

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. briefing | Re: Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. briefing | Re: Kalingrad (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. briefing | Re: The Russian Minority in the Baltic States (2 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004. briefing | Re: Lithuania: Political Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 005. briefing | Re: Latvia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 006. briefing | Re: Estonia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 007. briefing | Re: Latvia (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 008. briefing | Re: Russian Troop Withdrawals (2 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 009. briefing | Re: Meeting with the Three Baltic Presidents (3 pages) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 010. briefing | Re: Paldiski Naval Base (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
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 OA/Box Number: 551

FOLDER TITLE:

Latvia

2011-1037-F

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

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SKRUNDA RADAR SITE: DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

The radar facility at Skrunda, Latvia comprises three large ballistic missile early warning (BMEW) radars. Two of these "Hen House" radars were constructed during the 1960's to track northern Europe and uniquely the Northeast Atlantic. They were fully operational by 1971, predating the 1972 ABM Treaty. Each radar consists of two antenna buildings with a control building between them. These are the radars that the Russians will run for four more years under the troop withdrawal agreement with Latvia. It provides Russia time to replace this coverage with facilities either in Moscow or Belarus.

Construction of the third site, the large phased-array radar (LPAR), began in 1986 in order to replace the less capable Hen House radars. The radar buildings were near external completion when construction was halted in early 1992. The 16-storey skyscraper stands as a symbolically ominous reminder to Latvians of Soviet/Russian presence. The Latvians also are concerned that the sooner this modern facility is destroyed, the less inclined Russia will be to make excuses to remain at the older radar sites longer than necessary.

The United States never had any formal or informal agreement or arrangement with Russia on the future operation or disposition of the ballistic missile early warning radar in Skrunda, Latvia. Apart from its status under the ABM Treaty and recognizing that such radars contribute to strategic stability, the USG position remained that the ownership and ultimate disposition of the Skrunda radar facility appropriately were most decided between the governments of Latvia and Russia.

Following the April 30, 1994 signing of the Latvian-Russian troop withdrawal agreement that included Russia's consent to turn over the LPAR immediately to Latvian control, the Latvians and Russians need to take some implementation steps. Under the terms of agreement, the CSCE is to establish a mission to help monitor implementation of the Skrunda provisions (4 years of continued operation by the Russians plus another 18 months for dismantlement). We are encouraging the Latvians and the Russians in Vienna to give the CSCE an idea of the composition and mandate for the CSCE mission. The Latvians already control the LPAR site, using Russian guards who answer to Latvian Government officials.

The Latvians have now taken over the LPAR. The Defense Department has come up with \$2 million as its contribution toward dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR. State is now supposed to come up with its \$2 million share. In mid-June we sent a joint State-DoD team to assess what needs to be done to level the LPAR and dispose of the rubble.

The Swedes have already committed \$1 million in concert with our assistance, and the British have agreed to help resolve Latvia's environmental concerns over radio waves. We have asked other Western donors to contribute to this project.

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KALININGRAD

Sandwiched between Poland and Lithuania, and 110 miles away from Russia proper, the Kaliningrad enclave has the potential to become one of the most controversial bits of territory in Europe. Known as Königsberg before it was seized by the Red Army, Kaliningrad involves complex historical questions with significant regional implications. Over the centuries, the Lithuanians, Poles, Swedes, Germans and now the Russians have claimed sovereignty.

Kaliningrad Oblast is the size of Connecticut. It serves as Russia's only warm-water Baltic port and is the point of departure for much of Russia's foreign trade through the Baltic and Atlantic. It has become a massive armed fortress from the transfer of men and equipment from base closings and troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe (especially East Germany) and the Baltic States. Soldiers and their families comprise one-fifth of the oblast's one million inhabitants.

Kaliningrad depends on Lithuania not only for the transit of goods and supplies from the FSU, but also for its energy. Lithuania, Poland and Germany also are now important trading and investment partners.

The postwar Potsdam Conference agreed in principle to a Soviet proposal concerning the ultimate transfer of Kaliningrad to the USSR subject to expert examination of the actual frontier; the Two-Plus-Four Agreement settled Germany's border but did not address the status of Königsberg. The high concentration of Russian forces, some 85,000, and the increasing desire of the other Baltic Sea states for Kaliningrad's demilitarization add to the controversy. We believe that the Kaliningrad issue should be deferred as long as possible. Russia has categorically insisted that Kaliningrad will remain an integral part of Russia. In the long run, however, Kaliningrad's geopolitical position is unsustainable, and elements of change eventually will compel discussion of this difficult issue.

Lithuania and Russia signed a civil transit agreement on Kaliningrad in July 1991, but a military transit agreement still needs to be negotiated and signed. The Russians have withheld implementation of Lithuania's MFN status (signed in November of 1993) until the transit rights problem is resolved. We oppose emphatically any approach or solution that does not respect Lithuania's sovereignty. Traditionally, the Lithuanians have had good relations with Oblast officials, and we continue to encourage Lithuania to foster good ties with the enclave's leadership.

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THE RUSSIAN MINORITY IN THE BALTIC STATES .

A major part of our strategy to promote the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States has been to press for fair and equitable treatment of the Russian minority. Russia routinely accuses Estonia and Latvia of massive violations of the human rights of their large Russian-speaking population, and often some Russian officials have tried to link these issues with the troop withdrawal issue. While we refuse to link these issues--or any issue--to the speedy and unconditional withdrawal of Russian forces from the Baltic States, there are a number of ways that we have tried to assist in addressing this practical problem.

Because of our concern for the protection of human rights worldwide, we have supported the visits to Estonia and Latvia of numerous international human rights experts from non-government and inter-governmental organizations. We have agreed with their conclusions that there is no pattern of human rights violations there. Nevertheless, we have strongly encouraged Estonia and Latvia to accept the presence of resident CSCE missions to monitor these political conditions, offer support to the host governments in drafting legislation affecting these Russians, and provide ombudsman-like services to the Russian communities.

Estonia accepted a CSCE mission in December 1992, and Latvia accepted a CSCE mission in November 1993. We are very pleased with the results of these missions in resolving a number of problems, such as the Aliens Law controversy in Estonia and the truculence of the former Latvian Citizenship and Naturalization Department Director. The Latvian mission is headed by an American Foreign Service Officer.

Lithuania

Ethnic Russians comprise only 7% of Lithuania's population, and most of them automatically became citizens under Lithuania's liberal "zero-option" citizenship law of December, 1991. A few ethnic Poles and Russians have raised concerns that the law does not clearly specify equal civil treatment for minorities should they choose not to become citizens. Vilnius, however, states that these minorities do enjoy equal rights, and we have not seen any evidence to contradict that claim. Unlike its Baltic neighbors, Lithuania did not experience a dramatic proportional rise in the number of postwar non-ethnic Lithuanians. This happened because border adjustments reintroduced a large number of ethnic Lithuanians. Also Stalin's Russification policy was not implemented as harshly in agricultural Lithuania as elsewhere. Lithuania is a member of the Council of Europe.

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Estonia

Estonia generally has taken a very pragmatic course in addressing the issue of its large ethnic Russian noncitizen community. Fairly 38% of its inhabitants are noncitizens; about 33% are ethnic Russian, most of whom live in the urban, industrialized Northeast and form overwhelming majorities. Estonia allowed its noncitizens to vote in municipal elections and even granted citizenship to practically all noncitizen candidates, most of whom were elected. For the elderly and handicapped, Estonia has dropped its language requirement for citizenship, and its citizenship law, among the most liberal in the West, requires only a three-year residency, two years of which are retroactive. Estonia agreed to practically all the revisions proposed by the CSCE to its Law on Aliens from last summer, which substantially eased a potential crisis in Russian-Estonian relations. Until its bureaucracy can issue permanent "green cards" that even can be used as ID and travel documents, Estonia has issued temporary blanket documents for its noncitizens. Privatization in the Northeast has been intentionally delayed so as to dampen the effects of unemployment on the Russian community, which nonetheless is not very well organized politically. In May 1993, Estonia gained full membership in the Council of Europe.

Latvia

Latvia has taken a much more hesitant and legalistic approach to dealing with its much larger noncitizen community. Part of this stems from its desire to keep Russia from using the "ethnic minority" issue as a weapon in the troop withdrawal process, and partly from doubts to the loyalty of these ethnics, even though they have not shown inclination towards organizing politically. As in Estonia, a majority of ethnic Russians supported independence. However, a large number did not and are overwhelmingly anti-Yeltsin in sentiment. Few speak Latvian. While ethnic Russians comprise about the same percentage of the population as in Estonia, ethnic Slavs are 48% of Latvia's inhabitants and control an estimated 80% of the economy. Ethnic Latvians do not comprise a majority in seven of its eight largest cities and only form a (powerful) majority in the countryside. A law on naturalization, patterned after recommendations from the Council of Europe, recently passed its second reading in parliament. We are not enthusiastic about its strict quota system and are encouraging Latvia to undertake a less rigorous approach.

Summary

Western involvement, through bilateral consultations and the CSCE missions, enables us to gain the confidence of Estonian and Latvian officials necessary in order to make fundamental progress on the issue of the fair and equitable treatment of Russian noncitizens in Estonia and Latvia. We and the Balts realize that it is in our interests to have the spirit and letter of their laws accord with Western standards.

LITHUANIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

A staunchly Catholic nation with a strong sense of national identity dating back to its glory days as a medieval empire stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and then yoked in union with Poland for centuries, Lithuania was an independent nation again from 1918 to 1940, when it was annexed by the USSR. Lithuanian is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but Baltic, the prototypal Indo-European language.

Under the leadership of intellectuals, the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis was formed in mid-1988, declaring a program of democratic and national rights. After fifty years of occupation, in 1990 the Lithuanian Supreme Council declared Lithuania independent from the Soviet Union. The USSR responded with the imposition of a harsh economic blockade, and in January 1991 unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the elected government, killing 13 civilians and injuring hundreds. That February, a national referendum was held in which over 90% of voters approved Lithuania's independence. Soviet military-security forces continued their illegal actions, including forcible inductions, seizing buildings, attacking customs posts, and killing customs and police officials. Lithuania finally regained its full independence in August, 1991.

A parliamentary democracy, Lithuania has held free and fair elections, and passed a constitution and a lenient citizenship law. It has significantly improved neighborly relations, especially Poland, with which it signed a Friendship Treaty in April, 1994.

Politico-economic gridlock and economic mismanagement returned the former Communists to power in elections in autumn of 1992, but they have not fared much better than their predecessors, the government headed by the founder of the national movement, former President Landsbergis. Politics traditionally has been marred by a disorganized but effectively disruptive opposition.

The new currency is very stable, and inflation has been brought under control: about a 30% annual rate. However, economic reform has stalled. Because it won on the premise of improving social conditions, the Government had long shied away from making tough fiscal/privatization decisions. Although the Government finally passed comprehensive privatization legislation this spring, the opposition has now succeeded in forcing a public referendum on the Government's plan.

On June 2 Prime Minister Slezevicius announced that his Government would resign in accordance with the constitutional requirement to do so when more than half of the cabinet is changed. 29 left-wing members of parliament from the ruling Labor Party (LDDP) also have initiated a vote of no-confidence in Slezevicius. While the motion probably will not carry, it signals a significant fracture--typical of Lithuanian politics--in the LDDP's ability to govern comfortably.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By NARA, Date 6/13/2023

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Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE and COE, Lithuania also seeks GATT membership and associate membership status in the EU by fall. Lithuania actively pursues Western security relationships, is a member of the NACC and already has submitted its presentation document for Partnership for Peace (PFP).

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Lithuania on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Lithuanian representation in the U.S. has continued for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR. Nearly one million Americans of Lithuanian descent play an active role in bilateral relations.

Lithuania enjoys MFN and GSP treatment. It also signed a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement with the U.S. in April and will sign a Bilateral Investment Treaty this summer as well as a Science and Technology Cooperation agreement with the Secretary during the July visit.

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$66 million to Lithuania's economic and political transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program totals over \$9 million. We are aiming to get the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund up and running within the next few months and are working to get better Eximbank and OPIC credit ratings for Lithuania.

Lithuania remains highly dependent upon Russia and the NIS for trade and energy. By developing Lithuania's port, hydroelectric and refinery capabilities, we and the Nordics are working to make Lithuania more energy independent and attractive to Western trade and investment. We are working to improve the safety of the Chernobyl-style nuclear reactor at Ignalina.

Sensationalized tales of public corruption and a dramatic increase in crime have become Lithuanians' priority concerns. We are reviewing the Government's request for FBI/police assistance, particularly on organized crime impacting the U.S.

Russia withdrew its troops from Lithuania on August 31, 1993, but military transit to/from the Kaliningrad enclave still needs to be resolved. Lithuania remains very supportive in expressing solidarity with its Baltic neighbors in their relations with Russia.

The United States remains firmly committed to supporting Lithuanian independence and its integration into a democratic Europe. Therefore, we currently are shaping an expanded military-to-military program designed to help place Lithuanian (and Baltic) defense institutions on a firm, democratic footing.

Trade with the U.S. in 1993 amounted to \$16.1 million in exports and \$7.5 million in imports, the latter being mainly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S.-Lithuanian firms registered 235 of 3,674 foreign joint ventures, and of \$115 million in total foreign investment, the U.S. ranks first with a \$35 million share. Philip Morris is a major investor.

holds

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LATVIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The Latvian Ambassador calls Latvia "a nation of lawyers" in mentality. Culturally, Latvians most reflect their Lutheran German heritage and emulate Swedes. Latvian is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but is a Baltic language related to Lithuanian.

Under Hanseatic and German influence since the 1200's, Latvia always has used its geographic location as an important commercial trading center. A non-NIS capital, Riga nonetheless remains the financial capital for doing business in the FSU.

After 200 years of continuous Russian rule, a bloody civil war erupted in 1918 when part of the independence movement sided with the Bolsheviks. By 1920, the Germans and Bolsheviks were defeated. Prime Minister Karlis Ulmanis, uncle of the current President, headed independence. Before the Depression Latvia's minorities enjoyed cultural autonomy, and the economy reformed and recovered. As in the other Baltic States, the mid-1930's brought the rise of authoritarian rule to Latvia.

Soviet and Nazi invasions during World War II devastated Latvia's population by one-third by 1945. During that decade, about 60,000 were deported to Siberia, and thousands fled to the West. The Soviets radically urbanized Latvia by bringing in thousands of Slavic industrial workers.

In March 1990, democratic elections gave the Popular Front independence movement a majority in the Supreme Council. In January 1991, shortly after a parallel attempt in Lithuania, Soviet political and military forces tried to overthrow the Latvian government. Eight people were killed. Latvia regained its independence during the aborted Soviet coup in August 1991.

Latvia's economic situation is steadily improving. The country enjoys a positive trade balance, relatively restrained inflation, and a very stable currency, the lats. Latvia still imports 90% of its energy from the NIS. De facto agricultural privatization also has occurred. Comprising 48% of the populace, ethnic Slavs control an estimated 80% of the economy, making economic, not political reform a key issue to Latvia's future ethnic harmony.

Latvia signed a troop withdrawal agreement with Russia on April 30, paving the way for the departure of Russia's remaining 7,000 or so troops by August 31, 1994. The Russian navy already has departed, and the troops may be gone by as early as July 31. About 800 Russian technicians will remain to operate the Skrunda radar facility for another four years under some type of CSCE supervision.

With the withdrawal agreement, Latvia now needs to focus on privatization as well as citizenship and naturalization legislation; the latter law, patterned after recommendations from the COE, recently passed its second reading in parliament. The United States has defended Latvia's human rights record against Russian accusations. We remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Latvians.

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By JL
NARA, Date 6/13/2013
7516-0314-W-2
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

Latvia held free and fair elections on June 5-6, 1993, giving the pro-reform "Latvia's Way" party a plurality of votes and placing them in an uneasy center-right coalition with the Farmer's Union. In nationwide municipal elections on May 30 uncontested by Latvia's Way, the right-wing parties triumphed. FM Andrejevs resigned in early June over accusations that he and four other members of Parliament cooperated with the KGB prior to Latvia's independence.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, Latvia seeks GATT membership and associate membership status in the EU. Latvia actively pursues Western security relationships and enthusiastically supports Partnership for Peace (PFP).

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Latvia on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Latvian representation in the U.S. continued uninterrupted for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. About 85,000 Americans of Latvian descent play an active role in bilateral relations. The Defense Minister is an American citizen, and a large number of other government officials are U.S. and Western expatriates.

Latvia enjoys MFN status and GSP privileges. It hopes to sign a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement and a Bilateral Investment Treaty during your visit. The Secretary will sign a Science and Technology Cooperation agreement with the Government of Latvia at the same time.

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$90 million to Latvia's economic transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program totals over \$6 million.

Latvia remains highly dependent upon Russia and the NIS for trade and energy but also prospers from it through collecting revenue from a Russian energy pipeline. By developing Latvia's port, hydroelectric and refinery capabilities, we and the Nordics are working to make Latvia more energy independent and attractive to Western trade and investment.

We are aiming to get the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund up and running within the next few months and are working to get better Eximbank and OPIC credit ratings for Latvia.

The United States remains firmly committed to supporting Latvian independence and its integration into a democratic Europe. Therefore, we currently are shaping an expanded military-to-military program designed to help place Latvian (and Baltic) defense institutions on a firm, democratic footing.

\$89.5

In 1993, trade with the U.S. amounted to ~~\$22.6~~ ^{\$22.6} million in exports and ~~\$8~~ million in imports, the latter being chiefly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. American firms registered ~~\$70 million out of a total \$110 million in~~ foreign investment. By far, Kellogg's is our biggest investor.

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most by any Western country.

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ESTONIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

A Nordic people closely akin to the Swedes culturally and the Finns linguistically, Estonians did not enjoy national independence until the interwar period. That Republic enjoyed relative economic prosperity but suffered political instability. Then, as now, personalities rather than real issues determined politics.

The infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact brought an end to Estonian independence by 1940. The next decade brought 10,000 Soviet deportations, 5500 deaths in Nazi camps. Ten percent of the population fled to the West. Soviet rule brought large numbers of urban Slavic immigrants to industrialize Estonia's northeast.

Nevertheless, Estonia remained a window on the West and enjoyed a relatively extensive range of contacts with Finland through August 20, 1991, when it regained independence in the wake of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union. The transition to independence was entirely bloodless.

Estonia and Russia are very close to agreement on Russian troop withdrawals, and only 2,500 troops remain. The talks finally are getting a high-level political push to come to conclusion, and we may see results by the time of the Riga trip.

Estonia has generally done a good job in managing the ethnic Russian issue, both in domestic terms as well as in its bilateral relations with Russia. The United States has defended Estonia's human rights record against hard accusations. We will continue to remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Estonians.

Estonia is a regional role model for reform. It has a balanced budget, free trade, annual inflation under 30% and a stable currency (the kroon). Privatization is occurring at a relatively fast clip, except in the heavily Russian-ethnic Northeast. Barely 25% of its trade is with the NIS. Over 90% of small and medium-sized firms are in private hands, while two-thirds of large firms have been privatized. Only agricultural privatization lags.

Estonia passed a Western-style constitution and citizenship law and has held free and fair national and municipal elections, electing a pro-reform but fragile coalition government that may have fallen by the time of the President's visit. The opposition, however, will not likely reverse Estonia's reforms. The President and Prime Minister do not like each other. The Commander of the Defense Forces, Aleksander Einseln is a U.S. citizen. Expatriates from the West play key roles in the bureaucracy.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By VZ NARA, Date 6/13/2013
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Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, Estonia seeks GATT membership and associate membership status in the EU by fall. Estonia actively pursues Western security relationships and eagerly signed on to Partnership for Peace (PFP).

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Estonia on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Estonian representation in the U.S. continued uninterrupted for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized Estonia's forcible incorporation into the USSR. About 65,000 Americans of Estonian descent play an active role in bilateral relations.

Estonia enjoys MFN status and GSP privileges. It also signed a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement and a Bilateral Investment Treaty with the U.S. in April. During the July visit, it also will sign a Science and Technology Cooperation agreement with the Secretary.

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$33 million to Estonia's economic transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program is now over \$6 million.

Estonia's phased graduation from AID's assistance programs, to be completed by 1996, recognizes Estonia's position at the vanguard of Eastern European reform.

We are aiming to get the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund up and running very soon.

The United States remains firmly committed to supporting Estonian independence and its integration into a democratic Europe. Therefore, we currently are shaping an expanded military-to-military program designed to help place Estonian (and Baltic) defense institutions on a firm, democratic footing.

In 1993, Estonian trade with the United States amounted to \$ 20 million in exports and \$ 54 million in imports, the latter being mainly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S. investment, consisting of about 145 firms, makes up \$20 million of \$185 million in foreign investment in Estonia.

RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS

The issue of Russian troop withdrawals is a genuine U.S. foreign policy success story, and our strategy to get those troops out has been threefold.

The first approach has been to use our good offices with the Baltic states in reassuring them of continued U.S. support for their sovereignty and independence long after the troops are gone. We have done this through high-level visits and telephone calls, establishing a normal defense and security relationship with them bilaterally and through Partnership for Peace, and cooperating with the Baltic states and Russians on dismantling and cleaning up Russian military facilities that symbolically pose a threat (Paldiski and Skrunda) to Baltic security.

The parallel approach has been to use those good offices with the Baltic states to ensure that they treat their ethnic Russian populaces equitably. We have accomplished this through establishment of resident CSCE missions in Estonia and Latvia and of multilateral programs to support the teaching of Estonian and Latvian to the Slavic communities, for example.

Combined with our Russian officer housing program to relocate retired military officers to Russia, we also have repeatedly reminded the Russian Government at the highest levels of its international commitment to withdraw its troops speedily, and of our insistence that they withdraw unconditionally no later than August 31, 1994.

Lithuania

The Defense Ministers of Lithuania and Russia signed an agreement on September 8, 1992 calling for complete Russian troop withdrawals by August 31, 1993. Despite a last-minute suspension of the withdrawals by the Russian government, active intervention by the U.S. and other Western governments ensured that the deadline is met. Lithuania continues to express solidarity with its Baltic neighbors in calling for Russia to withdraw its forces from Estonia and Latvia by August 31, 1994.

Like most Baltic Sea states, Lithuania remains deeply concerned about the excessive concentration of Russian troops in neighboring Kaliningrad (any resupply of these troops must go either by sea or, more practically, by rail through Lithuania) and would like to see a substantial number of these troops withdrawn.

Latvia

In order to promote a Latvian-Russian troop withdrawal agreement, at the Moscow Summit in January the President suggested a compromise of four years and 18 months for the continuing operation and subsequent dismantlement of the Skrunda radar facility. Yeltsin accepted the compromise, and the Latvian Government also agreed to it, after a January 31 - February 1 trip to Washington by Latvian Parliamentary leaders.

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That compromise formed the basis for the resolution of remaining issues, and Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin signed a troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. As a "reward" for doing so, Ulmanis was invited to the White House on May 24.

Less than 7,000 Russian soldiers now remain in Latvia, and Russia has stated that it will withdraw most of the rest by as early as July 31. The Russian navy already departed on June 1.

An AID/State team traveled to Riga, Tallinn and Moscow in late April to explain how our voucher system under the \$160 million officer resettlement program will work. We then modified the voucher program to make Russian military retirees living in Estonia and Latvia eligible for a voucher. About 1,500 such vouchers should be available for retired and departing Russian officers to relocate to Russia and obtain housing there. We are working with Russian commanders and the Estonian and Latvian governments in identifying specific individuals who will benefit from the program. AID should be ready to distribute the vouchers by the time of the July visit.

Estonia

Negotiators admit that more than 90% of the issues surrounding the signing of an agreement were resolved long ago. Practically no progress has been made on the remaining issues until recently when, upon President Clinton's initiative, Russia agreed to elevate the status of the talks. FM Kozyrev and Estonian President Meri held a productive private meeting in Tallinn on May 25, and Russian DFM Churkin traveled to Tallinn the next week to negotiate directly with FM Luik over the primary question of the status of Russian military pensioners.

On June 7, Meri addressed a closed session of parliament, emphasizing that with or without an agreement, Estonia would have to deal with these pensioners, and be better off doing so under an agreement where it could review individual cases to be adjudicated on the basis of Estonian law and in consultation with the Russians. As a goodwill gesture, he then signed a law approving temporary travel documents for Estonia's 500,000 non-citizens until the Estonian bureaucracy could come up with permanent ones. Just weeks ago, the Government seemed content to let the 2,500 remaining troops depart by August 31 without any agreement. Most of those troops are based at Paldiski or with the 144th Mechanized Division in downtown Tallinn.

The Estonian Government confides that it will not deport any military retirees pensioned before August 21, 1991, except for KGB/GRU types. Russia seems willing to let the latter category go, but is looking for firmer guarantees, which it may not get. We have agreed to provide vouchers for all those officers pensioned after the August 1991 date, and the Estonians have requested U.S. housing vouchers for the GKB and GRU officers. Theoretically then, the pensioners issue should be resolved.

Now that the United States, Sweden and other nations will be active in a multilateral effort on environmental cleanup of the two land-based nuclear submarine training reactors at Paldiski, this issue also should be closed.

MEETING WITH THE THREE BALTIC PRESIDENTS

CONTEXT OF MEETING

This is the first ever visit by an American president to the Baltic States, and thus especially significant for the three Baltic governments and the people of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. It is also the first stop of your European tour. Though agreement between Estonia and Russia on troop withdrawal is still outstanding, recent breakthroughs suggest that there is a better than even chance that such an agreement can be achieved by the time of your visit. If Russia and Estonia can come to closure as we hope, by August 31 Russia will have withdrawn its troops from all of Eastern Europe. You met Latvian President Ulmanis in Washington on May 24 and a high-level Latvian Foreign Ministerial/Parliamentary delegation on February 1 in Washington. You also met these three presidents at the UNGA on September 27 last year.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Laud progress made to date in getting Russia to withdraw its troops from the Baltics, underscore the successful U.S. effort--and your personal involvement--and, if needed, press for resolution of the Estonian-Russian agreement.
- o Stress your strong interest in the broadening and deepening of bilateral relations with each of the Baltic States.
- o Address the larger theme of Central and Eastern Europe's place in the new security structure of Europe. The Baltics are a poignant place to drive home that message because by explicitly highlighting the cooperative structures we want to encourage in Europe, your visit implicitly solidifies the point that the Baltics are not in anybody's sphere of influence, and that we will not forget them, now that the troop withdrawal issue has been resolved.

Suggested Talking Points

- o Congratulations to all three of you for the course of Russian troop withdrawals from your countries. Bilateral withdrawal agreements will help you deal more successfully with your big neighbor.
- o We are glad to have helped you close the door on a tragic, dark era in your history and look forward to working with you to swing open a new door to a brighter future of cooperation in your rightful place in Europe.

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,45)

6/20/2023 VZ

- o The May meetings of the Bilateral Working Groups on defense relations went very well in all three countries. We are looking forward to further developing our security cooperation. There is strong support in Congress for our \$10 million request in next years's budget for support of such commendable peacekeeping cooperation as the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. We look forward to developing a normalized defense and security relationship with each of you.
- o We are pleased to have signed so many agreements lately with you on trade, investment, intellectual property protection, and science and technology cooperation. This lays the foundation for exponentially expanding our economic cooperation and financial investments. Harkening back to the Vice President's commitment in April to Prime Minister Laar, we would like to send a trade mission spearheaded by our Department of Commerce sometime this autumn, with your permission.
- o After rigorous review, I approved the American membership of the Board of Directors of the Baltic Enterprise Fund, which will provide \$50 million of capital to develop small and medium-sized businesses in the Baltics. We hope it can begin operating by late summer. This fund is indicative of one of the directions that we want to emphasize in our new partnership.
- o We are especially pleased by the excellent cooperation among the three Baltic governments. Such steps as the Baltic States Free Trade Agreement and the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion are important examples of sub-regional activities, models for other Central and Eastern European states.
- o We are pleased with the tremendous progress each of you has made in helping your ethnic minorities and noncitizen communities become loyal citizens. We encourage Estonia and Latvia to continue working with us and the CSCE in maintaining such fair and equitable treatment.
- o FOR LITHUANIA: Have you made any progress with Russia concerning the problems of military transit to Kaliningrad and bilateral trade issues? If the issue of Kaliningrad is included in the agenda of the Baltic Table under the European Stability Pact, it has to be dealt with carefully.

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- o The Baltic States could provide a useful lever to gain greater access to EU markets.
 - The Baltics recently concluded Free Trade Agreements (FTA's) with the EU, and hold even more liberal duty-free agreements with Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland and Switzerland. Already tariff-free, Estonia expects associate EU membership as early as year's end and would love to sign a free trade agreement with the United States.
 - Assuming at least one of the Nordics gains full EU membership next year, Estonia and the Baltic States could provide an opportune springboard for the duty-free re-export of American goods and services into the EU, undercutting EU tariffs and price subsidies.

PALDISKI NAVAL BASE

The Soviet Navy used Paldiski as a warm-water port since the late 1940's. Construction of the land-based nuclear submarine training facility that houses two reactors began in the 1960's. By 1989, however, the navy declared the reactors unsafe and obsolete and ordered them shutdown. The military base reverted to Estonian control in August 1993, but the nuclear training facility remains under Russian control.

Russia made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the reactors at Paldiski, and is expected to begin removing the reactors this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts earlier this year. An official from the Department of Energy and Sandia Laboratories attended that conference in Stockholm.

During Estonian Prime Minister Laar's April 19 meeting with the Vice President, Laar mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. The Vice President promised to be helpful in that effort, and the Energy Department now appears ready to support that commitment. We would look for USDOE minimally to commit \$4 million or more. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region will also join the effort once the United States officially participates.

By helping the Estonians and Russians eliminate radioactive risks, U.S. involvement in a Paldiski cleanup program also ensures smooth implementation of Russia's pledge to clean the area of other hazardous materials. A multilateral program with substantial U.S. participation will help prevent future potential Estonian-Russian disputes over this matter and thereby will enhance regional security and stability.

Furthermore, the Energy Department's involvement in this project is an opportunity for the United States to use its national laboratories and other institutions in safely developing and maintaining its competitive technological edge at home and abroad. Several benefits that can be explored are the implementation of new technologies, application of risk-based environmental regulations as a potential model for domestic use, and broadening our acquisition of technology through transfer programs with Russia and other countries in the region. Estonia provides a useful conduit for this purpose. The Energy Department's support in the Paldiski cleanup program will greatly advance U.S. interests and, when announced within the near future, should help break the current stalemate in Estonian-Russian talks.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By VZ NARA, Date 6/13/2023

2016-0314-11-2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. cable | Re: [Latvia's Election] (8 pages) | 05/28/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. cable | Re: [Demarche] (5 pages) | 04/27/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. cable | Re: [Latvian Foreign Policy] (3 pages) | 05/18/1993 | P1/b(1) |
| 004a. memo | Beth Sanner to Anthony Lake, re: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs (3 pages) | 04/07/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004b. report | U.S. Government Report (1 page) | 03/02/1993 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

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

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,46)
6/20/2023 VL

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

SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF

<DIST>
SIT: BURNS GATI SANNER VAX

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RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2151
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RUEHTL/AMEMBASSY TALLINN PRIORITY 1086
RUFHSK/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY 0408
RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY 0197
RUFHOS/AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY 0151
RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY 0092
RUFHMU/AMCONSUL MUNICH PRIORITY 0182
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY 0652
RUEHNS/AMEMBASSY MINSK PRIORITY 0159
RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY 0160
RUEHKV/AMEMBASSY KIEV PRIORITY 0174
RUFHNS/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY 0559
RUFHCP/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY 0190
RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY 0450
RUFHMB/USMISSION USVIENNA PRIORITY 0187
RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY 0208
<SUBJ>

LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF
<TEXT>

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 05 RIGA 001285

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USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ECON, EFIN, EINV, LG
SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF
... WHAT?

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.
SUMMARY

2. ON JUNE 5-6, LATVIA WILL HOLD ITS FIRST FREE POST-SOVIET ELECTIONS. THESE ELECTIONS WILL MARK A TURNING POINT: FROM A TRANSITIONAL, SEMI-SOVIET ERA TO A TRULY POST-SOVIET ONE. FOR THE PAST YEAR, THE COUNTRY HAS GONE ON POLITICAL HOLD AWAITING THESE ELECTIONS. THUS, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THEM WILL BE THAT THEY STRIP AWAY THE MAJOR ARGUMENT FOR DELAYING ACTION ON CITIZENSHIP AND OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. IT ALSO MAY CHANGE PARLIAMENT'S BASIC DYNAMIC AS PARLIAMENT SHIFTS FROM A COLLECTION OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT INDEPENDENTS TO ORGANIZED, COMPETING BLOCS OF DEPUTIES.

3. POLITICIANS RECOGNIZE THE ELECTORATE WANTS ACTION, PARTICULARLY ON REVITALIZING THE ECONOMY; BUT THAT WILL REQUIRE PLENTY OF TOUGH LEGISLATIVE WORK. LATVIA'S PARLIAMENT COULD BEACH ITSELF ON THE SHOALS OF FACTIONAL FIGHTING. THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE A COALITION, PERHAPS AN UNSTABLE ONE.

4. WHAT CAN WE REASONABLY EXPECT OF A NEW LATVIAN GOVERNMENT? WE SEE SIX BASIC BENCHMARKS: THREE POLITICAL, THREE ECONOMIC. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, LATVIA MUST PASS A NATURALIZATION LAW. IF ONE IS NOT PASSED BY THE END OF 1993, IT WILL BE A WARNING SIGN THAT GRIDLOCK STILL PREVAILS ON KEY ISSUES. LATVIA MUST ALSO SET UP A PERMANENT RESIDENCY LAW WITH REGULATIONS TO ENSURE IT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY. MORE BROADLY, THE GOVERNMENT MUST ASSURE ETHNIC RUSSIANS REASONABLE OPPORTUNITIES TO INTEGRATE INTO AND PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY. ONE EARLY STEP COULD BE DEFINING AND EXPLAINING TO THE WHOLE POPULATION THE EXTENSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS ALREADY GRANTED TO ALL WHO LIVE IN LATVIA.

5. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THE GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT MUST CONTINUE THE BANK OF LATVIA'S FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND MACROECONOMIC POLICIES, WHILE PASSING LEGISLATION THAT WILL FACILITATE RESTRUCTURING ON THE MICRO LEVEL. THUS, THE MOST CRITICAL BENCHMARK WOULD BE FOR THE NEW SAEIMA TO ESCHEW ANY THOUGHT OF TAMPERING WITH THE BANK OF LATVIA. A SECOND STANDARD WILL BE ITS WILLINGNESS TO SWALLOW FAIRLY BITTER MEDICINE TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGETARY HOUSE IN ORDER. A THIRD ECONOMIC BENCHMARK WILL BE GETTING DOWN TO THE HARD

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NUTS-AND-BOLTS WORK OF CREATING AN INFRASTRUCTURE CONDUCIVE TO PRIVATE SECTOR EXPANSION. THIS IS A BIG JOB, AND INCLUDES, E.G., GRANTING TRANSFERABLE LEGAL TITLE TO PROPERTY.

6. THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT WE CAN EXPECT OF ANY NEW GOVERNMENT. THE DEMONSTRATED ABILITY OF THOSE HERE WHO OPPOSE AN INDEPENDENT LATVIA TO USE ALARMIST, OFTEN TENDENTIOUS REPORTS TO SPARK CONCERN IN RUSSIA ABOUT EVENTS IN LATVIA LIMITS RIGA'S ABILITY TO BUILD STABLE, FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. SIMILARLY, REBUILDING THE MARKET TO THE EAST MUST AWAIT RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC REFORM. WE ALSO SEE LITTLE PROSPECT FOR A QUICK FIX IN LATVIA'S BATTLE WITH ORGANIZED CRIME AND CORRUPTION.

END SUMMARY.
GETTING DOWN TO WORK

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 05 RIGA 001285

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ECON, EFIN, EINV, LG

SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF ... WHAT?

7. ON JUNE 5-6, LATVIA WILL HOLD ITS FIRST POST-SOVIET ELECTIONS, ITS FIRST FREE ELECTIONS SINCE 1930. THE AVERAGE LATVIAN IS NOT CONSUMED BY ELECTION FEVER. MANY DO NOT SEE ELECTIONS AS PARTICULARLY AFFECTING THEIR LIVES; THE NUMBER OF "UNDECIDEDS" REMAINS LARGE. THE CAMPAIGN HAS SEEN SOME BITTER CHARGES, PARTICULARLY BY THE LNNK, AND MORE ARE EXPECTED AS WE HEAD INTO THE FINAL STRETCH. NEVERTHELESS, THE CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN REMARKABLY CIVIL. IT IS ALSO A MEASURE OF THE LATVIA'S PEACEFUL ETHNIC RELATIONS THAT MONTHS OF CAMPAIGNING ALSO HAVE NOT WITNESSED ANY ETHNIC INCIDENTS. THIS RATHER PLACID EXTERIOR MASKS THE FACT, THOUGH, THAT THESE ELECTIONS MARK A FUNDAMENTAL TURNING POINT: THE POLITICAL END OF A TRANSITIONAL, SEMI-SOVIET ERA AND THE START OF A POST-SOVIET ONE.

8. FOR THE PAST YEAR, LATVIA'S SHIP OF STATE HAS BEEN POLITICALLY ADRIFT. NATIONALISTS WON THE ARGUMENT THAT LATVIA'S CURRENT GOVERNMENT, ELECTED BEFORE INDEPENDENCE, LACKED THE AUTHORITY TO TACKLE MAJOR QUESTIONS. AS A RESULT, THE COUNTRY HAS INCREASINGLY GONE ON POLITICAL HOLD AWAITING THESE ELECTIONS AND A NEW GOVERNMENT ELECTED BY LATVIAN CITIZENS UNDER LATVIAN LAW. BY CONTRAST, THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC REFORM IS SO OBVIOUS THAT THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT DID MOVE FORWARD WITH IT, AND HAS DONE MUCH. THE CENTRAL TENDENCY OF MOST PARTIES IS TO CONTINUE REFORM, BUT A

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LOT OF STRUCTURAL REFORM LEGISLATION WAS PUT OFF FOR THE NEW PARLIAMENT, THE "SAEIMA."

9. THUS, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THIS ELECTION WILL BE THAT IT STRIPS AWAY THE MAJOR POLITICAL ARGUMENT FOR DELAYING ACTION ON CITIZENSHIP AND OTHER POLITICAL QUESTIONS. IT ALSO MAY CHANGE PARLIAMENT'S BASIC DYNAMIC. DEPUTIES HAVE LONG SEEN THAT THIS ELECTION WOULD REVOLVE AROUND NEW, LATVIAN PARTIES RATHER THAN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OR THE UMBRELLA POPULAR FRONT THAT SPONSORED THEM IN 1990. THUS, MOST DEPUTIES WERE ABLE TO BE INDEPENDENT "FLOATERS." PARTY DISCIPLINE WAS NON-EXISTENT; THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO RELIABLE MAJORITY FOR ANY BILL. COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEM WAS: (1) NO DEPUTY WANTED TO SIGN UP AS A GOVERNMENT SUPPORTER SINCE EVERYONE EXPECTED THAT ECONOMIC COLLAPSE AND THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT'S PRE-INDEPENDENCE LEGACY MEANT IT WAS SURE TO DISAPPEAR AFTER THESE ELECTIONS AND (2) BUILDING A MAJORITY COALITION WOULD HAVE MEANT ACTIVE COOPERATION WITH OUTGOING COMMUNIST MP'S, POLITICAL SUICIDE FOR ANYONE HOPING FOR A POLITICAL FUTURE AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

10. THE EXPENSE OF CAMPAIGNING AND LATVIA'S PARTY LIST ELECTION SYSTEM MEAN THE NEW SAEIMA WILL BE BUILT FROM POLITICIANS WHO OWE THEIR POLITICAL FUTURES TO THEIR PARTIES (AND NEW ELECTIONS ARE ONLY TWO YEARS AWAY). STRONG, EUROPEAN-STYLE PARTY DISCIPLINE IS EXPECTED TO RULE. THE BLOCS WILL ARGUE, BUT AT LEAST LATVIA'S NEW PARLIAMENT WILL HAVE DEFINED, DISCIPLINED BLOCS. IN OTHER WORDS, LATVIA WILL GET A MORE OR LESS NORMAL POLITICAL LANDSCAPE WITH ESTABLISHED PARTIES DUKEING IT OUT.

11. OF COURSE, BLOCS COULD FRAGMENT. LATVIA'S WAY -- THE FAVORITE TO LEAD A NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT -- IS ITSELF A BROAD COALITION THAT MAY SPLIT. BUT ITS MEMBERS WOULD SOON REGROUP INTO A NEW OR EXISTING POLITICAL BLOC. UNLIKE THE REMNANTS OF THE FORMER CONSERVATIVE "SATVERSME" BLOC IN THE CURRENT PARLIAMENT, THEY WOULD NOT BECOME FLOATING

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 05 RIGA 001285

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ECON, EFIN, EINV, LG

SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF ... WHAT?

INDEPENDENTS.

WHAT'S ON THE VOTER'S MIND?

12. POLITICIANS RECOGNIZE THE ELECTORATE WANTS ACTION

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PARTICULARLY ON REVITALIZING THE ECONOMY. IN A MAY 4-10 POLL OF 1000 VOTERS, ABOUT 40 PERCENT OF THEM LISTED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROTECTION ISSUES (SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MINIMUM WAGE) AS THE COUNTRY'S TOP PRIORITY WITH ANOTHER 16 PERCENT NAMING THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

13. OTHER ISSUES FINISHED FURTHER DOWN ON VOTERS' LIST OF PRIORITIES FOR THE GOVERNMENT, SUCH AS RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL (ABOUT 8 PERCENT), PASSING A CITIZENSHIP BILL (6 PERCENT) AND CRIME (4 PERCENT). THE POLITICALLY CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE HERE IS CITIZENSHIP AND THUS MAY BE THE TOUGHEST ONE FOR LATVIA TO ACT ON, DESPITE ITS CRITICAL IMPORTANCE.

14. IN ALL THIS, LATVIA'S PARLIAMENT COULD STILL BEACH ITSELF ON THE SHOALS OF FACTIONAL FIGHTING. NO PARTY IS EXPECTED TO TAKE A MAJORITY OF SEATS. THUS, THE NEW GOVERNMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE A COALITION, PERHAPS AN UNSTABLE ONE. THREE PARTIES LIKELY TO HAVE A MAJOR ROLE IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT -- LATVIA'S WAY, THE LNNK, AND JURKANS'S "CONCORD FOR LATVIA" -- ARE PROBABLY INCAPABLE OF BUILDING A COALITION WITH EACH OTHER; EACH HAS SHARPLY DIFFERENT VIEWS ON WHERE TO HEAD THE COUNTRY (LET ALONE THE DIFFERING VIEWS WITHIN LATVIA'S WAY). THE NEW GOVERNMENT THUS MAY HANG ON SMALLER PARTIES.

BENCHMARKS FOR SUCCESS

15. THUS, WHAT CAN WE REASONABLY EXPECT OF A NEW LATVIAN GOVERNMENT/PARLIAMENT? WHAT ARE THE BENCHMARKS FOR JUDGING WHETHER LATVIA HAS INDEED BEGUN A NEW, MORE MATURE POLITICAL ERA? WE SEE SIX BASIC ONES: THREE POLITICAL, THREE ECONOMIC.

16. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, THE DEFINING CRITERION IS PASSING A NATURALIZATION LAW. WE SUSPECT RIGHT-WING POLITICIANS WANT TO DELAY A BILL AS LONG AS POSSIBLE; THEY HOPE UNCERTAINTY WOULD ENCOURAGE RUSSIANS TO LEAVE AND, AFTER ALL, ETHNICALLY LATVIAN VOTERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT RIGHT-WING PARTIES. BUT THE DELAY HAS BECOME SO OBVIOUS THAT EVEN NATIONALIST LNNK POLITICIANS HAVE AGREED PARLIAMENT MUST PASS A BILL EARLY ON (BY WHICH THEY MEAN THE FALL/EARLY WINTER). IF SOME TYPE OF NATURALIZATION LAW IS NOT PASSED BY THE END OF 1993, IT WILL BE A WARNING SIGN THAT POLITICIANS ARE STILL UNABLE TO FORGE A CONSENSUS ON KEY ISSUES.

17. A COMPARABLE GOALPOST WILL BE SETTING UP A PERMANENT RESIDENCY LAW WITH REGULATIONS TO ENSURE IT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY. PART OF THE AVERAGE RUSSIAN'S NERVOUSNESS HERE IS THAT THEIR RESIDENCY IS STILL BASED ON GOVERNMENT SUFFERANCE RATHER THAN LAW. THAT NEEDS TO CHANGE.

18. MORE BROADLY, A CRITERION FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL MATURITY WILL BE HOW MUCH IT MOVES TO ASSURE ETHNIC RUSSIANS THAT THEY WILL HAVE REASONABLE OPPORTUNITIES TO INTEGRATE INTO AND PARTICIPATE IN THE

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY. THIS IS
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 05 RIGA 001285

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SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF

... WHAT?

LESS DEFINABLE THAN A CITIZENSHIP BILL, BUT NO LESS REAL. ONE EARLY STEP THE COUNTRY COULD TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD BE DEFINING AND EXPLAINING TO THE WHOLE POPULATION THE EXTENSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS ALREADY GRANTED TO ALL WHO LIVE IN LATVIA.

19. ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SAEIMA WILL HAVE TO KEEP INTACT LATVIA'S SOUND MACROECONOMIC POLICIES, WHILE PASSING LEGISLATION TO FACILITATE RESTRUCTURING ON THE MICRO LEVEL. THE MONETARY POLICIES PURSUED BY THE BANK OF LATVIA APPEAR TO BE TAKING HOLD, REDUCING LATVIA'S INFLATION TO LEVELS (0.3 PERCENT IN APRIL) THAT NOT ONLY RUSSIA BUT ALSO SOME EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE YET TO ACHIEVE. LATVIA'S CURRENCY, THE LAT, IS THE SOUNDEST IN ANY OF THE COUNTRIES THAT EMERGED FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IN THE SENSE THAT IT HAS ACTUALLY APPRECIATED (BY ABOUT TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT) AGAINST WESTERN CURRENCIES OVER THE PAST NINE MONTHS IN A FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET. THUS, THE MOST CRITICAL BENCHMARK ON THE ECONOMIC SIDE WOULD BE FOR THE SAEIMA TO ESCHEW ANY THOUGHT OF TAMPERING WITH THE BANK OF LATVIA AND ITS PRESIDENT, EINARS REPSE.

20. A SECOND STANDARD FOR MEASURING THE SAEIMA'S ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE WILL ITS WILLINGNESS TO SWALLOW FAIRLY BITTER MEDICINE TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGETARY HOUSE IN ORDER. AT PRESENT, THE GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO BE KEEPING THE STATE'S DEBT-TO-GNP RATIO AT THE 1.5 PERCENT RECOMMENDED BY THE IMF. THE OUTGOING GOVERNMENT HAS PROPOSED A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN OUTLAYS FOR PENSIONS, WHILE THE SUPREME COUNCIL HAS PASSED THE ISSUE OF FUNDING THE INCREASE BY RAISING TAXES TO THE SAEIMA. SOCIAL EXPENDITURES ARE ALSO EXPECTED TO RISE, INCREASING THE PRESSURE ON THE SAEIMA TO STRAY FROM ITS FISCAL COURSE.

21. A THIRD ECONOMIC BENCHMARK FOR JUDGING THE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE OF THE SAEIMA WILL BE THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT GETS DOWN TO THE HARD, NUTS-AND-BOLTS WORK OF CREATING AN INFRASTRUCTURE CONDUCIVE TO PRIVATE SECTOR EXPANSION. THIS IS A BIG JOB, ENCOMPASSING REWRITING THE COMMERCIAL CODE, BREAKING UP STATE MONOPOLIES, SPEEDING UP THE PRIVATIZATION OF LARGE ENTERPRISES

CREATING AND EMPOWERING WESTERN-STYLE ECONOMIC REGULATORY BODIES, AND MODERNIZING LATVIA'S TAX AND TARIFF STRUCTURE. WHILE STATE PROPERTY FROM PRIVATE FARMS TO COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS IS BEING RAPIDLY DENATIONALIZED AND CONTROL RETURNED TO FORMER OWNERS, THERE IS NO LAW GRANTING THEM TRANSFERABLE LEGAL TITLE OR ALLOWING THE STATE TO PASS TITLE ON PROPERTY FOR WHICH THERE IS NO CLAIMANT. ADOPTING SUCH A LAW WOULD NOT ONLY FACILITATE PRIVATE INVESTMENT, FOREIGN AS WELL AS DOMESTIC, BUT ALSO CREATE THE BASIS FOR A DOMESTIC CREDIT INDUSTRY BY ALLOWING THE POSSIBILITY OF COLLATERALIZING PROPERTY. BEYOND RIGA'S REACH

22. THERE IS ALSO A LIMIT TO WHAT WE CAN EXPECT OF ANY NEW GOVERNMENT. LATVIA OCCASIONALLY MAKES ILL-CONSIDERED MOVES OR IS UNHELPFULLY SILENT ABOUT THE RIGHTS THAT RUSSIANS HAVE IN LATVIA. NEVERTHELESS, MOSCOW'S CONCERN ABOUT EVENTS IN LATVIA OFTEN SEEMS TO STEM FROM ALARMIST, OFTEN TENDENTIOUS, REPORTS FROM THOSE HERE WHO SEEK LATVIA'S REINTEGRATION INTO A REBUILT SOVIET UNION. THIS INTERNAL RUSSIAN DYNAMIC

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 05 OF 05 RIGA 001285
NSC FOR WALKER, GATI, BURNS
DEPARTMENT FOR S/NIS, EUR/EEY, EUR/ISCA, EUR/EEA
TREASURY FOR OASIA/DBERG
USDOC FOR 4232/IEP/EUR/OEESA/EE/JBURGESS AND PGREEN
MUNICH FOR RFE
STOCKHOLM FOR POL, DAO, FAS AND FCS
USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, ECON, EFIN, EINV, LG
SUBJECT: LATVIA'S ELECTION: LATVIA ON THE THRESHOLD OF ... WHAT?

LIMITS HOW MUCH ANY GOVERNMENT IN AN INDEPENDENT LATVIA CAN BUILD SOLID, FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW.

23. SIMILARLY, THE COLLAPSE OF TRADE WITH RUSSIA IS LARGELY DUE TO RUSSIA'S INFLATION AND MONETARY PROBLEMS, RATHER THAN ANYTHING IN LATVIA'S CONTROL. LATVIA'S POLICIES CAN PROMOTE REDIRECTION OF TRADE AS PART OF A NEW ECONOMIC STRATEGY. REBUILDING THE RUSSIAN MARKET FOR AGRICULTURAL AND MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS, THOUGH, IS BEYOND ANY LATVIAN GOVERNMENT; IT MUST AWAIT RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC REFORM.

24. WE ALSO SEE LITTLE PROSPECT FOR A NEAR-TERM VICTORY OVER ORGANIZED CRIME AND CORRUPTION. LATVIA NEEDS UNFLINCHING, HONEST PROSECUTORS AND TRAINED, EFFECTIVE POLICE CAPABLE OF GOING AFTER MAFIA CHIEFTAINS BEFORE THEY BECOME MAJOR POWERS. IT WILL TAKE TIME AND RESOURCES TO DEVELOP SUCH PROSECUTORS AND TO REFORM THE SOVIET-RETREAD POLICE. IT WILL ALSO REQUIRE PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.

CONCLUSION

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26. LATVIA IS NOW POISED TO HOLD ITS FIRST FREE
ELECTIONS IN OVER 60 YEARS. MANY PITFALLS LIE AHEAD;
BUT JUNE 5-6 WILL MARK A DEFINITE TURNING POINT IN
LATVIA'S DRIVE TO ABANDON ITS COMMUNIST PAST. THE
CRITERIA WE'VE NAMED ARE TOUGH, BUT UNAVOIDABLE, IF THE
COUNTRY IS TO REJOIN FULLY THE WESTERN COMMUNITY OF
DEMOCRATIC, FREE-MARKET STATES. WE'LL BE WATCHING
LATVIA'S PROGRESS. STAY TUNED.

SILINS

BT

#1285

NNNN

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SECTION: 01 OF 05

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SECTION: 02 OF 05

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SECTION: 03 OF 05

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SECTION: 04 OF 05

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SECTION: 05 OF 05

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930528083321 M0413231

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WASHFAX RECEIPT
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

B

S/S #

C

'93 APR 31 P2:55

MESSAGE NO. 097859 CLASSIFICATION CONFIDENTIAL No. Pages 4

FROM: ROSS WILSON S/S 647-5302 7224
(Officer name) (Office symbol) (Extension) (Room number)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION CABLE TO MOSCOW RE CANCELLATION OF 4/26-28 TALKS
BETWEEN LATVIA AND RUSSIA: DEMARCHE ON RESCHEDULING
MEETINGS

| <u>TO: (Agency)</u> | <u>DELIVER TO:</u> | <u>Extension</u> | <u>Room No.</u> |
|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <u>NSCS</u> | <u>NANCY SODERBERG</u> | <u>456-6534</u> | <u>WH SITRM</u> |
| | <u>WILL ITOH</u> | | |
| | <u>KRISTIE KENNEY</u> | | |
| | <u>EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT</u> | | |
| | <u>Gatti</u> | | |
| | <u>Burns</u> | | |

FOR: CLEARANCE INFORMATION PER REQUEST COMMENT

REMARKS: PLEASE CLEAR BY: 5/3.

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/13/2023
2016-0314-1A-2

S/S Officer: [Signature]
ROSS WILSON



CROSSHATCH

RETURN TIME STAMPED COVERSHEET TO S/S.
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| APPROV | <i>JBF</i> | DRAFT | <i>JK</i> |
| CLEAR | 1 <i>JBF</i> | 2 <i>JBF</i> | |
| | 3 <i>JBF</i> | 4 | |
| | 5 | 6 <i>JBF</i> | |
| | 7 | 8 | |

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,48)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EUR/ISCA:JBFORT:JXF
04/27/93 647-6735 SESOVRR 2350
S/NIS:STALBOTT

EUR/ISCA:LNAPPER
EUR/EE:WANDRUSZSZYN
S/S-0

S/NIS:RKAUZLARICH
S/S:
EUR:RJOHNSON
NSC:

Latvia

IMMEDIATE MOSCOW

IMMEDIATE RIGA, TALLINN IMMEDIATE, VILNIUS IMMEDIATE, USNATO
IMMEDIATE, USVIENNA IMMEDIATE, AMCONSUL ST. PETERSBURG PRIORITY, KIEV
PRIORITY, MINSK PRIORITY

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, MARR, PHUM, LH, LG, EN, RS

SUBJECT: CANCELLATION OF 4/26-28 TALKS BETWEEN LATVIA AND
RUSSIA: DEMARCHE ON RESCHEDULING MEETINGS

REF: (A)FORT-MANDEL TELCON, 4/27/93 (B)MOSCOW 12492

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT; THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE,
SEE PARA 5.

BACKGROUND

2. ON APRIL 23 RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR LUKIN CALLED ON
AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE TALBOTT TO SEEK U.S. INTERVENTION IN
DISSUADING THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT FROM PURSUING DRAFT
PARLIAMETARY LEGISLATION CHANGING THE RESIDENT STATUS OF
RUSSIANS CONNECTED TO THE RUSSIAN FORCES STILL IN LATVIA
{SEPTEL}. ALTHOUGH AMBASSADOR LUKIN CRITICIZED THE TIMING
- ON THE EVE OF THE REFERENDUM - AS WELL AS THE CONTENT OF
THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION, HE DID NOT INDICATE THAT THE NEXT
ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA,
SCHEDULED FOR 4/26-28, WOULD OR SHOULD BE CANCELLED. IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR TALBOTT'S REQUEST FOR MORE DETAILS ON THE LATVIAN DRAFT LAW, LUKIN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE UPCOMING TALKS WOULD OFFER THE CHANCE FOR DISCUSSION AND CLARIFICATION BETWEEN THE PARTIES AS TO LATVIA'S INTENTIONS.

3. AMBASSADOR TALBOTT INDICATED THAT WE ALSO WOULD DISCUSS FURTHER WITH LATVIAN AUTHORITIES THE STATUS AND SPECIFICS OF THE DRAFT LEGISLATION, MAKING CLEAR OUR UNDERSTANDING OF RUSSIAN CONCERNS AND OUR BELIEF THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES MUST TOGETHER ADDRESS AND RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF EQUITABLE MINORITY TREATMENT. AT THE SAME TIME, AMBASSADOR TALBOTT REITERATED THAT U.S. COMMITMENT TO FULL, PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES IS NOT CONDITIONED UPON OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, HOWEVER LEGITIMATE ON THEIR OWN MERITS. GIVEN THE THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT'S CONSIDERATION OF LEGISLATION ON 4/28, EUR PDAS JOHNSON CALLED THE LATVIAN AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON ON 4/27 TO CONVEY U.S. VIEWS THAT THE PROPOSED LATVIAN LEGISLATION WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO ACHIEVING TROOP WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENTS WITH RUSSIA. EMBASSY RIGA REPORTED VIA 4/28 TELCON THAT A VERSION OF THE RESOLUTION DID PASS, BUT THAT IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER OR NOT IT IS LEGALLY BINDING. RIGA WILL REPORT MORE DETAILS OF THE RESOLUTION AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. DEPARTMENT WILL THEN ASK THAT EMBASSY RIGA AGAIN CONVEY OUR CONCERN TO THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT THAT SUCH MEASURES ARE NOT CONDUCTIVE TO GOOD RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.

CANCELLATION OF BILATERAL TALKS

4. MEDIA REPORTS AND WORD FROM RIGA INDICATED THAT THE GOR NEGOTIATORS HAVE CANCELLED THE 4/26-28 ROUND OF TALKS, WITH RUSSIAN DELEGATION HEAD ZOTOV QUOTED BY "TASS" AS SAYING THAT IT WOULD BE "POINTLESS" TO MEET, SINCE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT DOOM THE TALKS TO FAILURE. THE REPORT CONCLUDES THAT TERMS FOR A NEW MEETING WILL BE SETTLED AFTER STUDYING THE RESULTS OF POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES THE RESOLUTION MIGHT ENTAIL. REFTELCON AND REFTEL ALSO RELAYED A SIMILAR REACTION FROM MFA OFFICIAL FOKIN WHO ANTICIPATED MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WITH DEPORTATION OF THOUSANDS OF RUSSIANS FROM LATVIA.

RECOMMENDATION THAT GOR RECONSIDER

5. DEPARTMENT BELIEVES IT ESSENTIAL THAT, IN PARALLEL WITH THE DEMARCHE TO THE LATVIANS, EMBASSY REGISTER WITH GOR OFFICIALS, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND AT APPROPRIATELY SENIOR

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LEVELS, OUR CONVICTION THAT TALKS ON RUSSIAN FORCE WITHDRAWALS AND RELATED BILATERAL AGREEMENTS MUST NOT FALL VICTIM TO PARTISAN POLITICS, WHETHER IN LATVIA OR RUSSIA. NOTWITHSTANDING THE YELTSIN SUSPENSION DECREE OF LAST FALL, WITHDRAWALS AND TALKS HAVE CONTINUED; THEIR BREAKDOWN, DUE TO LINKAGE WITH PARALLEL ISSUES, COULD ONLY BE TO RUSSIA'S DETRIMENT, ESPECIALLY AS THE DATE FOR CERTIFICATION TO CONGRESS OF PROGRESS ON WITHDRAWALS NEARS. IN MAKING THIS DEMARCHE, EMBASSY MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING POINTS, AS WELL AS THE BACKGROUND ABOVE:

-- IN AN APRIL 23 MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TALBOTT, AMBASSADOR LUKIN EXPRESSED RUSSIA'S CONCERN OVER THE DRAFT LATVIAN RESIDENCY LAW AND SOUGHT U.S. HELP IN CONVINCING THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO IMPLEMENT SUCH LEGISLATION;

-- AS A RESULT OF THAT REQUEST AND BECAUSE WE SHARE YOUR BELIEF IN EQUITABLE TREATMENT FOR ETHNIC MINORITY COMMUNITIES, WHEREVER THEY MAY LIVE, WE HAVE APPROACHED THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT TO CLARIFY THE STATUS AND INTENT OF THE LEGISLATION;

-- IN RAISING THIS MATTER WITH LATVIA, WE ALSO REITERATED OUR PREVIOUSLY-EXPRESSED CONCERNS THAT YOUR TWO COUNTRIES MUST COOPERATE IN ENSURING FAIR TREATMENT FOR ALL THE RUSSIAN COMMUNITY PRESENT IN LATVIA. WE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE LEGISLATION WOULD NOT APPEAR TO RESPOND TO THAT SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND COULD HAMPER FURTHER CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH RUSSIA;

-- THE U.S. HAS CONSISTENTLY ESPOUSED THE APPLICATION OF CSCE PRINCIPLES AND THE SEARCH FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES ARISING FROM BALTIC INDEPENDENCE. WE URGE BOTH RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC GOVERNMENTS TO WORK FROM THAT BASIS, IN YOUR INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS AND TOWARD GREATER REGIONAL STABILITY;

-- IN KEEPING WITH THOSE CONCEPTS, YET SEPARATE FROM THE LONG-TERM SOCIAL ISSUES, WE AGAIN URGE RUSSIA TO HONOR ITS POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO COMPLETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FORCES FROM THE BALTICS AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE;

THIS HAS AN IMMEDIATE, CONCRETE IMPACT IN THAT A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF OUR CURRENT ASSISTANCE ALLOCATION IS LEGALLY BOUND TO TROOP WITHDRAWAL;

-- WE WOULD URGE THAT RUSSIA UNDERTAKE, AS SOON AS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE (S) US. DT. 93 14:58 NO. 1460023620 PAGE 5
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

POSSIBLE, TO RESCHEDULE YOUR BILATERAL TALKS WITH LATVIA; WE HAVE MADE A SIMILAR APPEAL TO THE LATVIANS, STRESSING THAT THESE MEETINGS MUST OCCUR IN AN AMBIENCE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE AND RESPECT;

-- WHILE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF TROOP WITHDRAWAL SHOULD BE CONDITIONED ON OTHER ISSUES, SUCH AS THE TREATMENT OF ETHNIC RUSSIANS IN THE BALTICS, WE WILL CONTINUE, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY DONE, TO TAKE TO THE LATVIANS - OR OTHERS - ANY GENUINE CONCERNS WHICH RUSSIA MAY HAVE ON TREATMENT OF RUSSIANS ABROAD;

WE WILL SUPPORT YOUR RAISING SUCH CONCERNS IN A RESPONSIBLE MANNER IN INTERNATIONAL FORA AS WELL; IN THAT CONTEXT, WE WOULD ENCOURAGE YOU NOT TO RESORT TO INACCURATE AND INFLAMMATORY CHARACTERIZATIONS OF THE POLICIES OF THE BALTIC STATES, SUCH AS "ETHNIC CLEANSING;" THAT WILL ONLY UNDERMINE YOUR CREDIBILITY;

-- WE ALL ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE COMPLEXITIES OF PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS; AT THIS JUNCTURE, WE HAVE ASKED THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEGISLATION ON RESIDENCY. HOWEVER, WE ALSO WOULD ASK YOU TO RETURN TO THE BARGAINING TABLE WHERE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS AND PROGRESS MAY WELL ALLEVIATE SOME OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PRESSURES IN LATVIA.

YY

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

April 7, 1993



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: TOBY GATI *TTG*

FROM: BETH SANNER *BS*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister
Andrejevs

Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs is primarily interested in the results of the Vancouver summit and specifically whether the President raised the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics. More generally, Andrejev is seeking assurances that U.S. support for Latvia is as strong as ever, and that U.S. support for Russia will not come at Latvia's expense.

Russian Troop Withdrawals and Human Rights

A number of Baltic leaders have expressed concern and, in the case of Estonian Prime Minister Meri, criticism, over the fact that the President did not answer a question during the Vancouver press conference regarding Russian troop withdrawals from the Baltics. The question, posed in two-parts, was about the submarine incident and troop withdrawals; the President did not answer the second part. Andrejev will be seeking assurances that we raised the issue privately and that we will continue to press the Russians for a full and expeditious withdrawal of all troops.

You can tell him, of course, that we did raise the troop withdrawal issue with the Russians at Vancouver and at the Christopher-Kozyrev meeting in Geneva in late February. On both occasions we have told them that we support a complete withdrawal of Russian troops as soon as possible.

The Link to Human Rights

During the press conference President Yeltsin singled out Latvia and Estonia for human rights abuses toward ethnic Russians and linked human rights performance to the schedule of troop withdrawals. Defense Minister Grachev stated publicly twice last week that Russia would suspend troop withdrawals. We believe these statements were for Russia's domestic consumption. There is no sign that withdrawals have stopped.

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-m-2 (3.49)

6/20/2023 *vr*

Despite previous similar statements and Yeltsin's own decree in October suspending withdrawals, troop withdrawals have continued apace. Current troop levels are estimated at about 20,000, down from 50,000 at the beginning of 1992. Nonetheless, troop withdrawals from Latvia have been much more complicated than from Estonia or Lithuania, because of the large number of Slavs in Latvia (nearly 50 percent of the population), the presence of 50,000 retired Soviet officers who have chosen to retire in Latvia, and the headquarters of the Northwest Group of Forces in Riga--which is to be removed this month.

Kozyrev presented a non-paper outlining human rights abuses in the Baltic states to Secretary Christopher in Geneva in February. The primary concerns centered on Latvia's language law and proposed citizenship law. The State Department has looked at each one of the points raised in Kozyrev's paper and determined that the laws in question are within the norms of international standards. UN and CSCE missions, as well as our own embassies, have found no pattern of human rights violations in Latvia or Estonia. Nonetheless, after five decades of forced Russian presence, there are serious political problems of assimilation on both sides.

Andrejev, an ethnic Russian, will be anxious to explain Latvia's approach to the sizeable Russian population in Latvia (about one-third of the population) and to determine if the U.S. buys onto Russia's claims of human rights abuses.

We consider this a political problem and you should encourage the Latvians to address it on an urgent basis (and not put it off until after the elections in June).

- You should encourage a reexamination of the current plan for a 16-year residency requirement for citizenship, which seems excessive.
- You may also want to stress the importance of the Latvian government maintaining its dialogue with the ethnic Russian community in Latvia, as well as Russian government officials.

Economic Reform and U.S. Assistance

Latvia has made progress in its economic reform program, under some difficult conditions. Nonetheless, more needs to be done, particularly in establishing the legal basis for implementing reform and privatizing state-run operations. You may want to ask Andrejev about plans for reform and encourage his government to work closely with the IMF and World Bank on reforms.

President Bush announced plans to open a Baltic Enterprise Fund, which would provide loans, equity investments and technical assistance to small and medium-sized private sector firms. AID's new team is reviewing the concept of enterprise funds, so we have

~~SECRET~~

3

not received approval to move forward with either the Baltic or Romanian enterprise funds. If Andrejev asks, you can say that we hope to move forward on this project soon.

Concurrence by: Nick Burns

Attachment

Tab I Biography

~~SECRET~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- memo | Beth Sanner to Anthony Lake, re: Meeting Request for Latvian Foreign Minister (1 page) | 03/18/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 143

FOLDER TITLE:

9301633

2011-1037-F

ke2205

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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March 18, 1993

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ACTION

DECLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

PER E.O. 13526
7016-0314 M-2 (3,51)
6/20/2023 v2

THROUGH: TOBY T. GATI *TTC*

FROM: BETH SANNER *BWS*

SUBJECT: Meeting Request for Latvian Foreign Minister

Latvian Foreign Minister Andreev will be in Washington on April 8 to meet with Secretary Christopher (10:30am). We request that you hold a separate 30 minute meeting with him on April 8. Andreev will want to discuss the results of the President's summit with Yeltsin and the implications of U.S. relations with Russia for Latvia and the other Baltic states. Andreev in particular will be seeking assurances that Latvia's stability and security is important to us. While reassuring Andreev will be the centerpiece of the meeting agenda, it also is an opportunity to talk tough about the rights of the Russian population in Latvia -- a very sore subject with the Russians.

*only if
we
can.*

The Foreign Minister will be meeting with Secretary Christopher 10:30am on April 8.

Concurrence by: Nick Burns *NB*

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with Foreign Minister Andreev.

Approve *[Signature]* Disapprove _____

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | Beth Sanner to Anthony Lake, re: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs (3 pages) | 04/07/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. report | U.S. Government Report (1 page) | 03/02/1993 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 145

FOLDER TITLE:

9302247

2011-1037-F
ke2206

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
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April 7, 1993



INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: TOBY GATI *TIG*

FROM: BETH SANNER *BS*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister
Andrejevs

Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs is primarily interested in the results of the Vancouver summit and specifically whether the President raised the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics. More generally, Andrejev is seeking assurances that U.S. support for Latvia is as strong as ever, and that U.S. support for Russia will not come at Latvia's expense.

Russian Troop Withdrawals and Human Rights

A number of Baltic leaders have expressed concern and, in the case of Estonian Prime Minister Meri, criticism, over the fact that the President did not answer a question during the Vancouver press conference regarding Russian troop withdrawals from the Baltics. The question, posed in two-parts, was about the submarine incident and troop withdrawals; the President did not answer the second part. Andrejev will be seeking assurances that we raised the issue privately and that we will continue to press the Russians for a full and expeditious withdrawal of all troops.

You can tell him, of course, that we did raise the troop withdrawal issue with the Russians at Vancouver and at the Christopher-Kozyrev meeting in Geneva in late February. On both occasions we have told them that we support a complete withdrawal of Russian troops as soon as possible.

The Link to Human Rights

During the press conference President Yeltsin singled out Latvia and Estonia for human rights abuses toward ethnic Russians and linked human rights performance to the schedule of troop withdrawals. Defense Minister Grachev stated publicly twice last week that Russia would suspend troop withdrawals. We believe these statements were for Russia's domestic consumption. There is no sign that withdrawals have stopped.

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-A1-2 (3.52)

6/20/2022 VL

Despite previous similar statements and Yeltsin's own decree in October suspending withdrawals, troop withdrawals have continued apace. Current troop levels are estimated at about 20,000, down from 50,000 at the beginning of 1992. Nonetheless, troop withdrawals from Latvia have been much more complicated than from Estonia or Lithuania, because of the large number of Slavs in Latvia (nearly 50 percent of the population), the presence of 50,000 retired Soviet officers who have chosen to retire in Latvia, and the headquarters of the Northwest Group of Forces in Riga--which is to be removed this month.

Kozyrev presented a non-paper outlining human rights abuses in the Baltic states to Secretary Christopher in Geneva in February. The primary concerns centered on Latvia's language law and proposed citizenship law. The State Department has looked at each one of the points raised in Kozyrev's paper and determined that the laws in question are within the norms of international standards. UN and CSCE missions, as well as our own embassies, have found no pattern of human rights violations in Latvia or Estonia. Nonetheless, after five decades of forced Russian presence, there are serious political problems of assimilation on both sides.

Andrejev, an ethnic Russian, will be anxious to explain Latvia's approach to the sizeable Russian population in Latvia (about one-third of the population) and to determine if the U.S. buys onto Russia's claims of human rights abuses.

