

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. fax	re: Campaign (1 page)	06/06/1996	Personal Misfile
002. fax	re: Hillary Rodham Clinton Schedule, July 02, 1996 [partial] (1 page)	07/01/1996	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Lissa Muscatine
OA/Box Number: 12082

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - Central and Eastern Europe Background Material

2017-1164-S

rc2764

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

Helsinki

Helsinki Accords 1975

Basis for Charter '77 →

"Words do Count"

For pol based on values.

Cynics were wrong:

- Said xxx —

-

ESTONIA

Recap

Estonia - special bc not only recover independence
+ recover your sovereignty
= you've got all the challenges + go

I come here

Guyton spoke to the stand values of democracy
and initiatives we all cherish

Bldg democracy into every day lives

2 Prague I spoke at RFE

SLOVAKIA / NGO mto 7/6/96

Volunteering = new phenomenon

Lots of foundation support

- helps in it + offers model of American philanthropy + volunteering

Slovak govt large offensive vs NGOs

Audits of foundations

Mini. of Environment prohibits fda's from
leaving seminars etc. for NGOs.

HRC impact of legis (passed Parli; gov veto)
on NGOs

- condition: people endowed to fight
→ may fda's will disappear

No NGOs wks on women?

HRC / In US we have struggled w/ probs of minority

Dem = process + a commitment we must

make decisions after process.

role of govt, NGOs, indiv. citizens have
played a role in big role by gov.

Respons of all 3 sectors

role of mass media - avoid stereotypes

Partic
first time but... later
Bldg 16ne 6 dem is ^{trust} ~~trust~~ in ^{among} the people and
confidence

one w/o trust in a dem can't expect that dem
to function well

- creates cond of trust b/w govt people +
among other groups/people is what's
necessary.

SLOVAKIA / NGOs (2)

Indiv. also have to take resp. for their actions. govt officials, bus leaders - & citizens.

Hard to trust ppl who are not actg responsibly.

NGOs are tryg prds for citizen responsibility. On US, it's not just Nat has done it but all the prps of citizens.

Now a partner of govt etc. in the process - how ppl learn to be responsible & trust.

Doesn't come easily - hard work to build this trust - has to often be rebuilt.

Sometimes ppl don't want to citizen that comes w/ the process but we've discovered over 220 yrs that citizen comes w/ the process.

HRC / For 50 yrs U.S. citizens watched trillions of \$ to reduce threat of for. domination during Cold War 2.

This is a v. joy demanding of all the groups pass that any instr. will free.

When I return to US hope I'll have the opportunity to make that case.

NGO / Human rights educn - v. imp't in ^{awakening} democratic consciousness.

NGOs / NGOs counteract w/ the apathy of transition period.

NGO / SLOVAKIA

We view you as an ambassador of justice
Thank you.

MPC The work you are doing is essential to
democracy. Not w/o controversy or
criticism, but that is true in
our country.

I hope the gov't will reconsider its
opposition to work of NGOs
Understandable how new gov'ts & old gov'ts
could become irritated by those outside
gov't raising issues with gov't etc -
but that's how democracy works

HUNGARIAN / PRIMAVERA - WOMEN'S MOV

Highest ranking women in govt: Vice spkr of P'ment

After "systemic change" -

Repeal of women in Parliament

Opinion polls show that H women don't want to see more women in govt -

No woman now in first line of govt (Cabinet)

Former Min. of Labor

head of Beijing deleg'n

Resigned from govt a few weeks later -- women uprimended her bc felt betrayed that she would leave the position

Proportion of women in govt is v. high.

H. Const. prohibits discrimination based on sex - in practice not enforced

Mech. Engineer / Retired

Assoc to she/her news & train women for public life

Academy will start as pilot project in Sept.

Exec. Dir. of Soros Foundation

Trans'n from Judaism -

Great opport. for women

Zsuzsa Rághy

Abolished, wanted her engineer

WOMEN / MURRAY (2)

Explains why need to discriminate against women in form - pregnancy, families etc.

MURDOCK (journalist who writes about it)

Not to meet b/c diff b/w support /
loss men and women get in Hungary -

ANNA ? - small business woman

- We are all children of socialism -
- I was educated (finished) in
Sov Union.

ANNA TOMPA

- Stress ↑ for women
- life expect. for ~~women~~ = 60 / ^{women} 64

MARIA BONIFANT - journalist spec. in edu.

Daughter at GWU

She wrote book about his experiences in
America.

JOURNALIST / does for. policy

I've joined a lot though "I."

The editor is chief & the main daily

May dailies etc

May in H joined from exchange
program

I did another one

WOMEN/HUNGARY (3)

The resp. of Pres as up to as even to see
an edwiel function as well as
international time

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—1776¹

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain

¹ Printed from the facsimile of the engrossed copy of the original manuscript in the Library of Congress.

is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.—He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.—He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.—He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.—He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.—He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.—He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.—He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.—He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.—He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.—He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.—He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures.—He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.—He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and

unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:—For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:—For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:—For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:—For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.—He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.—He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.—He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.—He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them from time to time

of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.—

WE, THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

6/14/96

DRAFT #1

Wednesday, June 26, 1996

Prev Ron	Washington, DC
7:00 am	Wheels up from Andrews Air Force Base (Flight Time: 7 hours, 25 minutes +6)
8:25 pm	Wheels down in Lyon
Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France

Thursday, June 27, 1996

Prev Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France
morning	DOWN TIME
1:40 pm	Arrival
7:45 pm	Dinner Opera House
9:45 pm	Opera Performance
Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France

Friday, June 28, 1996

Prev Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France
xxx am	Inaugurate Rose Exhibition at the Conservatoire National de Musique
noon	Chateau de Bagnols
xxx pm	Visit to Winery
8 pm	Dinner Tour Rose in the Old Town
9:30 pm	Cultural Event
Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France

Saturday, June 29, 1996

Prev Ron	Hotel Sofitel Lyon, France
xxx am	Visit Textile Museum
12:30 pm	Lunch
6:15 pm	Wheels up from Lyon (Flight Time: 1 hour)
7:15 pm	Wheels down in Paris
7:45 to 8:15 pm	DOWN TIME
8:30 pm	Dinner w/President and Mrs. Chirac
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Sunday, June 30, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France
morning	DOWN TIME
2 pm	Depart for Giverny
3 pm	Visit to Giverny
5 pm	American Museum
6:30 pm	Dinner
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Monday, July 1, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France
10 am	Wheels up from Paris, France (Flight Time: 2 hours and 35 min +1)
1:35 pm	Wheels down in Bucharest, Romania

1:45 pm	Arrival Ceremony???
2:15 pm	Walking History Lesson Revolutionary Square
	-- Atheneum -- Royal Palace -- Lay Flowers in front of Romanian Senate
3:00 pm	Kretzulescu Orthodox Church
4 - 5:30 pm	NGO Forum Village Museum
6 - 7:30 pm	DOWN TIME
7:30 pm	Reception hosted by President
RON	Sofitel Hotel Bucharest, Romania

Tuesday, July 2, 1996

Prev Ron	Sofitel Hotel Bucharest, Romania
9:30 am	Pediatric Aids Center
11 am	Embassy Meet and Greet Airport
11:45 am	Wheels up from Bucharest, Romania (Flight Time: 1 hour, 25 min -1)
12:10 pm	Wheels down in Krakow, Poland
12:20 pm	Arrival Ceremony ????
	Airport
1 pm	Wawel Cathedral
3 - 5 pm	Auschwitz
5:30 pm	Wheels up from Krakow, Poland (Flight Time: 45 minutes)
6:15 pm	Wheels down in Warsaw, Poland
7 pm	Jewish Center
Ron	Marriott Hotel Warsaw Poland

Wednesday, July 3, 1996

Prev Ron	Marriott Hotel Warsaw, Poland
10:30 am	Women's Event Hosted by Mrs.
noon	Polish Gov't Event
2 pm	Grant Allocation Event
3:30 pm	Pvt/Public Partnership Hospital
5 pm	Wheels up from Warsaw, Poland (Flight Time: 1 hour and 10 min)
6:10 pm	Wheels down in Prague, Czech Republic
7 - 9 pm	DOWN TIME
9:30 pm	Dinner w/Havel
RON	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic

Thursday, July 4, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic
12:30 pm	Speech Radio Free Europe
1:30 pm	Reception Radio Free Europe
3 pm	PM Meeting
4	NGO Meeting Ambassador's Residence
5:30 - 8:30 pm	DOWN TIME
9 pm	Boat Ride Fireworks
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic

Friday, July 5, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic
11:30 am	Hospital and Orphanage Visit
1 pm	Lunch
3 pm	Tour Palace and Havel's Office
6 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic

Saturday, July 6, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Prague, Czech Republic
10 am	Wheels up from Prague (Flight Time 50 min)
10:50 am	Wheels down in Bratislava, Slovakia
11 am	Arrival Ceremony
11:30 am	Press Event?? Journalism Center??
2 pm	President Meeting
2:45 pm	NGO Forum
4 pm	Walk Thru Town Hall
5:15 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet Airport
5:45 pm	Wheels up from Bratislava, Slovakia (Flight Time: 45 min)
6:30 pm	Wheels down in Budapest, Hungary
6:45 pm	Arrival???
Ron	Hotel Budapest, Hungary

Sunday, July 7, 1996

Prev Ron	Budapest, Hungary
10:30 am	Hospital Visit
noon	Lunch w/Prime Minister
2 pm	Women's Event
3:30 - 5 pm	DOWN TIME
5:30 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet/Ribbon Cutting
7 pm	Dinner/Reception ???
Ron	Budapest, Hungary

Monday, July 8, 1996

Prev Ron	Budapest, Hungary
10:30 am	Roma Center
noon	Wheels up from Budapest, Hungary (Flight Time: 2 hour and 10 min +1)
3:10 pm	Wheels down in Tallin, Estonia
3:20 pm	Arrival???
4 pm	Meeting w/President
4:30 pm	Meeting w/Prime Minister
5 - 7 pm	DOWN TIME
7 pm	Walk Thru Old Town
Ron	Tallin, Estonia

Tuesday, July 9, 1996

Prev Ron	Tallin, Estonia
10:30 am	Central Tallin Women's Clinic
12:30 pm	Women's Event/NGO Forum Open Air Museum

2:30 to 4:30 pm	DOWN TIME
5 pm	Speech National Library
xxx pm	Wheels up from Tallin, Estonia (Flight Time: 35 minutes) Wheels down in Helsinki, Finland
Ron	Helsinki, Finland

Wednesday, July 10, 1996

Prev Ron	Helsinki, Finland
10:30 am	Women's Event Site TBD
12:15 pm	Lunch w/President
3 pm	Market Square
5 - 10 pm	DOWN TIME
10:30 pm	Wheels up from Helsinki (Flight Time: 3 hours and 30 min -2)
midnight	Wheels down in Shannon, Ireland
12:00 to 1:30 am	REFUEL
1:30 am	Wheels up from Shannon, Ireland (Flight Time: 7 hours and 15 min -5)
3:45 am	Wheels down in Washington, DC
Ron	Washington, DC

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
JUNE 14, 1996
PAGE 1 OF 2

CONTACT: LISA CAPUTO
NEEL LATTIMORE
KAREN FINNEY
STEVE COHEN
202-456-2960

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON TO VISIT ROMANIA,
POLAND, CZECH REPUBLIC, SLOVAKIA, HUNGARY,
ESTONIA AND FINLAND**

WASHINGTON, DC -- First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will embark on July 1st on a goodwill mission to Central and Eastern Europe. The First Lady's visit serves to underscore United States support for the newly democratic countries of that region.

