

DECLASSIFIED  
PER E.O. 13526

2024.0540-M (1.04)  
KBH 12/11/2024

MEETING WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL

DATE: September 16, 1998  
LOCATION: Oval Office/Cabinet Room  
TIME: 10:35 a.m. - 12:05 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

- Pay tribute to President Havel's contribution to democracy and human rights in Central Europe.
- Encourage Havel to continue using his office and international stature to promote human rights and deepening of civic society in post-communist Europe.
- Urge Havel to use his position, in a non-partisan way, to press the Czech Republic to: maintain momentum on NATO preparations; stay the course on economic reform; and play a larger role in regional affairs.

II. BACKGROUND

Havel arrives in Washington physically and politically weakened, but still an influential voice for advancing our common objectives in Europe. In late 1996, he underwent surgery for lung cancer and half of his right lung was removed. Since then, he has suffered from multiple episodes of bronchitis and pneumonia. The most serious in July 1998, resulted in a temporary life-threatening heart rhythm irregularity that was corrected.

On the political front, Havel was narrowly reelected by Parliament to a second five-year term in early 1998. Since, he has antagonized the country's two strongest political parties, the leftist Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and its rival the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), by publicly ridiculing their July 1998 agreement to allow a minority Social Democratic government to take office under

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Prime Minister Zeman. In response, the two parties claimed Havel was exceeding his responsibilities and indicated that they wanted to "refine" the constitutional role of the President.

Prague's minority Social Democratic government is unlikely to survive its four-year term and will have to struggle to maintain momentum on economic and defense reforms. The CSSD controls just 74 seats in the 200-seat lower house and remains at the whim of the ODS, which will abide by the July agreement only long enough to seek changes from which it can benefit in the future.

Havel's visit comes on the eve of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia (October 1918). Public events will mark the role of the United States in the founding of an independent Czechoslovakia as well as accession into NATO. Havel will be accompanied by his wife Mrs. Havlova, Foreign Minister Kavan, Defense Minister Vetchy and Governor of the Czech National Bank Tosovsky. The party will visit Washington only and attend the First Lady's Millennium lecture.

### RESTRICTED MEETING

**Europe's Transformation.** As a playwright, leader of the Charter 77 human rights movement and Civic Forum opposition movement, Havel has been a driving force for democratic reform in Central Europe and for political tolerance, civility and justice around the world. **You should congratulate him on his contributions and encourage him to continue to speak out.** The Czech Republic's only serious human rights problem is discrimination and violence against the Roma (Gypsies). **You or Madeleine might ask for Havel's perspective on this issue.**

In October, Havel is hosting a conference on globalization and systems of government entitled Forum 2000 that Mrs. Clinton is attending. **You might want to draw out his views on the major challenges facing Europe in the next century.**

**Russia.** Havel will want a readout from the Summit and to exchange views on Russia's future. The current crisis stems from fundamental internal differences about Russia's future political and economic course, and the void created during the ratification of a new Prime Minister has had enormous political and social costs, including a collapse

of the currency and banking system, food shortages and near-return of hyper-inflation. Both the Czechs and we have a self-interest in engaging Russia's new leadership team, weak as it might be on economics, to mitigate further damage. On foreign policy, we need to show Russia that its interests are being taken into account. **You might encourage Havel to continue to speak out on the need for fundamental economic reforms in Russia and to urge Czechs and other Central Europeans to seek creative ways to engage Russia.**

**Beyond Europe (If Havel raises).** Havel has a particular interest in the development of democracy in China, and may raise Taiwan and Tibet. Taiwan Foreign Minister Hu visited Prague in May, and Mrs. Havlova visited Taiwan in June 1998 and met with President Lee Teng-hui. Relations with Taiwan are unofficial, but warm, and include some business dealings. You have contingency points on these issues.

### EXPANDED SESSION

**Future as Allies.** Havel is an advocate of an enlarged NATO, and he will be interested in hearing our plans for the April 1999 Washington NATO Summit. **You should tell him that the Summit will set the course for a renewed and strengthened security partnership between Europe and the United States.** It will adopt a new Strategic Concept to address the full spectrum of contingencies of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, from proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to regional conflicts. The Summit will also reinforce NATO's openness to new members, strengthen political and military engagement with all partners and deepen Alliance cooperation with Russia. NATO has just begun consultations on further enlargement and no decisions have been made. **However, you should underscore our conviction that future aspirants should be judged by the same standards applied to the three newest members. In addition, the Summit must not just reaffirm the "Open Door," it must demonstrate the Alliance is doing all it can to help aspirants pass through that door.**

Since the Czech parliament has already approved NATO accession, Havel will want to know if Prague can participate as a full member before the Summit. **We have no interest in artificially delaying the accession of the Czech Republic or the other invitees, but we do have an interest in their meeting minimum military requirements.**

**NATO Force Goals:** Defense Minister Vetchy and Secretary Cohen will join, making it a good opportunity to encourage the Czechs to maintain momentum on military reform. The hard work of fulfilling Czech Target Force Goals and integrating into NATO's military structure is just beginning and that new members are expected to meet certain minimum military capabilities on their first full day of membership. **Ask Bill Cohen to review the types of reforms we hope to see.** They include the development of a personnel system that recruits and trains qualified personnel and realization of compatible command and control.

**Enhanced Regional Role.** Havel understands the Czech Republic's security is tied to that of other European nations. He was instrumental in securing Czech engagement in Bosnia and peacekeeping missions around the world. While Prague has assisted to other emerging democracies, most Czechs are indifferent to a larger regional role.

**While commending Prague's continued contribution to the Stabilization Force in Bosnia, you should encourage Havel to promote a larger Czech regional role by helping advance democracy and economic reforms in Ukraine and engaging in such troubled areas as Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia.** Havel may seek our views on Balkan problems and on the Slovak elections, which the authoritarian Prime Minister Meciar seems poised to win through manipulation of the media and the electoral process.

**Economic Reforms.** Without further reforms, the Czech Republic will not achieve long-term growth and stability, and its EU accession will be affected adversely. This is particularly true given the greater risk and uncertainty attributed to most emerging markets in the wake of the ruble collapse. The previous caretaker Tosovsky government began to implement needed reforms, however, it is unclear whether the Zeman government will follow through.

You should note our interest in seeing the Czech Republic join the EU and follow through on economic reforms such as further bank privatization, oversight of capital markets and greater transparency in economic decision-making. You should underscore our desire to ensure that U.S. businesses are not restricted unfairly from the Czech market in the run-up to EU accession. American companies continue to

register concerns about lower tariffs on products from the EU and higher ones on products from other countries.

**Iran, Iraq and RFE (if raised):** Czech governments have been very supportive of our policies toward Iran and Iraq. Most recently, the Zeman government agreed, despite some political and security concerns, to host congressionally-mandated surrogate radio broadcasting services to Iran using Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) facilities in Prague. **You should note our appreciation of the government's willingness to allow broadcasts to Iran and express the hope to that they will look favorably on our request to do similar broadcasting to Iraq.** Our experts are already in contact on this matter, and Madeleine is expected to discuss it with Foreign Minister Kavan.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Scenario at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Scenario at Tab B.

V. SEQUENCE

See Scenario at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made  
Tab B Scenario  
Tab C Bios  
Tab D Memo from Secretary of State  
Tab E Press Material

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

HAVEL'S ROLE IN EUROPE'S TRANSFORMATION

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

RUSSIA

- Moscow trip demonstrated engagement important in times of crisis. Stressed need to respect democratic procedures.
- Primakov's confirmation fills political void, but may not address economic crisis. We share similar concerns about other initial appointments; so important to stay engaged and show Russia all its interests are being taken into account.
- Despite public opposition, Yeltsin did not raise enlargement in private and welcomed deeper practical ties with NATO.

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

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NATO ACCESSION PROCESS

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

MEETING NATO FORCE GOALS

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

NATO SUMMIT/OPEN DOOR

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

ENHANCED REGIONAL ROLE

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

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KOSOVO

- Working to improve situation on three tracks: negotiations for settlement, humanitarian assistance and NATO planning.
- Must work urgently to keep already disastrous humanitarian situation from developing into major catastrophe.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

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

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

RESTRICTED SESSION - OVAL OFFICE

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## Europe's Transformation/Havel's Role

- Hillary and I -- not to mention Madeleine -- are delighted to honor your personal contribution to democracy in Europe.
- Great to celebrate Czech Republic's becoming an ally and to recall our historic ties in founding an independent Czechoslovakia.
- Inspired by your leadership of Charter 77 and Civic Forum. Remarkable that only ten years after revolutions of 1989, many of your dreams about Central Europe's integration into community of free nations are being fully realized.
- Need to hear your voice for years to come on human rights, deepening civic society in new Europe, and in struggle against racism, intolerance and social injustice.
- Hillary is looking forward to Forum 2000 Conference. Interested in your concerns about challenges facing Europe and world in next millennium.

## Russia

- Glad I went to Moscow. Demonstrated engagement is important in times of crisis.
- Took high ground, and emphasized the core principles that Yeltsin and main political players need to keep in mind.
- Stressed importance of democratic procedures and made clear realities of international financial system for Russia.
- Economic circumstances very worrisome, with monetary policy and banking system in shambles. Eighty percent of economy is barter. Concerned inflation may come back.
- Primakov's confirmation as Prime Minister fills political void, but he confronts huge economic challenge.

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- We share similar concerns about his initial appointments, but important others and we stay engaged with Russia to help forestall continued unraveling of economy.
- On foreign policy, key task is to show Russia its interests are being taken into account and that we want them engaged in efforts to build European security and stability.
- I'm sure you heard Yeltsin's public comment about concern over NATO enlargement. He did not raise this with me in private, and he seemed to welcome deeper practical ties with NATO.
- On Kosovo, we agreed to halt of Milosevic's repressive actions; cessation of violence by Kosovar Albanian armed groups; intensified effort at negotiations and new mechanism to deal with humanitarian issue.
- Hope you and other Central Europeans will continue to speak out on need for fundamental reforms in Russia as only path to sustainable prosperity.

EXPANDED SESSION -- CABINET ROOM**NATO Accession Process**

- Know your Parliament has already approved accession, and we expect all allies to ratify by end of year.

**Meeting NATO Force Goals**

- Your country has significant military contribution to make to Alliance. Fulfillment of NATO assigned force goals for Czech Republic is highest priority.
- Your success and that of other invitees in meeting NATO force goals will help ensure rapid and full integration.
- Also reinforces NATO's "Open Door" policy by showing that new members can integrate without massive aid.
- Secretary Cohen will review key priorities for Czech Republic (personnel reform, enhanced command and control, host nation support capability and improved English proficiency).
- Your leadership vital to Czech Republic maintaining rapid pace in reform through allocation of necessary resources.

**NATO Summit**

- NATO Summit next April will set course for strengthened security partnership between Europe and United States.
- New Strategic Concept will prepare Alliance for full spectrum of security challenges in 21<sup>st</sup> Century, from proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to regional conflicts.
- Summit will also reinforce NATO's openness to new members, strengthen political and military engagement with all partners and deepen Alliance cooperation with Russia.

**NATO's Open Door**

- No decision on invitations, however, determined to maintain momentum of process, keep door wide open and help aspirants pass through that door.
- Future aspirants should be judged by standards applied to three newest members as reflected in Madrid Declaration.

**Enhanced Regional Role**

- Value your country's engagement in Bosnia, from UNPROFOR to SFOR, where Czech battalion has recounted itself well. Also commend your participation in Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM) and peacekeeping missions around world.
- Czech transformation offers valuable lessons to other new democracies. Hope Czech Republic will look for creative new ways to play larger regional role by helping to promote political and economic reforms in Ukraine and emerging democracies of Southeast Europe.