We consider this a political problem and you should encourage the Latvians to address it on an urgent basis (and not put it off until after the elections in June).

- You should encourage a reexamination of the current plan for a 16-year residency requirement for citizenship, which seems excessive.
- You may also want to stress the importance of the Latvian government maintaining its dialogue with the ethnic Russian community in Latvia, as well as Russian government officials.

Economic Reform and U.S. Assistance

Latvia has made progress in its economic reform program, under some difficult conditions. Nonetheless, more needs to be done, particularly in establishing the legal basis for implementing reform and privatizing state-run operations. You may want to ask Andrejev about plans for reform and encourage his government to work closely with the IMF and World Bank on reforms.

President Bush announced plans to open a Baltic Enterprise Fund, which would provide loans, equity investments and technical assistance to small and medium-sized private sector firms. AID's new team is reviewing the concept of enterprise funds, so we have

~~SECRET~~

3

~~SECRET~~

not received approval to move forward with either the Baltic or Romanian enterprise funds. If Andrejev asks, you can say that we hope to move forward on this project soon.

Concurrence by: Nick Burns

Attachment

Tab I Biography

~~SECRET~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/31/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/24/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. memo | William Itoh to David Watkins, re: [Request for Military Aircraft] (1 page) | 08/24/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. memo | William Itoh to David Watkins, re: Request for Military Aircraft (1 page) | 08/10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. memo | Marc Grossman to William Itoh, re: [Request for Military Aircraft] (1 page) | 08/06/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 156

FOLDER TITLE:

9305956

2011-1037-F
 ke2207

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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TO: GROSSMAN, M

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 31 AUG 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TURKEY
UZBEKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN

AZERBAIJAN
TAJIKISTAN
KAZAKHSTAN

PERSONS: TALBOTT, S

SUBJECT: SAM REQUEST FOR TALBOTT APPROVAL

ACTION: ITOH SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 12 AUG 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ITOH

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

BURNS
EXECSEC

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: V2 Date: 6/13/2023

2016-0314-M-2

COMMENTS: _____

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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|-----|------|---|----------|--------------------------|
| 001 | | Z | 93080913 | APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 001 | ITOH | Z | 93081010 | FOR SIGNATURE |
| 002 | | X | 93081017 | ITOH SGD MEMO |
| 003 | | Z | 93081113 | RECD WATKINS DISAPPROVAL |
| 003 | ITOH | Z | 93081113 | APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 004 | | X | 93081219 | ITOH SGD MEMO |
| 005 | | X | 93082513 | ITOH SGD MEMO |
| 006 | | X | 93083120 | ITOH SGD MEMO |

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

| <u>DOC</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>DISPATCH FOR ACTION</u> | <u>DISPATCH FOR INFO</u> |
|------------|-------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 002 | 930810 | WATKINS, D | |
| 004 | 930812 | GROSSMAN, M | |
| 005 | 930824 | WATKINS, D | |
| 006 | 930831 | GROSSMAN, M | |

TO: WATKINS, D

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 24 AUG 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TURKEY AZERBAIJAN
UZBEKISTAN TAJIKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN KAZAKHSTAN

PERSONS: TALBOTT, S

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR MILITARY AIRCRAFT FOR AMB TALBOTT TO COUNTRIES OF
FORMER SOVIET UNION

ACTION: ITOH SGD MEMO DUE DATE: 12 AUG 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ITOH LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
EXECSEC

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/13/2023
2016-0314-AM-2

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSASK CLOSED BY: NSKDB DOC 5 OF 5

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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| 001 | ITOH | Z | 93081010 | FOR SIGNATURE |
| 002 | | X | 93081017 | ITOH SGD MEMO |
| 003 | | Z | 93081113 | RECD WATKINS DISAPPROVAL |
| 003 | ITOH | Z | 93081113 | APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 004 | | X | 93081219 | ITOH SGD MEMO |
| 005 | | X | 93082513 | ITOH SGD MEMO |

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

| <u>DOC</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>DISPATCH FOR ACTION</u> | <u>DISPATCH FOR INFO</u> |
|------------|-------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 002 | 930810 | WATKINS, D | |
| 004 | 930812 | GROSSMAN, M | |
| 005 | 930824 | WATKINS, D | |

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 24, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
2016-0314-M-2

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID WATKINS

FROM: WILLIAM H. ITOH *W*

SUBJECT: Request for Military Aircraft - Ambassador Strobe Talbott's Delegation to Turkey and Countries of the Former Soviet Union, September 8 - 17, 1993

My August 10, 1993 memo to you endorsed a State Department request that a delegation headed by Ambassador Strobe Talbott to Turkey and FSU countries be declared a Presidential mission. We asked that this delegation be authorized a Special Air Missions aircraft for in-theater use on a non-reimbursable basis. Your memorandum of August 11 asked that this request be directed to the Department of Defense since it did not appear to meet the requirements of a Presidential mission.

Early in the Administration, Ambassador Talbott, along with Tony Lake and Secretary Christopher, discussed with the President his intention to visit each of the former Soviet Republics as the official representative of the President to hold high-level talks explaining the Administration's policy and interest in each country. Two visits have been completed (designated as Presidential missions).

This third trip cannot be made without the use of government aircraft due to the unavailability/unreliability of commercial air routes in these countries.

For these reasons the NSC asks for reconsideration of this request to designate Ambassador Talbott's trip as a Presidential mission authorized to use available Special Air Missions aircraft for in-theater travel on a non-reimbursable basis.

Attachments

- Your August 11 Memorandum
- NSC Memorandum of August 10

~~SECRET~~
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 10, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By vr NARA, Date 6/13/2013
2016-0314-M-2

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID WATKINS

FROM: WILLIAM H. ITOH WHS

SUBJECT: Request for Military Aircraft

Ambassador Strobe Talbott and NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns will lead a U.S. interagency delegation for consultations with officials of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, the Russian Federation, and Latvia. The delegation will depart via commercial air for Frankfurt, Germany on Wednesday, September 8 and return via commercial air on Friday, September 17.

The Department of State has requested that this be designated a Presidential Mission and that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided in theater on a non-reimbursable basis from Frankfurt and return to Frankfurt. The NSC staff supports this request.

Attachment
Incoming State Department Request



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 6, 1993

~~SECRET/NOFORN~~
DECL:OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Subject: Request for Military Aircraft for Trip of Ambassador Strobe Talbott and NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns to Frankfurt, Ankara, Baku, Bishkek, Dushanbe, Tashkent, Almaty, Ashgabat, Aralsk, Moscow, and Riga

In support of the President's foreign policy, Ambassador Strobe Talbott and NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns will lead a U.S. interagency delegation for consultations with officials of Turkey, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, the Russian Federation, and Latvia. Ambassador Talbott, Mr. Burns and seven other persons, including representatives of the Treasury Department, DoD, JCS, and CIA plan to depart Washington by commercial air to Frankfurt on Wednesday, September 8. The delegation will return from Frankfurt by commercial air on Friday, September 17.

In his capacity as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary of State on the New Independent States, Ambassador Talbott is responsible for formulating the Administration's policies regarding the states of the former Soviet Union. During this trip, he plans to meet with ranking host government and U.S. Embassy officials, in order to assess political and economic conditions and consider policy alternatives.

We request that this be designated a Presidential Mission, and that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided in theater from Frankfurt and returning to Frankfurt, on a non-reimbursable basis, for the party's travel.

This request for a military aircraft is necessitated by inadequate and unreliable commercial air service in the region, which would make it impossible for Ambassador Talbott and his party otherwise to complete its mission in the time available.

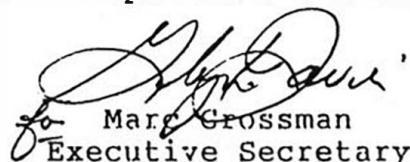
Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526

Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By VZ NARA, Date 6/13/2023

2016-0314-11-2


for Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. eable | Re: [Letter to President Clinton from Latvian Prime Minister] (3 pages) | 08/10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002a. eable | Re: [Latvian UN Assessment] (1 page) | 08/27/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002b. eable | Re: [Letter to President Clinton from Latvian Prime Minister] (3 pages) | 08/10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 156

FOLDER TITLE:

9306035

2011-1037-F
 ke2208

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

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Aug-1993 10:28 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX MAIL@OEOB
POTTS@A1@OEOB
GOTTEMOELLER@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

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

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO

<DIST>

PRT: ITOH KENNEY SIT SODERBERG
SIT: FICKLIN FILE GOTTEMOELLER POTTS SUM SUM2 VAX

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AMEMBASSY RIGA

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INFO RUEHBY/AMEMBASSY CANBERRA 0011
RUFHMK/AMEMBASSY HELSINKI 0693
RUFHOS/AMEMBASSY OSLO 0212
RUFHCP/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN 0255
RUFHSK/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 0548
RUEHWL/AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON 0004
RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 0054
RUEHSI/AMEMBASSY TBILISI 0024
RUEHYE/AMEMBASSY YEREVAN 0025
RUEHEK/AMEMBASSY BISHKEK 0024
RUEHTA/AMEMBASSY ALMATY 0027
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 0007
RUEHCH/AMEMBASSY CHISINAU 0028
RUEHAH/AMEMBASSY ASHGABAT 0023
RUEHSK/AMEMBASSY MINSK 0229
RUEHKV/AMEMBASSY KIEV 0020
RUEHIN/AIT TAIPEI 0023
RUEHTL/AMEMBASSY TALLINN 1288
RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0832
RUEHVL/AMEMBASSY VILNIUS 1248

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
7016-0314-M-2 (3,54)
6/20/2023 V2

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RUEHKB/AMEMBASSY BAKU 0010
RUEHNT/AMEMBASSY TASHKENT 0019
<SUBJ>

LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT
<TEXT>

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 RIGA 001939
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT
REF: RIGA 1923

1. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. ACTION REQUEST PARA 2.
2. AS REPORTED REFTTEL, ON AUGUST 6 LATVIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER ANDREJEVS PRESENTED AMBASSADOR WITH A
LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT
ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE U.N. REGARDING ITS
ASSESSMENT. TEXT FOLLOWS IN PARA 3. THE ORIGINAL
OF THE LETTER AND TRANSMITTAL MFA DIP NOTE (WHICH
WAS DELIVERED SO QUICKLY IT DID NOT EVEN HAVE A
NUMBER) ARE BEING MAILED TO EUR/EE. THE TEXT OF
LATVIA'S MAY 21 APPEAL TO THE U.N., REFERRED TO IN
THE LETTER'S THIRD LETTER, HAS BEEN FAXED TO EUR/EE.
ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY REQUESTS WASHINGTON'S
RESPONSE TO THE LETTER FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF LATVIA.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER IN ENGLISH FROM LATVIAN
PRIME MINISTER VALDIS BIRKAVS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON.
EMBASSY HAS ADDED PARAGRAPH NUMBERS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

NUMBER 1-02-3

5 AUGUST 1993

EXCELLENCY,

(1) I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST THE SUPPORT OF YOUR
GOVERNMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS FOR THE EFFORTS OF LATVIA TO HAVE ITS
ASSESSMENT RATE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REGULAR
BUDGET OF THE UNITED NATIONS REVIEWED WITH A VIEW OF
ACHIEVING A RATE THAT IS DETERMINED BROADLY
ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY, AS IS DONE FOR OTHER
MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(2) LATVIA, AS WELL AS OTHER MEMBER STATES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS THAT ARE LOCATED ON TERRITORY
FORMERLY CONTROLLED BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS, WILL, DURING THE FORTHCOMING FORTY-EIGHT
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, AGAIN RAISE THE ISSUE OF ASSESSMENT
ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY.

(3) THE ISSUE WILL BE RAISED ON THE BASIS OF
MATTERS HITHERTO NOT CONSIDERED BY EITHER THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS.
THESE MATTERS ARE, FIRSTLY, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE
RATES SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND ON BEHALF OF LATVIA.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SECONDLY, THE TWOFOLD CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISION 47/456 WHICH DETERMINED THE CURRENT ASSESSMENT RATES AND, FINALLY, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SAME DECISION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CAPACITY TO PAY IN RULE 160 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN THE ANNEXED APPEAL OF LATVIA TO THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS.

(4) REPRESENTATIVES OF LATVIA WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK TO MEET WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING THE CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER AND, ESPECIALLY, SUPPORT BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN A MANNER THAT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 RIGA 001939

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT BOTH COUNTRIES.

(5) ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNED)

VALDIS BIRKAUS
PRIME MINISTER
HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(END TEXT)

SILINS

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#1939

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SECTION: 01 OF 02

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SECTION: 02 OF 02

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ORIGIN 10-19

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STATE 263206 272010Z

SHB036

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HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 L-00 ADS-00 M-01
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OES-09 OIG-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-00
PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SSO-00 SS-00 TRSE-00
T-00 USIE-00 EPAE-00 CORE-00 SNIS-00 NISC-02 /055R

4. TALKING POINTS

9593

DRAFTED BY: IO/S/SB: DALEIS
APPROVED BY: EUR: ARVERSHBOW
IO: GFWARD
IO/S: CCASPER
EUR/EE: WANDRUSYSZYN
L/EUR: MESAPIRO
L/UNA: ETBLOOM

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R 272009Z AUG 93
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY RIGA
INFO IO COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TALLINN
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 263206

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AORC UN PREL LG US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN APPEAL ON UN ASSESSMENT
REF: (A) 93 RIGA 1923, (B) 93 RIGA 1939
FOR USREP ICAO, NESCO, FODAG, AND UNEP

1. AS REQUESTED IN REF B, EMBASSY MAY DRAW FROM TALKING POINTS IN PARA 4 IN RESPONDING TO LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER BIRKAV'S REQUEST TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE UN REGARDING ITS ASSESSMENT RATE. BACKGROUND TO ISSUE IS PROVIDED IN PARAS 2 AND 3.

2. OWING PRIMARILY TO THE COMBINATION OF THE BREAKUP OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND THE ACCESSION OF NEW UN MEMBER STATES, THE ISSUE OF THE 1992-94 UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS HAS BEEN DEBATED VIGOROUSLY IN UN FORA FOR WELL OVER A YEAR. LAST DECEMBER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TOOK A DECISION APPROVING THE 1992-94 UN SCALE BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UN'S EXPERT COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS DESPITE EARLIER EFFORTS BY THE U.S. AND OTHERS TO DELAY A DECISION UNTIL A LATER TIME. WE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION APPROVING THE 1992-94 SCALE BASED ON THE EXPERT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE INTEND TO RESPECT THIS DECISION MADE BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE ACKNOWLEDGE, HOWEVER, THAT BALTIC ASSESSMENTS SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY ANALYSIS OF WHAT THE SOVIET UNION PAID BEFORE DISSOLUTION.

3. NEXT YEAR, THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS WILL CONSIDER AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL APPROVE THE UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE NEXT (1995-97) SCALE

PERIOD. LIKE LATVIA AND OTHER UN MEMBER STATES, THE U.S. ALSO HAS DIFFICULTIES WITH ASPECTS OF THE UN SCALE METHODOLOGY AND WE INTEND TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE UN'S DEBATE ON THE ISSUE NEXT YEAR. WE ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH THE LATVIAN DELEGATION IN NEW YORK ON FUTURE UN SCALES, PARTICULARLY TO ENSURE THAT THE BALTIC ASSESSMENTS ARE NOT BASED ON ANY THEORY THAT THOSE STATES ARE SUCCESSORS TO THE SOVIET UNION.

- LATVIA'S CONCERNS REGARDING THE 1992-94 UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS ARE UNDERSTANDABLE. LAST YEAR'S DECISION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE SCALE WAS A MOST DIFFICULT ONE WITH SEVERAL MEMBER STATES, INCLUDING THE U.S., INDICATING THEIR CONCERNS WITH ASPECTS OF THE UN'S SCALE METHODOLOGY.
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- ALTHOUGH WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO LATVIAN CONCERNS, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER WE INTEND TO RESPECT THE DECISION TAKEN BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
- OUR LONG-STANDING POSITION OF NOT RECOGNIZING THE FORCIBLE INCORPORATION OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS INTO THE SOVIET UNION AND, CONCOMITANTLY, OF NOT CONSIDERING THE BALTIC REPUBLICS AS SUCCESSOR STATES TO THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS THE SAME.
- THE 1992-94 SCALE WILL EXPIRE NEXT YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEXT UN SCALE, COVERING THE PERIOD 1995-97, WILL BE CONSIDERED BY THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND APPROVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
- THUS, WE WOULD WELCOME WORKING WITH THE LATVIAN DELEGATION IN NEW YORK ON FUTURE UN SCALES TO ENSURE THAT ASSESSMENTS ARE NOT BASED ON ANY PREMISE THAT LATVIA IS A SUCCESSOR STATE TO THE SOVIET UNION.

WHARTON

9318767

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Aug-1993 10:28 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX_MAIL@OEOB
POTTS@A1@OEOB
GOTTEMOELLER@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

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

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO

<DIST>

PRT: ITOH KENNEY SIT SODERBERG

SIT: FICKLIN FILE GOTTEMOELLER POTTS SUM SUM2 VAX

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AMEMBASSY RIGA

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RUEHNT/AMEMBASSY TASHKENT 0019
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LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT
<TEXT>

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 RIGA 001939
E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT

REF: RIGA 1923

1. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. ACTION REQUEST PARA 2.
2. AS REPORTED REFTEL, ON AUGUST 6 LATVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREJEVS PRESENTED AMBASSADOR WITH A LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE U.N. REGARDING ITS ASSESSMENT. TEXT FOLLOWS IN PARA 3. THE ORIGINAL OF THE LETTER AND TRANSMITTAL MFA DIP NOTE (WHICH WAS DELIVERED SO QUICKLY IT DID NOT EVEN HAVE A NUMBER) ARE BEING MAILED TO EUR/EE. THE TEXT OF LATVIA'S MAY 21 APPEAL TO THE U.N., REFERRED TO IN THE LETTER'S THIRD LETTER, HAS BEEN FAXED TO EUR/EE. ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY REQUESTS WASHINGTON'S RESPONSE TO THE LETTER FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF LATVIA.
3. THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER IN ENGLISH FROM LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER VALDIS BIRKAVS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON. EMBASSY HAS ADDED PARAGRAPH NUMBERS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

NUMBER 1-02-3

5 AUGUST 1993

EXCELLENCY,

(1) I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST THE SUPPORT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE EFFORTS OF LATVIA TO HAVE ITS ASSESSMENT RATE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REGULAR BUDGET OF THE UNITED NATIONS REVIEWED WITH A VIEW OF ACHIEVING A RATE THAT IS DETERMINED BROADLY ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY, AS IS DONE FOR OTHER MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(2) LATVIA, AS WELL AS OTHER MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS THAT ARE LOCATED ON TERRITORY FORMERLY CONTROLLED BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, WILL, DURING THE FORTHCOMING FORTY-EIGHT SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AGAIN RAISE THE ISSUE OF ASSESSMENT ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY.

(3) THE ISSUE WILL BE RAISED ON THE BASIS OF MATTERS HITHERTO NOT CONSIDERED BY EITHER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS. THESE MATTERS ARE, FIRSTLY, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND ON BEHALF OF LATVIA

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SECONDLY, THE TWOFOLD CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY ENshrINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISION 47/456 WHICH DETERMINED THE CURRENT ASSESSMENT RATES AND, FINALLY, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SAME DECISION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CAPACITY TO PAY IN RULE 160 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN THE ANNEXED APPEAL OF LATVIA TO THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS. (4) REPRESENTATIVES OF LATVIA WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK TO MEET WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING THE CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER AND, ESPECIALLY, SUPPORT BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN A MANNER THAT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 RIGA 001939

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US
SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT BOTH COUNTRIES.
(5) ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNED)
VALDIS BIRKAVS
PRIME MINISTER
HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
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| 001b. cable | Re: [Letter for President Clinton from Latvian Prime Minister] [2 copies] (6 pages) | 08/10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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| | T-00 | USIE-00 | EPAE-00 | CORE-00 | SNIS-00 | NISC-02 | /055R |

4. TALKING POINTS

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WHARTON

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DRAFTED BY: IO/S/SB: DALEIS
APPROVED BY: EUR: ARVERSHBOW
IO: GFWARD
IO/S: CCASPER
EUR/EE: WANDRUSYSZYN
L/EUR: MESAPIRO
L/UWA: ETBLOOM

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TO AMEMBASSY RIGA
INFO IO COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TALLINN
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 263206

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: AORC UN PREL LG US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN APPEAL ON UN ASSESSMENT
REF: (A) 93 RIGA 1923, (B) 93 RIGA 1939
FOR USREP ICAO, NESCO, FODAG, AND UNEP

1. AS REQUESTED IN REF B, EMBASSY MAY DRAW FROM TALKING POINTS IN PARA 4 IN RESPONDING TO LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER BIRKAV'S REQUEST TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE UN REGARDING ITS ASSESSMENT RATE. BACKGROUND TO ISSUE IS PROVIDED IN PARAS 2 AND 3.

2. OWING PRIMARILY TO THE COMBINATION OF THE BREAKUP OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND THE ACCESSION OF NEW UN MEMBER STATES, THE ISSUE OF THE 1992-94 UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS HAS BEEN DEBATED VIGOROUSLY IN UN FORA FOR WELL OVER A YEAR. LAST DECEMBER THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TOOK A DECISION APPROVING THE 1992-94 UN SCALE BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE UN'S EXPERT COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS DESPITE EARLIER EFFORTS BY THE U.S. AND OTHERS TO DELAY A DECISION UNTIL A LATER TIME. WE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION APPROVING THE 1992-94 SCALE BASED ON THE EXPERT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, WE INTEND TO RESPECT THIS DECISION MADE BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE ACKNOWLEDGE, HOWEVER, THAT BALTIC ASSESSMENTS SHOULD HAVE BEEN MADE INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY ANALYSIS OF WHAT THE SOVIET UNION PAID BEFORE DISSOLUTION.

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PERIOD. LIKE LATVIA AND OTHER UN MEMBER STATES, THE U.S. ALSO HAS DIFFICULTIES WITH ASPECTS OF THE UN SCALE METHODOLOGY AND WE INTEND TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE UN'S DEBATE ON THE ISSUE NEXT YEAR. WE ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH THE LATVIAN DELEGATION IN NEW YORK ON FUTURE UN SCALES, PARTICULARLY TO ENSURE THAT THE BALTIC ASSESSMENTS ARE NOT BASED ON ANY THEORY THAT THOSE STATES ARE SUCCESSORS TO THE SOVIET UNION.

2016-0314-M-2 ()
6/20/2023 VL

6343

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Aug-1993 10:28 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX_MAIL@OEEOB
POTTS@A1@OEEOB
GOTTEMOELLER@A1@OEEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEEOB

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

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO

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SIT: FICKLIN FILE GOTTEMOELLER POTTS SUM SUM2 VAX
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LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT
<TEXT>

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 RIGA 001939

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT

REF: RIGA 1923

1. THIS IS AN ACTION CABLE. ACTION REQUEST PARA 2.
2. AS REPORTED REFTEL, ON AUGUST 6 LATVIAN FOREIGN
MINISTER ANDREJEVS PRESENTED AMBASSADOR WITH A
LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT
ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE U.N. REGARDING ITS
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OF THE LETTER AND TRANSMITTAL MFA DIP NOTE (WHICH
WAS DELIVERED SO QUICKLY IT DID NOT EVEN HAVE A
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LATVIA'S MAY 21 APPEAL TO THE U.N., REFERRED TO IN
THE LETTER'S THIRD LETTER, HAS BEEN FAXED TO EUR/EE.
ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY REQUESTS WASHINGTON'S
RESPONSE TO THE LETTER FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF LATVIA.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER IN ENGLISH FROM LATVIAN
PRIME MINISTER VALDIS BIRKAVS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON.
EMBASSY HAS ADDED PARAGRAPH NUMBERS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

NUMBER 1-02-3

5 AUGUST 1993

EXCELLENCY,

(1) I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST THE SUPPORT OF YOUR
GOVERNMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS FOR THE EFFORTS OF LATVIA TO HAVE ITS
ASSESSMENT RATE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REGULAR
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ACHIEVING A RATE THAT IS DETERMINED BROADLY
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MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(2) LATVIA, AS WELL AS OTHER MEMBER STATES OF THE
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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT BOTH COUNTRIES.

(5) ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNED)

VALDIS BIRKAVS
PRIME MINISTER
HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(END TEXT)

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SECTION: 01 OF 02

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10-Aug-1993 10:28 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX_MAIL@OEOB
POTTS@A1@OEOB
GOTTEMOELLER@A1@OEOB
FICKLIN@A1@OEOB

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

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO

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SIT: FICKLIN FILE GOTTEMOELLER POTTS SUM SUM2 VAX
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<SUBJ>

LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO
PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT

<TEXT>

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 RIGA 001939

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

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LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKING FOR U.S. SUPPORT
ON LATVIA'S APPEAL TO THE U.N. REGARDING ITS
ASSESSMENT. TEXT FOLLOWS IN PARA 3. THE ORIGINAL
OF THE LETTER AND TRANSMITTAL MFA DIP NOTE (WHICH
WAS DELIVERED SO QUICKLY IT DID NOT EVEN HAVE A
NUMBER) ARE BEING MAILED TO EUR/EE. THE TEXT OF
LATVIA'S MAY 21 APPEAL TO THE U.N., REFERRED TO IN
THE LETTER'S THIRD LETTER, HAS BEEN FAXED TO EUR/EE.
ACTION REQUEST: EMBASSY REQUESTS WASHINGTON'S
RESPONSE TO THE LETTER FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF LATVIA.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER IN ENGLISH FROM LATVIAN
PRIME MINISTER VALDIS BIRKAVS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON.
EMBASSY HAS ADDED PARAGRAPH NUMBERS.

(BEGIN TEXT)

NUMBER 1-02-3

5 AUGUST 1993

EXCELLENCY,

(1) I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST THE SUPPORT OF YOUR
GOVERNMENT IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS FOR THE EFFORTS OF LATVIA TO HAVE ITS
ASSESSMENT RATE FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REGULAR
BUDGET OF THE UNITED NATIONS REVIEWED WITH A VIEW OF
ACHIEVING A RATE THAT IS DETERMINED BROADLY
ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY, AS IS DONE FOR OTHER
MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(2) LATVIA, AS WELL AS OTHER MEMBER STATES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS THAT ARE LOCATED ON TERRITORY
FORMERLY CONTROLLED BY THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST
REPUBLICS, WILL, DURING THE FORTHCOMING FORTY-EIGHT
SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, AGAIN RAISE THE ISSUE OF ASSESSMENT
ACCORDING TO CAPACITY TO PAY.

(3) THE ISSUE WILL BE RAISED ON THE BASIS OF
MATTERS HITHERTO NOT CONSIDERED BY EITHER THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS.
THESE MATTERS ARE, FIRSTLY, THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE
RATES SUBMITTED TO THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND ON BEHALF OF LATVIA.

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SECONDLY, THE TWOFOLD CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECISION 47/456 WHICH DETERMINED THE CURRENT ASSESSMENT RATES AND, FINALLY, THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE SAME DECISION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CAPACITY TO PAY IN RULE 160 OF THE RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN THE ANNEXED APPEAL OF LATVIA TO THE COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS.

(4) REPRESENTATIVES OF LATVIA WILL BE AVAILABLE AT THE UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK TO MEET WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISCUSSING THE CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER AND, ESPECIALLY, SUPPORT BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN A MANNER THAT SERVES THE INTERESTS OF UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 RIGA 001939

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER APPEALS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON ON U.N. ASSESSMENT BOTH COUNTRIES.

(5) ACCEPT, EXCELLENCY, THE RENEWED ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

(SIGNED)

VALDIS BIRKAUS
PRIME MINISTER
HIS EXCELLENCY
MR. BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
(END TEXT)

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- letter | President G. Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 09/27/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002a- cable | Re: Response to Latvia President Ulmanis' Proposal (2 pages) | 10/25/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002b- letter | President G. Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 09/27/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002c- letter | Re: Response to Latvian President Ulmanis' Proposal (2 pages) | 10/25/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 166

FOLDER TITLE:

9307714

2011-1037-F

ke2210

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

September 27, 1993

William Clinton
President of the United States of America

Excellency,

On behalf of the people of Latvia, I would like to express my appreciation for your initiative to provide \$190 million aid to Russia for the construction and re-training of Russian Federation troops withdrawing from the Baltic States. It is our hope that this assistance will expedite the final and unconditional withdrawal of these troops.

In this regard, I would like to bring to your attention a proposal that has been developed and offered by both the Russian and Latvian representatives along with the association ROS AM LAT. This joint plan to implement a precise process of designating the beneficiaries of the housing constructed in Russia by the US-AID presents some worthwhile ideas that may be of use to the Government of the United States as it seeks to ensure the most efficient usage of the above mentioned funds.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

G. Ulmanis

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. Ulmanis'.

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2016-0314-M-2 (3.57)
6/20/2023 VZ

Robert
S/S

Same

HUNTER JESSIE B 10/25/93 094710 PRINTER: KC
93 STATE 319939

UNCLASSIFIED
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STATE 319939 200936Z

PAGE 01
ORIGIN EUR-01
INFO LOG-00 AGRE-00 AID-01 AMAD-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00
CTME-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 ITCE-00 EB-01
EXME-00 E-01 FRB-01 HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00
IO-16 ITC-01 JUSE-00 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
OIC-02 OMB-01 OPIC-08 PA-02 PM-02 PPS-01 P-01
SNP-00 SP-00 SSC-01 SSO-00 SS-00 STR-16 TRSE-00
T-00 USIE-00 CORE-00 SNIS-00 NISC-02 /074R

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APPROVED BY: EUR:AVERSHOBW
EUR/ISCA:LNAPPER EUR/ISCA/ECA:SSCHUCHAT AID/ENI:PASHIN JKARP
EUR/WE:PMULREAN S/NIS/C:BHEASTER S/NIS:RKAUZLARICH
S/S: MNROBINSON S/S-OHTHOMAS NSC: WITOH
S/S-C:TFILIPEK

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMPASSY RIGA
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TALLINN
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS
UNCLAS STATE 319939
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, RS, LG, PREL
SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS' PROPOSAL

UNCLASSIFIED
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 319939 200936Z
ON RUSSIAN OFFICER RESETTLEMENT PROJECT
1. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED: THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED A
LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 27 FROM LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS
REGARDING A PROPOSAL FOR THE DESIGNATION OF BENEFICIARIES
UNDER THE U.S. HOUSING AND RETRAINING PROGRAM FOR RUSSIAN
MILITARY OFFICERS DEMOBILIZED FROM THE BALTICS. THIS CABLE
PROVIDES THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT.S RESPONSE, WHICH

EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO PROVIDE TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS.
THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL. END SUMMARY AND ACTION
REQUESTED.

2. TEXT OF LETTER:
DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:
I VERY MUCH ENJOYED MEETING YOU IN NEW YORK DURING THE
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, ALONG WITH
PRESIDENT MERI AND PRESIDENT BRAZAUSKAS. I WAS ENCOURAGED
BY OUR DISCUSSION AND WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED
STATES WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST IN PROMOTING A RAPID
WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA AND ESTONIA.
I ALSO WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER CONCERNING
THE ASSISTANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS PROVIDING TO THE
RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO ASSIST IN THE DEMOBILIZATION OF

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PAGE 1
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93 STATE 319939

10/25/93 094710 PRINTER: KC

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RUSSIAN MILITARY OFFICERS FROM LATVIA. ESTONIA AND
LITHUANIA.

I AM PLEASED THAT THE RUSSIAN OFFICER RESETTLEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 319939 200936Z

PROGRAM, WHICH I ANNOUNCED DURING THE VANCOUVER SUMMIT, IS
WELL UNDERWAY. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY HAS ALREADY BEGUN IN
ALL FIVE SELECTED SITES IN RUSSIA. BENEFICIARIES WILL BE
CHOSEN PRIMARILY FROM AMONG THOSE OFFICERS DEMOBILIZED FROM
THE BALTICS AFTER APRIL 1, 1993. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY
WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON OUR
FOLLOW-ON HOUSING PROGRAM TO PROMOTE CONSTRUCTION OF ABOUT
5,000 HOUSING UNITS IN RUSSIA FOR RETURNING MILITARY
OFFICERS.

I APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST IN THE PROGRESS OF THIS
PROJECT. AND SHARE YOUR HOPE THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WILL
EXPEDITE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM THE
BALTIC STATES.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

HIS EXCELLENCY

GUNTIS ULMANIS,

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA.

RIGA. CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED



- 9324208

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

September 27, 1993

William Clinton
President of the United States of America

Excellency,

On behalf of the people of Latvia, I would like to express my appreciation for your initiative to provide \$190 million aid to Russia for the construction and re-training of Russian Federation troops withdrawing from the Baltic States. It is our hope that this assistance will expedite the final and unconditional withdrawal of these troops.

In this regard, I would like to bring to your attention a proposal that has been developed and offered by both the Russian and Latvian representatives along with the association ROS AM LAT. This joint plan to implement a precise process of designating the beneficiaries of the housing constructed in Russia by the US-AID presents some worthwhile ideas that may be of use to the Government of the United States as it seeks to ensure the most efficient usage of the above mentioned funds.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

G. Ulmanis

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. Ulmanis'.

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PAGE 01 STATE 319939 200936Z

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SNP-00 SP-00 SSC-01 SSO-00 SS-00 STR-16 TRSE-00
T-00 USIE-00 CORE-00 SNIS-00 NISC-02 /074R

DRAFTED BY: EUR/ISCA:RDMeyer:RDM
APPROVED BY: EUR:AVershBow
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R 200936Z OCT 93
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TO AMEMBASSY RIGA
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AMEMBASSY TALLINN
AMEMBASSY VILNIUS

UNCLAS STATE 319939

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: EAID, RS, LG, PREL
SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS' PROPOSAL
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UNDER THE U.S. HOUSING AND RETRAINING PROGRAM FOR RUSSIAN
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DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I VERY MUCH ENJOYED MEETING YOU IN NEW YORK DURING THE
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PRESIDENT MERI AND PRESIDENT BRAZAUSKAS. I WAS ENCOURAGED
BY OUR DISCUSSION AND WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED
STATES WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST IN PROMOTING A RAPID

WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA AND ESTONIA.

I ALSO WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER CONCERNING

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206-0304-M-2 (3.66)
6/20/2003 v2

THE ASSISTANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS PROVIDING TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO ASSIST IN THE DEMOBILIZATION OF RUSSIAN MILITARY OFFICERS FROM LATVIA, ESTONIA AND LITHUANIA.

I AM PLEASED THAT THE RUSSIAN OFFICER RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM, WHICH I ANNOUNCED DURING THE VANCOUVER SUMMIT, IS WELL UNDERWAY. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY HAS ALREADY BEGUN IN ALL FIVE SELECTED SITES IN RUSSIA. BENEFICIARIES WILL BE CHOSEN PRIMARILY FROM AMONG THOSE OFFICERS DEMOBILIZED FROM THE BALTICS AFTER APRIL 1, 1993. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON OUR FOLLOW-ON HOUSING PROGRAM TO PROMOTE CONSTRUCTION OF ABOUT 5,000 HOUSING UNITS IN RUSSIA FOR RETURNING MILITARY OFFICERS.

I APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST IN THE PROGRESS OF THIS PROJECT. AND SHARE YOUR HOPE THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WILL EXPEDITE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM THE BALTIC STATES.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

HIS EXCELLENCY
GUNTIS ULMANIS,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA.
RIGA. CHRISTOPHER

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Head of State Correspondence (October 8-22) (3 pages) | 11/01/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. cable | Re: [Letters from President Clinton to Prime Minister Mitsotakis and Prime Minister Papandreou of Greece] (3 pages) | 10/10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 10/13/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Dehaene of Belgium] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Hosokawa of Japan] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Hosokawa of Japan] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Ciampi of Italy] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001h. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Chancellor Kohl of Germany] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001i. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to President Mitterand of France] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001j. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Rasmussen of Denmark] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001k. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Campbell of Canada] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 167

FOLDER TITLE:

9308006

2011-1037-F
 ke2211

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001l. cable | Re: [President Clinton to Prime Minister Lubbers of the Netherlands] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001m. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Major of the United Kingdom] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001n. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Brundtland of Norway] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001o. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Gonzalez of Spain] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001p. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Bildt of Sweden] (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001q. cable | Re: [Reponse to Latvian President Ulmanis' Proposal] (1 page) | 10/20/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001r. cable | Re: Letter from President Clinton to President Menem [partial] (1 page) | 10/20/1993 | b(6) |
| 001s. cable | Re: Telegram from President Clinton to Prime Minister Sandiford (1 page) | 10/22/1993 | b(6) |
| 001t. cable | Re: President Isaias of Eritrea Letter to President Clinton (1 page) | 10/18/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001u. cable | Re: PM Papandreou's Response to the President's Letter for Congratulations (2 pages) | 10/15/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001v. memo | [Last page of a memo re: Head of State Correspondence] (1 page) | ea-10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1993

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6/20/7-23 VL

P8:45

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Heads of State Correspondence (October 8-22)

Below is a summary of correspondence with foreign leaders over the last two weeks. I have also included letters you have received which do not require a response.

- October 10 letter to Greek Prime Minister Papandreou congratulating him on winning the October 10 election and extending an invitation to meet with you in Washington on a mutually acceptable date.
- October 13 and 14 letters to Belgian Prime Minister Dehaene. The first one compliments the Belgian forces for their support in Mogadishu and urges the Prime Minister to maintain his forces in Somalia at least to March 31, 1994, rather than continue with the present plan of troop withdrawal beginning in December, 1993. The second letter asks for Belgium's support for incorporating Russia into the already existing endeavor to create an international space station program.
- October 14, two letters to Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa. The first letter congratulates him on the successful visit to Japan of Russian President Yeltsin and your willingness to provide monitors in Russia during their upcoming elections; the second one seeks Japan's support for incorporating Russia into the already existing endeavor to create an international space station program.
- October 14 letters to Italian Prime Minister Ciampi, German Chancellor Kohl, French President Mitterrand, Danish Prime Minister Rasmussen, Canadian Prime Minister Campbell, Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers, British Prime Minister Major, Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland, Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez and Swedish Prime Minister Bildt seek their support for incorporating Russia into the already existing endeavor to create an international space station program.
- October 15 letter to the Rio Group extending best wishes for a successful summit to the Chiefs of State and Chiefs of Government who are attending the meeting in Chile.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- October 15 letter to Acting President Sajjad of Pakistan congratulating him on his country's successful conduct during their recent elections, which from all reports were held in a fair, calm and orderly manner.
- October 15 letter to Mexican President Salinas thanking him for his late September letter congratulating you and the U.S. negotiators who made possible the signing of the Peace Agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.
- October 19 letter to the three 1993 recipients of the Kyoto Prize: Jack St. Clair Kilby for his pioneering work in semiconductor integrated circuits, William Donald Hamilton for his groundbreaking contributions to the study of animal behavior, and Witold Lutoslawski for his distinctively original influence on the development of modern music composition.
- October 19 letter to the Interim National Government Chairman of Nigeria, Chief Ernest Shonekan, expressing appreciation for his kind words of condolence extended in an earlier message to you regarding the fatal AMTRAK train wreck in September.
- October 19 letter to British Foreign Secretary Hurd thanking him for his earlier letter expressing his delight in meeting with you here in Washington and accepting, in principle, his invitation to visit Great Britain on a mutually agreed upon date.
- October 20 letter to Latvian President Ulmanis responding to his September 27 letter to you on the Russian Officer Resettlement Project. Your response expresses your appreciation for his interest in the project and informs President Ulmanis that construction has already begun in the resettlement sites in Russia and also that the U.S. is working closely with the Russian Federation to promote construction of about 5,000 housing units in Russia for returning military officers.
- October 20 letter to President-Elect Ange Patasse of the Central African Republic congratulating him upon his inauguration as the first freely elected Chief of State of the Central African Republic.
- October 20 letter to Argentine President Menem wishing him a speedy recovery from his recent hospitalization and for his country's participation in the naval contingent enforcing the embargo against Haiti.
- October 22 letter to former Polish Prime Minister Suchocka expressing your respect and admiration for the many accomplishments during her premiership and wishing her continued success.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

- October 22 letter to newly elected Polish Prime Minister Pawlak congratulating him on assuming the Office of Prime Minister.
- October 22 letter to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Lloyd Sandiford wishing him a speedy recovery from his recent hospitalization here in Washington.
- October 22 letter to Prime Minister Brathwaite of Grenada to be delivered at the ceremonies marking the tenth anniversary of the multinational force intervention in Grenada.

Letters Not Requiring Response

- October 13 letter from Eritrean President Isaias supporting the plan to conduct an impartial investigation commission on Somalia.
- September 24 letter from Russian President Yeltsin conveying condolences and words of support to the families of those who died as a result of the AMTRAK train accident.
- October 14 letter from Greek Prime Minister Papandreou acknowledging receipt of your congratulatory note on his recent election. He also accepted your invitation to come to Washington at a mutually acceptable date probably next year. (We are, however, drafting a letter to him commending his recent speech.)

Attached at Tab A are copies of the outgoing letters. Incoming Heads of State Letters are at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A Outgoing Heads of State Letters
Tab B Incoming Heads of State Letters

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 1859 MSGID: M0653187

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O 101317Z OCT 93 ZFF-1/4

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

FM: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO: RUEHTR/AMEMBASSY ATHENS GREECE

INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2013
2016-0314-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE, AS APPROPRIATE, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CLINTON, AT THE EARLIEST PRACTICAL OPPORTUNITY FOLLOWING A CLEAR OUTCOME TO THE OCTOBER 10 ELECTIONS.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

FYI: EMBASSY IS ADVISED THAT THE ORIGINAL DATE FOR MITSOTAKIS MEETING IS NO LONGER AVAILABLE. IF ASKED EMBASSY SHOULD INDICATE A MEETING IS NOT LIKELY BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR DUE TO THE PRESSING SCHEDULE OF HEALTH CARE, NAFTA AND APEC. EMBASSY SHOULD REFER FURTHER QUESTIONS OF TIMING TO THE DEPARTMENT FOR RESOLUTION IN WASHINGTON.

BEGIN TEXT:

LETTER TO MITSOTAKIS

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER (MITSOTAKIS):

I WANT TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR ELECTION ON OCTOBER 10. THE VOTE WAS A CLEAR SIGNAL OF CONFIDENCE IN AND SUPPORT FOR YOUR LEADERSHIP OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND IN GREECE'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.

THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE HAVE A HISTORY OF WARM, MUTUALLY

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BENEFICIAL RELATIONS BASED ON SHARED INTERESTS AND IDEALS. I
LOOK FORWARD TO STRENGTHENING EVEN FURTHER THIS RELATIONSHIP
AND WORKING TOGETHER TO ADDRESS THE NUMEROUS OPPORTUNITIES WE
HAVE IN THIS TIME OF HISTORIC CHANGE. IN PARTICULAR, WE FACE
GREAT CHALLENGES IN RESTORING PEACE TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA,
ENSURING THAT THE DEMOCRATIC, FREE-MARKET REVOLUTION IN THE
BALKAN REGION SUCCEEDS, AND IN STRENGTHENING THE GLOBAL
ECONOMIC SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY THROUGH A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION
TO THE URUGUAY ROUND. GREECE PLAYS AN IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE
ROLE IN ADDRESSING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES.

I WANT TO RECONFIRM MY INVITATION TO YOU TO VISIT WASHINGTON
AND MEET WITH ME. OUR EMBASSY IN ATHENS WILL CONTACT YOUR
GOVERNMENT TO ARRANGE A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DATE.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

LETTER TO PAPANDREOU

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER (PAPANDREOU):

I WANT TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR ELECTION ON OCTOBER 10. I
LOOK FORWARD TO ESTABLISHING A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH
YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT.

THE UNITED STATES AND GREECE HAVE A HISTORY OF SHARED
INTERESTS AND IDEALS. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING AND
STRENGTHENING THIS RELATIONSHIP AND WORKING TOGETHER WITH YOU
TO ADDRESS THE NUMEROUS OPPORTUNITIES WE HAVE IN THIS TIME OF
HISTORIC CHANGE. IN PARTICULAR, WE FACE GREAT CHALLENGES IN
RESTORING PEACE TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, ENSURING THAT THE
DEMOCRATIC, FREE-MARKET REVOLUTION IN THE BALKAN REGION
SUCCEEDS, AND IN STRENGTHENING THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM,
ESPECIALLY THROUGH A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THE URUGUAY
ROUND. GREECE CAN PLAY AN IMPORTANT AND POSITIVE ROLE IN
ADDRESSING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES.

I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO YOU TO VISIT
WASHINGTON AND MEET WITH ME TO DISCUSS THE IMPORTANT
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GREECE AND THE UNITED STATES. OUR
EMBASSY IN ATHENS WILL CONTACT YOUR GOVERNMENT TO ARRANGE A
MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE DATE.

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PLEASE ACCEPT MY BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#1859

NNNN

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001c. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene of Belgium] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 10/13/1993 | P1/b(1) |

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Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 167

FOLDER TITLE:

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2011-1037-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 1866 MSGID: M0656127

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Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.62)
6/20/2023 VZ

INFO:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRIME MINISTER JEAN-LUC DEHAENE AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

IN MY MESSAGE TO YOU LAST WEEK I LAID OUT MY INTENTION TO MAINTAIN US FORCES IN SOMALIA THROUGH MARCH 31 OF THE COMING YEAR AND TO INCREASE THE SIZE AND CAPABILITY OF OUR FORCES ON THE GROUND. MY ADVISORS HAVE INFORMED ME THAT BELGIUM PLANS TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM SOMALIA BEGINNING DECEMBER 15, 1993. I AM WRITING TO URGE YOU TO MAINTAIN YOUR FORCES IN SOMALIA AT LEAST TO MARCH 31, 1994.

I UNDERSTAND QUITE WELL THAT YOU ARE UNDER PRESSURE TO WITHDRAW YOUR FORCES FROM SOMALIA. DESPITE SIMILAR INSISTENCE FROM THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE VOLATILE SITUATION IN MOGADISHU WHERE ATTACKS ON UN FORCES HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY INTENSE, I HAVE ORDERED US FORCES TO REMAIN.

BELGIAN FORCES HAVE SUCCESSFULLY SECURED THE KISMAYO AREA OF SOMALIA. YOUR SUCCESS IN STEMMING THE VIOLENCE IN YOUR SECTOR HAS ALLOWED THE UN TO FOCUS MOST OF ITS PEACE ENFORCEMENT ASSETS IN MOGADISHU, WHERE THEY ARE MOST NEEDED. THIS IS A CRITICAL TIME IN THE UNOSOM OPERATION AND THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THIS OPERATION COULD DETERMINE THE

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FUTURE OF UN PEACEKEEPING WORLDWIDE. THAT IS WHY I ASK YOU TO ENDURE A FEW EXTRA MONTHS IN SOMALIA. WE MUST GIVE PEACEKEEPING A CHANCE TO SUCCEED.

SHOULD BELGIUM CHOOSE TO WITHDRAW FROM SOMALIA IN DECEMBER, UNOSOM WILL BE FORCED TO DESIGNATE ANOTHER UN CONTINGENT TO FILL THE VOID YOUR DEPARTURE CREATES. THIS MAY WELL REQUIRE UNOSOM TO DRAWDOWN THE NUMBER OF PEACEKEEPERS IN MOGADISHU WHERE THEY ARE MOST NEEDED.

WE ARE ENERGIZING THE POLITICAL PROCESS, BUT WE NEED YOUR HELP TO ENSURE THAT IT IS UNDERGIRDDED BY A STRONG SECURITY ARRANGEMENT. THE BELGIAN CONTINGENT HAS PERFORMED ADMIRABLY AND BROUGHT HOPE TO MANY SOMALIS. I HOPE YOU WILL BE ABLE TO EXTEND YOUR PRESENCE THERE FOR A FEW ADDITIONAL MONTHS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR REPLY.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT
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>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = MCHIFF(1), &WHSR(-)

INFO =

TOTAL COPIES = 1

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2016-0314-1472 (3.64)
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OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1885 2880417-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUEHBS RUEHC.

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FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS, BE

INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER DEHAENE AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1885 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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00649081 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1885 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CHAired BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DECL: OADR
BT
#1885

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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>>> I M M E D I A T E <

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2016-0314-m-2 (3.65)
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FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO JA
INFO RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW RS
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER HOSOKAWA AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I AM WRITING TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON WHAT APPEARS BY ALL ACCOUNTS

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1882 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
TO HAVE BEEN A VERY SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO JAPAN BY RUSSIAN
PRESIDENT YELTSIN. AMBASSADOR MONDALE HAS REPORTED TO ME ON BOTH
THE VISIT ITSELF AND HIS SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH YOU.
CLEARLY, THROUGH CAREFUL PREPARATION AND SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY, YOU
DEALT WITH A NUMBER OF SENSITIVE ISSUES IN A VERY REALISTIC AND
POSITIVE MANNER.

IT SEEMS THAT YOUR WISE EFFORTS AND THE GOODWILL OF PRESIDENT
YELTSIN HAVE LED TO THE TURNING OF A NEW PAGE IN RELATIONS
BETWEEN JAPAN AND RUSSIA. I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE FIRST STEPS YOU
HAVE MADE TOWARD ADDRESSING THE TERRITORIAL DISPUTE WILL PAVE THE
WAY TO A RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE. I WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED BY THE
FACT THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN DISPLAYED AN EAGERNESS TO IMPROVE
TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH JAPAN. A SOLID BILATERAL
RELATIONSHIP OF THIS KIND WILL FURTHER STRENGTHEN THE EFFORTS WE
AND OUR G-7 PARTNERS ARE MAKING MULTILATERALLY TO SUPPORT
RUSSIA'S TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY. I AM SENDING YOU

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00649058 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <

SEPARATELY A LETTER ENCOURAGING SUPPORT FROM JAPAN AND OUR OTHER PARTNERS FOR RUSSIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION. FINALLY, I APPLAUD YOUR WILLINGNESS

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1882 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

TO PROVIDE MONITORS DURING THE UPCOMING ELECTION PERIOD. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT SYMBOL OF SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN RUSSIA AT A CRITICAL MOMENT.

AGAIN, PLEASE ACCEPT MY CONGRATULATIONS FOR WHAT YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED AND MY BEST WISHES FOR SUSTAINED PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE. I GREATLY VALUED OUR MEETING IN NEW YORK, AND LOOK FORWARD TO OUR DISCUSSIONS AT THE APEC MEETING IN SEATTLE. THESE WILL ENABLE US TO CONTINUE OUR CONSULTATIONS ON RUSSIA AND OTHER KEY GLOBAL ISSUES, AS WELL AS ON THE FRAMEWORK TALKS, SECURITY, AND OTHER FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF OUR OWN CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONS.

SINCERELY,
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL OADR
NNNN
BT
#1882

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

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2016-0314-A-2 (3166)
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TOTAL COPIES = 1

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O 150446Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO JA

INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER HOSOKAWA ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1891 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649151 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1891 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1891

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

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FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME IT

INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER CIAMPI AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR CARLO:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1890 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649140 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1890 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1890

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649134 PAGE 1
LCL755

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

DECLASSIFIED

INFO =

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.6B)
6/20/2023 v2

TOTAL COPIES = 1

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1889 2880436-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHOL RUEHC.

ZNY CCCCC
O 150436Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN GE
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
CHANCELLOR KOHL AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR HELMUT:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1889 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649134 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION
CHAIRLED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER
CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1889 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE
ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL
AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR
REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER
AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP
IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE
AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN
IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL
CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1889

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649127 PAGE 1
LCL754

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

INFO =

TOTAL COPIES = 1

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.69)
6/20/2023 VR

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1888 2880433-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHFR RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150433Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS FR
INFO SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT MITTERRAND AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR FRANCOIS:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1888 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649127 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1888 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1888

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

* * * * *
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
* * * * *

00649116 PAGE 1
LCL753

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

INFO =

TOTAL COPIES = 1

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.70)
6/7/2023 VZ

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1887 2880426-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHCP RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150426Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHCP/AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN, DA
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER RASMUSSEN AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1887 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649116 PAGE 2

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN
THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION
CHAIRD BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER >>> I M M E D I A T E <<<

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1887 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH
RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE
ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL
AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR
REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER
AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP
IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE
AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN
IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL
CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1887

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649104 PAGE 1
LCL750

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

DECLASSIFIED

INFO =

PER E.O. 13526
2016-03/14-M-2 (3.71)
6/20/23 VJ

TOTAL COPIES = 1

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1886 2880422-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUEHOT RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150422Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUEHOT/AMEMBASSY OTTAWA CAN
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER CAMPBELL AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:
DEAR KIM:

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1886 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649104 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1886 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHAIRMAN BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#1886

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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00649160 PAGE 1
LCL762

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

DECLASSIFIED

INFO =

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.72)
6/20/2023 VL

TOTAL COPIES = 1

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1892 2880452-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHTH RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150452Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE NL
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER LUBBERS AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1892 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649160 PAGE 2

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER >>> I M M E D I A T E <<

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1892 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DECL: OADR
BT
#1892

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649189 PAGE 1
LCL768

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

DECLASSIFIED

INFO =

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,73)
6/20/2023 W

TOTAL COPIES = 1

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1896 2880511-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHLD RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150511Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUFHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON UK

INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER MAJOR AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR JOHN:

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1896 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649189 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1896 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHAired BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1896

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649168 PAGE 1
LCL763

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

DECLASSIFIED

INFO =

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2(3.74)
6/20/2023 v2

TOTAL COPIES = 1

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1893 2880457-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHOS RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150457Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHOS/AMEMBASSY OSLO NO
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER BRUNDTLAND AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MADAME PRIME MINISTER:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1893 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
* * * * *

00649168 PAGE 2

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION CHAIRED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER >>> I M M E D I A T E <<<

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1893 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DECL: OADR
BT
#1893

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649177 PAGE 1
LCL766

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

INFO =

TOTAL COPIES = 1

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PER E.O. 13526

2011-0314-M-2 (3,75)

6/20/2023 VL

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1894 2880502-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHMD RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150502Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID SP
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ
FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1894 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
REPRESENTED AN IMPORTANT PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES,
EUROPE, JAPAN AND CANADA.

WE NOW HAVE AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY TO INCLUDE RUSSIA IN THIS
PARTNERSHIP, TURNING THIRTY YEARS OF COMPETITION IN SPACE INTO A
FUTURE OF COOPERATION. I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT BY INCLUDING THE
RUSSIANS IN THIS PROGRAM, THE PARTNERSHIP WILL ACHIEVE AN
IMPORTANT STEP IN PUTTING THE COLD WAR BEHIND US. COOPERATION
WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649177 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN
THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION
CHAIRIED BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1894 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH
RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE
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AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR
REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER
AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP
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IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL
CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
DECL: OADR
BT
#1894

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649183 PAGE 1
LCL767

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

ACTION = TCHIEF(1), &WHSR(-)

INFO =

TOTAL COPIES = 1

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-A-2 (3.76)
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OAACZYUW RHEHAAA1895 2880506-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUFHRS RUEHC.
ZNY CCCCC

O 150506Z OCT 93 ZFF-1 ZFF-4
FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
TO RUFHRS/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM SW
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC
BT

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRIME MINISTER BILDT AT THE OPENING OF BUSINESS ON FRIDAY,
OCTOBER 15.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

PAGE 2 RHEHAAA1895 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

OUR COUNTRIES ARE INVOLVED IN A LONG-STANDING ENDEAVOR TO CREATE
AN INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION FOR PEACEFUL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
AND COOPERATION IN SPACE. I AM FULLY COMMITTED TO THIS PROJECT
AND TO THE RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES TO ENSURE
ITS SUCCESS. SINCE ITS INCEPTION, THE SPACE STATION HAS
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WITH THE RUSSIANS WILL ALSO ADD A NEW DIMENSION TO THE PROGRAM,
BENEFITTING ALL THE PARTNERS BY PROVIDING EARLIER ACCESS TO SPACE
AS WELL AS COST CONTAINMENT AND INCREASED SCIENTIFIC
CAPABILITIES.

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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00649183 PAGE 2

>>> I M M E D I A T E <<

I WOULD LIKE TO SEEK YOUR SUPPORT FOR INCORPORATING RUSSIA IN THIS ENDEAVOR. THROUGH A HIGH-LEVEL U.S.-RUSSIAN COMMISSION

PAGE 3 RHEHAAA1895 ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
CHAIRD BY VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND RUSSIAN PRIME MINISTER CHERNOMYRDIN, WE HAVE BEEN LOOKING CLOSELY AT WAYS TO WORK WITH RUSSIA ON THE SPACE STATION. THE NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) HAS BEEN CONSULTING WITH YOUR TECHNICAL AGENCIES ON THESE DISCUSSIONS. ON OCTOBER 16, OUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE MEETING WITH YOURS IN PARIS TO CONSIDER AN INVITATION TO RUSSIA TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PARTNERSHIP IN THE SPACE STATION. I HOPE YOU WILL AGREE THAT WE SHOULD ISSUE AN INVITATION TO THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL SEND AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY SIGNAL THAT WE VALUE RUSSIA'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION AS A PARTNER IN THE STATION.

I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU ON THIS HISTORIC PROJECT.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT
DECL: OADR
BT
#1895

* * * * *
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
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UNCLAS STATE 319939
200936Z OCT 93

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS' PROPOSAL
ON RUSSIAN OFFICER RESETTLEMENT PROJECT

1. SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED: THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED A LETTER DATED SEPTEMBER 27 FROM LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS REGARDING A PROPOSAL FOR THE DESIGNATION OF BENEFICIARIES UNDER THE U.S. HOUSING AND RETRAINING PROGRAM FOR RUSSIAN MILITARY OFFICERS DEMOBILIZED FROM THE BALTICS. THIS CABLE PROVIDES THE TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSE, WHICH EMBASSY IS REQUESTED TO PROVIDE TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL. END SUMMARY AND ACTION REQUESTED.

2. TEXT OF LETTER:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I VERY MUCH ENJOYED MEETING YOU IN NEW YORK DURING THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION, ALONG WITH PRESIDENT MERI AND PRESIDENT BRAZAUSKAS. I WAS ENCOURAGED BY OUR DISCUSSION AND WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST IN PROMOTING A RAPID

WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA AND ESTONIA.

I ALSO WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER CONCERNING THE ASSISTANCE WHICH THE UNITED STATES IS PROVIDING TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION TO ASSIST IN THE DEMOBILIZATION OF RUSSIAN MILITARY OFFICERS FROM LATVIA, ESTONIA AND LITHUANIA.

I AM PLEASED THAT THE RUSSIAN OFFICER RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM, WHICH I ANNOUNCED DURING THE VANCOUVER SUMMIT, IS WELL UNDERWAY. CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY HAS ALREADY BEGUN IN ALL FIVE SELECTED SITES IN RUSSIA. BENEFICIARIES WILL BE CHOSEN PRIMARILY FROM AMONG THOSE OFFICERS DEMOBILIZED FROM THE BALTICS AFTER APRIL 1, 1993. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION ON OUR FOLLOW-ON HOUSING PROGRAM TO PROMOTE CONSTRUCTION OF ABOUT 5,000 HOUSING UNITS IN RUSSIA FOR RETURNING MILITARY OFFICERS.

I APPRECIATE YOUR INTEREST IN THE PROGRESS OF THIS PROJECT. AND SHARE YOUR HOPE THAT THIS ASSISTANCE WILL EXPEDITE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM THE BALTIC STATES.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

182137Z OCT 93

USUN CABLE FORWARDING
PRESIDENT ISAIAS OF ERITREA LETTER TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. THE PERMREP OF ERITREA FORWARDED TO AMB ALBRIGHT A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT ISAIAS TO PRESIDENT CLINTON CONCERNING AN INVESTIGATION COMMISSION ON SOMALIA. THE TEXT OF THE LETTER FOLLOWS. THE ORIGINAL LETTER IS BEING SEPARATELY FORWARDED.
3. BEGIN TEXT:
13 OCTOBER 1993
THE HONORABLE BILL CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ALLOW ME, YOUR EXCELLENCY, TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR VIEWS ON THE MANDATE OF THE INVESTIGATION COMMISSION ON SOMALIA.
WE FULLY SUPPORT THE PLAN TO CONDUCT AN IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION OF EVENTS IN SOMALIA AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION FOR THAT PURPOSE. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE INVESTIGATION SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO A SINGLE INCIDENT, BUT ENCOMPASS ALL ALLEGATIONS OF CRIMINAL ACTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION.
UNLESS THE COMMISSION IS CLEARLY GIVEN THE MANDATE TO INVESTIGATE ANY AND ALL CRIMINAL ACTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, WHOEVER THE CULPRIT MIGHT BE, THE INVESTIGATION WILL NOT BE CREDIBLE, FAIR AND INDEED IMPARTIAL. IT WILL NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF TRUTH AND JUSTICE. AND IT WILL NOT ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN SOMALIA. AND IT WILL BE A DISSERVICE TO THE MORAL STATUE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. I HOPE YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, WILL PRESS FOR A FULL, CREDIBLE AND TRULY IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE RANGE OF ALLEGATIONS OF CRIMINAL ACTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN SOMALIA.

ACCEPT, YOUR EXCELLENCY, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

ISAIAS AFWERKI
PRESIDENT

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3.78)
6/20/2023 VL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 1058 MSGID: M0661781

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0214-m-2 (3.79)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ATHENS 011058

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLS PASS WHITE HOUSE
FOR EUR/SE; EUR ALSO FOR AMB NILES

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR

TAGS: OPDC, PREL, GR, US

SUBJECT: PM PAPANDEOU'S RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S
LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS.

1. THE TEXT OF A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM GREEK PM
ANDREAS PAPANDEOU, DATED OCTOBER 14 AND RESPONDING TO THE
PRESIDENT'S LETTER OF CONGRATULATIONS OF OCTOBER 11
(ATHENS 10874) IS CONTAINED IN PARA 2. THE LETTER WAS
HANDLED PERSONALLY TO THE CHARGE BY PAPANDEOU DURING
CHARGE'S CALL ON THE PM FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15. THE ORIGINAL
LETTER IS BEING POUCHED TO THE DEPARTMENT VIA REGISTRY NO.
1324007, ATTENTION EUR/SE, FOR DELIVERY TO THE WHITE
HOUSE.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

OCTOBER 14, 1993

DEAR PRESIDENT:

PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARM THANKS FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF
CONGRATULATIONS ON MY ELECTION ON OCTOBER 10. I, TOO,
LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING AND STRENGTHENING OUR
RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS DEEP HISTORIC ROOTS.

WITHOUT DOUBT WE FACE SEVERE CHALLENGES IN RESTORING PEACE
TO THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. STABILITY AND PEACE IN THE
BALKANS ARE CRITICAL TO STABILITY IN EUROPE. GREECE, AS A
NATO MEMBER AND AS A MEMBER OF THE EEC CAN AND SHOULD
CONTRIBUTE TO THE TASK OF PACIFICATION IN THE REGION.

SURELY, THERE ARE MANY PROBLEMS IN THE WIDER HORIZON THAT

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MUST BE DEALT WITH,
I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU AND WORKING TOGETHER WITH
YOU TO ADDRESS THE MANY PROBLEMS THAT FACE THE WORLD
COMMUNITY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR INVITATION TO VISIT
WASHINGTON.

I SHALL BE VERY HAPPY TO DO SO.
PLEASE ACCEPT MY WARM WISHES,
SINCERELY,

/S/

ANDREAS G. PAPANDREOU
HIS EXCELLENCY
WILLIAM CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D.C.

END TEXT.

WILLIAMS

BT

#1058

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- October 22 letter to newly elected Polish Prime Minister Pawlak congratulating him on assuming the Office of Prime Minister.
- October 22 letter to the Prime Minister of Barbados, Lloyd Sandiford wishing him a speedy recovery from his recent hospitalization here in Washington.
- October 22 letter to Prime Minister Brathwait of Grenada to be delivered at the ceremonies marking the tenth anniversary of the multinational force intervention in Grenada.

Letters Not Requiring Response

- September 23 letter from Chief Shonekan, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, conveying condolences to the U.S. on the occasion of the AMTRAK train accident.
- October 13 letter from Eritrean President Isaias supporting the plan to conduct an impartial investigation commission on Somalia.
- September 24 letter from Russian President Yeltsin conveying condolences and words of support to the families of those who died as a result of the AMTRAK train accident.
- October 14 letter from Greek Prime Minister Papandreou acknowledging receipt of your congratulatory note on his recent election. He also accepted your invitation to come to Washington at a mutually acceptable date (probably next year).

Attached at Tab A are copies of the outgoing letters. Incoming Heads of State Letters are at Tab B.

Attachments

- Tab A Outgoing Heads of State Letters
- Tab B Incoming Heads of State Letters

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
 2016-0314-M-2 (3,80)
 6/20/2023 *vr*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. letter | President Clinton to President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia (2 pages) | 08/31/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Samuel Berger to the President, re: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia (2 pages) | 08/29/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. memo | Stephen Flanagan to Samuel Berger, re: Presidential Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 08/29/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Re: POTUS Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (2 pages) | 04/09/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. cable | Re: POTUS Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis on Adoption of Citizenship Legislation (2 pages) | 06/22/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. letter | Draft Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (3 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. memo | Draft memo from Stephen Flanagan to Samuel Berger, re: Presidential Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 09/25/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001h. memo | Draft memo from Samuel Berger to the President, re: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia (2 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001i. letter | Draft letter from President Clinton to President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia (2 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001j. memo | Draft memo from Samuel Berger to the President, re: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia (2 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2056

FOLDER TITLE:

9805982

2011-1037-F
 ke2252

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]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1998

Dear Mr. President:

I want to take the opportunity of Ambassador Napper's return to Latvia to share with you my thoughts on the development of U.S.-Latvian relations and our joint efforts to accelerate the integration of Latvia and the other Baltic nations into global and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Since the signing of the Charter of Partnership on January 16, together we have made significant progress in implementing the charter's provisions and realizing its promise. The working groups on military and economic cooperation have achieved positive results in meetings this spring. On July 8, the first session of the Partnership Commission met in Riga to chart the course for development of American-Baltic relations over the next year. The United States and Latvia are rapidly expanding and deepening their partnership in building a new European security system, fostering regional and bilateral cooperation and combating international terrorism and organized crime. In this connection, we appreciate Latvia's strong statement of support for our recent military action against terrorist camps and facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan.

I also wish to address another issue of great importance to both the United States and Latvia -- the proposed legislation to amend Latvia's citizenship law. As Secretary Albright underscored in her June 8 meeting with Prime Minister Krasts and in her interview with Latvian television on July 22, the United States strongly supports the amendments to Latvia's citizenship law passed by the Saeima on June 22. These amendments are fully consistent with international human rights standards and OSCE recommendations. The enactment and implementation of the June 22 law would leave no reason for the OSCE or the United States to recommend further modifications of Latvia's citizenship legislation. The United States will not support further efforts to move the goal posts on this issue. At the

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same time, we cannot support proposed amendments to the citizenship law that do not fulfill OSCE recommendations.

It is my understanding that the June 22 law will now be voted upon by the Latvian people in a nationwide referendum. Of course, we fully respect Latvia's democracy and its constitutional process. We have also made clear that we oppose the use of economic boycotts and other forms of external pressure to try to force changes in Latvian law. At the same time, we believe strongly that enactment of the June 22 law is vital to Latvia's efforts to accelerate its integration into global and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Guntis, I commend you once again for your leadership and vision in working to achieve the social integration of your nation. I recognize that your personal efforts have been instrumental in ensuring the Saeima's passage of the changes in the citizenship law. As we discussed when we met in the White House on January 16, the new law is also a critical component of your efforts to build a democratic, multi-ethnic society in Latvia. I therefore hope that the Latvian people and the leaders of all political parties will see the vital importance of a strong positive vote in favor of the June 22 law. This result in the referendum would enable Latvia to sustain the momentum of its integration efforts and provide a strong new impetus to the development of relations between the United States and Latvia. You and the Latvian people can rest assured of my personal support for this historic step in your country's development.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

His Excellency Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Republic of Latvia
Riga

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 29, 1998

Signed
8-31-98

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *JS*
SUBJECT: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia

Purpose

To bolster Latvian President Ulmanis' efforts to win a national referendum on citizenship law reforms that will improve the political rights of the Russian-speaking community in Latvia. To also show President Yeltsin, on the eve of the Summit, that we have been doing our part to encourage these reforms in Latvia. We want to convince Yeltsin that Russia's economic pressure on Latvia is actually strengthening nationalist opponents of the citizenship reforms.

Background

We have encouraged the Latvians to enact several reforms in their citizenship laws, which have been recommended by the OSCE, as a way to advance their integration into Western institutions and defuse tensions that have arisen with Moscow. Your April letter to Ulmanis (Tab B) and other efforts we have taken helped assure the Latvian parliament's approval in July of legislation that would ease the ability of presently stateless Russians, particularly children, to obtain Latvian citizenship. However, a signature campaign by nationalist parties has forced this legislation to be subject to a national referendum next month.

Moscow has undertaken a campaign of political and economic pressure, including calls for boycotts of Latvian goods, in response to Latvia's slowness in changing its citizenship laws and other perceived slights. This pressure is designed to play to nationalist constituencies in Russia and to underscore the Russian government's firm objection to Baltic integration into NATO and other Western institutions.

Our Ambassador to Latvia would deliver this letter to Ulmanis on Tuesday, September 1. In your talks with Yeltsin, you could then point to this letter as further evidence of our efforts to secure Latvian reforms and encourage Yeltsin, as Madeline has urged Foreign Minister Primakov, to end the economic pressure on Latvia and undertake a more constructive dialogue with Ulmanis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis

Tab B Previous letters to President Ulmanis

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5982redo

August 29, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM STEPHEN FLANAGAN *SF*

SUBJECT: Presidential Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding a draft letter to President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia concerning that country's September referendum on citizenship law reforms. This letter is designed to advance reforms in Latvia and strengthen the President's hand in discussing this issue with President Yeltsin at the Moscow Summit next week. The letter has been cleared by the State Department and Ambassador Napper.

Concurrence by: Carlos Pascual *CP/SF*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis
Tab B Previous letters to President Ulmanis
Tab II Incoming from State

APRIL 9, 1998

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/09/08

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OPDC, LG, RS, OSCE

SUBJECT: POTUS LETTER TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS

(U) CLASSIFIED BY EUR-ACTING E. ANTHONY WAYNE FOR REASON 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. ~~(S)~~ THIS MESSAGE SENT NIACT-IMMEDIATE TO ALLOW ITS DELIVERY TO THE PRESIDENT OF LATVIA AT OOB IN RIGA ON FRIDAY, APRIL 10, A NATIONAL HOLIDAY IN LATVIA. THE MESSAGE IS ANXIOUSLY AWAITED BY THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT AS IT CONCERNS THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND EMBASSY RIGA HAS ASKED THAT IT BE SENT NIACT IMMEDIATE.

3. ~~(S)~~ DEPARTMENT REQUESTS POST TO DELIVER TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON. NO ORIGINAL SIGNED VERSION WILL FOLLOW. WHITE HOUSE HAS NO PLAN TO MAKE PUBLIC THE TEXT OF THIS MESSAGE BUT HAS NO OBJECTION IF THE LITHUANIAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO DO SO.