As the free nations of Central and Eastern Europe make the transition to democracy and market economies, America is committed to their integration into the western democratic family. Mrs. Clinton's trip will draw attention to the political, economic and social progress the people of the region have made since 1983, as well as the major challenges they still confront.

The First Lady is making the trip at President Clinton's request. After accompanying the President to the G-7 Conference in Lyon, France and a stopover in Paris, Mrs. Clinton will travel to Romania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Estonia. The trip will end with a brief visit to Finland.

The First Lady will stress the values essential to building strong democracies -- investment in families, protecting human rights, and freedom of the press.

Among the First Lady's planned activities are:

- o A speech on democracy on the Fourth of July at the headquarters of Radio Free Europe in Prague.
- o A visit to two cities in Poland. In Krakow the First Lady will tour Wawel Cathedral with Cardinal Machar-Ski and then travel to Auschwitz and Birkenau. In Warsaw, the First Lady will make several stops, including a visit to a children's hospital that has a joint partnership with American corporations.
- o A discussion with prominent journalists in Slovakia regarding freedom of the press.

-more-

PAGE 2 OF 2
FIRST LADY'S TRIP TO CENTRAL/EASTERN EUROPE

- o An address in Estonia to the people of the Baltic States on the United States' commitment to democracy and integration of the independent states in that region.

As she does in nearly every country she visits, Mrs. Clinton will participate in round table discussions with prominent women and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) whose activities are supported by public and private partnerships with the United States. She will also pay courtesy calls to prominent government officials in each country on her itinerary.

This will mark the First Lady's seventh solo trip outside of the United States. Over the past three years, she has spoken to the UN Conference on Social Development in Copenhagen, the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, led the United States' delegation to the Winter Olympics in Norway, and traveled on behalf of the United States to South Asia, Latin America and most recently to Germany, Bosnia, Italy, Turkey and Greece. Last month, Mrs. Clinton spoke to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York about women and development.

During her trip to Central and Eastern Europe, the First Lady will build on themes she has stressed during her previous travels. Above all, she hopes to convey in the strongest terms that a truly democratic society will only flourish if governments respect the rights and dignity of all citizens, including women and girls.

The First Lady will be accompanied by US Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, during part of her trip.

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EDITOR'S NOTE: PRESS WISHING TO ACCOMPANY THE FIRST LADY ON THE TRIP SHOULD CONTACT NEEL LATTIMORE AT 202-456-2960 BY 5:00 PM MONDAY, JUNE 18, 1996. SPACE IS EXTREMELY LIMITED AND IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO CREATE A TRAVELING PRESS POOL.

Wednesday, June 26, 1996

Prev Ron	Washington, DC
7:00 am	Wheels up from Andrews Air Force Base (Flight Time: 7 hours, 25 minutes +6)
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8 pm	Dinner Tour Rose in the Old Town
9:30 pm	Cultural Event
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7:45 to 8:15 pm	DOWN TIME
8:30 pm	Dinner w/President and Mrs. Chirac
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Sunday, June 30, 1996

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morning	DOWN TIME
2 pm	Depart for Giverny
3 pm	Visit to Giverny
5 pm	American Museum
6:30 pm	Dinner
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France

Monday, July 1, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Paris, France
11:30 am	Wheels up from Paris, France (Flight Time: 2 hours and 35 min +1)
3:05 pm	Wheels down in Bucharest, Romania

4:00 pm Walking History Lesson
 Revolutionary Square

-- Atheneum
 -- Royal Palace
 -- Lay Flowers in front of Romanian Senate

5:00 pm Kretzulescu Orthodox Church

6 - 7 pm DOWN TIME

7:30 pm Reception hosted by President *+ oppos'n leaders*

RON Sofitel Hotel
 Bucharest, Romania

Tuesday, July 2, 1996

Prev Ron Sofitel Hotel
 Bucharest, Romania

10:30 am Pediatric Aids Center

noon Meeting w/NGOs *opening remarks*
 Village Museum *round-table*

2 - 3:30 pm DOWN TIME

4 pm Meeting w/Families Adopting Children
Ambassador's Residence?

5 pm Embassy Meet and Greet
 Ambassador's Residence?

6:30 pm Wheels up from Bucharest, Romania
 (Flight Time: 1 hour, 20 min -1)

6:50 pm Wheels down in Hungary, Budapest

Ron Budapest, Hungary

Wednesday, July 3, 1996

Prev Ron Budapest, Hungary

9:30 am Meeting w/President *Kansas Univ. Hono. Partnership*

10:30 am Hospital Visit

noon Lunch w/Prime Minister *- Toast?*

2 pm Roma Center *- gypsies*

Opening Remarks —

3:30 pm	Women's Event	<i>Mrs. Blinken —</i>
5 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet	<i>— opening of new USA bldg — June</i>
6:30 pm	Wheels up from Budapest	
	(Flight Time: 1 hour and 5 minutes)	
7:35 pm	Wheels down in Prague, Czech Republic	
8 - 9 pm	DOWN TIME	
9 pm	Dinner w/Havel	
RON	Ambassador's Residence	
	Prague, Czech Republic	

Thursday, July 4, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence
	Prague, Czech Republic
9:30 am	NGO Forum
	Ambassador's Residence
10:30 to noon	DOWN TIME
12:30 pm	Speech
	Radio Free Europe
1:30 pm	Reception
	Radio Free Europe
3 pm	PM Meeting
4 - 8	DOWN TIME
8:30 pm	Boat Ride
	Fireworks
Ron	Ambassador's Residence
	Prague, Czech Republic

Friday, July 5, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence
	Prague, Czech Republic
10:30 am	Hospital and Orphanage Visit

USAID funded



noon Women's Event
 Ambassador's Residence
 3 pm Tour Palace and Havel's Office
 6 pm Embassy Meet and Greet
 Ron Ambassador's Residence
 Prague, Czech Republic

Saturday, July 6, 1996

Prev Ron Ambassador's Residence
 Prague, Czech Republic
 9 am Wheels up from Prague
 (Flight Time 50 min)
 9:50 am Wheels down in Bratislava, Slovakia
~~10:45 am Children's Hospital~~
 noon ~~Press Event??~~ Meet w/ media - USAID sponsors a j'm program
 Add mtg w/ Pres.
 2:30 pm ~~Prime Minister Meeting~~
 3:00 pm Walk Thru Town Hall
 4 pm NGO Forum / combine w/ opposition
 democracy initiatives
 5:30 pm Embassy Meet and Greet
 6:30 pm Wheels up from Bratislava, Slovakia
 (Flight Time: 50 min)
 7:20 pm Wheels down in Krakow, Poland
 Ron Krakow, Poland

Sunday, July 7, 1996

Prev Ron Krakow, Poland
 9 am Cathedral Kosciusko's
 10:00 am Depart for Auschwitz
 11:00 to 1 pm Auschwitz and Brekinow

1:45 pm	Wheels up from Krakow (Flight Time:45 minutes)
2:30 pm	Wheels down in Warsaw
3:15 pm	Jewish Center —
5 pm	Women's Tea <i>Breast Cancer</i> <i>x.P.</i>
Ron	Warsaw, Poland

Monday, July 8, 1996

Prev Ron	Warsaw, Poland
10:30 am	Hospital <i>Public - Private partnership w/ US Corp</i>
noon	Grant Allocation Event Site TBD <i>Demonstration</i>
1:30 pm	Embassy Meet and Greet
2:30 pm	Wheels up from Warsaw (Flight Time: 1 hour and 30 min +1)
4 pm	Wheels down in Tallin, Estonia
4:30 - 6 pm	DOWN TIME
6 pm	Meeting w/President meeting w/Prime Minister
7 pm	Walk Thru Old Town
Ron	Tallin, Estonia

Tuesday, July 9, 1996

Prev Ron	Tallin, Estonia
10:30 am	Central Tallin Women's Clinic <i>AD</i>
12:30 pm	Women's Event <i>NBO forum</i> Open Air Museum
2:30 to 4:30 pm	DOWN TIME
5 pm	Speech National Library
Ron	Tallin, Estonia

Wednesday, July 10, 1996

Prev Ron	Tallin, Estonia
10:30 am	Embassy Meet and Greet
11 am	Wheels up from Tallin (Flight Time 35 minutes)
11:35 am	Wheels down in Helsinki, Finland
12:30 pm	Women's Event Ambassador's Residence??
3 pm	Market Square
5 - 10 pm	DOWN TIME
Ron	Ambassador's Residence Helsinki, Finland

Thursday, July 11, 1996

Prev Ron	Ambassador's Residence Helsinki, Finland
9:30 am	Embassy Meet and Greet
10 am	Wheels up from Helsinki, Finland (Flight Time: 3 hours and 30 min -2)
11:30 am	Wheels down in Shannon, Ireland
11:30 to 1 pm	REFUEL
1 pm	Wheels up from Shannon, Ireland (Flight Time: 7 hours and 15 min -5)
3:15 pm	Wheels down in Washington, DC
Ron	Washington, DC

OPTION 1

July 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2 RON: Hungary	3 Hungary	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia RON: Krakow
	Romania		RON: Prague			
7 Krakow RON: Warsaw	8 Warsaw	9 Estonia	10 Finland RON: Finland	11 Wash., DC	12	13
	RON: Estonia					
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August

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OPTION 2

July 1996

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1	2 <i>Krakow</i> RON: Krakow <i>Warsaw</i>	3 Krakow Warsaw <i>Ron's Prague</i>	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia RON: Hungary
	Romania		RON: Prague			
7 Hungary	8	9	10 Finland RON: Finland	11 Wash., DC	12	13
	Estonia		RON: Estonia			
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July 1996

OPTION 3

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON*

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	1 RON: Romania	2 RON: Hungary	3 Hungary	4 <i>Independence Day</i>	5	6 Slovakia
				Prague		
	Romania		RON: Prague			RON: Estonia
7	8 RON: Finland	9 Finland RON: Krakow	10 Krakow RON: Warsaw	11 Warsaw Wash., DC	12	13
	Estonia					
	RON: Estonia					
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CENTRAL EUROPE TRIP THEME

Only six years ago, the countries of Central Europe and the Baltic region emerged from nearly fifty years of totalitarianism. As they make the transition from a Communist to a democratic and free market system, they are confronting a vast range of social and humanitarian issues. The desire to assure a stable and secure future for each of them dominates the European political agenda, and increasingly involves the interests of the United States and its European allies.