**Kosovo**

- We are working to improve situation in Kosovo on three tracks: negotiations for political settlement, humanitarian assistance, and NATO planning.
- As winter approaches, must work urgently to keep disastrous humanitarian situation from becoming major catastrophe.
- Pressing Belgrade to create proper security environment so 250-400,000 displaced persons can return to their homes.
- Reject Milosevic's resettlement ideas. Should work together to encourage international organizations -- like UNHCR -- to set up semi-permanent presence in towns outside Pristina to entice displaced persons out of hiding.
- Ambassador Hill shuttling between Belgrade and Pristina to develop framework for interim agreement to stop fighting and accord some degree of self-determination to Kosovo.
- Milosevic responds to pressure. We must project credible threat of force should he fail to comply.

- NATO planning is well advanced. Several Allies who favor a UNSC mandate nonetheless indicate they would be prepared to act in extremis without one.

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**Economic Issues**

- Single most important task facing you is further economic reform. Needed for long-term growth and EU accession.
- Hope new government follows through -- particularly further bank privatization, oversight of capital markets and greater transparency in economic decision-making.
- Support your EU accession, but important that U.S. businesses not be restricted unfairly from Czech market in run-up to accession.

**Slovak Elections (if raised)**

- Concerned Prime Minister Meciar has used new electoral law to disadvantage opposition. Concerned about the chilling effect on media during final phases of election campaign.
- Will review campaign and OSCE's final report on election and draw conclusions about whether process was free and fair.
- Will work with any government that is freely elected and dedicates itself to democratic and economic reforms. Committed to integration of Slovakia into European and transatlantic institutions. Will hinge on new government.

**BEYOND EUROPE****Radio Free Iran and Iraq (if raised)**

- Appreciate government's support for our policies toward Iran and Iraq.
- Appreciate government's willingness to allow Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) to use facilities in Prague to broadcast into Iran.
- Hope government will look favorably on RFE/RL's recent request to do similar broadcasting to Iraq.
- Our experts are already in contact on this. We are ready to address any concerns the Czech government might have.

**China (if raised)**

- Remain concerned about serious human rights abuses in China, but believe that our engagement strategy is achieving results.
- For example, China intends to sign International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights this fall; will ratify Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and will resume official human rights dialogue this year.
- Traditionally raised individual cases with Chinese leaders, and will continue to do so. Trying to broaden scope of discussions by raising categories of persons imprisoned in violation of international norms and standards.

- Religious persecution is another concern. Recently appointed Senior Advisor for International Religious Freedom to expand efforts to increase religious tolerance, including in China.
- We continue to urge Chinese to preserve Tibet's unique heritage, and to respect their human rights. Encouraged start of direct dialogue with Dalai Lama. President Jiang's public comments during summit indicated door to dialogue is open.

**Taiwan (If raised)**

- Within our "one China" policy, our unofficial relationship with Taiwan remains unchanged. It is based on Taiwan Relations Act and our three joint communiqués with PRC. We maintain strong unofficial relations with Taiwan, our seventh largest trading partner.
- We continue to encourage PRC and Taiwan to resume substantive and constructive cross-Strait dialogue, and welcome plans of Taiwan's top representative to talks to visit PRC this fall.
- We hope that cross-Strait process will create positive atmosphere conducive to dialogue and, ultimately, to peaceful resolution of issues between PRC and Taiwan.

**If asked:**

- My recent statement in Shanghai on Taiwan (the so-called "three no's") was a unilateral restatement of our policy; all of the elements were longstanding U.S. policy, it was not a new commitment to the PRC.

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

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SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
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EXPANDED SESSION

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NATO ACCESSION PROCESS

- Looking forward to working as Allies. Know your Parliament approved accession, and expect Allies to ratify by year-end. If so, NATO can welcome you by January or February.

MEETING NATO FORCE GOALS

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

ENHANCED REGIONAL ROLE

- Value your country's engagement in Bosnia, from UNPROFOR to SFOR, where Czech battalion has recounted itself well.
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RESTRICTED SESSION - OVAL OFFICE

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Europe's Transformation/Havel's Role

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**EXPANDED SESSION -- CABINET ROOM**

**NATO Accession Process**

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**Meeting NATO Force Goals**

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- NATO planning is well advanced. Several Allies who favor a UNSC mandate nonetheless indicate they would be prepared to act in extremis without one.

#### **Bosnia and Herzegovina Elections**

[Will be updated to reflect outcome of September 12-13 voting]

- Applaud people of Bosnia and Herzegovina for their demonstration of power of ballot box last weekend. Another step towards self-sustaining peace.
- Must make quick progress now. Necessary that governments form and essential legislation get passed. Look to your support in pushing forward implementation agenda.
- Expect much from newly elected leadership in Bosnia and its two entities. Three years after Dayton, much has been achieved, but much remains. We will continue our engagement, but responsibility for building and maintaining peace will rest increasingly with Bosnians.

**Economic Issues**

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Prime Minister Zeman. In response, the two parties claimed Havel was exceeding his responsibilities and indicated that they wanted to "refine" the constitutional role of the President.

Prague's minority Social Democratic government is unlikely to survive its four-year term and will have to struggle to maintain momentum on economic and defense reforms. The CSSD controls just 74 seats in the 200-seat lower house and remains at the whim of the ODS, which will abide by the July agreement only long enough to seek changes from which it can benefit in the future.

Havel's visit comes on the eve of the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia (October 1918). Public events will mark the role of the United States in the founding of an independent Czechoslovakia as well as accession into NATO. Havel will be accompanied by his wife Mrs. Havlova, Foreign Minister Kavan, Defense Minister Vetchy and Governor of the Czech National Bank Tosovsky. The party will visit Washington only and attend the First Lady's Millennium lecture.

### RESTRICTED MEETING

**Europe's Transformation.** As a playwright, leader of the Charter 77 human rights movement and Civic Forum opposition movement, Havel has been a driving force for democratic reform in Central Europe and for political tolerance, civility and justice around the world. **You should congratulate him on his contributions and encourage him to continue to speak out.** The Czech Republic's only serious human rights problem is discrimination and violence against the Roma (Gypsies), but Havel has been surprisingly silent on this issue. **You or Madeleine might encourage Havel to decry this intolerance.**

In October, Havel is hosting a conference on globalization and systems of government entitled Forum 2000 that Mrs. Clinton is attending. **You might want to draw out his views on the major challenges facing Europe in the next century.**

**Russia.** Havel will want a readout from the Summit and to exchange views on Russia's future. The current crisis stems from fundamental internal differences about Russia's future political and economic course, and the void created during the ratification of a new Prime Minister has had

enormous political and social costs, including a collapse of the currency and banking system, food shortages and near-return of hyper-inflation. Both the Czechs and we have a self-interest in engaging Russia's new leadership team, weak as it might be on economics, to mitigate further damage. On foreign policy, we need to show Russia that its interests are being taken into account. **You might encourage Havel to continue to speak out on the need for fundamental economic reforms in Russia and to urge Czechs and other Central Europeans to seek creative ways to engage Russia.**

**Future as Allies.** Havel is an advocate of an enlarged NATO, and he will be interested in hearing our plans for the April 1999 Washington NATO Summit. **You should tell him that the Summit will set the course for a renewed and strengthened security partnership between Europe and the United States.** It will adopt a new Strategic Concept to address the full spectrum of contingencies of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, from proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to regional conflicts. The Summit will also reinforce NATO's openness to new members, strengthen political and military engagement with all partners and deepen Alliance cooperation with Russia. NATO has just begun consultations on further enlargement and no decisions have been made. **However, you should underscore our conviction that future aspirants should be judged by the same standards applied to the three newest members. In addition, the Summit must not just reaffirm the "Open Door," it must demonstrate the Alliance is doing all it can to help aspirants pass through that door.**

Since the Czech parliament has already approved NATO accession, Havel will want to know if Prague can participate as a full member before the Summit. **We have no interest in artificially delaying the accession of the Czech Republic or the other invitees.** The invitees should enter the Alliance as soon as all necessary legal procedures are complete. As thirteen allies have ratified and the remaining three hope to do so by December, it is likely that accession may be possible in January or February.

#### EXPANDED SESSION

**NATO Force Goals:** Defense Minister Vetchy and Secretary Cohen will join, making it a good opportunity to encourage

the Czechs to maintain momentum on military reform. The hard work of fulfilling Czech Target Force Goals and integrating into NATO's military structure is just beginning and that new members are expected to meet certain minimum military capabilities on their first full day of membership. **Ask Bill Cohen to review the types of reforms we hope to see.** They include the development of a personnel system that recruits and trains qualified personnel and realization of compatible command and control.

**Enhanced Regional Role.** Havel understands the Czech Republic's security is tied to that of other European nations. He was instrumental in securing Czech engagement in Bosnia and peacekeeping missions around the world. While Prague has assisted to other emerging democracies, most Czechs are indifferent to a larger regional role.

While commending Prague's continued contribution to the Stabilization Force in Bosnia, you should encourage Havel to promote a larger Czech regional role by helping advance democracy and economic reforms in Ukraine and engaging in such troubled areas as Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia. Havel may seek our views on Balkan problems and on the Slovak elections, which the authoritarian Prime Minister Meciar seems poised to win through manipulation of the media and the electoral process.

**Economic Reforms.** Without further reforms, the Czech Republic will not achieve long-term growth and stability, and its EU accession will be affected adversely. This is particularly true given the greater risk and uncertainty attributed to most emerging markets in the wake of the ruble collapse. The previous caretaker Tosovsky government began to implement needed reforms, however, it is unclear whether the Zeman government will follow through.

You should note our interest in seeing the Czech Republic join the EU and follow through on economic reforms such as further bank privatization, oversight of capital markets and greater transparency in economic decision-making. You should underscore our desire to ensure that U.S. businesses are not restricted unfairly from the Czech market in the run-up to EU accession. American companies continue to register concerns about lower tariffs on products from the EU and higher ones on products from other countries.

**Beyond Europe (If Havel raises)**. Prague has been very supportive of our policies toward Iran and Iraq. Most recently, they agreed, despite some political and security concerns, to host Congressionally-mandated surrogate radio broadcasting services to Iran using Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) facilities in Prague. **You should thank him for allowing the broadcasts to Iran and ask that they look favorably on our request to do similar broadcasting to Iraq.** Our experts are already in contact on this matter, and Madeleine is expected to discuss it with Foreign Minister Kavan.

Havel has a particular interest in the development of democracy in China, and may raise Taiwan and Tibet. Taiwan Foreign Minister Hu visited Prague in May, and Mrs. Havlova visited Taiwan in June 1998 and met with President Lee Teng-hui. Relations with Taiwan are unofficial, but warm, and include some business dealings.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Scenario at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Scenario at Tab B.