2. ~~(S)~~ BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR PRESIDENT ULMANIS:

I HAVE JUST LEARNED THAT PRIME MINISTER KRASTS HAS DECIDED TO POSTPONE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND OTHER U.S. CITIES. WE FULLY UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT HIS DECISION TO REMAIN IN LATVIA AT THIS TIME. LET ME REASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD ON ALL ASPECTS OF THE U.S.-LATVIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SAY I ADMIRE THE LEADERSHIP YOU HAVE SHOWN UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES. YOU HAVE VERY EFFECTIVELY USED YOUR OFFICE TO FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF A DEMOCRATIC AND FREE SOCIETY. I KNOW THAT THESE ISSUES CAN BE COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL, BUT YOU HAVE MANAGED TO ADDRESS THEM IN A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. YOUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS CHALLENGING THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT TO REVIEW LATVIA'S CITIZENSHIP LAWS CONVEY THE IMPORTANT MESSAGE THAT THE INTEGRATION OF INDIVIDUALS BELONGING TO RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IS IN THE LONG TERM INTEREST OF THE LATVIAN STATE. YOUR REMINDER THAT LATVIA'S PUBLIC SERVANTS AND MEMBERS OF ITS MILITARY MUST ADHERE TO YOUR NATION'S

DECLASSIFIED

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTO **PER E.O. 13526**
2010-03/11-2 (4.43)
6/10/2023 v2

POLICY GOALS DEMONSTRATES LATVIA'S COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY. YOUR EFFORTS TO KEEP AN OPEN DIALOGUE WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS SHOWS THAT LATVIA IS SERIOUS ABOUT CONTRIBUTING TO REGIONAL STABILITY AND COOPERATION.

LATVIA HAS COME A LONG WAY IN A SHORT TIME, AND I AM CONFIDENT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO ADDRESS THOSE AREAS, SUCH AS THE SITUATION OF ETHNIC RUSSIANS, WHERE WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS AND RELIES ON THE WORK OF THE OSCE AND ITS MISSION IN RIGA TO EVALUATE LATVIA'S PERFORMANCE ON ASSURING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS BELONGING TO RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS. WE AGREE WITH THE OSCE FINDINGS THAT LATVIA HAS MADE GOOD PROGRESS AND IS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

WHEN WE STOOD TOGETHER IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE LAST JANUARY TO SIGN THE CHARTER OF PARTNERSHIP, WE ESTABLISHED IMPORTANT SHARED PRINCIPLES INVOLVING BOTH HUMAN RIGHTS RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS. AS YOU CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS TO STIMULATE CREATIVE APPROACHES TO THESE ISSUES IN LATVIA, WE STAND READY TO SUPPORT YOU. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT IS NOW CONSIDERING HELPFUL AMENDMENTS TO THE CITIZENSHIP LAW. THIS WOULD BE OF GREAT HELP IN DEMONSTRATING LATVIA'S COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENTING OSCE RECOMMENDATIONS.

WE BELIEVE THESE ISSUES CAN BEST BE RESOLVED THROUGH THE KIND OF OPEN DIALOGUE AND PRACTICAL STEPS YOU HAVE WORKED HARD TO PROMOTE. WE ARE ALSO TALKING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA ABOUT WHAT CAN BE DONE TO RESTART A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH LATVIA. DISRUPTION OF NORMAL COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IN NORTHERN EUROPE IS IN NO ONE'S INTEREST, AND WE STRESS WITH RUSSIA THAT INTEMPERATE TALK OF THREATS OR SANCTIONS CREATES AN ENVIRONMENT THAT CAN FRUSTRATE PROGRESS.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT LATVIA, UNDER YOUR PRINCIPLED LEADERSHIP, WILL MEET THE CHALLENGES IT NOW FACES, AND THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS YOUR EFFORTS. OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE AN EXCELLENT CHANCE TO REVIEW ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS WELL AS THE WORK AHEAD, AT THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE U.S. - BALTIC PARTNERSHIP COMMISSION IN RIGA IN LATE JUNE.

SINCERELY,
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STATE 113468

JUNE 22, 1998

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2011-0314-M-2 (4,44)
6/2/23 RZ

E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/22/08

TAGS: OPDC, PREL, PGOV, PHUM, RS, LG

SUBJECT: POTUS LETTER TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON
ADOPTION OF CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION

REF: RIGA 1736

(U) CLASSIFIED BY EUR-ACTING E. ANTHONY WAYNE FOR REASONS
1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. ~~(C)~~ DEPARTMENT REQUESTS POST TO DELIVER TO PRESIDENT
ULMANIS THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON. NO
ORIGINAL SIGNED VERSION WILL FOLLOW. WHITE HOUSE HAS NO
PLAN TO MAKE PUBLIC THE TEXT OF THIS MESSAGE BUT HAS NO
OBJECTION IF THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT WISHES TO DO SO.

2. ~~(C)~~ BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

ALLOW ME TO ONCE AGAIN COMMEND YOU ON YOUR DEDICATION AND
LEADERSHIP IN WORKING TO ACHIEVE THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF
YOUR NATION. I AM PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE
LATVIAN PARLIAMENT, WITH YOUR ENCOURAGEMENT, HAS PASSE&

IMPORTANT AND FAR-SIGHTED REVISIONS TO YOUR COUNTRY'S
CITIZENSHIP LAW. THIS COURAGEOUS ACT NOW BRINGS LATVIAN
LAW INTO COMPLIANCE WITH KEY RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THIS
IS A VITAL STEP, AND I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE HARD WORK
NEEDED TO BRING IT ABOUT.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION WILL
HAVE PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE, BOTH FOR LATVIA AND FOR ITS
PARTNERS AND SUPPORTERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IT
REPRESENTS MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARDS YOUR VISION OF A LATVIA
IN WHICH PEOPLES OF ALL BACKGROUNDS AND BELIEFS LIVE
TOGETHER IN HARMONY. IT PROVIDES THE NON-CITIZEN RESIDENTS
OF LATVIA WITH FAIR AND EQUITABLE MEANS TO SEEK LATVIAN
CITIZENSHIP AND IT ENCOURAGES KNOWLEDGE OF THE LATVIAN
LANGUAGE AMONG ALL WHO WISH TO BE CITIZENS OF YOUR COUNTRY.
THIS ACTION, MOREOVER, ADVANCES THE GOALS SET FORTH IN THE
U.S-BALTIC CHARTER WHICH WE SIGNED TOGETHER IN JANUARY. IT

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SUPPORTS LATVIA'S INTEGRATION INTO EUROPEAN AND TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITIES AND PROMOTES COOPERATIVE AND FRIENDLY DIALOGUE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE BALTIC REGION.

I AM AWARE, MR. PRESIDENT, THAT NOT EVERYONE WILL TAKE SATISFACTION IN THE PASSAGE OF THIS LEGISLATION. IN EVERY SOCIETY, THERE ARE THOSE WHO WISH TO EXPLOIT ISSUES OF ETHNICITY AND DIVERSITY FOR SHORT-TERM POLITICAL GAIN AND WHO SEE BENEFIT IN A DIVIDED SOCIETY. YOUR VIGILANCE IN COUNTERING SUCH SHORT-SIGHTED VIEWS IS WIDELY APPLAUDED, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT UNDER YOUR PRINCIPLED LEADERSHIP THE PROPONENTS OF DIVISION AND INTOLERANCE SHALL NOT PREVAIL. RATHER, I HOPE THAT ALL LATVIANS WILL NOW COME TOGETHER TO RESPECT THE PARLIAMENT'S DECISION AND TO SUPPORT FULL AND RAPID IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AMENDED CITIZENSHIP LAW.

IN CLOSING, I AGAIN CONGRATULATE YOU ON THIS IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT AND ON YOUR DETERMINATION TO FACE THE CHALLENGES WHICH LIE AHEAD WITH COURAGE AND VISION. YOU CAN REST ASSURED OF MY PERSONAL SUPPORT FOR YOUR ENDEAVORS.

SINCERELY,
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECL: 08/26/08

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (4,45)

6/20/2023 v2

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Draft Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis

Dear Mr. President:

I want to take the opportunity of Ambassador Napper's return to Latvia to share with you my thoughts on the development of U.S.-Latvian relations and our joint efforts to accelerate the integration of Latvia and the other Baltic nations into global and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Since the signing of the ^{Charter of Partnership} ~~American-Baltic Charter~~ on January 16, together we have made significant progress in implementing the charter's provisions and realizing its promise. The working groups on military and economic cooperation have achieved positive results in meetings this spring. On July 8 the first session of the Partnership Commission met in Riga to chart the course for development of American-Baltic relations over the next year. The United States and Latvia are rapidly expanding and deepening their partnership in building a new European security system, fostering regional and bilateral cooperation, and combating international terrorism and organized crime. In this

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by EUR A/S Grossman

Reason E.O. 12958 1.5 (b, d)

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connection, we appreciate Latvia's strong statement of support for our recent military action against terrorist camps and facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan.

I also wish to address another issue of great importance to both the United States and Latvia-- the proposed legislation to amend Latvia's citizenship law. As Secretary Albright underscored in her June 8 meeting with Prime Minister Krasts and her interview with Latvian television on July 22, the United States strongly supports the amendments to Latvia's citizenship law passed by the Saeima on June 22. These amendments are fully consistent with international human rights standards and OSCE recommendations. The enactment and implementation of the June 22 law would leave no reason for the OSCE or the United States to recommend further modifications of Latvia's citizenship legislation. The United States will not support further efforts to move the goal posts on this issue. At the same time, we cannot support proposed amendments to the citizenship law that do not fulfill OSCE recommendations.

It is my understanding that the June 22 law will now be voted upon by the Latvian people in a nationwide referendum. Of course, we fully respect Latvia's democracy and its constitutional process. At the same time, we believe strongly that enactment of the June 22 law is vital to Latvia's efforts to accelerate its integration into global

and Euro-Atlantic institutions. As we discussed when we met in the White House on January 16, the new law is also a critical component of your efforts to build a democratic, multi-ethnic society in Latvia. I therefore hope that you will do everything in your power to make clear to the Latvian people and political party leaders the vital importance of a strong positive vote in favor of the June 22 law. This result in the referendum would enable Latvia to sustain the momentum of its integration efforts and provide a strong new impetus to the development of relations between the United States and Latvia.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

5982

August 28, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

FROM

STEPHEN FLANAGAN *off*

SUBJECT:

Presidential Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis

Attached at Tab I is your memorandum to the President forwarding a draft letter to President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia concerning that country's September referendum on citizenship law reforms. This letter is designed to advance reforms in Latvia and strengthen the President's hand in discussing this issue with President Yeltsin at the Moscow Summit next week. The letter has been cleared by the State Department and Ambassador Napper.

Concurrence by: Carlos Pascual *off*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis

Tab B Previous letters to President Ulmanis

Tab II Incoming from State

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia

Purpose

To bolster Latvian President Ulmanis' efforts to win a national referendum on citizenship law reforms that will improve the political rights of the Russian-speaking community in Latvia. To also show President Yeltsin, on the eve of the Summit, that we have been doing our part to encourage these reforms in Latvia. We want to convince Yeltsin that Russia's economic pressure on Latvia is actually strengthening nationalist opponents of the citizenship reforms.

Background

We have encouraged the Latvians to enact several reforms in their citizenship laws, which have been recommended by the OSCE, as a way to advance their integration into Western institutions and defuse tensions that have arisen with Moscow. Your April letter to Ulmanis (Tab B) and other efforts we have taken helped assure the Latvian parliament's approval in July of legislation that would ease the ability of presently stateless Russians, particularly children, to obtain Latvian citizenship. However, a signature campaign by nationalist parties has forced this legislation to be subject to a national referendum next month.

Moscow has undertaken a campaign of political and economic pressure, including calls for boycotts of Latvian goods, in response to Latvia's slowness in changing its citizenship laws and other perceived slights. This pressure is designed to play to nationalist constituencies in Russia and to underscore the Russian government's firm objection to Baltic integration into NATO and other Western institutions.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Our Ambassador to Latvia would deliver this letter to Ulmanis on Tuesday, September 1. In your talks with Yeltsin, you could then point to this letter as further evidence of our efforts to secure Latvian reforms and encourage Yeltsin, as Madeline has urged Foreign Minister Primakov, to end the economic pressure on Latvia and undertake a more constructive dialogue with Ulmanis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis

Tab B Previous letters to President Ulmanis

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I want to take the opportunity of Ambassador Napper's return to Latvia to share with you my thoughts on the development of U.S.-Latvian relations and our joint efforts to accelerate the integration of Latvia and the other Baltic nations into global and Euro-Atlantic institutions.

Since the signing of the Charter of Partnership on January 16, we have made significant progress in implementing the charter's provisions and realizing its promise. The working groups on military and economic cooperation have achieved positive results in meetings this spring. On July 8, the first session of the Partnership Commission met in Riga to chart the course for development of American-Baltic relations over the next year. The United States and Latvia are rapidly expanding and deepening their partnership in building a new European security system, fostering regional and bilateral cooperation and combating international terrorism and organized crime. In this connection, we appreciate Latvia's strong statement of support for our recent military action against terrorist camps and facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan.

I also wish to address another issue of great importance to both the United States and Latvia -- the proposed legislation to amend Latvia's citizenship law. As Secretary Albright underscored in her June 8 meeting with Prime Minister Krasts and in her interview with Latvian television on July 22, the United States strongly supports the amendments to Latvia's citizenship law passed by the Saeima on June 22. These amendments are fully consistent with international human rights standards and OSCE recommendations. The enactment and implementation of the June 22 law would leave no reason for the OSCE or the United States to recommend further modifications of Latvia's citizenship legislation. The United States will not support further efforts to move the goal posts on this issue. At the

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same time, we cannot support proposed amendments to the citizenship law that do not fulfill OSCE recommendations.

It is my understanding that the June 22 law will now be voted upon by the Latvian people in a nationwide referendum. Of course, we fully respect Latvia's democracy and its constitutional process. At the same time, we believe strongly that enactment of the June 22 law is vital to Latvia's efforts to accelerate its integration into global and Euro-Atlantic institutions. As we discussed when we met in the White House on January 16, the new law is also a critical component of your efforts to build a democratic, multi-ethnic society in Latvia. I therefore hope that you will do everything in your power to make clear to the Latvian people and political party leaders the vital importance of a strong positive vote in favor of the June 22 law. This result in the referendum would enable Latvia to sustain the momentum of its integration efforts and provide a strong new impetus to the development of relations between the United States and Latvia.

Sincerely,

His Excellency Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Republic of Latvia
Riga

*Revised
PR
JPS*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia

Purpose

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Moscow has undertaken a campaign of political and economic pressure, including calls for boycotts of Latvian goods, in response to Latvia's slowness in changing its citizenship laws and other perceived slights. This pressure is designed to play to nationalist constituencies in Russia and to underscore the Russian government's firm objection to Baltic integration into NATO and other Western institutions. to

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

September 1.
August 31

Tuesday

Our Ambassador to Latvia would deliver this letter to Ulmanis on Monday. In your talks with Yeltsin, you could then point to this letter as further evidence of our efforts to secure Latvian reforms and encourage Yeltsin, as Madeline has urged Foreign Minister Primakov, to end the economic pressure on Latvia and undertake a more constructive dialogue with Ulmanis.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachments

- Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis
- Tab B Previous letters to President Ulmanis

I sent note to CEE asking if this is correct.

If Napper departs Mon afternoon how can he deliver letter on Monday?

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Samuel Berger to the President, re: Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 10/15/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2003 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2063

FOLDER TITLE:

9806935

2011-1037-F
ke2253

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6935

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'98 OCT 15 PM 6:45

October 15, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER (K) *FB*

SUBJECT: Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis

Purpose

To congratulate President Ulmanis for his leadership in securing approval, by a 53-44 percent margin, of an October 3 national referendum on amendments to Latvia's citizenship laws.

Background

These amendments abolish certain restrictions on naturalization, grant citizenship to stateless children born after the restoration of Latvian independence in 1991 and simplify naturalization tests for senior citizens. The amendments are fully consistent with international norms and remove a major impediment to improved relations with Russia.

Passage of the referendum is due in large part to the vision and courage of President Ulmanis. You sent Ulmanis several encouraging letters during this campaign. This letter commends his leadership and reaffirms our commitment to advancing Latvia's integration into the transatlantic community.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Letter to President Ulmanis

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VZ NARA, Date 6/7/70
2016-03/4-W-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: CONFIDENTIAL

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 09/04/1998 | P1/b(1) vZ 9/21/2013 |
| 001b. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 09/04/1998 | P1/b(1) vZ 9/21/2013 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2065

FOLDER TITLE:

9807133

2011-1037-F
ke2254

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]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY



Related letter
received 5/14

Latvijas Valsts prezidents

Riga, September 4, 1998

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

Related letter

Mr. President,

Although we signed documents to formalize a partnership between Latvia and the United States in January of this year, our working partnership as presidents of our respective countries began many years earlier. It is my distinct pleasure to report to you the successful completion of one very important undertaking that was launched by our partnership in 1994.

The phased-array radar station in Skrunda, Latvia, was switched off on August 31st at 12:03 PM local time. The phase of dismantling will begin this week.

I am writing to you, Mr. President, to thank you for the critical role you played in bringing us to this historical moment. Thanks to your efforts, and those of order U.S. officials and experts, 1994 marked the culmination of talks between Latvia and Russia which led to the withdrawal of the Russian Armed Forces from Latvian territory.

The agreement on Skrunda was one of the most difficult compromises reached in the process of talks concerning troop withdrawal. Even at the time when the forces of the former Soviet Union were departing from many Eastern European countries, Latvia had to reach a decision to preserve a Russian Federation military facility on its soil.


In this case, your support, as well as that of European statesmen and experts played a crucial role in arriving at a solution. Financial support from the United States, Sweden, and Finland made it possible to achieve a "full" withdrawal and to begin the process of cleaning up and reclaiming the land which had been part of the former military bases. We are particularly grateful to the United States for your generous assistance which brought about the dismantling of a major part of the Skrunda facility in 1994. On August 31, the last phase of this dismantlement project went into effect.

Latvian and Russian cooperation in accordance with *The Agreement on the Skrunda Phased Array Radar Station Legal Status and Temporary Functioning and Period of Dismantlement* is evidence that, in the context of a complex issue, a positive result is yielded when agreements are followed precisely.

In closing, I would like to underline the contribution of the OSCE and its member states, which were involved in fulfillment of the agreement and ensuring the inspection procedures, which in themselves were an essential part of the eventual realization of objectives.

Mr. President, please accept my deep gratitude for what you have done to help Russia and Latvia fulfill an agreement which is important for the stability of Europe and for the existence of cooperative relations in the Baltic Sea region. Throughout your term in office you have been a true friend of the Latvian people. Your friendship, leadership and vision has meant a great deal to our country, and continues to bring us important dividends.

Respectfully yours



Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Republic of Latvia



Latvijas Valsts prezidents

Riga, September 4, 1998

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

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OCT 18 1998

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2016-03M-M-2 (450)
6/20/2023 VZ

In this case, your support, as well as that of European statesmen and experts played a crucial role in arriving at a solution. Financial support from the United States, Sweden, and Finland made it possible to achieve a "full" withdrawal and to begin the process of cleaning up and reclaiming the land which had been part of the former military bases. We are particularly grateful to the United States for your generous assistance which brought about the dismantling of a major part of the Skrunda facility in 1994. On August 31, the last phase of this dismantlement project went into effect.

Latvian and Russian cooperation in accordance with *The Agreement on the Skrunda Phased Array Radar Station Legal Status and Temporary Functioning and Period of Dismantlement* is evidence that, in the context of a complex issue, a positive result is yielded when agreements are followed precisely.

In closing, I would like to underline the contribution of the OSCE and its member states, which were involved in fulfillment of the agreement and ensuring the inspection procedures, which in themselves were an essential part of the eventual realization of objectives.

Mr. President, please accept my deep gratitude for what you have done to help Russia and Latvia fulfill an agreement which is important for the stability of Europe and for the existence of cooperative relations in the Baltic Sea region. Throughout your term in office you have been a true friend of the Latvian people. Your friendship, leadership and vision has meant a great deal to our country, and continues to bring us important dividends.

Respectfully yours

Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Republic of Latvia



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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
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| 001a. memo | Brian Peterman to Donald Kerrick, re: Significant Military Exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2 (1 page) | 06/17/1999 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Joseph Reynes, Jr. to National Security Council Executive Secretary, re: Significant Military Exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2 (1 page) | 06/02/1999 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. cable | Re: Significant Military Exercise Brief (4 pages) | 05/07/1999 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2733

FOLDER TITLE:

9904238

2011-1037-F
ke2255

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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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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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

June 17, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR DONALD KERRICK *(initials)*
THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *(initials)*
FROM: BRIAN PETERMAN *(initials)*
SUBJECT: Significant Military Exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2

Attached at Tab I is a proposed memorandum to the Executive Secretary, Department of Defense, concurring in the military exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2. At Tab II Defense recommends approval and State concurs.

CORNERSTONE 99-2 is a multinational "in the spirit of" Partnership for Peace engineering and medical field training exercise, scheduled for 18 June through 15 August 1999 in Latvia. Approximately 185 U.S. Navy, Air Force and Air National Guard personnel will conduct multilateral training with approximately 225 Latvian, 25 Lithuanian and 25 Estonian Army medical and engineering personnel.

An active public affairs approach is planned.

The critical cancellation date is 18 June 99.

Concurrence by: *in draft SB*
Susan Braden

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Glyn Davies to sign the memorandum at Tab I.

Approved *(initials)* Disapproved _____

Attachments
Tab I Memorandum for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/20/2023
296-0314-M-2

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Reason: 1.5 (c)
Declassify On: 7 May 09
Derived From: NSCINCEUR WASHINGTON GE 070927Z May 99

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4238



OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, DC 20301

JUN 02 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SUBJECT: Significant Military Exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2

The Department of Defense recommends NSC approval of the attached Significant Military Exercise Brief, Exercise CORNERSTONE 99-2. The Department of State concurs with this recommendation.

Please note the critical cancellation date is 18 June 1999. My point of contact for significant military exercise is CDR Tim Glasow, (703) 614-1363/4.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Joseph Reynes, Jr.".

Joseph Reynes, Jr.
Executive Secretary

Attachment:
As stated

UPON REMOVAL OF ATTACHMENT(S)
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PTTCZYUW RUGNOA3849 1270933-CCCC--RUEKAMH RUEKLN0.
ZNY CCCCC

P 070927Z MAY 99

FM USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ37//

TO RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC//J7-JETD//

INFO RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//ASD:ISA(FMRA)//

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//ASD:SOLIC(SOP)//

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//ODTUSD(P)/PS//

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON

DC//ASD:ISA(EUR)/ASD:ISA(NATO)//

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHINGTON DC//ASD:PA/ASD:S&TR(RUE)//

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//PM-ISP//

RHDLNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK//N3/N313//

RHFQAAA/HQ USAFE RAMSTEIN AB GE//DOX/DOXE//

RUCBACM/USCINCOM NORFOLK VA//J7//

RUFQSAC/USCINCEUR ALT SHAPE BE

RHCUAAA/USTRANSCOM SCOTT AFB IL

RHCUMAC/HQ AMC TACC COMMAND CENTER SCOTT AFB IL

RUFQAAA/USNMR SHAPE BE

RUEHRA/USDAO RIGA LG

RUEALMN/TAG MI LANSING MI//MIART-TG//

RUEARNG/ARNGC ARLINGTON VA//NGB-ARO-Y/NGB-ARO-O/NGB-ARZ//

RUFDAAA/CDRUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE//AEAGC/AEAGC-IO/AEAGC-RC-NG//

RUGNOA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ37//

SUBJ: SIGNIFICANT MILITARY EXERCISE BRIEF

MSGID/GENADMIN/ECJ37//

REF/A/ CJCSM 3500.03/6 APR 98//

POC/LCDR DUGAN/ECJ37/DSN 430-4162//

RMKS/1. EXERCISE NAME: CORNERSTONE (CS) 99-2 MEDCEUR 99-2

2. GEOGRAPHIC AREA: LATVIA

3. DATES: CORNERSTONE 99-2 18 JUN - 15 AUG 99

MEDCEUR 99-2 28 JUN - 9 JUL 99

4. CRITICAL CANCELLATION DATE: 18 JUN 99

5. TYPE: REGIONAL, MULTINATIONAL/JOINT PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE (PFP), IN THE SPIRIT OF (ISO) ENGINEERING AND MEDICAL FTX.

6. PURPOSE:

A. TO DEVELOP A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF MILITARY INTEROPERABILITY IN PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS AND TO FOSTER MUTUAL TRUST, RESPECT AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE BALTIC NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES.

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2016-0314-m-2 (4.51)

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B. CS 99-2 AND MEDCEUR 99-2 WILL COMBINE AN ENGINEERING AND A MEDICAL PEACE SUPPORT TRAINING EXERCISES.

C. GIVE MULTINATIONAL/JOINT COMMANDERS AND STAFFS PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE ISO A MULTINATIONAL PEACEKEEPING TRAINING EXERCISE.

D. UPGRADE OPERATIONAL MEANS AND METHODS OF MULTINATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES EMPLOYING DIFFERENT TYPES OF EQUIPMENT WHILE CONDUCTING AND EXERCISING, ACCORDING TO A COMMON SET OF GUIDING PRINCIPLES.

E. ENHANCE INDIVIDUAL SAILOR AND SOLDIER PREPARATION AND READINESS IN EXECUTING MISSIONS AS PART OF A COALITION PEACE SUPPORT FORCE.

F. EXAMINE AND EVALUATE COMPATIBILITY OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND TECHNICAL MEANS TOWARDS CONDUCTING COMBINED PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS.

7. OPLAN EXERCISED: NONE

8. POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS:

A. U.S. COMMITMENT TO EXERCISE CONFIRMED DURING FINAL PLANNING CONFERENCE (FPC) 20-22 APR 99 WITH THE UNDERSTANDING NATIONAL FORCE OFFERINGS WILL BE AVAILABLE VICE BEING COMMITTED TO OPERATIONAL WORLD CONTINGENCIES.
B. POTENTIAL SENSITIVITY TO U.S. AND NATO ENGAGEMENTS IN THE BALTICS IS HIGH. AGGRESSIVE AND OPEN MEDIA, OBSERVER, AND PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM WILL BE UTILIZED.

9. POLITICAL MILITARY SCENARIO SUMMARY: NONE

10. (S) SUMMARY OF KEY EXERCISE EVENTS:
PROPOSED TIME-LINE FOR USN/USAF/MICHIGAN ARMY NATIONAL GUARD UNITS:

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 23 JUN | USAF TALCE ARRIVES |
| 25-27 JUN | MEDCEUR MAIN BODY ARRIVES |
| 27 JUN | OPENING CEREMONY |
| 28-30 JUN | CORNERSTONE MIARNG MAIN BODY ARRIVES |
| 06-08 JUL | CORNERSTONE CB MAIN BODY ARRIVES |
| 07 JUL | VISITORS DAY |
| 08 JUL | CLOSING CEREMONY |
| 09-11 JUL | MEDCEUR MAIN BODY DEPARTS |
| 17-19 JUL | CORNERSTONE MIARNG MAIN BODY DEPARTS |
| 20-22 AUG | CORNERSTONE CB MAIN BODY DEPARTS |
| 20 AUG | USAF TALCE DEPARTS |

11. DIRECTING HEADQUARTERS: USCINCEUR (OSE), AND USNAVEUR (OCE)

12. PARTICIPATING COMMANDS, HEADQUARTERS, AND FORCES:

A. (S) U.S.:

| COMMAND | NO. PERSONS |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| CINCUSNAVEUR | 7 |
| HQ AMC (TALCE) | 12 |
| 16TH AF SUPPORT | 3 |
| NAV MED CLINIC LONDON | 5 |
| NAVHOSP NAPLES IT | 33 |
| BRMED CLINIC LA MAD | 4 |
| NAVHOSP ROTA SP | 10 |
| NAVHOSP SIG IT | 5 |
| NAV MED INFO CEN | 1 |
| NEPMU-7 | 3 |
| NR FLEET HOSP 22 | 2 |
| NRNH PORTSMOUTH | 1 |
| REDCOMSIX | 1 |
| CEN OF EXCEL HAWAII | 8 |
| NMCB THREE | 3 |
| MIANG CORPS ENG | 60 |
| NMCB 21 | 30 |
| TOTAL U.S. | 185 |

B. OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES OR DEPARTMENTS: NONE

C. LATVIAN FORCES:

| COMMAND | NO. PERSONS |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| LATVIAN ARMY PAO | 20 |
| LATVIAN ARMY MEDICAL | 30 |
| LATVIAN ARMY ENGINEERS | 35 |
| LATVIAN ARMY MIL POLICE | 40 |
| LATVIAN ARMY | 100 |
| TOTAL LATVIAN | 225 |

D. LITHUANIA FORCES (PARTICIPATING IN MEDCEUR) 25

E. ESTONIAN FORCES (PARTICIPATING IN MEDCEUR) 25

13. SIMULATED USE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION: NONE

14. COUNTER-DRUG RELATED OPERATIONS OR TRAINING IN EXERCISES: NONE

15. RECOMMENDED PUBLIC AFFAIRS POLICY: PASSIVE UNTIL START OF EXERCISE THEN ACTIVE AND LEADING.

A. IF SERIOUS ACCIDENTS/INCIDENTS INVOLVING U.S. PERSONNEL OCCUR DURING EXERCISE AND RESULT IN MEDIA OR PUBLIC QUERIES, QUERIES WILL BE REFERRED TO CINCUSNAVEUR WHO WILL COORDINATE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE.

B. DURING PERIOD OF EXERCISE ACTIVITY, ALL RESPONSES TO QUERIES WILL BE REFERRED TO THE COMBINED VISITORS BUREAU.

16. GENERAL POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A. DIPLOMATIC INFORMATION: COORDINATION WITH AMEMBASSY RIGA LATVIA, USDAO TALLINN ESTONIA, AND USDAO VILNIUS LITHUANIA.

B. SECURITY RESTRICTIONS: NONE

C. FORCE PROTECTION: ALL U.S. PERSONNEL LEVEL 1 ANTERRORISM/FORCE PROTECTION TRAINING COMPLETED PRIOR TO ARRIVAL IN COUNTRY. HOST COUNTRY PROVIDING FORCE PROTECTION SECURITY FORCES. FORMAL FORCE PROTECTION PLAN AVAILABLE IN EXERCISE OPORDER.

17. PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT: PROVIDES CLEAR INDICATION OF U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION WITH BALTIC NATIONS IN THE SPIRIT OF PFP.

18. ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

A. FLT ROUTING: DIRECT TO/FROM RIGA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.

B. N/A

C. ONE TALCE TEAM

D. PRE-DEPLOYMENT SURVEY REQ: SIGHT SURVEYS COMPLETED DURING SCHEDULED CONFERENCES.

E. NO U.S. FORCES AND EQUIPMENT REMAINING IN COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF A PREVIOUS EXERCISE.

F. NO U.S. FORCES AND EQUIPMENT REMAINING IN COUNTRY AS A RESULT OF THIS EXERCISE.

G. ENVIRONMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS: NO SIGNIFICANT ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT.//

CLASSIFIED BY: MAJ GEN R. E. KEYS, DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS, EUCOM

REASON: 1.5 (C)

DECLASSIFY ON: 07 MAY 09

SEE ABOVE

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. paper | Proposed New Ambassador: Aivis Ronis [Released in Part] (1 page) | ca. 02/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. paper | Proposed New Ambassador: Aivis Ronis [Released in Part] (1 page) | ca. 02/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 4078

FOLDER TITLE:

0001139

2011-1037-F
ke2257

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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Proposed New Ambassador: Aivis Ronis
(Phonetic: EYE-viss ROW-niss)

REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

One of the Latvian Foreign Ministry's best and brightest rising stars, Aivis Ronis will begin his appointment as ambassador in Washington after having concomitantly completed one year as a Fulbright scholar in Baltic Studies at Columbia University in New York and as Latvia's non-resident Ambassador to Turkey. (U)

Ronis is no stranger to "burning both ends of the candle." He completed his Bachelor and Master's degrees in history from 1986-1991 at the Latvian State University in Riga and also served as senior news editor at Latvian State Television from 1989-1991. This workload and his public exposure during Latvia's reestablishment of independence facilitated his transition to the Foreign Ministry, where he served simultaneously as Press Secretary; Assistant to the Minister, and Senior Desk Officer from 1991-1993. For the next two years he worked as First Secretary at the Embassy in Stockholm before his appointment as Under Secretary of State in the Ministry from 1995-1999. (U)

Outgoing former Ambassador Kalnins handpicked Ronis for his brilliance, youth, amiability, and vigor in order to sustain Kalnins' acclaimed public diplomacy efforts in recent years on Latvian security and commercial ties with the United States, especially within the executive and legislative branches of government. While these qualities likely will make Ronis popular and successful in the United States, detractors in Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee refused to support his candidacy, citing Ronis' age and perceived inexperience. Ultimately, President Vike-Freiberga made the decision to nominate him. In fairness to Ronis, the Committee's 4-4 vote was split along party lines, and no other candidate emerged willing to take the responsibility of filling Amb. Kalnins' shoes and to leave political life in Riga. (SBU)

Ronis has developed a reputation as a good listener who frequently consults his diplomatic colleagues on issues of common concern, *i.e.*, NATO and EU enlargement, ESDI, CFE, the transatlantic partnership, and economic growth. A clever and articulate formulator of Latvian policy, Ronis is supportive of a stronger overall U.S. influence in Latvia. He is a good friend of Deputy Foreign Minister Maris Riekstins, both of whom have been active in drafting Latvia's contributions to the U.S.-Baltic Charter and the annual Partnership Commission and Economic and Military Bilateral Working Group meetings. Previous to his Fulbright research program, Ronis had visited the United States often on a variety of official consultation trips. (C)

Aivis Ronis was born in Kuldiga (in west central Latvia) on May 20, 1968. He is married to the former Dace Resnis, and they have no children yet. An avid chess player, Ronis also enjoys playing matches "on-line." He speaks Latvian, English, Swedish, and Russian. (U)

Searches of U.S. Government sources reveal no grounds for objection. (C)

Sources include: State INR; 1.4(c) FBI E.O. 13526

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| 001b. paper | Proposed New Ambassador: Aivis Ronis [Released in Part] (1 page) | ca. 02/2000 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

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NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 4078

FOLDER TITLE:

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RESTRICTION CODES

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(Phonetic: EYE-viss ROW-niss) 6/20/2023 VZ

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|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. letter | President Clinton to President Vaira Vike Freiberga of Latvia (1 page) | 06/20/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Samuel Berger to the President, re: Response to Latvian President (1 page) | 06/17/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. letter | President Vaira Vike Freiberga of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 05/30/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. letter | Prime Minister Andris Berzins of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 05/31/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. letter | President Vaira Vike Freiberga of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 05/30/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. memo | Draft memo from Samuel Berger to the President, re: Response to Latvian President (1 page) | ea-06/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. letter | Draft letter from President Clinton to President Vaira Vike Freiberga of Latvia (1 page) | ea-06/2000 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 4093

FOLDER TITLE:

0003715

2011-1037-F
 ke2258

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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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)]

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 20, 2000

Dear Madam President:

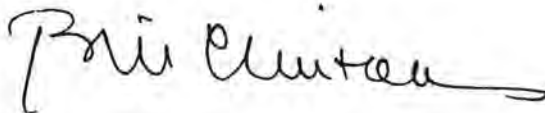
Thank you for writing prior to my recent visit to Moscow. Your concerns were very much in mind during my discussions with President Putin. I am convinced that, based on our talks, President Putin understands clearly the importance the United States attaches to ensuring stable and cooperative relations between Russia and its neighbors, including in the Baltic region. This issue, along with respect for democratic principles and the success of economic reforms, will have a direct impact on Russia's international integration.

To underscore our support for Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, I asked Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott to represent the United States at the June 7 meeting of the U.S.-Baltic Partnership Commission in Tallinn. I welcome the reaffirmation at that meeting of our common vision of a Europe whole and free, and of our goal to create together conditions to complete the integration of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into European and transatlantic institutions.

Deputy Secretary Talbott also used that occasion to confirm publicly that the United States considers recent statements by Russian officials concerning Latvia to be completely unwarranted by the facts. He called for resumption of a full dialogue and enhanced cooperation between Russia and its Baltic neighbors, aimed at developing more stable and prosperous relations in the region. I hope that such a dialogue will begin to develop soon.

Again, thank you for writing on this important matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

Her Excellency
Vaira Vike-Freiberga
President of the Republic of Latvia
Riga

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6-20-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 17, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *MB*
SUBJECT: Response to Latvian President

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By RL NARA, Date 6/20/2023
2016-6314-M-2

Purpose

Respond to President Vike-Freiberga's concerns about Russian policy toward the Baltic states.

Background

President Vike-Freiberga wrote to you just before your meetings in Moscow to express the hope that Russia's rhetoric and policies toward its Baltic neighbors might soften as a result of your visit. Your response points out that we share these concerns and continue to make clear to the Russians our expectation that they will work to promote stability and cooperation with their neighbors, including in the Baltic region.

A letter from Latvia's new Prime Minister, Andris Berzins, accompanied the letter from President Vike-Freiberga. Berzins thanks you for your congratulatory note upon his becoming Prime Minister and outlines his Government's goals in the months ahead. No response is required at this time.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the response to President Vike-Freiberga at Tab A.

Attachments

- Tab A Response to President Vike-Freiberga
- Tab B Incoming Correspondence

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the
United States of America

Riga, May 30, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

June 14, 2000 marks a significant date in the history of US-Baltic relations. For over fifty years, it was a date that reflected the consistent non-recognition policy by the US Government and its people of the illegal incorporation of the Baltic countries into the USSR. This policy of non-recognition provided the people of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania with the hope that the ideals of democracy, freedom and justice would prevail, and result in the renewed independence of these countries.

Ten years ago, Latvia once again resumed responsibility for its own development, and has been actively pursuing its goals of full integration into the Euro-Atlantic community. The outstanding work of your administration in the Baltic policy area deserves true admiration and widespread recognition. With the practical assistance and vocal support of the United States, Latvia has showed visible and consistent progress in strengthening democracy, human rights, economic growth and social integration within the country.

Latvia has received broad support of its efforts both in the United States and in Europe. A vivid example of this occurred during my recent visit to New York City and Harvard University, and during my meetings with Americans of various backgrounds and careers in the political, academic and business communities. These individuals might have held different views on politics and on the immediate challenges that face the Baltic States, but they were united in their belief that Latvia's future lies in a Europe united and free, and in an increasingly close partnership with the United States.

Latvia deeply appreciates the highly supportive and active policy of the United States in the Baltic region during the past years. This policy has taken an important part of your own personal time and consideration, Mr. President, and, as a result, has helped the Baltic region to become one of the most dynamic and stable in Europe. I am extremely pleased to note the existence of ambitious plans for our common work this year in terms of high-level political meetings and active work within the Partnership Charter framework.

JUN 214:57

We in Latvia are looking forward to your upcoming visit to Moscow and to your meetings with Russia's newly elected President, Vladimir Putin. Latvia fully supports a policy of engagement and dialogue with Russia that could contribute to Russia's development as a modern European country. Our own practical efforts in this area clearly follow the principles of the US-Baltic

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Partnership, and are targeted at the establishment of a prosperous and stable European continent. Latvia is ready share the common responsibility of the international community in this regard, not least as the next presiding state of the Council of Europe.

We realize that Russia is currently facing a wide array of social, political, and economic problems. We hope that the new Russia of President Putin will demonstrate its commitment to true European values in its internal and foreign policies. For Latvians, the reversal of some of Russia's obstructive policies and rhetoric towards its Baltic neighbors, which have been an integral part of Russian foreign policy for the past few years, would certainly be a welcome sign of such a commitment. We are closely following the evolving situation that regard.

Mr. President, I wish you every success during your challenging visit. I am convinced that your upcoming meeting with President Putin, like previous Summit meetings you have had with Russian leaders, will bring a renewed sense of security to the people in the Baltic countries.

Yours sincerely,

Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
President of the Republic of Latvia

Please enter into the system.

*Delivered by Latvian Embassy
← Dick Norland 6/1/00.
ACTION: EVR. (Norland) INFO: RUE*



LATVIJAS REPUBLIKAS MINISTRU PREZIDENTS
Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia

90 Brīvības Blvd., Rīga LV-1520, Latvia, tel. (+371) 7332232, fax (+371) 7386598

Riga, 31 May 2000

H. E. Mr. William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to express my most sincere thanks for your letter of congratulations on the occasion of my appointment as the Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia.

Assuming the duties of the Head of the Government of Latvia I fully realize that the challenges we are going to face require lots of energy and hard work. Let me assure you that the newly formed Government of Latvia is prepared to work actively, maintaining continuity of the Government's agenda both internally and internationally.

We highly value the US positive assessment of Latvia's legislation on citizenship, language and minority related issues that are in full compliance with OSCE standards. The Government of Latvia is grateful for the US support for our work on integration of Latvian society. The implementation of the National Program "Integration of Society in Latvia" will strengthen the democratic civil society on the basis of common values. Work in this direction will be one of the priorities for the new Government of Latvia.

We have always greatly appreciated the US political support for Latvia's aspirations to join Euro-Atlantic institutions. We are very pleased that our intensive work with the European Commission has resulted in the invitation to start accession negotiations, as it was decided at EU Helsinki Summit in 1999. We are prepared to proceed with these negotiations quickly and efficiently.

Latvia's goal to join NATO remains unchanged. In this respect, I wish to reiterate my Government's commitment to raise defense spending up to 2% of GDP by year 2003.

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Latvia is engaged in close co-operation with the Baltic states and other aspirant countries preparing for NATO membership. The significance of this co-operation was confirmed in the statement of nine Foreign ministers at the Vilnius conference on 19 May 2000. The inclusion of all European democracies into NATO will complete the historic task of building Europe whole and free. Latvia's Government relies on strong and continuous support of the United States in our way of becoming full NATO member.

I wish to assure you that we will continue to strongly adhere to all our international commitments and to support the efforts to keeping and preserving of peace in all parts of the globe.

I am glad that the relationship between our countries is based on the true partnership and common vision of the future of Europe and the whole contemporary world. The signing of US-Baltic Partnership Charter and its subsequent successful implementation serves as the most important element in strengthening ties between Latvia and the United States that covers all the major spheres of our partnership.

As we approach the third Partnership Commission in June 2000, I would like to note with satisfaction the positive results of the work of the bilateral and quadrilateral bodies created under the Charter, and most recently - the economic working group meeting in April this year.

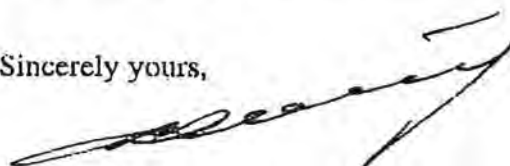
Let me reiterate the deep and continuous interest of Latvia in expanding our economic partnership that undoubtedly has a huge potential for further development. I am planning to visit the United States in September this year. I view it as an opportunity to contribute personally to fostering our dialogue on issues of political and economic co-operation.

Latvia is deeply interested in the growth of economic co-operation and political stability of the Baltic Sea area and we will strongly support all initiatives, aimed at achieving this goal, particularly the US involvement through the NEI projects.

I look forward to the traditionally close co-operation with the US Government on the issues of regional as well as global importance.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sincerely yours,



Andris Bērziņš
Prime Minister of the Republic of Latvia



Latvijas Valsts prezidents

Riga, May 30, 2000

The Hon. Mr. William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President,

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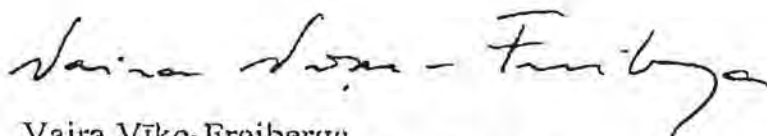
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Mr. President, I wish you every success during your challenging visit. I am convinced that your meeting with President Putin, like previous Summit meetings you have had with Russian leaders, will bring a renewed sense of security to the people in the Baltic countries.

Yours sincerely,



Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga
President of the Republic of Latvia

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Response to Latvian President

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/20/2023
2016-0314-M-2

Purpose

Respond to President Vike-Freiberga's concerns about Russian policy toward the Baltic states.

Background

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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Sincerely,

Her Excellency
Vaira Vike-Freiberga
President of the Republic of Latvia
Riga

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| 002. briefing | Regional issues paper.pdf (10 pages) | n.d. | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

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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)]

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2016-0314-M-2 (4.63)
6/26/2023 V2

~~SECRET/NODIS~~

MEETING WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN
REGIONAL ISSUES

I. Core objectives

- Seek Yeltsin's commitment to hold Milosevic accountable for failure to live up to commitments made to Yeltsin and to the international community on Kosovo. Stress importance of firm and unified UNSC line on Iraq.
- Enlist Yeltsin's support in our Northern European Initiative and convince him to move Russia from confrontation to cooperation and dialogue in its approach to Latvia and Russian minority rights.
- Seek Yeltsin's cooperation on other regional issues such as Cyprus, the Caucasus, and Caspian cooperation.

II. Background

In addition to the European security architecture issues, you will want to address key regional issues with Yeltsin. Kosovo and Iraq -- where Russia seems to be giving undue support to Milosevic and Saddam -- have the potential to cause severe damage to the U.S.-Russia relationship, while Russian sales of missiles to Cyprus and pressuring Latvia are increasing tensions in those respective regions.

In the past, you have successfully appealed to Yeltsin's ardent desire for Russia to be treated as a member of the club of responsible nations to move him away from the zero-sum approaches sometimes favored by his foreign minister and toward policies more in concert with us and our allies. The achievements of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and Russia's cooperation in Bosnia come to mind. You may need to take the same approach in pushing Yeltsin to adjust Moscow's policies toward Kosovo, Iraq, Cyprus and Latvia.

You will also want to discuss the Caucasus and Caspian region. Yeltsin, again fortified by Primakov, has publicly complained about our involvement in what he still considers Russia's sphere of influence. You should encourage Yeltsin

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to think more of spheres of cooperation than spheres of influence and point out to him the clear win-win benefits of U.S.-Russian cooperation in opening the Caspian region to world market forces.

Kosovo You will want to point out to Yeltsin we share the same goal -- a peaceful resolution of the conflict. It is clear, however, that despite his words, Milosevic has spurned the commitments he made to the international community, including President Yeltsin. You will want to emphasize our commitment to diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis, as Chris Hill's mission typifies, but stress that patience is running out and force may soon be necessary to halt the increasing civilian suffering as Milosevic and the UCK continue their bloody dance. You may need to brief Yeltsin on NATO's plans and elicit Yeltsin's support to make peace in Kosovo another NATO-Russia achievement. Short of that, you'll want at a minimum to secure Yeltsin's pledge that Russia will not isolate itself from the rest of the contact group, should drastic action on Kosovo prove necessary. You should seek Yeltsin's commitment to exert maximum pressure on Milosevic and the UCK to pull back and negotiate.

Iraq The Russians continue to argue that the UNSC's failure to show Iraq "light at the end of the tunnel" provokes conflicts with Iraq. Primakov stated in an August letter to the Secretary that the Iraq nuclear file should be closed, and that Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction or the capacity to manufacture them, despite clear evidence to the contrary. The Secretary sent back a tough reply setting the record straight.

You will want to review the state of play with Yeltsin, and point out that Saddam will do anything he can to exploit U.S.-Russian and UNSC differences. You passed a message to Yeltsin that Iraq's early August suspension of cooperation with UNSCOM is an attack on the institutions and authority of the United Nations and the Security Council, and you will want to underline the need for continued vigilance to counter Iraqi obstructionism.

Cyprus Our repeated approaches to the Russians to cancel the S-300 deal have been rebuffed, most recently when the Secretary raised it with Primakov in Manila in July. Primakov made clear, however, that the final decision on where the missiles are delivered is up to the Greek

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Cypriots (Clerides confirmed to us that Cyprus will pay the Russians in full for the missiles regardless of their disposition). The Greek Cypriots and Greeks, judging the S-300 deal a mistake, have now agreed with our proposal for an "air regime" that would halt Greek and Turkish combat overflights of Cyprus. The Turks will be hard to convince.

You should try to obtain Yeltsin's agreement to work cooperatively with us and the Cypriots to find a solution to the S-300 missile issue that will keep the missiles off the island.

Latvia Russia's hard line against Latvia, including economic pressure, for alleged discrimination against its large Russian minority is hindering our efforts to encourage greater cooperation among the Nordics, Baltics and Russia and is increasing tension in the area. Yeltsin made positive statements in May in Birmingham, saying that there would be no sanctions against Latvia. He also said he would meet with Latvian president Ulmanis, but his press spokesman immediately took that back. In June the Latvian parliament amended its citizenship and naturalization laws to bring them into compliance with OSCE recommendation, but Moscow claims this is not enough. Russian politicians continue to criticize Latvia, while Moscow attempts to hinder the flow of trade upon which Latvia depends. In response, the nationalist Krasts government in Riga garnered enough support for the citizenship law to be put to a referendum, which will likely lead to further deterioration in relations with Russia. The referendum will probably be held concurrently with general elections October 3. We cannot predict its outcome. President Ulmanis is opposed to Krasts' efforts and asked for our help in getting him in touch with Yeltsin about taking a more constructive approach to towards Latvia. We should try to get Yeltsin to take the high ground, appeal to his historic role in helping the Balts achieve their independence and encourage him to accept Ulmanis' request to restart the dialogue. You should stress that perceived Russian threats and attempts to move the goalposts on the citizenship law only strengthen Latvia's chauvinistic nationalists and makes resolution of Russian minority rights more difficult.

Caucasus Russia remains neuralgic about U.S. involvement in the Caucasus. Primakov considers the Caucasus his

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special preserve and has sought to limit the international role in peacemaking in Georgia while striking off on his own, outside the Minsk Group, to address the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. His efforts have achieved stunning failure. In Georgia, Russian peace-keepers cannot keep the peace. In N-K the peace process is at stalemate. Russia continues to oppose a UN-recommended self-protection force for the UN observer mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) as part of general aversion to the introduction of any non-CIS forces into the former Soviet Union. This not only affects the Abkhazia conflict; it also stakes out a Russian position reserving to themselves a potential peacekeeping force in Nagorno-Karabakh - a Yeltsin assertion you rejected in 1994.

You should impress upon Yeltsin that only international efforts have a chance of bringing stability and prosperity to the region. Neither Russia nor the U.S. can do it alone. If our partnership is to mean anything, it should allow us to work together to resolve regional conflicts anywhere in the world.

You should encourage Yeltsin to join you in instructing our representatives to reinvigorate the Minsk Group and press Armenia to end its opposition to our jointly agreed proposals for a step-by step approach for resolving the N-K stalemate.

Caspian Energy Securing constructive Russian engagement and commercial participation in the east-west corridor and multiple pipelines is a key element of our Caspian strategy. In his earlier role as Energy Minister, now former Prime Minister Kiriyenko, along with other Russian officials, indicated a desire to enhance U.S.-Russian cooperation on Caspian energy development (and Russian oil companies have played a constructive role); however, some elements of the Russian government -- particularly FM Primakov -- remain hostile to U.S. interest in the region. During his July meeting with Kiriyenko, the Vice President stressed our desire to work cooperatively with Russia to develop and transport Caspian energy resources to the benefit of all concerned and suggested this cooperation could be cited by you and Yeltsin in September. Kiriyenko appeared receptive to this proposal.

You should encourage Yeltsin to look at the Caspian as an area of potentially lucrative cooperation, not influence. Russia alone cannot develop the riches of the Caspian, but

with U.S. firms, both the U.S. and Russia could profit handsomely as well as ensure greater stability for all the countries in the region, a result surely in Russia's security interests. (FYI: During your visit, deputy Foreign Ministers from the five states surrounding the Caspian sea, including Iran, will be in Moscow discussing the legal status of the Sea.)

III. POINTS TO BE MADE

Kosovo

- Current events in Kosovo represent the gravest threat to European peace and security. We cannot sit on the sidelines while hundreds of people are being killed and tens of thousands are driven from their homes. We cannot accept another Bosnia.
- Serb repression of civilians in Kosovo has spurred a cycle of violence and invigorated the extremists in Kosovo. The deteriorating situation threatens to cause a wider Balkan war.
- We must join in sending a strong message to President Milosevic that he must live up to the commitments made to you in Moscow and to the rest of the international community. He must end the excessive use of force against civilians; allow full and uninterrupted access; help refugees return; enter a serious dialogue with the Albanian community.
- By pursuing a military strategy he has made the Kosovar Albanians reluctant to come to the negotiating table.
- We ask that you use your channels to urge Milosevic to cease hostilities. We know you oppose military intervention, but Milosevic's intransigence has forced NATO to accelerate contingency planning. Obviously, our strong preference is for a diplomatic outcome that restores peace and respects rights.
- To this end, U.S. Ambassador (to FYR Macedonia) Christopher Hill continues meeting with Belgrade and Kosovar authorities to explore the ground for launching a dialogue.

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- You and I worked together to stop the slaughter in Bosnia; we need to do the same for Kosovo.

Iraq

- It has been almost a month since Iraq suspended cooperation with UNSCOM.
- Since then, we have been working with the Council in a deliberate, determined manner to convince Iraq to resume cooperation.
- The Council, however, has been unsuccessful in convincing Iraq to reverse course. This situation cannot continue. Iraq cannot continue to flout the will of the Council and international community.

If resolution is still in play:

- The Council is at a critical juncture. Will it act decisively to counter this challenge to its authority, or will it abrogate its responsibilities, set bad precedent for others to ignore Council decisions?
- The resolution to suspend sanctions reviews until Iraq resumes cooperation is a measured, appropriate response. Russia should support this.

If asked about including language about comprehensive review: Discussion of the suggestions the SYG has put forth -- including for a "comprehensive review" -- should follow, not precede a return to Iraqi compliance. The "compromise" proposal put forward by your Mission in New York is unacceptable; it would reward Baghdad for embarking on the current confrontation.

- If the Council fails to act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, we will have laid the foundation for taking our own decisive action. Iraq's ongoing violation cannot be allowed to continue unchecked.

If resolution adopted with Russian support:

- Appreciate Russia's support on the resolution.
- The Council must remain united if it is to convince Iraq it has no choice but to back down.

If Russia abstains on resolution:

- We were deeply disturbed by your abstention on the resolution suspending sanctions reviews.
- I have made clear on a number of occasions that this is an issue affecting vital U.S. interests. The resolution was a measured response to Iraq's unacceptable actions.
- Cutting deals with Saddam, or rewarding him for his violations is precisely the wrong thing to do.
- Your action in the Council will embolden Saddam further to challenge the will of the international community.
- If the Council cannot act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, it will render itself irrelevant, leaving us little choice but to take our own decisive action.

Cyprus

- Solving the Cyprus dispute is a high priority for the U.S. We will continue to work vigorously to promote a Cyprus settlement under the UN umbrella. We want to work with you in the Security Council to achieve a solution based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation.
- The S-300 missile deal is complicating efforts to get settlement talks restarted. The Greek Cypriots now appear to realize the dangers the missiles pose to stability on the island and are looking ways that would keep them from being delivered. I urge you to work with us and with the Greek Cypriots to find a solution that addresses these needs. Your agreement not to deliver the missiles could be the deal-maker.

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Latvia

- You were instrumental in helping the Baltic states to regain their independence. That forward thinking and spirit of constructive cooperation is needed now.
- I understand your concern about the situation of the Russian minority in Latvia. We are committed to ensuring full human and civil rights for all people, citizens and non-citizens.
- Latvia's new citizenship law meets all the OSCE's essential recommendations on citizenship and naturalization, which are the only benchmarks to judge this issue. We are focused on defeating the referendum and implementing the legislation in October. You can help by encouraging Russian speakers to take advantage of the new law when it comes into effect.
- I'd like you to consider reestablishing a dialogue with Latvia, and perhaps even meeting with President Ulmanis now that the new citizenship legislation is passed.
- I would like us to work together to contribute to regional cooperation in Northern Europe. Why don't we ask Madeleine and Yevgeniy to see whether they can't find some creative ways to use our ties to boost regional cooperation, including with the Baltic states?

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- We need to look at ways to cooperate in the Caucasus. The deadlock of peace talks and the lack of progress in dealing with the Abkhaz and Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts hurts all of us.
- May hostilities in Abkhazia and the recent deaths of Russian peacekeepers underscore the need for us to cooperate on a coordinated policy toward peacekeeping arrangements there. Know you've had objections to a protection unit for UNOMIG, but urge you to reexamine the issue given recent events.
- This is not a zero-sum game: we both want peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. Need to work together with OSCE and UN to foster political compromise,

democracy and economic reform. If we can act jointly, substantial economic and commercial opportunities will open up to you, and Russia's overall position will improve.

- Maybe this is hard to envisage now, but the potential is so great, let's instruct our people to intensify their efforts to come up with ideas. Let's get the Minsk Group moving.

Caspian

- Russia and the United States have much to gain from the commercial development and transport of Caspian energy resources. The Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) project, which we both supported, exemplifies the benefits of our cooperation.
- We have parallel interests in promoting stable, prosperous states in the region and preventing Iran from establishing a dominant position in Caspian energy development. Investors and regional governments will welcome our joint statement expressing our commitment to cooperate on Caspian energy and pipeline development.

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Regional issues paper

Dftd: Eur/Rus:jmpommersheim/et. al. 7-6763

Cleared: EUR/RUS:myovanovitch ok
P:Sgwaltney ok
D:Kdoherty ok (subs)
S/NIS:Gkrol / Sestanovich
S/P:Dhamilton (info) / Grumer ok
CACEN:Bdonahue ok/ Ken Yalowitz ok
S/NIS/RC:Premier ok / Don Keyser ok
EUR:Rasmus ok
NEA/NGA:Acorky/Tbarry ok
S/NIS/PRA:CmcClelland ok Dcagan (info)
EUR/SCE:Choh / Mpalmer ok (in draft - subject to
change)

(Cyprus) EUR/SE:Dbauer ok
Tmiller ok
Bhartley ok

(Latvia)
DRLeader ok
EUR/NB:GMilovanovic ok
EUR/RPM:SPenhune ok
DRL/BA:Tressler ok
P:ERubin ok
D:JBass ok

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MEETING WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN
REGIONAL ISSUES

I. Core objectives

- Seek Yeltsin's commitment to hold Milosevic accountable for failure to live up to commitments made to Yeltsin and to the international community on Kosovo. Stress importance of firm and unified UNSC line on Iraq.
- Enlist Yeltsin's support in our Northern European Initiative and convince him to move Russia from confrontation to cooperation and dialogue in its approach to Latvia and Russian minority rights.
- Seek Yeltsin's cooperation on other regional issues such as Cyprus, the Caucasus, and Caspian cooperation.

II. Background

In addition to the European security architecture issues, you will want to address key regional issues with Yeltsin. Kosovo and Iraq -- where Russia seems to be giving undue support to Milosevic and Saddam -- have the potential to cause severe damage to the U.S.-Russia relationship, while Russian sales of missiles to Cyprus and pressuring Latvia are increasing tensions in those respective regions.

In the past, you have successfully appealed to Yeltsin's ardent desire for Russia to be treated as a member of the club of responsible nations to move him away from the zero-sum approaches sometimes favored by his foreign minister and toward policies more in concert with us and our allies. The achievements of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and Russia's cooperation in Bosnia come to mind. You may need to take the same approach in pushing Yeltsin to adjust Moscow's policies toward Kosovo, Iraq, Cyprus and Latvia.

You will also want to discuss the Caucasus and Caspian region. Yeltsin, again fortified by Primakov, has publicly complained about our involvement in what he still considers Russia's sphere of influence. You should encourage Yeltsin

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to think more of spheres of cooperation than spheres of influence and point out to him the clear win-win benefits of U.S.-Russian cooperation in opening the Caspian region to world market forces.

Kosovo You will want to point out to Yeltsin we share the same goal -- a peaceful resolution of the conflict. It is clear, however, that despite his words, Milosevic has spurned the commitments he made to the international community, including President Yeltsin. You will want to emphasize our commitment to diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis, as Chris Hill's mission typifies, but stress that patience is running out and force may soon be necessary to halt the increasing civilian suffering as Milosevic and the UCK continue their bloody dance. You may need to brief Yeltsin on NATO's plans and elicit Yeltsin's support to make peace in Kosovo another NATO-Russia achievement. Short of that, you'll want at a minimum to secure Yeltsin's pledge that Russia will not isolate itself from the rest of the contact group, should drastic action on Kosovo prove necessary. You should seek Yeltsin's commitment to exert maximum pressure on Milosevic and the UCK to pull back and negotiate.

Iraq The Russians continue to argue that the UNSC's failure to show Iraq "light at the end of the tunnel" provokes conflicts with Iraq. Primakov stated in an August letter to the Secretary that the Iraq nuclear file should be closed, and that Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction or the capacity to manufacture them, despite clear evidence to the contrary. The Secretary sent back a tough reply setting the record straight.

You will want to review the state of play with Yeltsin, and point out that Saddam will do anything he can to exploit U.S.-Russian and UNSC differences. You passed a message to Yeltsin that Iraq's early August suspension of cooperation with UNSCOM is an attack on the institutions and authority of the United Nations and the Security Council, and you will want to underline the need for continued vigilance to counter Iraqi obstructionism.

Cyprus Our repeated approaches to the Russians to cancel the S-300 deal have been rebuffed, most recently when the Secretary raised it with Primakov in Manila in July. Primakov made clear, however, that the final decision on where the missiles are delivered is up to the Greek

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Cypriots (Clerides confirmed to us that Cyprus will pay the Russians in full for the missiles regardless of their disposition). The Greek Cypriots and Greeks, judging the S-300 deal a mistake, have now agreed with our proposal for an "air regime" that would halt Greek and Turkish combat overflights of Cyprus. The Turks will be hard to convince.

You should try to obtain Yeltsin's agreement to work cooperatively with us and the Cypriots to find a solution to the S-300 missile issue that will keep the missiles off the island.

Latvia Russia's hard line against Latvia, including economic pressure, for alleged discrimination against its large Russian minority is hindering our efforts to encourage greater cooperation among the Nordics, Baltics and Russia and is increasing tension in the area. Yeltsin made positive statements in May in Birmingham, saying that there would be no sanctions against Latvia. He also said he would meet with Latvian president Ulmanis, but his press spokesman immediately took that back. In June the Latvian parliament amended its citizenship and naturalization laws to bring them into compliance with OSCE recommendation, but Moscow claims this is not enough. Russian politicians continue to criticize Latvia, while Moscow attempts to hinder the flow of trade upon which Latvia depends. In response, the nationalist Krasts government in Riga garnered enough support for the citizenship law to be put to a referendum, which will likely lead to further deterioration in relations with Russia. The referendum will probably be held concurrently with general elections October 3. We cannot predict its outcome. President Ulmanis is opposed to Krasts' efforts and asked for our help in getting him in touch with Yeltsin about taking a more constructive approach to towards Latvia. We should try to get Yeltsin to take the high ground, appeal to his historic role in helping the Balts achieve their independence and encourage him to accept Ulmanis' request to restart the dialogue. You should stress that perceived Russian threats and attempts to move the goalposts on the citizenship law only strengthen Latvia's chauvinistic nationalists and makes resolution of Russian minority rights more difficult.

Caucasus Russia remains neuralgic about U.S. involvement in the Caucasus. Primakov considers the Caucasus his

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special preserve and has sought to limit the international role in peacemaking in Georgia while striking off on his own, outside the Minsk Group, to address the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. His efforts have achieved stunning failure. In Georgia, Russian peace-keepers cannot keep the peace. In N-K the peace process is at stalemate. Russia continues to oppose a UN-recommended self-protection force for the UN observer mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) as part of general aversion to the introduction of any non-CIS forces into the former Soviet Union. This not only affects the Abkhazia conflict; it also stakes out a Russian position reserving to themselves a potential peacekeeping force in Nagorno-Karabakh - a Yeltsin assertion you rejected in 1994.

You should impress upon Yeltsin that only international efforts have a chance of bringing stability and prosperity to the region. Neither Russia nor the U.S. can do it alone. If our partnership is to mean anything, it should allow us to work together to resolve regional conflicts anywhere in the world.

You should encourage Yeltsin to join you in instructing our representatives to reinvigorate the Minsk Group and press Armenia to end its opposition to our jointly agreed proposals for a step-by step approach for resolving the N-K stalemate.

Caspian Energy Securing constructive Russian engagement and commercial participation in the east-west corridor and multiple pipelines is a key element of our Caspian strategy. In his earlier role as Energy Minister, now former Prime Minister Kiriyenko, along with other Russian officials, indicated a desire to enhance U.S.-Russian cooperation on Caspian energy development (and Russian oil companies have played a constructive role); however, some elements of the Russian government -- particularly FM Primakov -- remain hostile to U.S. interest in the region. During his July meeting with Kiriyenko, the Vice President stressed our desire to work cooperatively with Russia to develop and transport Caspian energy resources to the benefit of all concerned and suggested this cooperation could be cited by you and Yeltsin in September. Kiriyenko appeared receptive to this proposal.

You should encourage Yeltsin to look at the Caspian as an area of potentially lucrative cooperation, not influence. Russia alone cannot develop the riches of the Caspian, but

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with U.S. firms, both the U.S. and Russia could profit handsomely as well as ensure greater stability for all the countries in the region, a result surely in Russia's security interests. (FYI: During your visit, deputy Foreign Ministers from the five states surrounding the Caspian sea, including Iran, will be in Moscow discussing the legal status of the Sea.)

III. POINTS TO BE MADE

Kosovo

- Current events in Kosovo represent the gravest threat to European peace and security. We cannot sit on the sidelines while hundreds of people are being killed and tens of thousands are driven from their homes. We cannot accept another Bosnia.
- Serb repression of civilians in Kosovo has spurred a cycle of violence and invigorated the extremists in Kosovo. The deteriorating situation threatens to cause a wider Balkan war.
- We must join in sending a strong message to President Milosevic that he must live up to the commitments made to you in Moscow and to the rest of the international community. He must end the excessive use of force against civilians; allow full and uninterrupted access; help refugees return; enter a serious dialogue with the Albanian community.
- By pursuing a military strategy he has made the Kosovar Albanians reluctant to come to the negotiating table.
- We ask that you use your channels to urge Milosevic to cease hostilities. We know you oppose military intervention, but Milosevic's intransigence has forced NATO to accelerate contingency planning. Obviously, our strong preference is for a diplomatic outcome that restores peace and respects rights.
- To this end, U.S. Ambassador (to FYR Macedonia) Christopher Hill continues meeting with Belgrade and Kosovar authorities to explore the ground for launching a dialogue.

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- You and I worked together to stop the slaughter in Bosnia; we need to do the same for Kosovo.

Iraq

- It has been almost a month since Iraq suspended cooperation with UNSCOM.
- Since then, we have been working with the Council in a deliberate, determined manner to convince Iraq to resume cooperation.
- The Council, however, has been unsuccessful in convincing Iraq to reverse course. This situation cannot continue. Iraq cannot continue to flout the will of the Council and international community.

If resolution is still in play:

- The Council is at a critical juncture. Will it act decisively to counter this challenge to its authority, or will it abrogate its responsibilities, set bad precedent for others to ignore Council decisions?
- The resolution to suspend sanctions reviews until Iraq resumes cooperation is a measured, appropriate response. Russia should support this.

If asked about including language about comprehensive review: Discussion of the suggestions the SYG has put forth -- including for a "comprehensive review" -- should follow, not precede a return to Iraqi compliance. The "compromise" proposal put forward by your Mission in New York is unacceptable; it would reward Baghdad for embarking on the current confrontation.

- If the Council fails to act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, we will have laid the foundation for taking our own decisive action. Iraq's ongoing violation cannot be allowed to continue unchecked.

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If resolution adopted with Russian support:

- Appreciate Russia's support on the resolution.
- The Council must remain united if it is to convince Iraq it has no choice but to back down.

If Russia abstains on resolution:

- We were deeply disturbed by your abstention on the resolution suspending sanctions reviews.
- I have made clear on a number of occasions that this is an issue affecting vital U.S. interests. The resolution was a measured response to Iraq's unacceptable actions.
- Cutting deals with Saddam, or rewarding him for his violations is precisely the wrong thing to do.
- Your action in the Council will embolden Saddam further to challenge the will of the international community.
- If the Council cannot act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, it will render itself irrelevant, leaving us little choice but to take our own decisive action.

