
Clinton Presidential Records Mandatory Declassification Review

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1.4c, 3.5c

Carlo Azeglio CIAMPI
(Phonetic: CHAHMpee)

Prime Minister (since April 1993)

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

Unexpectedly chosen as a transitional prime minister because of his integrity, apolitical status, and financial acumen, former central banker Carlo Azeglio Ciampi has largely succeeded in leading corruption-weary Italians toward a more accountable political system and a more efficient economy. In addition to pressing Parliament to adopt new electoral laws mandated by a national referendum in April 1993, he has engineered emergency austerity measures, helped broker a crucial labor-management compact, and laid out preliminary privatization plans for several key state enterprises. 3.5c

Ciampi has repeatedly vowed to step down after his budget passes and new voting mechanisms are reasonably in place; he will probably remain in office, at least as a caretaker, until spring 1994. His earnest, forthright style has gained him considerable stature with the public, but the Italians' cumulative frustrations with scandal and recession appear to be catching up with him. Not surprisingly, his popularity has suffered as the details of his economic program have angered those who will be pinched by spending cuts and alienated critics who want sharper limits on government programs and bureaucracy. 3.5c

A Modest Patriot At Center Stage

1.4c, 1.4d

He almost certainly considered the prime-ministership a serendipitous chance to help establish the stable, morally accountable system he had long advocated. Having scolded fiscally irresponsible politicians for over a decade, Ciampi—who headed the Bank of Italy (BOI) from 1979 until April 1993—is deeply committed to removing the complex 1.4c, 1.4d web of

1.4c, 3.5c

ITALY

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PER E. O. 13526

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And Then There Was One?

Ciampi, whose selection as Prime Minister was engineered by President Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, initially drew heavily on the institutional prestige of the presidency and Scalfaro's widely perceived integrity to reinforce his own credibility. Ciampi kept in continual contact with Scalfaro—who had in many respects become the guardian and symbol of Italy's national image—and a typical Italian press account portrayed the relationship as an eminently civilized exchange by two "gentlemen of the old school" charged with rescuing the future of Italy. But Ciampi's ability to rely on the President's moral authority was severely diminished in autumn 1993, when detailed allegations by state witnesses gave substance to persistent rumors about the Scalfaro's complicity in illegal activity while he was Minister of the Interior. 3.5c

relationships between government and business. He supports a smaller role for state-owned companies, more opportunities for independent entrepreneurs, and a stronger ethic of honesty and civic responsibility throughout the business community. Despite his understandable preoccupation with the

(continued)
LDA M 93-15627

1.4c, 3.5c

economy, he has kept the fight against the Mafia high on the government's agenda; he has suggested that the problem of international organized crime receive significant attention at the G-7 summit in Naples in July 1994

3.5c

Able To Play Hardball

Ciampi has a record of steadfast leadership under fire, and turned the scandal-plagued BOI into what is widely regarded as one of Italy's most effective institutions. By most accounts, he has successfully adapted the calm, deliberate style that characterized his tenure there to the faster pace of political life. With the system in disarray, Ciampi has seized the opportunity to ignore political convention. Most notably, he has run his administration without the usual heavyhanded guidance of once-omnipotent party chieftains

3.5c

Image Is Reality

Ciampi has largely overcome his lack of a traditional power base by cutting the figure of a septuagenarian Boy Scout, an image observers say closely reflects the real man

1.4c, 1.4d

During World War II he was a member of the Italian resistance, and later he helped found the Partito d'Azione, a stillborn political movement in which he probably invested a large measure of youthful idealism. Throughout his career, Ciampi has conspicuously shunned the trappings that help constitute la dolce vita for other privileged Italians. Press reports note that, during meetings of European Central Bank Governors, he was known for passing up five-star international hotels, paying his own bill, and carrying his own luggage. Ciampi, in fact, refused to accept his Governor's salary and lived on his (lesser) pension as a former BOI director general. He neither drinks nor smokes and obeys stop lights and speed limits

1.4c, 1.4d

1.4c, 1.4d

In meetings, he can be expected to project a gentlemanly demeanor and an old-school sense of propriety and correctness, but he is neither stuffy nor humorless.