V. SEQUENCE

See Scenario at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made  
Tab B Scenario  
Tab C Bios  
Tab D Memo from Secretary of State  
Tab E Press Material

## Cable

PREC: PRIORITY  
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 RUCNDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0208  
 SUBJ: CZECH FOREIGN POLICY -- NO CHANGE OF COURSE,  
 BUT SOME TACKING AND FURTHER TRIMMING OF THE SAILS  
 TEXT:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 PRAGUE 03701  
 VIENNA HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA  
 USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE  
 E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, EZ  
 SUBJECT: CZECH FOREIGN POLICY -- NO CHANGE OF COURSE,  
 BUT SOME TACKING AND FURTHER TRIMMING OF THE SAILS  
 REF: A) PRAGUE 277 B) PRAGUE 3506 C) PRAGUE 3356  
 1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

## SUMMARY

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 2. WITH SOME INTERESTING NUANCES BUT NO BASIC DEPARTURES, FOREIGN MINISTER ZIELENIEC DEFENDED THE CZECH FOREIGN POLICY CONCEPT (REF A) IN PARLIAMENT APRIL 21. FOLLOWING A RATHER LACKLUSTER, EARLY EVENING DEBATE, ZIELENIEC'S PRESENTATION WAS APPROVED HANDILY (80-1-50), WITH ONLY THE COMMUNISTS VOICING SPECIFIC CRITICISMS. PERHAPS JUST AS TELLING, NO COALITION DEPUTIES SPOKE IN DEFENSE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PRESENTATION, AND OTHER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS FAILED TO ATTEND THE DEBATE -- UNDERSCORING THE LOW INTEREST GENERALLY IN CZECH FOREIGN POLICY, AS WELL AS THE DEARTH OF COMPETING VIEWS. THE TREND IN CZECH FOREIGN POLICY IS TOWARDS AN EVEN MORE NARROWLY FOCUSED, LESS ACTIVIST APPROACH -- BOWING TO DOMESTIC PRIORITIES, A SENSE OF REALISM AS TO THE CR'S PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND, INCREASINGLY, THE VIEW THAT THE CZECH REPUBLIC CANNOT RELY EXCLUSIVELY ON THE WEST. END SUMMARY.  
 GERMANY -- AND NOT MUCH ELSE

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 3. THE EXERCISE DID REAFFIRM THE FORMAL CONSENSUS ZIELENIEC SEEKS FOR THE GOVERNING COALITION'S FOREIGN POLICY -- WHICH, IF ANYTHING, HAS IN THE MONTHS SINCE

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INDEPENDENCE FEATURED A FURTHER LOWERING OF ITS HORIZONS. EMPHASIS WAS AGAIN PLACED ON RELATIONS WITH GERMANY, WITH AUSTRIA NOW GETTING A DISTANT -- BUT CLEAR -- SECOND BILLING AMONG THE CR'S NEIGHBORS.

4. RELATIONS WITH GERMANY SEEM TO BE TAKING ON AN EVEN GREATER SIGNIFICANCE THAN PREVIOUSLY, AS ILLUSTRATED BY ZIELENIEC'S RECENT SUBMISSION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF A 14-PAGE, CLASSIFIED, MEMORANDUM ENTITLED "INFORMATION ON GERMAN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS AND ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE CR TOWARDS THE FRG." IN HIS APRIL 21 REMARKS, ZIELENIEC ANNOUNCED ONGOING DISCUSSIONS WITH BONN ON SUCCESSION TO THE CSFR-FRG BILATERAL RELATIONS TREATY AND PLANS TO BEGIN TALKS ON CZECH CLAIMS ARISING FROM WWII. AS FOR SUDETEN GERMAN DEMANDS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER PLEDGED TO HOLD THE LINE ON NO RESTITUTIONS BEFORE FEBRUARY 25, 1948 (DATE OF COMMUNIST COUP), ADDING VAGUELY THAT "THE POSSIBILITY OF SETTLEMENTS (USAZOVANI) OF FOREIGN CITIZENS ON THE TERRITORY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC WILL BE TIED TO OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC." THE LATTER STATEMENT DOVETAILS WITH INCREASING INDICATIONS THAT THE CZECHS ARE WILLING TO TALK TO THE GERMANS ABOUT THE EXPLOSIVE SUDETEN ISSUE, BUT ARE STILL SEARCHING FOR A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CHANNEL AND FRAMEWORK.

5. ZIELENIEC DEFTLY TACKED WHILE MAINTAINING PRAGUE'S COURSE VIS-A-VIS VISEGRAD COOPERATION -- ACCEPTING IT IN MILDLY UPBEAT TERMS AS A FORUM FOR ADDRESSING "CONCRETE, PRACTICAL PROBLEMS" (E.G., REMOVING TRADE BARRIERS, MIGRATION ISSUES), SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH THE GOALS OF EC AND NATO MEMBERSHIP. THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY AND WITH POLAND -- HIGHLIGHTING THE LACK OF A COMMON BORDER WITH THE FORMER, WHILE CRITICIZING THE LATTER'S FAILURE TO CONSULT RECENTLY BEFORE BARRING CZECH MEAT AND DAIRY IMPORTS IN RESPONSE TO EC ACTION DESPITE THE VISEGRAD COMMITMENT TO LIBERALIZE TRADE. CZECH-SLOVAK RELATIONS: AT "SUPER-ZERO"

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6. WHILE UNDERSCORING THE "SPECIAL CARE" THE CR WILL GIVE TO TIES WITH SLOVAKIA, ZIELENIEC CALLED FOR AN END TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRATISLAVA ON DIVISION OF PROPERTY

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 PRAGUE 03701

VIENNA HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, EZ

SUBJECT: CZECH FOREIGN POLICY -- NO CHANGE OF COURSE, MATTERS -- SUGGESTING THAT THE ISSUE BE DEFERRED FOR "A COUPLE OF YEARS" WHEN THE SLOVAK LEADERSHIP MIGHT BE SERIOUS ABOUT RESOLVING THE DISPUTE. THE SLATED APRIL 23 KLAUS-MECIAR MEETING TO RESOLVE THE PROPERTY QUESTION AND ADDRESS OTHER MATTERS HAS IN FACT BEEN CANCELLED. BUT KLAUS, FOLLOWING HIS APRIL 21 MEETING WITH THE SLOVAK AMBASSADOR MJARTAN, SUGGESTED THAT FURTHER AGREEMENTS WERE STILL POSSIBLE AND TALKS SHOULD CONTINUE.

7. ZIELENIEC'S STATEMENT MAY PERHAPS BE A "BAD COP" TACTICAL PLOY, AIMED AT PRESSURING BRATISLAVA TO ACCEPT PRIME MINISTER KLAUS'S "SUPER-ZERO" PROPOSAL (REF B),

BUT THE FOREIGN MINISTER EVINced VISIBLE FRUSTRATION IN DEALING WITH THE CURRENT SLOVAK LEADERSHIP. HE CLEARLY DOWNGRADED THE IMPORTANCE OF SLOVAKIA TO PRAGUE IN THE NEAR TERM, STRESSING THAT "FURTHER DIVERGENCIES IN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TWO REPUBLICS, FLOWING FROM REAL POSITIONS AND TRENDS" CAN BE EXPECTED. ZIELENIEC'S INTEREST IN SLOVAKIA HAS SHIFTED TO RESOLVING THE BORDER REGIME AND IS UNABASHEDLY TIED TO THE CR'S RELATIONS WITH THE FRG (ASYLUM LAW) AND OTHER CZECH SECURITY CONCERNS (DRUGS, TERRORISM, ORGANIZED CRIME AND ARMS TRAFFICKING). THE TENOR OF ZIELENIEC'S COMMENTS WAS PITHILY REFLECTED IN A CARTOON IN THE APRIL 22 PRESS THAT DEPICTED CZECH-SLOVAK RELATIONS AS BEING AT "SUPER-ZERO."

DOG THAT DIDN'T BARK

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8. THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S COMMENTS ON THE EC AND ON NATO ECHOED WELL-KNOWN THEMES -- NOTABLY THAT THE CR WOULD NOT BE KNOCKING CONSTANTLY ON THE DOORS OF THESE WESTERN INSTITUTIONS, BUT WOULD CONTINUE TO WORK DILIGENTLY TO PREPARE FURTHER THE CZECH REPUBLIC FOR MEMBERSHIP. SELF-RELIANCE AND DEEDS, RATHER THAN WORDS, ARE HIGHLIGHTED AS KEY ASPECTS OF THE CZECH APPROACH IN THIS, AS WELL AS OTHER, FOREIGN POLICY AREAS. WHILE DISMISSING RECENT EC PROTECTIONIST STEPS (STEEL, CEMENT, MEATS/DAIRY PRODUCTS) AS "ONLY EPISODES IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS," ZIELENIEC REPEATS THE CR THEME THAT THE EC, AS WELL AS THE EAST, MUST ADJUST TO THE POST-COLD WAR SITUATION -- SEEKING A "NEW PLACE" AND "ITS OWN NEW VISION" OF THE COMMUNITY'S ROLE.

9. ON THE ISSUE OF NATO, THE FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED THE NOTION OF COMMON VALUES WITH THE WEST AND THE CR'S WILLINGNESS TO SHARE BURDENS AND RESPONSIBILITIES: "BOTH OUR ALLIES AND OUR HYPOTHETICAL ENEMIES MUST BE CONVINCED THAT, IF WE WERE ATTACKED, WE WOULD FIGHT WITH ARMS IN OUR HANDS." ZIELENIEC ALSO NOTED THAT THE CR IS DEVELOPING DIRECT TIES AND COOPERATION WITH NATO AND WITH NATO STATES IN THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY AREAS.

10. ZIELENIEC'S FAILURE TO MENTION PRAGUE'S INTEREST IN SECURING THE EASTERN EUROPEAN GROUP'S 1993/94 UNSC SEAT IS ALSO OF INTEREST -- REINFORCING OUR GROWING PERCEPTION THAT PRAGUE IS MOVING TOWARDS AN EVEN LESS ACTIVIST -- MORE ECONOMIC, IN BOTH SENSES OF THE WORD -- FOREIGN POLICY WHICH EYES ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WEST-CENTRAL EUROPE.

RELATIONS WITH U.S. -- STILL SEARCHING FOR A NICHE

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11. FINALLY, AS THE EMBASSY HAS NOTED BEFORE, THE CZECH REPUBLIC STILL APPEARS TO BE GROPING TO DEFINE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. ZIELENIEC HIGHLIGHTED AMERICA'S KEY ROLE IN THE OVERTHROW OF COMMUNISM AND IN THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. HE ALSO REITERATED THE CR'S INTEREST IN THE "MILITARY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PRESENCE" OF THE U.S. IN EUROPE IN VIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTION THIS MAKES TO STABILITY ON THE WHOLE (READ: VIS-A-VIS GERMANY AS WELL AS RUSSIA) CONTINENT. STILL, A VISION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS IS MISSING AND ONE IS LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT, IN CZECH EYES, THE

U.S. VIEWED AS TOO BIG AND TOO DISTANT TO FIT WITHIN THE  
 NARROW FRAMEWORK OF CZECH FOREIGN POLICY -- SAVE AS A  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 PRAGUE 03701  
 VIENNA HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA  
 USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE  
 E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, EZ  
 SUBJECT: CZECH FOREIGN POLICY -- NO CHANGE OF COURSE,  
 POSITIVE, BUT MORE-OR-LESS GIVEN EXTERNAL FACTOR THAT  
 HELPS DEFINE THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT WITHIN WHICH THE CR  
 MUST OPERATE.

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## COMMENTS:

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 12. THE PARLIAMENTARY FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE WOKE FEW  
 SLEEPING DOGS. THE COMMUNISTS DID COME OUT IN FAVOR OF  
 THE CR FOLLOWING A NEUTRALIST COURSE -- CITING THE  
 AUSTRIAN MODEL -- AND FLATLY REJECTED NATO MEMBERSHIP AS  
 WELL AS MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.  
 LEFT BLOC AND OTHER OPPOSITION DEPUTIES ALSO SNIPED ON  
 VISEGRAD; COORDINATION OF FOREIGN POLICY AMONG THE  
 PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY;  
 AND THE SUDETEN GERMAN ISSUE (NOTABLY HAVEL'S  
 STATEMENTS). BUT, IN FACT, THERE WAS NO CHALLENGE TO  
 THE COURSE BEING PURSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT -- A POINT  
 UNDERScoreD WHEN IN THE END JUST ONE CZECH DEPUTY VOTED  
 AGAINST ZIELENIEC'S PRESENTATION. ONLY A SHORT TIME  
 EARLIER, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WROTE AN  
 OPEN LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER KLAUS CALLING FOR A  
 REORIENTATION OF CZECH FOREIGN TRADE POLICY. BUT EVEN  
 THIS DID NOT SPARK A DEBATE -- AND INDEED WAS NOT EVEN  
 MENTIONED IN THE DISCUSSION.