Cyprus

- Solving the Cyprus dispute is a high priority for the U.S. We will continue to work vigorously to promote a Cyprus settlement under the UN umbrella. We want to work with you in the Security Council to achieve a solution based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation.
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Regional issues paper

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Cleared: EUR/RUS:myovanovitch ok
P:Sgwaltney ok
D:Kdoherty ok (subs)
S/NIS:Gkrol / Sestanovich
S/P:Dhamilton (info) / Grumer ok
CACEN:Bdonahue ok/ Ken Yalowitz ok
S/NIS/RC:Premier ok / Don Keyser ok
EUR:Rasmus ok
NEA/NGA:Acorky/Tbarry ok
S/NIS/PRA:CmcClelland ok Dcagan (info)
EUR/SCE:Choh / Mpalmer ok (in draft - subject to
change)

(Cyprus) EUR/SE:Dbauer ok
Tmiller ok
Bhartley ok

(Latvia)
DRLeader ok
EUR/NB:GMilovanovic ok
EUR/RPM:SPenhune ok
DRL/BA:Tressler ok
P:ERubin ok
D:JBass ok

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy, and Germany, July 5-12, 1994 (6 pages) | 06/03/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to Italy for the G-7 Economic Summit, July 8-10, 1994 (3 pages) | 06/08/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

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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)]

- 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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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 3, 1994

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (4,08)
6/20/2023 v2

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to
Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany, July 5-12, 1994
(U)

The Department of State should provide appropriate briefing materials for the President's July trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany. The Department of State should coordinate with other concerned USG agencies in preparing this material. All materials are **due no later than COB June 17**. Additional briefing materials will be requested in a separate tasker for the G-7 Summit portion of the trip early next week. This material should include, but is not limited to the following: (S)

PUBLIC STATEMENTS:
(Double-spaced on plain bond paper)

Latvia

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at Freedom Monument
Contingency Remarks to U.S. Embassy Staff

Poland

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Ghetto Uprising
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Warsaw Uprising
Draft Remarks for at the Praga Labor Training Center
Draft Remarks for Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
Draft Remarks for Meeting with U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner

Italy

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement

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Germany

Contingency Bonn Arrival Statement
Contingency Berlin Arrival Statement
Berlin Arrival Statements
Contingency Departure Statement
Remarks to U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Bonn Citizens
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Berlin Citizens

PRESS MATERIAL:

(Double-spaced on plain bond paper; Q's and A's should be single-spaced with double space in between each one)

Latvia

Press Statement (after meeting w/Three Baltic Presidents)
Press Qs and As

Poland

Press Statement (after meeting with President Walesa)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak)
Press Qs and As

Italy (G-7)

Press Statement (after meeting with President Yeltsin)
Press Statement
Press Qs and As (to include Russia, Japan and Canadian Qs and As)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Hata)

Germany

Press Statement (after meeting with President Herzog)
Press Statement (after meeting with Chancellor Kohl)
Press Statement (after EU Summit)
Qs and As (to include EU issues)

BACKGROUND PAPERS:

(One page long with the exception of very complex topics, single-spaced in full sentence format)

Latvia

Political/Economic Overview for Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia
U.S. Assistance to the Baltics
Russia's Relations with the Baltic Countries
Status of Troop Withdrawals: Latvia/Lithuania
Status of Russia-Estonia Withdrawal Negotiations
Baltic-American Enterprise Fund
Russia's Ethnic Minority in the Baltic Countries
Kaliningrad

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Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance
Paldiski Naval Base Clean-up
U.S. Embassy Riga

Poland

U.S. Missions in Poland
Polish Politics
Polish Economic Achievements, Problems
NATO, PFP and Poland
Russian Views of CEE; Russia-NATO Relations
Polish-EU Relations; Market Access; Balladur Pact
U.S.-Polish Bilateral Issues
U.S.-Polish Trade Issues: Business and Economic Agreement,
GATT Reaccession, Market Access, FAA Certification
U.S.-Polish Military Relations (DoD Lead)
Prague Initiatives Checklist, including state-of-play on
each
U.S. Investment in Poland: Current, Prospects, Obstacles;
CEE Trade and Investment Conference
Post-1989 U.S. Assistance to Poland
IFI Programs with Poland (Treasury Lead)
RFE/RL
Future Directions for Cooperation, Assistance (including
initiatives under interagency review):
 Post-Privatization Assistance
 Social Sector Restructuring
 Housing
 Micro-lending/training
 Law Enforcement
 Labor Programs in Poland, Past and Prospective (Labor
 Lead)
One page paper for each Foreign Minister at Ministerial,
including: Serbian Sanctions/Balkan Beltway, Regional
Issues, PFP, Assistance

U.S.-EU Summit

CEE: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
NIS: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
U.S.-EU Relations: Requirements, Status, Implementation
of 1990 Declaration; Prospects for Future Cooperation
on "Third Pillar" Issues
Middle East/Maghreb: EU concerns and Assistance Programs
Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia
Status of Uruguay Round Implementation and Leftover Issues
(e.g., audio-visuals)
Post Uruguay Round Trade Agenda (USTR Lead)
Dispute Over Competencies between Commission and Member
States
Bilateral Economic Disputes (e.g., French Fish, Spanish
Dubbing, etc.) (USTR Lead)
EU Views of Macro-economic Coordination/Policy (Treasury
Lead)

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Germany

Political/Military:

Germany and the East
Military Drawdown in Germany/Europe
Burdensharing and Residual Value
Germany's Role in Peacekeeping and Out-of-Area
Berlin Brigade

Bilateral Issues:

Hugo Princz
Claims
Berlin Document Center
German-American Academic Council
New Traditions
The Move to Berlin
U.S. Missions in Germany

Domestic Issues:

Domestic Political Situation
Right-wing Extremism
Minorities in Germany
Domestic Economic Situation and Unification
Germany's Social Safety Net

International Issues:

Germany's International Role
Germany and the EU Presidency
Germany and the East: Economic Relations/Assistance
Germany and Iran

BRIEFING MATERIALS:

(Two-page paper with a paragraph on "Context of Meeting", a paragraph on "Your Objectives" and suggested talking points)

Latvia

Meeting with Three Baltic Presidents
Business Event

Poland

Meeting with President Walesa
State Dinner Hosted by President Walesa
Meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak
Meeting with Marshalls (Speakers) of Sejm and Senate (Brief)
Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
Contingency Meeting for U.S. Business Community Event

Italy (G-7)

Meeting with President Yeltsin
Meeting with Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi
Meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Cretien
Meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Hata

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For all foreign Heads of State or Government who will be present at the G-7 Summit, one-page contingency briefing papers should be prepared for each country represented. These papers should have one to two paragraphs of talking points and background.

Germany

Official Dinner Hosted by Chancellor Kohl in Bonn
Meeting with President Herzog
Meeting with Chancellor Kohl
Meeting with Party Chairman Waigel
Meeting with Party Chairman Scharping
Meeting with Party Chairman Kinkel
Meeting with Mayor Hans Daniels
Meeting with Mayor E. Diepgen
Private Dinner at Oggersheim
EU Summit
Inactivation of Berlin Brigade

SCENESETTERS:

For all cultural or recreational events in which the President or Mrs. Clinton might participate, ONE-page papers should be prepared which briefly lay out background and information on the site to be visited. These should be in full sentence style, single spaced with the title centered on the page. At a minimum, scenesetters should be prepared on the following potential sites:

Latvia

Freedom Monument
Government Meeting House
Old Town Square

Poland

Presidential Palace
Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
Monument to Ghetto Uprising
Monument to Warsaw Uprising
Polish-American Building Crafts Training Center
Polish Parliament Building (Seim)
Stock Exchange
Warsaw Old Town

Italy

Background on the City of Naples

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Germany

Villa Hammerschmidt
Chancellor Office
Oggersheim
Petersberg
Bonn Marketplace
Plittersdorf
Tegel Airport
Brandenburg Gate
Reichstag
Clay Casern
Oranienburg Synagogue
Mozart House

BIOGRAPHIES:

Biographies should be provided on all foreign officials that the President or Mrs. Clinton may meet during their stay in Europe.

While the State Department bears primary responsibility for the preparation of these briefing materials, all other appropriate agencies should be closely involved in the preparation of these papers and all final papers should be fully cleared. All briefing material should include an IBM compatible diskette as well as a hard copy. (C)

for Kristine A. Kenney
William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Edward Knight
Executive Secretary
Department of the Treasury

COL. Robert P. McAleer
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

Mr. Michael Kerr
Executive Secretary
Department of Labor

Mr. Fred Montgomery
Executive Director for Policy Coordination
U.S. Trade Representative

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

MR. EDWARD KNIGHT
Executive Secretary
Department of the Treasury

MR. ANTHONY A. DAS
Executive Secretary
Department of Commerce

MR. MICHAEL KERR
Executive Secretary
Department of Labor



DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (4,04)
6/20/2013 WZ

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to
Italy for the G-7 Economic Summit, July 8-10, 1994
(U)

Each department should provide appropriate briefing materials for the G-7 Economic Summit portion of the President's July trip as tasked below. All materials are due no later than COB June 17. This material should include, but is not limited to the following: (C)

PRESS MATERIAL: Lead Drafter
(Double-spaced on plain bond paper; Q's and A's should be single-spaced with double space in between each one)

Press Qs and As State
Press Themes for the Summit State

BACKGROUND PAPERS: Lead Drafter
(Two-pages long with the exception of very complex topics, single-spaced in full sentence format. Each background paper should include a section on objectives, background and G-7 positions (where appropriate).) Please include data tables and/or charts where appropriate, i.e., G-7 country papers and assistance papers.

Growth/Employment
World Economic Outlook (summary of all G-7) Treasury
G-7 Country Papers Treasury
U.S. Economic Outlook Treasury
G-7 Jobs Conference Commerce/Labor

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Trade

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Overall objectives (UR implementation, WTO, new issues): | USTR |
| UR Implementation (one-page background) | |
| WTO/Institutional (one-page background) | |
| New Issues (one-page background) | |

Russia

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Economic Outlook | Treasury |
| Political Outlook | State |
| IMF Resources (SDR allocation, access increase) | Treasury |
| U.S. Bilateral Assistance | State |
| Other G-7 Bilateral Assistance | State |
| Tokyo Package Follow-up/Data Table (multilateral) | Treasury |
| Paris Club Debt Deal (one-page background) | State |

Ukraine

| | |
|------------------------------------------|----------|
| Economic Outlook | Treasury |
| Political Outlook | State |
| Chernobyl | State |
| Nuclear Safety Working Group/NSA Account | State |

Eastern Europe

| | |
|--------------------|-------|
| Economic Situation | State |
| Assistance | State |

Developing Countries

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| Debt Strategy | Treasury |
| Commodities (Japan/France initiative) | State |
| Trade and Investment Issues | State |

Environment

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Overall Issues/U.S. Objectives (Population, Climate Change, MBDs) | State |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|

Miscellaneous

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Money Laundering/FTFS | State |
| Illicit Payments | State |
| History of the G-7 | State |

Political Issues (One to two pages long, to include objectives,
background and other G-7 positions)

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Arab League Boycott | State |
| South Africa | State |
| Middle East Peace Process | State |
| Middle East: Iran/Iraq/Libya | State |
| Former Yugoslavia | State |
| North Korea | State |
| Algeria and French Objectives | State |
| Post-COCOM Issues | State |
| Non-proliferation | State |
| Terrorism/Narcotics | State |
| Human Rights/Democracy (Burma) | State |
| UN Issues/Peacekeeping | State |
| OECD Secretary General Race | State |

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SCENESETTERS:

Lead Drafter

For all cultural or recreational events in which the President or Mrs. Clinton might participate during the G-7 Summit, ONE-page papers should be prepared which briefly lay out history and background on the site to be visited. These should be in full sentence style, single spaced with the title centered on the page. At a minimum, scenesetters should be prepared on the following potential sites:

Castel dell'Ovo
Palazzo Reale

State
State

BIOGRAPHIES:

Biographies should be provided for each G-7 head of state.

While each department has primary responsibility for the preparation of their own briefing materials, all other appropriate agencies should be closely involved in the preparation of these papers and all final papers should be fully cleared. All briefing material should include an IBM compatible diskette as well as a hard copy. TS

for Kristie A. Kenney
William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 05/31/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 05/31/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 201

FOLDER TITLE:

9404918

2011-1037-F
ke2230

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(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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JDB -

Pls. put into
system.

William J. Clinton
President
United States of America
The White House
Washington D. C.
USA.

NB

31 May, 1994

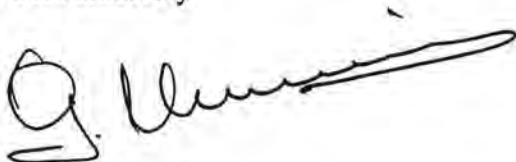
Dear Mr. President:

I would like to express my appreciation for the opportunity to have met you during my visit to your country.

Our discussions confirmed for me the continuing interest and support that the United States of America has shown for developments in Latvia and in the Baltic region. While significant steps have been taken to bring stability and security to our region, finding permanent solutions to the security issues facing the Baltic States will, I believe, require the active participation of the United States. Success in this endeavour will not only be of benefit to Latvia, as well as Lithuania and Estonia, but also for Europe as a whole. I am convinced that Latvia and the United States in working together can find the appropriate mechanisms that will ensure Baltic security.

Again, may I express my pleasure in discussing these matters with you at the White House.

Yours sincerely



Guntis Ulmanis

William J. Clinton
President
United States of America
The White House
Washington D. C.
USA.

31 May, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

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Yours sincerely



Guntis Ulmanis

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | Schedule Proposal for Telephone Call to President Yeltsin of Russia (2 pages) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Nicholas Burns to Anthony Lake, re: Proposed Telephone Call to President Yeltsin (1 page) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 477

FOLDER TITLE:

9405332

2011-1037-F

ke2231

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)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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Schedule Proposal

date 7 / 1 / 94

 ACCEPT

 REGRET

 PENDING

TO: Ricki Siedman
Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling and Advance

FROM: Anthony Lake

REQUEST Telephone Call to President Yeltsin
of Russia

PURPOSE: To preview the President's trip to
Riga and Warsaw and the President's
meeting with Yeltsin at the Naples
Summit

BACKGROUND: The President's upcoming trip to
Riga and Warsaw has the potential to
cause some domestic difficulties for
the Russian government. A telephone
conversation with Yeltsin would
allow the President to inform
Yeltsin of his plans for the trip
and explain what he hopes to
accomplish. It would also allow the
President to preview his meeting
with Yeltsin at the Naples Summit
and respond to some concerns raised
in a recent letter to the President
on G-7 issues.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: The President has spoken with
Yeltsin by phone on numerous other
occasions.

DATE AND TIME: July 5

DURATION: 30 minutes

LOCATION: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: The President and President Yeltsin

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Telephone conversation

REMARKS REQUIRED: Talking points to be provided by NSC

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By WZ NARA, Date 6/20/2023

MEDIA COVERAGE: None
FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
RECOMMENDED BY: NSC
CONTACT: Nicholas Burns, X56849

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 1, 1994



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/10/2017
2016-0314-M-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE
FROM: NICHOLAS BURNS NB
SUBJECT: Proposed Telephone Call to President Yeltsin

As we discussed, attached at Tab I is a Schedule Proposal for a Presidential telephone call to President Yeltsin to preview the Riga and Warsaw stops and the Naples Summit.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the Schedule Proposal at Tab I.

Attachment(s)
Tab I Schedule Proposal

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Warren Christopher to the President, re: Your Trip to Latvia, Poland, and Germany (5 pages) | 06/28/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 203

FOLDER TITLE:

9405352

2011-1037-F
ke2232

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]
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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
104-2314-10-2 (4,12)
6/20/2-23 VZ

June 28, 1994

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
DECL: OADR

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Warren Christopher *WC*
SUBJECT: Your Trip to Latvia, Poland, and Germany

I. OVERALL SETTING AND THEMES

This trip builds on the foundation of your January trip to Europe which set forth your concept of an integrated continent of independent, democratic states. It complements your June visit which commemorated two monumental milestones of the past by looking principally to the future -- shifting the focus from force of arms to diplomatic and economic prowess. The unifying theme is our goal of extending prosperity and democracy by integrating states of the East into the political and economic structures that assured the post-war recovery and stability of Western Europe. Your itinerary will symbolize America's active engagement in the Europe of tomorrow and of the enduring importance of an updated and broadened transatlantic relationship. All three stops -- in the revitalized but still insecure democracies of Latvia and Poland, and in unified Germany, the continent's most powerful nation -- as well as your Summit with the increasingly important European Union offer opportunities to reinforce these messages.

II. SETTING

Latvia/Estonia/Lithuania: The Baltic States have made significant progress in democratic transformation and free-market reform. They are reaching out to NATO (via Partnership for Peace) and to the EU, and they cooperate well among themselves. Their negotiations with Russia for the complete withdrawal of its military forces have been a key means and object of reasserting sovereignty. All Russian forces left Lithuania last year. The Russians and Latvians, with considerable U.S. effort and your personal involvement, concluded an agreement in April calling for troop withdrawal by August 31. Russia and Estonia seem near to closure on a similar agreement. The equitable and non-discriminatory treatment of local ethnic Russian minorities in the Baltic states remains an issue of critical importance to regional stability, as the flawed Latvian citizenship law clearly demonstrates.

Poland: By virtue of its size, location, trailblazer approach to reform, and outspoken political leadership, Poland is key to our goal of a prosperous, democratic, secure Central and Eastern Europe; its support for, or criticism of, our policies can have a region-wide impact. Despite the second-

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highest economic growth rate in Europe, the Poles suffer from "reform fatigue," as demonstrated by the success of critics of reform in the September 1993 elections. The Poles also worry that Poland has been consigned to a security "gray zone" and is vulnerable to growing neo-imperialist pressures from the east. The Poles never miss an opportunity to push for NATO membership. In his June 10 letter to you, Walesa voiced their expectation that "during your visit to Poland you will state that Poland will soon find itself among the members of the Alliance."

Germany: A larger FRG is getting its footing again after the initial euphoria from unification was followed by psychological trauma in the east, deep recession, and alarms about right-wing nationalism. 1994 will show modest economic growth, further progress in the domestic integration of east and west, a more active German role in the politics of Europe, and further movement toward an expanded security contribution to the wider world. July and August will bring a slight pause in the unprecedented string of elections this year, but the campaign which ends on October 16 will never be far from the minds of the political leaders. Kohl exudes confidence as he wages perhaps the final battle of his political career, seeking to become the longest-serving chancellor in the post-war era. While his prospects after the EU parliamentary elections look better than at any time in the campaign, it is far from certain that his current ruling coalition will survive.

U.S.-EU Summit: On July 1 Germany will have assumed the six-month rotating presidency of the European Union, following Greece and preceding France. It has been widely anticipated that the German presidency would be much more ambitious and effective than its Greek predecessor. Recently, however, Bonn has tried to lower expectations, citing domestic election year pressures as a distraction from its European agenda. German priorities for the EU presidency include furthering the integration of the Central and East European countries; continuing efforts to stimulate employment and growth; preparing for EU admission of the Nordics and Austria (presuming ratification of the EU accession treaty); and pushing for increased cooperation on Justice and Home affairs. In addition, ratification of the Uruguay Round package is expected to go through the European Parliament during the German presidency. Also on the German EU agenda will be a push for a reduction of European regulations which hamper economic development. Meanwhile, Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission and the third player in the trilateral U.S.-EU Summit, is in a lameduck phase, with his term due to expire in December. Assuming Delors' successor is named at the July EU Summit in Brussels, Germany may play a discreet but pivotal role in working with the nominee during the selection process and throughout the rest of the new President's term, which begins in January 1995.

III. OBJECTIVES

Latvia/Estonia/Lithuania: In your meeting with leaders of

the three Baltic states, you will want to stimulate continued progress in reaching and implementing agreements on the withdrawal of Russian troops, and to signal our commitment to close bilateral relations and continued friendship, even after the troops are gone. You should reinforce our view that the Baltics are not in any country's sphere of influence, but also reiterate the importance of equitable and non-discriminatory treatment of ethnic Russian and other minority groups living in the Baltics.

In the last regard, you should praise the statesmanship of President Ulmanis in remanding the flawed citizenship law to parliament and support Prime Minister Birkavs in his push for a more generous and inclusive law. You will need to encourage the Estonians to deal flexibly on the status of Russian military pensioners, and you can be supportive of Estonian goals of "civilianization" of any short-term Russian presence during clean-up of the Paldiski nuclear submarine training facility. You will need to listen sympathetically to Lithuanian concerns over the large, but rusting Russian military presence in Kaliningrad and over the increasing impact of international criminality. We can do little about Kaliningrad, but FBI Director Freeh's July 1-2 meeting in Vilnius testifies to our commitment to help on the crime front.

Poland: You should seek to convince skeptics in the Polish leadership and public that PFP offers Poland its best chance for NATO membership, that the U.S. committed to strengthening Polish security and its integration in the West, and that Russia will not have a veto over the process. You also should reinforce the governing coalition's commitment to the reform policy course of its predecessors, and signal our readiness to assist in ameliorating reform's social costs.

Germany: You should further strengthen your close personal relationship with Chancellor Kohl without appearing to take sides in the ongoing election campaign. You will want to encourage Germany to take on more international responsibilities now that the Cold War is past. Through your speeches and public appearances, you should seek to dramatize our mutual commitment to extend prosperity and democracy eastward, as well as the broad, enduring basis of our engagement in Europe, despite our smaller military presence. Finally, you should try to convince Kohl to give the proper political impetus on some complicated claims issues which threaten to create major problems for our bilateral relations.

U.S.-EU Summit: You should reaffirm our commitment to close ties and cooperation with the European Union as its membership and structure undergo major changes. (Expansion to include Sweden, Austria, Finland and Norway is likely in 1995. Existing EU institutions may be fundamentally revamped during the scheduled 1996 Intergovernmental Conference, and the EU will begin to implement intergovernmental coordination among EU member states on home/justice affairs -- including terrorism, narcotics and immigration.)

IV. STRATEGY

Latvia/Estonia/Lithuania: In helping to deal with the legacy of the past, we have offered our help to dismantle the large early warning radar at Skrunda, to clean up the two nuclear reactors at Paldiski, and to provide \$160 million for Russian officer housing. We are actively encouraging the Russians and Estonians to come to closure on troop withdrawal issues. Yet we want your visit also to point to a future of broad U.S. cooperation with each of the Baltic states. We are rapidly building a broad foundation for a new partnership through such mechanisms as: the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, the upcoming Baltic Business Development Mission; and the recent agreements on Trade, Investment, Intellectual Property Protection, and Science and Technology Cooperation. Moreover, we are expanding security cooperation with the Baltic states bilaterally, in conjunction with PFP, and regionally. We have sent a \$10 million FY95 proposal to Congress to support Central and East European Peacekeeping, including the Baltic Battalion. We have encouraged the Baltic states to take an inclusive and generous approach to Russian and other minority groups, and to take concrete steps to ensure their equitable and non-discriminatory treatment, as the decisive action of President Ulmanis to seek a fairer citizenship law illustrated.

Poland: In order to underscore our commitment to Poland's security and its integration in the West, you will want to reinforce your Prague message that NATO expansion is a question of when, not if, and make clear that it does not hinge on the question of whether or not Russia stays on a positive track. The key to getting this message across will be the personal rapport you are able to establish with Walesa. NATO will be a key issue with Pawlak as well, but your main goal with him will be to underscore the need to stay the course of economic reform, and to signal U.S. interest in helping the Poles to cope with reform's social dislocations. In this context, we hope to have new initiatives to launch in support of social safety-net programs, housing construction, and small-business loans, as well as follow-up to your Prague initiatives on trade and investment. Your public meetings are opportunities to reinforce all these themes, as well as to honor Poland's wartime sacrifices and the victims of the Holocaust. Finally, you will have a chance to meet briefly with the Foreign Ministers of nine non-Baltic Central and East European states during my consultations with them.

Germany: This is the first presidential visit to Germany since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the last to the historic Berlin Brigade. Your private visit to Helmut Kohl's home in Oggersheim will showcase the close personal relationship which is so important to the chancellor's political style (and provide

an opportunity to raise some delicate issues). To avoid accusations of partisanship, it will be balanced by meetings in Bonn with leaders of the traditional political parties. The walk through the Brandenburg Gate, until recently a reminder of Europe's division, and your speech in the vicinity of the once and future U.S. Embassy site will symbolize the opportunity we now have to integrate the East both inside Germany and beyond its borders. Your Oranienburg Synagogue stop will offer a chance to recall the Holocaust and warn against the consequences of racism and intolerance. The recognition ceremony for the Berlin Brigade is a parallel opportunity to affirm continued U.S. support for European stability and security through NATO and the Partnership for Peace. These scheduled events speak to the changes occurring in Europe and offer a vision of how the U.S.-German partnership fits into the challenges of the post-Cold War era, particularly the advancement of democracy, human rights, the population challenge, and economic reform in the East.

U.S.-EU Summit: You will be seeking EU agreement to establish two limited-duration, ad hoc study groups to strengthen and operationalize U.S.-EU cooperation on key issues. One of these groups would study possible areas for policy coordination vis-a-vis Central and Eastern Europe; the other group would look at options for streamlining U.S.-EU consultations and making them more substantive. These study groups would make recommendations at the U.S.-EU Summit under the upcoming French EU presidency. You will also exchange views on the situation in Russia and the other NIS, Bosnia, and the Middle East, emphasizing our partnership with the EU in addressing our most pressing foreign policy issues.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. cable | Draft cable, re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | 07/29/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. memo | John Beyrle to Nicholas Burns, re: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis on Skrunda Radar Dismantlement (1 page) | 07/28/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Draft cable, re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | ea-07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 207

FOLDER TITLE:

9406143

2011-1037-F

ke2233

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]
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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(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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WITH MEMORIES OF MY WARM RECEPTION IN RIGA STILL FRESH IN MY MIND, I AM WRITING TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR DISCUSSION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE UNFINISHED RADARS AT SKRUNDA. I AM PLEASED TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DECIDED TO COMMIT ANOTHER \$3 MILLION TOWARD THIS PROJECT, BRINGING TO A TOTAL OF \$7 MILLION THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION. ADDED TO PLEDGES OF SUPPORT MADE BY OTHER STATES, WE BELIEVE THIS SUM WILL COVER CLOSE TO THE TOTAL COST OF DISMANTLEMENT, AS IT WAS ESTIMATED BY AN EXPERT TEAM THAT VISITED THE SITE RECENTLY. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO APPROVE THE DRAFT AGREEMENTS ON THE SKRUNDA DISMANTLEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT WE CAN BEGIN WORK ON THE PROJECT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO A FAIR AND SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL AGREEMENTS RELATED TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR CONTINUED COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO THAT END.

✓ SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (4.13)
6/20/2023 v2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01

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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 291800Z JUL 94

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO RUEHRA/AMEMBASSY RIGA
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-7 (4.14)

6/20/2013 v2

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

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WITH MEMORIES OF MY WARM RECEPTION IN RIGA STILL FRESH IN MY MIND, I
AM WRITING TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR DISCUSSION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE
DISMANTLEMENT OF THE UNFINISHED RADARS AT SKRUNDA. I AM PLEASED TO
INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DECIDED TO COMMIT ANOTHER \$3 MILLION TOWARD
THIS PROJECT, BRINGING TO A TOTAL OF \$7 MILLION THE U.S.
CONTRIBUTION. ADDED TO PLEDGES OF SUPPORT MADE BY OTHER STATES, WE
BELIEVE THIS SUM WILL COVER CLOSE TO THE TOTAL COST OF
DISMANTLEMENT, AS IT WAS ESTIMATED BY AN EXPERT TEAM THAT VISITED
THE SITE RECENTLY. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT
CAN TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO APPROVE THE DRAFT AGREEMENTS ON THE
SKRUNDA DISMANTLEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT WE CAN BEGIN WORK
ON THE PROJECT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES IS
COMMITTED TO A FAIR AND SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL AGREEMENTS
RELATED TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA, AND WE LOOK
FORWARD TO OUR CONTINUED COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO THAT END.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#4071

NNNN

<MSGID> M1177268

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 28, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: Nicholas Burns *NB*

FROM: John Beyrle *JB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis on Skrunda Radar Dismantlement

Plans for coordinating the U.S. assistance effort with the Latvian government to help in taking down the Skrunda LPAR structures are now well underway. You will recall that when the President met the Latvians in Riga, he informed them that we were doubling our commitment of assistance to a total of \$4 million. The technical report of the DOD dismantlement team has now been completed and envisions a total dismantlement cost of around \$8 million. Based on the estimate, Secretary Perry has approved an additional \$3 million in FY-94 DOD money to go towards Skrunda dismantlement. This will bring the U.S. contribution up to \$7 million; adding in the \$1 million already pledged by Sweden, we believe that will essentially cover the estimated cost of dismantlement.

The attached message from the President to President Ulmanis conveys this good news. It also asks Ulmanis to nudge the government forward to get the umbrella and implementing agreements signed as soon as possible. The Latvian cabinet needs to approve both agreements at its August 2 session to allow DOD enough time to put the job out for bid and obligate the money in FY 94.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached Presidential message.

OK
RL

Attachment
Tab I Message from the President to President Ulmanis

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By *RL* NARA, Date *6/17/2023*
7016-0314-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WITH MEMORIES OF MY WARM RECEPTION IN RIGA STILL FRESH IN MY MIND, I AM WRITING TO FOLLOW UP ON OUR DISCUSSION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE UNFINISHED RADARS AT SKRUNDA. I AM PLEASED TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DECIDED TO COMMIT ANOTHER \$3 MILLION TOWARD THIS PROJECT, BRINGING TO A TOTAL OF \$7 MILLION THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION. ADDED TO PLEDGES OF SUPPORT MADE BY OTHER STATES, WE BELIEVE THIS SUM WILL COVER CLOSE TO THE TOTAL COST OF DISMANTLEMENT, AS IT WAS ESTIMATED BY AN EXPERT TEAM THAT VISITED THE SITE RECENTLY. WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO APPROVE THE DRAFT AGREEMENTS ON THE SKRUNDA DISMANTLEMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT WE CAN BEGIN WORK ON THE PROJECT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO A FAIR AND SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL AGREEMENTS RELATED TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR CONTINUED COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO THAT END.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

7016-0314-M-2 (4.16)

6/20/2023 VL

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 06/20/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2005 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 480

FOLDER TITLE:

9407211

2011-1037-F
ke2234

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

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

~~RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.~~

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7211

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

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

20 June 1994

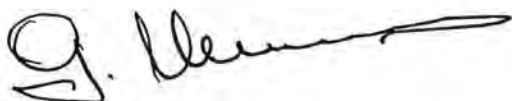
Dear Mr. President,

I was delighted that you have accepted my invitation to visit Latvia. The people of Latvia and I personally are looking forward very much to welcoming you and Mrs. Clinton in Riga on July 6.

Whilst your stay in Riga will be short, I hope that you will be able to gain a deepened insight into the major political, social and economic issues in Latvia today. The fact that you will also be meeting President Meri of Estonia and President Brazauskas of Lithuania will be further testimony of your highly regarded and valued support for the sovereignty and regional security of the three Baltic States.

We would also greatly appreciate Mrs. Clinton's meeting with our health workers and sharing her expertise on the subject of healthcare reform. I can assure you that the people of Latvia and I are very much looking forward to your visit and will do our utmost to make your stay in Latvia enjoyable.

Respectfully yours,



Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Republic of Latvia

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. letter | President Bill Clinton to President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia (1 page) | 11/09/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. letter | President Bill Clinton to President Guntis Ulmanis (1 page) | 11/09/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Letter to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 11/08/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 11/10/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | 10/10/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis to President Clinton (1 page) | 10/10/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 483

FOLDER TITLE:

9409008

2011-1037-F
 ke2236

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 10. I fully share your views on the importance of the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion.

My Administration's commitment to support the Battalion, which I announced in Riga in July, underscores our desire to see the Baltic States established as contributing members of the new Europe we are working together to build. It is a vivid expression as well of our support for the sovereignty and independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. I assure you of my personal commitment to this pledge.

I enjoyed seeing you again at the United Nations in September and regret I will be traveling abroad during your upcoming visit to Washington. I wish you every success as you continue to lead the Latvian people along the road of *briviba* and prosperity.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "B" and "C".

His Excellency
Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Latvian Republic
Riga

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 10. I fully share your views on the importance of the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion.

My Administration's commitment to support the Battalion, which I announced in Riga in July, underscores our desire to see the Baltic States established as contributing members of the new Europe we are working together to build. It is a vivid expression as well of our support for the sovereignty and independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. I assure you of my personal commitment to this pledge.

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Sincerely,



His Excellency
Guntis Ulmanis
President of the Latvian Republic
Riga

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 94 NOV 98 P 9 : 26

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Letter To Latvian President Ulmanis

Purpose

To respond to a letter from Latvian President Ulmanis.

Background

Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis has written you seeking reaffirmation of your commitment to the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. The letter is clearly motivated by reports that the Administration had considered reprogramming the \$10 million promised for the Baltic Battalion, which you announced during your speech in Riga, in order to help fund the Haiti operation. The attached response makes clear, as have your previous messages to the Congress on this subject, that you stand behind your commitment to the Baltic states.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter attached at Tab A, which we will deliver to President Ulmanis during his private visit to Washington November 12-13.

Attachments

- Tab A Proposed Response
- Tab B Incoming Ulmanis Letter

Latvijas Republika



Valsts Prezidents

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

10 October, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure to meet you again at the United Nations this September.

I would like to bring to your attention Latvia's, as well as Lithuania's and Estonia's long standing commitment to create the Baltic Battalion, which could be a peace-keeping force available to serve in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

Latvia believes this to be an important contribution that could be made by the Baltic States as part of their investment in regional security and world stability. Latvia understands that the United States has supported this initiative in principle. The assistance of the United States would be decisive in its full realization.

Further I would like to express my gratitude for the generous consultative and financial support that the United States has provided Latvia with respect to the dismantling of the Skrunda radar facility.

With all my best regards.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Guntis Ulmanis', written over a circular stamp.

Guntis Ulmanis

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2016-0314-M-2 (4.17)
6/20/2023 v2

Latvijas Republika



Valsts Prezidents

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

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

10 October, 1994

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Further I would like to express my gratitude for the generous consultative and financial support that the United States has provided Latvia with respect to the dismantling of the Skrunda radar facility.

With all my best regards.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. Ulmanis', written over a horizontal line.

Guntis Ulmanis

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2016-0314-m-2 (4.15)
6/20/03 V2

Latvijas Republika



Valsts Prezidents

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

10 October, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

It was a pleasure to meet you again at the United Nations this September.

I would like to bring to your attention Latvia's, as well as Lithuania's and Estonia's long standing commitment to create the Baltic Battalion, which could be a peace-keeping force available to serve in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

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Guntis Ulmanis

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2016-0514-A-2 (4.15)
4/20/2013 VL

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. cable | Draft cable, re: Letter from President Clinton to President Ulmanis (1 page) | ea. 04/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. cable | Re: Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/13/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 04/11/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Draft cable, re: Letter from President Clinton to President Ulmanis (1 page) | ea. 04/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 12/27/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. paper | Re: Latvian Welding Blankets (1 page) | 03/10/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 12/27/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001h. paper | Re: Latvian Welding Blankets (1 page) | 03/10/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 560

FOLDER TITLE:

9500376

2011-1037-F
 ke2237

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE: AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF DECEMBER 27 CONCERNING THE INTEREST OF THE VALMIERA FIBERGLASS PLANT IN COMPETING FOR A U.S. NAVY CONTRACT. I ASKED OUR TRADE AND DEFENSE EXPERTS TO CARRY OUT AN EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE WAIVER YOU SUGGESTED. UNFORTUNATELY, THE MATERIAL AT ISSUE IS COVERED BY A STATUTE THAT RESTRICTS THE ABILITY OF FOREIGN PRODUCERS TO COMPETE FOR DEFENSE DEPARTMENT CONTRACTS. WE HAVE ~~RELUCTANTLY~~ ^{THUS} CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL BASIS FOR A PRESIDENTIAL WAIVER IN THIS CASE.

I FULLY SHARE YOUR INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE EXPANSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN LATVIA AND THE UNITED STATES. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE BEEN VERY ACTIVE ON THIS FRONT. THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE HELD IN CLEVELAND IN JANUARY, COUPLED WITH THE SIGNING OF OUR BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY IN WASHINGTON, HAVE LAID A STRONG FOUNDATION FOR LATVIA'S CONTINUED INTEGRATION INTO THE EXPANDING TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITY. THE INVESTMENT MISSION TO LATVIA IN EARLY MARCH, LED BY THE U.S. OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION, EXPOSED TOP AMERICAN BUSINESS OFFICIALS TO THE DYNAMIC ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF YOUR COUNTRY. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPORTED THAT DURING HIS RECENT MEETING WITH BALTIC PRIME MINISTERS IN TALLINN HE FOUND A GREAT DEAL OF OPTIMISM REGARDING THE PROSPECTS FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS. I AM PLEASED WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TRANSLATE THE SUPPORT FOR YOUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT I EXPRESSED DURING MY VISIT TO RIGA INTO CONCRETE ACTIONS IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY RENEWED PLEDGE OF SUPPORT AND BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS AS YOU CONTINUE TO LEAD LATVIA TOWARD GREATER SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON (END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-03-14-M-2 (4,20)
6/20/2027 v2

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001b. cable | Re: Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/13/1995 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 560

FOLDER TITLE:

9500376

2011-1037-F
ke2237

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]
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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)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM DOHSE FUERTH HARMON LAKE REED SENS SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEYRLE BLACKER COQ FRIED GRAY LAKEA PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2 WHSR_I

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~SECRET~~

<DTG> 131910Z APR 95

FM WHITE HOUSE

Declassified in Part

TO E.O. 13526.1.4(c)

Per E.O. 13526

INFO ////

2016-0314-M-2 (4.21)

~~S-E-C-R-E-T~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

06/20/2023 VZ

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF DECEMBER 27 CONCERNING THE INTEREST OF
THE VALMIERA FIBERGLASS PLANT IN COMPETING FOR A U.S. NAVY CONTRACT.
I ASKED OUR TRADE AND DEFENSE EXPERTS TO CARRY OUT AN EXTENSIVE
REVIEW OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE WAIVER YOU SUGGESTED.
UNFORTUNATELY, THE MATERIAL AT ISSUE IS COVERED BY A STATUTE THAT
RESTRICTS THE ABILITY OF FOREIGN PRODUCERS TO COMPETE FOR DEFENSE
DEPARTMENT CONTRACTS. WE HAVE THUS CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL
BASIS FOR A PRESIDENTIAL WAIVER IN THIS CASE.

I FULLY SHARE YOUR INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE EXPANSION OF TRADE AND
INVESTMENT BETWEEN LATVIA AND THE UNITED STATES. AS YOU KNOW, WE
HAVE BEEN VERY ACTIVE ON THIS FRONT. THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON
TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE HELD IN CLEVELAND
IN JANUARY, COUPLED WITH THE SIGNING OF OUR BILATERAL INVESTMENT
TREATY IN WASHINGTON, HAVE LAID A STRONG FOUNDATION FOR LATVIA'S
CONTINUED INTEGRATION INTO THE EXPANDING TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITY.
THE INVESTMENT MISSION TO LATVIA IN EARLY MARCH, LED BY THE U.S.
OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION, EXPOSED TOP AMERICAN
BUSINESS OFFICIALS TO THE DYNAMIC ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF YOUR
COUNTRY. THE VICE PRESIDENT REPORTED THAT DURING HIS RECENT
MEETING WITH BALTIC PRIME MINISTERS IN TALLINN HE FOUND A GREAT DEAL
OF OPTIMISM REGARDING THE PROSPECTS FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT BETWEEN
OUR TWO NATIONS. I AM PLEASED WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TRANSLATE THE
SUPPORT FOR YOUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT I EXPRESSED DURING MY VISIT TO
RIGA INTO CONCRETE ACTIONS IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY RENEWED PLEDGE OF SUPPORT AND BEST WISHES FOR

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IMMEDIATE

~~SECRET~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

SUCCESS AS YOU CONTINUE TO LEAD LATVIA TOWARD GREATER SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#5801

NNNN
<MSGID> M1618717

CLINTON LIBRARY ~~SECRET~~ PHOTOCOPY

April 11, 1995



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: DAN FRIED *DF/JS*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis

Latvian President Ulmanis wrote the President asking him to authorize a waiver of restrictions that were preventing a Latvian firm from bidding on a Defense Department contract to produce welding tarps for the U.S. Navy. We have looked into this complex issue; the bottom line is that "Buy American" provision in U.S. law (The "Berry Amendment" of 1992) prohibits DoD appropriations from being used to buy synthetic fabrics produced outside the U.S. The tarps in question fall within the definitions of the law. Moreover, a U.S. supplier has bid on the contract. The law's exceptions are not applicable in this instance. Waiver provisions, to which the incoming Latvian letter refers, are not available for the Berry Amendment. The attached response relays this information with regret, while reiterating U.S. support for expanded commercial ties with Latvia.

Concurrence by: Jamie Baker *JB/JS*

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the text of the attached message for transmission to our Embassy in Riga.

Approve Disapprove

Attachments

- Tab I Presidential Message
- Tab II Incoming Correspondence

as amended

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By *W* NARA, Date *6/20/23*
2016-0314-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE: AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

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PLEASE ACCEPT MY RENEWED PLEDGE OF SUPPORT AND BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESS AS YOU CONTINUE TO LEAD LATVIA TOWARD GREATER SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON (END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-m-2 (4.29)
6/20/2027 VL

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Valsts Prezidents

His Excellency
President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

27 December 1994

Dear Mr. President,

During a recent private visit to the United States, I had the pleasure of meeting with Latvian Americans in Cleveland and Washington, DC and joined them in commemorating the 76th anniversary of Latvia's declaration of independence. Had our schedule allowed, it would have been enjoyable to meet with you again, if only briefly, while I was in your country.

While both the United States and Latvia face many challenges ahead, I sensed a feeling of optimism among the Latvian-American community concerning future Latvian-US relations. I feel honored to have had the opportunity to work with you over the last year in building the foundation for this optimism.

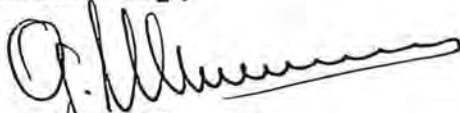
If I may, I would like to bring to your attention an opportunity which would enable us to strengthen this foundation even further. It is also a unique opportunity wherein Latvia could help the United States. On 10 November 1994, Prime Minister Māris Gailis wrote to you with a request for a waiver which would enable the Valmiera Glass Fiber Plant to bid for a Department of Defense contract to produce silicon covers for the US Navy. It is my understanding that the Valmiera plant could fulfill

the contract at a savings of over \$2 million to US taxpayers. This would be a situation where both the United States and Latvia would benefit. Unfortunately, the Valmiera plant is presently prevented from bidding for the contract.

I understand that the Valmiera plant could enter the bidding if you were to authorize a waiver of present restrictions. If this is indeed the case, I would sincerely appreciate it if you could look into this matter. There are never any guarantees in cases like this, but it would be regrettable if we did not take this opportunity to expand cooperation between our two countries.

I look forward to seeing you again in the future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. Ulmanis', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

March 10, 1995

POINT PAPER

SUBJECT: Latvian Welding Blankets

The question is whether the President can waive restrictions to permit the Department of Defense to purchase welding blankets made from glass cloth that is produced in the Republic of Latvia. Section 9005 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 1993 (Public Law 102-396), as amended by section 8005 of Public Law 103-139 (the Berry Amendment) provides that appropriations of the Department of Defense (DoD) may be used to procure articles or items containing any fabric, including synthetic fabric, only if such articles or items are produced in the United States.

The Defense Logistics Agency, which is the procuring activity in DoD for such welding blankets, has determined that glass cloth welding blankets are produced from synthetic fabric and thus are covered by the Berry Amendment. We have reviewed their rationale for this conclusion and agree with it.

A related question is whether the waiver provision of the Trade Agreements Act (19 U.S.C. §2512(b)(2)) can be used to waive the application of the Berry Amendment to Latvian welding blankets. That provision authorizes the waiver of the prohibition, at 19 U.S.C. § 2512(a), of the procurement of products from non-designated countries; however, it could not be used to waive restrictions imposed by law other than 19 U.S.C. §2512(a), such as the Berry Amendment. We are aware of no other authority to waive the Berry Amendment.

The draft response to the Prime Minister should be modified to delete the sentence stating that defense procurement experts will meet with the embassy to suggest other areas where the Valmiera Plant might compete. The Prime Minister's letter indicates that the Valmiera Plant produces glass fiber. It is unlikely that there are any DoD procurements for which the Valmiera Plant may compete because the Berry Amendment prohibits the purchase of any foreign product containing glass fiber.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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The White House
Washington, DC

27 December 1994

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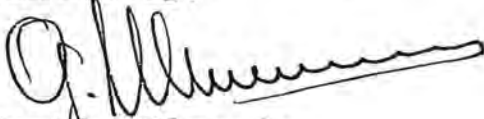
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I look forward to seeing you again in the future.

Sincerely,



Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

March 10, 1995

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001a. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Head of State Correspondence Summary (March 30 - April 27) (2 pages) | 05/04/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ |
| 001b. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur] (1 page) | 04/21/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ |
| 001c. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/13/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ |
| 001d. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ousmane] (2 pages) | 04/07/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 572

FOLDER TITLE:

9502280

2011-1037-F
ke2238

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/7/95

WASHINGTON

May 4, 1995

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

95 MAY 4 08:40

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Heads of State Correspondence Summary
(March 30 - April 27)

Below is a summary of correspondence with foreign leaders during the period March 30 - April 27 in reverse chronological order.

- April messages extending your best wishes on the holy occasion of Id Al-Adha (also referred to as the Hajj and Kurban Hait) were sent to King Hassan of Morocco, King Hussein of Jordan, King Tuanku Ja'afar and Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia, the Sultan of Brunei, President Soeharto of Indonesia, President Karimov of Uzbekistan, President Akeyev of Kyrgyzstan, President Aliyev of Azerbaijan, President Leghari and Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan, the Emir of Qatar, the Amir of Bahrain, President Saleh of Yemen, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, Prime Minister Zia and President Biswas of Bangladesh, President Gayoom of Maldives, President Konare of Mali, President Ousmane of Niger, President Gouled of Djibouti, President Deby of Chad, President Diouf of Senegal, President Taya of Mauritania, President Asad of Syria, President Bongo of Gabon and General Abacha of Nigeria.
- April 20 message to Prime Minister Balladur of France thanks him for his kind offer to provide French assistance in the Oklahoma City rescue operation. The State Department is cabling standard responses in your name to the additional condolence messages received from foreign leaders.
- April 14 message to Prime Minister Rao expresses your condolences upon learning of the death of former Prime Minister Desai.
- April 13 letter to President Ulmanis of Latvia informs him that though you share his interest in promoting trade and investment expansion between our two nations, you are unable to provide a legal waiver for the Valmiera Fiberglass Plant to compete for Defense Department contracts. You reaffirm that the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Cleveland along with the signing of the Bilateral Investment Treaty have laid the foundation for continued integration into the transatlantic community.

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-03/14-M-Z (4,16)
6/7/01/2-13 VZ

- April 8 message to President Ousmane of Niger expresses your gratitude for his assistance in the timely release of Anthony Johnson who was kidnapped in Chad. You commend the Niger armed forces for their integrity, professionalism, sound judgment and bravery while working in a difficult and dangerous environment.
- March 30 message to President Soeharto of Indonesia expresses your appreciation for his support for the Administration's actions to assist Mexico with its economic challenges.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: COMM, SIT, CLARKER, COQ, GARDNER, GRAY, SCHWARTZ, SIGLER, SIMON, SUM,
SUM2, VERSHBOW, WHSR_OUT

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DTG:210257Z APR 95

FM: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO:
RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VC NARA, Date 6/21/2023
2016-0314-M-3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
FRENCH PRIME MINISTER EDOUARD BALLADUR AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY.

NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER:

I HAVE RECEIVED THROUGH AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN YOUR KIND OFFER

TO LEND FRENCH ASSISTANCE TO THE RESCUE OPERATION IN OKLAHOMA
CITY. THIS OFFER IS FURTHER TESTIMONY TO THE CLOSE BONDS OF
FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. I UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER,
THAT THE FEDERAL AGENCIES IN CHARGE OF THE OPERATION IN
OKLAHOMA CITY DO NOT REQUIRE ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE.

THIS SENSELESS SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENT PEOPLE SHOULD FURTHER
REINFORCE OUR COMMITMENT TO COMBAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM BY
ISOLATING THOSE REGIMES WHICH SUPPORT OR CONDONE IT AND BY
BRINGING RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS TO JUSTICE. I LOOK FORWARD
TO WORKING WITH FRANCE TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE.

YOURS SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001c. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/13/1995 | P1/b(1) |

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Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 572

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2011-1037-F
ke2238

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SECRET

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: BERGER, COMM, DOHSE, FUERTH, HARMON, LAKE, REED, SENS, SIT, SODERBERG,
WOLIN, BEYRLE, BLACKER, COQ, FRIED, GRAY, LAKEA, PRIVACY_OUT, SIGLER, SUM, SUM2,
WHSR_IN

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~SECRET~~ DTG:131910Z APR 95

FM: WHITE HOUSE

TO:
E.O. 13526.1.4(d)

Declassified in Part

Per E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (4.27)

6/20/2023 VZ

////

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

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RIGA INTO CONCRETE ACTIONS IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.

SECRET

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SECRET

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PROSPERITY.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON
END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#5801

NNNN

<^SECT> SECTION: 01 OF 01

<^SSN> 5801

<^TOR> 950413151721 M1618717

FROM:
SITREPRT

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

SECRET

UNCLASSIFIED

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

DIST: COMM, SIT, DESHAZER, FICKLIN, GRAY, RICE, SIGLER, SUM, SUM2, WHSR_OUT

PREC: PRIORITY CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED DTG:071824Z APR 95

FM: SECSTATE WASHDC

TO:
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY 9395

////

UNCLAS STATE 085724

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: OPDC, NG
SUBJECT: THANK YOU MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
PRESIDENT OUSMANE (9505932)

1. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT OUSMANE AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY. THE WHITE HOUSE DOES NOT PLAN TO RELEASE TEXT OF MESSAGE BUT HAS NO OBJECTION IF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NIGER WISHES TO DO SO. THERE WILL BE NO/NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR Q. PRESIDENT:

ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, LET ME EXPRESS MY GRATITUDE TO YOU, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE, FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE IN THE RECENT RELEASE OF ANTHONY JOHNSON, WHO WAS KIDNAPPED IN CHAD ON MARCH 19. THANKS TO YOUR EFFORTS AND THOSE OF THE NIGERIAN AND CHADIAN GOVERNMENTS, MR. JOHNSON IS NOW AT HOME WITH HIS FAMILY.

NIGER'S STEADFAST SUPPORT OF OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE MR. JOHNSON'S FREEDOM AND YOUR TIMELY OFFERS TO SUPPLY TRANSPORTATION AND PERSONNEL WERE CRUCIAL TO THE QUICK RESOLUTION OF THIS DANGEROUS SITUATION. THE PROFESSIONALISM AND INTEGRITY OF THE MEMBERS OF NIGER'S ARMED FORCES WHO WORKED IN A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS ENVIRONMENT TO CONVINCE HOSTILE REBEL FORCES TO RELEASE MR. JOHNSON IS EXTRAORDINARILY NOTEWORTHY. I HIGHLY COMMEND THOSE OFFICERS, ESPECIALLY COMMANDANT MAI MANGA OUMARA, FOR THEIR BRAVERY AND SOUND JUDGEMENT.

YOUR INTOLERANCE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, SUCH AS THIS

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HOSTAGE-TAKING INCIDENT, MIRRORS THAT OF THE UNITED STATES. THE QUICK AND GENEROUS ASSISTANCE GIVEN BY YOUR GOVERNMENT TO SECURE MR. JOHNSON'S RELEASE REINFORCES OUR ALREADY CLOSE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION.

ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE IN SECURING MR. JOHNSON'S RELEASE.

SINCERELY,
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

3. A SEPARATE MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER WILL FOLLOW SEPTEL.

CHRISTOPHER
BT
#5724

NNNN
<^SECT>SECTION: 01 OF 01
<^SSN>5724
<^TOR>950407153047 M1608646

FROM:
SITREPRT

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UNCLASSIFIED

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (3 pages) | 06/25/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 592

FOLDER TITLE:

9505150

2011-1037-F
ke2240

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

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Latvijas Republika



Valsts Prezidents

June 25, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you for your letter of May 16, 1995 in which you presented an overview of your discussions with President Yeltsin in Moscow.

As you have noted in the past, Latvia's future security is inextricably linked to the security and stability of Europe as a whole. Your continuing active and constructive role of engagement in the development of a new security architecture for our region is highly valued by my country, since we believe that the United States must play a key role in promoting the well-being of the transatlantic community of nations.

Latvia takes its responsibilities in this transatlantic community seriously, and seeks integration not only to promote Latvia's interests, but also as a way in which to contribute our own resources and ideas to the common good. That's why I welcome your offer to work together, and would like to use this opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you about Latvia's most critical security issues.

Latvia has clearly defined its foreign policy priority, and that is: full integration into European and transatlantic security structures. Latvia's return to the community of European nations promotes the development of democracy and a free market economy in our country. It also enables us to take important steps toward guaranteeing our state's security.

We are moving in the right direction, as the recent signing of the European agreement demonstrates, since now Latvia has joined other associate members of the European Union. This is a very important achievement for my country, since it not only helps us reclaim our historic place among Western nations, but also makes Europe more unified.

I am especially pleased to note that in your vision of the future architecture of Europe, you stress that it must be developed in such a way to avoid blocs, gray areas and undesirable spheres of influence. I couldn't agree more.

I also agree with those who believe that NATO is a positive force for the promotion of democratic values and reforms within member states, and not merely a defensive alliance. It is true that NATO expansion is a complex process which will take a given time to complete. However, I must point out that the process itself will have a direct impact on developments in my country. For example, suggestions that some countries could be denied NATO membership, or indications that the waiting period may be prolonged, could delay or even halt the pace of our reforms. That in turn, would have a negative impact on the security of the entire Nordic region.

As Latvia integrates more deeply into Europe, it is essential that we establish normal, stable and orderly relations with our Eastern neighbors. That is also Latvia's foreign policy goal in relation to Russia. It is a difficult process for us, since it takes place at a time when a dynamic new European security model is being sought. The contradictory nature of ongoing events in Russia, as well as Russia's present foreign policy positions, elicit serious concern in Latvia. I would like to share with you what I believe are the most serious concerns.

That fact that Russia, after a long delay, has taken the next step toward cooperation with NATO and officially joined the PfP program, is, in my view, a positive development. However, Russia has not altered its negative views toward NATO expansion to the East and bases its arguments on speculation about how this expansion could trigger negative developments in Russia's domestic politics. Were this situation to continue, Latvia's foreign policy priority integration into European and transatlantic organizations - would be hampered. This would have a broader impact as well. Should the Baltic states remain in a gray security zone, alongside the high unpredictability of developments within Russia, a situation could arise wherein security would be destabilized in our region, and subsequently, Europe as a whole.

Latvia is not interested in seeing the CIS develop into a structure similar to that of the former USSR, especially one in which Russia takes the dominant military, political and economic role. However, certain elements in the development of the CIS indicate this tendency. For example, one can't help but be alarmed by the new concept of border defense, for it empowers Russia to assume some of the sovereign functions of CIS countries.

My country also finds unacceptable Russia's proposal that we join a common CIS air defense system, as well as other treaty relations which would tie us to the CIS countries. This proposal is clear evidence of Russia's desire to indirectly restore its dominance over the Baltic region as well. That is why Latvia's move toward the European Union and NATO is all the more important.

The withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia was an important event in Latvia's bilateral relations with Russia. This opened the possibility to begin a new phase in the development of our mutual relations. However, these relations have their dark side. Russia has not completely fulfilled its treaty obligations concerning those military personnel who retired after January 28, 1992 and continue to reside in Latvia. I was also shocked by Russian Federation Foreign Minister A. Kozirev's statements, asserting that Russia is prepared to use military force to protect its nationals in other countries. In addition, as the Russian parliamentary elections approach, one unfortunately hears support for aggressive and essentially imperialistic positions in some influential Russian political parties. As a result, I sense a nervousness and

tension in the tonality of Russian foreign policy. The unpredictability of Russian politics on the whole generates fear and concern in Latvia.

In closing, I would like to share with you some thoughts about developments within Latvia itself.

It has been a year since we last met in Riga, and I am pleased to report that the present political situation in Latvia remains stable. The successful development of a modern and democratic country continues. Recalling your remarks at the Freedom Monument on July 6, 1994, it is with great satisfaction that I can report that every effort has been made by our country's social and state institutions to secure the protection of basic human rights. More importantly, ethnic groups have successfully integrated into Latvia's social and civic life, while simultaneously preserving and developing their cultural traditions. In addition, these groups have been provided with an opportunity to acquire their education in their native languages. National schools, cultural associations and various religious organizations are actively working in Latvia. The restoration of property to religious groups and private individuals is being undertaken in a just and fair manner, regardless of nationality or religious affiliation. For example, the World Jewish Restitution Organization has judged Latvia as one of the most forthcoming countries in Central and Eastern Europe regarding the restoration of property. For that reason, I look hopefully to the future, for I see also the major contribution a prosperous Jewish community can make toward Latvia's renewal.

Economic reforms are also continuing in our country, shaping a sound market economy. We do, however, encounter difficulties in this process. A crisis in the commercial banking sector has touched Latvia's financial system. I fully understand, that as people become actively engaged in economic and financial undertakings, crises such as this do pass through societies, and are conceivable. I am nevertheless convinced, that with an adequate, timely, precise and coordinated approach by the government's institutions, we can solve this crisis in a relatively short time. I will personally devote all my efforts to overcoming this crisis. I know that the United States is already providing its assistance in this situation, and for that, I am personally grateful to you and hope that the necessary cooperation will continue. It is one more example of the deep trust and mutual understanding that exists between our countries.

Mr. President, I am convinced that relations between the United States and Latvia will continue to grow and develop in an especially favorable manner. Your personal interest and investment in the well being of our country means a great deal to me. I also highly value this opportunity to exchange views and look forward to your continued interest in the further development of our dialogue.

Respectfully yours,

/s/

Guntis Ulmanis,
State President
of the Republic of Latvia

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Daniel Fried to Anthony Lake, re: Your Brief Meeting with Latvian Ambassador Kalnins (1 page) | 07/14/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 594

FOLDER TITLE:

9505427

2011-1037-F
ke2241

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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July 14, 1995

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

NOTED

SUBJECT: Your Brief Meeting with Latvian Ambassador Kalnins
Monday, July 17, 3:30-3:40pm

Latvian Ambassador Ojars Kalnins requested a ten-minute meeting in order: a) to present a small, mounted piece of concrete from the "imploded" Skrunda LPAR facility; and, b) to thank you for a quick USG response to a Latvian request for assistance in dealing with the Bank Baltija collapse.

-- **Skrunda.** On May 4, the former-Soviet radar complex at Skrunda was "imploded" in accordance with a Latvian-Russian agreement. The U.S. -- the Army Corps of Engineers working through a U.S. contractor -- ran the actual implosion, which took place on the fifth anniversary of the day the Latvian Soviet Republic Parliament declared independence. The implosion went off according to plan; it was followed by a rock concert.

-- **Bank Baltija.** One of Latvia's most prominent private banks collapsed this spring, amid charges of corruption and fraud and (unconfirmed) rumors of Russian criminal and/or intelligence meddling. In response to urgent Latvian requests, our SEED Act Coordinator dispatched, in quick succession, a Secret Service financial crimes officer and a Treasury advisor; we are preparing to send a larger FBI team to work with Latvian law enforcement officials to investigate possible criminal acts. We also are helping Latvia reform its weak banking system, a longer-term project to consolidate new, small private banks into a viable net.

Kalnins credits SEED Coordinator Ralph Johnson and us for the USG responsiveness. This is an example of how our CEE assistance program has improved in the last couple of years. We were able to combine different programs (our Treasury advisor program and resources from the President's CEE law enforcement initiative) and move interagency and fast.

Kalnins promised he won't raise Russia, NATO, officer housing, Baltic Battalion funding or other tough issues.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By *W2* NARA, Date *6/10/2023*

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (3 pages) | 06/25/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 598

FOLDER TITLE:

9505994

2011-1037-F
ke2242

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

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Latvijas Valsts prezidents

June 25, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you for your letter of May 16, 1995 in which you presented an overview of your discussions with President Yeltsin in Moscow.

As you have noted in the past, Latvia's future security is inextricably linked to the security and stability of Europe as a whole. Your continuing active and constructive role of engagement in the development of a new security architecture for our region is highly valued by my country, since we believe that the United States must play a key role in promoting the well-being of the transatlantic community of nations.

Latvia takes its responsibilities in this transatlantic community seriously, and seeks integration not only to promote Latvia's interests, but also as a way in which to contribute our own resources and ideas to the common good. That's why I welcome your offer to work together, and would like to use this opportunity to share some of my thoughts with you about Latvia's most critical security issues.

Latvia has clearly defined its foreign policy priority, and that is: full integration into European and transatlantic security structures. Latvia's return to the community of European nations promotes the development of democracy and a free market economy in our country. It also enables us to take important steps toward guaranteeing our state's security.

We are moving in the right direction, as the recent signing of the European agreement demonstrates, since now Latvia has joined other associate members of the European Union. This is a very important achievement for my country, since it not only helps us reclaim our historic place among Western nations, but also makes Europe more unified.

I am especially pleased to note that in your vision of the future architecture of Europe, you stress that it must be developed in such a way to avoid blocs, gray areas and undesirable spheres of influence. I couldn't agree more.

I also agree with those who believe that NATO is a positive force for the promotion of democratic values and reforms within member states, and not merely a defensive alliance. It is true that NATO expansion is a complex process which will take a given time to complete. However, I must point out that the process itself will have a direct impact on developments in my country. For example, suggestions that some countries could be denied NATO membership, or indications that the waiting period may be prolonged, could delay or even halt the pace of our reforms. That in turn, would have a negative impact on the security of the entire Nordic region.

As Latvia integrates more deeply into Europe, it is essential that we establish normal, stable and orderly relations with our Eastern neighbors. That is also Latvia's foreign policy goal in relation to Russia. It is a difficult process for us, since it takes place at a time when a dynamic new European security model is being sought. The contradictory nature of ongoing events in Russia, as well as Russia's present foreign policy positions, elicit serious concern in Latvia. I would like to share with you what I believe are the most serious concerns.

That fact that Russia, after a long delay, has taken the next step toward cooperation with NATO and officially joined the PfP program, is, in my view, a positive development. However, Russia has not altered its negative views toward NATO expansion to the East and bases its arguments on speculation about how this expansion could trigger negative developments in Russia's domestic politics. Were this situation to continue, Latvia's foreign policy priority integration into European and transatlantic organizations - would be hampered. This would have a broader impact as well. Should the Baltic states remain in a gray security zone, alongside the high unpredictability of developments within Russia, a situation could arise wherein security would be destabilized in our region, and subsequently, Europe as a whole.

Latvia is not interested in seeing the CIS develop into a structure similar to that of the former USSR, especially one in which Russia takes the dominant military, political and economic role. However, certain elements in the development of the CIS indicate this tendency. For example, one can't help but be alarmed by the new concept of border defense, for it empowers Russia to assume some of the sovereign functions of CIS countries.

My country also finds unacceptable Russia's proposal that we join a common CIS air defense system, as well as other treaty relations which would tie us to the CIS countries. This proposal is clear evidence of Russia's desire to indirectly restore its dominance over the Baltic region as well. That is why Latvia's move toward the European Union and NATO is all the more important.

The withdrawal of Russian troops from Latvia was an important event in Latvia's bilateral relations with Russia. This opened the possibility to begin a new phase in the development of our mutual relations. However, these relations have their dark side. Russia has not completely fulfilled its treaty obligations concerning those military personnel who retired after January 28, 1992 and continue to reside in Latvia. I was also shocked by Russian Federation Foreign Minister A. Kozirev's statements, asserting that Russia is prepared to use military force to protect its nationals in other countries. In addition, as the Russian parliamentary elections approach, one unfortunately hears support for aggressive and essentially imperialistic positions in some influential Russian political parties. As a result, I sense a nervousness and tension in the tonality of Russian foreign policy. The unpredictability of Russian politics on the whole generates fear and concern in Latvia.

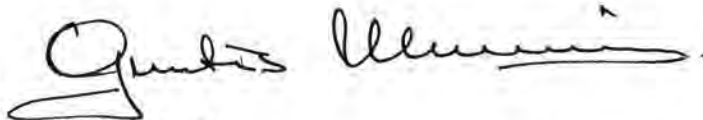
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Mr. President, I am convinced that relations between the United States and Latvia will continue to grow and develop in an especially favorable manner. Your personal interest and investment in the well being of our country means a great deal to me. I also highly value this opportunity to exchange views and look forward to your continued interest in the further development of our dialogue.

Respectfully yours,



Guntis Ulmanis,
State President
of the Republic of Latvia

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MISC. HANDWRITING

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 001a-letter | Prime Minister Maris Gailis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | ea: 09/24/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b-letter | Prime Minister Maris Gailis of Latvia to President Clinton (1 page) | ea: 09/24/1995 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 608

FOLDER TITLE:

9507511

2011-1037-F
ke2243

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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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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7511

PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

September 23, 1995

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to express the gratitude of the Government of Latvia to you for your ongoing support of Latvia and all Baltic States in trying to solve the growing threat of international organized crime.

The human and technical expertise of the United States in fighting organized crime is extremely critical to the Baltic States, and would enable us to share more of burden in this highly complex and difficult war against crime.

It is for this reason that I would also like to express the support of the Government of Latvia for your Administration's decision to establish a Federal Bureau of Investigations office in the Baltic region. I have been particularly pleased that FBI Director Freeh has expressed support for the establishment of this office in one of the Baltic capitals. I believe this would be a prudent and cost - effective measure, which would maximize efficiency for all concerned. We believe that Riga would serve as an ideal location for this office. Its centralized location, and transportation and communications infrastructure would enable FBI officials to operate effectively in all three Baltic States, with minimal cost.

As you stated to President Ulmanis in Riga on July 6, 1994, organized crime is becoming the greatest threat to the sovereignty and stability of nations throughout the world. Your leadership in establishing the Partnership for Peace has already produced dividends for all the countries in our region. The Government of Latvia looks forward to establishing a similar Cooperation Against Crime program with you.

Sincerely,

Māris Gailis
Prime Minister

PHOTOCOPY
MISC HANDWRITING

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36 Brivibas Blvd., Riga LV-1520, Latvia, tel. +371-2-332332, fax +371-2-286598

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2016-0314-A-2 (4.32)
6/20/2022 VL



7511

PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

September 24, 1995

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to express the gratitude of the Government of Latvia to you for your ongoing support of Latvia and all Baltic States in trying to solve the growing threat of international organized crime.

The human and technical expertise of the United States in fighting organized crime is extremely critical to the Baltic States, and would enable us to share more of burden in this highly complex and difficult war against crime.

It is for this reason that I would also like to express the support of the Government of Latvia for your Administration's decision to establish a Federal Bureau of Investigations office in the Baltic region. I have been particularly pleased that FBI Director Freeh has expressed support for the establishment of this office in one of the Baltic capitals. I believe this would be a prudent and cost - effective measure, which would maximize efficiency for all concerned. We believe that Riga would serve as an ideal location for this office. Its centralized location, and transportation and communications infrastructure would enable FBI officials to operate effectively in all three Baltic States, with minimal cost.

As you stated to President Ulmanis in Riga on July 6, 1994, organized crime is becoming the greatest threat to the sovereignty and stability of nations throughout the world. Your leadership in establishing the Partnership for Peace has already produced dividends for all the countries in our region. The Government of Latvia looks forward to establishing a similar Cooperation Against Crime program with you.

Sincerely,

Māris Gailis
Prime Minister

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86 Brīvības Blvd., Riga LV-1520, Latvia, tel. +371-2-332232 fax +371-2-286598

2016-0314-M-2 (4.73)
6/20/2023 v2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001-eable | Re: First NATO Visit to Malta Thanks to USS Samuel B. Roberts Captain and Crew (3 pages) | 06/28/1996 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 1113

FOLDER TITLE:

9604924

2011-1037-F

ke2244

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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PREC: ROUTINE CLASS: UNCLASSIFIED SSN: 1006 MSGID: M2292533

RAAUZYUW RUEHVTA1006 1801303-UUUU--RHEHAAX.

ZNR UUUUU ZZH

R 281303Z JUN 96

FM AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

FM: AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2144
RHDLPJC/NAVCRIMINSERVRA SIGONELLA IT
RUFRRGG/USS SAMUEL B ROBERTS
RUFRRQJQ/COMSIXTHFLT
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
RUEHNO/USMISSION USNATO 0026
RHDLPJGJ/CTF SIX THREE
RUFRRMDA/CTF SIX ZERO
RUEHRO/USDAO ROME IT

INFO: RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 7776
RUENAAA/CNO WASHDC
RUEKJCS/CJCS WASHDC

UNCLAS VALLETTA 001006

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED (SBU)
STATE FOR EUR/WE

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: MARR, PREL, NATO, MT TA IN 25 YEARS - SPECIAL
SUBJECT: FIRST NATO VISIT TO MAL
THANKS TO USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS CAPTAIN AND CREW

1. (SBU) THE FIRST VISIT TO MALTA OF WARSHIPS UNDER THE NATO FLAG IN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS WENT SMOOTHLY JUNE 20-27. THE PORT CALL OF NATO'S STANDING NAVAL FORCES MEDITERRANEAN (STANAVFORMED) INCLUDED SEVEN SHIPS, AMONG THEM USS SAMUEL B ROBERTS, WAS HANDLED AS A LOW-KEY ROUTINE EVENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF MALTA (GOM). NEVERTHELESS, THE VISIT SYMBOLIZED THE GOM'S DETERMINATION TO SECURE MALTA FIRMLY WITHIN THE EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE.

2. (SBU) THE VISIT WAS MARKED BY TWO DEPARTURES FROM PRACTICES FOLLOWED BY THE GOM AND BY THE OPPOSITION MALTA LABOR PARTY (MLP) DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS OF

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MALTA LABOR PARTY (MLP) DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS OF SHIP VISITS BY U.S. AND OTHER WARSHIPS. FOR ITS PART, THE GOM LIMITED ITS PARTICIPATION IN OFFICIAL EVENTS: THE GERMAN COMMANDER OF THE FORCE MADE COURTESY CALLS ON THE PRESIDENT AND THE COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES, BOTH OF WHICH ARE NON-PARTISAN POSITIONS. HOWEVER, NO GOVERNMENT MINISTERS PARTICIPATED IN CALLS OR IN THE RECEPTION HELD BY COMSTANAVFORMED. OUR CONTACTS SPECULATED THAT THE RULING NATIONALIST PARTY LEADERSHIP SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE ITS ASSOCIATION WITH THE NATO VISIT TO AVOID OFFERING TOO LARGE A TARGET FOR AN MLP ATTACK.

3. (SBU) THE MLP LEADERSHIP, WHICH OPPOSES **MALTA'S** MEMBERSHIP IN PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE OR ANY OTHER MILITARY 'ALLIANCE,' PUBLICLY CRITICIZED THE NATO VISIT. PARTY LEADER ALFRED SANT ACCUSED THE GOM OF ATTEMPTING TO TURN THE CLOCK BACK TO THE 1960S WHEN NATO WARSHIPS WERE PORTED IN **MALTA** AND UNIFORMED SAILORS WERE PROMINENT IN THE COUNTRY'S STREETS (UNIFORMS WERE NOT PERMITTED ASHORE DURING THIS VISIT, NOR DURING OTHERS IN THE RECENT PAST). MLP RHETORIC, MILD BY MALTESE STANDARDS AND, NOTABLY, DID NOT APPEAR UNTIL AFTER THE VISIT WAS UNDERWAY. SEVERAL OBSERVERS SPECULATED THAT THE MLP REACTED AS IT DID BECAUSE THE PARTY FACED A DILEMMA REGARDING THE VISIT--THE NATO PORTCALL SHOULD HAVE BEEN AN IDEAL OPPORTUNITY FOR LABOR TO HAMMER HOME ITS NON-ALIGNED POLICY. HOWEVER, PARTY RANK-AND-FILE PROFIT FROM SHIP VISITS AND, AS DEMONSTRATED BY THE HUGELY POPULAR RESPONSE TO U.S. NAVY VISITS SINCE 1994, THE MALTESE PUBLIC LIKE HAVING FRIENDLY (WESTERN) WARSHIPS IN THEIR HARBORS.

4. (U) EMBASSY VALLETTA WISHES TO THANK THE OFFICERS AND CREW OF THE USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS FOR THEIR COOPERATION AND SUPPORT DURING THEIR INCIDENT-FREE VISIT. "ROBERTS" CAPTAIN COMMANDER LOUIS GEANULEAS, EXO LTCDR PAUL SCHACK, AND SUPPLY OFFICER MARK POLCA SET HIGH STANDARDS FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR SHIP, AND WERE GENEROUS IN HOSTING THE EMBASSY'S KEY MARITIME CONTACTS. WE LOOK FORWARD TO SUCH FLAWLESS VISITS IN THE FUTURE.