The introduction of democratic values -- the rule of law, tolerance, freedom of the press, equal rights for women and minorities -- has not been without problems. Personal memories of past tragedies, violence, and disappointment can easily lead to heated dialogue about the past, rather than constructive cooperation for the future. Bosnia serves as a brutal reminder of what can happen not only to a region, but to Europe as a whole, if past grievances are not defused. With the guidance and support of the United States and western Europe, each of these states, in its own way, has made tremendous progress toward relieving the stress points within its society, and with its neighbors in the region.

The United States is deeply involved in helping these countries to build democracies, promote economic reform and integrate with existing western institutions. In important ways, the United States is best suited to play this role. We have long-standing historical ties with this region, and some 20 million Americans can claim their heritage there. U.S. companies, the world's experts in developing an energetic and prosperous private sector, are transferring their experience and technology to the region.

The First Lady's visit to the region demonstrates our commitment to supporting these countries on the road to democracy. In events, meetings, and speeches, she will stress those values that make democracy strongest -- human rights, freedom of the press, and private sector initiative in addressing health care, particularly the needs of children.

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FOLDER TITLE:

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To: Sabrina Corlette
(see pgs 5-7)

Kathy Veit

04/24/96 8:00 PM

ANTHONY LAKE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
"LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY"
FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY
APRIL 25, 1996

[Acknowledgments: John DiBiaggio, President of Tufts; Peter Ackerman, Chairman, Fletcher Board of Trustees; (Retired General) Jack Galvin, Dean of Fletcher]

As we near the end of the Clinton Administration's first term, I want to talk about the key foreign policy challenges America will face over the next four years.

Political leaders may change with elections, but America's interests do not. The way these challenges are met -- or ignored -- will affect the lives of each and every American... and our prospects for the century ahead.

Consider the world that we live in today. Halfway between the end of the Cold War and the dawn of a new century, our nation is at peace. Our economy is strong. The tide of market democracy is rising around the world, bringing freedom and the hope of prosperity to more people than ever before... and new opportunities for us.

Yet this promising new era is not risk-free. Old threats like aggression by rogue states have taken on new and dangerous dimensions. A host of modern threats -- from terrorism to the spread of weapons of mass destruction -- ignore national borders and undermine our security.

In this new world of possibility -- but also peril -- America's global leadership is more important than ever.

That great scholar of diplomacy Woody Allen once remarked that 80 percent of life is just showing up. For better or worse, simply "showing up" is not enough in foreign policy. To lead effectively, our nation must do two things at once. First is the business of managing crises as they arise. Whether dealing with an outbreak of violence in Liberia... trying to promote a Middle East cease-fire... or responding to a global 911 like the Kobe earthquake, managing crises is fast-paced, high-profile work. Its rewards -- or its failures -- are readily visible, and frequently found in the headlines.

It is all too easy, and sometimes all too tempting, to let emergencies dictate the agenda. But leadership in foreign policy means more than responding to the crisis of the day. That brings me to the second crucial aspect of leadership: anticipating problems we will face down the road... making the investments that will pay greater benefits -- or prevent greater costs -- in the future... and laying the groundwork for the world we want to pass on to our children.

Even as we deal with day-to-day events, we must also focus on long-term, strategic goals. We must use our strength to build for the future -- anchoring the foundations and constructing the frameworks that will make a real difference in our people's daily lives.

This audience knows that foreign policy challenges don't arise in neat four year cycles. Every Administration inherits problems it must manage; ours was no different. Three of the most urgent were Haiti, Bosnia, and Somalia.

Today in Haiti, the dictators are gone... the desperate flow of refugees has ended... and the first-ever democratic transfer of power took place this year. The last of the U.S. peacekeepers came home last week, as promised.

In Bosnia, the four-year slaughter has ceased, as American troops and their IFOR partners help give the Bosnian people a chance to make good on the peace they have chosen. But the breathing room that our troops are providing must be filled with the oxygen of economic reconstruction assistance. The sooner the Bosnian people recover the blessings of a normal life, the better the chances our troops will leave behind an enduring, just peace.

Our ability to deal effectively with Haiti and Bosnia was strengthened by the lessons we learned in Somalia -- lessons about the importance in peacekeeping operations for a clear military mission, firm deadlines, and an exit strategy. In Somalia, though we saved many lives, we failed to set a clear military mission soon enough. We were correcting this when the Rangers' were killed in Mogadishu. President Clinton refused to heed the calls for an immediate, damaging withdrawal -- and helped complete our mission honorably and without further loss of American life.

I am proud that our Administration led the world's response to these three problems. But in managing these emergencies, we have also tried to keep our sights on the importance of acts of construction -- on the core security issues that affect our people's lives. And I believe we are laying the foundation for a post-Cold War world in which our interests are protected and our people prosper. Over the next four years, whoever leads this country will have a chance, and a responsibility, to build on that foundation.

Just last week, the President returned from Asia -- where we have been laying the groundwork for a Pacific at peace at a time of profound regional change. We signed a new Security Charter with Japan that strengthens our alliance for the 21st century. And we joined with Korea in launching a major peace initiative that we hope will lead to a permanent peace between North and South -- and eventually erase the Cold War's last remaining frontier.

We know that Asia will only continue to grow... and generate jobs and opportunities for its people and our own... if peace prevails. That same logic holds true around the world -- from the Middle East to Northern Ireland. If we want to build a future of real prosperity and security... if we want people to realize their full potential... peace is the prerequisite. Without it, none of the long term "construction projects" we're engaged in will be possible.

Since the President's trip to Asia and our efforts at peace in the Middle East have seized recent headlines, I would like to focus on three other "construction projects" for the next four years:

building an undivided, democratic Europe; building a stronger shield against the forces of destruction; and building a new global trading system.

Building an Undivided Europe

History has taught us that when Europe is in turmoil, America suffers... and when Europe is peaceful and prosperous, America can thrive as well. Today, with the Cold War over, a peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe is within reach -- but it will not take shape by itself. As President Clinton said in Brussels two years ago, "it is...time for us to join in building the new security for the 21st century.... The new security must seek to bind a broader Europe together with a strong fabric woven of military cooperation, prosperous market economies, and vital democracies."

We have worked hard to lay the groundwork and strengthen the institutions that will turn that vision into reality. First, we have reinforced our ties with our long-time allies in Europe -- not only through common action in Bosnia, but in common efforts to improve our peoples' lives: promoting freer trade, protecting the environment, and fighting crime and disease.

We have also worked to make possible Europe's integration. We have helped the nations of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union to strengthen the lifeblood of democracy: fair elections, a free media, and an independent judiciary.

We have helped them to rebuild their shattered economies by providing assistance, technical support, and debt relief... supporting Central Europe's integration into the European Union and

the OECD... and sharing our expertise, from training commercial bankers in Slovakia to helping Russia revamp its tax code.

These efforts are paying off. Many Central European nations are moving from aid to trade. Some -- like Poland and the Czech Republic -- are among Europe's fastest growing economies. Today, America is Russia's largest private investor -- and our total trade with Russia has grown 65% in the last three years. More trade and investment in Europe's new democracies -- with their millions of new consumers -- means more jobs and higher wages at home.

We are also deepening security cooperation with all who share our values and our vision of peace. A key part of this process is NATO's enlargement. NATO can do for Europe's east what it did 50 years ago for Europe's west: prevent a return to local rivalries; strengthen democracy against future threats; and provide the conditions for fragile market economies to flourish.

Two years ago, the United States laid a cornerstone of the new Europe by initiating the Partnership for Peace. From the Black Sea waters of Romania to the bayous of Louisiana, Partners and allies are building bridges of cooperation. For some countries, the Partnership will be the path to NATO membership. For others, it will be an active link to the Alliance. For all, it is a powerful incentive to deepen democracy, establish civilian control of the military, and be responsible members of the global community.

Already, we are seeing results. Right now in Bosnia, soldiers from at least 13 Partner states are standing shoulder-to-shoulder with NATO troops. One of those Partners, Hungary, is the major staging ground for America's contribution to the NATO force.

Over the next four years, we must lock in these gains for the 21st century. This means moving NATO enlargement forward on the same steady, transparent track we have followed since the start. NATO membership brings rights -- and essential responsibilities. Calls to move more quickly risk setting back -- rather than accelerating -- the process that our nation has done so much to create, by compromising the consensus within the Alliance on bringing in new members.

But those nations that are ready to add to NATO's strength must not be kept in limbo. Delaying enlargement would destroy the momentum that we have built and dispirit the new democracies that have worked so hard to reform.

As enlargement moves forward, we must also work to make the NATO-Russia relationship a full-fledged partnership. Our teamwork in the Contact Group and between our troops in Bosnia has shown that such a partnership is both possible and productive. It is a harbinger of the undivided Europe that lies before us, if we all have the vision and determination to achieve it.

Building a Stronger Shield Against the Forces of Destruction

Just as the fall of the Iron Curtain revealed a window of opportunity in Europe, so it cleared the way to build a safer, more secure world -- by stepping back from the nuclear precipice, and reducing the chance that rogue states or terrorists could acquire nuclear weapons.

Of course, maintaining a strong defense must always be our first priority. Today, at George Washington University, Secretary Perry is highlighting the importance of our missile defense program in reducing the risk of a nuclear, chemical, or biological attack from rogue nations. This program maintains the missile defenses that we currently have to protect our troops in the field... and focuses on getting better defenses into the field as soon as possible. At the same time, it will give us the capability to protect against a rogue missile threat to our nation, if such a threat should arise.

But we are doing all we can to make sure that it never does. Rather than simply focus on what one analyst called "the last 15 minutes of the problem" -- the time it takes for a distant warhead to reach America's shores -- we have worked hard in the here and now to reduce the chance of attack.

Our strategy has two interconnected aims: first, decreasing and dismantling existing weapons, and second, preventing weapons of mass destruction from falling into the wrong hands. This is complex and painstaking work. It is also often unheralded. People rarely notice when a crisis is prevented. But few achievements have a greater impact on the safety of our citizens.

Today, because of our steady engagement with Russia and the new independent states, America's cities and families are no longer targeted by Russia's missiles. Kazakstan has given up the nuclear weapons left on its soil, and Ukraine and Belarus are doing the same. Together, START I and START II -- which we hope the Russian Duma will soon approve -- will slash by two-thirds the nuclear arsenals that we and the former Soviet Union held at the height of the Cold War. And from Moscow to Almaty, scientists who once built nuclear weapons aimed at American cities are now working with us to dismantle them safely and securely.

On another front, after a difficult period of determined diplomacy, the North Korean nuclear program has been frozen and will ultimately be reversed. Our global diplomacy also helped secure the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty -- the cornerstone of global efforts against the spread of nuclear weapons. And we are working more closely than ever with our friends and allies to combat nuclear smuggling.

We made important progress last week in Moscow, first at the nuclear summit and then in President Clinton's meeting with President Yeltsin -- to improve the security of nuclear materials... make safer the civilian use of nuclear power... distinguish between antiballistic missile systems that are limited by the ABM Treaty and theater missile defenses, which are not... and achieve signature this September of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

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But if we want to ward off future threats, we must build on this solid foundation. Treaties and agreements are only as good as their implementation... and a lump of plutonium the size of a soda can is enough to make an atomic bomb.