13. AS NOTED, ZIELENIEC AND COMPANY APPEAR TO HAVE  
 TRIMMED THE CR'S FOREIGN POLICY SAILS SOME -- PRESUMABLY  
 IN RESPONSE TO APPARENT CONCERNS OF KLAUS AND OTHERS IN  
 THE RIGHTIST COALITION (REF C) THAT EVEN THE RELATIVELY  
 LOW-PROFILE TAKEN TO DATE IS A BIT TOO ACTIVIST, TOO  
 "DIENSTBIER-LIKE." THIS PERSPECTIVE ALSO IS BEING FED  
 BY CONCERNS OVER THE DIRECTION OF THE EC. INCREASINGLY,  
 VOICES ON THE RIGHT, AS WELL AS ON THE LEFT, MAINTAIN  
 THAT THE CZECH REPUBLIC CANNOT RELY EXCLUSIVELY ON THE  
 WEST.

14. EVEN THE STRONGLY PRO-REFORM AND EUROPEANIST  
 CHAIRMAN OF THE PARLIAMENT'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,  
 JIRI PAYNE, RECENTLY ARGUED IN "LIDOVE NOVINY" THAT  
 COUNTING ON HELP FROM ABROAD HAS NEVER BENEFITED  
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA (THE MUNICH ANALOGY) AND WILL NOT BENEFIT  
 THE CZECH REPUBLIC. LIKE KLAUS'S BROADSIDES AT THE  
 MAASTRICHT TREATY, PAYNE'S REMARKS DO NOT SIGNAL A  
 RETHINKING OF PRAGUE'S STRONGLY WESTERN ORIENTATION.  
 RATHER, THEY REFLECT A "REALPOLITIK" WHICH IS AWARE OF  
 THE LIMITS OF CZECH INFLUENCE, AS WELL AS THE POLITICAL  
 PREEMINENCE OF CZECH DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS. SUCH  
 REMARKS ALSO HELP TO PROTECT THE COALITION FROM ATTACKS  
 BY THE LEFT, AS WELL AS THE RADICAL NATIONALIST RIGHT  
 (SLADEK REPUBLIKANS). BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, THEY

DOVETAIL WITH HISTORIC CZECH CYNICISM AND A BELIEF THAT,

C

IF ANYTHING IS TO BE DONE, YOU MUST DO IT YOURSELF.  
15. IN GENERAL, WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THIS CAN-DO,  
INDEPENDENT ATTITUDE, WHILE ACTIVELY TRYING TO BROADEN  
THE SCOPE OF THE CZECH FOREIGN POLICY PERSPECTIVE.  
FAILURE TO DO SO RUNS THE RISK OF CZECH  
SELF-ENCAPSULATION -- EVEN THOUGH PRAGUE REALIZES IT  
CANNOT GO IT ALONE IN TODAY'S WORLD. THE DANGER IS NOT  
THAT THE CZECH REPUBLIC WILL CHANGE FOREIGN POLICY  
DIRECTIONS; RATHER, IT MAY WITHDRAW FURTHER FROM BEING  
THE POTENTIALLY USEFUL, MEDIUM-SIZED REGIONAL PARTNER IN  
A CRITICAL GEOPOLITICAL POSITION THAT IT CAN BE. THE  
RECEPTION ACCORDED PRESIDENT HAVEL DURING HIS RECENT  
VISIT TO WASHINGTON WAS JUST THE RIGHT TYPE OF ANTIDOTE  
FOR CZECH INWARD-LOOKINGNESS.

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**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 03  
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**SSN:** 3701  
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 INFO: RUEHZL/EUROPEAN POLITICAL COLLECTIVE  
 RUCNFRG/FRG COLLECTIVE  
 SUBJ: HAVEL VISITS BONN  
 TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 11080  
 VIENNA FOR BRATISLAVA  
 E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, GM, CZ  
 SUBJECT: HAVEL VISITS BONN  
 REF: (A) PRAGUE 3701 (B) 92 BONN 30472 NOTAL

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## SUMMARY

1. (S) ACCORDING TO SOURCES IN THE FRG FOREIGN OFFICE AND CHANCELLERY, CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL'S APRIL 26 MEETINGS IN BONN FOCUSED MAINLY ON BILATERAL ISSUES -- DAMAGES FOR SUDETEN GERMANS AND NAZI VICTIMS, THE ASYLUM ISSUE, AND LOCAL CROSS-BORDER TRAFFIC. CHANCELLOR KOHL TOLD REPORTERS GERMANY WOULD SUPPORT CZECH MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND NATO IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, BUT THE SUBJECT WAS ONLY BRIEFLY DISCUSSED IN PRIVATE MEETINGS. HAVEL TOOK THE EC TO TASK AT A PRESS CONFERENCE FOR FAILING TO OPEN ITS MARKETS TO CZECH BEEF AND STEEL PRODUCTS. THE GERMANS WANT PROGRESS IN RELATIONS WITH PRAGUE BUT MAINTAIN THAT THE CZECHS ARE DISORGANIZED AND "NOT READY TO DELIVER" ON BILATERAL ISSUES. END SUMMARY

## BILATERAL ISSUES

2. (S) ACCORDING TO FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR FOR CZECH/POLISH/HUNGARIAN AFFAIRS CRISTOPH BRUEMMER, HAVEL KEPT HIS MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KINKEL FOCUSED ON BILATERAL QUESTIONS. THERE WERE NO "PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSIONS" AND LITTLE TIME WAS SPENT ON EUROPEAN ISSUES. KINKEL AGREED (AND KOHL LATER CONFIRMED) THAT THE GERMANS WOULD LOOK AT POSSIBLE MEANS OF MAKING A "GESTURE OF RECONCILIATION" TO SURVIVING CZECH VICTIMS OF THE NAZI OCCUPATION -- POSSIBLY THROUGH CREATION OF A FOUNDATION ALONG THE LINES OF THAT ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN POLAND AND HUNGARY AND PLANNED FOR RUSSIA, UKRAINE, AND BELARUS.

4. (U) HAVEL REJECTED PRESSURE FOR A RECIPROCAL GESTURE

FROM THE CZECH REPUBLIC TO SUDETEN GERMANS EXPELLED FROM THEIR HOMES IN CZECH TERRITORY AFTER WORLD WAR II. THE CZECHS WERE PREPARED "TO CORRECT INJUSTICES" COMMITTED BY THE COMMUNIST REGIME BETWEEN 1948 AND 1989 BUT COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PAY FOR THE DAMAGE THAT OCCURRED IN THE CHAOTIC PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE WAR. HE TOLD REPORTERS HE WAS PREPARED TO SPONSOR A DIALOGUE "AT THE PARLIAMENTARY LEVEL" BETWEEN SUDETEN GERMANS AND CZECHS TO PROMOTE BETTER UNDERSTANDING ON BOTH SIDES.

5. (c) HAVEL AND KINKEL ALSO DISCUSSED THE ASYLUM ISSUE, BUT ACCORDING TO BRUEMMER, MADE LITTLE PROGRESS. HAVEL REITERATED THE CZECH POSITION THAT THERE COULD BE NO AGREEMENT TO ACCEPT REFUGEES EXPELLED FROM GERMANY UNTIL THE CZECH REPUBLIC HAD ESTABLISHED A NORMAL BORDER REGIME WITH SLOVAKIA. HE TOLD KINKEL THE SLOVAKS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON AN "OPEN BORDER" WITH THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND COULD GIVE NO INDICATION AS TO WHEN THE ISSUE MIGHT BE RESOLVED. THERE WOULD BE NO PROGRESS TOWARD A GERMAN-CZECH AGREEMENT ON ASYLUM SEEKERS UNTIL THE CZECH GOVERNMENT WAS CERTAIN IT COULD CONTROL THE IN-FLOW COMING FROM THE BALKANS VIA SLOVAKIA. HAVEL LATER TOLD REPORTERS THE CZECH REPUBLIC HAD NO INTENTION OF BECOMING A "COLLECTION CAMP" FOR REFUGEES REJECTED BY GERMANY, ADDING THAT EVENTUALLY A MULTILATERAL EUROPEAN AGREEMENT WOULD BE NEEDED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE.

6. (c) KINKEL AND HAVEL HAD A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS TO SIMPLIFY BORDER-CROSSING PROCEDURES FOR PERSONS LIVING ALONG THE COMMON BORDER. ACCORDING TO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 11080  
VIENNA FOR BRATISLAVA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, GM, CZ

SUBJECT: HAVEL VISITS BONN

BRUEMMER, THE CZECHS HAD AGREED TO A GERMAN SUGGESTION THAT THE AGREEMENT BE MODELED ON THE ARRANGEMENT ALREADY IN EFFECT BETWEEN GERMANY AND POLAND (REF B). HOWEVER, TALKS HAD BOGGED DOWN IN A DISPUTE OVER CZECH PLACE NAMES. (THE GERMANS WANTED THE GERMAN NAMES FOR LOCALITIES FIRST, FOLLOWED BY THEIR CZECH NAMES IN PARENTHESES, IN THE GERMAN TEXT, AND VICE-VERSA IN THE CZECH TEXT. THE CZECHS INSISTED ON CZECH NAMES ONLY THROUGHOUT.) HERE AGAIN, THERE WAS NO PROGRESS TO REPORT.

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EC AND NATO  
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7. (c) SENIOR CHANCELLERY ADVISOR FOR EAST EUROPE, RUSSIA, AND THE NIS REINHARD SCHAEFERS TOLD US THE CZECH REPUBLIC'S DESIRE FOR EC AND NATO MEMBERSHIP AND RELATED ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL ONLY DURING THE ONE-ON-ONE MEETING BETWEEN KOHL AND HAVEL. HAVEL COMPLAINED TO KOHL ABOUT THE EC'S CONTINUED REFUSAL TO OPEN ITS MARKET TO CZECH BEEF AND STEEL PRODUCTS. KOHL EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE CZECH POSITION BUT NOTED THAT THE NECESSARY CONSENSUS WITHIN THE EC FOR LOWERING THESE BARRIERS WAS LACKING. HAVEL LATER REMARKED BITTERLY TO REPORTERS THAT THE VERY COUNTRIES THAT HAD "TUTORED" CZECH MARKET REFORMS HAD NOW BECOME AN OBSTACLE TO THEIR SUCCESS.

8. (c) KOHL REITERATED IN PRIVATE, AND AGAIN LATER TO THE

PRESS, GERMANY'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR EVENTUAL CZECH MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND NATO. SCHAEFERS SAID KOHL ALSO STRESSED TO HAVEL THAT, ESPECIALLY INSOFAR AS THE EC WAS CONCERNED, THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION OF THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES ENTERING AS A GROUP, AS THE EFTA COUNTRIES WERE DOING. THE CONDITIONS FOR EC ENTRY, IN TERMS OF MARKET REFORMS AND ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE, WERE CLEAR. AS THE VISEGRAD COUNTRIES FULFILLED THOSE CONDITIONS, THEIR APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO THE EC WOULD BE INDIVIDUALLY AND SEPARATELY ADJUDICATED.