5. (U) WE WOULD LIKE TO SINGLE OUT MEMBERS OF USS SAMUEL B. ROBERTS' CREW FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE TO **MALTA'S** VERDALA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL. THE SCHOOL SENT A THANK YOU NOTE TO THE EMBASSY FOR THE MOVING OF HEAVY MATERIAL BY THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS (PLEASE EXCUSE US IF WE MISSED ANY NAMES): SKC PETROHOY, FCL LANDRY, ICL HILL, STG2 DARE, SK2 NILES, RM2 COCHLIN, BM3 SELLERS, GSE3 EASTERLING, GSE3 GOLDSBY, AND SH3 HAYS. THESE SAILORS DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO OUR

DESERVE SPECIAL MENTION FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO OUR
COMMUNITY AND, ALONG WITH THE REST OF THE SHIP'S
COMPLEMENT DURING THE VISIT, REFLECT CREDIT UPON THE
EMBASSY, THE US NAVY, AND AMERICA. THANKS AGAIN,
PATTERSON
BT
#1006

NNNN

DIST:

DIST>

SIT: PETERS VERSHBOW

SIT: NSC

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001- letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (3 pages) | 03/17/1997 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 4608

FOLDER TITLE:

9701844

2011-1037-F
ke2245

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]
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- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

14-MAR-1997 19:10

371 7325800

P.01

1844

*Latvijas Valsts prezidents*

17th March 1997

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

My dear friend,

Allow me, first and foremost, to wish you a full and speedy recovery from your unfortunate injury. Knowing the vigor with which you tackle all challenges, I am confident that this too shall pass with minimal disruption of your busy schedule.

We are approaching a time when important decisions will be made concerning the future of Europe. These decisions will determine the nature of security on the Continent in the 21st century. The United States will play a key role in these decisions, and I believe that is as it should be, for without the vision and leadership of the United States, lasting security in Europe is impossible.

We in Latvia are looking with interest toward the US - Russia summit in Helsinki. It is our hope that your talks with President Yeltsin will succeed in fostering a dialogue between NATO and Russia, which will establish a constructive, co-operative relationship between a renewed and enlarged NATO and a forward-looking Russia. Such a relationship is essential if the task of building a new, undivided European security architecture is to succeed.

No doubt, you are aware of some of the concerns which have been expressed in the Baltic States, Europe and in the United States regarding the manner in which future NATO - Russian

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2016-0314-M-2 (434)
4/20/2023 VL

14-MAR-1997 19:11

371 7325800

P.02

relationships could develop. Fears have been expressed on both sides of the ocean that NATO and Russia could reach an unofficial understanding that could exclude the Baltic States from NATO membership in the foreseeable future.

We fully trust the assurances we have received from the United States, that questions concerning new members, geography and the timing of the enlargement process will not be the subject of negotiation with non-NATO members. We agree that a "no veto", "no exclusions" policy should not be compromised.

Nevertheless, it is also our hope that you could use this trip to Europe to once more affirm the United States position that Baltic States membership in NATO is not a question of "if", but simply "when". The people of Latvia were greatly encouraged when former Secretary of Defence William Perry stated in Copenhagen, that the Baltic States ought to be brought into the security circle of Europe and in regard to NATO, added, we should all work to hasten the day they will be ready for membership. It would mean a great deal if you would reinforce this support for Baltic States membership in NATO.

I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate the commitment of the people and government of Latvia to the Euroatlantic values, and to our foreign policy goal of full reintegration into European and Transatlantic economic, security and defence structures.

We are already working hard to reach these goals. In choosing this path, we are fully cognizant of our responsibilities, just as the United States and its European allies have undertaken the responsibility of enlarging NATO in a manner that ensures the security of all of Europe.

Mr. President, I would like to respectfully request your personal support in one particularly important matter. When NATO enlargement begins, regardless of who is invited to begin accession talks, it would be important that the people of Latvia remain confident that Latvia too has clear and concrete prospects of eventually joining the Alliance, and that the tasks which need to be accomplished to reach this goal are clearly defined.

In my view this reassurance could be achieved through the establishment of an open door policy that is both visible and practically realizable. This would include agreement on the instruments and institutions which would enable candidate countries to prepare for full membership, while strengthening the bilateral cooperation between Alliance members and candidates.

Referring to the Latvia's - US bilateral co-operation I would like to express our commitment for the Baltic Action Plan, and in particular, your proposal to complete a US - Baltic States Charter. In such a Document we will be able to reaffirm that we share common values and goals, among them our readiness to work together in speeding our integration into the Atlantic Alliance. This Document should also highlight the special relationship that has developed between the United States and the Baltic States.

I feel it is important that we begin immediately to work on the practical aspects of this Document, so that it could be completed before the NATO Summit in Madrid. It would be a great honor for me to participate in the formal signing of this Document upon its completion.

Mr. President, allow me to once again express gratitude for the continuing support the United States Government has given our country and its people. I can assure you, that with Latvia's full membership in the Atlantic Alliance, the United States will have a reliable ally and a trusted friend, fully committed to contributing its share in building a stable and unified Europe.

Latvia has often been described as a success story. I believe that our relationship over the last four years has been equally successful, as well as extremely gratifying. I look forward to working with you in strengthening Latvia's - US bilateral ties and building broader and more secure Europe.

With cordial regards

Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

Yours Guntis Ulmanis

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 04/04/1997 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (3 pages) | 03/17/1997 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (3 pages) | 03/17/1997 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 1612

FOLDER TITLE:

9702330

2011-1037-F
 ke2246

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)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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TO: PRESIDENT

FROM: ULMANIS, GUNTIS

DOC DATE: 17 MAR 97
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LATVIA HS
NATO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR RE INCLUSION OF LATVIA IN NATO

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR BERGER DUE DATE: 15 APR 97 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: FRIED LOGREF:

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VA Date: 6/10/2013
2016-0314-M-2

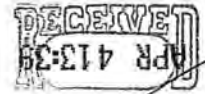
COMMENTS: OBE. Related to Madrid Summit. We
may do a separate POTUS letter to all Baltic Presidents re
Baltic Charter.

DISPATCHED BY (12) DATE 4/4 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSTSM CLOSED BY: DOC 1 OF 1



Latvijas Valsts prezidents



17th March 1997

His Excellency
William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

My dear friend,

Allow me, first and foremost, to wish you a full and speedy recovery from your unfortunate injury. Knowing the vigor with which you tackle all challenges, I am confident that this too shall pass with minimal disruption of your busy schedule.

We are approaching a time when important decisions will be made concerning the future of Europe. These decisions will determine the nature of security on the Continent in the 21st century. The United States will play a key role in these decisions, and I believe that is as it should be, for without the vision and leadership of the United States, lasting security in Europe is impossible.

We in Latvia are looking with interest toward the US - Russia summit in Helsinki. It is our hope that your talks with President Yeltsin will succeed in fostering a dialogue between NATO and Russia, which will establish a constructive, co-operative relationship between a renewed and enlarged NATO and a forward-looking Russia. Such a relationship is essential if the task of building a new, undivided European security architecture is to succeed.

No doubt, you are aware of the some of the concerns which have been expressed in the Baltic States, Europe and in the United States regarding the manner in which future NATO - Russian

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2016-0314-M-1 (4,35)
6/20/2023 VL

relationships could develop. Fears have been expressed on both sides of the ocean that NATO and Russia could reach an unofficial understanding that could exclude the Baltic States from NATO membership in the foreseeable future.

We fully trust the assurances we have received from the United States, that questions concerning new members, geography and the timing of the enlargement process will not be the subject of negotiation with non-NATO members. We agree that a "no veto", "no exclusions" policy should not be compromised.

Nevertheless, it is also our hope that you could use this trip to Europe to once more affirm the United States position that Baltic States membership in NATO is not a question of "if", but simply "when". The people of Latvia were greatly encouraged when former Secretary of Defence William Perry stated in Copenhagen, that the Baltic States ought to be brought into the security circle of Europe and in regard to NATO, added, we should all work to hasten the day they will be ready for membership. It would mean a great deal if you would reinforce this support for Baltic States membership in NATO.

I would also like to take this opportunity to reiterate the commitment of the people and government of Latvia to the Euroatlantic values, and to our foreign policy goal of full reintegration into European and Transatlantic economic, security and defence structures.

We are already working hard to reach these goals. In choosing this path, we are fully cognizant of our responsibilities, just as the United States and its European allies have undertaken the responsibility of enlarging NATO in a manner that ensures the security of all of Europe.

Mr. President, I would like to respectfully request your personal support in one particularly important matter. When NATO enlargement begins, regardless of who is invited to begin accession talks, it would be important that the people of Latvia remain confident that Latvia too has clear and concrete prospects of eventually joining the Alliance, and that the tasks which need to be accomplished to reach this goal are clearly defined.

In my view this reassurance could be achieved through the establishment of an open door policy that is both visible and practically realizable. This would include agreement on the instruments and institutions which would enable candidate countries to prepare for full membership, while strengthening the bilateral cooperation between Alliance members and candidates.

Referring to the Latvia's - US bilateral co-operation I would like to express our commitment for the Baltic Action Plan, and in particular, your proposal to complete a US - Baltic States Charter. In such a Document we will be able to reaffirm that we share common values and goals, among them our readiness to work together in speeding our integration into the Atlantic Alliance. This Document should also highlight the special relationship that has developed between the United States and the Baltic States.

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Mr. President, allow me to once again express gratitude for the continuing support the United States Government has given our country and its people. I can assure you, that with Latvia's full membership in the Atlantic Alliance, the United States will have a reliable ally and a trusted friend, fully committed to contributing its share in building a stable and unified Europe.

Latvia has often been described as a success story. I believe that our relationship over the last four years has been equally successful, as well as extremely gratifying. I look forward to working with you in strengthening Latvia's - US bilateral ties and building broader and more secure Europe.

With cordial regards

Guntis Ulmanis
President

Republic of Latvia

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Yours Guntis Ulmanis

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Latvijas Valsts prezidents



17th March 1997

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

2016-0314-M-2 (4.36)
6/20/2023 VZ

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With cordial regards

Guntis Ulmanis
President
Republic of Latvia

Yours Guntis Ulmanis

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | Daniel Fried to James Steinberg, re: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs (3 pages) | 06/11/1997 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. report | U.S. Government Report (3 pages) | 05/02/1997 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 1625

FOLDER TITLE:

9704011

2011-1037-F
ke2247

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]
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

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June 11, 1997

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

NOTED

FROM: DANIEL FRIED *DF*

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs, Friday June 13, at 5:00pm

Latvia is the most pragmatic and least anxiety-ridden Baltic state with respect to NATO enlargement. Birkavs can be an articulate ally in refuting the charge that "small group" NATO enlargement merely redivides Europe or is a "second Yalta." In return, he is looking for signals sufficient to maintain Latvian confidence. Our policy initiatives -- the Baltic Action Plan, NATO's open door and the U.S.-Baltic Charter -- may provide much of what he needs.

Birkavs is a pro-Western, free-market political leader who heads the centrist Latvia's Way party. A lawyer by training, he was an early leader in Latvia's independence movement. He and Latvia's Way are mainstays of the fractious, multi-party coalition that governs Latvia. Birkavs must spend much of his time on intra-coalition politics and personal quarrels.

NATO Enlargement. The Latvians prefer a smaller group at Madrid, concerned that an initial group of five invitees would put off subsequent invitations indefinitely. They hope for strong open door language at Madrid, including: a statement of the open door principle, commitment to continue the NATO dialogues on membership with candidate countries, regular NATO review of the results of these dialogues, and a commitment to extend the next invitations by the first new accessions in 1999. Our PC-approved open door language includes all the Latvian points, except the date-certain for new NATO entrants. You should affirm our support for the strongest possible open door language and review our thinking in general, noting the practical and political difficulties -- within the Alliance and the Congress -- with a date-certain for new entrants.

Birkavs may raise the possibility of establishing a NATO office in Riga. In fact, the SLG Report in May and blessed by the NAC opened the way for NATO to open, on a case-by-case basis, offices selected Partner capitals. You can say that the way is now open to consider this issue and that we will consider it favorably; you should not make a commitment.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5 (b, d)

Declassify On: 6/11/02

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-03-14-11-2 (4.37)

6/20/2023 VZ

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Baltic Action Plan. The Latvians have been the BAP's most consistent Baltic supporters, eschewing the initial Lithuanian complaints that it represented an unacceptable "consolation prize" alternative to immediate NATO membership. The BAP is a road map of bilateral, regional and multilateral actions to support Baltic integration; we have used it to: advance initiatives with Nordic countries, including on security cooperation; press the EU to include at least one Baltic state (probably Estonia) for the first round of EU accession negotiations; and squeeze more funding for bilateral programs (most notably an extra \$10M for funding the Regional Airspace Initiative for the Baltics). We are also preparing our draft of the U.S.-Baltic Charter, another BAP initiative eagerly anticipated by the Baltic governments. You can tell Birkavs that we appreciate the practical Latvian approach of accepting the BAP to advance our shared interests, including GOL provision of concrete suggestions. Of the BAP initiatives, we have made the most progress on security-related items, regional cooperation with interested Nordic governments and the Baltic Charter, which is our current high priority.

U.S.-Baltic Charter. Deputies approved the concept last summer, seeking to give greater visibility to our support for Baltic integration with the West. The Charter will be a political document outlining shared objectives, including some sort of open door language and establishing a U.S.-Baltic Commission to advance relations. We presented the concept to Baltic governments last September but chose to move slowly -- both because of Lithuanian objections to the concept (unacceptable "consolation prize") and because of the timing of NATO-Russia negotiations that led to the Founding Act. As Baltic governments grew more realistic about their chances at Madrid (and perhaps because we seemed to move slowly), the Baltic governments changed their views; all are now enthusiastic about the Charter.

We accelerated work after Paris and now intend to present the Baltics with our draft before Madrid. (Ron Asmus and I are leading interagency work; Strobe Talbott is very closely engaged.) We will negotiate the text post-Madrid with plans to sign the document at a high level sometime in the fall. We want to use a POTUS meeting with the Baltic Presidents -- an event approved by the Schedulers in principle but without a date. *We have not conveyed this offer to Baltic governments, even in principle, but have told them only that we hope to sign the Charter at a ministerial level or above.* You should express full support for the Charter and our intention to present a draft this month and organize a suitably high-level signing this fall.

Other issues.

- **Skrunda.** Birkavs may raise the Russian "hen house" radar facility at Skrunda, due under a Latvian-Russian agreement to be shut down by 1998. The Russians have made little progress in developing an alternative to Skrunda (funding shortages) and may seek to extend the life of the facility. The Russians argue that abandoning Skrunda without its replacement on line would open a gap in their ballistic missile early warning capability. You can say that we will tell the Russians we expect them to abide by their commitment to shut down Skrunda and withdraw the last 700 Russian troops from the facility by 2000. Given Russian concerns about a gap in its radar coverage, we may have to consider how to encourage Russia's compliance.
- **WTO.** Birkavs may raise pressures from the U.S. on WTO accession issues, including our concern about Latvian agriculture and services (IPR and audio-visual access) issues. Latvia is caught between our concern and competing pressure from Brussels to support broader EU trade policy objectives in their WTO accession as Latvia also seeks to join the EU. USTR wants to avoid harmful precedents for Ukraine, Kazakstan and Russia, but wants to send a clear, positive signal that we want to work with Latvia to address remaining differences. If raised, you can note that we strongly support Latvia's accession to the WTO, that membership on strong commercial terms will solidify Latvia's integration into the global economy, and that we are committed to working to resolve the outstanding problems.

Concurrences by: Alexander Vershbow, Ki Fort, Malcolm Lee *DF*

Attachment

Tab A Biographic background

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/26/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 08/25/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. paper | Re: Caspian Energy (1 page) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/27/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002b. briefing paper | Re: Meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin - Regional Issues (10 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002e. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 08/27/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/26/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 08/24/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004b. paper | Re: Background - Nuclear Cities Initiative (2 pages) | ea-08/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004e. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 08/21/1998 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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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]
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TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 26 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814923

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
KOSOVO
CYPRUS

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL
IRAQ
LATVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR PRES TRIP TO RUSSIA ON 1 - 3 SEP 98

ACTION: ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL LOGREF: 9805257 9805959

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
EXECSEC
NSC CHRON
PASCUAL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VZ Date: 6/20/2023
2026-0314-M-2

COMMENTS: _____

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OPENED BY: NSSWD CLOSED BY: NSSWD DOC 6 OF 7

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------------|
| 001 PASCUAL | Z 98081812 APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 002 PASCUAL | Z 98082115 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 003 PASCUAL | Z 98082415 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 003 | X 98082512 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |
| 003 | X 98082514 REOPEN / FOR FURTHER ACTION |
| 004 PASCUAL | Z 98082514 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 005 EXECSEC | Z 98082619 APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 PASCUAL | Z 98082706 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 | X 98083109 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |
| 006 | X 98091515 ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/RMO |
| 007 PASCUAL | Z 98082715 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 007 | X 98083109 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 25 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814816

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
AP
START

NUCLEAR WEAPONS
SPAIN
SOUTH ASIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR POTUS TRIP TO RUSSIA ON 1 - 3 SEP

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF: 9805257

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

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PASCUAL

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HILLIARD
JOSHI
MCCARTHY

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS

Initials: VR Date: 6/27/2013

2016-0314-M-2

~~John~~

COMMENTS:

WAN - Duplicate of trip materials. ✓

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DECL: 08/04/08

CASPIAN ENERGY

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PER E.O. 13526

2014-0314-01-2 (4,39)
6/20/2023 VL

The U.S. supports the development of multiple pipelines to carry Caspian energy resources to international markets. During a Presidential Mission to the region in November 1997, Energy Secretary Pena launched an invigorated strategy advocating development of an east-west Eurasian energy transportation corridor. The Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) project, from Kazakhstan to the Russian Black Sea port of Novorossisyk, is a prime example of U.S.-Russian commercial cooperation and a vital component of the eastwest corridor. Securing Russian support, or at least acquiescence, to the east-west energy transport corridor, in particular trans-Caspian pipelines and the Baku-Ceyhan main oil pipelines, is a critical element of our Caspian strategy. We have discussed a joint U.S.-Russia statement on common principles of-Caspian energy development, but Russia has rejected previous drafts.

Recent discussions with Russian officials have emphasized the mutual benefits of U.S.-Russian commercial cooperation. These benefits appeal to former Prime Minister Kiriyenko, the Ministry of Fuels and Energy, and Russian companies. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) remains suspicious of U.S. involvement in the Caspian. Russia can benefit from our multiple pipeline strategy, which offers alternatives for the export of Russian energy to international markets outside of the clogged and inefficient Transneft pipeline system. Access to other pipeline routes could help further encourage urgently needed foreign direct investment in Russia's oil and gas industry.

Russia, Iran and Turkmenistan are competing for the lucrative Turkish gas market, the third fastest growing gas market in the world. Currently supplying 75% of Turkey's gas needs via trans-Balkan pipelines, Russia's Gazprom proposes to supply growing Turkish demand through a trans--Black Sea "Blue Stream" pipeline -a technically difficult and commercially questionable project -and upgrading existing lines. A stable and secure trans-Caucasus route through Georgia would be both cheaper and faster and would greatly enhance Gazprom's ability to market Russian gas to Turkey in the near term, forestalling a need to purchase gas from Iran pending construction of a trans-Caspian pipeline. Trans-Caspian gas from Turkmenistan could link up with Russian gas in the Caucasus for delivery to eastern Turkey. We have also urged Russia to allow Turkmenistan to resume exports through Russia, reducing Turkmenistan's need to turn to Iran for a quick export solution. Timing is the critical issue. Whichever pipeline reaches Turkey first will likely shut the door to other routes for the foreseeable future.

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TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 27 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814950

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
KOSOVO
CYPRUS

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL
IRAQ
LATVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR POTUS TRIP TO RUSSIA -- MTG W/ YELTSIN ON
REGIONAL ISSUES

ACTION: INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL LOGREF: 9805257 9805959

FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
EXECSEC
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Initials: VL Date: 6/20/2013
2016-0314-M-2

COMMENTS: _____

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ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

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| 001 PASCUAL | Z | 98081812 | APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 002 PASCUAL | Z | 98082115 | ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 003 PASCUAL | Z | 98082415 | ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
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| 003 | X | 98082514 | REOPEN / FOR FURTHER ACTION |
| 004 PASCUAL | Z | 98082514 | ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 005 EXECSEC | Z | 98082619 | APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 PASCUAL | Z | 98082706 | ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 | X | 98083109 | INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |
| 007 PASCUAL | Z | 98082715 | ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 007 | X | 98083109 | INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |

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2016-0314-M-2 (4.46)

6/20/2023 VZ

MEETING WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN
REGIONAL ISSUES

I. Core objectives

- Seek Yeltsin's commitment to hold Milosevic accountable for failure to live up to commitments made to Yeltsin and to the international community on Kosovo. Stress importance of firm and unified UNSC line on Iraq.
- Enlist Yeltsin's support in our Northern European Initiative and convince him to move Russia from confrontation to cooperation and dialogue in its approach to Latvia and Russian minority rights.
- Seek Yeltsin's cooperation on other regional issues such as Cyprus, the Caucasus, and Caspian cooperation.

II. Background

In addition to the European security architecture issues, you will want to address key regional issues with Yeltsin. Kosovo and Iraq -- where Russia seems to be giving undue support to Milosevic and Saddam -- have the potential to cause severe damage to the U.S.-Russia relationship, while Russian sales of missiles to Cyprus and pressuring Latvia are increasing tensions in those respective regions.

In the past, you have successfully appealed to Yeltsin's ardent desire for Russia to be treated as a member of the club of responsible nations to move him away from the zero-sum approaches sometimes favored by his foreign minister and toward policies more in concert with us and our allies. The achievements of the NATO-Russia Founding Act and Russia's cooperation in Bosnia come to mind. You may need to take the same approach in pushing Yeltsin to adjust Moscow's policies toward Kosovo, Iraq, Cyprus and Latvia.

You will also want to discuss the Caucasus and Caspian region. Yeltsin, again fortified by Primakov, has publicly complained about our involvement in what he still considers Russia's sphere of influence. You should encourage Yeltsin

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to think more of spheres of cooperation than spheres of influence and point out to him the clear win-win benefits of U.S.-Russian cooperation in opening the Caspian region to world market forces.

Kosovo You will want to point out to Yeltsin we share the same goal -- a peaceful resolution of the conflict. It is clear, however, that despite his words, Milosevic has spurned the commitments he made to the international community, including President Yeltsin. You will want to emphasize our commitment to diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis, as Chris Hill's mission typifies, but stress that patience is running out and force may soon be necessary to halt the increasing civilian suffering as Milosevic and the UCK continue their bloody dance. You may need to brief Yeltsin on NATO's plans and elicit Yeltsin's support to make peace in Kosovo another NATO-Russia achievement. Short of that, you'll want at a minimum to secure Yeltsin's pledge that Russia will not isolate itself from the rest of the contact group, should drastic action on Kosovo prove necessary. You should seek Yeltsin's commitment to exert maximum pressure on Milosevic and the UCK to pull back and negotiate.

Iraq The Russians continue to argue that the UNSC's failure to show Iraq "light at the end of the tunnel" provokes conflicts with Iraq. Primakov stated in an August letter to the Secretary that the Iraq nuclear file should be closed, and that Iraq does not possess weapons of mass destruction or the capacity to manufacture them, despite clear evidence to the contrary. The Secretary sent back a tough reply setting the record straight.

You will want to review the state of play with Yeltsin, and point out that Saddam will do anything he can to exploit U.S.-Russian and UNSC differences. You passed a message to Yeltsin that Iraq's early August suspension of cooperation with UNSCOM is an attack on the institutions and authority of the United Nations and the Security Council, and you will want to underline the need for continued vigilance to counter Iraqi obstructionism.

Cyprus Our repeated approaches to the Russians to cancel the S-300 deal have been rebuffed, most recently when the Secretary raised it with Primakov in Manila in July. Primakov made clear, however, that the final decision on where the missiles are delivered is up to the Greek

Cypriots (Clerides confirmed to us that Cyprus will pay the Russians in full for the missiles regardless of their disposition). The Greek Cypriots and Greeks, judging the S-300 deal a mistake, have now agreed with our proposal for an "air regime" that would halt Greek and Turkish combat overflights of Cyprus. The Turks will be hard to convince.

You should try to obtain Yeltsin's agreement to work cooperatively with us and the Cypriots to find a solution to the S-300 missile issue that will keep the missiles off the island.

Latvia Russia's hard line against Latvia, including economic pressure, for alleged discrimination against its large Russian minority is hindering our efforts to encourage greater cooperation among the Nordics, Baltics and Russia and is increasing tension in the area. Yeltsin made positive statements in May in Birmingham, saying that there would be no sanctions against Latvia. He also said he would meet with Latvian president Ulmanis, but his press spokesman immediately took that back. In June the Latvian parliament amended its citizenship and naturalization laws to bring them into compliance with OSCE recommendation, but Moscow claims this is not enough. Russian politicians continue to criticize Latvia, while Moscow attempts to hinder the flow of trade upon which Latvia depends. In response, the nationalist Krasts government in Riga garnered enough support for the citizenship law to be put to a referendum, which will likely lead to further deterioration in relations with Russia. The referendum will probably be held concurrently with general elections October 3. We cannot predict its outcome. President Ulmanis is opposed to Krasts' efforts and asked for our help in getting him in touch with Yeltsin about taking a more constructive approach to towards Latvia. We should try to get Yeltsin to take the high ground, appeal to his historic role in helping the Balts achieve their independence and encourage him to accept Ulmanis' request to restart the dialogue. You should stress that perceived Russian threats and attempts to move the goalposts on the citizenship law only strengthen Latvia's chauvinistic nationalists and makes resolution of Russian minority rights more difficult.

Caucasus Russia remains neuralgic about U.S. involvement in the Caucasus. Primakov considers the Caucasus his

special preserve and has sought to limit the international role in peacemaking in Georgia while striking off on his own, outside the Minsk Group, to address the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. His efforts have achieved stunning failure. In Georgia, Russian peace-keepers cannot keep the peace. In N-K the peace process is at stalemate. Russia continues to oppose a UN-recommended self-protection force for the UN observer mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) as part of general aversion to the introduction of any non-CIS forces into the former Soviet Union. This not only affects the Abkhazia conflict; it also stakes out a Russian position reserving to themselves a potential peacekeeping force in Nagorno-Karabakh - a Yeltsin assertion you rejected in 1994.

You should impress upon Yeltsin that only international efforts have a chance of bringing stability and prosperity to the region. Neither Russia nor the U.S. can do it alone. If our partnership is to mean anything, it should allow us to work together to resolve regional conflicts anywhere in the world.

You should encourage Yeltsin to join you in instructing our representatives to reinvigorate the Minsk Group and press Armenia to end its opposition to our jointly agreed proposals for a step-by step approach for resolving the N-K stalemate.

Caspian Energy Securing constructive Russian engagement and commercial participation in the east-west corridor and multiple pipelines is a key element of our Caspian strategy. In his earlier role as Energy Minister, now former Prime Minister Kiriyenko, along with other Russian officials, indicated a desire to enhance U.S.-Russian cooperation on Caspian energy development (and Russian oil companies have played a constructive role); however, some elements of the Russian government -- particularly FM Primakov -- remain hostile to U.S. interest in the region. During his July meeting with Kiriyenko, the Vice President stressed our desire to work cooperatively with Russia to develop and transport Caspian energy resources to the benefit of all concerned and suggested this cooperation could be cited by you and Yeltsin in September. Kiriyenko appeared receptive to this proposal.

You should encourage Yeltsin to look at the Caspian as an area of potentially lucrative cooperation, not influence. Russia alone cannot develop the riches of the Caspian, but

with U.S. firms, both the U.S. and Russia could profit handsomely as well as ensure greater stability for all the countries in the region, a result surely in Russia's security interests. (FYI: During your visit, deputy Foreign Ministers from the five states surrounding the Caspian sea, including Iran, will be in Moscow discussing the legal status of the Sea.)

III. POINTS TO BE MADE

Kosovo

- Current events in Kosovo represent the gravest threat to European peace and security. We cannot sit on the sidelines while hundreds of people are being killed and tens of thousands are driven from their homes. We cannot accept another Bosnia.
- Serb repression of civilians in Kosovo has spurred a cycle of violence and invigorated the extremists in Kosovo. The deteriorating situation threatens to cause a wider Balkan war.
- We must join in sending a strong message to President Milosevic that he must live up to the commitments made to you in Moscow and to the rest of the international community. He must end the excessive use of force against civilians; allow full and uninterrupted access; help refugees return; enter a serious dialogue with the Albanian community.
- By pursuing a military strategy he has made the Kosovar Albanians reluctant to come to the negotiating table.
- We ask that you use your channels to urge Milosevic to cease hostilities. We know you oppose military intervention, but Milosevic's intransigence has forced NATO to accelerate contingency planning. Obviously, our strong preference is for a diplomatic outcome that restores peace and respects rights.
- To this end, U.S. Ambassador (to FYR Macedonia) Christopher Hill continues meeting with Belgrade and Kosovar authorities to explore the ground for launching a dialogue.

- You and I worked together to stop the slaughter in Bosnia; we need to do the same for Kosovo.

Iraq

- It has been almost a month since Iraq suspended cooperation with UNSCOM.
- Since then, we have been working with the Council in a deliberate, determined manner to convince Iraq to resume cooperation.
- The Council, however, has been unsuccessful in convincing Iraq to reverse course. This situation cannot continue. Iraq cannot continue to flout the will of the Council and international community.

If resolution is still in play:

- The Council is at a critical juncture. Will it act decisively to counter this challenge to its authority, or will it abrogate its responsibilities, set bad precedent for others to ignore Council decisions?
- The resolution to suspend sanctions reviews until Iraq resumes cooperation is a measured, appropriate response. Russia should support this.

If asked about including language about comprehensive review: Discussion of the suggestions the SYG has put forth -- including for a "comprehensive review" -- should follow, not precede a return to Iraqi compliance. The "compromise" proposal put forward by your Mission in New York is unacceptable; it would reward Baghdad for embarking on the current confrontation.

- If the Council fails to act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, we will have laid the foundation for taking our own decisive action. Iraq's ongoing violation cannot be allowed to continue unchecked.

If resolution adopted with Russian support:

- Appreciate Russia's support on the resolution.
- The Council must remain united if it is to convince Iraq it has no choice but to back down.

If Russia abstains on resolution:

- We were deeply disturbed by your abstention on the resolution suspending sanctions reviews.
- I have made clear on a number of occasions that this is an issue affecting vital U.S. interests. The resolution was a measured response to Iraq's unacceptable actions.
- Cutting deals with Saddam, or rewarding him for his violations is precisely the wrong thing to do.
- Your action in the Council will embolden Saddam further to challenge the will of the international community.
- If the Council cannot act effectively to counter Iraq's flagrant violations of U.N. resolutions, it will render itself irrelevant, leaving us little choice but to take our own decisive action.

Cyprus

- Solving the Cyprus dispute is a high priority for the U.S. We will continue to work vigorously to promote a Cyprus settlement under the UN umbrella. We want to work with you in the Security Council to achieve a solution based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation.
- The S-300 missile deal is complicating efforts to get settlement talks restarted. The Greek Cypriots now appear to realize the dangers the missiles pose to stability on the island and are looking ways that would keep them from being delivered. I urge you to work with us and with the Greek Cypriots to find a solution that addresses these needs. Your agreement not to deliver the missiles could be the deal-maker.

Latvia

- You were instrumental in helping the Baltic states to regain their independence. That forward thinking and spirit of constructive cooperation is needed now.
- I understand your concern about the situation of the Russian minority in Latvia. We are committed to ensuring full human and civil rights for all people, citizens and non-citizens.
- Latvia's new citizenship law meets all the OSCE's essential recommendations on citizenship and naturalization, which are the only benchmarks to judge this issue. We are focused on defeating the referendum and implementing the legislation in October. You can help by encouraging Russian speakers to take advantage of the new law when it comes into effect.
- I'd like you to consider reestablishing a dialogue with Latvia, and perhaps even meeting with President Ulmanis now that the new citizenship legislation is passed.
- I would like us to work together to contribute to regional cooperation in Northern Europe. Why don't we ask Madeleine and Yevgeniy to see whether they can't find some creative ways to use our ties to boost regional cooperation, including with the Baltic states?

Caucasus

- We need to look at ways to cooperate in the Caucasus. The deadlock of peace talks and the lack of progress in dealing with the Abkhaz and Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts hurts all of us.
- May hostilities in Abkhazia and the recent deaths of Russian peacekeepers underscore the need for us to cooperate on a coordinated policy toward peacekeeping arrangements there. Know you've had objections to a protection unit for UNOMIG, but urge you to reexamine the issue given recent events.
- This is not a zero-sum game: we both want peace, stability, and prosperity in the region. Need to work together with OSCE and UN to foster political compromise,

democracy and economic reform. If we can act jointly, substantial economic and commercial opportunities will open up to you, and Russia's overall position will improve.

- Maybe this is hard to envisage now, but the potential is so great, let's instruct our people to intensify their efforts to come up with ideas. Let's get the Minsk Group moving.

Caspian

- Russia and the United States have much to gain from the commercial development and transport of Caspian energy resources. The Caspian Pipeline Consortium (CPC) project, which we both supported, exemplifies the benefits of our cooperation.
- We have parallel interests in promoting stable, prosperous states in the region and preventing Iran from establishing a dominant position in Caspian energy development. Investors and regional governments will welcome our joint statement expressing our commitment to cooperate on Caspian energy and pipeline development.

Regional issues paper

Dftd: Eur/Rus:jmpommersheim/et. al. 7-6763

Cleared: EUR/RUS:myovanovitch ok
P:Sgwaltney ok
D:Kdoherty ok (subs)
S/NIS:Gkrol / Sestanovich
S/P:Dhamilton (info) / Grumer ok
CACEN:Bdonahue ok/ Ken Yalowitz ok
S/NIS/RC:Premier ok / Don Keyser ok
EUR:Rasmus ok
NEA/NGA:Acorky/Tbarry ok
S/NIS/PRA:CmcClelland ok Dcagan (info)
EUR/SCE:Choh / Mpalmer ok (in draft - subject to
change)

(Cyprus) EUR/SE:Dbauer ok
Tmiller ok
Bhartley ok

(Latvia)
DRLeader ok
EUR/NB:GMilovanovic ok
EUR/RPM:SPenhune ok
DRL/BA:Tressler ok
P:ERubin ok
D:JBass ok

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 27 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814950

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
KOSOVO
CYPRUS

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL
IRAQ
LATVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BREIFING MATERIALS FOR POTUS TRIP TO RUSSIA -- MTG W/ YELTSIN ON
REGIONAL ISSUES

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF: 9805257 9805959

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
PASCUAL

FOR CONCURRENCE
COVEY
FLANAGAN
MARTY
NAPLAN
SAPIRO

FOR INFO
BANDLER
BELL
BLINKEN
ELKON
HILLIARD
MCCARTHY
RIEDEL
SCHWARTZ
Jost

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VZ Date: 6/20/2013
2016-0314-M-2

COMMENTS:

*Background materials for trip. No
further action necessary.*

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD CLOSED BY: DOC 7 OF 7

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 26 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814923

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
KOSOVO
CYPRUS

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL
IRAQ
LATVIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR PRES TRIP TO RUSSIA ON 1 - 3 SEP 98

ACTION: INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: C
 STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL LOGREF: 9805257 9805959
 FILES: PA NSCP: CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
EXECSEC
NSC CHRON
PASCUAL

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/16/2023
2016-0314-01-2

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD CLOSED BY: NSGP DOC 6 OF 7

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------------|
| 001 PASCUAL | Z 98081812 APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 002 PASCUAL | Z 98082115 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 003 PASCUAL | Z 98082415 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 003 | X 98082512 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |
| 003 | X 98082514 REOPEN / FOR FURTHER ACTION |
| 004 PASCUAL | Z 98082514 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 005 EXECSEC | Z 98082619 APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 PASCUAL | Z 98082706 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 006 | X 98083109 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |
| 007 PASCUAL | Z 98082715 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION |
| 007 | X 98083109 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK |

TO: DAVIES

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 24 AUG 98
SOURCE REF: 9814751

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
AP
START

NUCLEAR WEAPONS
SPAIN
SOUTH ASIA

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR POTUS TRIP TO RUSSIA ON 1 - 3 SEP

ACTION: INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL LOGREF: 9805257

FILES: WH NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/20/03
296-0814-M-2

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD CLOSED BY: NSGP DOC 3 OF 3

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 PASCUAL
002 PASCUAL
003 PASCUAL
003

Z 98081812 APPROPRIATE ACTION
Z 98082115 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
Z 98082415 ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION
X 98082512 INCORPORATED IN BRIEFING BOOK

BACKGROUND - NUCLEAR CITIES INITIATIVE (NCI)

Russia's nuclear weapon production infrastructure, including plutonium production, uranium enrichment, weapon design, and weapon assembly are concentrated in ten closed cities, known as the ten "nuclear cities." In recent years, drastic cuts in Russian government payments to institutes and facilities that dominate the economies of these cities have led to increasing concern that economic hardship might drive nuclear weapon scientists and technicians to make their skills available to nations of proliferation concern. The initial U.S. response to this "brain drain" threat was to sponsor joint projects on non-sensitive subjects with small teams of Russian nuclear scientists, through the Department of Energy's (DOE) Initiatives for Proliferation Prevention program and through the multi-nationally sponsored International Science and Technology Center in Moscow.

To deal more comprehensively with the economic challenges besetting the Russian nuclear complex, in early-1998 DOE launched the Nuclear Cities Initiative, aimed at diversifying the economies of the cities in question and facilitating the transition of displaced nuclear scientists to commercial jobs. This effort, endorsed at the March 1998 Gore-Chernomyrdin and at the July 1998 Gore-Kiryenko Commission meetings, also seeks to facilitate the recently announced decision of the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy (Minatom) to begin reducing the size and staffing of the Russian nuclear weapons infrastructure. Facilitating this Russian "right sizing" effort will serve the additional U.S. national security interest of bringing the scale of the Russian nuclear weapons infrastructure more in line with that of the United States, an issue that is likely to figure in future arms reduction negotiations.

The program envisions extensive training of Russian nuclear specialists and managers in business planning; measures to attract businesses to the regions at issue; efforts to help new business starts; and related infrastructure projects. These efforts will be closely integrated with relevant activities of the Agency for International Development, the Department of Commerce, the Ex-Im Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and multilateral development banks. U.S. experience in restructuring Hanford, Washington, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and other nuclear sites will be shared, as will lessons learned from Department of Defense base closings. The fiscal year 1999 DOE budget for the Initiative is approximately \$15 million. Initial activities will concentrate on three closed cities, two that are home to Russia's nuclear weapons laboratories (Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70) and a third that is home to a large plutonium production complex (Krasnoyarsk-26).

The United States and Russia are currently negotiating a government-to-government agreement to formalize cooperation under the Initiative. The agreement will establish a framework for a legal basis for the initiative and facilitate the participation of multiple

agencies on the Russian side. It will also assist Minatom to secure funding for the initiative from the Russian government and facilitate the extension of certain Russian tax laws that provide incentives for investment in the nuclear cities. The agreement also seeks to ensure that U.S. assistance funds will be free from Russian taxes.

TO: DAVIES

~~SECRET~~

FROM: KENNEY, K

DOC DATE: 21 AUG 98
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: RUSSIA
AP

NUCLEAR WEAPONS
SPAIN

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR POTUS TRIP TO MOSCOW 1 - 2 SEP

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE: 24 AUG 98 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: PASCUAL

LOGREF: 9805257

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION
PASCUAL

FOR CONCURRENCE
SAMORE
WEISS

FOR INFO
BELL
BERGER
ELKON
HILLIARD
JOSHI
LEE

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

*Materials incorporated in
Summit briefing book.*

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSSWD CLOSED BY: _____ DOC 2 OF 2

~~SECRET~~
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: Y2 Date: 6/1/2023

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (2 pages) | 10/18/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Draft memo from Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Meeting with Warren Christopher on His Trip to Hungary and the Former Soviet Union (2 pages) | 10/18/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 168

FOLDER TITLE:

9308069

2011-1037-F
ke2212

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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TO: LAKE

FROM: BEYRLE
BURNS

DOC DATE: 18 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: HUNGARY
RUSSIA
START

LATVIA
UKRAINE
ARMS CONTROL

PERSONS: CHRISTOPHER, W

SUBJECT: PRES MTG W/ SEC CHRISTOPHER ON 19 OCT RE SECSTATE TRIP TO HUNGARY /
NUCLEAR FOUR FSU STATES & LATVIA

ACTION: ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/S

DUE DATE: 21 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BEYRLE

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

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/17/2023
2016-0314-M-2

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 1 OF 2

ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
001
002 PRESIDENT
002

Z 93101819 FWD TO PRES FOR INFORMATION
X 93122717 ORIGINALS RETURNED TO NSC/S
Z 93101911 FOR INFORMATION
X 93102011 NOTED BY PRES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,81)
6/20/2023 vz

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Your Meeting with Warren Christopher on His Trip to Hungary and the Former Soviet Union

Secretary Christopher leaves Wednesday on an eight-day trip to Hungary, Russia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus; he will also stop in Latvia for a meeting with the three Baltic foreign ministers. A full itinerary of the trip is attached at Tab A. Following is a brief description of Christopher's goals at each stop in the former Soviet Union which he will focus on in his meeting with you.

Moscow. In his meeting with Yeltsin, Christopher will reiterate support, while seeking assurances of continued commitment to democratic elections. He will also register concern over curtailed press freedoms. On Russian troop withdrawals in the Baltics, he will follow up on your letter to Yeltsin proposing high-level engagement on this issue with Latvian and Estonian Presidents. He will also lay down markers with Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Kozyrev on Russia's nascent effort to establish a strengthened military presence in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

On the economic cooperation side, Christopher will meet with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, and announce the Vice President's visit in mid-December. He will also address students at the Economic Academy, and meet a roundtable of U.S. businessmen.

Christopher will likely raise with you his desire to announce, in Moscow, your visit to Russia in January. I have reservations about his making this announcement before the rest of your trip is scheduled.

Almaty. We expect Christopher and the Kazakhstanis to sign the "umbrella agreement" that will free up the flow of Nunn-Lugar money for safe and secure dismantlement of nuclear missiles. He will also hear from President Nazarbayev the status of NPT accession; Nazarbayev has said he will have the instruments ready for you to accept during an Almaty stop on your January trip to the former USSR.

if possible

[unless already has decided]

~~SECRET~~

2

~~SECRET~~

Kiev. We are seeking President Kravchuk's commitment both to start some dismantlement of SS-24's and to submit START I and NPT to the Ukrainian Parliament as good faith demonstrations that will allow us to begin planning a Kravchuk visit to Washington this fall, as well as ^{a possible} Kiev stop on your January trip.

We have drafted a letter from you to President Kravchuk that underscores the connection between movement on the missiles and treaties and our willingness to offer a Washington visit. We are hoping to get agreement from the Scheduling Office so that this letter can be signed and sent out ahead of Christopher's arrival.

Christopher would like to announce in Kiev that you have invited Kravchuk to visit Washington this autumn. He will do so only if Kravchuk assures him that there will be progress on the other nuclear issues.

Minsk. A meeting is scheduled with Chairman Shushkevich to show that we do not forget or ignore those countries that have lived up to their nuclear commitments. A number of economic partnership steps will be announced.

Riga. Christopher will meet jointly with foreign ministers from the three Baltic nations, similar to your Presidential-level meeting in New York. The message is a continued commitment to the troop withdrawal issue, as evidenced by your exchange of letters with Yeltsin on the subject. Meetings with ethnic Russians will underscore our concerns on the "political inclusion" issue as well.

Attachment

Tab A Secretary Christopher Itinerary

~~SECRET~~

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001-profile | Re: The Skrunđa Radar (2 pages) | ea-10/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 472

FOLDER TITLE:

9308811

2011-1037-F
ke2214

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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NSC

8811
NSC

Re: The Skrunda Radar

'93 OCT 30 P9.01

1. During the last round of negotiations with Russia it was found out that the desirable term of the Russian stay in Skrunda is 5.5 - 6 years. The Latvian party made a hypothetical suggestion to negotiate the possible functioning of the facility during a prolonged (3 - 4 years) dismantling period on the following terms:
 - * The facility is a civilian one.
 - * The maintenance crew is international or the dismantling of the facility is monitored by an international monitoring group.
 - * Russia pays rentals for the use of the facility.
 - * Russia compensates the local population for all losses incurred during the use of the facility until the possible agreement is reached.
 - * Russia provides strict guarantees against the use of the facility as a pretext for a new occupation.
 - * The area is subjected to an international ecological expertise (this item becomes topical when the previous points and Point 3 of the present paper have been observed).

2. Since Russia perceived our hypothetical suggestions as a sign of our weakness and exerted certain pressure also with regard to the Ventspils facility and submarine base in Liepāja, our position could be as follows:

Failing to see serious intentions of Russia to solve the Skrunda facility problem, Latvia agrees to the end of 1994 as the final removal term with all facilities dismantled (Skrunda included).

3. The present time can be characterized as an intensive search for conceptual solutions of the Baltic security problem on the intellectual level. The success of this search is bound to prevent the repetition of the past events and find solutions by means other than military. Latvia appreciates the contribution of the US in enhancing regional balance and stability.

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PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-4 (3.82)
6/20/2023 v2

Since the US and Russia, obviously, have come to an understanding regarding the problem of Skrunda facility, our suggestions are as follows:

- * We are aware that the current situation largely stems from the agreements reached between the US and the USSR back in the 70ies. At the same time Latvia has an understanding of the present will of the US to cooperate with Russia in the field of security.
 - * Latvia would find it possible to reach an agreement with Russia on Skrunda during a transition period (3 years), on condition that the Western countries, the US in particular, would be ready to guarantee our feeling of security through an agreement on partnership and security, which would include physical presence of the US in the military security aspect (for instance, visits of naval vessels, rendering of prolonged (e.g. 3 years) military training for Latvian naval force, assistance in the structuring and training of the Latvian army provided by the US instructors). The key issue in our case is involvement, and we see it not as taking sides but as simultaneous activities. Such kind of cooperation would not cause any objections since it would be bilateral, a direct US - Latvian cooperation, outside the framework of NATO. It could be perceived also as an opportunity to extend common understanding between the US and Russia on the necessity to cooperate in the field of strategic stability.
4. If the ideas proposed by Latvia are, for some reason, not acceptable to the US, the possible mode of action of Latvia would be the one described in Point 2.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 08/23/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | R. Nicholas Burns to Nancy Soderberg, re: Travel Orders for Rosemarie Forsythe (1 page) | 08/30/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. form | NSC Staff Travel Authorization (1 page) | 08/30/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. itinerary | Rosemarie Forsythe's travel itinerary (1 page) | ea. 08/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. memo | William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: NSC Staff Foreign Travel Notification (1 page) | 09/01/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2160

FOLDER TITLE:

9320930

2011-1037-F
 ke2215

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TO: GROSSMAN, M

CHRON FILE

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 01 SEP 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TURKEY AZERBAIJAN
KAZAKHSTAN KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN UZBEKISTAN

PERSONS: FORSYTHE

SUBJECT: NSC STAFF REQUEST FOR FORN TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

ACTION: ITOH SGD MEMO DUE DATE: 26 AUG 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS LOGREF:

FILES: ADMIN NSCP: CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BURNS
FORSYTHE
MANZANARES
NSC CHRON

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
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Initials: VZ Date: 6/13/2023
2016-0314-AM-2

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY *[Signature]* DATE 7/11 BY HAND W/ATTCH

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

20930

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 30, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG

THROUGH: J. ROBERT MANZANARES *JRM*

FROM: R. NICHOLAS BURNS *NJB*

SUBJECT: Travel Orders for Rosemarie C. Forsythe

SIGNED

Travel authorization is hereby requested for Rosemarie C. Forsythe's travel to Ankara, Turkey; Baku, Azerbaijan; Almaty, Kazakhstan; Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; Dushanbe, Tajikistan; Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Ashgabat & Aralsk, Turkmenistan; Moscow, Russia; and Riga, Latvia for the period September 8 - September 17. She will be travelling with Ambassador Strobe Talbott and other delegation members for consultations with high-level government officials.

Ms. Forsythe will be travelling by commercial and government aircraft. The NSC is requested to cover the transportation and per diem expense which is expected to be \$2,458.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Will Itoh to sign the travel authorization at Tab I and the memorandum to State at Tab II.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

Attachment

- Tab I Travel Authorization Form
- Tab II Memorandum to State


DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
7516-0314-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: Rosemarie C. Forsythe
2. PURPOSE/EVENT (Include Dates): Consultations with high-level government officials in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Russia, and Latvia for the period 9/8/93-9/17/93.
3. ITINERARY (Please Attach Copy of Proposed Itinerary): See attached
4. DEPARTURE DATE 9/8/93 RETURN DATE 9/17/93
DEPARTURE TIME 7:20pm RETURN TIME 3:25pm
5. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:
GOVT. AIR COMMERCIAL AIR POV RAIL
OTHER
6. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:
TRANSPORTATION \$743.00 PER DIEM \$1615.00 OTHER \$100.00
TOTAL \$2,458.00
7. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER
IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: _____
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NO
IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid By Traveler, Describe Source & Arrangements): _____
9. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ 1450.-
10. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders): _____
11. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: 
12. APPROVALS: Senior Director R. Nicholas Burns
Director of Administration J. Robert Maynard
Executive Secretary W. H. [Signature]

Rosemarie Forsythe's travel itinerary:

- 9/8 Dpt Dulles, DL-60, 7:20pm
Arr Frankfurt, Germany 9:15am
- 9/9 Dpt Frankfurt, Germany 11:50 am
Arr Ankara, Turkey 3:30pm
- 9/11 Dpt Ankara, Turkey 8:00am
Arr Baku, Azerbaijan 11:20am
- Dpt Baku, Azerbaijan 2:30 pm
Arr Almaty, Kazakhstan 8:25pm
- 9/12 Dpt Almaty, Kazakhstan 2:00pm
Arr Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 4:40pm
- 9/13 Dpt Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 10:00am
Arr Dushanbe, Tajikistan 10:20am
- Dpt Dushanbe, Tajikistan 5:00pm
Arr Tashkent, Uzbekistan 5:45 pm
- 9/14 Dpt Tashkent, Uzbekistan 3:00 pm
Arr Ashgabat, Turkmenistan 5:55pm
- 9/15 Dpt Ashgabat, Turkmenistan 12:00pm
Arr Aralsk, Turkmenistan 2:45pm
- Dpt Aralsk, Turkmenistan 7:00pm
Arr Moscow, Russia 7:35 pm
- 9/16 Dpt Moscow, Russia 1:00 pm
Arr Riga, Latvia 1:20 pm
- Dpt Riga, Latvia 10:00 pm
Arr Brussels, Belgium 11:00 pm
- 9/17 Dpt Brussels, Belgium; United 951, 12:45pm
Arr Washington, D.C. 3:25pm

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

20930

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 1, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
2016-0314-M-2

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State


SUBJECT: NSC Staff Foreign Travel Notification (U)

Purpose of Travel:

Ms. Forsythe will be travelling with Ambassador Strobe Talbott and other members of the delegation for consultations with officials in Ankara, Turkey; Baku, Azerbaijan; Almaty, Kazakhstan; Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; Dushanbe, Tajikistan; Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Ashgabat and Aralsk, Turkmenistan; Moscow, Russia; and Riga, Latvia. (S)

ITINERARY:

| <u>Date</u> | <u>City</u> | <u>Country</u> | <u>Major Event/Meeting</u> |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 9/9/93 | Frankfurt | Germany | Enroute |
| 9/10/93 | Ankara | Turkey | Consultations |
| 9/11/93 | Baku | Azerbaijan | Consultations |
| 9/12/93 | Almaty | Kazakhstan | Consultations |
| 9/12/93 | Bishkek | Kyrgyzstan | Consultations |
| 9/13/93 | Dushanbe | Tajikistan | Consultations |
| 9/13-14/93 | Tashkent | Uzbekistan | Consultations |
| 9/14/93 | Ashgabat | Turkmenistan | Consultations |
| 9/15/93 | Aralsk | Turkmenistan | Consultations |
| 9/16/93 | Moscow | Russia | Consultations |
| 9/16/93 | Riga | Latvia | Consultations |
| 9/16-17/93 | Brussels | Belgium | Enroute |


William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | NSC/RMO Profile Sheet (1 page) | 09/01/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | R. Nicholas Burns to Nancy Soderberg, re: Travel Orders for R. Nicholas Burns (1 page) | 08/30/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. form | NSC Staff Travel Authorization (1 page) | 08/30/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. itinerary | Nicholas Burns' travel itinerary (1 page) | ea. 08/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. memo | William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: NSC Staff Travel Notification (1 page) | 09/01/1993 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 2160

FOLDER TITLE:

9320931

2011-1037-F
 ke2216

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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CHRON FILE

TO: GROSSMAN, M

FROM: ITOH

DOC DATE: 01 SEP 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: TURKEY
KAZAKHSTAN
TAJIKISTAN

AZERBAIJAN
KYRGYZSTAN
UZBEKISTAN

PERSONS: BURNS

SUBJECT: NSC STAFF REQUEST FOR FORN TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

ACTION: ITOH SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 26 AUG 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BURNS

LOGREF:

FILES: ADMIN

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

BURNS
MANZANARES
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____

DATE

9/1

BY HAND

W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSASK

CLOSED BY: NSMEM

DOC

2 OF

2

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

August 30, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By N NARA, Date 6/13/2023
2016-0314-M-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR NANCY SODERBERG

THROUGH: J. ROBERT MANZANARES *JRM*

FROM: R. NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*

SUBJECT: Travel Orders for R. Nicholas Burns

SIGNED

I hereby request travel authorization for travel to Ankara, Turkey; Baku, Azerbaijan; Almaty, Kazakhstan; Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; Dushanbē, Tajikistan; Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Ashgabat and Aralsk, Turkmenistan; Moscow, Russia; and Riga, Latvia for the period September 8 - September 17. I will be travelling with Ambassador Strobe Talbott and other delegation members for consultations with high-level government officials.

I will be travelling by commercial and government aircraft. The NSC is requested to cover the transportation and per diem expense which is expected to be \$2,458.

RECOMMENDATION

That you authorize Will Itoh to sign the travel authorization at Tab I and the memorandum to State at Tab II.

Approve *W. Itoh* Disapprove _____

Attachment

- Tab I Travel Authorization Form
- Tab II Memorandum to State

NSC STAFF TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

1. TRAVELER'S NAME: R. Nicholas Burns
2. PURPOSE/EVENT (Include Dates): Consultations with high-level government officials in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Russia, and Latvia for the period 9/8/93-9/17/93.
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4. DEPARTURE DATE 9/8/93 RETURN DATE 9/17/93
DEPARTURE TIME 7:20pm RETURN TIME 3:25pm
5. MODE OF TRANSPORTATION:
GOVT. AIR COMMERCIAL AIR POV RAIL
OTHER
6. ESTIMATED EXPENSES:
TRANSPORTATION \$743.00 PER DIEM \$1615.00 OTHER \$100.00
TOTAL \$2,458.00
7. WHO PAYS EXPENSES: NSC OTHER
IF NOT NSC, DESCRIBE SOURCE AND ARRANGEMENTS: _____
8. WILL FAMILY MEMBER ACCOMPANY YOU: YES NO
IF SO, WHO PAYS FOR FAMILY MEMBER (If Travel Not Paid By Traveler, Describe Source & Arrangements): _____
9. TRAVEL ADVANCE REQUESTED: \$ 1450-
10. REMARKS (Use This Space to Indicate Any Additional Items You Would Like to Appear on Your Travel Orders): _____
11. TRAVELER'S SIGNATURE: R. Nicholas Burns
12. APPROVALS: Senior Director R. Nicholas Burns
Director of Administration J. Robert Mazan
Executive Secretary [Signature]

Nicholas Burns' travel itinerary:

- 9/8 Dpt Dulles, DL-60, 7:20pm
Arr Frankfurt, Germany 9:15am
- 9/9 Dpt Frankfurt, Germany 11:50 am
Arr Ankara, Turkey 3:30pm
- 9/11 Dpt Ankara, Turkey 8:00am
Arr Baku, Azerbaijan 11:20am
- Dpt Baku, Azerbaijan 2:30 pm
Arr Almaty, Kazakhstan 8:25pm
- 9/12 Dpt Almaty, Kazakhstan 2:00pm
Arr Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 4:40pm
- 9/13 Dpt Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 10:00am
Arr Dushanbe, Tajikistan 10:20am
- Dpt Dushanbe, Tajikistan 5:00pm
Arr Tashkent, Uzbekistan 5:45 pm
- 9/14 Dpt Tashkent, Uzbekistan 3:00 pm
Arr Ashgabat, Turkmenistan 5:55pm
- 9/15 Dpt Ashgabat, Turkmenistan 12:00pm
Arr Aralsk, Turkmenistan 2:45pm
- Dpt Aralsk, Turkmenistan 7:00pm
Arr Moscow, Russia 7:35 pm
- 9/16 Dpt Moscow, Russia 1:00 pm
Arr Riga, Latvia 1:20 pm
- Dpt Riga, Latvia 10:00 pm
Arr Brussels, Belgium 11:00 pm
- 9/17 Dpt Brussels, Belgium; United 951, 12:45pm
Arr Washington, D.C. 3:25pm

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 1, 1993

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VI NARA, Date 6/23/23
2016-0314-M-2

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: NSC Staff Foreign Travel Notification (U)

Purpose of Travel:

R. Nicholas Burns will be travelling with Ambassador Strobe Talbott and other members of the delegation for consultations with officials in Ankara, Turkey; Baku, Azerbaijan; Almaty, Kazakhstan; Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan; Dushanbe, Tajikistan; Tashkent, Uzbekistan; Ashgabat and Aralsk, Turkmenistan; Moscow, Russia; and Riga, Latvia. (C)

ITINERARY:

| <u>Date</u> | <u>City</u> | <u>Country</u> | <u>Major Event/Meeting</u> |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 9/9/93 | Frankfurt | Germany | Enroute |
| 9/10/93 | Ankara | Turkey | Consultations |
| 9/11/93 | Baku | Azerbaijan | Consultations |
| 9/12/93 | Almaty | Kazakhstan | Consultations |
| 9/12/93 | Bishkek | Kyrgyzstan | Consultations |
| 9/13/93 | Dushanbe | Tajikistan | Consultations |
| 9/13-14/93 | Tashkent | Uzbekistan | Consultations |
| 9/14/93 | Ashgabat | Turkmenistan | Consultations |
| 9/15/93 | Aralsk | Turkmenistan | Consultations |
| 9/16/93 | Moscow | Russia | Consultations |
| 9/16/93 | Riga | Latvia | Consultations |
| 9/16-17/93 | Brussels | Belgium | Enroute |

William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | William Itoh to David Walkins, re: [Request for Aircraft] (1 page) | 01/08/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Marc Grossman to William Itoh, re: [Request for Aircraft] (2 pages) | 01/06/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 181

FOLDER TITLE:

9400130

2011-1037-F
ke2217

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 8, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID WATKINS

FROM:

WILLIAM H. ITON *Wak*

SUBJECT:

Request for In-Theater Special Air Missions
Aircraft for Ambassador Talbott and NSC Senior
Director Nicholas Burns from Minsk to Brussels and
Riga, January 12 - 15, 1994

Ambassador Talbott, NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns and 3 members of Ambassador Talbott's staff will travel from Minsk to Brussels on January 15 to debrief European and Baltic allies on results of the President's January summit in Moscow. Nicholas Burns and Ambassador Talbott's staff will continue on to Riga for further debriefs.

The State Department is requesting that this be designated a Presidential mission and that an in-theater Special Air Missions aircraft be provided on a non-reimbursable basis. The NSC supports this request.

Attachment

Incoming from State



January 6, 1994

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Request for Military Aircraft for Trip of Ambassador Strobe Talbott and NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns from Minsk to Brussels and Riga.

Secretary Christopher and National Security Advisor Lake have asked Ambassador Strobe Talbott and NSC Senior Director Nicholas Burns to debrief our European and Baltic allies on results of the January 12-15 Summits in Moscow and Belarus. Ambassador Talbott, Mr. Burns, and 3 members of Ambassador Talbott's staff (Jim Collins, Steve Pifer, and Victoria Nuland) plan to depart Minsk on Saturday, January 15. Ambassador Talbott will remain in Brussels to brief officials of the North Atlantic Council and return to the US by commercial air on January 16 to prepare for confirmation hearings necessary for his appointment as Deputy Secretary of State. Mr. Burns will continue his flight to Riga on January 15 to begin briefing the Baltic states.

In his capacity as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to the Secretary of State on the New Independent States, Ambassador Talbott is responsible for formulating the Administration's policies regarding the states of the former Soviet Union. During this trip, he plans to meet with ranking host government and U.S. Embassy officials, in order to ensure that they are immediately aware of the results of these critical summits.

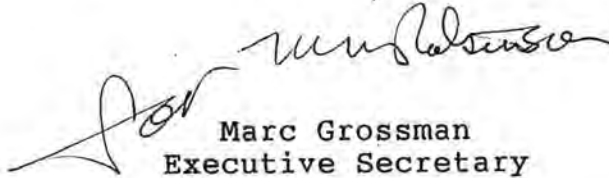
We request that this trip be designated a Presidential Mission, and that a Special Air Missions aircraft be provided in theater from Minsk to Brussels and Riga, on a non-reimbursable basis, for the party's travel.

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This request for a military aircraft is necessitated by inadequate commercial air service in the region, which would make it impossible for Ambassador Talbott and Mr. Burns to complete their missions in the time available.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance.



Marc Grossman
Executive Secretary

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001-telecon | Telecon with President Ulmanis of Latvia (4 pages) | 01/20/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2013 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Record Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 467

FOLDER TITLE:

9400448

2011-1037-F
ke2218

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,83)
6/20/2023 VL

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon With President Ulmanis of Latvia

PARTICIPANTS: The President
 President Ulmanis
 Interpreter: Alvin Skipsna
 Notetakers: Anne Davis Alexander,
 Neil Bleicken, and Paul Hughes

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: January 20, 1994; 1:04pm - 1:25pm, EST
 The Oval Office

The President: Hello. (U)

President Ulmanis: Hello? (U)

The President: This is President Clinton. (U)

President Ulmanis: I am very pleased to hear your voice. (U)

The President: I wanted to call and discuss with you the useful and productive discussions I had with President Yeltsin in Moscow on troop withdrawal from Latvia. ~~(S)~~

President Ulmanis: I am very grateful for your call. I am very pleased with your call, especially since, with this great natural catastrophe in California, you could find time to call me. I want to express to you my great sympathy for the many who were hurt or killed in the catastrophe. I was especially concerned because so many Latvian-Americans live in the area. We are following the situation very closely and congratulate you for doing so well. And now I am ready to listen to what you have to say to me. (U)

The President: Thank you very much. Thank you for your concern for our people. I'm sure Foreign Minister Andrejevs has already reported on his contact with Secretary Christopher. Our discussion of the troop withdrawal from Latvia focused on the Skrunda radar facility. President Yeltsin agreed to compromise on the number of years his forces would remain at Skrunda after the main withdrawal. He agreed to split the difference between his proposal and yours, amounting to a four year occupancy followed by an 18 month period for dismantlement of the structure. I know this is a difficult political question for you, but I hope you can support it as it has the full political support of President Yeltsin and his government. Your ambassador here said there was some interest in sending a high level delegation here to discuss this and I would welcome this.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I would like to say a word on the Russian minority in Latvia because there may be some confusion on our position. President Yeltsin did raise this issue during our Skrunda discussions. This is a sensitive issue for President Yeltsin. We have made it clear to the Russians that there is no linkage between minority rights and troop withdrawals, and we make no such linkage ourselves. I told President Yeltsin that we are committed to minority rights around the world, and we would consult with the CSCE mission in Latvia, which has minority rights under its mandate. As I told you in New York in September, we don't believe the Russians in Latvia or any other Baltic state are subject to human rights abuses. We discussed instead their political and social involvement in your society, a process I think we all support. (S)

But the point I wanted to make to you today is that the United States doesn't link these two and didn't make any commitments to Russia beyond consulting the CSCE mission in Latvia as part of their regular work. The key issue on troop withdrawal is the Skrunda issue. If we can solve this, President Yeltsin has told me that they are ready to sign the agreement. (S)

President Ulmanis: May I raise a couple of problems? (U)

The President: Sure. (U)

President Ulmanis: There could be an alternative to the delegation you mentioned. We have heard of a meeting in Oslo. We would also be very pleased if the United States would be willing to send high-level representatives to Latvia. It would be an alternative that would allow them to observe the situation on the spot. The question of four years plus 18 months presents a problem because the government has exhausted its [political] resources and would need to make a survey amongst the population. The question is not so much the time of occupancy on Skrunda as guarantees that the agreement would be honored so we can then inform the public. (S)

The President: I understand. (U)

President Ulmanis: This is basically a Latvian-Russian problem. Your call is most helpful. The call is very important to us to help inform us of your position and help us carry out our conversations on Russia. Are you familiar with the latest announcement of Foreign Minister Kozyrev? (S)

The President: Yes I am, and he assured us that that reflects no change in their position, and he is still committed to withdrawal. The Russians are trying to downplay the press reports and claim the press has exaggerated these remarks from what I said about Russian support in Georgia to keep Shevardnadze in. (S)

President Ulmanis: After seeing Mr. Kozyrev's original text, I think the press reports were not so much of an exaggeration, because his remarks were not that beneficial to the Baltics. Our

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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

impression of his statement was that your effort on our behalf in Russia was not that much of a success. May I assume, from this call, that this was not the case? (S)

The President: Absolutely. We discussed withdrawal from the Baltics and focused on the Latvian issue because Russia seemed most eager in getting it done to sign an agreement. I explained to President Yeltsin that this is an important issue to me personally and the United States government that they continue and complete their troop withdrawal from the Baltics. (S)

President Ulmanis: I would like to express the warning that, in its relations to Latvia, Russia has not always been entirely correct. They look on us as if we were still part of their country. This causes great unease. If, in your future discussions, you can make the point that we are an independent country, that would be very helpful. I predict...I warn, there could be provocations in Latvia designed to provoke a response between the two countries that could draw Latvia back into the Communist orbit. I will do my best to urge restraint on our side. If there could be an effort to speak to the Russians not to overreact to the provocations but show understanding and restraint, that would help. (S)

The President: I understand. I will follow up with our people on the meeting in Oslo, and I will make clear exactly the point you just made during our next meeting with the Russians. (S)

President Ulmanis: Mr. Clinton, is it all right with you if inform the public in Latvia about our conversation? (U)

The President: Yes, I think it's okay to say we had a conversation. I hope you would be careful about what we said, simply saying I spoke with President Yeltsin on Latvia, and we agreed that if he could resolve the Skrunda issue the withdrawal question could be resolved. If you would say that, that would be okay. (S)

President Ulmanis: I understand that I should not detail every part of the conversation. I would like, specifically, to refer to your statement that there should be no linkage between the troop withdrawal and the human rights issue. (S)

The President: It's okay to say we don't link the two issues but also that we support the CSCE mission there. (S)

President Ulmanis: I would like to thank you for the conversation. I am an optimist and believe that the problems of Latvia and the Baltic States will not grow into a problem for the whole world. (S)

The President: I just want to try to resolve this in your best interest. I want you to be fully independent and will work to that end. (U)

President Ulmanis: Thank you very much for your call, bye. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The President: Thank you very much, goodbye. (U)

(The President dropped out of the call)

President Ulmanis: (to the interpreter) Is the call all over?
(U)

Interpreter: Yes. (U)

President Ulmanis: How do you think it went? (U)

Interpreter: What was your impression? (U)

President Ulmanis: I feel it went extremely well. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001a. form | Department of State Transmittal Form (1 page) | 01/29/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. letter | President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia to President Clinton (2 pages) | 01/07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 467

FOLDER TITLE:

9400451

2011-1037-F
ke2219

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]
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Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

0451

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9401252

Date January 29, 1994

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

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: VL Date: 6/18/2013
7-16-0314-M-2

REFERENCE:

To: The President
From: Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis
Date: January 7, 1994
Subj: Skrunda and Russian Troop Withdrawals from Latvia

WH Referral Dated: 20 January 1994
NSCS ID# (if any): 9400451

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: President Clinton phoned President Ulmanis on January 20, and consequently Latvian FM Andrejevs will lead a delegation to meet with The President, Mr. Lake, the Secretary and other high-level USG leaders early next week. If the visit is a success, we will propose a letter to Ulmanis.

[Signature]

Director
Secretariat Staff

H.E. William J. Clinton
President of the
United States of America

7 January 1994

Dear Mr. President!

Thank you for your letter of December 23. Regrettably, I must begin by extending to you on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Latvia the deepest condolences on the occasion of the death of your mother, Mrs. Virginia Kelley. At this saddest of moments may I ask you to please accept this expression of my profound sympathy for the most grievous loss that you have just suffered.

If I may return to your letter of December 23, which again attests to the interest that the USA has shown in the vitally important question of Russian troop withdrawal from Latvian territory. Latvia is genuinely interested in concluding an agreement that would promote security in Europe and understands that any delays are undesirable in the given circumstances. Especially since the end of last year and the beginning of this year the Latvian government and I have done considerable work towards reaching a compromise on contentious points, which had prevented both parties from reaching full agreement. I believe that our efforts have resulted in serious proposals that would be acceptable to Russia and harmonize with European and global security interests.

One of the main unresolved issues up to date has been the fate of the Skrunda installation. During the last round of negotiations, both sides explained their views, which generally coincided on matters of principle. The discussion round resulted in a coordinated draft agreement that makes note of the areas of contention. Our new proposal, which has been submitted to the Russian side, is a clear demonstration of Latvia's genuine willingness to find a solution to this issue. Latvia has accepted the Russian wording of most points, and for the remaining ones it has offered compromise versions that, in our opinion, should be acceptable to both parties.

The Latvian government has authorized its delegation to accept 31 August 1994 as the final troop withdrawal date, as long as the issue of the Skrunda installation is also settled. The Latvian position is based on the following principles. The temporary continued functioning of the Skrunda installation remains a possibility even after Russian troops have been withdrawn. The temporary installation must not be viewed as a Russian military base, it will be serviced by civilian personnel, including Latvian representatives. Dismantling of the new radar must begin immediately. The CSCE will monitor adherence to the agreement. Russia will give the UN Security Council a guarantee that the installation will not be used for activities that threaten Latvian sovereignty. The agreement cannot be extended, supplemented or altered. Russia will pay Latvia rent, as well as compensation for environmental damage, if such is found.

The Latvian attitude is based on President Yeltsin's announcements that the parliamentary election results in Russia will not affect the course of Russian foreign policy. Therefore, I would like to expect a favorable and understanding reaction from Russia towards the proposals submitted by Latvia.

Wishing to draw attention to the Latvian government's important proposals, I tried to contact President Yeltsin by telephone on January 5. Unfortunately, I did not succeed, due to the busy schedule of the Russian President.

I hope that your meeting with President Yeltsin will be successful and that it will not only lead to deepened understanding between your nations, but also complement the dialogue between Russia and Latvia.

We look forward to the continued interest and support of the United States in these vitally important issues.

I wish you a successful visit to Europe!

Guntis Ulmanis
President of the
Republic of Latvia

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| 001a. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister and Delegation on Russian Troop Withdrawal (2 pages) | 01/26/1994 | P4b(1) VZ 9/2/2023 |
| 001b. form | Schedule Proposal for Presidential Drop by (2 pages) | ea-01/1994 | P4b(1) VZ 9/2/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 468

FOLDER TITLE:

9400628

2011-1037-F

ke2220

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 26, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *trb for NB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister and
Delegation on Russian Troop Withdrawal

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,85)
6/20/2013 v2

Since the Moscow summit, we have been working intensively to convince the Latvians to accept the compromise on the Skrunda radar facility that the President worked out with Yeltsin. Skrunda is the last major obstacle to final agreement on the Russian pullout. As Latvian President Ulmanis told the President during their January 20 phone conversation, the compromise (four years occupancy of Skrunda plus 18 months for dismantlement) will need a careful political selling job domestically. To this end, the Latvian government is sending to Washington Jan. 31 - Feb. 1 a delegation headed by Foreign Minister Andrejevs and including members from the main Latvian parliamentary factions.