1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

Ciampi and the United States

The powerful ethic of duty and responsibility that drives Ciampi's focus on his domestic challenges is also likely, in our view, to motivate him to carefully tend bilateral relations with the United States. The traditionally strong ties between Rome and Washington loom large in Italy's post-World War II identity and represent the sort of obligation that the Prime Minister characteristically approaches seriously—and personally he has "always been friendly and open to discussions with Americans" and speaks English well

1.4c

3.5c

Career and Personal Data

Ciampi was born in the port city of Livorno on 9 December 1920. He served in the Army during World War II, earning a military cross. He holds a degree in literature and a law degree from the University of Pisa (1946). In the four decades he was with the Bank, he served as central director, secretary general, vice general manager, and general manager, as well as Governor. He speaks English and German

3.5c

Ciampi and his wife, Francesca Pilla, have a son, Claudio, and a daughter, Gabriella; he reportedly dotes on his granddaughter, Maria. he relishes family weekends at his vacation house in the seaside village of Santa Severa (not far from Rome), where he takes time to row, bicycle, play cards, and talk to neighbors

1.4c

3.5c

19 November 1993

Jean-Luc DEHAENE
(Phonetic: duhHAHnuh)

BELGIUM

Prime Minister (since March 1992)

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene, known for his finely tuned feel for the politically possible, is credited with cobbling together Belgium's present four-party, center-left coalition. He is a leading figure in the left wing of the Flemish Christian Democratic Party (CVP) and has been a spokesman for the Catholic labor movement. 1.4c, 1.4d

Dehaene is highly respected for his sharp and inventive mind, brilliant debating skills, and unlimited capacity for work. Adept at political balancing acts, he is one of the architects of a controversial far-reaching austerity plan aimed at improving Belgium's competitiveness, promoting employment, and cutting the government deficit. 3.5c

A Master of Compromise

1.4c, 1.4d Dehaene is an accomplished negotiator who is admired by his peers for the way he has skillfully orchestrated political debate to resolve controversial issues and gain the consensus necessary to do business in the international arena. Dubbed "the bulldozer" by the press for his forthright political style, the Prime Minister is a pragmatic, persuasive politician; he has a reputation for tenaciously pursuing compromise while displaying infinite patience and courtesy in dealing with adversaries. We believe these characteristics enabled Dehaene to provide effective leadership during Belgium's six-month tenure (July-December 1993) of the EU's rotating presidency. For example, at the October 1993 special EU summit in Brussels, his no-nonsense approach speeded resolution of an acrimonious debate on the location of important new EU institutions, according to press accounts. 3.5c

Preparing for Prominence

Dehaene worked during 1963-67 as administrative head of the Flemish Association of Catholic Boy Scouts and then embarked on a somewhat

1.4c, 3.5c



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unorthodox political career. A CVP party activist, he rose to cabinet rank through a series of staff positions but never held elective office. Dehaene was a longtime aide and associate of former Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, for whom he served as speech writer and *chef de cabinet* from 1979 until 1981. He was then tapped for the position of Minister of Social Welfare and Institutional Reform (1981-87) and in 1982 was appointed to the Senate to fill a vacant seat. From 1988 until 1992 Dehaene held the post of Minister of Communication, Transport, and Institutional Reform. 3.5c

Dehaene, the son of a doctor, was born on 7 August 1940 in Montpellier, France. He holds degrees in law and economics from the Catholic University of Louvain. Dehaene is an avid soccer fan; he also enjoys photography, reading, and walking on the beach. He reportedly has a passion for collecting weather vanes. Dehaene speaks Dutch, fluent French, and English. Married to the former Celia Verbeke, who was an American citizen, he has four children. 3.5c