9. (S) SCHAEFERS CANDIDLY ADMITTED TO US THAT KOHL "ALMOST ALWAYS" TOOK THE LINE OF SUPPORTING EC AND NATO ADMISSION WHEN HE MET WITH CZECH, POLISH, OR HUNGARIAN LEADERS BECAUSE IT WAS A VIRTUALLY RISK-FREE COMMITMENT. THEY WERE ALL WELL AWARE THAT OPPOSITION TO ENLARGEMENT FROM OTHER EC AND NATO MEMBERS MEANT THERE WAS LITTLE GERMANY COULD DO TO MOVE THEIR APPLICATIONS ALONG. IN THE MEANTIME, SCHAEFERS NOTED, THEY APPRECIATED GERMANY'S PERIODICALLY RAISING THE ISSUE IN PUBLIC AND HAVE COME TO VIEW GERMANY AS THEIR CHIEF "ADVOCATE" IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS. COMMENT: WE SUSPECT KOHL ALSO FALLS BACK ON THIS LINE BECAUSE IT IS ONE OF THE VERY FEW ARROWS LEFT IN HIS QUIVER: GERMANY'S PRESENT FINANCIAL SQUEEZE MEANS HE CANNOT AFFORD TO OFFER ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. END COMMENT

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IN THE DOLDRUMS  
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10. (S) NOTING THAT THE CZECHS HAD MADE RELATIONS WITH GERMANY THEIR TOP FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITY (REF A AND PREVIOUS) AND THE RELATIONSHIP'S IMPORTANCE TO GERMANY, WE QUERIED BRUEMMER ABOUT THE VISIT'S SEEMING LACK OF CONCRETE RESULTS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PROGRESS IN RELATIONS WITH THE CZECH REPUBLIC TO DATE HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTING AND NOTED THE CONTRAST TO THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE POLES WERE ABLE TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS AND RESOLVE NAGGING BILATERAL ISSUES. HE COMPLAINED OF CONTINUED DISORGANIZATION IN THE CZECH  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 11080  
VIENNA FOR BRATISLAVA

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, GM, CZ

SUBJECT: HAVEL VISITS BONN

FOREIGN MINISTRY IN THE WAKE OF THE SPLIT WITH SLOVAKIA -- THE CZECHS WERE "NOT YET READY TO DELIVER." IN ADDITION, THE CZECH POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WAS COMPLETELY FOCUSED ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, SO THERE WAS NO POLITICAL PRESSURE TO MAKE KEY FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. AS A RESULT, WHILE THE ATMOSPHERICS AND GENERAL TONE OF RELATIONS REMAINED GOOD, THE SUBSTANCE WAS STUCK ON A HANDFUL OF RELATIVELY MINOR BILATERAL QUESTIONS.

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COMMENT  
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11. (S) THE GERMANS HAVE CONSIDERABLE RESPECT FOR HAVEL AND PRIME MINISTER KLAUS AND CORRESPONDINGLY HIGH HOPES FOR FUTURE RELATIONS WITH PRAGUE. THEY ARE ANXIOUS TO CLEAR AWAY THE UNDERBRUSH OF PENDING BILATERAL ISSUES AND ARE EXASPERATED AT WHAT IS VIEWED HERE -- PERHAPS NOT ENTIRELY FAIRLY -- AS AN INABILITY ON THE PART OF THE CZECHS TO PULL

THEMSELVES TOGETHER AND MAKE COHERENT POLICY DECISIONS. AS  
FAR AS BONN IS CONCERNED, THE NEXT MOVE IS UP TO THE CZECHS.

KURSCH

BT

#1080

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**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 03

<^SECT>SECTION: 03 OF 03

**SSN:** 1080

<^SSN>1080

<^SSN>1080

**TOR:** 930428174119 M0361811

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**DIST:**

SIT: VAX

□

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE

CLASS: ~~SECRET~~

LINE1: OAASZYUW RUEHPGA0197 0071638-SSSS--RHEHAAX.

LINE2: ZNY SSSSS ZZH

LINE3: O 071638Z JAN 94

LINE4: FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

OSRI: RUEHPG

DTG: 071638Z JAN 94

ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

TO: RUEHWR/AMEMBASSY WARSAW IMMEDIATE 8790  
RUEHUP/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST IMMEDIATE 8864INFO: RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC  
RUCNTXF/AMEMBASSY BRATISLAVA 0234  
RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8210

SUBJ: "SELLING" THE CZECHS ON PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

TEXT:

~~SECRET~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PRAGUE 000197  
FROM AMBASSADOR BASORA  
BUDAPEST PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND GENERAL  
SHALIKASHVILI  
WARSAW PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND GENERAL  
SHALIKASHVILI  
STATE FOR EUR OXMAN AND VERSHBOW  
STATE PASS NSC FOR WALKER AND FRIED  
SECDEF FOR WISNER AND SLOCOMBE  
E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, NATO, EZ  
SUBJECT: "SELLING" THE CZECHS ON PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, THE CZECHS HAVE OFTEN SEEMED THE MOST REALISTIC AND PRAGMATIC OF OUR V-4 INTERLOCUTORS ON THE ISSUES OF NATO EXPANSION AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE. GIVEN THE CONTRAST BETWEEN PRESIDENT WALESZA'S RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PRIME MINISTER KLAUS'S STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT OF PFP EARLIER THIS WEEK, ONE MIGHT CONCLUDE THAT THE CZECH REPUBLIC WILL BE THE LEAST OF OUR PROBLEMS IN ASSURING A POSITIVE PRAGUE SUMMIT. HOWEVER, UNDER THE SURFACE OF THIS CZECH SUPPORT FOR THE U.S. APPROACH LIES A RATHER DEEP UNDERCURRENT OF ANXIETY WHICH COULD SURFACE DURING THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, UNLESS WE ARE ABLE TO DEFUSE THE CZECHS' CONCERNS IN ADVANCE.
3. TODAY'S LIDOVE NOVINY, THE HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL INTELLECTUAL DAILY, BEST CAPTURES THE FLAVOR OF THESE ANXIETIES: "THE GAME FOR CENTRAL EUROPE IS IN FULL SWING ONCE AGAIN, AND THE STAKES ARE HIGH. TO THOSE BORN IN AN EARLIER TIME, EVERYTHING HAS A CERTAIN FLAVOR OF 'DEJA VU'. IT WAS PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL HIMSELF WHO, A LONG TIME AGO, SPOKE ABOUT TWO FATAL CONFERENCES IN THE HISTORY OF THIS PART OF EUROPE - MUNICH AND YALTA....ONE HAS TO SEE THAT BOTH EVENTS HAVE ONE THING

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PER E.O. 13526  
2024-0540-m (1.36)  
KRH 12/11/2024

IN COMMON WITH WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING NOW: THERE ARE ALSO EFFORTS GOING ON TODAY TO TALK ABOUT US, WITHOUT US, ABOUT WHOM WE SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT ASSOCIATE WITH. WILL THIS THIRD TRY HAVE A BETTER RESULT FOR OUR REGION NOW?"

PRIMARY CZECH CONCERNS:

4. ALTHOUGH THE DEGREES OF CONCERN AND SPECIFIC EMPHASIS VARY AMONG THE INDIVIDUAL CZECH LEADERS WITH WHOM YOU WILL MEET ON SUNDAY AND MONDAY, THE FOLLOWING ARE KEY QUESTIONS FOR ALL OF THEM:

A) IS PFP REALLY A MEANINGFUL STEP TOWARDS NATO MEMBERSHIP IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE? OR WILL PFP PROVE TO BE A SUBSTITUTE OF INDEFINITE DURATION FOR MEMBERSHIP, EVEN IF THE CZECHS TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF IT?

B) WILL THERE BE POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION WITHIN THE PFP PROCESS? OR WILL THIS INSTEAD PROVE TO BE PRIMARILY A TECHNICAL MILITARY COOPERATION PROGRAM -- IN WHICH THE RUSSIANS HAVE AS MUCH OR MORE CLAIM TO BE AT THE HEAD OF THE QUEUE THAN THE DEMOCRACIES OF CENTRAL EUROPE?

C) IS THE U.S. EITHER WEAK-WILLED OR NAIVE IN THE FACE OF WHAT THE CZECHS SEE AS ALARMING TRENDS IN RUSSIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY? ARE WE THEREFORE WILLING TO GIVE MOSCOW A CONTINUING DE FACTO VETO ON ANY COMMITMENT TO NATO MEMBERSHIP FOR THE CZECHS OR OTHER CENTRAL EUROPEANS?

D) EVEN IF THE U.S. DOES HAVE THE RIGHT ANALYSIS AND INTENTIONS TOWARD RUSSIA, CAN WASHINGTON NOW STILL IMPOSE ITS VIEWS HERE IN EUROPE AFTER OUR PERCEIVED FAILURE TO LEAD ON YUGOSLAVIA? HOW CAN WE RESPOND WITHIN THE CURRENT BRIEF?

5. IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ALLAY THESE CZECH CONCERNS, AT LEAST PARTIALLY, EVEN WITHIN THE PARAMETERS OF WHAT SEEMS LIKELY TO COME OUT OF THE NATO SUMMIT. IT WOULD BE VERY REASSURING INDEED TO THE CZECHS IF YOU COULD PUT SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE FOLLOWING THEMES (ALL ARE VERBATIM QUOTES FROM SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S JANUARY 3 LETTER TO V-4 FOREIGN MINISTERS).

-- "OUR PROPOSAL (IS)....TO OPEN THE DOOR TO AN EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF NATO EXPANSION."

-- "NATO WANTS TO SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGE DEMOCRATIC ~~SECRET~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 PRAGUE 000197

FROM AMBASSADOR BASORA  
BUDAPEST PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI  
WARSAW PLEASE PASS TO AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT AND GENERAL SHALIKASHVILI

STATE FOR EUR OXMAN AND VERSHBOW  
STATE PASS NSC FOR WALKER AND FRIED  
SECDEF FOR WISNER AND SLOCOMBE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: PREL, NATO, EZ

SUBJECT: "SELLING" THE CZECHS ON PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE REFORM."

-- "IN TAKING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE PARTNERSHIP, YOU

WOULD BE ABLE TO CONSULT WITH NATO IN THE EVENT OF A THREAT TO YOUR SECURITY."

-- "NATO EXPECTS AND WOULD WELCOME NEW MEMBERS IN THE FUTURE."

-- "NO STATE WILL HAVE A 'VETO' OVER ITS DECISIONS."

-- "NOR SHOULD STATES THAT STRAY FROM CSCE PRINCIPLES OR DEMOCRATIC COMMITMENT EXPECT THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NATO TO BE UNAFFECTED."

ALTHOUGH MOST OF THESE THEMES WERE IN YOUR WORLDNET PRESENTATIONS, THEY WOULD NEED TO BE GIVEN SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER RELATIVE STRESS HERE IN PRAGUE TO BE FULLY REASSURING TO THE CZECHS.  
THEMES TO DOWNPLAY  
-----

6. BASED ON REACTIONS TO THE RECENT WORLDNETS, AND TO THE PRESIDENT'S OWN STATEMENTS EARLIER THIS WEEK, I ALSO BELIEVE THAT CERTAIN PHRASES IN OUR PFP BRIEF MAY HAVE BEGUN TO TAKE ON THE WRONG CONNOTATIONS HERE. I WOULD THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT THE FOLLOWING PHRASES BE USED AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE OR EXPLAINED IN A WAY THAT CAREFULLY CIRCUMSCRIBES THEM.