We must fulfill our arms control agenda -- strengthening the Biological Weapons Convention, concluding and signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and ratifying the Chemical Weapons Convention. Even as I speak, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is meeting to consider ratification of the CWC, which will reduce the threat of chemical weapons proliferation and use, including by terrorists. We are urging the Senate to approve this important treaty without delay.

We must also complete the global ban on the production of fissile material... strengthen safeguards on existing nuclear material... fully implement the Agreed Framework with North Korea... and strive to persuade China to be a full partner in international nonproliferation efforts.

Nuclear smuggling is just one of a growing network of threats that prey on open societies -- from terrorism to drug trafficking to organized crime. Today, groups that once operated in only one country or region, or engaged in only one type of criminal activity, are becoming global and diversified. Left unchecked, these transnational syndicates of crime distort free economies, derail fragile democracies, and tear at the fabric of our societies.

No nation is immune to such threats, and none can defeat them alone. That is why we have worked so hard to forge a shield of international cooperation -- from helping train and equip

customs officials around the world to fight smuggling in drugs, guns, and nuclear materials... to opening FBI offices in Hungary and Russia... to working more closely than ever with other nations.

Our strategy is paying off. We've foiled terrorist attacks on New York City and American jumbo jets. We've extradited and arrested more terrorists than all previous Administrations combined. With Colombian officials, we've cracked down on the cartels that control the world's cocaine market and put the kingpins behind bars... although the organizations they created survive.

Just as we've worked with our friends abroad, we've also done our part at home -- increasing resources, training, and personnel for law enforcement... giving our nation's new Drug Czar a strong mandate to fight narcotics... and now, with yesterday's anti-terrorism legislation, providing law enforcement important new tools to track down, crack down, and shut down terrorists.

But more must be done. Last year at the United Nations, President Clinton called on the global community to join in common cause against these common threats. Now we must turn our goals into action -- starting by identifying the banking safe havens where criminal cartels stash their illegal gains... working with other nations to outlaw such activities... and considering sanctions against recalcitrant nations. We must break up these international criminal conglomerates that have grown so big they threaten even governments and emerging democracies.

If we do these things, we can look forward to a world in which the forces of destruction are on the defensive -- more likely to be deterred, to be caught, and to be punished. If a disaster strikes five years from now, we don't want to look back and say we didn't do all we could to prevent it.

Trade

The two "construction projects" I've discussed so far -- building an undivided Europe, and forging a stronger shield against the forces of destruction -- have an obvious impact on the security of the American people. But we define "national security" in terms of people's daily lives -- and that means not just the military security of our nation, but our citizens' economic well-being as well. In an era where goods and ideas are traded all over the world... and where millions of dollars can flash across the planet at the stroke of a computer key... it is clear that our economic welfare is tied to the rest of the world.

That is why we have worked so hard to build a new global trading system. Through painstaking negotiation and hard-headed persuasion, we are opening markets to American goods and services and creating new opportunities for American companies and workers. Now, with regional efforts like NAFTA, APEC and the Summit of the Americas, global accords such as the Uruguay Round, and tough bilateral negotiations like the U.S.-Japan auto agreements, barriers are coming down and our exports are going up -- creating more than 1 million good, high-paying jobs in just the last three years.

You can see the results of our strategy in the progress we've made in Japan. There is more hard work ahead, but in the last three years, our two nations have signed 21 separate trade agreements, covering everything from medical supplies to computers. Our exports in those sectors are up about 85 percent -- meaning more jobs and better pay for American workers, and lower prices and greater choice for Japanese consumers.

We also created America's first National Export Strategy, helping our firms walk through the doors we opened with trade agreements. Ron Brown symbolized the commitment we put into this project -- mobilizing leaders at every level of government to fight for American business. With our support, American firms have won more than \$57 billion in foreign business contracts since November 1993.

To sustain this performance and strengthen prosperity into the 21st century, our nation must enforce existing trade agreements, including the more than 180 agreements concluded by the Clinton Administration. We must transform our vision for free trade in the Americas into concrete results, including by expansion of NAFTA to Chile. And we must build on our blueprint for free trade in the Asia-Pacific -- the fastest-growing market in the world.

Conclusion

Even as we lay the foundation for the new century -- dealing with today's crises, and building tomorrow's framework for stability, security and prosperity -- the tools we rely on are the same as ever: Diplomacy where we can; force where we must. Working with others where we can; and

alone when we have to. Keeping our military strong while adapting our alliances to new demands. And maintaining constructive relations with the world's great powers -- those nations that have the greatest ability to help or hinder us in our efforts.

Just as we rely on time-proven tools, so we are fulfilling a timeless mission. In many regions, the roots of the democratic society -- pluralism, tolerance, liberty -- are not yet firm. Now, as before, our special role in the world is to safeguard and strengthen the community of democracies and open markets.

Enlargement of democracy is central to all of the challenges I have mentioned today. A democratic Europe is more likely to remain at peace, and to be a strong partner in diplomacy, security, and trade. Democratic nations are less likely to go to war against one another -- and more likely to join us in promoting arms control, fighting proliferation, and combating the forces of destruction. And democracy undergirds the open markets that promote prosperity -- because the rule of law helps guarantee that contracts are respected... just as the searchlight of free media can help expose corruption.

But all of these tools, and all of these goals, demand resources. Yes, leadership has a price. But wouldn't you rather invest in an undivided Europe, in arms control, in open markets today... than suffer the cost of future Bosnias, nuclear terrorism, and stagnating wages tomorrow? Isn't it smarter to help put the United Nations on sound financial footing, and strengthen rather than weaken its peacekeeping capacities, than to face the same dilemma every time a global crisis

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strikes: Must we act by ourselves or not act at all? Doesn't it make more sense to provide the foreign assistance that helps other nations to help themselves... than to wait until they fall apart -- and then face pressures to intervene at a much higher cost in resources, risk, and human lives?

At the end of the day, our security and prosperity, and our outlook for the future, depend on our ability to shape the post-Cold War world. Previous generations spent trillions of dollars to protect America's security during the Cold War. We have a responsibility to make sure that their victory isn't frittered away by short-sighted, nickel-and-dime policies.

Over the next four years, we have a chance to pave the way to a bright new century -- in which Central Europe, where two world wars began, becomes an anchor of stability in an undivided, democratic Europe... in which we work with our allies and friends in the Asia-Pacific to sustain our security and build a future of growing prosperity... in which the dark cloud of nuclear destruction gives way to the sunshine of peace... in which open societies flourish, linked and invigorated by open markets... in which our children and children everywhere can make the most of their talents and dreams. That is America's challenge on the eve of the millennium. America can -- and must -- meet it. I think we will.

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May 17, 1996, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1314 words

HEADLINE: EUROPE;

EX-COMMUNISTS DON'T LOOK BACK;

UNLIKE THEIR NOSTALGIC RUSSIAN BRETHREN, FORMER MARXISTS WHO GOVERN SOME BALTIC
AND FORMER SATELLITE COUNTRIES EMBRACE REFORM.

BYLINE: DEAN E. MURPHY, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

When the former Communists won parliamentary elections here more than two years ago, a giddy Jerzy Urban appeared at party headquarters with a gigantic bottle of champagne.

The ubiquitous spokesman for Poland's last authoritarian regime was feeling so self-satisfied that he even posed for photographers with his tongue sticking out.

But embarrassed leaders of the triumphant Democratic Left Alliance never popped the cork with Urban, who publishes an acerbic political weekly that often mocks Poland's transformation. And when former Communist Aleksander Kwasniewski won the Polish presidency last year, Urban was not on hand.

"I apologize to all those--and some of them are here in this room--who suffered injustice and misdeeds from the authorities and the system before 1989," Kwasniewski told Polish lawmakers, publicly proclaiming his revamped party's break with the past.

Communists are back in Poland and across Central and Eastern Europe, but old-style communism is not.

As the world anxiously awaits the outcome of next month's presidential election in Russia--where some fear a victory by Communist Party leader Gennady A. Zyuganov would threaten democratic and market reforms--analysts say resurgent ex-Communists elsewhere in the region have little in common with their backward-looking Moscow brethren.

If Communists turn back the clock in Russia, the analysts say, do not expect Moscow's erstwhile vassals in the former Eastern Bloc to do the same.

Enthusiasm for democracy and the free market varies greatly from country to

Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1996

country, and some reformed Communists remain as corrupt and authoritarian as ever.

But there is no groundswell of support for a return to the socialist way of yore, particularly one dominated by Moscow.

Indeed, Eastern Europeans of most political leanings view the Communist resurgence in Moscow--and its preoccupation with Russia's lost empire--with more consternation than excitement.

While communism was home-grown in Russia, it was an instrument of imperialism elsewhere.

"Things may be bad here but not as bad as before 1989," said a Western diplomat in Slovakia, which has one of the poorest records of democratic reform in Central Europe and a governing elite with strong ties to the Communist-era nomenklatura. "The emphasis remains on the West and getting Western capital."

With a few exceptions, such as the former Soviet republic of Belarus, which recently tightened its association with Moscow, the new breed of former Communists among Russia's neighbors owes nothing to Moscow and has no allegiance to the ideology of old.

"The specter of communism," made famous by Karl Marx in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, is not haunting Europe again, even though only a handful of countries in the region--including Albania, the Czech Republic, Estonia and Latvia--have governments that were not born from the Communist past.

Instead, many of the former Communists are recasting themselves as social democrats, a left-wing alternative to socialism that is popular in Western European democracies and was actually derided by Marx.

Pragmatic, reformist and experienced in governing, the new social democrats of the East have won voters by promising to soften the blow of capitalism without returning to traditional socialism.

Many have gotten wildly rich because of the transformation, giving them political and financial stakes in its perpetuation.

Even the most moribund reformers with questionable social democratic credentials, such as those in Romania, are pushing for entry into the European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization, not a reassembling of pre-1989 alliances, as has been advocated by Communists in Moscow.

"People want compromise and pragmatic leaders," Kwasniewski said in an interview. "The new system has not solved people's problems. But only a very small part of society is nostalgic."

How to find compromise without undoing democratic reforms, undermining the economy and scaring off Western investors has become the mainstay of political debate among former Communists in the region.

The Hungarian Socialist Party, successor to the Communists, has aggressively set out to dismantle the country's bloated social-welfare system, but the

Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1996

controversial effort has divided the party and angered its traditional working-class supporters.

In Bulgaria, a fiercely anti-Communist president and a parliament dominated by former Communists have been locked in a bitter dispute over the pace of reforms.

President Zhelyu Zhelev says the Bulgarian Socialist Party is trying to smother private enterprise, while Prime Minister Zhan Videnov accuses Zhelev of protecting an "unscrupulous minority of racketeers" who has profited from the changes.

"In the end of the 1980s, communism was already falling apart, and its main aim had become simply to have power," Polish historian Jerzy Holzer said. "Those Communists who later came to lead post-Communist parties were people without ideology. They were opportunists and pragmatists, and in that sense they were able to adjust to the new political situation."