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17 December 1993

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Albert REYNOLDS

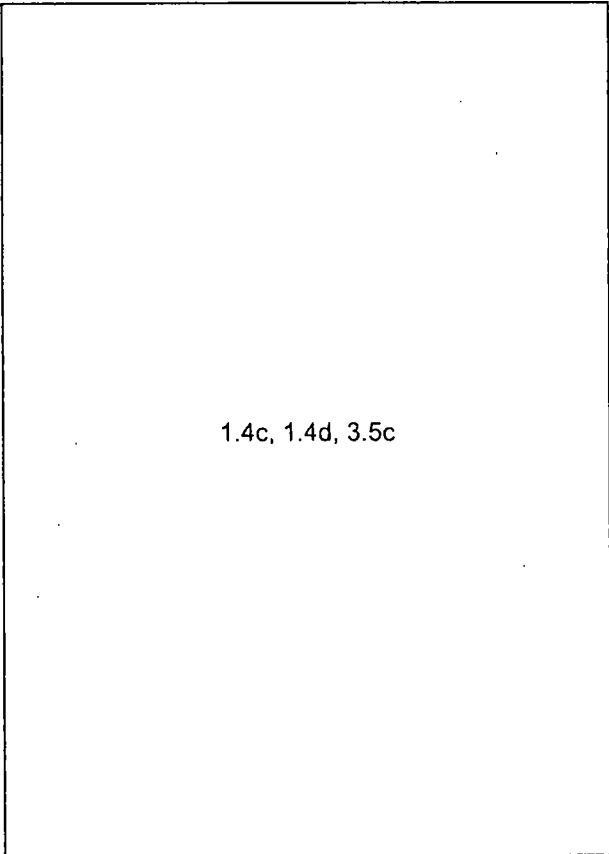
IRELAND

Prime Minister (since 1992)

*Addressed as: Taoiseach (tee-shuk)
or Prime Minister*



A self-made millionaire, Albert Reynolds once told the press that politics and business are about the same thing: success. Since entering the political arena, he has risen rapidly through Fianna Fail and government ranks to attain his lifelong desire to be premier. He has earned a reputation as a savvy, nuts-and-bolts operator with an ability to get things done and has gained the respect of civil servants for his energy, dedication, and pragmatism. Political and media pundits have dismissed his style as "cowboyism dressed up as entrepreneurship"; charges that he is a shortcut artist who is too willing to be all things to all people were amplified by his pie-in-the-sky promises of massive spending increases on job creation during the November 1992 general election campaign. Nevertheless, despite Fianna Fail's worst defeat at the polls since 1927, Reynolds defied predictions that he would have the shortest premierships in the Irish Republic's history. A consummate politician, he engineered a political miracle in securing a second term by forming a new coalition government with his rival, Labor Party leader (and now Deputy Prime Minister) Dick Spring. Press reports indicate Reynolds has forged a good working relationship with Spring despite initial mutual distrust. 3.5c



Maintaining a Modest Profile

Reynolds, who has had more than his share of bad press, probably remains conscious of the possibility of being upstaged by the more popular Spring. 1.4c, 1.4d he has maintained a relatively low media profile since being reelected. 1.4c, 1.4d the Prime Minister remained quiet during the currency crisis in January 1993 that led to the government's decision to devalue the punt, leaving Finance Minister Bertie Ahern to defend the government's policy. 3.5c

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1.4c, 3.5c

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The Northern Ireland Question

Reynolds has delegated overall responsibility for formulating policy on Northern Ireland to Spring (who also serves as Foreign Minister); nevertheless, as a member of the Cabinet committee on Northern Ireland—which includes Spring and Justice Minister Maire Geoghegan-Quinn—the Prime Minister retains a strong voice on the issue. He has assured Fianna Fail members that he will be “fully on top of any arrangements that are made.” On 14 December 1993 Reynolds capitalized on his ties to Major [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted]—to forge a joint declaration that provides a framework for talks on resolving the ongoing bloody conflict in Northern Ireland. (The formal statement was based in large part on Spring’s six-point plan for peace presented to the Irish Parliament in October 1993.) The collaboration of Reynolds and Major—both consensus-oriented pragmatists—suggests that the talks have a better chance than ever of succeeding. Reynolds is almost certainly aware, however, that success could exact a greater political price than failure: seeking approval for an agreement—and by extension, his leadership—from the traditionally nationalist Fianna Fail members could cost him his job [redacted] 3.5c

From Dancehalls to the Dail

Reynolds was born on 3 November 1935. He was educated at Summerhill College, and, after leaving school, he worked as a clerk for Ireland’s public transportation authority before moving into private business. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Reynolds operated a chain of dancehalls, at the time

an elegant and popular form of entertainment; he eventually sold his part of the business to purchase a meat-processing firm. By the early 1970s he had founded and become a director of C and D Pet Foods, which produces gourmet pet foods. After serving several years in local politics, Reynolds was elected to the Dail in 1977. Two years later, he was appointed Minister for Transportation and for Posts and Telegraphs. In 1982 Reynolds served briefly as Minister for Industry and Energy before his party was relegated to opposition by a Fine Gael victory. While in opposition, he was spokesman on industry and employment (1983-85) and on energy (1985-87). He held the Industry and Commerce portfolio during 1987-88 and served as Minister for Finance—traditionally the second-most-important post in the Cabinet after the premiership—from 1988 until he was ousted by then Prime Minister Charles Haughey in November 1991. Three months later, Reynolds was elected leader of Fianna Fail, succeeding Haughey as prime minister [redacted] 3.5c