-- "NO NEW LINES IN EUROPE" (WHICH IS NOW BEING INTERPRETED BY SOME AS MEANING U.S. ACQUIESCENCE THAT NATO CAN NEVER BE EXPANDED EASTWARD, IN VIEW OF RECENT RUSSIAN STATEMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT ANY NATO EXPANSION INTO CEE WOULD BE SEEN AS DRAWING SUCH LINES.)

-- "THROUGHOUT THE REGION" OR "EUROPE AS A WHOLE" (WHICH, DEPENDING ON THE CONTEXT, IS READ AS IMPLYING A LEAST COMMON DENOMINATOR APPROACH, AND THUS NO DE FACTO DIFFERENTIATION IN FAVOR OF THE CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACIES.)

-- PHRASES THAT UNDERLINE THE DEPTH OF OUR CONCERN NOT TO UNDERCUT PRESIDENT YELTSIN OR OTHER REFORMERS IN RUSSIA (THESE ARE OFTEN INTERPRETED AS NAIVTE REGARDING YELTSIN, OR EXCESSIVE OPTIMISM ABOUT THE CHANCES FOR SUCCESSFUL, LASTING REFORMS IN RUSSIA, AND A WILLINGNESS TO SACRIFICE THE CENTRAL EUROPEANS ON THE ALTAR OF THOSE DUBIOUS REFORM PROSPECTS.)

7. AS FOREIGN MINISTER ZIELENIEC TOLD ME EARLIER THIS WEEK, THE CZECH ATTITUDE TOWARDS PFP WILL BE SHAPED LARGELY BY THEIR JUDGEMENT AS TO WHETHER THE PFP INITIATIVE IS A CREDIBLE AND IMPORTANT STEP TOWARDS CREATING A VIABLE NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE THAT ENCOMPASSES THE NEW DEMOCRACIES. WE MUST THEREFORE OVERCOME THEIR CONCERN THAT PFP REPRESENTS LITTLE MORE THAN TEMPORIZING OR, WORSE STILL, APPEASEMENT OF RUSSIA. IN SUM, THE CZECHS WILL BE PROBING TO DETERMINE THE EXTENT TO WHICH OUR INITIATIVE HAS REAL POTENTIAL TO ENCOMPASS THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND OTHER CONSOLIDATED DEMOCRACIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN NATO'S ZONE OF SECURITY AND STABILITY. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

BASORA

BT

#0197

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SECT: SECTION: 01 OF 02

<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

SSN: 0197  
<^SSN>0197

TOR: 940107121341 M0815274  
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□

## Cable

PREC: IMMEDIATE  
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 OSRI: RUEHPG  
 DTG: 131700Z JAN 94  
 ORIG: AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
 TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8251  
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 RUEHBS/USEC BRUSSELS  
 RUEHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN 9458  
 RUEHXE/EASTERN EUROPEAN POSTS  
 SUBJ: HAVEL STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S  
 LUNCHEON WITH VISEGRAD LEADERS  
 TEXT: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 02 PRAGUE 000304  
 VIENNA HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA  
 USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE  
 E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EZ, LO, HU, PL  
 SUBJECT: HAVEL STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S  
 LUNCHEON WITH VISEGRAD LEADERS  
 REF:  
 1. (U) FOLLOWING, FOR THE RECORD, IS THE OFFICIAL  
 ENGLISH TRANSLATION, AS RENDERED BY THE CZECHS, OF  
 PRESIDENT HAVEL'S JANUARY 12 PRESS STATEMENT GIVEN AFTER  
 THE LUNCHEON WHICH PRESIDENT CLINTON HOSTED IN PRAGUE  
 FOR THE LEADERS OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND, HUNGARY  
 AND SLOVAKIA.  
 2. (S) BACKGROUND: AS ADDRESSES MAY BE AWARE, AS THE  
 RESULT OF PROLONGED U.S.-CZECH NEGOTIATIONS, ONLY TWO  
 STATEMENTS WERE ISSUED FOLLOWING THE JAN. 12 LUNCH --  
 ONE BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE OTHER BY PRESIDENT  
 HAVEL, AS HOST-COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE. AFTER EXTENSIVE  
 NEGOTIATIONS IN CAPITALS AND HERE IN PRAGUE, THE FOUR  
 VISEGRAD STATES AGREED TO A U.S. PROPOSAL THAT HAVEL'S  
 STATEMENT, WHILE GIVEN IN A NATIONAL CAPACQSO REFLECT THE  
 CONSENSUS EMERGING FROM THE DISCUSSION  
 AT THE LUNCHEON. AS SUCH, THE STATEMENT DOES NOT  
 REPRESENT A JOINT VISEGRAD STATEMENT (THE KLAUS  
 GOVERNMENT ON JAN. 5 TOOK THE POSITION THAT NO ONE COULD  
 SPEAK ON BEHALF OF OTHER STATES); NOR WAS THE TEXT  
 FORMALLY NEGOTIATED BY THE CZECHS WITH THE OTHER THREE  
 VISEGRAD STATES. WE UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT  
 HAVEL'S OFFICE (PLEASE PROTECT FULLY) HAD EXTENSIVE  
 "DISCUSSIONS" WITH THE POLES, SLOVAKS AND HUNGARIANS  
 REGARDING THE HAVEL STATEMENT. ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE  
 MIDNIGHT ON THE EVE OF THE LUNCHEON DID THE CASTLE FEEL  
 CONFIDENT THAT ITS TEXT SUFFICIENTLY TOOK OTHERS' VIEWS

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 PER E.O. 13526  
 2024-0540-m (1.46)  
 KBH 12/11/2024

INTO ACCOUNT SO THAT THERE WAS LITTLE DANGER OF A SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC COMMENT BY ONE OF THE OTHER V-4 STATES THAT WOULD BE AT ODDS WITH THE HAVEL STATEMENT. WE NOTE THAT HAVEL DEFTLY ACHIEVED THE SLIGHT-OF-HAND OF A NATIONAL STATEMENT REFLECTING A V-4 CONSENSUS, INTER ALIA, BY NOT MENTIONING EITHER THE CZECH REPUBLIC OR THE VISEGRAD GROUP ONCE IN THE ENTIRE STATEMENT.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

PRESS STATEMENT BY VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, ON THE OCCASION OF A MEETING OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, HUNGARY, POLAND, SLOVAKIA AND THE UNITED STATES AT THE U.S. EMBASSY RESIDENCE, PRAGUE, JANUARY 12, 1994:

DISTINGUISHED PRESIDENTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

WE LIVE IN A TIME OF DRAMATIC SEARCHING FOR A NEW ORDER, IN WHICH NO ONE WOULD BE SUBJUGATED OR ENDANGERED, AND WHICH WOULD ENABLE ALL EUROPEAN PEOPLES AND STATES TO LIVE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACEFUL COOPERATION. OUR MEETING IN PRAGUE TODAY IS PROOF THAT THE UNITED STATES AND NATO ARE WELL AWARE OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE THAT STABILITY, SECURITY AND PEACE IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAVE FOR PEACE IN ALL OF EUROPE AND FOR THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE WELCOME THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROPOSAL AS A GOOD POINT OF DEPARTURE IN NATO'S QUEST FOR A NEW IDENTITY AS A TRUE STABILIZING CORE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THAT PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE ALLOWS INDIVIDUAL APPROACHES TO DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS UP TO EACH OF OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES TO DETERMINE FOR ITSELF HOW ENERGETICALLY AND QUICKLY IT WILL MOVE TO GIVE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE A CONTENT THAT MEETS ITS INTERESTS AND POSSIBILITIES. WE WANT TO DO ALL WE CAN TO MAKE SURE THAT OUR PARTNERSHIP WILL RESULT IN OUR FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THE ALLIANCE, BECAUSE WE DO NOT SEE IT AS A SUBSTITUTE, BUT AS THE FIRST STEP ON THE WAY TO FULL MEMBERSHIP. WE WANT TO BE PART OF THE ALLIANCE BECAUSE WE SUBSCRIBE TO THE SAME VALUES OF CIVILIZATION IT PROTECTS, AND BECAUSE WE WANT TO TAKE PART IN PROTECTING THEM.

WE ARE AWARE THAT IT IS NEITHER POSSIBLE NOR DESIRABLE TO ISOLATE RUSSIA. WE ARE INDEPENDENT STATES, HOWEVER, AND WE DECIDE OURSELVES ABOUT OUR AFFILIATIONS AND OUR POLICIES.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

AS WE AGREED DURING CONVERSATIONS WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF CENTRAL EUROPEAN NATIONS WHO ARE TAKING PART IN THIS MEETING, OUR COUNTRIES HAVE VERY SIMILAR VIEWS ON THIS ISSUE. THAT SURELY IS A GRATIFYING CIRCUMSTANCE, WHICH IS TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL  
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 02 PRAGUE 000304  
VIENNA HOLD FOR BRATISLAVA

USVIENNA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 12356:DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, EZ, LO, HU, PL

SUBJECT: HAVEL STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON WITH VISEGRAD LEADERS OF US.

IN CLOSING, ALLOW ME TO EXPRESS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT THIS GATHERING WILL BECOME AN IMPORTANT LANDMARK ON THE ROAD TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC AND TRULY PEACEFUL EUROPE, SHARING FIRM AND NATURAL TIES WITH THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT. AT ONE TIME, THE CITY OF YALTA WENT DOWN IN HISTORY AS A SYMBOL OF THE DIVISION OF EUROPE. I WOULD BE HAPPY IF TODAY THE CITY OF PRAGUE COULD EMERGE AS A SYMBOL OF EUROPEAN ALLIANCE.

END TEXT.

BASORA

BT

#0304

NNNN

**SECT:** SECTION: 01 OF 02  
<^SECT>SECTION: 02 OF 02

**SSN:** 0304  
<^SSN>0304

**TOR:** 940113113741 M0824516  
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**DIST:** SIT: FRIED KUPCHAN VAX  
□

# Exchange Mail

**DATE-TIME** 9/14/98 5:33:45 PM  
**FROM** Flanagan, Stephen J.  
**CLASSIFICATION** ~~SECRET~~  
**CLASSIFICATIONREASON** 1.5(d)  
**DATECLASSIFIEDON** 09/14/1998  
**DECLASSIFYON** 09/14/2008  
**SUBJECT** Havel Background [~~SECRET~~]  
**TO** Crowley, Philip J.  
  
**CARBON\_COPY** Crowley, Philip J.  
 Leavy, David C.  
 Wozniak, Natalie S.  
 Bandler, Donald K.  
 Braden, Susan R.  
 Flanagan, Stephen J.  
 Maxfield, Nancy H.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
 2024-0540-M (1.51)  
 KRH 12/11/2024

## TEXT\_BODY

Attached is some further background (for internal use) on the Havel visit. We have points for press conference out for clearance.

Also, below is the first story I've seen that weaves in some of the themes about Havel's personal problems. I mentioned to Joe Lockhart during a courtesy call today that I was not sure whether our media would draw these parallels, but Reuters has (See highlighted section)

## TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT

Havel Visit Substance3.doc  
 Havel State Visit  
  
 What We Want Out of the Visit  
  
 The public part of the visit will celebrate several things: Havel's personal contribution to the development of human rights and democracy in Central and

Eastern Europe and around the world; the Czech Republic's impending membership in NATO; and our strong bilateral relationship, rooted in the historical U.S. role in the development of Czechoslovakia.

In private discussions (which will include the new Foreign and Defense Ministers) we want to:

1. Encourage the Czechs to become more involved in regional cooperation including outreach to eastern and southern neighbors.
2. Underscore the importance of a successful NATO integration process, including providing the resources needed to meet target force goals and other Alliance obligations.
3. Emphasize the importance of continued economic reform and rising above inter-party feuding for the good of the country and bilateral relations.