Die-hard Communists who resisted the reform wave, by contrast, have been relegated to the political ash heap.

In the Czech Republic, for example, where national elections will be held in two weeks, the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia is expected to collect just 10% of the vote, while a hard-line splinter group, the Party of Czechoslovak Communists, doesn't even register in opinion polls.

The Czech Social Democratic Party, meanwhile, is showing large gains against the right-wing ruling party of Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. The social democrats, who trace their roots to the 19th century, were absorbed by the Communist Party in 1948 but separated again after 1989.

"Russia is really the only country where Communists are openly Communist and proud of their heritage," said Juri Luik, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Central European Communists are ready to play in the new playground, but Russian Communists say they are ready to change the rules of the game."

(BEGIN TEXT OF INFOBOX / INFOGRAPHIC)

Communist Connections

A new breed of reformed Communists has risen to power in some Baltic and former Warsaw Pact countries.

BULGARIA*

President: Zhelyu Zhelev (opposition figure under communism)

Ruling parliamentary party: Bulgarian Socialist Party (largely former Communists)

CZECH REPUBLIC

Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1996

President: Vaclav Havel (opposition figure under communism)
Ruling parliamentary parties: Center Right Coalition: Civic Democratic Party,
Christian Democratic Party and Civic Democratic Alliance

ESTONIA

President: Lennart Meri

Ruling parliamentary parties: Coalition Party, Reform Party-Liberal

HUNGARY*

President: Arpad Goncz (opposition figure under communism)

Ruling parliamentary parties: Socialist Party (former Communists) and
Federation of Free Democrats

LATVIA

President: Guntis Ulmanis

Ruling parliamentary parties: Saimnieks Democratic Party, Latvian Way Union,
Fatherland and Freedom Alliance

LITHUANIA*

President: Algirdas Brazauskas (former Communist)

Ruling parliamentary party: Democratic Labor Party (former Communists)

POLAND*

President: Aleksander Kwasniewski (former Communist)

Ruling parliamentary parties: Democratic Left Alliance and Polish Peasant
Party (both with Communist-era roots)

ROMANIA*

President: Ion Iliescu (former Communist)

Ruling parliamentary party: Party of Social Democracy (former Communists)

Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1996

SLOVAKIA*

President: Michal Kovac (former Communist)

Ruling parliamentary parties: Movement for Democratic Slovakia, Assn. of
Workers of Slovakia and Slovak National Party (includes former Communists)

* Countries where former Communists hold high office

GRAPHIC: GRAPHIC-MAP: Communist Connections, VICTOR KOTOWITZ / Los Angeles Times

GRAPHIC-DRAWING: Communist Connections, VICTOR KOTOWITZ / Los Angeles Times

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 17, 1996

2ND DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

January 12, 1995

CITE: 31 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 51

LENGTH: 4300 words

HEADLINE: Remarks at the White House Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe in Cleveland, Ohio

BODY:

Thank you very much. Mayor White, Congressmen Stokes and Sawyer and Brown, distinguished officials here from Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. Secretary Brown, thank you for your kind introduction. That was an illustration of Bill Clinton's second law of politics, that introduction: Whenever possible, be introduced by someone you've appointed to high office. [Laughter] You always get a good one. [Laughter]

I do want to say here that I believe, in the history of the Department of Commerce, there has never been a better Secretary than Bon Brown. I am grateful to him for his dedication to the American business community and to the growth of the American economy, and for his commitment to international outreach.

I thank the Commerce Department and the Business Council for International Understanding for organizing this conference. You've assembled an impressive and diverse group, delegations from Central and Eastern Europe, business leaders from the United States and Europe, American ethnic leaders from all around our country, and so many outstanding State and local officials. I thank you all for being here.

I have to say, I'm especially pleased we're meeting in Cleveland. Many of the men and women who made this great city a foundation of America's industrial heartland came to our shores from Central Europe. With just a little money but lots of determination and discipline and vision, they helped to build our great Nation. And now their children and their grandchildren are leaders in Cleveland and in dozens of other American communities all across our country. Strong bonds of memory, heritage, and pride link them today to Europe's emerging democracies. So it's fitting that we should be meeting here.

I also chose Cleveland because people here know what it takes to adapt to the new global economy. Whether you're in this, great, State or in Central Europe's coal and steel belt, meeting the challenges of change are hard. But Cleveland, Cleveland is transforming itself into a center for international trade. And it is a real model for economic growth throughout our country. Already, Cleveland exports \$ 5.5 billion worth of goods every year. And that trade supports 100,000 jobs.

Cleveland was one of the cities to recently win a highly competitive effort to secure one of our empowerment zones. And Cleveland was selected because of the remarkable partnership that has been put together here between the public and private sectors. So I'm very glad to be here.

Public Papers of the Presidents

I came to this office with a mission for my country that involves all the countries represented here today. I came because I believed we had to make some changes to keep the American dream alive in the United States, to restore a sense of opportunity and possibility to our people in a time of great and sweeping change, and to give us a clear sense of purpose at the end of the cold war, as we move toward the 21st century.

But I also wanted us to move into that new century still the world's leader for peace and democracy, for freedom and for prosperity. This conference symbolizes both those objectives. We have worked hard in the United States to get our economy going again, to get our Government deficit down, to invest in our people and the technologies of the future, to expand trade for our own benefit. We have been fortunate in this country in the last 2 years in generating over 5.5 million new jobs, and having a new sense that we could bring back every important sector of our economy. But we know that over the long run, our success economically in America depends upon our being true to our values here at home and around the world.

And so I say to you that I came here today because I know that America must remain engaged in the world. If we do so, clearly, we have an historic opportunity to enhance the security and increase the prosperity of our own people in a society that we hope will be characterized forevermore by trade and culture and learning across national lines than by hatred and fighting and war.

Many of you in this room are proving that proposition every day. The new partnerships that you are forging between America and Central Europe bring tangible benefits to all the people involved. Increased trade and investment promotes our exports. It gives our people new skills and creates good jobs -- but not only for us, for our trading partners as well. And it plays another very important role: It gives us a dividend by helping the nations with which we trade, and especially the nations in Central Europe, to consolidate their hard-won democracy on a foundation of free enterprise and political freedom.

In all of our countries, we stand at the start of a new era, an era of breathtaking change and expanding opportunities. The explosion of trade and technology has produced a new global economy in which people and ideas and capital come together more quickly, more easily, more creatively than ever before. It is literally true that the end of the cold war has liberated millions of Europeans and introduced both free markets and democracy to countries not only there but on every continent of the globe.

But this promise is also clouded by fear and uncertainty. Economic uncertainty, the breakdown of the old rules of the social contract is a problem in every advanced Western democracy. And in wealthy countries in the East, like Japan, and beyond that and even deeper, aggression by malicious states, transnational threats like overpopulation and environmental degradation, terrible ethnic conflicts and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, all these problems beyond our own borders make it tempting to many Americans to retrench behind our borders, to say, "Look, we've got a lot of possibilities, and we've got more problems than we can handle here at home, so let's just forget about the rest of the world for a while. We did our job in the cold war. We spent our money to keep the world free from communism, and we are tired, and we've got plenty to do here."

There are many people who believe exactly that in this country and in our Congress. But the very fact of democracy's triumph in the cold war, while it has led some to argue that we ought to confine our focus to challenges here at home and to say we cannot afford to lead anymore, in fact, imposes on us new responsibilities and new opportunities. And I would argue that we cannot benefit the American people here at home unless we assume those responsibilities and seize those opportunities.

Those who say we can just walk away have views that are shortsighted. We must reach out, not retrench. I will continue to work in this new Congress with both the Republicans and the Democrats to forge a bipartisan coalition of internationalists who share those same convictions. The agreement we reached yesterday with congressional leaders from both sides of the aisle to help Mexico restore full confidence in its economy demonstrates the potential of a coalition committed to America's interests in the world of tomorrow. And I will do everything in my power, as I have done for 2 years now, to keep our country engaged in the world. I won't let anyone or anything divert the United States from this course. The whole future of the world and the future of our children here in the United States depend on our continued involvement and leadership in the world.

History teaches us, after all, that security and prosperity here at home require that we maintain a focus abroad. Remember that after World War I the United States refused the leadership role. We withdrew behind our borders, behind our big trade barriers. We left a huge vacuum that was filled with the forces of hatred and tyranny. The resulting struggle to preserve our freedom in World War II cost millions of lives and required all the energy and resources we could muster to forestall an awful result.

After the Second World War, a wise generation of Americans refused to let history repeat itself. So in the face of the Communist challenge, they helped to shape NATO, the Marshall Plan, GATT, and the other structures that ensured 50 years of building prosperity and security for America, for Western Europe, and Japan.

Ultimately, the strength of those structures, the force of democracy and the heroic determination of peoples to be free produced victory in the cold war. Now, in the aftermath of that victory, it is our common responsibility not to squander the peace. We must realize the full potential of that victory. Now that freedom has been won, all our people deserve to reap the tangible rewards of their sacrifice, people in the United States and people in Central Europe. Now that freedom has been won, our nations must be determined that it will never be lost again.

The United States is seizing this moment. History has given us a gift, and the results are there to prove it. Because of the agreements we reached with Russia, with Belarus, with Kazakhstan, with Ukraine, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, Americans can go to bed at night knowing that nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union are no longer pointed at our children.

Our patient but hardheaded diplomacy has secured an agreement with North Korea on nuclear issues that is clearly and profoundly in our interest. The

critics of that agreement are wrong. The deal stops North Korea's nuclear program in its tracks. It will roll it back in years to come. International inspectors confirm that the program is frozen, and they will continue to monitor it.

No critic has come up with an alternative that isn't either unfeasible or foolhardy. Our troops who maintain their preparedness and their enormous capacity to stand up for freedom as the finest fighting force in the world have stood down Iraq's threat to the security of the Persian Gulf. They caused the military regime in Haiti to step down peacefully, to give the Haitians a chance at democracy.

We're using our influence constructively to help people from the Middle East to Southern Africa to transform their conflicts into cooperation. We have used our ability to lead on issues like GATT and NAFTA and the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Summit of the Americas to help to create a new trading system for the next century.

Already trade is becoming more free and more fair and producing better jobs for our people and for others around the world. In Central Europe, as elsewhere, the United States has moved aggressively to shape the future. The reasons are simple, helping Central Europe to consolidate democracy, to build strong economies is clearly the best way to prevent assaults on freedom that, as this century has so painfully demonstrated, can turn quickly into all-consuming war. A healthy and prosperous Central Europe is good for America. It will become a huge new market for our goods and our services.

America is also engaged with Central Europe because it's the right thing to do. For four and a half decades, we challenged these nations to cast away the shackles of communism. Now that they have done so, surely we have an obligation to work with them -- all of you who are here -- to make sure that your people share with our people the rewards of freedom that the next century and the new economy can bring.