We have constructed a busy schedule for the delegation with the aim of persuading them that the Skrunda compromise is a good deal. They will meet with Secretary Christopher, Senators Byrd and Levin, and have briefings at the Pentagon on the Skrunda facility. Carl Bildt is sending one of his top advisers, a Baltic expert, to help in the lobbying, and the Germans and Danes have agreed to help us "internationalize" the message as well. But the centerpiece of our effort will be the delegation's White House meetings.

We believe it is vital that you meet with them. And given the President's personal involvement, including his phone call to President Ulmanis inviting the delegation to come, we request you approve a scheduling request for a 15-minute Presidential drop-by, to make clear that the President's personal interest in this matter continues. The drop-by would give a strong signal of U.S. support as we attempt to bring the Latvians across the finish line.

*Tony - this will be tough. ✓
n.*

(no)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree to meet with the Latvian delegation for 30 minutes in the Roosevelt Room on January 31 or February 1.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

That you sign the attached schedule request.

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Schedule Request

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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CONFIDENTIAL

Schedule Proposal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

date ____/____/____

 ACCEPT REGRET PENDING

TO: Ricki Seidman
Special Assistant to the President and
Director of Scheduling

FROM: Anthony Lake

REQUEST: Drop-by meeting with Latvian Foreign
Minister and Parliamentary Delegation

PURPOSE: To encourage Latvia to accept a
compromise allowing final agreement on
the withdrawal of Russian troops

BACKGROUND: In Moscow, the President persuaded
Yeltsin to accept a compromise on the
last, sensitive issue stalling agreement
on Russian troop withdrawal from Latvia.
On Jan. 20, he called Latvian President
Ulmanis and invited him to send a
delegation to discuss this endgame
issue. A brief meeting with the
President for this delegation will help
underscore the message conveyed in
earlier meetings that this compromise is
in Latvia's interest and that the
President maintains his personal
commitment to the troop withdrawals.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION: The President met the Foreign Minister
at his meeting with the Latvian
President at the U.N. in September.

DATE AND TIME: January 31 or February 1

DURATION: 15 minutes

LOCATION: I will have a 30-minute meeting with the
delegation in the Roosevelt Room; the
President would drop by at the close of
that meeting.

PARTICIPANTS: TBD

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: Brief exchange of remarks; photo op with
Foreign Minister and delegation

REMARKS REQUIRED: NSC Staff to prepare

cc: Stephanie Streett

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open
FIRST LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
VICE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
SECOND LADY'S ATTENDANCE: Not required
RECOMMENDED BY: NSC
CONTACT: Nicholas Burns x56849

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Meeting with Latvia Foreign Minister Andrejevs and Parliamentary Delegation (1 page) | 01/31/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. talking points | Suggested Talking Points for Meeting with Latvian Delegation (2 pages) | ca. 01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 468

FOLDER TITLE:

9400750

2011-1037-F

ke2221

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]
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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)]

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

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 31, 1994

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

NOTED

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Latvian Foreign Minister Andrejevs
and Parliamentary Delegation

Our efforts to broker agreement between the Russians and Latvians on troop withdrawals have reached a decisive stage. The last major sticking point between the two sides is the length of time Russia will be allowed to rent the Skrunda radar facility after the main withdrawal is completed August 31 of this year. As you know, Yeltsin agreed in Moscow to a compromise term -- four years rental, followed by 18 months for dismantlement.

We are now undertaking a full-court press to persuade the Latvians that the "4 plus 18" compromise is a deal they should accept. Although the Latvian government is inclined to support 4 plus 18, the parliamentary opposition must be persuaded to go along with this compromise since they control a majority of the Saeima's hundred seats. In his phone call to President Ulmanis January 20, the President invited a government/parliamentary delegation to visit Washington if Ulmanis thought that would be helpful.

The delegation is led by Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs and includes the leaders of the eight major factions of the Saeima. You are seeing them on the second and last day of their visit; they have already met with Secretary Christopher, Strobe and Nick, and have had meetings on the Hill as well. Discussion in these earlier meetings has focused on Skrunda but has also covered in some detail our concerns about Latvia's commitment to respect the civic rights of the ethnic Russian minority. As the group prepares to leave, we want the final message they get -- from you and, we hope, the President -- to focus exclusively on the Skrunda deal.

Attachment
Tab I Suggested Talking Points

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.87)
6/20/2013 v2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-03/4-11-2 (258)

6/10/2023 VR

SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS
MEETING WITH LATVIAN DELEGATION

- Sovereignty and independence of Baltic states a principal concern of President Clinton. Thus, withdrawal of Russian troops a major objective. Have pursued this from early on:
 - o Our commitment to provide housing for demobilized Russian officers, mainly from Baltic states. Now have set aside \$160 million. Powerful incentive to Russian military.
 - o Christopher visit to Riga, President's meeting with your President at UN, recent phone call, all demonstrate our genuine concern, show public support.
 - o Have made withdrawal a top issue in our dialogue with Russia. President's meeting with Kozyrev in September; letter and phone calls to Yeltsin; one of four principal issues discussed at Summit in Moscow.
- Clear message: Russia must withdraw its forces from Latvia and Estonia. Withdrawal cannot be linked to other issues.
- Much progress since last summer. Skrunda appears to be last major issue. President raised it in Moscow; Yeltsin said if Latvia could meet it halfway -- 4 years rental plus 18 months dismantlement -- there could be agreement.
- This is a serious offer; made with Kozyrev and Grachev present; believe it is Russian bottom line.
- Know the difficulties you face in considering whether to accept compromise. But consider what rejecting it may mean.
- With this agreement on Skrunda, you will have Russia's signed commitment to withdraw the vast majority of its 15,000 troops by this August. Skrunda will never be more than a few hundred troops.
- If you reject it, there is no predicting what the withdrawal timetable may change to. Can that be in interest of Latvian people? Fifteen thousand troops versus 500?
- Know you are concerned about threatening statements made by Russian officials. Believe these are outgrowth of internal debates, shifts in political landscape, rise of Zhirinovskiy. All this uncertainty argues for getting a signed agreement with Russia to get the troops out.
- Resolving this issue now will help you begin to normalize relations with Russia. That is vital to your security.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- You know by now that you can count on President Clinton's continued support. Have come a long way together on this issue. Will be hard for us to understand how Latvia could reject what seems to be a reasonable settlement.

Defensive Points

- Neither we nor anyone can give you a firm guarantee that Russia will live up to Skruna commitment. But will work to get CSCE endorsement of agreement.
- We cannot offer a security guarantee. Are working with you to enhance our bilateral defense cooperation; Partnership for Peace. In end, your security lies in a strong economy, close integration with West, good relations with Russia.
- International monitoring for Skruna: If you and Russia agree that is what you want, we can find a way to make it work.
- President's comments in Moscow: Our chief focus is on withdrawal. Not linked to question of minority rights, as President Clinton told your President. President's remarks in Moscow should be read in that light, first and foremost.
- How you treat the ethnic Russians that remain in Latvia will determine whether your future relations with Russia are good or strained. We know sad history has left you with large Russian population, but you must work to find a place for them in your society. We want to work with you, CSCE to do so.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] (2 pages) | 02/05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 02/05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. cable | Re: [Letter from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] (1 page) | ea. 02/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 184

FOLDER TITLE:

9400941

2011-1037-F
 ke2222

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]
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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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PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SSN: 2734 MSGID: M0866552

OAACZYUW RHEHAAA2734 0362347-CCCC--RUXXWHX RUEHRA RUEHC.

ZNY CCCCC

O 052347Z FEB 94 ZFF-1/4

FM THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

FM: THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC

TO: RUEHRA/AMEMBASSY RIGA

INFO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASH DC

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3189)

6/20/2023 VL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

QQQQ

FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM **LATVIA** CONTINUE TO SHOW GOOD PROGRESS, AS EVIDENCED BY THE EXCELLENT DISCUSSIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK WITH A DELEGATION OF LATVIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS, HEADED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREJEVS. I ENJOYED MEETING THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE PARLIAMENTARIANS, AND EXPRESSED TO THEM MY HOPE THAT THE RUSSIAN TROOPS WILL DEPART IN 1994. I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE TO HAVE THIS DELEGATION MAKE THIS IMPORTANT VISIT.

AS YOU AND I AGREED IN OUR CONVERSATION OF JANUARY 20, A FULL DISCUSSION OF THE SKRUNDA ISSUE, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN COMMITMENT TO HONOR AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON TRANSITIONAL RENTAL OF THE FACILITY, COULD HELP PROVIDE THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE WITH REASSURANCES THAT WOULD PERMIT A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA ON THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL. I AM CONFIDENT THAT VERY DETAILED AND HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS THAT WERE ARRANGED FOR THE DELEGATION SUCCEEDED IN

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

ANSWERING MANY OF THEIR CONCERNS REGARDING THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT SKRUNDA, AS WELL AS UNDERSCORING THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH AN AGREEMENT ON SKRUNDA.

I AM VERY ENCOURAGED BY REPORTS I HAVE RECEIVED FROM RIGA THAT INDICATE THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE ON SKRUNDA THAT THE RUSSIAN SIDE HAS ALREADY AGREED TO. I ENCOURAGE YOU TO TAKE AN AMBITIOUS AND FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS, WITH THE AIM OF ANNOUNCING AGREEMENT ON THE AUGUST 1994 WITHDRAWAL DATE, THE COMPROMISE ON SKRUNDA, AND YOUR COMMITMENT TO FINISH THE FEW REMAINING DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

THE COMPOSITION OF YOUR DELEGATION IS EVIDENCE THAT ALL SEGMENTS OF LATVIAN SOCIETY ARE WELL REPRESENTED IN YOUR NATIONAL DEBATE ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. FOR THIS REASON, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ANY INTERVENING STEPS THAT COULD INTRODUCE FURTHER DELAY INTO THE PROCESS.

I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT THE MOMENTUM WHICH HAS NOW BEEN ESTABLISHED WILL CLIMAX IN THE REALIZATION OF OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE: AGREEMENT ON A SPEEDY WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIAN SOIL. AS ALWAYS, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO ASSIST THE PROCESS IN ANY WAY IT CAN.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

BT

#2734

NNNN

DIST:

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 5, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB for NB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *NB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to Latvian President Ulmanis



Our Embassy in Riga reports that the Latvian government has decided it can accept the four-year, eighteen-month compromise on Skrunnda. Parliamentary opposition to the deal was apparently mollified by our lobbying effort during the Latvian delegation's visit to Washington this week. The Latvian and Russian delegations will hold their next session in Moscow starting February 7, and we are urging both sides to take an ambitious approach and seek to announce that basic agreement has been reached.

Ambassador Pickering delivered this message to FM Kozyrev in Moscow Friday morning. The attached Presidential message to Ulmanis makes essentially the same point. Ulmanis has not been directly involved in our lobbying effort since the President called him January 20, and both Foreign Minister Andrejevs and our Ambassador in Riga recommended a brief Presidential message to ensure that he remains on board. The message also discourages a very unhelpful idea that Ulmanis has floated: a popular referendum to decide the fate of Skrunnda. This is a total non-starter at this late stage of the endgame. Andrejevs says that only Ulmanis has raised the referendum idea, and has indicated that he and the Prime Minister will work to talk him out of it. We think an implicit word to that effect in the President's message will help in that effort.

We recommend you approve this message today, February 5, so that it reaches Riga before the next round of talks begins February 7.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached Presidential message for transmission.

*JK
JR*

Attachments
Tab I Presidential message

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,90)
6/20/2023 *W*

AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT):

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA CONTINUE TO SHOW GOOD PROGRESS, AS EVIDENCED BY THE EXCELLENT DISCUSSIONS THAT TOOK PLACE IN WASHINGTON THIS WEEK WITH A DELEGATION OF LATVIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS, HEADED BY FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREJEVS. I ENJOYED MEETING THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE PARLIAMENTARIANS, AND EXPRESSED TO THEM MY HOPE THAT THE RUSSIAN TROOPS WILL DEPART IN 1994. I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE TO HAVE THIS DELEGATION MAKE THIS IMPORTANT VISIT.

AS YOU AND I AGREED IN OUR CONVERSATION OF JANUARY 20, A FULL DISCUSSION OF THE SKRUNDA ISSUE, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN COMMITMENT TO HONOR AN EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON TRANSITIONAL RENTAL OF THE FACILITY, COULD HELP PROVIDE THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE WITH REASSURANCES THAT WOULD PERMIT A COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIA ON THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL. I AM CONFIDENT THAT VERY DETAILED AND HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS THAT WERE ARRANGED FOR THE DELEGATION SUCCEEDED IN ANSWERING MANY OF THEIR CONCERNS REGARDING THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT SKRUNDA, AS WELL AS UNDERSCORING THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH AN AGREEMENT ON SKRUNDA.

I AM VERY ENCOURAGED BY REPORTS I HAVE RECEIVED FROM RIGA THAT INDICATE THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT THE COMPROMISE ON SKRUNDA THAT THE RUSSIAN SIDE HAS ALREADY AGREED TO. I ENCOURAGE YOU TO TAKE AN AMBITIOUS AND FLEXIBLE APPROACH TO THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS, WITH THE AIM OF ANNOUNCING AGREEMENT ON THE AUGUST 1994 WITHDRAWAL DATE, THE COMPROMISE ON SKRUNDA, AND YOUR COMMITMENT TO FINISH THE FEW REMAINING DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

THE COMPOSITION OF YOUR DELEGATION IS EVIDENCE THAT ALL SEGMENTS OF LATVIAN SOCIETY ARE WELL REPRESENTED IN YOUR NATIONAL DEBATE ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. FOR THIS REASON, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE BEST TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ANY INTERVENING STEPS THAT COULD INTRODUCE FURTHER DELAY INTO THE PROCESS.

I AM OPTIMISTIC THAT THE MOMENTUM WHICH HAS NOW BEEN ESTABLISHED WILL CLIMAX IN THE REALIZATION OF OUR ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE: AGREEMENT ON A SPEEDY WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIAN SOIL. AS ALWAYS, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO ASSIST THE PROCESS IN ANY WAY IT CAN.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

(END TEXT)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal in Latvia (1 page) | 03/18/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. cable | Draft cable, re: [Letter from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | ea. 03/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. cable | Draft cable, re: [Letter from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 03/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Draft cable, re: [Letter from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 03/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 03/19/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 03/19/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 471

FOLDER TITLE:

9402071

2011-1037-F
 ke2223

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]
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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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 18, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB for NB*

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JNB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal from Latvia

The Russians and Latvians initialled the documents on troop withdrawal March 14. We believe that given the President's direct, personal involvement with Yeltsin and Ulmanis to bring both sides in for a smooth landing, brief congratulatory messages are in order. In the case of President Ulmanis, a message will serve the additional purpose of providing reassurance on our commitment to support implementation of the agreement as Ulmanis starts to face criticism from hardliners in the Latvian parliament.

To the Yeltsin letter, we have added a few lines on another success story: the recent conclusion of the uranium anti-dumping suspension agreement. Since Yeltsin is at least partially on vacation, we thought we might score a few points with a short letter stressing good news and avoiding, for the time being, some more contentious items on our agenda.

We are in touch with our Embassies in Tallinn and Moscow to work out some steps to try to nudge the Estonian-Russian negotiations off dead center when talks resume April 5-6. We will send you a separate note with our thoughts on tactics soon.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the two attached messages for transmission.

Approve *[Signature]* Disapprove _____

- Attachments
- Tab I Message to President Yeltsin
- Tab II Message to President Ulmanis

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By V.L. NARA, Date 6/17/2023
2016-0314-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE: AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM PRESIDENT YELTSIN TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS AT THE EARLIEST APPROPRIATE TIME:

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO CONVEY MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF LATVIA OVER THE AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS. THIS IS A MOMENT THAT WE HAVE LONG ANTICIPATED AND WORKED HARD TO MAKE A REALITY. WHEN YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN SIGN THE FORMAL DOCUMENTS TO FINALIZE THE AGREEMENT, YOU WILL HAVE MADE AN INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION NOT ONLY TO THE SECURITY OF YOUR LAND AND PEOPLE, BUT ALSO TOWARD THE OVERALL STABILITY OF THE REGION.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THIS AGREEMENT WAS NOT REACHED WITHOUT A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS BY YOU PERSONALLY, THE GOVERNMENT, AND MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT. I WANT TO REITERATE OUR COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT YOU IN THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF THIS AGREEMENT EVERY BIT AS STEADFASTLY AS WE DID DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. IN PARTICULAR, WE WANT TO HELP YOU ACCOMPLISH THE SPEEDY AND SAFE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE LARGE UNFINISHED STRUCTURE AT SKRUNDA. WE ARE CURRENTLY CONSULTING WITH THE U.S. CONGRESS TO DETERMINE THE BEST MEANS TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

AGAIN, MY CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

(END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
7516-0317-M-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE: AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON FOR TRANSMISSION TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT THE EARLIEST APPROPRIATE TIME. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR BORIS:

I AM TAKING THE RISK OF INFRINGING ON YOUR WELL-DESERVED VACATION TIME IN THE SOUTH TO SEND YOU THIS BRIEF NOTE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON TWO FRONTS.

FIRST, AS YOU NO DOUBT ARE AWARE, OUR NEGOTIATORS HAVE FINALLY SETTLED A LONGSTANDING ISSUE AND SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON MATCHED SALES OF RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN URANIUM IN THE U.S. MARKET. THE AGREEMENT CONSTITUTES A REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN MARKET ACCESS AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN US, A HARBINGER OF THE POTENTIAL FOR OUR ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP. IT SHOWS WHAT YOU AND I CAN ACCOMPLISH AS WE AGREE ON OUR GOALS -- AS WE DID IN THIS CASE AS FAR BACK AS VANCOUVER -- AND PUSH OUR RESPECTIVE SYSTEMS TO BRING THEM TO LIFE.

SECOND, I WANT TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL. THIS IS A GIANT STEP TOWARDS A STABLE, NORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES. WHEN YOU AND PRESIDENT ULMANIS MEET TO SIGN THE FORMAL AGREEMENT, IT WILL REPRESENT THE FULFILLMENT OF A COMMITMENT THAT WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT, POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON HOW RUSSIA'S INTENTIONS ARE PERCEIVED ABROAD. THIS IS VERY GOOD NEWS, INDEED. I HOPE YOU CAN ACHIEVE SIMILAR SUCCESS IN YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MERI, WITH THE AIM OF A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM ESTONIA BY SUMMER.

I WISH YOU A PLEASANT AND PRODUCTIVE STAY IN SOCHI.

SINCERELY,

BILL

(END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-m-2 (3,72)

6/20/2023 VL

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE: AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE IS REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON FOR TRANSMISSION TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN AT THE EARLIEST APPROPRIATE TIME. THERE WILL BE NO SIGNED ORIGINAL.

(BEGIN TEXT)

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I AM TAKING THE RISK OF INFRINGING ON YOUR WELL-DESERVED VACATION TIME IN THE SOUTH TO SEND YOU THIS BRIEF NOTE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON TWO FRONTS.

FIRST, AS YOU NO DOUBT ARE AWARE, OUR NEGOTIATORS HAVE FINALLY SETTLED A LONGSTANDING ISSUE AND SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON MATCHED SALES OF RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN URANIUM IN THE U.S. MARKET. ~~I~~ ~~NOTED THIS IN AN EARLIER MESSAGE, BUT SUCCESS IS WORTH CITING~~ ~~TWICE.~~ THE AGREEMENT CONSTITUTES A REAL BREAKTHROUGH IN MARKET ACCESS AND COMMERCIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN US, A HARBINGER OF THE POTENTIAL FOR OUR ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP. IT SHOWS WHAT YOU AND I CAN ACCOMPLISH ~~WHEN~~ WE AGREE ON ^{OUR} GOALS -- AS WE DID IN THIS CASE AS FAR BACK AS VANCOUVER -- AND PUSH OUR RESPECTIVE SYSTEMS TO BRING ~~THEM~~ TO LIFE.

I WANT TO MENTION congratulate you on

SECOND, THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND LATVIA ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL. THIS IS A GIANT STEP TOWARDS A STABLE, NORMAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC COUNTRIES. WHEN YOU AND PRESIDENT ULMANIS MEET TO SIGN THE FORMAL AGREEMENT, IT WILL REPRESENT THE FULFILLMENT OF A COMMITMENT THAT WILL HAVE AN IMPORTANT, POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON HOW RUSSIA'S INTENTIONS ARE PERCEIVED ABROAD. ~~ALL IN ALL,~~ VERY GOOD NEWS, INDEED. I ~~NOW~~ HOPE YOU CAN ACHIEVE SIMILAR SUCCESS IN YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRESIDENT MERI, WITH THE AIM OF A COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM ESTONIA BY SUMMER.

This is

~~I AM TOLD THAT YOUR STAY IN SOCHI AMOUNTS TO A "WORKING VACATION." I THUS WISH YOU BOTH A RELAXING AND PRODUCTIVE SOJOURN, AND ABOVE ALL, GOOD HEALTH.~~

Y. Yeltsin!

SINCERELY,

BILL

(END TEXT)

wish you a pleasant and productive

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3,93)
6/20/2017 VL

CONFIDENTIAL
Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 00 le. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 03/19/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 471

FOLDER TITLE:

9402071

2011-1037-F
ke2223

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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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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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY.

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2071

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM COMM FUERTH HALL ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: FILE PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER SUM2 WHSR_IN

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 192352Z MAR 94

FM WHITE HOUSE

E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

QQQQ

RIGA FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO CONVEY MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND THE PEOPLE OF LATVIA OVER THE AGREEMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS. THIS IS A MOMENT THAT WE HAVE LONG ANTICIPATED AND WORKED HARD TO MAKE A REALITY. WHEN YOU AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN SIGN THE FORMAL DOCUMENTS TO FINALIZE THE AGREEMENT, YOU WILL HAVE MADE AN INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION NOT ONLY TO THE SECURITY OF YOUR LAND AND PEOPLE, BUT ALSO TOWARD THE OVERALL STABILITY OF THE REGION.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THIS AGREEMENT WAS NOT REACHED WITHOUT A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS BY YOU PERSONALLY, THE GOVERNMENT, AND MEMBERS OF THE PARLIAMENT. I WANT TO REITERATE OUR COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT YOU IN THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF THIS AGREEMENT EVERY BIT AS STEADFASTLY AS WE DID DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. IN PARTICULAR, WE WANT TO HELP YOU ACCOMPLISH THE SPEEDY AND SAFE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE LARGE UNFINISHED STRUCTURE AT SKRUNDA. WE ARE CURRENTLY CONSULTING WITH THE U.S. CONGRESS TO DETERMINE THE BEST MEANS TO BRING THIS ABOUT.

AGAIN, MY CONGRATULATIONS AND BEST WISHES.

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (3.94)
6/20/2023 VZ

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

#2986

NNNN

<MSGID> M0945276

CLINTON ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001f. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 03/19/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 471

FOLDER TITLE:

9402071

2011-1037-F
ke2223

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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IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: COMM COMM SIT

SIT: BEYRLE BURNS COQ PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER WHSR_IN

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 192352Z MAR 94

FM WHITE HOUSE

Declassified in Part

Per E.O. 13526

E.O. 13526 1.4(c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

2016-0314-M-2 (3.95)

QQQQ

6/20/2023 VZ

MOSCOW FOR THE AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE.

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

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I WISH YOU A PLEASANT AND PRODUCTIVE STAY IN SOCHI.

SINCERELY,

BILL

CLINTON ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PHOTOCOPY

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#2985

NNNN

<MSGID> M0945275

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. cable | Draft cable, re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001e. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (1 page) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal Agreement (1 page) | 04/29/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001h. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001i. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001j. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001k. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F
 ke2224

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]
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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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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001l. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | 04/00/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001m. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal Agreement (1 page) | 04/29/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001n. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001o. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] (1 page) | ea. 04/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F
 ke2224

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]
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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]
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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) 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]

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.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA BY AUGUST 31, 1994. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIA WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE. ~~IT IS MY VIEW THAT THIS AGREEMENT IN NO WAY INFRINGES ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LATVIA; ON THE CONTRARY, THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM YOUR TERRITORY THIS YEAR WILL PROMOTE YOUR GREATER INTEGRATION INTO THE WORLD COMMUNITY.~~

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THIS AGREEMENT EMBODIES, AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND IT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY, INCLUDING IN THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

SINCERELY,

BILL CLINTON

(END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VZ NARA, Date 6/13/2023

2016-0314-W-2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001b. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis of Latvia] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F

kc2224

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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- 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)]

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

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
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<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 302115Z APR 94

FM WHITE HOUSE WASH DC

Declassified in Part
Per E.O. 13526

TO E.O. 13526 1.4(c) NIACT

2016-0314-M-2 (3.96)

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

6/20/2023 VZ

QQQQ

FOR CHARGE OR AMBASSADOR

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE
SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF
RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA BY AUGUST 31, 1994. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU
HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIA WHICH
WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC
REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THIS AGREEMENT EMBODIES,
AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE LATVIAN
GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND IT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO
WORKING WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THAT THE
AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY, INCLUDING IN THE
FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF
THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

#3320

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<MSGID> M1023176

CLINTON ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ PHOTOCOPY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

01 00

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AA ZYUW VAX773

THE WHITE HOUSE WASH DC

SECSTATE WASH DC

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

SECSTATE FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY

.
THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT ULMANIS
WAS DELIVERED VIA EMBASSY RIGA ON 30 APRIL 94.

.
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.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

.
I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE
SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF
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FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF
THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

.
SINCERELY,

.
WILLIAM J. CLINTON

.
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.
.
END TEXT
DECL: OADR

#0000

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/14/2023
2016-0314-M-2

CLINTON ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

01 00

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AA ZYUW VAX773

THE WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
AMEMBASSY LATVIA
INFO SECSTATE

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

QQQQ

FOR CHARGE OR AMBASSADOR

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO
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NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

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

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0000

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 4/13/2023
2016-0314-M-2

CLINTON ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001e. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (1 page) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F
ke2224

RESTRICTION CODES

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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]

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]
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

TOR 1202116 NCN 01161434 PAGE 1

>>> N I A C T <<<

** DEMAND PRINT **

PRW462

1202123

MATCH = ** NONE **

Declassified in Part

ACTION =

Per E.O. 13526

INFO =

2016-0314-M-2 (3.97)

6/20/2023 VZ

TOTAL COPIES = 0

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OAMZYUW YELADA 3321 1202116--MNSH--YEXXWHX YEKOHR. |
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FM WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
TO E.O. 13526.14(c) NIACT

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

QQQQ
FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

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

.
.
.
BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE
CONCLUSION OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON THE
WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA. THIS ACTION OPENS THE
DOOR TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND RIGA, WHICH WILL
CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION
AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMBODY, AND
RECALL WITH APPRECIATION THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED WHEN WE
DISCUSSED THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT
SKRUNDA DURING OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN JANUARY. I COUNT THIS AS
ANOTHER INSTANCE WHERE OUR JOINT PERSONAL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HAVE PAID IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT
YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA WILL MEET WITH SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE
NEAR FUTURE AND STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY.

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 29, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal Agreement

As you know, Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin will meet in Moscow Saturday April 30 to sign -- at long last -- the troop withdrawal accords, including agreement on the Skruna compromise that we brokered between the Russians and Latvians in January. In light of the President's personal involvement throughout this process, including direct contact with Yeltsin and Ulmanis on numerous occasions, we think that brief congratulatory notes to both men are called for. In the Latvian case, the letter also assures Ulmanis of our commitment to ensure fair implementation of the agreements, which the Latvian opposition continues to snipe at. With Yeltsin, the letter provides an opportunity to push for conclusion of the Russian-Estonian agreement.

N.B.: Messages should not be transmitted until 1800 EDT April 30, by which time we should have confirmation that the agreements have actually been signed.

*COBE per
Beyle
and ADP*

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached letters for transmission to Riga and Moscow.

Approve *JB* Disapprove _____
as amended

Attachments

- Tab I Letter to President Ulmanis
- Tab II Letter to President Yeltsin

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By V2 NARA, Date 6/20/23
2016-0314-m-2

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE

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

(BEGIN TEXT)
DEAR BORIS;

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE CONCLUSION OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA. THIS ACTION OPENS THE DOOR TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND RIGA, WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMBODY, AND RECALL WITH APPRECIATION THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED WHEN WE DISCUSSED THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT SKRUNDA DURING OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN JANUARY. I COUNT THIS AS ANOTHER INSTANCE WHERE OUR JOINT PERSONAL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HAVE PAID IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA WILL MEET WITH SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY.

AGAIN, BORIS, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC ACCOMPLISHMENT.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

BILL

CONFIDENTIAL

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/20/2023
7016-0314-24-2

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Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001h, cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Yeltsin] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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[Latvia]
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FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F
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CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: BERGER COMM FUERTH ITOH KENNEY LAKE REED SIT SODERBERG WOLIN
SIT: BEYRLE BURNS COQ FILE FORSYTHE GOTTEMOELLER PRIVACY_OUT SIGLER SUM SUM2

<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 302116Z APR 94

FM WHITE HOUSE WASH DC

Declassified in Part

Per E.O. 13526

TO E.O. 13526 1.4(c) NIACT

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

2016-0314-M-2 (3.98)

QQQQ

6/20/2023 VZ

FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE
CONCLUSION OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON THE
WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA. THIS ACTION OPENS THE
DOOR TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND RIGA, WHICH WILL
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AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMBODY, AND
RECALL WITH APPRECIATION THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED WHEN WE
DISCUSSED THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT
SKRUNDA DURING OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN JANUARY. I COUNT THIS AS
ANOTHER INSTANCE WHERE OUR JOINT PERSONAL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HAVE PAID IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT
YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA WILL MEET WITH SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE
NEAR FUTURE AND STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY.

AGAIN, BORIS, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC
ACCOMPLISHMENT.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

BILL

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

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<MSGID> M1023179

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
SECSTATE WASH DC

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

QQQQ

SECSTATE FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONLY

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PRESIDENT YELTSIN
WAS DELIVERED VIA EMBASSY MOSCOW ON 30 APRIL 94.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE
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AGAIN, BORIS, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC
ACCOMPLISHMENT.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

BILL

END TEXT
DECL: OADR

#0000

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 01/13/2013
2016-0314-14-2

CLINTON ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

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AA ZYUW VAX772

THE WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
INFO SECSTATE

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

QQQQ

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BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR BORIS:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE
CONCLUSION OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON THE
WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA. THIS ACTION OPENS THE
DOOR TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND RIGA, WHICH WILL
CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION
AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMBODY, AND
RECALL WITH APPRECIATION THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED WHEN WE
DISCUSSED THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT
SKRUNDA DURING OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN JANUARY. I COUNT THIS AS
ANOTHER INSTANCE WHERE OUR JOINT PERSONAL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING
DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HAVE PAID IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT
YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA WILL MEET WITH SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE
NEAR FUTURE AND STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY.

AGAIN, BORIS, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC
ACCOMPLISHMENT.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

BILL

END TEXT

DECL: OADR

#0000

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By 1/2 NARA, Date 6/20/77

2016-0314-11-2

CLINTON ~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 001k. cable | Re: [Message from President Clinton to President Ulmanis] [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 04/30/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
NSC Records Management
[Latvia]
OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403340

2011-1037-F
ke2224

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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TOR 1202115 NCN 01161433 PAGE 1

>>> N I A C T <<<

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2016-0314-M-2 (3.99)
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FM WHITE HOUSE WASH DC
TO E.O. 13526-1.4(c) NIACT
ZEM
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS
OOOO
FOR CHARGE OR AMBASSADOR

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

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE
SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF
RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA BY AUGUST 31, 1994. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU
HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIA WHICH
WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC
REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THIS AGREEMENT EMBODIES,
AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE LATVIAN
GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND IT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO
WORKING WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THAT THE
AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY, INCLUDING IN THE
FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF
THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA BY AUGUST 31, 1994. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIA WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THIS AGREEMENT EMBODIES, AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND IT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY, INCLUDING IN THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

(END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VZ NARA, Date 6/73/2023
2016-03/14-m-2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 29, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Messages to Yeltsin and Ulmanis on Troop Withdrawal Agreement

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By YL NARA, Date 6/13/23
2018-0314-11-2

As you know, Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin will meet in Moscow Saturday April 30 to sign -- at long last -- the troop withdrawal accords, including agreement on the Skrunda compromise that we brokered between the Russians and Latvians in January. In light of the President's personal involvement throughout this process, including direct contact with Yeltsin and Ulmanis on numerous occasions, we think that brief congratulatory notes to both men are called for. In the Latvian case, the letter also assures Ulmanis of our commitment to ensure fair implementation of the agreements, which the Latvian opposition continues to snipe at. With Yeltsin, the letter provides an opportunity to push for conclusion of the Russian-Estonian agreement.

N.B.: Messages should not be transmitted until 1800 EDT April 30, by which time we should have confirmation that the agreements have actually been signed.

*30 BE per
Beyle
and ASAP*

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached letters for transmission to Riga and Moscow.

Approve *JB* Disapprove _____

as amended

Attachments

- Tab I Letter to President Ulmanis
- Tab II Letter to President Yeltsin

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE

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

(BEGIN TEXT)
DEAR BORIS;

I AM WRITING TO OFFER MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU UPON THE CONCLUSION OF YOUR AGREEMENT WITH PRESIDENT ULMANIS ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN TROOPS FROM LATVIA. THIS ACTION OPENS THE DOOR TO A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MOSCOW AND RIGA, WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THE DOCUMENTS EMBODY, AND RECALL WITH APPRECIATION THE FLEXIBILITY YOU DISPLAYED WHEN WE DISCUSSED THE SPECIFIC QUESTION OF THE RUSSIAN RADAR FACILITY AT SKRUNDA DURING OUR SUMMIT MEETING IN JANUARY. I COUNT THIS AS ANOTHER INSTANCE WHERE OUR JOINT PERSONAL EFFORTS AT RESOLVING DIFFICULT PROBLEMS HAVE PAID IMPORTANT DIVIDENDS. I AM HOPEFUL THAT YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH ESTONIA WILL MEET WITH SIMILAR SUCCESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND STAND READY, AS ALWAYS, TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY.

AGAIN, BORIS, MY SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS HISTORIC ACCOMPLISHMENT.

WITH BEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

BILL

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
2016-0314m-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PRIVACY CHANNEL MESSAGE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I AM WRITING TO OFFER YOU MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS UPON THE SIGNING OF THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF RUSSIAN FORCES FROM LATVIA BY AUGUST 31, 1994. BY YOUR ACTION, YOU HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF LATVIA WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY IN THE BALTIC REGION AND TO EUROPEAN SECURITY AS A WHOLE.

I RECOGNIZE THE DIFFICULT COMPROMISES THAT THIS AGREEMENT EMBODIES, AND GREATLY ADMIRE THE COURAGE AND VISION THAT YOU AND THE LATVIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE SHOWN IN STANDING BEHIND IT. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SEE THAT THE AGREEMENT IS IMPLEMENTED FAIRLY AND SMOOTHLY, INCLUDING IN THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ASSIST YOU IN THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE LARGE FACILITY AT THE SKRUNDA RADAR SITE.

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

SINCERELY,

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

(END TEXT)

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/13/2023
2016-0314-1A-2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. memo | Draft memo from Anthony Lake and Ricki Seidman to the President, re: [Recommendation for Site for Meeting with Baltic Leaders in July] (1 page) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Nicholas Burns to Anthony Lake, re: [Memorandum to the President] (1 page) | 05/18/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. memo | Anthony Lake and Ricki Seidman to the President, re: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the Site of Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in July (2 pages) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. memo | Nicholas Burns to Anthony Lake, re: [Memorandum to the President] (1 page) | 05/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 473

FOLDER TITLE:

9403585

2011-1037-F
 ke2226

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VI-NARA, Date 6/19/2023
2016-0319-M-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
RICKI SEIDMAN

SUBJECT: Recommendation That You Choose Tallin, Estonia as
the Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in
July

Purpose

To decide which of the Baltic capitals to visit for your meeting
with the three Baltic Presidents at the end of the July trip.

Background

Now that you have decided to add a Baltic stop to your July trip
to Europe, you need to decide which of the capitals to visit. We
strongly recommend that you decide to visit Tallinn, capital of
Estonia. Secretary Christopher concurs in this recommendation.
You would meet the three Baltic Presidents there, give an outdoor
speech (you will attract a large and positive crowd) and visit
one of our assistance projects. You would then return directly
to Washington.

We believe Tallinn is the right capital to visit, rather than
Riga or Vilnius, for the following reasons. First, Estonia is
the former USSR's biggest economic success story and a model for
what we hope others can accomplish. Estonia has outpaced its
Baltic neighbors and all others in the region in the government's
commitment to market economic reform. It will have the highest
growth rate in Europe this year. You can use your visit there to
highlight these achievements and the West's role in helping them
reform.

Second, Estonia is the lone Baltic country that has yet to
negotiate a troop withdrawal agreement with Russia. While we
remain confident that an agreement will be reached by the August
1994 target date, your trip could help to push the two countries
over the finish line. You have been an important behind-the-
scenes intermediary on Baltic troop withdrawals during the past
year. This is a foreign policy success story that deserves more
attention. A stop in Tallinn would give your role more
prominence and might help the negotiations at a critical stage.

optimistic

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3585
re-do

May 18, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President Recommending He Visit Riga, Latvia at the end of the July Trip

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum from you and Ricki Seidman to the President recommending that he choose Riga, capital of Latvia, as the site for his meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachment
Tab A Memorandum to the President

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VZ NARA, Date 6/14/2023
2016-0314-AM-2

~~SECRET~~

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526

2016-03-14-AM-2 (4,00)
6/20/2017 VZ

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
RICKI SEIDMAN

SUBJECT: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in July

Purpose

To decide which of the Baltic capitals to visit for your meeting with the three Baltic Presidents at the end of the July trip.

Background

Now that you have decided to add a Baltic stop to your July trip to Europe, you need to decide which of the capitals to visit. For logistical reasons, Riga, Latvia is the only practical option. Neither Tallinn nor Vilnius has a long enough airport runway to accommodate Air Force One. You would meet the three Baltic Presidents in Riga, give an outdoor speech (you will attract a large, enthusiastic crowd) and visit one of our assistance projects. You would then return directly to Washington.

Riga would be a strong candidate even without its long runway. Latvia has a strong reformist government, and lies geographically in the center of the Baltic littoral. A stop in Riga would also highlight your success as a behind-the-scenes intermediary on troop withdrawals over the past year (especially regarding the Skrunda site in Latvia). This is a foreign policy success story that deserves more attention. A stop in Latvia would give the U.S. role more prominence, and might also help the Russian-Estonian negotiations, which could be at a critical stage in early July, if they have not been concluded before your visit.

We believe that you can stop in Riga without causing a problem with Yeltsin. You will have just seen him in Naples and can explain to him that your visit is intended in part to highlight Russia's ongoing withdrawal from Latvia, while promoting similar progress in the Russian-Estonian talks. Yeltsin would also be reassured to hear that you will include in your public remarks a reference to the Russian minorities in the Baltics and the need for their basic rights to be respected.

We would not have recommended a stop in Vilnius because Lithuania's neo-communist government is the least reformist in the Baltic region. By inviting Lithuanian President Brazauskas to join you in Riga, however, you will earn some credit with the large Lithuanian-American community in the U.S.

Latvian President Ulmanis will be visiting the U.S. the week of May 23 and has requested a brief meeting with you; we have sent a separate request to schedule this. This meeting would offer an ideal opportunity to propose a Latvia stop and get Ulmanis' agreement to host the other Baltic presidents as well.

RECOMMENDATION

That you choose Riga, Latvia as the site for your meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

3585
re-do

May 17, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: NICHOLAS BURNS ^{NB}

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President Recommending He Visit Tallinn, Estonia at the end of the July Trip

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum from you and Ricki Seidmann to the President recommending that he choose Tallin, capital of Estonia, as the site for his meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum to the President

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By VL NARA, Date 6/14/2022
106-0314-002

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: President Schedule Proposal: Meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis (1 page) | 05/13/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 196

FOLDER TITLE:

9403820

2011-1037-F

ke2227

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 13, 1994

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH:

NICHOLAS BURNS NB

FROM:

JOHN BEYRLE JB

SUBJECT:

President Schedule Proposal: Meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis

Attached is an update of the schedule proposal you approved for a Presidential meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis. The President will be out of town on the dates originally proposed, but Ulmanis has agreed to rearrange his meetings at the UN to accommodate the President's schedule.

We continue to recommend this meeting very strongly. In part because the Russians and Latvians signed their troop withdrawal agreement on a Saturday, the event -- and the President's role in it -- got little publicity. The Ulmanis meeting would give the story a second life, and would also have a beneficial demonstration effect on the Estonians and Russians as part of our effort to help bring their negotiations across the finish line.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached schedule proposal.

Attachment

Tab I Presidential Schedule Proposal

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017
By Y2 NARA, Date 4/14/2023
7016-0314-1A-2

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001a. briefing paper | Re: Meeting with Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis (3 pages) | 05/23/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001b. memo | Warren Christopher to the President, re: Meeting with President Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia (1 page) | 05/24/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001c. talking points | Points to be Made for Meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis (2 pages) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001d. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 07/29/1993 | P1/b(1) |
| 001e. memo | John Beyrle to Anthony Lake, re: President's Meeting with Latvian President (1 page) | 05/23/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001f. briefing paper | Re: Meeting with Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis (1 page) | 05/24/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001g. talking points | Points to be Made for Meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis (2 pages) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 001h. talking points | Points to be Made for Meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis [note cards] (6 pages) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 NSC Records Management
 [Latvia]
 OA/Box Number: 197

FOLDER TITLE:

9404050

2011-1037-F
 ke2228

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- 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]
- 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]

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1994

MEETING WITH

LATVIAN PRESIDENT GUNTIS ULMANIS

DATE: May 24, 1994

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 5:15-5:45 pm

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5 24 94

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (4.01)

6/20/2023 vl

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Ulmanis on the successful conclusion of Latvia's troop withdrawal negotiations with Russia; pledge continued U.S. support for the implementation of the agreements; and seek Ulmanis' agreement for your possible July stop in Riga for a meeting with the three Baltic Presidents.

KEY POINTS

- Your signing of the troop withdrawal agreement with President Yeltsin last month was an act of statesmanship and vision that opens a new chapter in your relations with Moscow and contributes greatly to European security and stability.
- Reaffirm our commitment to the agreement's implementation through assistance for dismantlement at the Skrunda site, and housing vouchers to speed the departure of Russian officers from Latvia.
- Agreement removes political uncertainty, encourages investment; I have just approved the board members of the Baltic Enterprise Fund to provide an important source of capital for potential investors in Latvia.
- Would like very much to visit Latvia this summer; if you agree, propose a stop of several hours in July to meet with you and Presidents Meri and Brazauskas.

II. BACKGROUND

On April 30, Ulmanis and President Yeltsin signed the agreements calling for Russia to complete its troop withdrawal from Latvia by August 31 of this year. Your personal efforts with Yeltsin, Ulmanis and key Latvian officials to broker the Skrunda radar compromise paved the way for the final agreement. The Skrunda deal was only the most visible of a year-long series of US interventions at all levels to promote the withdrawal agreement; Ulmanis

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wants to offer his thanks for your personal involvement, and for the consistent US attention on Latvia's behalf.

The agreement must still be ratified by the Latvian legislature. Some opposition is expected, but not enough to kill the accords. To cement domestic support, the Latvian government wants to begin immediate dismantlement of the huge radar structures that disfigure the skyline at Skrunda. We have pledged an initial \$2 million to assist in the takedown and have urged other governments in the region to contribute as well. We will send a technical team to Latvia in June to consult on takedown modalities. We have also modified the Officer Resettlement Initiative you announced last year to make housing vouchers available to demobilized and retired Russian officers in Latvia and Estonia, to help speed their return to Russia.

The agreements have ushered in a significant relaxation in political tensions between Riga and Moscow. At the signing, Yeltsin made a strong and unexpected statement virtually apologizing for the occupation of Latvia "in the Stalinist era." There are also plans for a number of agreements to be signed soon normalizing economic relations between Riga and Moscow. All of this helps remove a significant barrier to Western trade and investment with Latvia. In this connection, we expect Ulmanis to press you for word on when the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund will be formally established. You can tell him you have just approved the board members and expect the Fund to be open for business by the fall.

To underscore our support for the independence of the New Independent States formerly in the Soviet orbit, you have agreed to add a stop in the Baltics during your trip to Naples, Bonn, Berlin, and Warsaw in July. For logistical reasons the stop can only take place in Riga. This meeting will provide an opportunity to seek Ulmanis' agreement to a brief stop in Riga when you would plan a joint meeting with all three Baltic Presidents. Once we have agreement to this plan from Presidents Meri and Brazauskas (we will prepare letters for you to send to them tomorrow), we and the Latvians can make a joint announcement of the stop.

III. PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Warren Christopher, Secretary of State
Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Steve Oxman, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
Nicholas Burns, Senior Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs, NSC Staff
Alvin Skipsna, Interpreter

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Latvia

President Guntis Ulmanis
Ojars Kalnins, Latvian Ambassador to the U.S.
Maris Rieksteins, State Secretary, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs
Silvia Dreimanis, Chief of Staff to the President
(notetaker)
Janis Eichmanis, Special Adviser to the President
(interpreter)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool Spray at start of meeting

Attachments

Tab A Points to be made
Tab B Biographic Information

5-24-94

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

May 24, 1994

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DECL: OADR

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Warren Christopher *WC*

SUBJECT: Meeting with President Guntis Ulmanis
of Latvia

I. SETTING

- o Ulmanis seeks reassurance of continued U.S. interest in having the recently-signed Russian troop withdrawal agreement carried out smoothly.
- o We are actively supporting implementation of the agreement.
 - DoD has come up with \$2 million for dismantling the unfinished structure at Skrunda (LPAR). State is still trying to identify the source for its \$2 million share. We have asked Western governments to contribute to this project.
 - A State/AID team traveled to Riga in late April to explain how the voucher system in the \$160 officer resettlement program will work.
 - We are working with the Latvians and Russians to define the CSCE role in monitoring the implementation of the Skrunda provisions of the troop withdrawal agreement.

II. TOPICS

- o Commend Ulmanis for taking the hard decisions necessary to reach agreement on the withdrawal of Russian troops.
- o Reiterate our commitment to support the Latvians as steadfastly in the implementation phase of the agreement as we did during the negotiations themselves.
- o Note our commitment to help dismantle the LPAR.
 - o Note strong Hill support for the \$10 million request in the FY95 State budget for the Baltic Peacekeeping battalion.
 - o Note that you have approved the American membership of the Board of Directors of the Baltic Enterprise Fund and will make those names public soon.

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4/2/02
4/2/02 YL

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS

Introductory

- Recall first meeting last year in New York, rode over to the U.N. together in the rain!
- Also recall our phone conversation of January 20 when you first suggested the visit of the Latvian parliamentary delegation to discuss Skrunda.

Troop Withdrawal Agreement

- Congratulations on the historic agreement you signed last month with President Yeltsin. I know what difficult waters you had to navigate to get to that point.
- Was an act of vision and statesmanship on your part. As I wrote you, am convinced that this is an important step not just for Latvia, but for European security overall.
- Demonstrated our commitment to work with you and Russia to make the negotiations a success. Just as committed to successful implementation of the agreement:
 - Have pledged at least 2 million dollars to help you dismantle the large radar at Skrunda. Have asked other countries to contribute; Sweden has agreed, we're sure others will, too. We will be in touch with you soon to arrange to send a technical team to consult with you on the best strategy for a fast, safe takedown.
 - Have also made arrangements to provide one thousand housing vouchers to retired or demobilized Russian officers to encourage them to leave Latvia and Estonia quickly.
- Will also be involved with CSCE monitoring efforts at Skrunda, and concerning Russian minority rights.

New Era in Latvia's External Relations

- We were encouraged by President Yeltsin's conciliatory remarks at the signing. Also understand that you may soon sign agreements normalizing your economic and trade relations with Moscow. Both are indicators that you have opened a new chapter in your relations with Russia.
- As political tensions relax, the climate for trade and investment improves. Urge you to strengthen your efforts to complete your transition to a market economy.

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2016-0314-M-2 (4,03)

4/20/2023 V2

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- We will support you in your economic development. Providing a source of capital for investors in privatized firms is a key element of that support.
- I have today formally nominated the board members of the Baltic-American Enterprise fund; we hope to have it open for business by the summer.

Proposed Stop in Riga

- [Ulmanis will invite you to visit Riga in connection with your G-7 trip.]
- I would be delighted if I could add a stop in Riga.
- This would be a symbol of the close relations between us. It would also demonstrate our strong support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic countries, and other states formerly in the Soviet orbit.
- If you agree, I would like to have Presidents Meri and Brazauskas join us there for a meeting.
- Let's agree to keep this idea private for a few days, until you have had a chance to discuss this with Presidents Meri and Brazauskas. If they agree, then we will coordinate with you on a simultaneous announcement in Riga and Washington.

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4050

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

May 23, 1994



ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: NICHOLAS BURNS NB

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE JHB

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Latvian President
May 24, 1994, 5:15 - 5:45 pm

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum with talking points for the President's half-hour meeting with Latvian President Ulmanis on Tuesday afternoon.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached meeting package.

Attachments

- Tab I Presidential Meeting Package
- Tab A Points to be made
- Tab B Biographic Material

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White House Declassification May 16, 2017

By VL [Signature] 6/26/2023

2016-0314-41-2

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4050

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH
LATVIAN PRESIDENT GUNTIS ULMANIS

DATE: May 24, 1994
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 5:15-5:45 pm

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-03/14-201-2 (4,05)
6/10/2023 VZ

I. PURPOSE

To congratulate Ulmanis on the successful conclusion of Latvia's troop withdrawal negotiations with Russia; pledge continued U.S. support for the implementation of the agreements; and seek Ulmanis' agreement for your possible July stop in Riga for a meeting with the three Baltic Presidents.

KEY POINTS

- Your signing of the troop withdrawal agreement with President Yeltsin last month was an act of statesmanship and vision that opens a new chapter in your relations with Moscow and contributes greatly to European security and stability.
- ~~we~~ Reaffirm our commitment to the agreement's implementation through assistance for dismantlement at the Skrunda site, and housing vouchers to speed the departure of Russian officers from Latvia.
- ~~The~~ Agreement removes political uncertainty, encourages investment; I have just approved the board members of the Baltic Enterprise Fund to provide an important source of capital for potential investors in Latvia.
- Would like very much to visit Latvia this summer; if you agree, propose a stop of several hours in July to meet with you and Presidents Meri and Brazauskas.

II. BACKGROUND

On April 30, Ulmanis and President Yeltsin signed the agreements calling for Russia to complete its troop withdrawal from Latvia by August 31 of this year. Your personal efforts with Yeltsin, Ulmanis and key Latvian officials to broker the Skrunda radar compromise paved the way for the final agreement. The Skrunda deal was only the most visible of a year-long series of US interventions at all levels to promote the withdrawal agreement; Ulmanis

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (4,06)
6/20/2023 WZ

Introductory

-- ~~Pleasure to welcome you to the White House. I remember well~~
~~our first meeting last year in New York, when we rode over~~
~~to the U.N. together in the rain!~~

Recall

-- Also recall our phone conversation of January 20 when you first suggested the visit of the Latvian parliamentary delegation to discuss Skrunda.

Troop Withdrawal Agreement

-- Congratulations on the historic agreement you signed last month with President Yeltsin. I know what difficult waters you had to navigate to get to that point.

-- Was an act of vision and statesmanship on your part. As I wrote you, am convinced that this is an important step not just for Latvia, but for European security overall.

-- ~~We~~ Demonstrated our commitment to work with you and Russia to make the negotiations a success. ~~We are~~ Just as committed to successful implementation of the agreement:

-- Have pledged at least 2 million dollars to help you dismantle the large radar at Skrunda. Have asked other countries to contribute; Sweden has agreed, we're sure others will, too. We will be in touch with you soon to arrange to send a technical team to consult with you on the best strategy for a fast, safe takedown.

-- Have also made arrangements to provide one thousand housing vouchers to retired or demobilized Russian officers to encourage them to leave Latvia and Estonia quickly.

-- Will also be involved with CSCE monitoring efforts at Skrunda, and concerning Russian minority rights.

New Era in Latvia's External Relations

-- We were encouraged by President Yeltsin's conciliatory remarks at the signing. Also understand that you may soon sign agreements normalizing your economic and trade relations with Moscow. Both are indicators that you have opened a new chapter in your relations with Russia.

-- As political tensions relax, the climate for trade and investment improves. Urge you to strengthen your efforts to complete your transition to a market economy.

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- We will support you in your economic development. Providing a source of capital for investors in privatized firms is a key element of that support.
- I have today formally nominated the board members of the Baltic-American Enterprise fund; we hope to have it open for business by the summer.

Proposed Stop in Riga

- As you may know, I am planning a trip to Europe in early July that will take me to the G-7 summit in Naples, and then to Bonn, Berlin, and Warsaw.
- I would be delighted if I could add a stop in Riga.
- This would be a symbol of the close relations between us. It would also demonstrate our strong support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic countries, and other states formerly in the Soviet orbit.
- If you agree, ~~and we can work out the timing for such a visit~~, I would like to have Presidents Meri and Brazauskas join us there for a meeting.
- Let's agree to keep this idea ^{private} ~~just between us~~ for a few days, until ~~I have had time to write~~ Presidents Meri and Brazauskas. If they agree, then we will coordinate with you on a simultaneous announcement in Riga and Washington.

you have had a chance to discuss this with

[Ulmanis will invite you to visit Riga in connection with your G-7 trip]

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CARD 1 OF 6

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
LATVIAN PRESIDENT ULMANIS

INTRODUCTORY

- RECALL FIRST MEETING LAST YEAR IN NEW YORK,
RODE OVER TO THE U.N. TOGETHER IN THE RAIN!
- ALSO RECALL OUR PHONE CONVERSATION OF JANUARY
20 WHEN YOU FIRST SUGGESTED THE VISIT OF THE
LATVIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO DISCUSS
SKRUNDA.

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2016-0314-01-2 (4.07)

6/20/2023 v2

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CARD 2 OF 6

TROOP WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT

- CONGRATULATIONS ON THE HISTORIC AGREEMENT YOU
SIGNED LAST MONTH WITH PRESIDENT YELTSIN. I
KNOW WHAT DIFFICULT WATERS YOU HAD TO NAVIGATE
TO GET TO THAT POINT.
- WAS AN ACT OF VISION AND STATESMANSHIP ON YOUR
PART. AS I WROTE YOU, AM CONVINCED THAT THIS
IS AN IMPORTANT STEP NOT JUST FOR LATVIA, BUT
FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY OVERALL.
- DEMONSTRATED OUR COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH YOU
AND RUSSIA TO MAKE THE NEGOTIATIONS A SUCCESS.
JUST AS COMMITTED TO SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE AGREEMENT:

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CARD 3 OF 6

- HAVE PLEDGED AT LEAST 2 MILLION DOLLARS TO HELP YOU DISMANTLE THE LARGE RADAR AT SKRUNDA. HAVE ASKED OTHER COUNTRIES TO CONTRIBUTE; SWEDEN HAS AGREED, WE'RE SURE OTHERS WILL, TOO. WE WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH YOU SOON TO ARRANGE TO SEND A TECHNICAL TEAM TO CONSULT WITH YOU ON THE BEST STRATEGY FOR A FAST, SAFE TAKEDOWN.
- HAVE ALSO MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO PROVIDE ONE THOUSAND HOUSING VOUCHERS TO RETIRED OR DEMOBILIZED RUSSIAN OFFICERS TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO LEAVE LATVIA AND ESTONIA QUICKLY.
- WILL ALSO BE INVOLVED WITH CSCE MONITORING EFFORTS AT SKRUNDA, AND CONCERNING RUSSIAN MINORITY RIGHTS.

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CARD 4 OF 6

NEW ERA IN LATVIA'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS

- WE WERE ENCOURAGED BY PRESIDENT YELTSIN'S CONCILIATORY REMARKS AT THE SIGNING. ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT YOU MAY SOON SIGN AGREEMENTS NORMALIZING YOUR ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW. BOTH ARE INDICATORS THAT YOU HAVE OPENED A NEW CHAPTER IN YOUR RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA.
- AS POLITICAL TENSIONS RELAX, THE CLIMATE FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT IMPROVES. URGE YOU TO STRENGTHEN YOUR EFFORTS TO COMPLETE YOUR TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY.
- WE WILL SUPPORT YOU IN YOUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. PROVIDING A SOURCE OF CAPITAL FOR

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CARD 5 OF 6

INVESTORS IN PRIVATIZED FIRMS IS A KEY ELEMENT OF THAT SUPPORT.

-- I HAVE TODAY FORMALLY NOMINATED THE BOARD MEMBERS OF THE BALTIC-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND; WE HOPE TO HAVE IT OPEN FOR BUSINESS BY THE SUMMER.

PROPOSED STOP IN RIGA

-- [ULMANIS WILL INVITE YOU TO VISIT RIGA IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR G-7 TRIP.]

-- I WOULD BE DELIGHTED IF I COULD ADD A STOP IN RIGA.

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CARD 6 OF 6

-- THIS WOULD BE A SYMBOL OF THE CLOSE RELATIONS BETWEEN US. IT WOULD ALSO DEMONSTRATE OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE BALTIC COUNTRIES, AND OTHER STATES FORMERLY IN THE SOVIET ORBIT.

-- IF YOU AGREE, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE PRESIDENTS MERI AND BRAZAUSKAS JOIN US THERE FOR A MEETING.

-- LET'S AGREE TO KEEP THIS IDEA PRIVATE FOR A FEW DAYS, UNTIL YOU HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH PRESIDENTS MERI AND BRAZAUSKAS. IF THEY AGREE, THEN WE WILL COORDINATE WITH YOU ON A SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT IN RIGA AND WASHINGTON.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Trip to Latvia (3 pages) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. briefing | Re: Bilateral Meeting and Signing Ceremony with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs (3 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/14/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004. briefing | Re: Working Lunch with the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (4 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 005. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 006. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 007. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 008. briefing | Re: Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 009. briefing | Re: Russian Troop Withdrawals (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 010. briefing | Re: The Russian Minority in the Baltic States (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 011. briefing | Re: Paldiski Naval Base (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 012. briefing | Re: Latvia: Political-Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
 OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
 ke2200

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]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) 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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| 013. briefing | Re: Estonia: Political-Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 014. briefing | Re: Lithuanian: Political-Economic Overview (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 015. paper | Aide Memoire (2 pages) | 06/15/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 016. letter | Vice President Al Gore to Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 017. briefing | Excerpt from briefing paper for meeting with Baltic Presidents (1 page) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 018. memo | Anthony Lake and Ricki Seidman to the President, re: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in July (2 pages) | ea. 05/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 019. paper | Re: Russian-Estonian Negotiations (2 pages) | 06/09/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 020. memo | J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page) | 05/03/1994 | b(6) |
| 021. memo | J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page) | 04/28/1994 | b(6) |
| 022. memo | J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page) | 04/28/1994 | b(6) |

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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|--------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 023. memo | William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy, and Germany, July 5-12, 1994 (6 pages) | 06/03/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

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Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
 OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F

ke2200

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
SUBJECT: Your Visit to Latvia

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,13)

6/20/2023 VZ

OVERVIEW

Your seven-hour stop in Riga July 6 represents a highly symbolic and dramatic kickoff for your third trip to Europe this year. The symbolism lies in the message you convey by the very fact of your visit: America champions the sovereignty of the Baltic states and supports their reintegration into the Western fold, rejecting any pretension of a Russian sphere of influence in the region. The drama of your visit is historical. America sheltered the flame of Baltic independence during five decades of Soviet occupation. Your arrival as the first American President to set foot on Baltic soil constitutes a decisive affirmation of the rebirth of these three small states as independent nations. The theme of the continuing consolidation of a new post-Cold War Europe will recur at every stop of your trip, from your discussions with President Walesa, through your meeting with Yeltsin in a new political "G-8" in Naples, to your walk through the Brandenburg Gate in an undivided Berlin. But your visit to Riga, climaxed by an open air speech to thousands of Baltic citizens, will underscore in a simple yet powerful way the epochal nature of the change that has come to Europe.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate our continued staunch support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic States.
- o Highlight the importance of the Russian troop withdrawal this summer and our role in promoting it. Seek to bridge differences between Estonia and Russia on troop withdrawal talks.
- o Emphasize the continued security and economic integration of the Baltic states as a priority U.S. goal for the future.

BACKGROUND

Support for the Independence of the Baltic Countries. You meet this objective largely by the very fact of your visit, which has already generated great excitement among the governments and

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peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This central message of support resonates well among the Baltic people, who were by far the most Westernized in the former USSR and are looking firmly toward Europe and North America in search of full reintegration. They have not forgotten that the U.S. never recognized the Soviet Union's occupation from 1940 to 1991; that we maintained and financed their exiled legations to Washington during those five decades; and that we promptly returned the gold reserves that we safeguarded for their eventual independence.

History has taught the people of the Baltics to fear that their periods of sovereignty will be short-lived; many are convinced that a resurgent Russia will sooner or later threaten them once again. Your meeting in Riga with the three Baltic heads of state will send a clear message that we do not recognize a Russian "sphere of influence" in the region and will demonstrate that we are not willing to countenance Russia's presence in every part of the former Soviet Union. For these reasons, the Riga stop will also resonate at home with the nearly one million Baltic-Americans who have been so vocal and active with us and the Congress in support of Baltic independence.

Highlight the U.S. Role in Russian Troop Withdrawals. The central issue of your discussions in Riga and a major topic of your outdoor speech will be our involvement in promoting the final withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics this summer. Russian forces are out of Lithuania and will be close to gone from Latvia by the time you arrive. Russia and Estonia are nearing the end of their negotiations; we expect to be able to take advantage of your visit and your meeting with Yeltsin four days later, to promote final agreement there, as well. Specifically, we are encouraging Estonian President Meri to give you a letter in Riga with his near-bottom-line positions on the withdrawal talks for transferral to Yeltsin four days later in Naples. Coupled with the pullout from Germany in late August, agreement on the Estonian withdrawal means that the Russian military will, for the first time since 1945, be back inside the pre-WWII borders of the former Soviet Union.

The United States has been the most influential country in convincing the Russians to leave the Baltics. Although the previous administration began the battle, you can rightly claim the lion's share of the credit. Your personal diplomacy with Yeltsin, our funding of 5,000 houses for departing Russian officers and our financial assistance to dismantle the Skrunda ABM site have all been crucial tactical contributions to the success of the withdrawal talks.

While you can credibly defend the right of the Baltic states to live without Russian troops, you should also leave an important public message with the Baltic leaders and publics: they need to live in peace with Russia. This relates to the large ethnic Russian minority that will remain in the Baltics after the troops are gone. The Balts need to treat this group with decency and work to include them in the social and political fabric of their societies. This is consistent with the approach we have

maintained since you took office. It is also good politics for our relationship with Yeltsin and Russia.

The Future of U.S.-Baltic Relations. Much of the emphasis of your visit will be placed on our actions in the past to promote Baltic independence. The third major objective of your visit should be to talk about the future. There is concern that once the Russian troops are removed, America will forget about the Baltics. You can counter that argument by spelling out the remarkably broad program of cooperation that we envision in the economic and security spheres. We have welcomed all three states into PFP and will work to make theirs a meaningful membership through a \$10 million FY-95 program to help train the nascent Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. On the economic side, you will announce the \$50 million capitalization of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, sign a trade pact with the Latvians and look forward to further expansion of trade and investment through a Baltic business development mission this fall.

The economic success story of the Baltics will help reinforce the point that Western assistance alone cannot assure prosperity; privatization, growth and trade are the surest guarantees of longterm political stability and normal, neighborly relations with Russia. Our support for this continuing economic integration with the West will in many ways be our most durable and valuable legacy to the people and governments of the Baltic states.

KEY EVENTS

Baltic Presidents Lunch. This is the centerpiece of the visit, the original concept event for the trip. You will meet over lunch for an hour and a half with Presidents Meri, Brazauskas and Ulmanis in a structure as informal as we can make it in order to allow for a more relaxed and natural discussion. We expect a heavy focus on the Russian-Estonian withdrawal talks, there should also be a good exchange on economic and security issues of concern to the three Presidents.

Open Air Speech. Against the backdrop of Freedom Monument in downtown Riga, you will address a crowd in the surrounding square that could number well over ten thousand. The central theme of your brief remarks will be America's celebration of the Baltic rebirth of freedom and our determination to stand by the region as it completes its reintegration into the Western fold.

Latvian Bilateral Events. You will have a brief meeting with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs, followed by a ceremony to sign the bilateral trade agreement. Later, President Ulmanis will host a reception where you will have the chance to meet Latvia's political, cultural and business leadership. The reception will be held in Riga's newly re-opened Stock Exchange.

BILATERAL MEETING AND SIGNING CEREMONY
WITH LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER BIRKAVS

CONTEXT OF THE MEETING

This half-hour meeting and signing ceremony is a mark of appreciation for the Latvian government's agreement to act as host for your multilateral visit. Your interlocutor is Prime Minister Birkavs, whose role as head of government has been eclipsed in recent months by the need to conduct business at the Presidential level between you, Yeltsin and President Ulmanis, whose role in Latvian politics is largely ceremonial. Birkavs is also serving as Acting Foreign Minister following the resignation of the former FM over allegations he cooperated with the KGB before Latvia's independence.

The Latvian government is honored by your decision to visit Riga, and deeply appreciates your personal efforts to help Latvia and Russia sign the troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. The Russians have indicated that their pullout is likely to be completed before the August 31 deadline. In fulfillment of our commitment to help the Latvians dismantle the Skrunda radar site, a U.S. team recently visited Riga to begin coordinating the joint effort. We have now doubled our contribution to the Skrunda dismantlement fund, from \$2 million to \$4 million. The meeting will also afford an opportunity to reiterate our concerns about Latvia's draft citizenship law, which contains an unacceptably small quota for non-Latvians.

At the conclusion of your meeting, you and Prime Minister Birkavs will sign the Bilateral Trade Agreement, underscoring our support for Latvia's future integration into the Western economic fold.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Reassure Latvia about continuing U.S. interest in smooth implementation of the troop withdrawal agreement, citing Skrunda dismantlement and housing vouchers.
- o Stress our strong interest in strengthening bilateral relations through increased emphasis on trade and investment and broadening security ties.
- o Encourage passage of a generous and inclusive citizenship law.

Introduction and thanks

- o I want to reiterate my thanks to you and President Ulmanis for inviting me to Riga and acting as host for the meeting with Presidents Meri and Brazauskas.

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- o The statesmanship Latvia has displayed in concluding the troop withdrawal agreement with Moscow has earned the respect of all of us. We look forward to working with you and with Moscow to ensure full, timely implementation.

Skrunda dismantlement

- o When I met President Ulmanis in Washington in May, I told him we would provide at least \$2 million to fulfill our promise to help you take down the large structure at Skrunda.
- o An American team recently visited Skrunda and met your experts. We are well on the way to coordinating our efforts. But it appears dismantlement will cost more than we first thought.
- o We have identified another \$2 million in funding for the project; brings our total commitment to \$4 million. We will continue to encourage other states to contribute, as well.

Housing vouchers

- o We have tried to provide a real incentive for Russian compliance with the withdrawal deadline through our \$160 million program to resettle demobilized officers.
- o You have helped us by working with the Russians to identify specific officers who qualify for the program. We have increased the number of vouchers available from 1,000 to 2,500, split equally between Latvia and Estonia.

Bilateral issues

- o The troop withdrawal sends a positive signal to traders and investors. I am announcing today the board members of the Baltic American Enterprise Fund to be chaired by Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, President of the Atlantic Council, which will have \$50 million in investment capital to support private business development in the Baltics.
- o Looking forward to the Central Europe trade and investment conference in Washington this fall. Afterwards, we will send out a trade development mission to the Baltics, including participation by major U.S. firms.
- o Your active participation in Partnership for Peace will help strengthen your security ties to the West. We have also asked our Congress to provide \$10 million in FY95 funds to support regional peacekeeping forces, including the Baltic Peacekeeping battalion.

- o (IF ASKED ABOUT JOINTLY DEVELOPING RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE SITE AT VENTSPILS AS A SCIENCE/TELECOMMUNICATIONS CENTER):
 - Intriguing proposal. Would be happy to explore details to see if we could make this work.
- o (IF ASKED ABOUT WILLINGNESS TO PURCHASE U.S. EMBASSY BUILDING IN RIGA, ENABLING LATVIA TO BUY NEW BUILDING IN D.C.):
 - I am told that our present tight budget still will not allow us to purchase the building here. If the funds become available, we will raise this with you again.

Naturalization law

- o Pleased that President Ulmanis remanded this law to parliament. We share view of CSCE and others that the citizenship quota is far too restrictive.
- o Encourage you to find ways to include your large Russian minority in political and social life of your country.
- o Know this is difficult issue here but we are convinced you will be better off in the long-term if Russians are treated fairly.

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 003. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/14/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

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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Valdis BIRKAVS
(Phonetic: BEERkavs)

*Prime Minister (since July 1993);
Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs
(since 7 June 1994)*

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

LATVIA

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Valdis Birkavs has had to rely on his considerable legal expertise and political savvy to keep his minority coalition government on a proreform path, [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

He assumed the Foreign Ministry portfolio when his predecessor, Georgs Andrejevs, resigned—after admitting to having worked for the KGB in the early 1960s. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

Birkavs will hold the post until a new minister is named, which they say may not be until the fall of 1994. He has been termed a crisp, clearheaded, tough-talking politician by the Baltic press. [redacted] 1.4(c)

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] 1.4(c) [redacted] 3.5c

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

The Prime Minister has steered the government toward areas that he considers key to transforming Latvia into a market economy and to drawing the country into Western organizations—economic reform continues to move forward, an agreement has been reached on Russian troop withdrawal, and Latvia has joined the Partnership for Peace program. However, Birkavs still faces the ethnically touchy issue of establishing a citizenship law, the resolution of which is needed for the country's incorporation into organizations such as the Council of Europe. [redacted] 3.5c

Birkavs was born on 27 July 1942 in Riga. After attending the Riga Polytechnic Institute, he performed his mandatory service in the Soviet army. Birkavs subsequently earned a law degree (with honors) from Latvian State University's law school in 1969. He also holds a Ph.D. in criminology. Birkavs began his career at the Latvian Justice Ministry's Forensic and Criminology Laboratory, which provides expert

witnesses for the court system. In 1988 he established the Latvian Lawyers' Association, the first independent bar organization in what was then the Soviet Union, and he was elected its first president. He became involved in the independence movement in 1990 when he was elected to the Saeima (parliament) as a proindependence Popular Front candidate. He served as one of the parliament's experts on legislation matters and, according to press reports, he frequently was sought out by other members of parliament for advice on procedure and phraseology; he became a deputy speaker in 1992. [redacted] 3.5c

The press describes Birkavs—who speaks English, Russian, and Latvian—as a refined intellectual. He admitted in an interview that because of his knowledge and experience, he never

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has suffered from an inferiority complex. Birkavs enjoys vacationing at his summer house by the Baltic Sea; he says that proximity to the sea provides him creative and physical freedom to think and write. He also enjoys sports—skiing, tennis, and sailing (in which he once competed at the international professional level). In a January 1994

basketball match, Birkavs led members of his Cabinet to victory over a team drawn from the Lithuanian Cabinet; he quickly fouled out of the game. Birkavs and his wife, Aina, have a son.