#### Topics for White House Discussions

#### Restricted Session (35 minutes)

1. Europe Transformed
  - Progress of democracy and integration process
  - Laud Havel's role
  - Challenges ahead
  - Treatment of Roma
2. Russia
  - Russia's uncertain future
  - POTUS on Moscow Summit
3. Future as Allies
  - Washington Summit
  - NATO's Open Door

Expanded Session (45 minutes)

1. NATO (ctd.)

-- Preparations/Force Goals

2. Regional Issues

-- Bosnia/Kosovo

-- Slovak Elections

-- Outreach to East and South

3. Economic Issues

-- Need for further economic reforms

-- EU accession and impact on U.S. business

4. Human Rights/Democracy

( Havel may raise)

-- Democracy in China

-- Taiwan, Tibet

1

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Official Use Only

9/9/98

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TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT 6101Havel POTUSmemo.doc

MEETING WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
DATE: September 16, 1998  
LOCATION: Oval Office/Cabinet Room  
TIME: 10:35 a.m. - 12:05 p.m.

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

I. PURPOSE

\* Celebrate President Havel's contribution to democracy and human rights in Central Europe.

\* Encourage Havel to continue using his office and international stature to promote human rights and deepening of civic society in post-communist Europe.

\* Urge Havel to use his position, in a non-partisan way, to press the Czech Republic to: maintain momentum on NATO preparations; stay the course on economic reform; and play a larger role in regional affairs.

## II. BACKGROUND

Havel arrives in Washington physically and politically weakened, but still an influential voice for advancing our common objectives in Europe. In late 1996, he underwent surgery for lung cancer and half of his right lung was removed. Since then, he has suffered from multiple episodes of bronchitis and pneumonia. The most serious in July 1998, resulted in a temporary life-threatening heart rhythm irregularity that was corrected.

On the political front, Havel was narrowly reelected by Parliament to a second five-year term in early 1998. Since, he has antagonized the country's two strongest political parties, the leftist Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and its rival the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), by publicly ridiculing their July 1998 agreement to allow a minority Social Democratic government to take office under Prime Minister Zeman. In response, the two parties claimed Havel was exceeding his responsibilities and indicated that they wanted to "refine" the constitutional role of the President.

Prague's minority Social Democratic government is unlikely to survive its four-year term and will have to struggle to maintain momentum on economic and defense reforms. The CSSD controls just 74 seats in the 200-seat

lower house and  
remains at the whim of the ODS, which will abide by the July  
agreement only long  
enough to seek changes from which it can benefit in the future.

Havel's visit comes on the eve of the 80th anniversary of the founding  
of  
Czechoslovakia (October 1918). Public events will mark the role of  
the United  
States in the founding of an independent Czechoslovakia as well as  
accession into  
NATO. Havel will be accompanied by his wife Mrs. Havlova, Foreign  
Minister  
Kavan, Defense Minister Vetchy and Governor of the Czech National  
Bank Tosovsky.  
The party will visit Washington only and attend the First Lady's  
Millennium  
lecture.

#### RESTRICTED MEETING

Europe's Transformation. As a playwright, leader of the Charter 77  
human rights  
movement and Civic Forum opposition movement, Havel has been a  
driving force for  
democratic reform in Central Europe and for political tolerance,  
civility and  
justice around the world. You should congratulate him on his  
contributions and  
encourage him to continue to speak out. The Czech Republic's only  
serious human  
rights problem is discrimination and violence against the Roma  
(Gypsies), but  
Havel has been surprisingly silent on this issue. You or Madeleine  
might  
encourage Havel to decry this intolerance.

In October, Havel is hosting a conference on globalization and  
systems of  
government entitled Forum 2000 that Mrs. Clinton is attending. You  
might want to  
draw out his views on the major challenges facing Europe in the next  
century.

Russia. Havel will want a readout from the Summit and to exchange  
views on  
Russia's future. The current crisis stems from fundamental internal  
differences  
about Russia's future political and economic course, and the void  
created during

the ratification of a new Prime Minister has had enormous political and social costs, including a collapse of the currency and banking system, food shortages and near-return of hyper-inflation. Both the Czechs and we have a self-interest in engaging Russia's new leadership team, weak as it might be on economics, to mitigate further damage. On foreign policy, we need to show Russia that its interests are being taken into account. You might encourage Havel to continue to speak out on the need for fundamental economic reforms in Russia and to urge Czechs and other Central Europeans to seek creative ways to engage Russia.

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other invitees. The invitees should enter the Alliance as soon as all necessary legal procedures are complete. As thirteen allies have ratified and the remaining three hope to do so by December, it is likely that accession may be possible in January or February.

#### EXPANDED SESSION

NATO Force Goals: Defense Minister Vetchy and Secretary Cohen will join, making it a good opportunity to encourage the Czechs to maintain momentum on military reform. The hard work of fulfilling Czech Target Force Goals and integrating into NATO's military structure is just beginning and that new members are expected to meet certain minimum military capabilities on their first full day of membership. Ask Bill Cohen to review the types of reforms we hope to see. They include the development of a personnel system that recruits and trains qualified personnel and realization of compatible command and control.

Enhanced Regional Role. Havel understands the Czech Republic's security is tied to that of other European nations. He was instrumental in securing Czech engagement in Bosnia and peacekeeping missions around the world. While Prague has assisted to other emerging democracies, most Czechs are indifferent to a larger regional role.

While commending Prague's continued contribution to the Stabilization Force in Bosnia, you should encourage Havel to promote a larger Czech regional role by helping advance democracy and economic reforms in Ukraine and engaging in such troubled areas as Albania, Kosovo and Bosnia. Havel may seek our views on Balkan problems and on the Slovak elections, which the authoritarian Prime Minister Meciar seems poised to win through manipulation of the media and the electoral process.

Economic Reforms. Without further reforms, the Czech Republic will

not achieve

long-term growth and stability, and its EU accession will be affected adversely.

This is particularly true given the greater risk and uncertainty attributed to

most emerging markets in the wake of the ruble collapse. The previous caretaker

Tosovsky government began to implement needed reforms, however, it is unclear

whether the Zeman government will follow through.

You should note our interest in seeing the Czech Republic join the EU and follow

through on economic reforms such as further bank privatization, oversight of

capital markets and greater transparency in economic decision-making. You should

underscore our desire to ensure that U.S. businesses are not restricted unfairly

from the Czech market in the run-up to EU accession. American companies continue

to register concerns about lower tariffs on products from the EU and higher ones

on products from other countries.

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toward Iran and Iraq. Most recently, they agreed, despite some political and

security concerns, to host Congressionally-mandated surrogate radio broadcasting

services to Iran using Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) facilities in

Prague. You should thank him for allowing the broadcasts to Iran and ask that

they look favorably on our request to do similar broadcasting to Iraq.

Our

experts are already in contact on this matter, and Madeleine is expected to

discuss it with Foreign Minister Kavan.

Havel has a particular interest in the development of democracy in China, and may

raise Taiwan and Tibet. Taiwan Foreign Minister Hu visited Prague in May, and

Mrs. Havlova visited Taiwan in June 1998 and met with President Lee Teng-hui.

Relations with Taiwan are unofficial, but warm, and include some business

dealings.

III. PARTICIPANTS

See Scenario at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Scenario at Tab B.

V. SEQUENCE

See Scenario at Tab B.

Attachments

Tab A Points to be Made

Tab B Scenario

Tab C Bios

Tab D Memo from Secretary of State

Tab E Press Material

4

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Reason: 1.5 (b,d)

Declassify On: 9/11/08

This message contained an attachment that could not be written to a file

# Exchange Mail

DATE-TIME 9/14/98 11:45:07 AM  
 FROM Flanagan, Stephen J.  
 CLASSIFICATION ~~SECRET~~  
 CLASSIFICATIONREASON 1.5(b)(d)  
 DATECLASSIFIEDON 09/14/1998  
 DECLASSIFYON 09/14/2008  
 SUBJECT FW: As requested [~~SECRET~~]  
 TO Braden, Susan R.

**DECLASSIFIED**  
**PER E.O. 13526**  
 2024-0540-M (1.52)  
 KBH 12/11/2024

CARBON\_COPY  
 TEXT\_BODY

-----Original Message-----  
 From: Millison, Cathy L.  
 Sent: Monday,  
 September 14, 1998 11:28 AM  
 To: Flanagan, Stephen J.  
 Cc: Maxfield,  
 Nancy H.  
 Subject: As requested [~~SECRET~~]

Sorry for the delay

TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT 6101Havel POTUSmemo.doc

MEETING WITH  
 CZECH PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
 DATE: September 16, 1998  
 LOCATION: Oval Office/Cabinet Room  
 TIME: 10:35 a.m. - 12:05 p.m.  
 FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

## I. PURPOSE

\* Celebrate President Havel's contribution to democracy and human rights in Central Europe.

\* Encourage Havel to continue using his office and international stature to promote human rights and deepening of civic society in post-communist Europe.

\* Urge Havel to use his position, in a non-partisan way, to press the Czech Republic to: maintain momentum on NATO preparations; stay the course on economic reform; and play a larger role in regional affairs.

## II. BACKGROUND

Havel arrives in Washington physically and politically weakened, but still an influential voice for advancing our common objectives in Europe. In late 1996, he underwent surgery for lung cancer and half of his right lung was removed.

Since then, he has suffered from multiple episodes of bronchitis and pneumonia.

The most serious in July 1998, resulted in a temporary life-threatening heart rhythm irregularity that was corrected.

On the political front, Havel was narrowly reelected by Parliament to a second five-year term in early 1998. Since, he has antagonized the country's two

strongest political parties, the leftist Social Democratic Party (CSSD) and its

rival the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), by publicly ridiculing their July 1998

agreement to allow a minority Social Democratic government to take office under

Prime Minister Zeman. In response, the two parties claimed Havel was exceeding

his responsibilities and indicated that they wanted to "refine" the constitutional role of the President.

Prague's minority Social Democratic government is unlikely to survive its

four-year term and will have to struggle to maintain momentum on

economic and  
defense reforms. The CSSD controls just 74 seats in the 200-seat  
lower house and  
remains at the whim of the ODS, which will abide by the July  
agreement only long  
enough to seek changes from which it can benefit in the future.

Havel's visit comes on the eve of the 80th anniversary of the founding  
of  
Czechoslovakia (October 1918). Public events will mark the role of  
the United  
States in the founding of an independent Czechoslovakia as well as  
accession into  
NATO. Havel will be accompanied by his wife Mrs. Havlova, Foreign  
Minister  
Kavan, Defense Minister Vetchy and Governor of the Czech National  
Bank Tosovsky.  
The party will visit Washington only and attend the First Lady's  
Millennium  
lecture.

#### RESTRICTED MEETING

Europe's Transformation. As a playwright, leader of the Charter 77  
human rights  
movement and Civic Forum opposition movement, Havel has been a  
driving force for  
democratic reform in Central Europe and for political tolerance,  
civility and  
justice around the world. You should congratulate him on his  
contributions and  
encourage him to continue to speak out. The Czech Republic's only  
serious human  
rights problem is discrimination and violence against the Roma  
(Gypsies), but  
Havel has been surprisingly silent on this issue. You or Madeleine  
might  
encourage Havel to decry this intolerance.

In October, Havel is hosting a conference on globalization and  
systems of  
government entitled Forum 2000 that Mrs. Clinton is attending. You  
might want to  
draw out his views on the major challenges facing Europe in the next  
century.