Some argue that open government and free markets can't take root in some countries, that there are boundaries, that there will necessarily be boundaries to democracy in Europe. They would act now in anticipation of those boundaries by creating an artificial division of the new continent. Others claim that we simply must not extend the West's institution of security and prosperity at all, that to do so would upset a delicate balance of power. They would confine the newly free peoples of Central Europe to a zone of insecurity and, therefore, of instability.

I believe that both those visions for Europe are too narrow, too skeptical, perhaps even too cynical. One year ago this week, in Brussels, in Prague, in Kiev, in Moscow, and in Minsk, I set forth a vision of a different Europe, a new Europe that would be an integrated community of secure and increasingly prosperous democracies, a Europe that for the first time since nation states came into existence on the European Continent would not be subject to a dividing line. With our engagement with the countries of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, we can help to make that vision a lasting reality.

First, Europe must be secure. The break-up of the Soviet Union has made the promise of security more real than it has been for decades. But reform in

Russia and all the states of the former Soviet Union will not be completed overnight, in a straight line, or without rocky bumps in the road. It will prove rough and unsteady from time to time, as the tragic events in Chechnya remind us today. Chechnya is part of the Russian Federation, and we support the territorial integrity of Russia, just as we support the territorial integrity of all its neighbors. But the violence must end. I call again on all the parties to stop spilling blood and start making peace.

Every day the fighting in Chechnya continues is a day of wasted lives and wasted resources and wasted opportunity. So we again encourage every effort to bring to a lasting end the bloodshed. We encourage the proposals put forth by the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. These proposals deserve to be heard and embraced.

Some have used this conflict in Chechnya to question continued American support for reform in Russia. But that conflict, terrible though it is, has not changed the nature of our interest. We have a tremendous stake in the success of Russia's efforts to become a stable, democratic nation and so do all the countries represented here today. That is why the United States will not waiver from our course of patient, responsible support for Russian reform. It would be a terrible mistake to react reflexively to the ups and downs that Russia is experiencing and was bound to experience all along and will continue to experience in the years ahead, indeed, perhaps for decades, as it undergoes an historic transformation.

If the forces of reform are embattled, we must renew not retreat from our support for them. So we will continue again to lead a bipartisan effort here at home and an international coalition abroad to work with Russia and also with the other new independent states of the former Soviet Union to support reform, to support progress, to support democracy, to support freedom.

We are well aware, too, of Central Europe's security concerns. We will never condone any state in Europe threatening the sovereignty of its neighbors again. That is why the United States protected Baltic independence by pressing successfully for the withdrawal of Russian troops.

In this period of great social and political change, we want to help countries throughout Central Europe achieve stability, the stability they need to build strong democracies and to foster prosperity. To promote that stability, the United States established the Partnership For Peace. And we have taken the lead in preparing for the gradual, open and inevitable expansion of NATO. In just a year, the Partnership For Peace has become a dynamic forum for practical military and political cooperation among its members. For some countries, the partnership will be the path to full NATO membership. For others, the partnership will be a strong and lasting link to the NATO alliance.

Last month, clearly and deliberately, NATO began to map out the road to enlargement. Neither NATO nor the United States can today give a date certain for expansion, nor can we say today which countries will be the first new members. But let me repeat what I have said before: The questions concerning NATO expansion are not whether NATO will expand, not if NATO will expand, but when and how. And when expansion begins, it will come as no surprise to anyone. Its conditions, its timing, its military implications will be well and widely known and discussed in advance.

NATO membership is not a right. We expect those who seek to join the alliance to prepare themselves through the Partnership For Peace, for the obligations of membership; they are important. Countries with repressive political systems, countries with designs on their neighbors, countries with militaries unchecked by civilian control or with closed economic systems need not apply.

And let me say once again: Only the 16 members of NATO will decide on expansion. But NATO expansion should not be seen as replacing one division of Europe with another one. It should, it can, and I am determined that it will increase security for all European states, members and nonmembers alike. In parallel with expansion, NATO must develop close and strong ties with Russia. The alliance's relationship with Russia should become more direct, more open, more ambitious, more frank.

European security embraces a democratic Russia. But for Central Europe to enjoy true security, its nations must also develop not only military ties and security arrangements, but also successful market economies. If we have learned anything about the new century toward which we are moving, it is that national security must be defined in terms that go far beyond military ideas and concepts. That's why we're all here. From Tallinn to Tirana, people must have good jobs so that they can provide for their families and feel the self-confidence necessary to support democracy. They must have the tools to adapt to this rapidly changing global economy. They must have economic confidence, in short, to believe in a democratic future.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the United States has played an important role in promoting these goals. We have strongly supported Central Europe's integration into the European Union. We have taken significant steps to improve access to our own markets, and we have provided Central Europe with financial aid, with technical support, and with debt relief. This assistance has been used for a staggering array of projects, from helping the Czech Republic draft a modern bankruptcy code, to training commercial bankers in Slovakia, to advertising and equipping modern and independent media throughout the region.

But for all our Government has done and will continue to do, the fact remains that only the private sector can mobilize the vast amounts of capital and the human skills and technology needed to help complete the transformation of Central Europe's free markets.

President Walesa put it to me this way last July: "What Poland needs," he said, "are more American generals, like General Electric and General Motors." [Laughter] That's not a commercial; I could have advertised the other auto companies, the other electric companies. [Laughter] Congressman Stokes reminded me that Lincoln Electric here in Cleveland just got the Secretary of Commerce's E Award last night. But the point is that President Walesa's comment defines national security for Poland in a broader context and demonstrates an understanding of what it will take for democracy and freedom to flourish.

In just 5 years, most of the countries in Central Europe have undertaken many of the difficult reforms necessary to build credibility with investors and trading partners, to make themselves attractive to the General Electric and the General Motors. Bold economic reform works. Countries that have pursued it with the greatest conviction have rebounded most quickly from the recession.

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They are among Europe's fastest growing economies. And they are drawing the most foreign trade and investment.

More trade and investment is good for Central Europe. But make no mistake about it, it's also very good for the United States. For all of us, it means more jobs, higher wages, an opportunity to learn the new skills we need to succeed in the new global economy. And I say again, it means more real security.

Consider the benefits of just two recent American ventures in Central Europe: The International Paper Company of New York bought a major mill in Poland, retrained its work force, and turned it into a thriving exporter. It also acquired a strong presence in the competitive European market that will generate \$ 30 million in American exports in support of hundreds of jobs back here at home.

Denver-based US West will soon bring nationwide cellular phone service to Hungary. That will give Hungarians, who now wait an average of 12 years to get a phone, immediate access to modern communications. And it will produce \$ 28 million in United States exports and support hundreds of jobs here in the United States. I have to say, sort of off the record, that we'll also soon make the Hungarians as frayed around the edges and overbusy as Americans are with their cellular phones. [Laughter] But if they want it, we should help them have it. [Laughter]

I am very proud that these and literally dozens of other projects went forward with the help of loans and insurance and other guarantees from the United States Government. But I know what our trade and investment in Central Europe could do if we were all to make the most of the opportunities that are there. Our involvement should be much greater. American companies and investors are second to none in identifying good opportunities. But they will reject a project if road-blocks to getting it done efficiently and fairly are too high, especially given the fierce competition for trade and investment from Latin America and Asia.

Our companies need to be sure that when they make a deal, it won't be arbitrarily reversed. They look for full information and reasonable regulation. They want clear commercial tacks and legal codes. And of course they want private sector counterparts, the driving force of Central Europe's economies, with whom they can do business.

One of the most effective roles the United States can play is to promote continued reform and to help businesses do business, which of course is what this conference is all about. But our efforts did not begin and will not end here in Cleveland. Already we have concluded investment and taxation treaties with many of the countries represented here. The Trade and Development Agency has identified thousands of business opportunities throughout Central Europe. Peace Corps volunteers are teaching business, banking, and finance skills to new entrepreneurs. Our Export-Import Bank is promoting the use of America's products for major infrastructure products and for bringing environmental technology and expertise to Central Europe.

And today I am pleased to announce that the Overseas Private Investment Corporation has set up two new equity funds that, together with funds OPIC already supports, should leverage more than \$ 4 billion in private investment.

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Every United States economic agency is working hard to help American business, big and small, to take advantage of the opportunities in Central Europe and around the world. And I want to say that what I said about Secretary Brown and the Commerce Department could also be said about the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. It is the strongest economic team the United States has ever put in the field of international business, and we intend to see it keep working until we make a success of the ventures like the one we're engaged in here today.

All of their teamwork has proved that Government can work for the American people, a proposition very much in doubt in our country today. I know how difficult and unsettling this period of change is for so many people all over the countries represented in this room and here at home, as well. Sometimes it seems that the more you open your eyes to the world around you, the more confusing it becomes. But we must not lose sight of the fact that even greater forces of history are working for the development of human capacities and the fulfillment of human dreams than the forces working to undermine them.

And if we use these great positive forces, if we guide them, if we shape them, if we remain committed to making them work for us, we can make our people more secure and more prosperous. Look at what is happening in Central Europe. Every day, open societies and open economies are gaining strength. Every day, new entrepreneurs and businesses are spurring growth and are creating jobs in their own countries and for us back here in America as well. It is in our national interest to help them succeed. We cannot afford to do otherwise.

Just 6 years ago, the countries of Central Europe were still captive nations. Now, 120 million people have the freedom to speak their own minds, to create, to build, to prosper, to dream dreams and try to fulfill them. This new freedom is the fruit of Europe's struggle and America's support. We owe it to those who brought us this far -- more importantly, we owe it to ourselves and to our children -- not to turn our backs on their historic achievement or this historic moment. That is why this administration will not retreat. We will continue to reach out, working together, trading together, joining together. We will fulfill the great promise of this moment.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 a.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the Stouffer Renaissance Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Mayor Michael R. White of Cleveland. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 13, 1995

QUOTES FROM THE FOUNDING FATHERS

1. John Adams, Proclamation adopted by the Council of Massachusetts Bay, 1774:
"As the happiness of the people is the sole end of government, so the consent of the people is the only foundation of it, in reason, morality and the natural fitness of things."
2. Alexander Hamilton, Works, vol. ix, p. 72:
"A representative democracy, where the right of election is well secured and regulated, and the exercise of the legislative, executive and judiciary authorities is vested in select persons, chosen really and not nominally by the people, will, in my opinion, be most likely to be happy, regular and durable."
3. Thomas Jefferson, Writings, vol. xv, p. 33:
"Government are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of the people, and execute it."
4. Ibid., p. 234:
"No government can continue good but under the control of the people."
5. Ibid., vol. xvi, p. 22:
"The qualifications of self-government in society are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training, and for these they will require time and probably much suffering."
6. Ibid., vol. xix, p. 24:
"It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves."
7. George Washington, Letter to General Thomas Gage, August 20, 1775:
"I cannot conceive a rank more honorable, than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power."
8. John Adams, Letter to John Tyler, 1814:
"There is but one element of government, and that is the people. From this element spring all governments. 'For a nation to be free, it is only necessary that she will it.' For a nation to be a slave, it is only necessary that she will it."

**SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1996
FINAL SCHEDULE**

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA/KRAKOW, POLAND/WARSAW, POLAND

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BUCHAREST, ROMANIA: RICK JASCULCA
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ROOM 309

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90-26-01-01 IN COUNTRY CELL

SITE ADVANCE: PAUL WOODSON RM #2415
STEVE DIMINICO RM #2414

PRESS LEAD: IAN ALBERG RM #2410

NBO / Bucharest 7/2

Bld inst'ns

Create cond'ns for A

Give ppl a stake in the process

Has to be rooted in voluntary actions if it is
to have an impact

① Center of Gender Studies

- marginalization of women in politics
- violence vs women

② Ctr for Indep. Journalists

③ Human Rights

④ Training docs in pediatric care, disabled

⑤ Adoption / Reduce abandonment of children

⑥ Pro Democracy - Civic particip'n

⑦ Family planning & sex educ'n

⑧ Orphans, handicapped kids

⑨ Fam pls. reproductive rights

⑩ Communitarian, culture

⑪ Dvlp civil society - dialogues, forums, medicine & social assistance

⑫ Civic educ'n / Info / Legal structure of NBOs

⑬ AIDS / legal services, moral support, public info campaign

⑭ Business - women /

⑮

Pro Democracy - monitor elections in 1992 - trained for 2
years by NBO - 4,000 volunteers

Fnds for civil society - gives grants to develop non profit sectors

In 1989 in Romania -- only prof'l assoc's - no vol. NBOs
Leg'n in Parliament → strengthen activities of NBOs &
allow fundraising etc.

9,000 NBOs are registered but not all are active

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. fax	re: Hillary Rodham Clinton Schedule, July 02, 1996 [partial] (1 page)	07/01/1996	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
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FOLDER TITLE:

HRC - Central and Eastern Europe Background Material

2017-1164-S
rc2764

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1996
FINAL SCHEDULE
PAGE 2

RON ADVANCE: KAREN PETERSON RM #2408

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202-456-6419 OFFICE
202-456-5340 FAX
202-544-4123 HOME
WHCA PAGER #4797

NOTE: BAGGAGE CALL AT 8:00 AM OUTSIDE OF ROOMS

PREV RON Majestic Hotel
Bucharest, Romania
011-40-1-613-4126 PHONE
011-40-1-311-1826 FAX

8:45 am **DEPART** Majestic Hotel
EN ROUTE Village Museum
[drive time: 15 minutes]

NOTE: Dana Nicolescu, NGO Forum moderator, will brief HRC in car.

(b)(7)e

[002]

9:00 am

ARRIVE Village Museum

NGOS / Bucharest (2)

Nov → jobs

Indep. media

- was a total informational void
- all outlets / authorities
- 2 hrs of TV a day / 50% for ~~the~~ ^{Singur} abt leaders, the other 50% was ~~about~~ ^{about} the leader

Now thousands of newspapers + magazines

Pioneer democracy + free market economy

50+ TV stations

120 radio

500+ cable operators

Media = huge labor mkt (many engineers → media)

Private U.S. \$ → Ctr. for Indep. Journalism

run and operated by Romanians

Exchange skills + talent of U.S. + Romanian

- offer courses in basic jn, computer trng - internet etc.

Goal is to be self supporting orgniz'n

Fam Plg Search for sex ed + contraceptive.

Disinfo + misinformation

No fam plg

Pioneers in clinics -

52m of reproductive age in R'ria

Has trained all fam. plg clinicians (240 clinics)

HRC / Highest rate of abortion + maternal mortality in Europe

probs of access to fam plg + health are substantial

Distrust among women of med. establishment due to pre 1989 policies

whether forced abortion in China or forced ... in R'ria...

Inter Ethnic / Transylvania

- activities for kids - sports clubs etc
- public forum to address cultural differences
- assisted by US govt, volunteers, \$\$, counselors etc.
- helped us build partnership among citizens of diff backgrounds etc
- local media v. committed (some media devoted to breaking old stereotypes)

CLINTON LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY

TRIP MTG 6/12/96

7/7/96 Anniv. of Pogrom of '46 - many Jews killed who were survivors of Holocaust
Commemorations / govt has apologized for it
in Central Poland

ROMANIA / Rom-Ams worried abt Blieser using visit as a
prop for next elections. Needs to meet w/ oppos'n
(must also include mtg w/ Hungarian ^{minority} ~~mtg~~)

Remarks (opening round table)

POLAND / Cathedral / Kosciusko's grave / Cardinal } Krakow
Drive thru old-town

Auschwitz 2 1/2 hrs ✓

Warsaw

Jewish Ctr.

CZECH / Prague

Andeane RFE - govt, NGOs, etc.

Hospital - USMD funded.

GEORGIA / Shenn is building democracy; freedom of the press
- Foundation for Civil Society - Democracy Network
make brief remarks for NGO forum
(ethnic Hungarians will be part of opposition)

HUNGARY / Test? lunch w/ PM - June
Women's Event → opening remarks -
opening of new USIA bldg - June

(T.P.)

ESTONIA / Need sth w/ ethnic Russian community? Or just
mention in speech / write to speech?
Right after Russian 2nd rd election
Salon security + independence of the USSR
multi ethnic balance

FINLAND /

SPEECHES / REMARKS

- 7/1 Romania ① Opening remarks for roundtable
Building civil society
- 7/3 Poland ① Grant Allocation - Warsaw
civil society / democracy
② Women's Event - Talking Pts?
- 7/4 Czech Republic ① RFE
- 7/6 Slovakia ① Opening remarks - NGO forum
democracy network / civil society
- 7/6 - Hungary ① Toast - lunch w/ PM
7/7 ② Women's Event Opening Remarks?
~~③ Opening of new USA Bldg?~~
④ Roma Center - Daily Heb Foundation
- 7/9 Estonia ① Tallin - Nat'l Library

NATO Enlargement

✓ Dole-Kiehlman legislation

v. important to learn far fwd on security
we have always considered you part of the West
+ always will
for security imp to our security
we will never abandon you

Values come first

NATO is our shared expression of common values.

Belgium is ~~on the map~~ ^{in NATO not just} bc of location but bc home of French, Dutch, Germans etc.

HUNGARY 8 yrs ago was a Warsaw Pact nation

Now largest staging ground for IFOR -

GENERAL

Stroke → Process is going fwd. They will see real progress in real time

Pres C has led alliance on this. Wld not be a meaningful discussion w/o his leadership

→ Now in phase 1 daily discussions w/ indiv countries

→ NATO = 16 states / we are in the lead but must have consensus

We will not leave NATO democracies waiting forever

Our response to keep the road open for you - together we'll make this happen

- We have to make sure that enlargement of NATO doesn't create a new Iron Curtain

⊗ - This is our first chance to build an undivided Europe

① NATO enlargement not directed to or vs any state

② No enemy now w/ end of C. War

③ NATO process will not detract from any state's security

④ NATO must have relationship w/ Russian Federation

→ met w/ Russian Council in Bosnia →

TRIP / PLG. MTD

647-4139

Warsaw - set out Nemes July 1
Prague - RFE July 4
Estonia - July 9

Romania? - structure of democratic society
diverse grps in society
resource of youth
"The building of civil society"

Prague - on 4th of July
have American msg - our day of Independence
You did here in a unique way
Assertion of independence that was
accomplished so uniquely

Warsaw - broadest Nemes / ask all of these countries
integration - you're joining the West +
America's commitment the West's with

② Bipartisanship - Both parties across the board
We've been w/ Polish people for decades
U.S. made a commitment: 1989

We meant it - we're going to
w/ you all the way

You're joining the distance -
Entering in OECD

NATO enlargement

It's about how U.S. + Amer people believe
in an integrated region -

Why we fought WW2, endured Cold War

shared values (more than the political
strategies)

Strength or diversity
democratic values

view each segment of society as a strength
you draw on - women etc/all in

TRIP PLG/12 5/29/96

Warsaw
(cont)

optimize each segment of society

- Hardship

Persistence

> concentrate on Polish
experience

Been carved up so many x

Maintained their identity - democracy could
id'd w/ universal values & leaders

talk book
Lonsky 1971
Kosciuszko conf to
U.S.

Importance of Polish-American
relationship

Values of democracy -

lies at heart of our relationship

Women's piece >

Head of nat'l bank apptd by Walensa
ex-communist trade union

many former underground journalists
women carried the ball during Marshal Law

Economic transformation has been v. hard
on families + on professions

dominated by women (teachers, health)

Opportunities have been greater for men
(entrepreneurs etc.)

Uprising of 1863 - after it was crushed women were
black -

Also during Marshal Law

Why are we here?

Why is C. Europe important?

Why does America care?

GENERAL
BLKORD

Most imp't event of our lifetimes = end of Soviet
communism

Last time in the region saw the worst of consequences:

- Bosnia

This time → region that represents the 1st news
abt transition to democracy & free mkt econ.

Dynamic, hopeful, upbeat mood in the region

Eager to join the West (NATO)

See NATO as security (military)

Also want seat at the table where U.S. is chairman

Homelands of millions of American people

People generally love U.S. & this Admin.

Two problems:

① Most of these countries have too much
history to their own goods - lots of hatreds

Hungary & Romania

Hungary & Slovakia

Czech & Slovakia

- we use prospect of NATO as a means to
encourage them to bring this under control

② Collapse of socialist system → created
a vacuum that new govts & pol sectors have not filled

- inadequacy of public services

- absence of social safety net

Message: Stress values that undergird

→ human rights, free press, rule of law,
tolerance/pluralism, equal rights,
free mkt

→ Talk abt how U.S. has gotten

Skyline of Chicago - synagogues, churches,
mosques - The cultures of C. Europe
transplanted

ROMANIA 6/20/96

Strobe
Talbot

Horrible ecological catastrophes

Worst of dictatorships

Are moving toward a stable democracy.

We're going for support for the Romania people & progress they've made
Elections coming up

R = one of our biggest challenges

Dan Fried/ Don't have a recent democratic tradition & was
devastated by C. Ceau. Need our support more than
anyone else

Hungarian Am pay a lot of attn to way in which
Rom gov't treats Hung. community.

Now in midst of finishing bilateral treaty Rom/Hungary.

RUSSIAN ELECTIONS

If Z wins -- need seriously why bc C. Europe will be concerned
Labeled = personification of Russian nationalism - neo-imperialism
→ was commander of 14th Army in Moldova

had to deal w/ a secessionist movement in
Moldova by ethnic Russians

→ was part of prob & solution

→ ruled w/ an iron fist but didn't enable
secessionists to break country apart

had Russian soldiers dig trenches not
pillaging villages

Moscow → has made noises abt Russian nationalism
but also NATO Expansion

Dan → (to appear C. Europe) Re-integration w/ West. They shared values -
(C. Europe)
If their reforms succeed → will become part of Western
family

GENERAL STATE BRIEFING (2)

Europe w/o the lines

C Europe key to an strategic union of Europe

HRC

In any human society progress really just

means moving to the next level of mobs -

from bloodshed → hostile neighbors → domestic issues etc.