3.5c

14 June 1994

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WORKING LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENTS
OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

This meeting is the centerpiece of your visit to the Baltics: an opportunity to convey to the Baltic heads of state, as a group, the assurances of America's commitment to the future of their independent nations and to the prosperity and development the Baltic region as a whole. All three Baltic Presidents deeply appreciate your personal involvement in promoting the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and you will be able to provide them evidence of our commitment to ensure smooth implementation of the withdrawal agreements. The Estonian-Russian talks are at a sensitive endgame phase, and your discussions with President Meri may yield enough progress on the outstanding issues to allow the outlines of a final deal to take shape when you meet President Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday.

Beyond the troop withdrawal issue, though, this luncheon should focus on the future. History and geopolitical realities inspire deep pessimism among the Baltic people and their leaders. There is great fear of resurgent Russian nationalism and a lingering suspicion that America will put the Baltics on the back burner once the Russian troops are gone. There is also uncertainty, especially in Latvia and Lithuania, that a successful transition to a market economy is in sight. The single overriding message for you to leave with your Baltic counterparts is our determination to help them reintegrate into the Western security and economic fold and our rejection of the idea of a Russian "sphere of influence" in the Baltics. The surest guarantee of long-term Baltic sovereignty and prosperity lies in close integration with Europe and North America and, simultaneously, normal relations with a reforming, stable Russia. In this respect, the Baltic leaders will value your assurances that our relations with Russia remain healthy, resilient and realistic.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Hail progress in achieving full Russian troop withdrawal and our commitment to the implementation phase of the process.
- o Express readiness to help conclude the Russia-Estonia talks, specifically by carrying a message from President Meri to your meeting with Yeltsin in Naples.
- o Stress need for an enlightened policy of including the Russian ethnic minority in political and social life.
- o Make clear our steadfast support for Baltic security and economic integration with the West.

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- o Stress the strength of our ties with Moscow, but reject any suggestion of a Russian sphere of influence in the Baltics.

CORE POINTS

Russian Troop Withdrawals

- o Congratulations to all three on progress in withdrawal of Russian forces. These agreements will help you establish normal relations with your big neighbor and create a better climate for reforms and trade and investment.
- o August 31 is a firm deadline as far as we are concerned. We've told Russia that withdrawals cannot drag on past then. I believe Yeltsin is committed to deadline -- doesn't want this as a long-term problem in our relations.
- o We are committed to make these agreements work. Have made ready 2,500 housing vouchers so that departing officers can buy apartments in Russia. The Russians are responding. The first vouchers are already being handed over to qualified officers.
- o Our contribution to Skrunda dismantlement now totals \$4 million. We are providing over \$1 million to the international fund to help clean up Paldiski. We will also work closely within CSCE to monitor implementation.
- o Estonian-Russian talks seem close to final agreement. President Meri, we want to be helpful. I will see Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday; what will it take to close the deal? Can I be helpful?
- o I believe you need to close the deal with President Yeltsin personally and not allow this to go back to mid-level negotiators.

Separate points for Meri pull-aside:

- o Believe the Russians will accept that their officers have the same rights to privatize their flats as Estonians; no more no less. Will support you fully on this.
- o Regarding cutoff date for residence permit applications, urge you to be flexible. Our housing vouchers can "buy off" some of the disputed group.
- o On Paldiski reactors, key is the status of the facility. Russians will likely agree to civilian status for the interim period -- personnel would not wear uniforms. We will support you in pushing for shortest period -- 6-12 months.
- o Key is a signed agreement with date of August 31.

Russia and Russian Ethnic Minority

- o We've survived some rough spots in our relations with Russia. Yeltsin and I are committed to keeping things on track. We have learned to manage disagreements through frequent diplomatic consultation. Yeltsin and I call or write frequently to give direction and keep things moving.
- o We've been impressed by Chernomyrdin and his pragmatism on economic decisions. Vice President Gore has close personal relationship with him. Overall, reform process is still moving forward.
- o I mention this because a large part of your security depends on a stable, reforming Russia. Helping Russia make that hard transition is still my top foreign policy priority.
- o We reject any suggestion that the Baltics lie in any sort of Russian "sphere of influence." We are watching Russian actions closely in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh, but the Baltic states are in a completely different category. You are pointed westward and we want you to remain that way.
- o The Russian minority in your countries is a fact of life you must deal with. I know it's difficult. I urge you to find ways to include them in the social and political life of your countries, consistent with CSCE and other multilateral suggestions. Make it a priority to keep this problem manageable. Let us know how we can help.

Bilateral and Multilateral Security Relations

- o Expanding our security relations with your countries is a priority for us. It emphasizes our support for your sovereignty. The first sessions of the bilateral working groups on defense matters were a good start to build upon.
- o We strongly support your integration into the Euroatlantic community multilaterally. You are already playing a constructive role in the CSCE and NACC.
- o Now, we welcome you into the Partnership for Peace. Your membership will play a pivotal role in your integration.
- o I strongly support the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion initiative and have asked Congress to give us \$10 million in our FY95 budget to support this and other regional peacekeeping groups. The battalion is an excellent example of regional cooperation and a model for other Central and East European states.

Economic Cooperation and Support

- o Your progress toward building market democracies is remarkable. I realize that the battle is far from won and urge you to stay the course.

- o Our economic assistance for the Baltic region will fall a bit in the coming year, in line with cuts to all other countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former USSR.
- o We have placed a renewed emphasis on trade and investment. I have just approved the board of the Baltic American Enterprise fund. It will be headed by Rozanne Ridgway, our former Ambassador to Finland and East Germany and Assistant Secretary of State for Europe. She is now President of the Atlantic Council.
- o I know you have been waiting a while for the Fund to start up. I have put it on a fast track to start making the first grants from its \$50 million before September.
- o The White House is also sponsoring a Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe this fall. Afterwards, we will send to your countries a major Baltic Business Development Mission, bringing many top U.S. firms with it.

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|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 005. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |

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National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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Lennart MERI
(Phonetic: MAYree)

President (since 1992)

Addressed as: Mr. President

ESTONIA

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Per. E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2
(3.17) 6/20/23
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Estonia's first president since 1940, Lennart Meri
EO 13526 1.4c is publicly committed to integrating his country with the West and eradicating the vestiges of 50 years of Soviet occupation. He is adamant in urging the withdrawal of Russian military forces from Estonian territory by 31 August 1994 and does not pass up an opportunity to assail their continued presence in talks with Western officials and in the press. EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

Meri did avoid major conflict with Russia in July 1993 when he rejected at the eleventh hour an anti-Russian Aliens Law that would have put tight restrictions on granting citizenship to non-Estonians.

EO 13526 1.4c he remains sensitive to Moscow's charges of discrimination against ethnic Russians living in Estonia. 3.5c

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Soviets. After returning to his homeland after World War II, Meri graduated from Tartu University in 1953 with a degree in history. He was a well-known reformist intellectual before entering politics in the late 1980s, having spent much of the preceding three decades as a radio editor, documentary filmmaker, and author of books on Finnic-Ugric ethnic groups in the Soviet Union. By 1989, Meri had emerged as a prominent member of the independence-minded Popular Front. After serving as Foreign Minister, he was Ambassador to Finland for several months.

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Background and Personal Notes

Meri is an ethnic Estonian. He was born on 29 March 1929 in Tallinn, the son of a post-World War I Estonian diplomat who had served in Paris and Berlin. In 1941, his family was deported to Siberia after the republic was occupied by the

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EO 13526 1.4c . He is capable of carrying on several conversations in multiple languages simultaneously—in addition to his native Estonian, he speaks English, French, German, Finnish, Italian, Danish, and Swedish. Meri is an electronics junkie and has many phones. His wife, Helle, is about 30 years his junior and is an actress and an opera singer. The couple has a young daughter, Tulle, who was born around 1985. Meri also has two sons from a previous marriage. 3.5c

17 June 1994

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|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 007. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |

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Algirdas Mikolas BRAZAUSKAS
(Phonetic: brahZOWskas)

President (since February 1993)

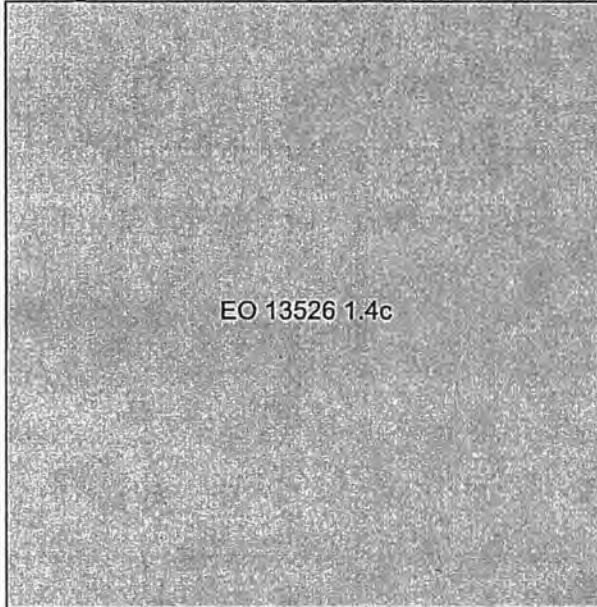
Addressed as: Mr. President

LITHUANIA

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Per E.O. 13526
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(3.19) 6/20/23
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Algirdas Brazauskas is [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

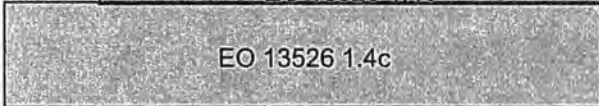


EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] 1.4(c) his country's most popular politician in a poll published in March 1994.

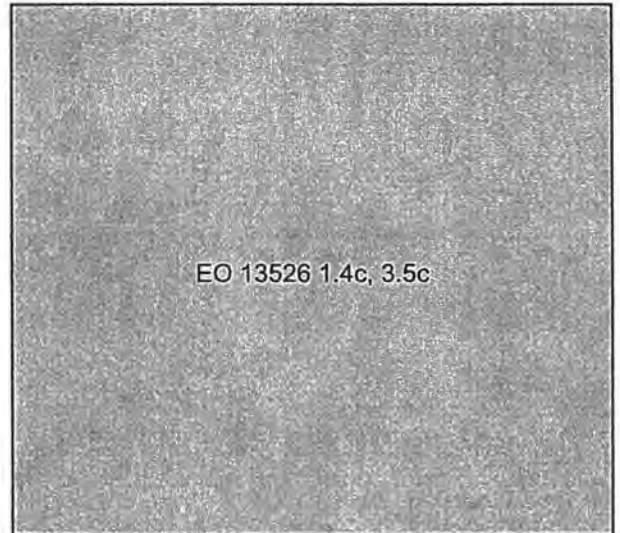
[redacted] 3.5c

Brazauskas supports cultivating good relations with Western countries, especially the United States. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c



EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c He has energetically expanded economic and security ties with the West, and he was the first Baltic leader to apply for NATO membership. He wants to attract Western investment, but he has warned that Lithuania also needs to improve relations with its eastern neighbors, according to press reports. Brazauskas, who has publicly noted Lithuania's dependence on Russia as its main energy supplier, has made liberalizing trade with Russia a top priority. [redacted] 3.5c



EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

Party Politics

Brazauskas was born on 22 September 1932. He holds a candidate's degree in both construction engineering and economics (roughly equivalent to a Ph.D. in this country). After a Soviet apparatchik career in successive positions of increasing responsibility in the construction and supply sector and in the Communist Party apparatus of Lithuania, Brazauskas was named first secretary of Lithuania's Communist Party in 1988. In late 1989 he drew the

[redacted] 3.5c

[redacted] 3.5c

(continued)

[redacted] 3.5c

3.5c

proindependence Lithuanian Communist Party out from under the umbrella of the Soviet Communist Party. The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party was formed from the remnants of that party in 1990, and he headed it until April 1993. After Lithuania gained independence in 1991, Brazauskas unsuccessfully ran for chairman of the parliament.

3.5c

United States, EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

1.4(c) Married to a retired doctor, he has twin daughters and several grandchildren. 3.5c

Personal Notes

17 June 1994

Brazauskas does not speak English but reads it well. He speaks Russian and Polish, as well as Lithuanian. He has traveled widely, including to the

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SKRUNDA RADAR SITE: DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

The radar facility at Skrunda, Latvia comprises three large ballistic missile early warning (BMEW) radars. Two older radars were constructed during the 1960's to track northern Europe and especially the Northeast Atlantic. They were fully operational by 1971, predating the 1972 ABM Treaty. Each radar consists of two antenna buildings with a control building between them. These are the radars that the Russians will run for four more years under the troop withdrawal agreement with Latvia. It provides Russia time to replace this coverage with facilities either in Moscow or Belarus.

Construction of the third site, a large phased-array radar (LPAR), began in 1986 in order to replace the older Hen House radars. These buildings were near external completion when construction was halted in early 1992. Although inoperable, the 18-storied skyscraper stands as a symbolically ominous reminder to Latvians of Soviet/Russian presence. For this reason the Latvians want the LPAR destroyed quickly. Our \$4 million dismantlement assistance package is designed to help them do so.

On April 30, 1994, the Latvians and Russians signed a troop withdrawal agreement that included Russia's consent to turn over the LPAR immediately to Latvian control. Under the terms of agreement, the CSCE is to establish a mission to help monitor implementation of the Skrunda provisions (4 years of continued operation by the Russians plus another 18 months for dismantlement). We are encouraging the Latvians and the Russians in Vienna to give the CSCE an idea of the composition and mandate for the CSCE mission.

The Latvians have now taken over the LPAR, although Russians guard the site. In addition to our \$4 million toward dismantlement, the Swedes have also committed \$1 million and the British have agreed to help resolve Latvia's environmental concerns over radio waves from the site. We have asked other Western donors to contribute to this project.

An interagency technical assessment team visited Latvia in mid-June to assess dismantlement parameters and to determine project costs. The team will assist in preparation of bid specifications for contractors to complete demolition as soon as possible.

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RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS

The issue of Russian troop withdrawals is a genuine U.S. foreign policy success story. Our strategy to get those troops out has been threefold.

The first approach has been to use our good offices with the Baltic states in reassuring them of continued U.S. support for their sovereignty and independence long after the troops are gone. We have done this through high-level visits and telephone calls, establishing a normal defense and security relationship bilaterally and through Partnership for Peace and cooperating with the Baltic states and Russians on dismantling and cleaning up Russian military facilities that symbolically pose a threat to Baltic security (the Paldiski nuclear training reactor and Skrunda radar).

The parallel approach has been to work with the Baltic states to ensure that they treat their ethnic Russian populaces equitably. We have done this through establishment of resident CSCE missions in Estonia and Latvia and multilateral programs to support the teaching of Estonian and Latvian to the Slavic communities, for example.

Along with our Russian officer housing program to relocate retired military officers to Russia, we have repeatedly reminded the Russian Government at the highest levels of its international commitment to withdraw its troops speedily and unconditionally no later than August 31, 1994.

Lithuania

The Defense Ministers of Lithuania and Russia signed an agreement on September 8, 1992 calling for complete Russian troop withdrawals by August 31, 1993. Despite a last-minute suspension of the withdrawals by the Russian government, active intervention by the U.S. and other Western governments ensured that the deadline was met. Lithuania continues to express solidarity with its Baltic neighbors in calling for Russia to withdraw its forces from Estonia and Latvia by August 31, 1994.

Like most Baltic Sea states, Lithuania remains deeply concerned about the excessive concentration of Russian troops in neighboring Kaliningrad (any resupply of these troops must go either by sea or, more practically, by rail through Lithuania) and would like to see a substantial number of these troops withdrawn.

Latvia

In order to promote a Latvian-Russian troop withdrawal agreement, at the Moscow Summit in January you suggested a compromise of four years and 18 months for the continuing operation and

subsequent dismantlement of the Skrunda radar facility. Yeltsin accepted the compromise, and the Latvian Government also agreed to it.

That compromise formed the basis for the resolution of remaining issues, and Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin signed a troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. Less than 7,000 Russian soldiers now remain in Latvia, and Russia has stated that it will withdraw most of the rest by as early as July 31. The Russian navy already departed on June 1.

Estonia

Negotiators admit that more than 90% of the issues connected with a troop withdrawal agreement were resolved long ago. No progress was made until recently when, at your initiative, Russia agreed to raise its level of representation in the talks. FM Kozyrev and Estonian President Meri held a productive private meeting in Tallinn on May 25, and Russian DFM Churkin traveled to Tallinn the next week to negotiate directly with FM Luik. Despite some progress, the negotiations have again stalled over three main issues:

Application for residence permits by retired officers. The Estonians insist that applicants must have retired before August 21, 1991 (their "independence day") to be considered. The Russians want a broader formulation: anyone can apply, and the Estonians can deny whomever they want based on their laws. We are recommending that the Estonians throw in the towel here and accept the Russian formula; we have told them that we will front-load our housing vouchers in favor of the post-August 21 group they are concerned about.

Housing for retired officers. Moscow has revived an earlier position that retired officers should have an automatic right to privatize and thus take cost-free ownership of the apartments they live in. Even Estonians do not have this right; they must buy the right to privatize. Here, the Russians need to give.

Paldiski. This is the naval nuclear reactor training facility that the Russians are abandoning. They want the right to remove the fissile core and unspecified "secret" parts, which means they would need to remain at the facility for some time after the August 31 withdrawal date. The Estonians want all troops out by that date. The obvious, Skrunda-like solution is for the two sides to agree on an interim period (6-12 months is reasonable) for "civilianized" (i.e., non-uniformed) Russian personnel to carry out the defueling and related work.

Now that the United States, Sweden and other nations will be active in a multilateral effort on environmental cleanup of the two land-based nuclear submarine training reactors at Paldiski, this issue also should be easily resolved. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million.

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THE RUSSIAN MINORITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

Aside from our usual human rights concerns, a major part of our strategy to promote the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States has been to press for fair and equitable treatment of the Russian minority. Russia routinely accuses Estonia and Latvia of massive violations of the human rights of their large Russian-speaking population, and often some Russian officials have tried to link these issues with the troop withdrawal issue.

We have supported the visits to Estonia and Latvia of numerous international human rights experts from non-government and inter-governmental organizations. We have agreed with their conclusions that there is no pattern of human rights violations there. Estonia accepted a CSCE mission in December 1992, and Latvia accepted a CSCE mission in November 1993. We are very pleased with the results of these missions in resolving a number of problems, such as the Aliens Law controversy in Estonia and the provocative behavior of the former Latvian Citizenship and Naturalization Department Director. The CSCE mission in Latvia is headed by an American Foreign Service Officer.

Lithuania

Ethnic Russians comprise only seven percent of Lithuania's population, and most of them automatically became citizens under Lithuania's liberal citizenship law of December, 1991. Unlike its Baltic neighbors, Lithuania did not experience a dramatic proportional rise in the number of postwar non-ethnic Lithuanians. This happened because border adjustments reintroduced a large number of ethnic Lithuanians. In addition, Stalin's Russification policy was not implemented as harshly in agricultural Lithuania as elsewhere.

Estonia

Estonia generally has taken a very pragmatic course in addressing the issue of its large ethnic Russian noncitizen community. Roughly 38 percent of its inhabitants are noncitizens; about 33 percent are ethnic Russian, most of whom live in the urban, industrialized Northeast. Estonia allowed its noncitizens to vote in municipal elections and granted citizenship to practically all noncitizens who wanted to run to office. For the elderly and handicapped, Estonia has dropped its language requirement for citizenship, and its citizenship law requires only a three-year residency, two years of which are retroactive. Estonia agreed to most of the revisions proposed by the CSCE to its Law on Aliens from last summer, which substantially eased a potential crisis in Russian-Estonian relations.

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Latvia

Latvia has taken a much more hesitant and legalistic approach to dealing with its large noncitizen community. Part of this may be related to the dynamics of the troop withdrawal process and part from doubts about the loyalty of these ethnics, even though they have not shown an inclination toward organizing politically. As in Estonia, a majority of ethnic Russians supported independence. However, a large number did not and are overwhelmingly anti-Yeltsin in sentiment. Few speak Latvian. While ethnic Russians comprise about the same percentage of the population as in Estonia, ethnic Slavs are 48 percent of Latvia's inhabitants and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy. The law on naturalization, with its strict quota system is contentious and unacceptable to us and most other European countries. We encouraged Latvia to review this aspect of the draft law, and it has been remanded to the Parliament for more work.

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PALDISKI NAVAL BASE

The Soviet Navy used Paldiski as a warm-water port since the late 1940s. Construction of the land-based nuclear submarine training facility that houses two reactors began in the 1960s. By 1989, however, the navy declared the reactors unsafe and obsolete and ordered them shut down. The military base reverted to Estonian control in August 1993, but the nuclear training facility remains under Russian control.

Russia made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the reactors at Paldiski and is expected to begin removing the reactors this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts.

During a recent visit, the Estonian Prime Minister mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region will also join the effort once the United States officially participates.

By helping the Estonians and Russians eliminate radioactive risks, U.S. involvement in a Paldiski cleanup program will also ensure smooth implementation of Russia's pledge to clean the area of other hazardous materials. A multilateral program with substantial U.S. participation will help prevent future Estonian-Russian disputes over this matter and thereby enhance regional security and stability.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 1995
By VL NARA, Date 6/6/2023
2016-0314-W-2

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LATVIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The Latvian Ambassador calls Latvia "a nation of lawyers" in mentality. Culturally, Latvians most reflect their Lutheran German heritage and emulate Swedes. The Latvian language is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but a Baltic tongue related to Lithuanian. Under Hanseatic and German influence since the 13th century, Latvia always has used its geographic location as an important commercial trading center.

After 200 years of continuous Russian rule, a bloody civil war erupted in 1918 when part of the independence movement sided with the Bolsheviks. By 1920, the Germans and Bolsheviks were defeated. Prime Minister Karlis Ulmanis, uncle of the current President, headed the independence struggle and the first independent government. Before the Depression Latvia's minorities enjoyed cultural autonomy, the economy reformed and recovered. As in the other Baltic States, the mid-1930's brought authoritarian rule to Latvia.

Soviet and Nazi invasions during World War II reduced Latvia's population by one-third by 1945. During that decade, about 60,000 were deported to Siberia, and thousands fled to the West. The Soviets radically colonized and urbanized Latvia by bringing in thousands of Slavic industrial workers.

In March 1990, democratic elections gave the Popular Front independence movement a majority in the Supreme Council. In January 1991, shortly after a parallel attempt in Lithuania, Soviet political and military forces tried to overthrow the Latvian government. Eight people were killed. Latvia regained its independence in the wake of the aborted Soviet coup in August 1991.

Latvia's economic situation is steadily improving. The country enjoys a positive trade balance, relatively restrained inflation, and a very stable currency. Latvia still imports 90 percent of its energy from the NIS. De facto agricultural privatization also has occurred. Ethnic Slavs comprise 48 percent of the populace and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy.

Latvia signed a troop withdrawal agreement with Russia on April 30, paving the way for the departure of Russia's remaining 7,000 or so troops by August 31, 1994. The Russian navy already has departed, and the troops may be gone by as early as July 31. About 800 Russian technicians will remain to operate the Skrunda radar facility for another four years under CSCE supervision.

With the withdrawal agreement, Latvia now needs to focus on privatization as well as citizenship and naturalization legislation. The Latvian citizenship law emerged from Parliament with unacceptably low quotas for citizenship by non-Latvians

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By NARA, Date 6/6/2023

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(i.e., Russians), in direct contradiction to suggestions from CSCE and the Council of Europe for greater inclusivity. President Ulmanis has remanded the law back to Parliament for a rewrite. The United States has defended Latvia's human rights record against Russian accusations. We remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Latvians.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, Latvia seeks GATT membership and associate membership status in the EU. Latvia actively pursues Western security relationships and enthusiastically supports Partnership for Peace (PFP).

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Latvia on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Latvian representation in the U.S. continued uninterrupted for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. About 85,000 Americans of Latvian descent play an active role in bilateral relations.

Latvia enjoys MFN status and GSP privileges. We will sign a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement during your visit. In 1993, Latvia exported to the U.S. \$22.6 million and imported \$89.5 million, the latter being chiefly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. American firms registered \$35 million out of a total \$110 million in foreign investment. The U.S. is the largest Western investor in Latvia and, by far, Kellogg's is the biggest single U.S. investor.

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ESTONIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

A Nordic people closely akin to the Swedes culturally and the Finns linguistically, Estonians did not enjoy national independence until the interwar period. That Republic enjoyed relative economic prosperity but suffered political instability. Then, as now, personalities rather than real issues determined politics.

The infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact brought an end to Estonian independence by 1940. The next decade brought 10,000 Soviet deportations and 5,500 deaths in Nazi camps. Ten percent of the population fled to the West. Soviet rule brought large numbers of urban Slavic immigrants to industrialize Estonia's northeast.

Nevertheless, Estonia remained a window on the West and enjoyed a relatively extensive range of contacts with Finland through August 20, 1991, when it regained independence in the wake of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union. The transition to independence was entirely bloodless.

Estonia has generally done a good job in managing the ethnic Russian issue, both in domestic terms as well as in its bilateral relations with Russia. The United States has defended Estonia's human rights record against exaggerated accusations. We will continue to remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Estonians.

Estonia is a regional role model for reform. It has a balanced budget, free trade, annual inflation under 30% and a stable currency. Privatization is occurring at a relatively fast clip, except in the heavily Russian-ethnic Northeast. Barely 25% of its trade is with the NIS. Over 90% of small and medium-sized firms are in private hands, while two-thirds of large firms have been privatized. Only agricultural privatization lags.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an association partner of the WEU, Estonia seeks GATT membership. Estonia actively pursues Western security relationships and eagerly signed on to Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$33 million to Estonia's economic transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program is now over \$6 million.

Estonia's phased graduation from AID's assistance programs, to be completed by 1996, recognizes Estonia's position at the vanguard of Eastern European reform. In 1993, Estonian trade with the

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By: NARA, Date: 6/6/2013

2016-0314-M-2

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United States amounted to \$20 million in exports and \$54 million in imports, the latter being mainly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S. investment, consisting of about 145 firms, makes up \$20 million of \$185 million in foreign investment in Estonia.

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LITHUANIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Lithuania is a staunchly Catholic nation with a strong sense of national identity dating back to its glory days as a medieval empire, when it stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Subsequently tied in a union with Poland for centuries, Lithuania was an independent nation again from 1918 to 1940, when it was annexed by the USSR.

Under the leadership of intellectuals, the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis was formed in mid-1988, declaring a program of democratic and national rights. After 50 years of occupation, in 1990 the Lithuanian Supreme Council declared Lithuania independent from the Soviet Union. The USSR responded with the imposition of a harsh economic blockade, and in January 1991 unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the elected government, killing 13 civilians and injuring hundreds. Lithuania finally regained its full independence in August 1991.

Politico-economic gridlock and economic mismanagement returned the former Communists to power in elections in the autumn of 1992, but they have not fared much better than their predecessors. Politics traditionally has been marred by a disorganized but effectively disruptive opposition.

The new currency is very stable, and inflation has been brought under control (about a 30 percent annual rate). However, economic reform has stalled. Because it won on the premise of improving social conditions, the Government has shied away from making tough fiscal/privatization decisions. Although it finally passed comprehensive privatization legislation this spring, the opposition has now succeeded in forcing a public referendum on the Government's plan.

Relations with the United States and the West.

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an associate partner of the WEU, Lithuania also seeks GATT membership. Lithuania actively pursues Western security relationships, has formally applied to join NATO, and already has submitted its presentation document for Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$66 million to Lithuania's economic and political transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program totals over \$9 million. In 1993 Lithuania exported \$16.1 million in goods to the U.S. and imported \$56.8 million, primarily agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S.-Lithuanian firms registered 235 of 3,674 foreign joint ventures, and of \$115 million in total foreign investment, the U.S. holds a \$35 million share. Philip Morris is a major investor.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

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2016-0314-M-2 (3,23)
6/20/2023 KZ

Aide Memoire

1. On 13 June 1994, Russian Federation Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaly Churkin and Estonian Foreign Ministry Deputy Secretary-General Raul Mälk met in Moscow. This was the third such meeting (the first was held on 4 June in Geneva, the second on 7-8 June in Tallinn) since the Council of Baltic Sea States ministerial in Tallinn at the end of May, when Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Estonian President Lennart Meri and Foreign Minister Jüri Luik agreed to try breaking the deadlock in Russian-Estonian troop withdrawal negotiations by continuing talks at the deputy foreign minister level. In addition, expert working groups met parallel to the Churkin-Mälk meeting on 13-15 June, also in Moscow.
2. This round of talks focused on three issues--the general troop withdrawal, Paldiski and retired military officers. In discussion over the general agreement on troop withdrawals, Churkin said that he did not exclude the possibility that the final deadline of 31 August 1994 could be altered one way or another. The clear implication of this statement, however, was that Russia may not hold to the deadline. In addition, the Russian side did not attach any particular importance to international reaction should the troops remain in Estonia after 31 August, saying that nothing would happen if the deadline came and went.
3. During talks on Paldiski, both sides handed over new versions of the draft agreement. The major points of contention were demilitarization of the facility including the nuts and bolts of "civilian control", the timetable of withdrawing the fuel rods, dismantling and handing over the facility; and the relationship between the Paldiski agreement and the general troop withdrawal agreement. For the first time, the Russian side directly linked these two agreements in the draft text. The Estonian side reiterated that the troop withdrawal must be unconditional, and the general agreement must not be linked to any other agreements under negotiation. Estonia also said that an agreement on Paldiski was not necessary to begin withdrawal of the fuel rods, since the agreement would enter into force only after the rods are out. While there was some progress at the Churkin-Mälk level as far as agreement over civilian control of the facility, the military officers took a different position, insisting on some element of Russian military control over Paldiski even after 31 August 1994.
4. The new Russian version of the draft agreement on retired military officers handed over at this meeting represented a significant setback in talks on this issue. Specifically, a number of paragraphs that had already been negotiated and agreed upon in the earlier two Churkin-Mälk meetings reappeared in the 13.6.94 draft, and had to be discussed over again. Given this

situation, resolution of the retirees issue is further off now than it was before the Moscow meeting took place.

5. The Estonian side voiced concern that Russia continues, even today, to retire and demobilise active service officers on Estonian territory and reiterated the unacceptability of this practice. Churkin's response was unclear--he neither confirmed nor denied that Russia is continuing to retire troops in Estonia, and instead called on Estonia to allow all military pensioners, including those who will retire tomorrow, to apply for residence permits in Estonia.

6. There was a marked lack of consistency between the Russian MOD experts, led by Colonel-General Mironov, and the MFA's Churkin. This inconsistency on substance came out in discussions over Paldiski as well as on retired military officers and suggests a lack of co-ordination between civilian and military representatives that continues to obstruct real progress. In addition, the Russian side, after Churkin's departure, refused to acknowledge those parts of the text which had been previously agreed upon by Churkin and Mälk. This calls into question the utility of seeking a breakthrough at the Deputy Foreign Minister level.

7. The lack of progress in these negotiations can be seen on the background of the recent NACC Foreign Minister's meeting in Istanbul and the ongoing CSCE CSO meeting in Prague. Therefore, we appeal for your continuing support to conclude the troop withdrawal by 31 August 1994.

8. The two sides agreed to maintain contact over the next week, and to continue discussions either in Tallinn or in a third location in the near future.

Tallinn

15.6.94



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 17, 1994

The Honorable Hazel O'Leary
Secretary of Energy
Department of Energy
Washington, DC

Dear Hazel:

We have placed a high priority on promoting the withdrawal of Russian forces from the Baltic States. So far, our efforts have contributed to the complete withdrawal of forces from Lithuania and to the Russian-Latvian agreement that was signed in Moscow April 30. There is now an opportunity now to help bring the Russian-Estonian talks to a successful conclusion as well as help ensure the smooth implementation of an agreement once it is signed. Seizing this opportunity requires the Department of Energy's assistance, both in terms of resources and technical expertise. I hope you will do what you can to respond favorably to this proposal.

Russia has made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the nuclear submarine training reactor at Paldiski in Estonia. This facility was used by all Soviet nuclear submarine crews for training purposes. It is expected that Russia will begin removing the fuel rods later this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts earlier this year. An official from the Department of Energy attended that conference in Stockholm.

During my meeting with Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar on April 19, he mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. I told the Prime Minister that the United States wanted to be helpful in that effort. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region would also join the effort, particularly if the United States were to participate.

By helping the Estonians and Russians eliminate radioactive risks, participation by the Department of Energy in a Paldiski cleanup program also ensures smooth implementation of Russia's pledge to clean the area of other hazardous materials. A multilateral program with substantial U.S. participation will help prevent future Estonian-Russian disputes over this matter and thereby will enhance regional security and stability.

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Furthermore, the Department's involvement in this project could be an opportunity for the United States to use its national laboratories and other institutions in safely developing and maintaining our competitive technological edge at home and abroad. Several benefits that could be explored are the implementation of new technologies, application of risk-based environmental regulations as a potential model for domestic use, and broadening our acquisition of technology through transfer programs with Russia and other countries in the region. Estonia could provide a useful conduit for this purpose.

I believe your Department's support in the Paldiski cleanup program would greatly advance U.S. interests and, if announced within the near future, could help break the current stalemate in Estonian-Russian talks.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Al Gore", written in a cursive style.

Al Gore

AG:rs

o The Baltic States could provide a useful lever to gain greater access to EU markets.

- The Baltics recently concluded Free Trade Agreements (FTA's) with the EU, and hold even more liberal duty-free agreements with Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland and Switzerland. Already tariff-free, Estonia expects associate EU membership as early as year's end and would love to sign a free trade agreement with the United States.
- Assuming at least one of the Nordics gains full EU membership next year, Estonia and the Baltic States could provide an opportune springboard for the duty-free re-export of American goods and services into the EU, undercutting EU tariffs and price subsidies.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By VL NARA, Date 6/12/2023

2016-0314-A-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
RICKI SEIDMANSUBJECT: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the
Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in JulyPurpose

To decide which of the Baltic capitals to visit for your meeting with the three Baltic Presidents at the end of the July trip.

Background

Now that you have decided to add a Baltic stop to your July trip to Europe, you need to decide which of the capitals to visit. For logistical reasons, Riga, Latvia is the only practical option. Neither Tallinn nor Vilnius has a long enough airport runway to accommodate Air Force One. You would meet the three Baltic Presidents in Riga, give an outdoor speech (you will attract a large, enthusiastic crowd) and visit one of our assistance projects. You would then return directly to Washington.

Riga would be a strong candidate even without its long runway. Latvia has a strong reformist government, and lies geographically in the center of the Baltic littoral. A stop in Riga would also highlight your success as a behind-the-scenes intermediary on troop withdrawals over the past year (especially regarding the Skrunda site in Latvia). This is a foreign policy success story that deserves more attention. A stop in Latvia would give the U.S. role more prominence, and might also help the Russian-Estonian negotiations, which could be at a critical stage in early July, if they have not been concluded before your visit.

We believe that you can stop in Riga without causing a problem with Yeltsin. You will have just seen him in Naples and can explain to him that your visit is intended in part to highlight Russia's ongoing withdrawal from Latvia, while promoting similar progress in the Russian-Estonian talks. Yeltsin would also be reassured to hear that you will include in your public remarks a reference to the Russian minorities in the Baltics and the need for their basic rights to be respected.

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OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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SECRET

We would not have recommended a stop in Vilnius because Lithuania's neo-communist government is the least reformist in the Baltic region. By inviting Lithuanian President Brazauskas to join you in Riga, however, you will earn some credit with the large Lithuanian-American community in the U.S.

Latvian President Ulmanis will be visiting the U.S. the week of May 23 and has requested a brief meeting with you; we have sent a separate request to schedule this. This meeting would offer an ideal opportunity to propose a Latvia stop and get Ulmanis' agreement to host the other Baltic presidents as well.

RECOMMENDATION

That you choose Riga, Latvia as the site for your meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

NB

NON PAPER: RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN NEGOTIATIONS

- On June 7-8, Prime Minister Bildt visited Estonia and had extensive talks with Estonian President Lennart Meri, Prime Minister Mart Laar and Foreign Minister Jüri Luik.

- On June 8, he visited the nuclear submarine training facility at Paldiski, where he was greeted by the commanding general Aleksandr Vasilyevich Olchovikov. The visit proved highly valuable. The Prime Minister would like to express his high appreciation to the Russian authorities who made it possible, as well as personally to the admiral who guided him through the site with courtesy, expertise and as much openness as one could reasonably expect.

- Our impression from our contacts with the Estonians is that negotiations on the issue of military retirees are now making considerable progress. Foreign Minister Kozyrev's personal interest - his extensive talks with Estonian leaders in Tallinn May 24-25, the subsequent appointment of Deputy Minister Vitaly Churkin as Special Envoy for the Russian-Estonian negotiations - has clearly been of crucial importance.

We welcome this development warmly. We urge the parties to preserve momentum.

- The stumbling block now seems to be Paldiski.

Prime Minister Bildt will shortly brief Ambassador Grinevsky on his visit to Paldiski. The Ambassador will no doubt report to you on that meeting. Pending that, our views on the issue may be summarized as follows.

In contrast to Skrunda, the Paldiski training facility is no longer in use. It is not a "live" facility.

The dismantlement of the Paldiski training facility and the closing down of the submarine training school is therefore a political, not a technical problem.

All issues connected with Paldiski must be solved along with other matters related to the troop withdrawal. The Estonian side will not sign a withdrawal agreement that would leave Paldiski unresolved.

"Demilitarization" of the Paldiski training facility - defuelling and 'removal of secret parts' - should be technically possible by August 31, 1994.

After demilitarization, the Paldiski training facility should be placed under Estonian sovereignty. The Estonian side is quite prepared to let further nuclear clean-up work be conducted under international supervision.

Russia's demand to remove 'secret parts' from the training facility before it is turned over to the Republic of Estonia is militarily understandable. But politically the argument is of course not tenable.

Reportedly, the last crew to be trained at the Paldiski training facility left the school in May 1992 and according to some reports, the reactors have been closed down since 1989. Against this background, it is not immediately obvious why preparations to evacuate the facility have made so little headway.

According to information given to Prime Minister Bildt by the Estonian side during his visit, there will be a meeting at the Russian Foreign Ministry concerning Paldiski next week. We hope Foreign Minister Kozyrev will find the time to take a personal interest in this aspect of the negotiations as well. As was the case concerning the military retirees, this may prove essential to move the matter forward.

- To meet the August 31 deadline, it seems to us an agreement would have to be reached during July at the latest. Time is short. Yet, given good will on both sides this should be possible.

Stockholm June 9, 1994

- ① - Will U.S. pressure Russia to remove all sensitive equipment from Paldiski?
 - ② - Will U.S. help pay for clean-up?
- } need to get money soon.

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4405

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 3, 1994

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-1A-2 (3,24)

6/20/2023 RZ

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to
Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany, July 5-12, 1994
(U)

The Department of State should provide appropriate briefing materials for the President's July trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany. The Department of State should coordinate with other concerned USG agencies in preparing this material. All materials are due no later than COB June 17. Additional briefing materials will be requested in a separate tasker for the G-7 Summit portion of the trip early next week. This material should include, but is not limited to the following: ~~(U)~~

PUBLIC STATEMENTS:

(Double-spaced on plain bond paper)

Latvia

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at Freedom Monument
Contingency Remarks to U.S. Embassy Staff

Poland

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Ghetto Uprising
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Warsaw Uprising
Draft Remarks for at the Praga Labor Training Center
Draft Remarks for Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
Draft Remarks for Meeting with U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner

Italy

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement

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Germany

Contingency Bonn Arrival Statement
Contingency Berlin Arrival Statement
Berlin Arrival Statements
Contingency Departure Statement
Remarks to U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Bonn Citizens
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Berlin Citizens

PRESS MATERIAL:

(Double-spaced on plain bond paper; Q's and A's should be single-spaced with double space in between each one)

Latvia

Press Statement (after meeting w/Three Baltic Presidents)
Press Qs and As

Poland

Press Statement (after meeting with President Walesa)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak)
Press Qs and As

Italy (G-7)

Press Statement (after meeting with President Yeltsin)
Press Statement
Press Qs and As (to include Russia, Japan and Canadian Qs and As)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Hata)

Germany

Press Statement (after meeting with President Herzog)
Press Statement (after meeting with Chancellor Kohl)
Press Statement (after EU Summit)
Qs and As (to include EU issues)

BACKGROUND PAPERS:

(One page long with the exception of very complex topics, single-spaced in full sentence format)

Latvia

Political/Economic Overview for Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia
U.S. Assistance to the Baltics
Russia's Relations with the Baltic Countries
Status of Troop Withdrawals: Latvia/Lithuania
Status of Russia-Estonia Withdrawal Negotiations
Baltic-American Enterprise Fund
Russia's Ethnic Minority in the Baltic Countries
Kaliningrad

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Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance
Paldiski Naval Base Clean-up
U.S. Embassy Riga

Poland

U.S. Missions in Poland
Polish Politics
Polish Economic Achievements, Problems
NATO, PFP and Poland
Russian Views of CEE; Russia-NATO Relations
Polish-EU Relations; Market Access; Balladur Pact
U.S.-Polish Bilateral Issues
U.S.-Polish Trade Issues: Business and Economic Agreement,
GATT Reaccession, Market Access, FAA Certification
U.S.-Polish Military Relations (DoD Lead)
Prague Initiatives Checklist, including state-of-play on
each
U.S. Investment in Poland: Current, Prospects, Obstacles;
CEE Trade and Investment Conference
Post-1989 U.S. Assistance to Poland
IFI Programs with Poland (Treasury Lead)
RFE/RL
Future Directions for Cooperation, Assistance (including
initiatives under interagency review):
Post-Privatization Assistance
Social Sector Restructuring
Housing
Micro-lending/training
Law Enforcement
Labor Programs in Poland, Past and Prospective (Labor
Lead)
One page paper for each Foreign Minister at Ministerial,
including: Serbian Sanctions/Balkan Beltway, Regional
Issues, PFP, Assistance

U.S.-EU Summit

CEE: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
NIS: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
U.S.-EU Relations: Requirements, Status, Implementation
of 1990 Declaration; Prospects for Future Cooperation
on "Third Pillar" Issues
Middle East/Maghreb: EU concerns and Assistance Programs
Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia
Status of Uruguay Round Implementation and Leftover Issues
(e.g., audio-visuals)
Post Uruguay Round Trade Agenda (USTR Lead)
Dispute Over Competencies between Commission and Member
States
Bilateral Economic Disputes (e.g., French Fish, Spanish
Dubbing, etc.) (USTR Lead)
EU Views of Macro-economic Coordination/Policy (Treasury
Lead)

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Germany

Political/Military:

Germany and the East
Military Drawdown in Germany/Europe
Burden-sharing and Residual Value
Germany's Role in Peacekeeping and Out-of-Area
Berlin Brigade

Bilateral Issues:

Hugo Princz
Claims
Berlin Document Center
German-American Academic Council
New Traditions
The Move to Berlin
U.S. Missions in Germany

Domestic Issues:

Domestic Political Situation
Right-wing Extremism
Minorities in Germany
Domestic Economic Situation and Unification
Germany's Social Safety Net

International Issues:

Germany's International Role
Germany and the EU Presidency
Germany and the East: Economic Relations/Assistance
Germany and Iran

BRIEFING MATERIALS:

(Two-page paper with a paragraph on "Context of Meeting", a paragraph on "Your Objectives" and suggested talking points)

Latvia

Meeting with Three Baltic Presidents
Business Event

Poland

Meeting with President Walesa
State Dinner Hosted by President Walesa
Meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak
Meeting with Marshalls (Speakers) of Sejm and Senate (Brief)
Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
Contingency Meeting for U.S. Business Community Event

Italy (G-7)

Meeting with President Yeltsin
Meeting with Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi
Meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Cretien
Meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Hata

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For all foreign Heads of State or Government who will be present at the G-7 Summit, one-page contingency briefing papers should be prepared for each country represented. These papers should have one to two paragraphs of talking points and background.

Germany

Official Dinner Hosted by Chancellor Kohl in Bonn
Meeting with President Herzog
Meeting with Chancellor Kohl
Meeting with Party Chairman Waigel
Meeting with Party Chairman Scharping
Meeting with Party Chairman Kinkel
Meeting with Mayor Hans Daniels
Meeting with Mayor E. Diepgen
Private Dinner at Oggersheim
EU Summit
Inactivation of Berlin Brigade

SCENESETTERS:

For all cultural or recreational events in which the President or Mrs. Clinton might participate, ONE-page papers should be prepared which briefly lay out background and information on the site to be visited. These should be in full sentence style, single spaced with the title centered on the page. At a minimum, scenesetters should be prepared on the following potential sites:

Latvia

Freedom Monument
Government Meeting House
Old Town Square

Poland

Presidential Palace
Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
Monument to Ghetto Uprising
Monument to Warsaw Uprising
Polish-American Building Crafts Training Center
Polish Parliament Building (Seim)
Stock Exchange
Warsaw Old Town

Italy

Background on the City of Naples

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Germany

Villa Hammerschmidt
 Chancellor Office
 Oggersheim
 Petersberg
 Bonn Marketplace
 Plittersdorf
 Tegel Airport
 Brandenburg Gate
 Reichstag
 Clay Casern
 Oranienburg Synagogue
 Mozart House

BIOGRAPHIES:

Biographies should be provided on all foreign officials that the President or Mrs. Clinton may meet during their stay in Europe.

While the State Department bears primary responsibility for the preparation of these briefing materials, all other appropriate agencies should be closely involved in the preparation of these papers and all final papers should be fully cleared. All briefing material should include an IBM compatible diskette as well as a hard copy. ~~TC~~

for Justice A. Kenney
 William H. Itoh
 Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Edward Knight
 Executive Secretary
 Department of the Treasury

COL. Robert P. McAleer
 Executive Secretary
 Department of Defense

Mr. Michael Kerr
 Executive Secretary
 Department of Labor

Mr. Fred Montgomery
 Executive Director for Policy Coordination
 U.S. Trade Representative

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Visit to Latvia (3 pages) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. briefing | Re: Bilateral Meeting and Signing Ceremony with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs (3 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/14/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004. briefing | Re: Working Lunch with the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (4 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 005. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 006. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 007. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 008. briefing | Re: Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 009. briefing | Re: Russian Troop Withdrawals (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 010. briefing | Re: The Russian Minority in the Baltic States (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 011. briefing | Re: Paldiski Naval Base (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 012. briefing | Re: Latvia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
 OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F
 ke2201

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

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 013. briefing | Re: Estonia: Political-Economic Overview (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 014. briefing | Re: Lithuania: Political-Economic Overview (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*

SUBJECT: Your Visit to Latvia

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-1 (1.21)
6/12/2023 *vr*

OVERVIEW

Your seven-hour stop in Riga July 6 represents a highly symbolic and dramatic kickoff for your third trip to Europe this year. The symbolism lies in the message you convey by the very fact of your visit: America champions the sovereignty of the Baltic states and supports their reintegration into the Western fold, rejecting any pretension of a Russian sphere of influence in the region. The drama of your visit is historical. America sheltered the flame of Baltic independence during five decades of Soviet occupation. Your arrival as the first American President to set foot on Baltic soil constitutes a decisive affirmation of the rebirth of these three small states as independent nations. The theme of the continuing consolidation of a new post-Cold War Europe will recur at every stop of your trip, from your discussions with President Walesa, through your meeting with Yeltsin in a new political "G-8" in Naples, to your walk through the Brandenburg Gate in an undivided Berlin. But your visit to Riga, climaxed by an open air speech to thousands of Baltic citizens, will underscore in a simple yet powerful way the epochal nature of the change that has come to Europe.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate our continued staunch support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic States.
- o Highlight the importance of the Russian troop withdrawal this summer and our role in promoting it. Seek to bridge differences between Estonia and Russia on troop withdrawal talks.
- o Emphasize the continued security and economic integration of the Baltic states as a priority U.S. goal for the future.

BACKGROUND

Support for the Independence of the Baltic Countries. You meet this objective largely by the very fact of your visit, which has already generated great excitement among the governments and

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peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This central message of support resonates well among the Baltic people, who were by far the most Westernized in the former USSR and are looking firmly toward Europe and North America in search of full reintegration. They have not forgotten that the U.S. never recognized the Soviet Union's occupation from 1940 to 1991; that we maintained and financed their exiled legations to Washington during those five decades; and that we promptly returned the gold reserves that we safeguarded for their eventual independence.

History has taught the people of the Baltics to fear that their periods of sovereignty will be short-lived; many are convinced that a resurgent Russia will sooner or later threaten them once again. Your meeting in Riga with the three Baltic heads of state will send a clear message that we do not recognize a Russian "sphere of influence" in the region and will demonstrate that we are not willing to countenance Russia's presence in every part of the former Soviet Union. For these reasons, the Riga stop will also resonate at home with the nearly one million Baltic-Americans who have been so vocal and active with us and the Congress in support of Baltic independence.

Highlight the U.S. Role in Russian Troop Withdrawals. The central issue of your discussions in Riga and a major topic of your outdoor speech will be our involvement in promoting the final withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics this summer. Russian forces are out of Lithuania and will be close to gone from Latvia by the time you arrive. Russia and Estonia are nearing the end of their negotiations; we expect to be able to take advantage of your visit and your meeting with Yeltsin four days later, to promote final agreement there, as well. Specifically, we are encouraging Estonian President Meri to give you a letter in Riga with his near-bottom-line positions on the withdrawal talks for transferral to Yeltsin four days later in Naples. Coupled with the pullout from Germany in late August, agreement on the Estonian withdrawal means that the Russian military will, for the first time since 1945, be back inside the pre-WWII borders of the former Soviet Union.

The United States has been the most influential country in convincing the Russians to leave the Baltics. Although the previous administration began the battle, you can rightly claim the lion's share of the credit. Your personal diplomacy with Yeltsin, our funding of 5,000 houses for departing Russian officers and our financial assistance to dismantle the Skrunda ABM site have all been crucial tactical contributions to the success of the withdrawal talks.

While you can credibly defend the right of the Baltic states to live without Russian troops, you should also leave an important public message with the Baltic leaders and publics: they need to live in peace with Russia. This relates to the large ethnic Russian minority that will remain in the Baltics after the troops are gone. The Balts need to treat this group with decency and work to include them in the social and political fabric of their societies. This is consistent with the approach we have

maintained since you took office. It is also good politics for our relationship with Yeltsin and Russia.

The Future of U.S.-Baltic Relations. Much of the emphasis of your visit will be placed on our actions in the past to promote Baltic independence. The third major objective of your visit should be to talk about the future. There is concern that once the Russian troops are removed, America will forget about the Baltics. You can counter that argument by spelling out the remarkably broad program of cooperation that we envision in the economic and security spheres. We have welcomed all three states into PFP and will work to make theirs a meaningful membership through a \$10 million FY-95 program to help train the nascent Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. On the economic side, you will announce the \$50 million capitalization of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, sign a trade pact with the Latvians and look forward to further expansion of trade and investment through a Baltic business development mission this fall.

The economic success story of the Baltics will help reinforce the point that Western assistance alone cannot assure prosperity; privatization, growth and trade are the surest guarantees of longterm political stability and normal, neighborly relations with Russia. Our support for this continuing economic integration with the West will in many ways be our most durable and valuable legacy to the people and governments of the Baltic states.

KEY EVENTS

Baltic Presidents Lunch. This is the centerpiece of the visit, the original concept event for the trip. You will meet over lunch for an hour and a half with Presidents Meri, Brazauskas and Ulmanis in a structure as informal as we can make it in order to allow for a more relaxed and natural discussion. We expect a heavy focus on the Russian-Estonian withdrawal talks, there should also be a good exchange on economic and security issues of concern to the three Presidents.

Open Air Speech. Against the backdrop of Freedom Monument in downtown Riga, you will address a crowd in the surrounding square that could number well over ten thousand. The central theme of your brief remarks will be America's celebration of the Baltic rebirth of freedom and our determination to stand by the region as it completes its reintegration into the Western fold.

Latvian Bilateral Events. You will have a brief meeting with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs, followed by a ceremony to sign the bilateral trade agreement. Later, President Ulmanis will host a reception where you will have the chance to meet Latvia's political, cultural and business leadership. The reception will be held in Riga's newly re-opened Stock Exchange.

BILATERAL MEETING AND SIGNING CEREMONY
WITH LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER BIRKAVS

CONTEXT OF THE MEETING

This half-hour meeting and signing ceremony is a mark of appreciation for the Latvian government's agreement to act as host for your multilateral visit. Your interlocutor is Prime Minister Birkavs, whose role as head of government has been eclipsed in recent months by the need to conduct business at the Presidential level between you, Yeltsin and President Ulmanis, whose role in Latvian politics is largely ceremonial. Birkavs is also serving as Acting Foreign Minister following the resignation of the former FM over allegations he cooperated with the KGB before Latvia's independence.

The Latvian government is honored by your decision to visit Riga, and deeply appreciates your personal efforts to help Latvia and Russia sign the troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. The Russians have indicated that their pullout is likely to be completed before the August 31 deadline. In fulfillment of our commitment to help the Latvians dismantle the Skrunda radar site, a U.S. team recently visited Riga to begin coordinating the joint effort. We have now doubled our contribution to the Skrunda dismantlement fund, from \$2 million to \$4 million. The meeting will also afford an opportunity to reiterate our concerns about Latvia's draft citizenship law, which contains an unacceptably small quota for non-Latvians.

At the conclusion of your meeting, you and Prime Minister Birkavs will sign the Bilateral Trade Agreement, underscoring our support for Latvia's future integration into the Western economic fold.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Reassure Latvia about continuing U.S. interest in smooth implementation of the troop withdrawal agreement, citing Skrunda dismantlement and housing vouchers.
- o Stress our strong interest in strengthening bilateral relations through increased emphasis on trade and investment and broadening security ties.
- o Encourage passage of a generous and inclusive citizenship law.

Introduction and thanks

- o I want to reiterate my thanks to you and President Ulmanis for inviting me to Riga and acting as host for the meeting with Presidents Meri and Brazauskas.

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PER E.O. 13526

2011-0314-M-1 (1.22)

6/12/2023 n

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- o The statesmanship Latvia has displayed in concluding the troop withdrawal agreement with Moscow has earned the respect of all of us. We look forward to working with you and with Moscow to ensure full, timely implementation.

Skrunda dismantlement

- o When I met President Ulmanis in Washington in May, I told him we would provide at least \$2 million to fulfill our promise to help you take down the large structure at Skrunda.
- o An American team recently visited Skrunda and met your experts. We are well on the way to coordinating our efforts. But it appears dismantlement will cost more than we first thought.
- o We have identified another \$2 million in funding for the project; brings our total commitment to \$4 million. We will continue to encourage other states to contribute, as well.

Housing vouchers

- o We have tried to provide a real incentive for Russian compliance with the withdrawal deadline through our \$160 million program to resettle demobilized officers.
- o You have helped us by working with the Russians to identify specific officers who qualify for the program. We have increased the number of vouchers available from 1,000 to 2,500, split equally between Latvia and Estonia.

Bilateral issues

- o The troop withdrawal sends a positive signal to traders and investors. I am announcing today the board members of the Baltic American Enterprise Fund to be chaired by Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, President of the Atlantic Council, which will have \$50 million in investment capital to support private business development in the Baltics.
- o Looking forward to the Central Europe trade and investment conference in Washington this fall. Afterwards, we will send out a trade development mission to the Baltics, including participation by major U.S. firms.
- o Your active participation in Partnership for Peace will help strengthen your security ties to the West. We have also asked our Congress to provide \$10 million in FY95 funds to support regional peacekeeping forces, including the Baltic Peacekeeping battalion.

- o (IF ASKED ABOUT JOINTLY DEVELOPING RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE SITE AT VENTSPILS AS A SCIENCE/TELECOMMUNICATIONS CENTER):
 - Intriguing proposal. Would be happy to explore details to see if we could make this work.
- o (IF ASKED ABOUT WILLINGNESS TO PURCHASE U.S. EMBASSY BUILDING IN RIGA, ENABLING LATVIA TO BUY NEW BUILDING IN D.C.):
 - I am told that our present tight budget still will not allow us to purchase the building here. If the funds become available, we will raise this with you again.

Naturalization law

- o Pleased that President Ulmanis remanded this law to parliament. We share view of CSCE and others that the citizenship quota is far too restrictive.
- o Encourage you to find ways to include your large Russian minority in political and social life of your country.
- o Know this is difficult issue here but we are convinced you will be better off in the long-term if Russians are treated fairly.

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|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 003. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/14/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F
ke2201

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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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)]

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3.5c

LATVIA

Valdis BIRKAVS
(Phonetic: BEERkavs)

*Prime Minister (since July 1993);
Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs
(since 7 June 1994)*

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

Declassified
in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-1
(1.23) 6/12/2023
VZ



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Valdis Birkavs has had to rely on his considerable legal expertise and political savvy to keep his minority coalition government on a proreform path, [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

He assumed the Foreign Ministry portfolio when his predecessor, Georgs Andrejevs, resigned—after admitting to having worked for the KGB in the early 1960s. [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

Birkavs will hold the post until a new minister is named, which they say may not be until the fall of 1994. He has been termed a crisp, clearheaded, tough-talking politician by the Baltic press. [redacted] 1.4(c)

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] 1.4(c) [redacted] 3.5c

[redacted] EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

The Prime Minister has steered the government toward areas that he considers key to transforming Latvia into a market economy and to drawing the country into Western organizations—economic reform continues to move forward, an agreement has been reached on Russian troop withdrawal, and Latvia has joined the Partnership for Peace program. However, Birkavs still faces the ethnically touchy issue of establishing a citizenship law, the resolution of which is needed for the country's incorporation into organizations such as the Council of Europe. [redacted] 3.5c

Birkavs was born on 27 July 1942 in Riga. After attending the Riga Polytechnic Institute, he performed his mandatory service in the Soviet army. Birkavs subsequently earned a law degree (with honors) from Latvian State University's law school in 1969. He also holds a Ph.D. in criminology. Birkavs began his career at the Latvian Justice Ministry's Forensic and Criminology Laboratory, which provides expert

witnesses for the court system. In 1988 he established the Latvian Lawyers' Association, the first independent bar organization in what was then the Soviet Union, and he was elected its first president. He became involved in the independence movement in 1990 when he was elected to the Saeima (parliament) as a proindependence Popular Front candidate. He served as one of the parliament's experts on legislation matters and, according to press reports, he frequently was sought out by other members of parliament for advice on procedure and phraseology; he became a deputy speaker in 1992. [redacted] 3.5c

The press describes Birkavs—who speaks English, Russian, and Latvian—as a refined intellectual. He admitted in an interview that because of his knowledge and experience, he never

[redacted] 3.5c

[redacted] 3.5c

(continued)
[redacted] 3.5c

3.5c

has suffered from an inferiority complex. Birkavs enjoys vacationing at his summer house by the Baltic Sea; he says that proximity to the sea provides him creative and physical freedom to think and write. He also enjoys sports—skiing, tennis, and sailing (in which he once competed at the international professional level). In a January 1994

basketball match, Birkavs led members of his Cabinet to victory over a team drawn from the Lithuanian Cabinet; he quickly fouled out of the game. Birkavs and his wife, Aina, have a son.

3.5c

14 June 1994

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WORKING LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENTS
OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2 (1,24)
6/17/2023 RZ

CONTEXT OF MEETING

This meeting is the centerpiece of your visit to the Baltics: an opportunity to convey to the Baltic heads of state, as a group, the assurances of America's commitment to the future of their independent nations and to the prosperity and development the Baltic region as a whole. All three Baltic Presidents deeply appreciate your personal involvement in promoting the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and you will be able to provide them evidence of our commitment to ensure smooth implementation of the withdrawal agreements. The Estonian-Russian talks are at a sensitive endgame phase, and your discussions with President Meri may yield enough progress on the outstanding issues to allow the outlines of a final deal to take shape when you meet President Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday.

Beyond the troop withdrawal issue, though, this luncheon should focus on the future. History and geopolitical realities inspire deep pessimism among the Baltic people and their leaders. There is great fear of resurgent Russian nationalism and a lingering suspicion that America will put the Baltics on the back burner once the Russian troops are gone. There is also uncertainty, especially in Latvia and Lithuania, that a successful transition to a market economy is in sight. The single overriding message for you to leave with your Baltic counterparts is our determination to help them reintegrate into the Western security and economic fold and our rejection of the idea of a Russian "sphere of influence" in the Baltics. The surest guarantee of long-term Baltic sovereignty and prosperity lies in close integration with Europe and North America and, simultaneously, normal relations with a reforming, stable Russia. In this respect, the Baltic leaders will value your assurances that our relations with Russia remain healthy, resilient and realistic.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Hail progress in achieving full Russian troop withdrawal and our commitment to the implementation phase of the process.
- o Express readiness to help conclude the Russia-Estonia talks, specifically by carrying a message from President Meri to your meeting with Yeltsin in Naples.
- o Stress need for an enlightened policy of including the Russian ethnic minority in political and social life.
- o Make clear our steadfast support for Baltic security and economic integration with the West.

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- o Stress the strength of our ties with Moscow, but reject any suggestion of a Russian sphere of influence in the Baltics.

CORE POINTS

Russian Troop Withdrawals

- o Congratulations to all three on progress in withdrawal of Russian forces. These agreements will help you establish normal relations with your big neighbor and create a better climate for reforms and trade and investment.
- o August 31 is a firm deadline as far as we are concerned. We've told Russia that withdrawals cannot drag on past then. I believe Yeltsin is committed to deadline -- doesn't want this as a long-term problem in our relations.
- o We are committed to make these agreements work. Have made ready 2,500 housing vouchers so that departing officers can buy apartments in Russia. The Russians are responding. The first vouchers are already being handed over to qualified officers.
- o Our contribution to Skrunda dismantlement now totals \$4 million. We are providing over \$1 million to the international fund to help clean up Paldiski. We will also work closely within CSCE to monitor implementation.
- o Estonian-Russian talks seem close to final agreement. President Meri, we want to be helpful. I will see Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday; what will it take to close the deal? Can I be helpful?
- o I believe you need to close the deal with President Yeltsin personally and not allow this to go back to mid-level negotiators.

Separate points for Meri pull-aside:

- o Believe the Russians will accept that their officers have the same rights to privatize their flats as Estonians; no more no less. Will support you fully on this.
- o Regarding cutoff date for residence permit applications, urge you to be flexible. Our housing vouchers can "buy off" some of the disputed group.
- o On Paldiski reactors, key is the status of the facility. Russians will likely agree to civilian status for the interim period -- personnel would not wear uniforms. We will support you in pushing for shortest period -- 6-12 months.
- o Key is a signed agreement with date of August 31.

Russia and Russian Ethnic Minority

- o We've survived some rough spots in our relations with Russia. Yeltsin and I are committed to keeping things on track. We have learned to manage disagreements through frequent diplomatic consultation. Yeltsin and I call or write frequently to give direction and keep things moving.
- o We've been impressed by Chernomyrdin and his pragmatism on economic decisions. Vice President Gore has close personal relationship with him. Overall, reform process is still moving forward.
- o I mention this because a large part of your security depends on a stable, reforming Russia. Helping Russia make that hard transition is still my top foreign policy priority.
- o We reject any suggestion that the Baltics lie in any sort of Russian "sphere of influence." We are watching Russian actions closely in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh, but the Baltic states are in a completely different category. You are pointed westward and we want you to remain that way.
- o The Russian minority in your countries is a fact of life you must deal with. I know it's difficult. I urge you to find ways to include them in the social and political life of your countries, consistent with CSCE and other multilateral suggestions. Make it a priority to keep this problem manageable. Let us know how we can help.

Bilateral and Multilateral Security Relations

- o Expanding our security relations with your countries is a priority for us. It emphasizes our support for your sovereignty. The first sessions of the bilateral working groups on defense matters were a good start to build upon.
- o We strongly support your integration into the Euroatlantic community multilaterally. You are already playing a constructive role in the CSCE and NACC.
- o Now, we welcome you into the Partnership for Peace. Your membership will play a pivotal role in your integration.
- o I strongly support the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion initiative and have asked Congress to give us \$10 million in our FY95 budget to support this and other regional peacekeeping groups. The battalion is an excellent example of regional cooperation and a model for other Central and East European states.

Economic Cooperation and Support

- o Your progress toward building market democracies is remarkable. I realize that the battle is far from won and urge you to stay the course.

- o Our economic assistance for the Baltic region will fall a bit in the coming year, in line with cuts to all other countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former USSR.
- o We have placed a renewed emphasis on trade and investment. I have just approved the board of the Baltic American Enterprise fund. It will be headed by Rozanne Ridgway, our former Ambassador to Finland and East Germany and Assistant Secretary of State for Europe. She is now President of the Atlantic Council.
- o I know you have been waiting a while for the Fund to start up. I have put it on a fast track to start making the first grants from its \$50 million before September.
- o The White House is also sponsoring a Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe this fall. Afterwards, we will send to your countries a major Baltic Business Development Mission, bringing many top U.S. firms with it.

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
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| 005. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F
ke2201

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.

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3.5c

Lennart MERI
(Phonetic: MAYree)

ESTONIA

President (since 1992)

Addressed as: Mr. President



Declassified
in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-1
(1.25) 6/12/2023
VZ

Estonia's first president since 1940, Lennart Meri
EO 13526 1.4c is publicly
committed to integrating his country with the West
and eradicating the vestiges of 50 years of Soviet
occupation. He is adamant in urging the withdrawal
of Russian military forces from Estonian territory by
31 August 1994 and does not pass up an opportunity
to assail their continued presence in talks with
Western officials and in the press. EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

Meri did avoid major conflict with Russia in July
1993 when he rejected at the eleventh hour an anti-
Russian Aliens Law that would have put tight
restrictions on granting citizenship to non-Estonians.

EO 13526 1.4c he remains
sensitive to Moscow's charges of discrimination
against ethnic Russians living in Estonia. 3.5c

©
EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

Soviets. After returning to his homeland after World
War II, Meri graduated from Tartu University in
1953 with a degree in history. He was a well-known
reformist intellectual before entering politics in the
late 1980s, having spent much of the preceding three
decades as a radio editor, documentary filmmaker,
and author of books on Finnic-Ugric ethnic groups
in the Soviet Union. By 1989, Meri had emerged as
a prominent member of the independence-minded
Popular Front. After serving as Foreign Minister, he
was Ambassador to Finland for several months.

3.5c

Background and Personal Notes

Meri is an ethnic Estonian. He was born on
29 March 1929 in Tallinn, the son of a post-World
War I Estonian diplomat who had served in Paris
and Berlin. In 1941, his family was deported to
Siberia after the republic was occupied by the

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EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c . He is capable of carrying on several conversations in multiple languages simultaneously—in addition to his native Estonian, he speaks English, French, German, Finnish, Italian, Danish, and Swedish. Meri is an electronics junkie and has many phones. His wife, Helle, is about 30 years his junior and is an actress and an opera singer. The couple has a young daughter, Tulle, who was born around 1985. Meri also has two sons from a previous marriage. 3.5c

17 June 1994

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|
| 007. report | U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages) | 06/17/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

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2011-1037-F
ke2201

RESTRICTION CODES

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3.5c

Algirdas Mikolas BRAZAUSKAS
(Phonetic: brahZOWskas)

President (since February 1993)

Addressed as: Mr. President

LITHUANIA

Declassified
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Per E.O. 13526

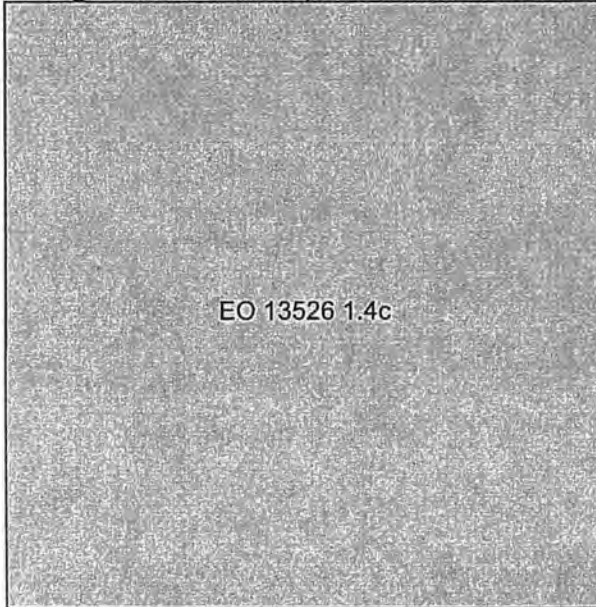
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Algirdas Brazauskas is [redacted] EO 13526 1.4c



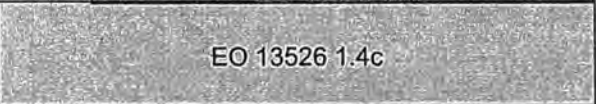
EO 13526 1.4c

[redacted] 1.4(c) his country's most popular
politician in a poll published in March 1994.

3.5c

Brazauskas supports cultivating good relations
with Western countries, especially the United
States. [redacted]

EO 13526 1.4c



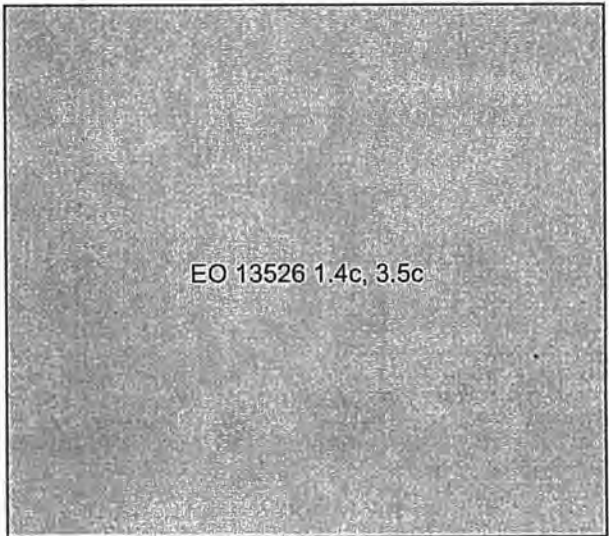
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EO 13526 1.4c

He has energetically expanded economic and security
ties with the West, and he was the first Baltic leader
to apply for NATO membership. He wants to
attract Western investment, but he has warned that
Lithuania also needs to improve relations with its
eastern neighbors, according to press reports.
Brazauskas, who has publicly noted Lithuania's
dependence on Russia as its main energy supplier,
has made liberalizing trade with Russia a top
priority. [redacted]

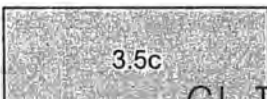
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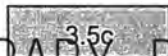
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Party Politics

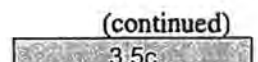
Brazauskas was born on 22 September 1932.
He holds a candidate's degree in both construction
engineering and economics (roughly equivalent to
a Ph.D. in this country). After a Soviet apparatchik
career in successive positions of increasing
responsibility in the construction and supply sector
and in the Communist Party apparatus of Lithuania,
Brazauskas was named first secretary of Lithuania's
Communist Party in 1988. In late 1989 he drew the



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(continued)

3.5c

3.5c

proindependence Lithuanian Communist Party out from under the umbrella of the Soviet Communist Party. The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party was formed from the remnants of that party in 1990, and he headed it until April 1993. After Lithuania gained independence in 1991, Brazauskas unsuccessfully ran for chairman of the parliament.