Russia. Havel will want a readout from the Summit and to exchange  
views on  
Russia's future. The current crisis stems from fundamental internal  
differences

about Russia's future political and economic course, and the void created during the ratification of a new Prime Minister has had enormous political and social costs, including a collapse of the currency and banking system, food shortages and near-return of hyper-inflation. Both the Czechs and we have a self-interest in engaging Russia's new leadership team, weak as it might be on economics, to mitigate further damage. On foreign policy, we need to show Russia that its interests are being taken into account. You might encourage Havel to continue to speak out on the need for fundamental economic reforms in Russia and to urge Czechs and other Central Europeans to seek creative ways to engage Russia.

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You should note our interest in seeing the Czech Republic join the EU and follow through on economic reforms such as further bank privatization, oversight of capital markets and greater transparency in economic decision-making. You should underscore our desire to ensure that U.S. businesses are not restricted unfairly from the Czech market in the run-up to EU accession. American companies continue to register concerns about lower tariffs on products from the EU and higher ones on products from other countries.

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Havel has a particular interest in the development of democracy in China, and may raise Taiwan and Tibet. Taiwan Foreign Minister Hu visited Prague in May, and Mrs. Havlova visited Taiwan in June 1998 and met with President Lee Teng-hui. Relations with Taiwan are unofficial, but warm, and include some

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III. PARTICIPANTS

See Scenario at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

See Scenario at Tab B.

V. SEQUENCE

See Scenario at Tab B.

- Attachments
- Tab A Points to be Made
- Tab B Scenario
- Tab C Bios
- Tab D Memo from Secretary of State
- Tab E Press Material
- 4

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Reason: 1.5 (b,d)  
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**TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT**

6101POTUSHavelTPs.doc  
POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH  
CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

RESTRICTED SESSION - OVAL OFFICE

Europe's Transformation/Havel's Role

\* Hillary and I -- not to mention Madeleine -- are delighted to honor  
your  
personal contribution to democracy in Europe.

\* Great to celebrate Czech Republic's becoming an ally and to recall our historic ties in founding an independent Czechoslovakia.

\* Inspired by your leadership of Charter 77 and Civic Forum. Remarkable that only ten years after revolutions of 1989, many of your dreams about Central Europe's integration into community of free nations are being fully realized.

\* Need to hear your voice for years to come on human rights, deepening civic society in new Europe, and in struggle against racism, intolerance and social injustice.

\* Hillary is looking forward to Forum 2000 Conference. Interested in your concerns about challenges facing Europe and world in next millennium.

Russia

\* Glad I went to Moscow. Demonstrated engagement is important in times of crisis.

\* Took high ground, and emphasized the core principles that Yeltsin and main political players need to keep in mind.

\* Stressed importance of democratic procedures and made clear realities of international financial system for Russia.

\* Economic circumstances very worrisome, with monetary policy and banking system in shambles. Eighty percent of economy is barter. Concerned inflation may come back.

\* Primakov's confirmation as Prime Minister fills political void, but he confronts huge economic challenge.

\* We share similar concerns about his initial appointments, but important others and we stay engaged with Russia to help forestall continued

unraveling of  
economy.

\* On foreign policy, key task is to show Russia its interests are being taken into account and that we want them engaged in efforts to build European security and stability.

\* I'm sure you heard Yeltsin's public comment about concern over NATO enlargement. He did not raise this with me in private, and he seemed to welcome deeper practical ties with NATO.

\* On Kosovo, we agreed to halt of Milosevic's repressive actions; cessation of violence by Kosovar Albanian armed groups; intensified effort at negotiations and new mechanism to deal with humanitarian issue.

\* Hope you and other Central Europeans will continue to speak out on need for fundamental reforms in Russia as only path to sustainable prosperity.

#### NATO Summit

\* NATO Summit next April will set course for strengthened security partnership between Europe and United States.

\* New Strategic Concept will prepare Alliance for full spectrum of security challenges in 21st Century, from proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to regional conflicts.

\* Summit will also reinforce NATO's openness to new members, strengthen political and military engagement with all partners and deepen Alliance cooperation with Russia.

#### NATO's Open Door

\* No decision on invitations, however, determined to maintain momentum of process, keep door wide open and help aspirants pass through that door.

\* Future aspirants should be judged by standards applied to three newest members as reflected in Madrid Declaration.

#### EXPANDED SESSION -- CABINET ROOM

##### NATO Accession Process

\* Know your Parliament has already approved accession, and we expect all allies to ratify by end of year.

\* Optimistic NATO can welcome you as full member as early as January or February.

##### Meeting NATO Force Goals

\* Your country has significant military contribution to make to Alliance. Fulfillment of NATO assigned force goals for Czech Republic is highest priority.

\* Your success and that of other invitees in meeting NATO force goals will help ensure rapid and full integration.

\* Also reinforces NATO's "Open Door" policy by showing that new members can integrate without massive aid.

\* Secretary Cohen will review key priorities for Czech Republic (personnel reform, enhanced command and control, host nation support capability and improved English proficiency).

\* Your leadership vital to Czech Republic maintaining rapid pace in reform through allocation of necessary resources.

##### Enhanced Regional Role

\* Value your country's engagement in Bosnia, from UNPROFOR to SFOR, where Czech battalion has recounted itself well. Also commend your participation in Kosovo Diplomatic Observer Mission (KDOM) and peacekeeping missions around world.

\* Czech transformation offers valuable lessons to other new democracies. Hope Czech Republic will look for creative new ways to play larger regional role by helping to promote political and economic reforms in Ukraine and emerging democracies of Southeast Europe.

#### Kosovo

\* We are working to improve situation in Kosovo on three tracks: negotiations for political settlement, humanitarian assistance, and NATO planning.

\* As winter approaches, must work urgently to keep disastrous humanitarian situation from becoming major catastrophe.

\* Pressing Belgrade to create proper security environment so 250-400,000 displaced persons can return to their homes.

\* Reject Milosevic's resettlement ideas. Should work together to encourage international organizations -- like UNHCR -- to set up semi-permanent presence in towns outside Pristina to entice displaced persons out of hiding.

\* Ambassador Hill shuttling between Belgrade and Pristina to develop framework for interim agreement to stop fighting and accord some degree of self-determination to Kosovo.

\* Milosevic responds to pressure. We must project credible threat of force should he fail to comply.

\* NATO planning is well advanced. Several Allies who favor a UNSC mandate nonetheless indicate they would be prepared to act in extremis without one.

#### Bosnia and Herzegovina Elections

[Will be updated to reflect outcome of September 12-13 voting]

\* Applaud people of Bosnia and Herzegovina for their demonstration

of power of  
ballot box last weekend. Another step towards self-sustaining peace.

\* Must make quick progress now. Necessary that governments form  
and essential  
legislation get passed. Look to your support in pushing forward  
implementation  
agenda.

\* Expect much from newly elected leadership in Bosnia and its two  
entities.  
Three years after Dayton, much has been achieved, but much remains.  
We will  
continue our engagement, but responsibility for building and  
maintaining peace  
will rest increasingly with Bosnians.

#### Economic Issues

\* Single most important task facing you is further economic reform.  
Needed for  
long-term growth and EU accession.

\* Hope new government follows through -- particularly further bank  
privatization,  
oversight of capital markets and greater transparency in economic  
decision-making.

\* Support your EU accession, but important that U.S. businesses not  
be restricted  
unfairly from Czech market in run-up to accession.

#### Slovak Elections (if raised)

\* Concerned Prime Minister Meciar has used new electoral law to  
disadvantage  
opposition. Concerned about the chilling effect on media during final  
phases of  
election campaign.

\* Will review campaign and OSCE's final report on election and draw  
conclusions  
about whether process was free and fair.

\* Will work with any government that is freely elected and dedicates  
itself to  
democratic and economic reforms. Committed to integration of  
Slovakia into  
European and transatlantic institutions. Will hinge on new

government.

#### BEYOND EUROPE

Radio Free Iran and Iraq (if raised)

- \* Appreciate your support for our policies toward Iran and Iraq.
- \* Want to thank you for allowing Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) to use facilities in Prague to broadcast into Iran.
- \* Hope you will look favorably on RFE/RL's recent request to do similar broadcasting to Iraq.
- \* Our experts are already in contact on this. We are ready to address any concerns the Czech government might have.

China (if raised)

- \* Remain concerned about serious human rights abuses in China, but believe that our engagement strategy is achieving results.
- \* For example, China intends to sign International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights this fall; will ratify Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; and will resume official human rights dialogue this year.
- \* Traditionally raised individual cases with Chinese leaders, and will continue to do so. Trying to broaden scope of discussions by raising categories of persons imprisoned in violation of international norms and standards.
- \* Religious persecution is another concern. Recently appointed Senior Advisor for International Religious Freedom to expand efforts to increase religious tolerance, including in China.
- \* We continue to urge Chinese to preserve Tibet's unique heritage, and to respect their human rights. Encouraged start of direct dialogue with Dalai Lama. President Jiang's public comments during summit indicated door to dialogue is

open.

Taiwan (If raised)

\* Within our "one China" policy, our unofficial relationship with Taiwan remains unchanged. It is based on Taiwan Relations Act and our three joint communiqués with PRC. We maintain strong unofficial relations with Taiwan, our seventh largest trading partner.

\* We continue to encourage PRC and Taiwan to resume substantive and constructive cross-Strait dialogue, and welcome plans of Taiwan's top representative to talks to visit PRC this fall.

\* We hope that cross-Strait process will create positive atmosphere conducive to dialogue and, ultimately, to peaceful resolution of issues between PRC and Taiwan.

If asked:

\* My recent statement in Shanghai on Taiwan (the so-called "three no's") was a unilateral restatement of our policy; all of the elements were longstanding U.S. policy, it was not a new commitment to the PRC.

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Reason: 1.5 (b,d)

Declassify On: 9/11/08

TRANSLATED\_ATTACHMENT

6101SUMMARY TPS.doc  
SUMMARY POINTS TO BE MADE FOR  
MEETING WITH CZECH PRESIDENT HAVEL

## RESTRICTED SESSION

## HAVEL'S ROLE IN EUROPE'S TRANSFORMATION

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

## RUSSIA

- \* Moscow trip demonstrated engagement important in times of crisis. Stressed need to respect democratic procedures.
- \* Primakov's confirmation fills political void, but may not address economic crisis. We share similar concerns about other initial appointments; so important to stay engaged and show Russia all its interests are being taken into account.
- \* Despite public opposition, Yeltsin did not raise enlargement in private and welcomed deeper practical ties with NATO.

## NATO SUMMIT/OPEN DOOR

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

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

## NATO ACCESSION PROCESS

\* Looking forward to working as Allies. Know your Parliament approved accession, and expect Allies to ratify by year-end. If so, NATO can welcome you by January or February.

#### MEETING NATO FORCE GOALS

\* Czech Republic has significant military contribution to make to Alliance.

Fulfillment of NATO assigned force goals is highest priority.

Secretary Cohen

will review key items for Czech Republic.

\* Success will reinforce NATO's "Open Door" by showing that new members don't require massive aid.

#### ENHANCED REGIONAL ROLE

\* Value your country's engagement in Bosnia, from UNPROFOR to SFOR, where Czech battalion has recounted itself well.

\* Look for creative ways to play larger regional role by promoting political and economic reforms in Ukraine and Southeast Europe.

#### KOSOVO

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

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

#### ECONOMIC ISSUES

\* Economic reform single most important task facing Czech Republic. Hope new government keeps up momentum.

\* Support EU accession, but important U.S. firms not restricted unfairly from Czech market in run-up to accession.

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