question of power. This is a very big deal. I think we need an economic Czar to be responsible for coordination, probably someone from the EU. Also we need to incorporate the experiences of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into the effort. It would be

unforgivable for us to go to this length to end ethnic cleansing and not go the same lengths to rebuild and make prosperous Southeast Europe. Serbia is different. We can't let them freeze, but we can't do much more so long as Milosevic is there. Were there any trade issues that needed to be discussed? (S)

Ambassador Barshefsky: I would like to thank Minister Chikan for hosting the WTO roundtable. It was a very positive meeting, I look forward to the next one. We would like to see greater U.S. investment in Hungary. For this to happen, it's important that Hungary consider lowering its MFN rates to EU's common external tariff in advance of membership in the EU. (S)

Minister Chikan: Thank you for the nice words about the WTO conference. As for our bilateral economic relations, they are developing very nicely. With regard to the reduction of tariffs, we have to apply EU rules, but want you to have the same benefits as the EU. On this I would like to mention that our trade with the United States has grown faster than with the EU. (S)

Deputy Secretary Summers: Good to be sitting with you talking about other countries. It's a tribute to the strength of the Hungarian economy and our strong economic relations. (U)

The President: I'd like to sum up with two points. First, that we have no problems to solve is a credit to Hungary and our relationship. Second, it is a wonderful coincidence that our new partner should be here as we reach a conclusion of the war. It maybe an act of God. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9904428  
DATE 28 SEP 99

SUBJECT: MEMCON BTW POTUS & PRES GONCZ OF HUNGARY ON 8 JUN  
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:                      DATE                      TIME                      SIGNATURE

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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2015-0133-M

DATE, TIME, SIGN THE RECEIPT AND RETURN TO: NSC RECORDS MGNT, ROOM 379 OEOB

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

September 27, 1999

ACTION

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KRM/NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015 - 0133 - M

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM: STEPHEN J. FLANAGAN *SJF*

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Conversations from the President's  
Meetings with Hungarian President Goncz,  
June 8, 1999

Attached at Tab A are the Memoranda of Conversations from the  
President's June 8 meetings with President Goncz.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Robert Bradtke to transmit the Memoranda of  
Conversations at Tabs A and B to State.

Approved *AB 9/28/99* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

That the attached Memoranda of Conversations be filed for the  
record.

Approved *AB 9/28/99* Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to State
  - Tab A Memcon of Restricted Meeting with President Goncz
  - Tab B Memcon of Expanded Meeting with President Goncz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4428

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5 (b)  
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006  
By KBH NARA, Date 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

MEMORANDUM FOR MS. KRISTIE A. KENNEY  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Memoranda of Conversation from the President's  
Meetings with President Goncz of Hungary  
June 8, 1999 (U)

Attached are the Memoranda of Conversations from the President's  
June 8, 1999 meetings with President Arpad Goncz of Hungary  
during his State Visit to Washington. They 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. The Memoranda may also be sent to Embassy Budapest  
for the Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) only. (U)

Robert A. Bradtke  
Executive Secretary

Attachments

Tab A Memcon of Restricted Meeting with President Goncz  
Tab B Memcon of Expanded Meeting with President Goncz

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke  
Reason: 1.5(d)  
Declassify On: 9/27/09

4428  
~~Restricted~~

Your life and tenure as President has set a direction for Hungary's future as a leading member of Europe's democracies and a positive influence on all your neighbors. (U)

I appreciate your personal support on Kosovo and Hungary's strong contribution to NATO efforts, including use of airspace and airfields. I also appreciate the way Hungary handled the Russian convoys and overflight requests. (S)

Speaking of the Russians, they were part of the peace implementation force in Bosnia. In Kosovo, it will be a bit more complicated. That cooperation in Bosnia began in 1995 before the economic collapse and the other internal political problems. We may have to spread out the deployment of Russian forces because of their cultural affinity with the Serbs. We can't agree to give them their own sector or to a division of command and control with NATO troops. We have to deal with both disgruntled Yugoslav army units and the KLA. We need an effective command arrangement that can not be manipulated by ethnic politics. (S)

President Goncz: I fully agree about the need for a unified NATO command. The Russians are proposing to interject themselves between the two segments of the population. (S)

The President: We can't have it be that the Russians only deploy in areas that have been largely Serb. If the Russians went into all four sectors, they could work better with NATO troops. (S)

I've talked to lots of Albanians. There will be a strong desire to punish the Serbs. We need a strong military presence to prevent this kind of retribution. (S)

President Goncz: There are traditions of vendetta in Serbia. I agree there is a need for special protection. (S)

The President: Tell Sandy and the team what you would do with the KLA. (S)

President Goncz: After the 1956 uprising, we had peacekeepers come in. The peacekeeping forces came in and both rioters and police joined them in policing the streets to restore order. The same happened in Palestine. Haganah at the end of World War II became the core of the Israeli Army. We need to turn today's guerilla fighter into a peacekeeper. We need to oust the

important country. If it fails economically, I am concerned that the political reaction will be to look backward, along the lines of Belarus. If Ukraine were to follow this track, it would be a very serious issue. If you have any suggestions for us I would like to hear them. (S)

President Goncz: The one thing I can say is that while we were both under Soviet rule for a long time, Democratic reform started earlier in Hungary than Ukraine. Unlike Hungary, the first democratic babies have yet to be born in Ukraine. What's difficult in the whole situation is the importance of Ukraine. The sovereignty of Ukraine is not that of a democratic country, but it would be worse if it were not a sovereign country at all. Ukraine will be expensive for the West, but it will be more expensive if there were not a Ukraine. (S)

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The President: Well, now we have to make it work. (S)

Minister Chikan: The reconstruction of the region will be a very hard task. We need IFI involvement. (S)

The President: Hungary can be a model for Southeast Europe. The reconstruction effort is huge. We have to get all the refugees home and housed and then there is the question of power. This is a very big deal. I think we need an economic Czar to be responsible for coordination, probably someone from the EU. Also we need to incorporate the experiences of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into the effort. It would be

4423

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-- End of Conversation --

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Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9313555

Date July 6, 1993

FOR: Mr. William Itoh  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council Staff  
The White House

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL  
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: KBM Date: 5/11/2018  
2015-0133-M

REFERENCE:

To: President Clinton  
From: Hungarian President Arpad Goncz  
Date: May 11, 1993  
Subj: Letter of thanks

WH Referral Dated: June 14, 1993  
NSCS ID# (if any): 9304437

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.  
 A draft reply will be forwarded.  
 A translation is attached.  
 An information copy of a direct reply is attached.  
 We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.  
 The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.  
 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

*C.A. Holmes, for*  
Director  
Secretariat Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~