Reynolds likes to swim and to sing (he once performed in a band); he particularly enjoys country-western music. According to the press, he is a diabetic and neither smokes nor drinks. [redacted]

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] Married to the former Kathleen Cohn, whom he met at a dance, Reynolds has five daughters and two sons. [redacted] 3.5c

17 December 1993

Arpad GONCZ

(Phonetic: goontz)

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

Arpad Goncz, a compassionate and charismatic playwright, has been affectionately referred to 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) embodies the spirit of those Hungarians who suffered for their participation in the uprising against Communist rule in 1956. We believe the uprising and the years he spent as a political prisoner were key factors in solidifying his belief in democracy and Western values. As President, Goncz has employed his tremendous moral authority to weigh in on public policy matters that he deems essential—or injurious—to Hungary's continuing democratization. With the death of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on 12 December 1993, Goncz almost certainly considers his highest priority the overseeing of a fair and democratic national election at the end of the current parliament's term in the spring of 1994. He has told the press that, in a maturing democracy, the second election is usually more important than the first.

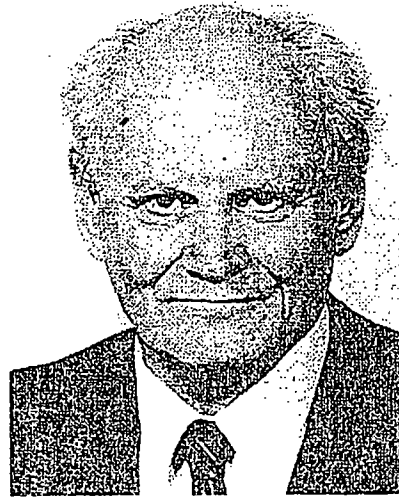
3.5c

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. He also sponsored Goncz, his longtime friend, for the presidency. Goncz had not been prominent in party affairs before he was nominated for the presidency. He has since relinquished his SZDSZ membership 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.

3.5c

1.4c, 3.5c

HUNGARY

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1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

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Determining the President's Place

[1.4c, 1.4d] press reports indicate that Goncz chafes at constitutional ambiguities restricting his position and that he had been frustrated by Antall's concerted effort to limit presidential authority. His training as a lawyer has made him a staunch advocate of constitutional democracy; he has often said 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 September 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. [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 and has expressed frustration that a more concrete criteria and timetable for membership has yet to be put forth by the Alliance. He has also 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. [1.4c, 1.4d] [] he has expressed hope that the world would someday see a European federated system that would encompass all European

nations—something along the lines of a modern, democratic version of the old Hapsburg Empire.

[3.5c]

Goncz regards the United States as a staunch ally and has traveled to this country many times. []

[1.4c, 1.4d] he has made it clear that he prefers to emphasize the need for private investment in the Hungarian economy rather than solicit official US financial assistance. Goncz has expressed [1.4c, 1.4d] the need for continued exposure to Western methods and practices, emphasizing that Hungary's experiment with democracy has been of short duration and that the legacy of Communism most difficult to eradicate is the mentality of living under a totalitarian system and obeying orders. [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— [1.4c, 1.4d] he has translated "an entire bookcase" of American literature, including former President Bush's autobiography, *Looking Forward*.

[3.5c]

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

17 December 1993

Michal KOVAC
(Phonetic: KOHvahch)

SLOVAKIA

President (since February 1993)

Addressed as: Mr. President

Slovakia's first president Michal Kovac has proved more assertive than was first expected. A member of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), Kovac has surprised observers who predicted that he would toe the party line, by distancing himself from the Prime Minister and exercising his presidential authority. Like others in the government, Kovac views Meciar as a detriment to the country's economic and political stability and has admitted to the press that he asked the Prime Minister to resign [redacted]



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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 disapproved of the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and rebelled against the subsequent normalization campaign; he was then demoted to a lesser post in the Bratislava city office. [redacted]

1.4c, 1.4d

Polls indicate that Kovac is considered the most trustworthy politician in Slovakia. [redacted] he sees his role as helping to preserve political stability. [redacted] Slovakia can not turn back from its movement toward democracy and economic reform and that the country is determined to join European structures.