3.5c

United States, EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

1.4(c) Married to a retired doctor, he has twin daughters and several grandchildren. 3.5c

Personal Notes

17 June 1994

Brazauskas does not speak English but reads it well. He speaks Russian and Polish, as well as Lithuanian. He has traveled widely, including to the

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SKRUNDA RADAR SITE: DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

The radar facility at Skrunda, Latvia comprises three large ballistic missile early warning (BMEW) radars. Two older radars were constructed during the 1960's to track northern Europe and especially the Northeast Atlantic. They were fully operational by 1971, predating the 1972 ABM Treaty. Each radar consists of two antenna buildings with a control building between them. These are the radars that the Russians will run for four more years under the troop withdrawal agreement with Latvia. It provides Russia time to replace this coverage with facilities either in Moscow or Belarus.

Construction of the third site, a large phased-array radar (LPR), began in 1986 in order to replace the older Hen House radars. These buildings were near external completion when construction was halted in early 1992. Although inoperable, the 18-storied skyscraper stands as a symbolically ominous reminder to Latvians of Soviet/Russian presence. For this reason the Latvians want the LPR destroyed quickly. Our \$4 million dismantlement assistance package is designed to help them do so.

On April 30, 1994, the Latvians and Russians signed a troop withdrawal agreement that included Russia's consent to turn over the LPR immediately to Latvian control. Under the terms of agreement, the CSCE is to establish a mission to help monitor implementation of the Skrunda provisions (4 years of continued operation by the Russians plus another 18 months for dismantlement). We are encouraging the Latvians and the Russians in Vienna to give the CSCE an idea of the composition and mandate for the CSCE mission.

The Latvians have now taken over the LPR, although Russians guard the site. In addition to our \$4 million toward dismantlement, the Swedes have also committed \$1 million and the British have agreed to help resolve Latvia's environmental concerns over radio waves from the site. We have asked other Western donors to contribute to this project.

An interagency technical assessment team visited Latvia in mid-June to assess dismantlement parameters and to determine project costs. The team will assist in preparation of bid specifications for contractors to complete demolition as soon as possible.

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2016-0314-M-1 (1,28)

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RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS

The issue of Russian troop withdrawals is a genuine U.S. foreign policy success story. Our strategy to get those troops out has been threefold.

The first approach has been to use our good offices with the Baltic states in reassuring them of continued U.S. support for their sovereignty and independence long after the troops are gone. We have done this through high-level visits and telephone calls, establishing a normal defense and security relationship bilaterally and through Partnership for Peace and cooperating with the Baltic states and Russians on dismantling and cleaning up Russian military facilities that symbolically pose a threat to Baltic security (the Paldiski nuclear training reactor and Skrunda radar).

The parallel approach has been to work with the Baltic states to ensure that they treat their ethnic Russian populaces equitably. We have done this through establishment of resident CSCE missions in Estonia and Latvia and multilateral programs to support the teaching of Estonian and Latvian to the Slavic communities, for example.

Along with our Russian officer housing program to relocate retired military officers to Russia, we have repeatedly reminded the Russian Government at the highest levels of its international commitment to withdraw its troops speedily and unconditionally no later than August 31, 1994.

Lithuania

The Defense Ministers of Lithuania and Russia signed an agreement on September 8, 1992 calling for complete Russian troop withdrawals by August 31, 1993. Despite a last-minute suspension of the withdrawals by the Russian government, active intervention by the U.S. and other Western governments ensured that the deadline was met. Lithuania continues to express solidarity with its Baltic neighbors in calling for Russia to withdraw its forces from Estonia and Latvia by August 31, 1994.

Like most Baltic Sea states, Lithuania remains deeply concerned about the excessive concentration of Russian troops in neighboring Kaliningrad (any resupply of these troops must go either by sea or, more practically, by rail through Lithuania) and would like to see a substantial number of these troops withdrawn.

Latvia

In order to promote a Latvian-Russian troop withdrawal agreement, at the Moscow Summit in January you suggested a compromise of four years and 18 months for the continuing operation and

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PER E.O. 13526

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subsequent dismantlement of the Skrunda radar facility. Yeltsin accepted the compromise, and the Latvian Government also agreed to it.

That compromise formed the basis for the resolution of remaining issues, and Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin signed a troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. Less than 7,000 Russian soldiers now remain in Latvia, and Russia has stated that it will withdraw most of the rest by as early as July 31. The Russian navy already departed on June 1.

Estonia

Negotiators admit that more than 90% of the issues connected with a troop withdrawal agreement were resolved long ago. No progress was made until recently when, at your initiative, Russia agreed to raise its level of representation in the talks. FM Kozyrev and Estonian President Meri held a productive private meeting in Tallinn on May 25, and Russian DFM Churkin traveled to Tallinn the next week to negotiate directly with FM Luik. Despite some progress, the negotiations have again stalled over three main issues:

Application for residence permits by retired officers. The Estonians insist that applicants must have retired before August 21, 1991 (their "independence day") to be considered. The Russians want a broader formulation: anyone can apply, and the Estonians can deny whomever they want based on their laws. We are recommending that the Estonians throw in the towel here and accept the Russian formula; we have told them that we will front-load our housing vouchers in favor of the post-August 21 group they are concerned about.

Housing for retired officers. Moscow has revived an earlier position that retired officers should have an automatic right to privatize and thus take cost-free ownership of the apartments they live in. Even Estonians do not have this right; they must buy the right to privatize. Here, the Russians need to give.

Paldiski. This is the naval nuclear reactor training facility that the Russians are abandoning. They want the right to remove the fissile core and unspecified "secret" parts, which means they would need to remain at the facility for some time after the August 31 withdrawal date. The Estonians want all troops out by that date. The obvious, Skrunda-like solution is for the two sides to agree on an interim period (6-12 months is reasonable) for "civilianized" (i.e., non-uniformed) Russian personnel to carry out the defueling and related work.

Now that the United States, Sweden and other nations will be active in a multilateral effort on environmental cleanup of the two land-based nuclear submarine training reactors at Paldiski, this issue also should be easily resolved. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million.

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THE RUSSIAN MINORITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

Aside from our usual human rights concerns, a major part of our strategy to promote the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States has been to press for fair and equitable treatment of the Russian minority. Russia routinely accuses Estonia and Latvia of massive violations of the human rights of their large Russian-speaking population, and often some Russian officials have tried to link these issues with the troop withdrawal issue.

We have supported the visits to Estonia and Latvia of numerous international human rights experts from non-government and inter-governmental organizations. We have agreed with their conclusions that there is no pattern of human rights violations there. Estonia accepted a CSCE mission in December 1992, and Latvia accepted a CSCE mission in November 1993. We are very pleased with the results of these missions in resolving a number of problems, such as the Aliens Law controversy in Estonia and the provocative behavior of the former Latvian Citizenship and Naturalization Department Director. The CSCE mission in Latvia is headed by an American Foreign Service Officer.

Lithuania

Ethnic Russians comprise only seven percent of Lithuania's population, and most of them automatically became citizens under Lithuania's liberal citizenship law of December, 1991. Unlike its Baltic neighbors, Lithuania did not experience a dramatic proportional rise in the number of postwar non-ethnic Lithuanians. This happened because border adjustments reintroduced a large number of ethnic Lithuanians. In addition, Stalin's Russification policy was not implemented as harshly in agricultural Lithuania as elsewhere.

Estonia

Estonia generally has taken a very pragmatic course in addressing the issue of its large ethnic Russian noncitizen community. Roughly 38 percent of its inhabitants are noncitizens; about 33 percent are ethnic Russian, most of whom live in the urban, industrialized Northeast. Estonia allowed its noncitizens to vote in municipal elections and granted citizenship to practically all noncitizens who wanted to run to office. For the elderly and handicapped, Estonia has dropped its language requirement for citizenship, and its citizenship law requires only a three-year residency, two years of which are retroactive. Estonia agreed to most of the revisions proposed by the CSCE to its Law on Aliens from last summer, which substantially eased a potential crisis in Russian-Estonian relations.

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Latvia

Latvia has taken a much more hesitant and legalistic approach to dealing with its large noncitizen community. Part of this may be related to the dynamics of the troop withdrawal process and part from doubts about the loyalty of these ethnics, even though they have not shown an inclination toward organizing politically. As in Estonia, a majority of ethnic Russians supported independence. However, a large number did not and are overwhelmingly anti-Yeltsin in sentiment. Few speak Latvian. While ethnic Russians comprise about the same percentage of the population as in Estonia, ethnic Slavs are 48 percent of Latvia's inhabitants and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy. The law on naturalization, with its strict quota system is contentious and unacceptable to us and most other European countries. We encouraged Latvia to review this aspect of the draft law, and it has been remanded to the Parliament for more work.

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PALDISKI NAVAL BASE

The Soviet Navy used Paldiski as a warm-water port since the late 1940s. Construction of the land-based nuclear submarine training facility that houses two reactors began in the 1960s. By 1989, however, the navy declared the reactors unsafe and obsolete and ordered them shut down. The military base reverted to Estonian control in August 1993, but the nuclear training facility remains under Russian control.

Russia made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the reactors at Paldiski and is expected to begin removing the reactors this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts.

During a recent visit, the Estonian Prime Minister mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region will also join the effort once the United States officially participates.

By helping the Estonians and Russians eliminate radioactive risks, U.S. involvement in a Paldiski cleanup program will also ensure smooth implementation of Russia's pledge to clean the area of other hazardous materials. A multilateral program with substantial U.S. participation will help prevent future Estonian-Russian disputes over this matter and thereby enhance regional security and stability.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VR NARA, Date 6/12/2023

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LATVIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The Latvian Ambassador calls Latvia "a nation of lawyers" in mentality. Culturally, Latvians most reflect their Lutheran German heritage and emulate Swedes. The Latvian language is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but a Baltic tongue related to Lithuanian. Under Hanseatic and German influence since the 13th century, Latvia always has used its geographic location as an important commercial trading center.

After 200 years of continuous Russian rule, a bloody civil war erupted in 1918 when part of the independence movement sided with the Bolsheviks. By 1920, the Germans and Bolsheviks were defeated. Prime Minister Karlis Ulmanis, uncle of the current President, headed the independence struggle and the first independent government. Before the Depression Latvia's minorities enjoyed cultural autonomy, the economy reformed and recovered. As in the other Baltic States, the mid-1930's brought authoritarian rule to Latvia.

Soviet and Nazi invasions during World War II reduced Latvia's population by one-third by 1945. During that decade, about 60,000 were deported to Siberia, and thousands fled to the West. The Soviets radically colonized and urbanized Latvia by bringing in thousands of Slavic industrial workers.

In March 1990, democratic elections gave the Popular Front independence movement a majority in the Supreme Council. In January 1991, shortly after a parallel attempt in Lithuania, Soviet political and military forces tried to overthrow the Latvian government. Eight people were killed. Latvia regained its independence in the wake of the aborted Soviet coup in August 1991.

Latvia's economic situation is steadily improving. The country enjoys a positive trade balance, relatively restrained inflation, and a very stable currency. Latvia still imports 90 percent of its energy from the NIS. De facto agricultural privatization also has occurred. Ethnic Slavs comprise 48 percent of the populace and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy.

Latvia signed a troop withdrawal agreement with Russia on April 30, paving the way for the departure of Russia's remaining 7,000 or so troops by August 31, 1994. The Russian navy already has departed, and the troops may be gone by as early as July 31. About 800 Russian technicians will remain to operate the Skrunda radar facility for another four years under CSCE supervision.

With the withdrawal agreement, Latvia now needs to focus on privatization as well as citizenship and naturalization legislation. The Latvian citizenship law emerged from Parliament with unacceptably low quotas for citizenship by non-Latvians

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(i.e., Russians), in direct contradiction to suggestions from CSCE and the Council of Europe for greater inclusivity. President Ulmanis has remanded the law back to Parliament for a rewrite. The United States has defended Latvia's human rights record against Russian accusations. We remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Latvians.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, Latvia seeks GATT membership and associate membership status in the EU. Latvia actively pursues Western security relationships and enthusiastically supports Partnership for Peace (PFP).

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Latvia on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Latvian representation in the U.S. continued uninterrupted for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. About 85,000 Americans of Latvian descent play an active role in bilateral relations.

Latvia enjoys MFN status and GSP privileges. We will sign a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement during your visit. In 1993, Latvia exported to the U.S. \$22.6 million and imported \$89.5 million, the latter being chiefly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. American firms registered \$35 million out of a total \$110 million in foreign investment. The U.S. is the largest Western investor in Latvia and, by far, Kellogg's is the biggest single U.S. investor.

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ESTONIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

A Nordic people closely akin to the Swedes culturally and the Finns linguistically, Estonians did not enjoy national independence until the interwar period. That Republic enjoyed relative economic prosperity but suffered political instability. Then, as now, personalities rather than real issues determined politics.

The infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact brought an end to Estonian independence by 1940. The next decade brought 10,000 Soviet deportations and 5,500 deaths in Nazi camps. Ten percent of the population fled to the West. Soviet rule brought large numbers of urban Slavic immigrants to industrialize Estonia's northeast.

Nevertheless, Estonia remained a window on the West and enjoyed a relatively extensive range of contacts with Finland through August 20, 1991, when it regained independence in the wake of the attempted coup in the Soviet Union. The transition to independence was entirely bloodless.

Estonia has generally done a good job in managing the ethnic Russian issue, both in domestic terms as well as in its bilateral relations with Russia. The United States has defended Estonia's human rights record against exaggerated accusations. We will continue to remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Estonians.

Estonia is a regional role model for reform. It has a balanced budget, free trade, annual inflation under 30% and a stable currency. Privatization is occurring at a relatively fast clip, except in the heavily Russian-ethnic Northeast. Barely 25% of its trade is with the NIS. Over 90% of small and medium-sized firms are in private hands, while two-thirds of large firms have been privatized. Only agricultural privatization lags.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an association partner of the WEU, Estonia seeks GATT membership. Estonia actively pursues Western security relationships and eagerly signed on to Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$33 million to Estonia's economic transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program is now over \$6 million.

Estonia's phased graduation from AID's assistance programs, to be completed by 1996, recognizes Estonia's position at the vanguard of Eastern European reform. In 1993, Estonian trade with the

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United States amounted to \$20 million in exports and \$54 million in imports, the latter being mainly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S. investment, consisting of about 145 firms, makes up \$20 million of \$185 million in foreign investment in Estonia.

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LITHUANIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Lithuania is a staunchly Catholic nation with a strong sense of national identity dating back to its glory days as a medieval empire, when it stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Subsequently tied in a union with Poland for centuries, Lithuania was an independent nation again from 1918 to 1940, when it was annexed by the USSR.

Under the leadership of intellectuals, the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis was formed in mid-1988, declaring a program of democratic and national rights. After 50 years of occupation, in 1990 the Lithuanian Supreme Council declared Lithuania independent from the Soviet Union. The USSR responded with the imposition of a harsh economic blockade, and in January 1991 unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the elected government, killing 13 civilians and injuring hundreds. Lithuania finally regained its full independence in August 1991.

Politico-economic gridlock and economic mismanagement returned the former Communists to power in elections in the autumn of 1992, but they have not fared much better than their predecessors. Politics traditionally has been marred by a disorganized but effectively disruptive opposition.

The new currency is very stable, and inflation has been brought under control (about a 30 percent annual rate). However, economic reform has stalled. Because it won on the premise of improving social conditions, the Government has shied away from making tough fiscal/privatization decisions. Although it finally passed comprehensive privatization legislation this spring, the opposition has now succeeded in forcing a public referendum on the Government's plan.

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an associate partner of the WEU, Lithuania also seeks GATT membership. Lithuania actively pursues Western security relationships, has formally applied to join NATO, and already has submitted its presentation document for Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$66 million to Lithuania's economic and political transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program totals over \$9 million. In 1993 Lithuania exported \$16.1 million in goods to the U.S. and imported \$56.8 million, primarily agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S.-Lithuanian firms registered 235 of 3,674 foreign joint ventures, and of \$115 million in total foreign investment, the U.S. holds a \$35 million share. Philip Morris is a major investor.

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By: NARA, Date: 6/17/2023
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 001. memo | Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Trip to Poland (5 pages) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 002. briefing | Re: Arrival Ceremonies at Warsaw Okęcie Airport, Presidential Palace (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 003. briefing | Re: Meeting with Polish President Lech Walesa (4 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 004. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 04/28/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 005. briefing | Re: Dinner Hosted by Polish President Lech Walesa (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 006. briefing | Re: Wreath Laying Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 007. briefing | Re: Ceremony at Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 008. briefing | Re: Meeting with Polish Parliamentary Speakers Sejm Marshal Olesky and Senate Marshal Sturzik (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 009. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 06/16/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 010. report | U.S. Government Report (1 page) | 06/16/1994 | P1/b(1) |
| 011. briefing | Re: Meeting with Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak (3 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 012. report | U.S. Government Report (2 pages) | 06/15/1994 | P1/b(1) |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2202

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 013. briefing | Re: Speech to the Polish Parliament (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 014. briefing | Re: Ceremony at the Warsaw Uprising Memorial (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 015. briefing | Re: Reception for CEE Foreign Ministers (3 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 016. briefing | Re: Meeting with American Community (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 017. briefing | Re: U.S. Investment in Poland (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 018. briefing | Re: Poland, NATO and the Partnership for Peace (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 019. briefing | Re: European Union Polish Relations (1 page) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 020. briefing | Re: U.S. Poland Bilateral Issues (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |
| 021. briefing | Re: Prague Initiatives Checklist (2 pages) | ea. 07/1994 | P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023 |

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
 OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
 ke2202

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓
SUBJECT: Your Trip to Poland

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PER E.O. 13526

2014-0314-M-2 (3.25)
6/20/2023 RZ

OVERVIEW

You visit Poland July 6-7, just after Riga and before the G-7 Summit and German/EU stops. The Warsaw stop is bilateral; Secretary Christopher will hold a concurrent Ministerial with his Central and East European counterparts. Your events include meetings with President Walesa and Prime Minister Pawlak, a speech at Parliament, a meeting with the CEE foreign ministers and ceremonial events. With you will be U.S. business executives, American Jewish and Polish-American Community leaders and Lane Kirkland.

Poland pioneered the communist world's democratic transformation in 1989 and has made major, even inspiring, strides. But success is not assured and remaining problems are daunting. The economy is growing rapidly but unevenly. Large-scale unemployment and other social stresses from wrenching change weakened support for reform. The outcome was the victory, in September 1993 elections, of parties with roots in the old regime. Reforms have been maintained but are at risk. The widespread and corrosive sense of economic insecurity is compounded by Poles' sense of exposure to the unstable NIS and, in their view, a deteriorating Russia. Many Poles fear the West will never accept CEE, but keep it at arms length as a vulnerable buffer zone.

Poland represents a key test of our objective of enlarging the world's community of market democracies. If Poland "makes it" -- carries its democratic and market transformation to irreversibility -- then our goals for the post-communist world will be vindicated in a major post-communist country. The outcome in Poland is up to the Poles, not us. Poland is close to success. What we say and do can make a difference while Poland and the post-communist world stand at a critical balance.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Confirm to the Poles and all CEE's that we welcome their membership in the family of democratic nations.

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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- o Support continued market economic reforms by emphasizing Poland's tremendous strides since 1989 and offering new initiatives.
- o Support Polish efforts to ameliorate human problems created by the collapse of the Soviet-style economic system.
- o Reassure an apprehensive Polish society that America remains committed to it and its future in Europe; that Russia does not have a veto over Poland's integration with the West; that you are prepared to advance NATO's stated objective of expansion to Eastern democracies.

POLAND'S PROGRESS; POLAND'S PROBLEMS

The Economic Dimension. Poland invented "shock therapy" market reforms and proved these bring results. What Poles call "Poland A" -- fast-track, modernizing, entrepreneurial -- has made major gains. After an initial sharp decline (18% of GDP), the economy grew at 4% in 1993 and may do even better this year, one of Europe's best rates. GDP is over 50% private. While core heavy industries are still state owned, manufacturing is about 40% private and that share is rising; construction and services are overwhelmingly private. Warsaw and other big cities are transformed, with growing middle classes and pockets of affluence.

But millions are left behind. "Poland B" -- insecure, depressed, disoriented -- represents the majority of the country. Unemployment has levelled off at 16% but is uneven: single digit in Warsaw and 25% or higher in some areas. Workers in some heavy industries and the public sector -- used to socialist-era entitlements -- have seen living standards drop and insecurity rise. New opportunities are abundant in some big cities but sparse in the provinces. Housing shortages limit workers' ability to move to jobs in dynamic areas. Crime is growing and it feeds a sense of insecurity. Around 20% of the country may be considered middle class or better; about 20% impoverished; the remainder is just getting by.

Poland's economic hardships result from the collapse of the Soviet trading system, recession in Western Europe, inherent deficiencies of communist economies and Poland's transformation to a market system. But many Poles blame the reforms for all their difficulties. Poland's lesson is that a flourishing private sector is necessary for successful reform, but not sufficient. Democratic government has a role in providing necessary services, regulation and helping people whom the new economy has not yet reached. Without this, reform's political base may erode faster than the new economy can strengthen it.

The Political Dimension. The Solidarity forces which took power in 1989 knew their political base might erode before they turned the economy around. The economic upturn they counted on arrived, but too late and too unevenly. September 1993 elections brought to power a coalition of the ex-communist Democratic Left Alliance

(SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), which used to be a communist front in the farm areas. PSL's leader Waldemar Pawlak took over as Prime Minister; SLD reformers took the difficult economic portfolios. Walesa, exercising his constitutional power, named the foreign affairs, defense and interior ministers. Strains among these power centers are growing.

Leaving behind their anti-reform campaign rhetoric, SLD leaders have continued the economic reforms of previous Solidarity-based governments. Most top SLD leaders appear to be genuine converts to democracy and market reforms. But PSL tends toward social conservatism and statism. Their electorates -- SLD's industrial and some white collar workers and pensioners and PSL's peasants -- are ambivalent about reform, tempted by protectionism and inflationary subsidies. The prospect of integration into the West, emotional attachment to the U.S. and a deep desire to be part of a "normal" country has persuaded Pawlak and his PSL to acquiesce in reform. But unless more is done to address social strains feeding disillusionment, reform could be badly damaged.

The Security Dimension. The Poles, Walesa especially, push security as the core of the relationship. Like most CEE's, Poles feel exposed to what they see as a chaotic NIS and a neo-imperialist Russia. They do not feel immediately threatened but fear the West will, perhaps tacitly, allow Russia to reassume hegemony in CEE. The Polish government -- including Walesa in a recent letter to you -- has focussed on a request for \$25 million in bilateral military support and on NATO's expansion as symbolic of our intentions. Their concerns are often put in stark terms; they are quick to suspect the worst about a U.S. or NATO "special relationship" with Russia. Politically, lack of confidence in the West works against reformers committed to the Western option.

Warsaw's concerns are exaggerated but reflect Polish history. The Poles know the importance of a positive outcome in Russia. But they seek assurances that we will not, for the sake of our Russian equities, sacrifice them; that the road is open to Poland's (and CEE's) integration into the West; that NATO's expansion to new democracies is, as you said in Prague, a matter of when and how. The Poles seek an expanded NATO to include CEE, a strengthened NATO-Russian relationship, and more robust European institutional ties (e.g., via CSCE). After initial grouching, the Poles accepted PFP and are playing an active role; the first PFP exercise on former Warsaw Pact territory, scheduled for September, will take place in Poland, including U.S. forces. The Poles want a robust exercise.

OUR AGENDA

The Entrepreneurial Side. We should emphasize to Pawlak in particular that Poland's achievements in quelling inflation and achieving stability can still be undone; that an erosion of support for restructuring and privatization can leave the economy at an untenable half-way point on the verge of success. You can note past, ongoing and future U.S. efforts. Aside from bilateral assistance, we have taken the lead in coordination between the

U.S., EU, IFI's and key Western governments in providing economic support and assistance. You will be able to announce:

- A \$65 million Poland Partners Fund -- result of your Prague initiative to increase OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) engagement in CEE. Half the Fund comes from U.S. labor unions.
- An initiative to provide at least \$75 million equity for newly-privatized firms, working with the Enterprise Fund and EBRD.

The Social and Human Side. Your Administration recognizes the importance of attention to the human impact of economic dislocation. You announced this shift of approach in Prague and we have since sought to put it in programmatic terms. We should not suggest the U.S. or any outsider can resolve these problems, or that we should no longer stress continued macroeconomic stabilization and privatization. But we have worked with the Poles, and IFI's and the EU, to develop programs for the benefit of those who have suffered greatly as a result of economic decline. As examples of our efforts, you can announce:

- A micro-lending program to help set up businesses, targeted at high unemployment areas.
- A sustained effort to increase Polish housing construction -- perhaps the most depressed sector in the economy -- both by accelerating existing programs and setting up pilot demonstration projects.
- Joint efforts with the Poles to modernize their pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- A regional law enforcement initiative to fight white collar and organized crime.

Security and Poland's Integration. While deflecting exaggerated Polish concerns, you should confirm our interest in Polish security, our rejection of a Russian veto over CEE's integration into the West or a "special relationship" with NATO at CEE's expense and our intention to proceed on the course you charted in January. We then said NATO would expand and PFP was the best road to that expansion. We also said we would reorient bilateral military programs with CEE to support PFP. You can take next steps by announcing:

- Our intention that NATO expand on country-by-country basis, not just in the event of failure of democratic reform in Russia.
- The political bases for eventual NATO membership, including democracy, market economies and responsible security policies.

- Offer to seek \$100 million including \$25 million for Poland, starting in FY '96, for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives.
- U.S. willingness to support a meaningful PFP exercise in Poland this September, the first to be held on former Warsaw Pact territory.

Bilateral Issues

- We may be able during the visit to exchange Instruments of Ratification for our Bilateral Economic Treaty (BET). You would simply note the event.
- As Pawlak mentioned in Prague, the Poles want to conclude our bilateral agreement on Poland's GATT reaccession. Final issues include poultry quotas and aircraft and semi-conductor tariffs.
- We are concerned about an on-again, off-again Polish tank sale to Iran.
- We have asked the Poles to set aside the sentence of former Polish Colonel Kuklinski, who, motivated by ideology, worked nine years for the CIA before being exfiltrated in 1981. This is sensitive in Poland.
- The Poles have pressed hard for Vice President Gore to attend their 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.

EVENTS

Meetings with Walesa and PM Pawlak. The Walesa meeting will take place the first evening, followed by a press availability and State Dinner. You should discuss security, urge continued reforms and convey our awareness of social dislocation. With Pawlak the next day, you can stress market reforms and discuss our initiatives in greater detail.

Wreath Layings. You have three: the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; a monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, accompanied by American Jewish Community leaders and; a monument to the Warsaw Uprising, whose 50th Anniversary falls August 1, accompanied by a Polish-American group. The Uprising is deeply-felt by all Poles.

Speech. You will address the Polish Parliament and guests the second day, also meeting briefly beforehand with the Marshals (speakers) of Parliament's two Houses.

CEE Foreign Ministers. After the speech you and Walesa will meet with the CEE Foreign Ministers, who will have held a Ministerial with Secretary Christopher.

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ARRIVAL CEREMONIES AT
WARSAW OKECIE AIRPORT, PRESIDENTIAL PALACE

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The Poles organize a set-piece arrival ceremony for every Official Visit. Your ceremony will be different because airport ceremony will be very brief and the major protocolary event will take place at the newly-renovated Presidential Palace (the Radziwill Palace). There will be no arrival statements.

BACKGROUND

Airport. You will be met by Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski (o-la-HOFF-ski) and other Polish government officials. Among them will be Jan Piekarski, (pye-KAR-ski), the new Deputy Chief of Protocol but until recently head of the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad. Piekarski earned high praise (and a Superior Honor Award) from the State Department and deep thanks from Senator Boren for his work, including efforts on behalf of an arrested American citizen. Also among them will be newly-named Ambassador to the U.S. Jerzy Kozminski (kozH-MEEN-ski), whose credentials you accepted in June.

For the U.S., Ambassador Nicholas Rey and Mrs. Rey will be present, and others from the Embassy. Rey is a direct descendent of Mikolaj Rej, the greatest literary figure of the Polish Renaissance.

You will walk through an honor guard cordon to your limousine and depart for the Marriott Hotel.

Presidential Palace. This is a set piece, rather elaborate ceremony taking place both outside and inside the Palace.

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By N NARA, Date 6/6/2023

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MEETING WITH
POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESZA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Walesa (va-WHEN-sa) considers himself the guarantor of Polish reforms; President since 1990, he has used his limited constitutional powers to push and prod Poland's market transformation and integration into the West. As you recall, Walesa's style combines deliberate (and frustrating) unpredictability, metaphors either colorful or opaque and natural forcefulness. Sometimes insightful and inspired, Walesa can be abrupt or rambling. Despite occasional populist rhetoric, Walesa has supported reform at virtually every difficult moment -- and there have been many -- even at considerable political cost to himself.

Walesa has held center stage in Poland since 1980, but in recent years his popularity has dropped sharply (only 25% support him, according to a recent poll). This stems partly from Walesa's difficulty in finding a Presidential as opposed to Tribune's voice, partly from his solo leadership style and partly from disillusionment with the reform program. Walesa will run for reelection in late 1995; he has not decided whether to run as an "anti-communist" outsider against the current government or as a Presidential figure above politics. He may look to his standing in the West to help him at home.

Despite an appreciation of the West's support before and after 1989, Walesa is uncertain of the West's commitment to CEE. He has more faith in the U.S. than in Western Europe, but worries we are tempted by isolationism or a "naive" pro-Russian tilt. Walesa has stated that the West's response to the democratic breakthrough in 1989 was inadequate and stressed to visitors that the overwhelming majority of Poles has suffered deprivation in the wake of the Communist collapse. He believes that the West should be of greater help to Poland.

Security will be central to Walesa's agenda -- he regards as inevitable Russia's return to neo-imperialism. He will press for movement on NATO expansion and assurance that Poland will not be left in an insecure "grey zone" outside the West. He has again staked out a position on NATO expansion and requested bilateral security assistance (\$25 million to support PFP activities), though less aggressively than before the Prague Summit. The Poles will host PFP's first exercise on former Warsaw Pact territory this September; we will take part. The Poles want a "muscular" exercise; we want to be supportive without turning it into a provocative event.

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YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Affirm that Poland's future lies with the democratic, free-market West and that the U.S. is committed to helping Poland on that road.
- o Set out U.S. views on European security, including our policy of NATO's gradual expansion to Eastern democracies such as Poland.
- o Affirm U.S. support for Poland's market transformation.
- o Convey your awareness of human problems created by the collapse of the old regime's economic system and our willingness to help Poland ameliorate them.

CORE POINTS

European Security, NATO, Poland

- o Expansion of democracy central goal of U.S. foreign policy. Want Poland, other CEEs, to take full-fledged place in a secure Europe. Reject insecure "grey zone" for CEE.
- o Led by U.S., NATO took firm decision in January to expand to Europe's new democracies. Should work together to make it happen in way that increases security, not confrontation.
- o The way ahead is open.
 - NATO's expansion will take place country by country.
 - New members must be democracies, market economies, responsible in their security and foreign policies.
 - PFP is the practical road to NATO membership. Militaries need time to work together. PFP provides means. Pleased Poland is active Partner.
 - Good that Poland will host first PFP exercise in former Warsaw Pact in September. Want exercise to be as robust as possible.
 - Russia cannot veto this process. A catastrophe in Russia would accelerate expansion, but expansion does not depend on democracy's failure in Russia.
- o Should work together to get Russia used to idea of NATO's expansion; to see it as stabilizing, not threat.
- o This will take time but direction is clear. Hope while President to welcome new democracies as new allies.

Bilateral Military Program

- o Have considered Poland's request for \$25 million to support your participation in PFP. You make good case that applies to other new partners, too.
- o Our next budget -- for year beginning October 1 -- is nearly set: I'm asking Congress for about \$25 million for military cooperation with CEE countries.
- o Will try to do more the year after. Will ask Congress for \$100 million for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives. Request will include \$25 million for Poland.

Support for Free Market Reforms

- o Admire Poland's achievements since 1989; you're on the right track, proving free market transformation is possible.
- o Your role in supporting reforms is essential; I respect it. Keep fighting inflation; implement Mass Privatization.
- o Proud of U.S. support since 1989: \$200 million of the \$1 billion Stabilization Fund, unprecedented official debt reduction worth \$2.4 billion, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund capitalized at \$240 million. I intervened to support London Club (commercial debt) reduction deal expected to be worth over \$5 billion to Poland.
- o Will keep helping:
 - Seek more U.S. investment in Poland. Have brought U.S. executives here.
 - Will announce \$65 million Poland Partners Fund, a capital investment fund set up by OPIC. Half the Fund financed by American labor unions, so Lane Kirkland is part of this too.
 - Will announce initiative with Enterprise Fund and EBRD to bring \$75 million of capital resources to newly-privatized firms under Mass Privatization program.
 - Supporting Poland's accession to OECD.
- o Will improve coordination with EU, other Western supporters of Poland, CEE. Energize EU; make most of resources.
- o Want to finish up Business and Economic Treaty. We're ready to exchange Instruments of Ratification when Poland adheres to Berne Convention on intellectual property.
- o Should conclude our bilateral GATT reaccession talks. Very few issues remain; can compromise on poultry quotas; hope we can move semi-conductors and aircraft.

- o [If asked] Want to ensure greatest possible market access for Polish, other CEE products in U.S., EU. Free trade agreement might complicate Polish membership in EU.

Coping with Social Dislocation

- o Know people have been hurt by collapse of the old system. Unemployment and insecurity can generate social, political problems, even as Polish economy now grows fast.
- o Outsiders cannot solve problem; answer lies in growth, led by private sector. But cannot ignore human side.
- o Our governments have been consulting closely in recent weeks, discussing some ideas; listening to yours.
 - Want to accelerate housing construction: get existing program moving, start demonstration projects.
 - To fight unemployment, want to establish micro-lending program to help small businesses, especially in high unemployment areas.
 - U.S. prepared to send teams to help you modernize your pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- o We're both concerned about new mafias, some from outside Poland. Will announce new CEE law enforcement initiative to help Poles, others, fight white collar, organized crime.

Warsaw Uprising

- o (If asked). Admire Poland's decision to make this important commemoration a ceremony of reconciliation with Germans, Russians invited. U.S. will be represented at high level.

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DINNER HOSTED BY
POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESA

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CONTEXT OF EVENT

This will be a large, formal dinner -- the first at the newly-refurbished Presidential (Radziwill) Palace. The occasion gives you the chance to continue with topics not fully covered in the earlier bilateral. It is Walesa's usual style to be aggressive at the start of meetings, so by the dinner you may have heard a lot about Polish NATO membership and the alleged inadequacies of the West's response to post-1989 Europe. At the dinner itself, however, Walesa may be comparatively relaxed. It is a good chance to discuss regional developments, Russia and Poland's transformation and Walesa's role in it. You and Walesa will exchange toasts.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore U.S. commitment to Poland's reforms and to Poland's becoming a full member of an integrated Euro-Atlantic world.
- o Reiterate Walesa's important role in keeping Poland's reforms on track.
- o Emphasize your recognition of Poland's progress to date, while stressing the need to continue market reforms and deal with social dislocations.
- o Urge that U.S. and Poland work together to handle Euro-Atlantic expansion carefully, rejecting any suggestion that the U.S. will give Russia a tacit or explicit veto over the process.

CORE POINTS (Text of toast to be provided separately)

U.S. Commitment

- o Poland key to our objective of a secure Europe of market democracies.
- o Committed to Poland's full integration: reject "grey zone" for CEE; no Russian veto; Polish security important.
- o U.S. is rejecting neo-isolationism. Will stay engaged.

Walesa's role

- o Respect your historic role as Solidarity's leader, first President of new Poland. Kept reforms on track.

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- o Value your pledge to be guarantor of reforms.
- o Pleased you signed Polish budget; boosts international confidence.

Poland's Progress, Problems

- o Poland a success; shows radical reforms work.
- o Impressive growth; new preliminary IMF Stand-by Agreement, increasing interest by investors show promising future.
- o "Poland A" -- growing, entrepreneurial, active Poland -- is the future. But "Poland B" -- mired in depression, unemployment, less private activity -- can drag you down.
- o U.S. wants to keep supporting entrepreneurial Poland fulfill potential; at same time, help you cope with social, human dislocation. U.S. working with IFI's and EU to organize joint efforts.

European Integration

- o NATO's decision to expand, PFP, put us on road to expansion of Western democratic community.
- o Appreciate Poland's constructive policy toward Eastern neighbors. Your friendship with Ukraine helps; Kravchuk cites your arguments in his decision to agree to denuclearize Ukraine.
- o We know your history with Russia. Always danger of history repeating itself. But for first time Russian people have voice. If democracy takes root, Russia will turn toward improving lives of its people.
- o Aware of past; are prepared for adversarial relations if we must; but must work for better outcome if we can.

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WREATH LAYING
TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

This is a standard ceremonial event for State visits. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is a four column single-story structure -- all that remains of the Saxon Palace blown up by the retreating Germans. The ceremony is a set piece without formal remarks. You will be asked to sign the Book of Remembrance adding appropriate comments. Invited guests will include Polish-Americans accompanying you.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate U.S. respect for Polish independence and those who defended it.
- o Note Poland's role as WWII Ally, as noted in the Tomb's inscriptions of battles in Polish history.

CORE POINTS

- o Poland and the world owe much to the valor of Polish soldiers.
- o Poland is taking rightful place as member of Western, democratic family: once an ally, now a friend, perhaps an ally again.

BACKGROUND

Inscribed on the tomb are the names of significant battles in Polish history, including defeat of the Teutonic Knights in 1410. The taking of Moscow in 1610, the failed Kosciuszko Uprising in 1794, the defeat of the Bolsheviks in 1920, the Warsaw Jewish Ghetto Uprising in 1943, the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, and WWII battles in which the Poles fought as Allies. Democratic governments after 1989 added the names of many battles consigned to "non-history" under the old regime.

CEREMONY

A military band and honor guard will be to your right; guests to your left. You will follow soldiers bearing the wreath and marching at a slow step. The soldiers place the wreath while you place your hand over your heart as the military band sounds a trumpet call. Afterwards, a Polish officer will brief you on the history of the Tomb and Polish military history. You sign the book at the end. You will not make any remarks.

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

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CEREMONY AT
WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING MEMORIAL

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The event marks our respect for the heroes of the Jewish Ghetto who took up arms in courageous, hopeless defiance. In April 1993, Vice President Gore attended the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, organized by Lech Walesa. You will make brief public remarks in this candle-lighting ceremony. A small group of leaders from the American and Polish Jewish communities will be present. The monument is located in what was a pre-War Jewish neighborhood and then part of the Ghetto. The Germans razed the entire area; the apartments now standing are post-war.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate our undiminished memory of the Holocaust.
- o While acknowledging the uniquely horrible character of the Holocaust, note that the dark purveyors of ethnic and racial hatred are still among us.

BACKGROUND

Pre-WWII Poland was a multi-ethnic society with a significant Jewish minority (9 percent of the population, 30 percent of pre-War Warsaw). Jews had been present in Poland since the 14th century; a large percentage of American Jews trace their ancestry to lands now or once Polish. The German occupiers built the Warsaw Ghetto in 1940; Jews found outside without permission were put to death at once. After the systematic mass killings began in 1941, hundreds of thousands of Jews were taken from the Ghetto and transported to death camps from an embarkation point three blocks north of the Monument.

With only about 60,000 Jews left alive and German intentions clear, several hundred mostly young Jews took up arms in an effort to die fighting. The Uprising began on April 19, 1943, during Passover. They beat back initial German assaults and held out for 22 days. The Germans burnt the Ghetto down and flushed out the fighters building by building. Some escaped through the sewers. A few survive to this day, including one of the leaders, Marek Edelman, who remained in Poland and became a Solidarity activist and celebrated Polish hero.

Poland's tiny (under 10,000) Jewish community -- while mostly old and impoverished -- has been strengthened since 1989 by some young families who have rediscovered their ethnic heritage.

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MEETING WITH POLISH PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKERS
SEJM MARSHAL OLEKSY AND SENATE MARSHAL STRUZIK

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Shortly before your speech in the Sejm ("same"), you will proceed for a brief meeting in the Parliament Building with the Marshals (speakers) of the Sejm and Senate. Poland's provisional constitution (a permanent constitution is being drafted) provides for a parliamentary system of government. The Sejm is by far the more powerful body and its Marshal an influential figure. The Senate, in existence only since 1989, is little more than advisory.

Sejm Marshal Jozef Oleksy (o-LEK-see) is a leader of the largest Parliamentary party, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), one of the two ruling parties. Both SLD and its governing partner, Prime Minister Pawlak's Polish Peasant Party (PSL), have old regime antecedents but so far have maintained a generally reformist direction. Widely regarded as reformist, Oleksy describes himself as a Western social democrat as opposed to "left populists" in his party. Nevertheless, Oleksy has been publicly skeptical about reliance on the U.S. to support Polish integration into the West. In this, he reflects a view, held by a variety of political figures, that the U.S. is not genuinely interested in CEE and that Poland has to explore alternatives to an (allegedly) futile search for Western acceptance.

Struzik (STRU-zhik) is a less dynamic figure, with mixed PSL and Solidarity background. He is a doctor and has managed a provincial hospital in the city of Plock. Personally close to Pawlak, Struzik is the closest thing to a modern, reformed PSL leader. He speaks of PSL building on its conservative base rather than old regime past and becoming a Polish version of the German CDU/CSU.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Stress U.S. commitment to support democratic Poland's full integration into the West.
- o Confirm U.S. willingness to work with Poland's democratically-elected government on the basis of its programs, not its ideological antecedents.
- o Urge continuation of Poland's bold, successful market reforms.
- o Note U.S. interest in helping Poland deal with human and social dislocation caused by the failed former system.

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CORE POINTS

U.S. Goals

- o U.S. seeks expansion of democratic family of nations from Euro-Atlantic base. Poland included.
- o Our vision inclusive: no anti-Russian encirclement or bloc.
- o No Russian veto either; reject CEE in "grey zone."
- o Must manage expansion of trans-Atlantic, other institutions (NATO) in way that increases everyone's security.
- o Pleased by Polish participation in PFP. Is road to increased Polish security, NATO membership. Hope Parliament will support this program.

Polish Reforms

- o Basis of U.S.-Polish relations remains democratic, market reforms in Poland and U.S. support.
- o Poland's progress since 1989 impressive. Past the worst.
 - Important to continue market transformation, mass privatization, continued macroeconomic stability; keep inflation from returning and destroying gains.
 - Aware of human and social dislocation caused by collapse of old system. Want to help; U.S. ready with specifics.
- o Reject "third way" of statist protectionism. Has been tried -- Africa, Latin America, South Asia -- always failed.
- o Sejm, Senate passed sound budget; now IMF has concluded another preliminary agreement with GOP worth \$773 million. Will parliament maintain reformist direction?

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MEETING WITH
POLISH PRIME MINISTER WALDEMAR PAWLAK

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Pawlak (PAHV-lak) is young, a farmer as well as politician and a product of post-1989 Poland rather than an apparatchik. He owes much of his rise to Lech Walesa, who once saw him as a protegee. Pawlak's lack of outward sophistication has led friends and enemies to underestimate him. Soft-spoken, adept at maneuver and skilled at hiding his considerable ambition, Pawlak is ambivalent about to Poland's market reforms. As Premier, he supported a sound 1994 budget that earned IMF support.

Pawlak's Polish Peasant Party (PSL), however, is an anti-reform bastion. It seeks to represent the interest of the more than 30% of the population living on farms. The party is a direct descendent of a communist satellite party and its internal structures are less remade than those of its coalition partner, the reborn former communists. PSL's committed electorate -- small-holding peasants -- are conservative on social issues, isolationist on foreign policy and statist and protectionist on economic issues. PSL's social conservatism has garnered considerable Catholic Church support. The Party's popularity is rising, as it avoids association with tough economic reforms.

Pawlak has little responsibility for foreign affairs. He focusses on economic issues, and there is considerable tension between PSL and the reformers -- young intellectuals from the ex-communist party -- who run key economic ministries. Pawlak plays a balancing game, maintaining macroeconomic stability, keeping privatization on track though at a lesser pace and pushing PSL patronage interests hard behind the scenes. While the Polish economy is growing strongly, a lack of GOP leadership could weaken reform at a midpoint and allow inflation to return.

You met Pawlak in Prague last January. One notion he suggested, without elaboration then or since, was an economic "Partnership for Prosperity." This meeting is a place to focus on economic and social issues and he may bring up his "PFP"; you should not. Pawlak wants an invitation to the U.S. in 1995 but we should be careful: Presidential elections will be held that fall and Pawlak may run against Walesa. In May, Pawlak sent you an e-mail greetings on Internet and will appreciate your referring to it.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Strengthen Pawlak's commitment to Poland's market transformation, stressing the need to fight inflation and continue structural transformation.

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- o Convey your awareness of human problems created by the collapse of the old regime's economic system and our willingness to help Poland ameliorate them.
- o Raise bilateral trade issues.
- o Affirm that Poland's future lies with the democratic, free-market West and that the U.S. is committed to helping a democratic Poland on that road.

CORE POINTS

Support for Free Market Reforms

- o Poland's achievements since 1989 impressed the world; on the right track but more to do. Inflation could return and wipe out gains. Important to carry out Mass Privatization.
 - Continued reforms require leadership to continue. Hope we can count on you.
- o Proud of U.S. support: Stabilization Fund, unprecedented official debt reduction, Enterprise Fund. I supported successful London Club (commercial debt) reduction.
- o We'll keep helping:
 - Seek more U.S. investment in Poland. Have brought U.S. executives here.
 - Will announce \$65 million Poland Partners Fund, a capital investment fund set up by OPIC.
 - Will announce initiative with Enterprise Fund and EBRD to bring \$75 million of capital resources to newly privatized firms.
 - Support Poland's accession to OECD.
- o Will improve coordination with EU, other Western supporters of Poland, CEE. Energize EU; make most of resources.
- o Want to finish up Business and Economic Treaty. We're ready to exchange Instruments of Ratification when Poland adheres to Berne Convention on intellectual property.
- o Agree we should conclude our bilateral GATT reaccession talks. Very few issues remain; can compromise on poultry quotas; hope we can move semi-conductors and aircraft.
- o (If asked) Want to ensure greatest possible market access for Polish, other CEE products in U.S., EU. Free trade agreement might complicate Polish membership in EU.

Coping with Social Dislocation

- o People have been hurt by collapse of the old system. Unemployment and insecurity can generate social, political problems, even as Polish economy grows fast.
- o Outsiders cannot solve problem; answer lies in growth, led by private sector. But cannot ignore human side.
- o Our governments have been consulting closely in recent weeks, discussing some ideas; listening to yours.
 - Want to accelerate housing construction: get existing program moving, start demonstration projects.
 - To fight unemployment, want to establish micro-lending program to help small businesses, especially in high unemployment areas.
 - U.S. prepared to send teams to help you modernize your pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- o We're both concerned about new mafias, some from outside Poland. Will announce a new CEE law enforcement initiative to help Poles, others, fight white collar, organized crime.

European Security, NATO, Poland

- o Expansion of democracy central goal of U.S. foreign policy. Want Poland, other CEEs, to take full-fledged place in a secure Europe. Reject insecure "grey zone" for CEE.
- o Led by U.S., NATO took firm decision in January to expand to Europe's new democracies. Should work together to make it happen in way that increases security, not confrontation.
- o Should work together to get Russia used to idea of NATO's expansion; to see it as stabilizing, not threat.

Bilateral Military Program

- o Have considered Poland's request for \$25 million to support your participation in PFP. Your case applies to other new partners, too.
- o Our next budget -- for year beginning October 1 -- is nearly set: I'm asking Congress for about \$25 million for military cooperation with CEE countries.
- o Will try to do more the year after. Will ask Congress for \$100 million for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives. Request will include \$25 million for Poland.

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SPEECH TO THE
POLISH PARLIAMENT

CONTEXT OF EVENT

This is the major speech of the July trip and intended to reach CEE, all-European and U.S., as well as Polish, audiences. Both Houses of the Polish Parliament (the Sejm and Senate) will be in attendance; guests will include Americans accompanying you from the U.S. A peripheral body under the old regime, since 1989 the Polish parliament has been a center of the country's political life. President Bush addressed the Parliament in July 1989; Vice President Gore did so in April 1993.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore the U.S. objective of building a bigger trans-Atlantic community, including as many of the new CEE and NIS democracies as possible.
- o Affirm your commitment to Polish democracy, security and market reform.
- o Make clear our intention that NATO expand to new democracies, including a democratic Poland.
- o Strengthen Polish commitment to reform at a difficult mid-way point, stressing U.S. respect for Polish accomplishments to date and awareness of social and human dislocation.
- o Showcase U.S. initiatives to help Poland further its transformation begun in 1989.
- o Link the liberation of Europe begun in Normandy with our own efforts today.

CORE POINTS (Speech text to be provided)

BACKGROUND

You will be speaking to a special session of the Sejm ("SAME"). The main chamber seats 546 people on the main floor with another 200 in the gallery. The building dates from the 1920's; it was rebuilt after WWII.

September 1993 elections produced, from 36 percent of the popular vote, a nearly 65 percent majority for two parties with antecedents in the old regime -- the Alliance of the Democratic Left and the Polish Peasant Party -- who constitute the government coalition. Post-Solidarity parties constitute most of the opposition. You are speaking at the formal invitation of Sejm Marshal (speaker) Jozef Oleksy, one of the most pro-reform ex-communist leaders.

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CEREMONY AT
WARSAW UPRISING MEMORIAL

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The Warsaw Uprising beginning August 1, 1944 was the high point of Polish resistance to Germany during WWII and an event of stirring heroism as well as terrible suffering. The Uprising has enormous significance to Poles everywhere, and your participation in a commemorative ceremony at one of Warsaw's monuments to the Uprising will be appreciated. You will be accompanied by a group of Polish-Americans who came with you to Warsaw. One of several monuments to the Uprising, the "Little Soldier" Monument commemorates children who fought in the Uprising. It stands by the Medieval old city wall.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Pay tribute to the heroes of the Uprising and, more broadly, to Poland's contribution to the Allied effort in WWII.
- o Link Polish resistance in WWII to our themes from Normandy and our objectives of expanding democracy in Europe today.

CORE POINTS (Remarks to be provided separately)

BACKGROUND

In the summer of 1944 the Soviet Army was pushing back the Germans along a broad front in Poland and appeared ready to take Warsaw. But the pro-Western London Government-in-exile and its Home Army in Poland were worried about Soviet political intentions. The Poles believed they could forestall a communist takeover only if they themselves liberated their capital before the Soviets arrived.

As the Soviets approached Warsaw, the Home Army launched its Uprising on August 1, 1944 and quickly seized control of most of the city. But they failed to capture the Vistula River bridges and major roads. At that point, the Soviet advance came to a halt just outside Warsaw, probably on Stalin's orders. With the Soviets standing still across the river, the Germans had time to crush the Uprising. Bitter fighting took place for two months as the German ring tightened. Stalin complicated U.S. and British efforts to supply the Home Army by air (though our efforts are still remembered fondly by Home Army veterans). In October, the Home Army surrendered. The Germans dynamited what was left of Warsaw. The Soviets resumed their advance in January, 1945 and installed a communist regime that lasted until 1989.

The Poles seek high-level U.S. attendance at the 50th Anniversary Commemorative event to be held this August 1. Mitterrand, Major, Herzog and possibly Chernomyrdin are planning to attend and the Poles have pressed for the Vice President to represent us.

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RECEPTION FOR
CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS

CONTEXT OF EVENT

While your visit is bilateral, the Warsaw stop also reinforces our commitment to democracy, security and market economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe as a whole. This point is especially important for southern tier states -- Romania and Bulgaria, Albania -- who believe themselves to have made major sacrifices in adherence to the Serbian sanctions regime and worry they have decidedly second-tier status in our thinking.

The Poles easily accepted our request and invited the CEE Foreign Ministers: Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, FYROM, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia to meet with Secretary Christopher; we later added Croatia and Bosnia. Your meeting with them takes the form of a reception at the Presidential (Radziwill) Palace following your speech to the Polish Parliament and two ceremonial events.

While each foreign minister has separate concerns, all support continued U.S. engagement in Europe and CEE, seek greater U.S. investment in their countries and urge that the U.S. not consign their region to a Russian sphere of influence or security "grey zone." Secretary Christopher will have met with the CEE Foreign Ministers for two hours that afternoon; he will brief you on the results of the meeting. You will meet with each Foreign Minister briefly and informally in the course of the reception.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore U.S. support for democracy, security and economic reform throughout CEE.
- o Emphasize to southern-tier CEE's -- especially Bulgaria and Romania -- that we do not consign them to inferior status but that our relations will be a function of their progress toward democracy and economic reform, and conduct of responsible foreign policies.
- o Emphasize to front-line states that we appreciate their support for Serbian sanctions and hope for a settlement soon.
- o Convey particular points to individual Foreign Ministers.

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CORE POINTS

U.S. Objectives in CEE

- o U.S. seeks expansion of democratic family of nations from Euro-Atlantic base. All CEE can be part.
- o Our vision inclusive: no anti-Russian encirclement or bloc; no Russian veto either; reject CEE in "grey zone."
- o Must manage expansion of trans-Atlantic, other institutions, e.g., NATO, in way that increases everyone's security.
- o Pleased by CEE participation in PFP. Is road to NATO membership. Hope your governments will continue to support.

CEE Reforms

- o Basis of U.S. relations with CEE's remains democratic, market reforms, U.S. support for transformation.
- o Progress impressive. Some CEE's past the worst, show way for others.
 - Important to continue market transformation, mass privatization, macroeconomic stability.
 - Aware of human and social dislocation caused by collapse of old system. Want to help.
- o Reject "third way" of statist protectionism. Has been tried -- Africa, Latin America, south Asia -- always failed.
- o Reforms not the cause of problems but the cure. Slowing reforms not answer.
- o U.S. engaged: greater coordination with EU, major Western countries, IFI's to help across board; Trade and Investment Conference in fall, expanded OPIC programs; new efforts to help with social dislocation. Try in Poland; perhaps expand.

Specific Country Points

- o **Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Hungary:** Urge continued adherence to Serbian sanctions; understand how difficult, joint efforts on transport corridors, infrastructure can ease some burden.
- o **Romania:** (FM Teodor Melescanu (meh-lesh-KAH-noo)): Pleased by Romania's progress with IMF, World Bank; support for PFP. Important now to continue reforms.

- o **Bulgaria:** (FM Stanislav Daskalov (DAWS-kloff)): Important to restart reform momentum. Want to see Bulgaria succeed; important to avoid false sense of isolation or neglect.
- o **Hungary:** (State Secretary Janos Martonyi (MAHR-tohn-yee) will head delegation; FM designate Kovacs (KO-vach) will be in delegation): Look forward to working with new government. Appreciated President Goncz's assurance that Hungary's reforms and pro-Western policies would continue.
- o **Albania:** (FM Alfred Serreqi (seh-RECH-ee)): Encourage progress in treatment of its ethnic Greek minority. Understand concern about Kosovo; very much on U.S. agenda.
- o **Slovakia:** (FM Edward Kukan (KU-kahn)): Support new government's reformist direction; intensifying efforts to help. Hope September elections support continued reforms. Welcome President Kovac's commitment to reform from June 21 meeting.
- o **Czech Republic:** (FM Josef Zieleniec (ZHE-len-ets): Republic doing well. Each country's integration to West will be individual; we look to new democracies to cooperate regionally, too. (If asked: Hope to resolve complex budgetary issue of possible RFE/RL move to Prague.)
- o **Slovenia:** (FM Alojz Peterle (PAY-ter-lay)): Slovenia becoming success story. We support your integration into West and have made that point with GOI. Difficult to lift arms embargo, but want to find ways to recognize Slovenia's status as apart from conflict in former Yugoslavia.
- o **Croatia:** (FM Mato Granic (GRA-nich): All parties should accept Contact Group territorial compromise. Negotiations only road to peace. Peace your first step to West. Should renew UNPROFOR.
- o **Bosnia:** (FM Irfan Ljubijankic (lyoo-BYAN-kich): Pleased Congact Group produced realistic, serious territorial compromise; is best chance for peace. International will to enforce strong; serious incentives and disincentives.
- o **Poland:** (FM Andrzej Olechowski (o-la-HOFF-ski)): Appreciate Polish hosting meeting. Understand Polish interest in moving rapidly toward Western integration; are making progress.

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MEETING WITH AMERICAN COMMUNITY

CONTEXT OF EVENT

This is your opportunity to make contact directly with the large and diverse official American community in Warsaw. Ambassador Nicholas Rey has been at post since the fall.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Acknowledge the work of Americans and their families representing the U.S. in Poland and the Polish employees who support them.
- o Note the broad scope of work the community is engaged in; new missions for a new Europe.

CORE POINTS (Text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

The Warsaw Embassy, a small Iron Curtain reporting post in 1989, is now hub of a strong American effort to help Poland complete its transformation. The official community numbers 270, including Peace Corps, long-term advisors and Embassy staff. There are 154 American family members not employed by the Embassy and 440 Polish nationals working for the Embassy. The Peace Corps presence is among the largest in the world. We also have Consulates General in Krakow and Poznan.

The meeting will take place following the formal Departure Ceremony at the Presidential Palace at the Ambassador's Residence. Built in the early-1960's, the Residence is located in an attractive neighborhood.

The Residence took on special significance during the mid- and late-1980's, when it served as unofficial haven and meeting place for Solidarity intellectuals. Jaruzelski once remarked derisively that "Solidarity was just a bunch of intellectuals who went to dinner at (then Ambassador) John Davis' house." One year later, Jaruzelski sat down to lunch with the newly-empowered Solidarity leadership and President Bush. After 1989, the Residence (then home to former Ambassador Tom Simons) served as a place where Poles of all political persuasion could meet and conduct business.

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U.S. INVESTMENT IN POLAND

U.S. investment in Poland has grown rapidly as the Polish economy recovered from the initial shocks imposed by adjustment and the breakdown of the CEMA trading area. At the close of 1993, U.S. investments in Poland totalled approximately \$1.2 billion, with another \$1.0 billion committed to future projects. U.S. investment, in fact, dwarfs that of other nations, accounting for approximately 44 percent of total foreign investment in Poland. Italy (11 percent), France (7 percent) and Germany (6 percent) follow. Major U.S. corporate investors include Coca Cola, Proctor and Gamble, Ameritech, Levi Strauss, Gerber and Dupont Conoco. U.S. interest in portfolio investment in Poland has also grown rapidly.

This U.S. investment interest stems first from Poland's consistent reform effort and strong macroeconomic performance. Poland was the first country in Eastern Europe to return to growth during the 1990s, with a 1.5 percent increase in real GDP in 1992 and a further 4.0 percent increase in 1993. In 1994, that growth is expected to further accelerate to between 4.5 and 5.0 percent. Investors cite Poland's large internal market (35 million people), skilled workforce, relatively low manpower costs, improving intellectual property rights protection and growing access to markets in the European Union (with whom Poland has negotiated an association agreement, which will provide for essentially free trade within a decade). U.S. investors have benefitted from strong support from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Trade and Development Agency and the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Investors remain concerned about the poor state of Polish infrastructure, an inefficient and risk-adverse banking system, a still poorly developed capital market and the unexpectedly slow pace of large-scale privatization, which has left many major industrial plants in the hands of the government. Residual concerns exist about regional stability, popular support for reform within Poland, and the longer-term economic policies of the center-left coalition elected in September, 1993.

To stimulate further trade and investment, the U.S. will sponsor a Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe during the fall of 1994. This conference will bring together investors from the United States with policy-makers from CEE countries. Its purpose is to focus attention on the potential for U.S. trade and investment in the region, obstacles and steps CEE governments can take to promote it.

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POLAND, NATO AND THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

Integration into Western economic and security structures -- above all, the EU and NATO -- is a key Polish foreign policy goal. It has enormous political and emotional significance. The Poles had hoped that Yeltsin's August 1993 declaration in Warsaw (to the effect that Russia would not object to Poland's joining NATO, quickly walked back) would open the way for rapid progress toward this goal. Prior to the NATO summit, Walesa and other officials were vocal and sometimes strident in calling for NATO membership to ensure Poland was not left in a "security vacuum" or the victim of a "new Yalta."

The Poles have since come around to the view that, since PFP is what NATO has on offer, they should take an active role in it. Poland was the third state to join PFP, the first to submit its Presentation Document and the first to draft with NATO an Individual Partnership Program (currently being reviewed in Warsaw prior to NAC approval). Poland has offered to host the first PFP field exercise in a Partner country later this year, but is not satisfied with the scope of the exercise being offered by NATO military officials. There is also U.S. interest in whether Poland might (as it suggested in the past) permanently dedicate a former Soviet exercise area as a peacekeeping training/exercise facility.

The Poles miss no opportunity, however, to reiterate their interest in early NATO membership and their desire for either a direct commitment or an indirect "signal" (e.g., announcement of NATO membership criteria) that their accession will not be long delayed. Walesa's letter to President Clinton of June 10 said that "we expect, Mr. President, that during your visit to Poland you will state that Poland will soon find itself among the members of the Alliance."

The Poles are particularly sensitive to any suggestion of a Russian droit de regard over their relationship with NATO and threatened to withdraw from PFP if Moscow were granted a "special status" within the Partnership. The June 9 NAC Ministerial in Istanbul made clear that NATO will not enter into a formal "special relationship" with Russia and that Russia will enter PFP on the same basis as other partners.

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EUROPEAN UNION-POLISH RELATIONS

European Union membership is near the top of Polish foreign policy objectives. EU-Polish relations have remained good, despite changes in Polish governments.

Poland's EU Association Agreement (AA) addresses a broad range of trade and political relations and envisions but does not guarantee eventual EU membership. In April, Poland formally applied for EU membership; the GOP understands that the EU will not begin serious consideration of its application before 1997. The biggest obstacles to Polish membership are the relative weakness of its economic development and its large agricultural sector. If Poland were admitted, it would be entitled to huge subsidies under the EU's Common Agricultural Policy and economic development funds. Nevertheless, the Germans have been strong advocates of Polish membership.

EU-Polish contacts at high levels are frequent. The EU has been Poland's greatest source of economic assistance; from 1990 through June 1993, the EU and member states had committed over \$8.5 billion to Poland, including debt forgiveness (U.S. figure for the period was \$3.9 billion).

Trade and Market Access: Poland has complained about access to EU markets, usually following the imposition of an EU trade restriction on Polish exports, notably on steel and agricultural products. These should become more rare as the AA is fully implemented, though the Poles will be watching EU application of its safeguard provisions. Under the AA, most Polish industrial goods will enter the EU duty- and quota-free beginning on January 1, 1995; restrictions on steel and textiles will be lifted later. The EU and Poland will have free trade in all non-agricultural sectors by January 1, 1997. Thanks in part to the AA, Polish exports to the EU rose over 40% from 1990 to 1993, despite the European recession; however, imports from the EU more than doubled, thanks to increased consumer demand in Poland and the appreciation of the zloty in real terms. As a result, Poland's billion dollar-plus trade surplus with the EU in 1990 became a \$2.5 billion deficit in 1993.

European Stability Pact ("Balladur Pact"): The GOP remains unhappy with the European Stability Pact; it does not consider itself to be an "object" of the Pact as it argues, with some justice, that Poland has no border or minority problems. The Poles did not participate in bilateral meetings with the EU on the Pact and maintain that at a minimum the Pact's focus needs to be diverted to "good neighborly" relations including, in particular, economic cooperation, in order to make it possible for them to participate. It would also like its agreement with Germany to be included in the Pact. Germany is not enthused.

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U.S.-POLISH BILATERAL ISSUES

General: Bilateral relations are very good. Nevertheless, both sides, after decades of mutual admiration and little actual interaction, are learning to deal with the inevitable negatives in relations, including trade issues, Polish security concerns and arms sales.

Security Issues: Integration into Western economic and security structures -- above all, the EU and NATO -- is a key Polish foreign policy goal, and Warsaw presses for NATO membership at every opportunity. Developments in Moscow have increased the Poles' sense of urgency for NATO membership.

Initially, the Poles were disappointed with the Partnership for Peace (PFP), hoping instead for a commitment to early Polish membership in NATO. The Poles have since taken a vigorous, even model, approach to PFP. Poland was the first country to submit the completed Presentation Document identifying the resources it plans to contribute to PFP activities, and has also agreed to host a PFP field exercise (involving U.S. forces) in Fall 1994.

Iraq Protecting Power: Poland serves as the protecting power for the U.S. in Iraq and has done a superlative job in defending U.S. interests and citizens there. Particularly notable were Polish Ambassador Piekarski's efforts to get detained American businessman Kenneth Beaty released and to ensure his well-being during his prolonged detention by Iraqi authorities. Beaty was freed in November. In February, President Clinton wrote to President Walesa in praise of Piekarski's work. Piekarski received a U.S. Superior Honor Award from the State Department for his efforts.

Tank Sale to Iran: In 1991, the Polish government agreed to sell 115 T-72 tanks to Iran. The Poles told us repeatedly it was a one-time-only transaction, not the beginning of an arms relationship. Earlier this year the deal appeared to fall through for financial reasons and the Poles told us informally it was off. We repeatedly made senior-level warnings to the GOP (including one from Vice President Gore) that the transaction "would not be cost free" to U.S.-Polish relations. Internally, we decided to grandfather the Polish tank sale in exchange for a commitment that Poland will avoid all objectionable trade in the future and will fully abide by the terms of the COCOM successor regime. With the apparent collapse of the tank deal, no action was taken. On instruction, Embassy Warsaw has asked the GOP whether the transaction is definitively off. We know from special intelligence that some tanks have been shipped.

Kuklinski Case: In 1971 Col. Ryszard Kuklinski, a member of the Polish general staff, volunteered to provide intelligence to the U.S. He did so -- motivated by ideology -- until 1981 and was

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exfiltrated shortly before martial law. His contributions were extremely valuable. Poland's communist authorities tried him in absentia and convicted him of treason for his activities. None of Poland's post-1989 governments has been eager to reverse the treason verdict, a move that much of the Polish officer corps (not just ostensible pro-communists) would regard as an insult. However, given the circumstances of Kuklinski's action during a period of Poland's subjugation to Soviet hegemony, we have urged the Poles to set aside the sentence.

PRAGUE INITIATIVES CHECKLIST

Sustained High Level of Engagement: Since your Prague trip there has been sustained high level engagement with Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. Cabinet members and senior level travellers include: UN Amb. Albright and Gen. Shalikashvili (throughout the region), Commerce Sec. Brown (Warsaw), Atty. Gen. Reno (planned - Budapest), Deputy Sec. Talbott (Warsaw and Bratislava), Under Sec. Tarnoff (Warsaw, Budapest and Prague), Under Sec. Davis (Budapest, Bratislava, Sofia and Skopje) and NSC Senior Director Schifter (Bucharest, Sofia, Warsaw, Bratislava and Budapest).

Democracy Network: USAID expects to start awarding grants for the "Democracy Network" this summer. We will provide about \$30 million in grants to U.S. NGOs over the next 3-5 years. In turn, the selected U.S. NGOs will cooperate with and support CEE counterparts involved in public policy.

Improved Market Access: We have agreed with the EU to avoid megaphone diplomacy on this sensitive matter. We can do little more to expand CEE access to our markets; the EU cites "domestic political realities" as preventing its further concessions. The U.S. is interested in working with CEE states to address their own sizeable barriers to exports and could work with the EU.

U.S. Trade Remedy Laws: NEC Deputies agreed to explore Congressional receptivity to a proposal to establish an inquiry-based trade remedy for CEE/NIS "economies in transition." The new remedy would apply in lieu of current market surge and anti-dumping provisions applied to non-market economies.

U.S.-sponsored Conference on CEE Investment and Trade: This proposal has sparked great interest in the CEE. It will probably take place in Cleveland in September or October. We are arranging for U.S. private sector cooperation in hosting the conference. The conference will focus not only on both trade and investment opportunities in the region, but also on what measures these countries should take to make their business climate more attractive. Key CEE ministers -- but not heads of government -- will be invited to attend and learn.

Early OECD Membership for Visegrad Countries: With strong U.S. leadership the OECD Ministerial Communique stated our intention to begin negotiation with the V-4 on membership as soon as possible. Eventual OECD membership will depend largely on how quickly Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia can bring their laws, regulations and practices into conformity with OECD guidelines on trade, investment and the environment.

Regional Infrastructure Improvements: At a February 1994 meeting in Vienna, the USG and CSCE partners developed a regional road

infrastructure plan for short-term projects in the southern CEE countries. The EU has been slow to provide its share of the funding necessary to implement these projects. TDA is working on a series of special infrastructure programs; it has been funded to the level of \$3 million for regional programs. State and Customs continue to lead an effort to develop a transport corridor around Serbia for perishable agricultural commodities from the southern Balkans. We are trying to identify possible sources of funding for the "Highways for Peace" proposal.

Regional Civil/Military Airspace Management: DoD has provided \$500,000 toward the cost of a preliminary study of a regional integrated civil air traffic control system/military air sovereignty regime. The Visegrad states other than the Czech Republic have endorsed this initiative. The target date for completion of the preliminary study is the end of FY94.

Social Sector Restructuring Assistance: Using primarily existing assistance resources, and coordinating with other international donors, we have launched an initiative to help Poland in this area. Our focus is the financing and provision of retirement and disability pensions, poverty relief, health care, housing and job generation. We will draw on our experience in Poland to assist other CEE countries.

Post-privatization Assistance: Treasury has developed a proposal involving at least \$50 million from the EBRD, \$15 million from the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and up to \$10 million of USG technical assistance) to support companies newly privatized under the Polish Mass Privatization Program.

Bilateral Working Groups on Security: So far this year alone, we have held BWGs -- consultations on regional security, defense relations and bilateral assistance -- with ten CEE non-combatants (all except Hungary, with whom we will meet in the fall and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

Peacekeeping Units: With our support, the Baltic states have launched a joint peacekeeping battalion initiative. We have requested \$10 million for FY95 to support CEE peacekeeping, including the Baltic Battalion.

Removing Cold War-era Restrictions: We have finished removing all CEE states (except those subject to the Yugoslav arms embargo) from the International Traffic in Arms proscribed destination list. In addition, we and our allies removed Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland -- but not Romania or Bulgaria -- from the COCOM proscribed destination list before the termination of COCOM on March 31. Finally, this year you signed Presidential Determinations (PDs) for all CEE states not already covered by PDs and not subject to the Yugoslav arms embargo. These PDs make these states eligible to participate in the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program.