1.4c, 1.4d

Although he does not support ethnic Hungarian autonomy in Slovakia's southern territories, he did propose an amendment that would allow southern towns to use both Slovakian and Hungarian names. [redacted]

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

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1.4c, 3.5c

1.4c, 3.5c

1.4c, 3.5c

parliamentary speaker; he held this function until 31 December 1992, when the federal parliament went out of existence.

3.5c

1.4c, 1.4d

The Kovacs are devout Catholics. They have two grown sons: their older son is studying for an MBA at the London Business School.

3.5c

Personal Notes

Kovac was born on 5 August 1930 in Lubisa, east Slovakia. He does not speak English. His wife, Emilia, is a professor at the Bratislava Economic University.

1.4c, 1.4d

17 December 1993

Vyacheslav Frantsevich KEBICH
(Phonetic: KEHbeech)

BELARUS

Prime Minister (since 1990)

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

A former senior official of the Communist party in Minsk under the Soviet regime, Vyacheslav Kebich remains an unrepentant Communist who holds most of the power in Belarus. Nevertheless, he is sensitive about his Communist image in the West [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d and complains that Western leaders do not accept him as a reformer on a par with leaders of other countries that had been part of the Soviet Union. He has been slow to move toward reform and a market economy and has opposed further privatization of land ownership. Politically astute, Kebich has minimized the potential for widespread opposition by observing some of the rudiments of democracy, allowing demonstrations, a parliament, and limited freedom of the press [redacted] 3.5c



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Kebich has sent mixed messages about the prospects for democratization in Belarus, although his vision clearly entails keeping Belarus within Russia's sphere of influence. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted]
[redacted] Indeed, his statements to the press [redacted]
[redacted] suggest he yearns for the rebirth of a Russian-ruled Slavic empire in which Belarus would be the most favored protectorate and in which he would play a role like that of past Communist Party first secretaries. Kebich has emphasized that Belarus's only hope lies in ever-closer ties to Russia, and he has strongly supported both an economic union with other CIS members and a CIS collective security treaty. (Kebich, nevertheless, dislikes and distrusts Russian President Boris Yelt'sin, whom he blames for provoking bloodshed during the October 1992 showdown with some members of the parliament.) Although Kebich has claimed that Western culture and institutions threaten the Belarusian soul, he has asked [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] the principles of democratic institutions. He

[redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d, 3.5c

has said that China and South Korea are his models because they reformed their economies while their governments retained tight political control [redacted] 1.4c, 3.5c

[redacted] 1.4c, 3.5c

Kebich must contend with a division of executive power between himself and popular Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich. Kebich controls the armed forces, the news media, all of the military, and most of the security forces except the KGB, and he has a strong power base among hardline conservatives. He therefore has the upper hand in a power struggle with Shushkevich, who opposes efforts to strengthen security ties to Moscow. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d

[redacted] he resents what he perceives as Western attention paid to Shushkevich but denied to him. The Prime Minister's main vehicle of control in the Supreme Soviet is the "Belarus" faction, which has been working to sideline Shushkevich and favors impeaching him. [redacted] 3.5c

Kebich is trying to shape the ongoing parliamentary debate on a new constitution, including the division of powers between the legislature and the executive. If the new constitution establishes a strong presidency, Kebich aspires to the post, although he appears less concerned with holding a title than with retaining power. [redacted] 3.5c

Career and Personal Data

Kebich was born on 10 June 1936 in the Minsk region. Trained as a mechanical engineer, he began working at the Kirov Rolling and Cutting

Machinery Production Association in Minsk, where he eventually became director. He worked in a variety of Communist Party jobs in Minsk in the early 1980s. At one point he headed the party's heavy industry department. In late 1985 Kebich was appointed deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of its State Planning Committee (Gosplan). In 1991 he founded the Belarusian State Academy of Management, which he closely oversees. [redacted] 3.5c

In March 1993 the media reported accusations—as yet unconfirmed—that a commercial enterprise owned by Kebich's wife, Elena, had received funds originally earmarked for badly needed medical supplies. Kebich has denied involvement in any questionable activities. He is a colonel in the reserves. [redacted] 1.4c, 1.4d
the Prime Minister claimed that he had been assigned to the GRU while serving in the military. He enjoys fishing. He does not speak English. Kebich regularly visits the village where he was born to see his nonagenarian mother and work on her house and garden. He and his wife have at least one daughter. [redacted] 3.5c

20 December 1993