Lissa:

Bob Boorstin gave me the following numbers:

Tina Rosenberg
World Policy Institute
(212) 229-5808

Jeri Labor
Human Rights Watch
(212) 972-8400

If there is anyone you would like me to track down and/or call for information, let me know.

Michael Zantovsky 274-9100
Jerzy Kozminski 234-0626

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Washington Post
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May 28, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: BOOK WORLD; Pg. X07

LENGTH: 1049 words

HEADLINE: Whitewashing The Red Past

BYLINE: Marc Fisher

BODY:

THE HAUNTED LAND

Facing Europe's Ghosts

After Communism

By Tina Rosenberg

Random House. 437 pp. \$ 25

In the eternal struggle between history and memory, a special chapter should be reserved for the criminals, co-conspirators and bystanders who manage to rewrite the past to award themselves the coveted title of "victim." When repressive governments and corrupt political systems finally fall, those who were the pillars of wrong transform themselves with alacrity into the wronged. The latest example comes in central Europe, where deposed communists and their vast armies of informers and snitches have spent the past five years explaining away old files, dodging prosecutors and urging their countrymen not to judge the past by the standards of the present.

Tina Rosenberg, a journalist who previously devoted her attention to the black-hatted dictators of Latin America and their white-swathed, impoverished victims, spent a couple of years ranging around the former East Bloc, where she found trickier shades of gray. Totalitarian communists in Poland, eastern Germany and what is now the Czech Republic turned everyone into both victims of and participants in the system. So when it came time to create democratic institutions and confront the past, each country had frustratingly little to show for its efforts. Rosenberg surveys the long menu of central Europe's methods of "working through the past," as the Germans call the process: official apologies, reparations, criminal trials, purges from office, truth commissions, even staged confrontations between victims and their tormentors.

But she finds none of the strategies effective. In the Czech Republic, she discovers old communist bureaucrats with a firm hold on money, access and contracts, despite a post-1989 law that banned party officeholders and secret police collaborators from jobs in government, university or state enterprises. The Czech approach is arbitrary and unfair, Rosenberg concludes. "People have the right not to be heroes," she says, and the Czech system for vetting its

The Washington Post, May 28, 1995

citizens fails to show if someone was a dutiful socialist who nonetheless tried quietly to outwit the system.

The middle third of the book is mostly a profile of Wojciech Jaruzelski, the prim Polish general in the sunglasses who has transformed his popular image from Stalinist yes-man to patriotic hero. Rosenberg does not admire Jaruzelski, but she does probe his shadows enough to make him the book's most intriguing character. Speaking of Jaruzelski, Rosenberg captures the pain of interviewing communist officials generally: "A simple question can elicit a 20-minute answer covering many subjects not of mutual interest."

Even in the former East Bloc, basic human sympathy for anyone who concedes fault can erase the deepest of resentments. Jaruzelski -- a man who devoted himself to the Soviet system even after Stalinism ravaged his family -- had only to apologize to his people and undertake a campaign to rehabilitate himself in the public eye, and, presto, his approval ratings soared.

As one might expect, efforts to deal with the past reach their greatest bureaucratic efficiency and most ambiguous morality in Germany, where the language has developed not one but two compound nouns to describe the process: Geschichtsaufarbeitung (working through history) and Vergangenheitsbewältigung (coming to terms with the past). Eastern Germans never had a chance to create their own process; it was imposed upon them by western Germans only too eager to have another go at a process they botched the first time around, when denazification produced only 7,000 convictions in nearly 90,000 cases.

The only homegrown portion of the German system permits any easterner to see his or her secret police file, a painful process that has eviscerated friendships and torn apart families even as it restores honesty to lives of lies. But the remainder of the system is colonial to the core: show trials in which western judges, lawyers and tabloid reporters have at baby-faced border guards and withered old Politburo members; a ruthless purging of kindergarten teachers and postal clerks whose tenuous connections to the Stasi secret police are deemed too dangerous for democracy.

Rosenberg says the German system of sacking eastern collaborators is designed to reserve jobs for unemployed westerners. Actually, the system is not that cynical. Rather, the German approach is the result of misguided idealism and an arrogant sense of moral superiority that permits western Germans to use the revolution in the east as an opportunity to deal with the lingering trauma of their own legacy of totalitarianism.

Instead of trials and purges, Rosenberg favors official efforts to correct the historical record, compensation for victims, and affirmative action for those denied opportunity under the old regime. Little of that is likely to happen, of course; whatever justice prevails will be victor's justice. And in the former East Bloc (except for Germany), it is hard to tell the victors from the victims. Nearly everyone's dossier is gray.

The Haunted Land suffers somewhat from Rosenberg's late arrival in the region (she made her first trip in October 1991) and from her decision to cover three very different cultures and political sensibilities in one volume. This is a journalist's book but not a book of journalism. Rather, the interviews feel too retrospective; there is a secondhand quality to too many stories.

21ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The New York Times Company
The New York Times

May 14, 1995, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 7; Page 8; Column 1; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 1451 words

HEADLINE: Lurching Toward Democracy

BYLINE: By Michael T. Kaufman; Michael T. Kaufman, who was a correspondent in Warsaw for The New York Times and is the author of a book about Poland, "Mad Dreams, Saving Grace," currently writes the paper's About New York column.

BODY:

THE HAUNTED LAND

Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism.

By Tina Rosenberg.

437 pp. New York: Random House. \$25.

THE underlying premise of Tina Rosenberg's provocative and serious book, "The Haunted Land," is that unless the East Europeans, now embarking on a new order, take account of what they and their neighbors did under the discredited old one, their journey will be perilous and could well be doomed. In the absence of sincere and resolute exorcism, ghosts will continue to spook corridors of power while conditioning the reflexes of vast populations, undermining them in their lurching quest for democracy, national honor and citizenship in its Western sense.

From this idea, almost prosaic in itself, Ms. Rosenberg has moved with inspired insight and great energy to examine painstakingly just how the process of confronting the past is being carried out in four neighboring societies where more than four decades of Soviet-shaped Communist rule came to an abrupt end in 1989.

Ms. Rosenberg was not there when that happened. A freelance journalist, she was then in South America observing a similar wave of political transformation, in which military dictators relinquished power to elected civilians. It was a time when vulnerable new leaders were forced to weigh demands for justice raised in the name of the dead and tortured against threats from still-powerful generals.

Such experiences, which helped shape her earlier book, "Children of Cain," about political violence in Latin America, also led Ms. Rosenberg to undertake her original and useful exploration of political, moral and psychological passages in what had been East Germany, what had been Czechoslovakia and what remains of Poland. Weaving together hundreds of narrative strands, she has raised and analyzed questions that, though widely overlooked elsewhere, are proving essential to the dismantling of Europe's tyrannies and the sustaining of democratic hopes.

The Washington Post, May 28, 1995

And because she limits her survey to government officials, prominent dissidents and others with experiences far from those of everyday citizens, Rosenberg ends up with a portrait that lends too much credence to the bitterness and disappointment of those who will never adjust to western ways. She seems not to notice the enormous changes in daily life, not only in eastern Germany but even in the poor, still-polluted Czech and Polish countryside, where, amid job losses and social turmoil, even the most ignorant peasants relish their newfound freedom to shout stupid remarks, go where they wish and, perhaps, follow their dreams.

Marc Fisher, a Washington Post staff writer, is the author of the forthcoming "After the Wall: Germany, the Germans and the Burdens of History."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 28, 1995

The New York Times, May 14, 1995

How minutely should the past be revealed? How far should societies go to punish the guilty and assuage the aggrieved? Who should judge whom? Should the once powerful be held legally accountable for acts that were not actually crimes when they occurred? On the other hand, should those who amassed power and privilege through collaboration with the Communists or worse be allowed to keep and extend their advantages? Beyond trials, are there other useful sanctions that could shame the shameful and encourage acceptance of personal responsibility, repentance and conciliation? What exactly constitutes collaboration? Who should see the files? And how is basic trust to be established when memories persist of neighbors informing on neighbors, friends on friends and husbands on wives?

These are terribly complex issues, and, as Ms. Rosenberg shows, there is no codified standard, no 10-step guide, to point the way. Instead she has provided copious evidence in the form of firsthand interviews with scores of people to describe how confrontation with the past is either taking place or being avoided. In each of three geographically organized sections she builds from a dramatic tale at the center, embellishing and layering it with discursive accounts of other lives, other experiences, that reflect that society's approach to the past.

In the first of these sections, she centers her narrative on Rudolf Zukal, a brave, honorable and long-suffering Czech dissident who has now been hounded from Parliament and public life because of a law barring those whose names are found in the secret police register of informants from holding Government positions. When virtually everyone but a handful of people was publicly collaborating with the Communist system, Mr. Zukal spent years in prison, was forced out of his position at a university and wound up driving a bulldozer. His children were denied admission to college. Yet recently, aided and abetted by an atmosphere where finger pointing can obscure the undocumented complicities of accusers, he has been banished because of a 30-year-old entry in a file. Meanwhile smug, mostly young critics pile ahistorical contempt on the heroes of 1968.

But just as a reader is ready to dismiss the entire Czech law, called lustrace, as witch hunting, Ms. Rosenberg shifts her attention to Slovakia, where the law was suspended when the country became independent. She visits Ziar nad Hronom, the hometown of Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak leader who, like Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, has replaced the Communist phraseology of his formative years with nationalist appeals. At City Hall, at the aluminum plant, at new commercial offices, the old regime is in full command. "We don't need to change the system here," says the city administrator. "And we don't need new people." Such comments point out clearly enough why the neighboring Czechs felt they needed their lustrace law in the first place, even if its abuses cannot be excused. The remarks also underscore how complicated things are.

In Poland, where millions participated in the resistance led by Solidarity, the question of rooting out collaborators was not as critical to individual self-esteem. Here, Ms. Rosenberg concentrates on Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and on Poland's preoccupation with determining whether he had acted heroically to stave off a Russian invasion by declaring martial law in 1981 or had been intent on crushing Solidarity.

The New York Times, May 14, 1995

She confronts the general and, though she does not accept his proclaimed motives for calling out the tanks, she penetrates behind the dark glasses to reveal a complex personality. It is a stark portrait: a man whose youth was spent in exile in Russia with his aristocratic family, his feet wrapped in rags, the glare of Siberian snows so damaging to his eyes as to leave them painfully sensitive to light. What barbarisms had he seen there to scare him so badly?

The general does not tell all, but, spared official questioning when Parliament tilted away from his harshest critics, he talks openly about how he has changed, even to the point of developing an admiring friendship with Adam Michnik, the dissident hero he had sent to prison for six years. The story of how Mr. Michnik has been castigated by old allies for this friendship is one of dozens of motifs that Ms. Rosenberg develops to describe the tensions of Polish society. For his part Mr. Michnik could hardly have been surprised by the snubs, having earlier described such rancor as an ugly but inevitable stage of revolution.

"The first phase," he writes in a passage quoted by Ms. Rosenberg, "is defined by the struggle for freedom, the second by the struggle for power and revenge on the votaries of the ancien regime. The struggle for freedom is beautiful. Anyone who has taken part in this struggle has felt, almost physically, how everything that is best and most precious within him was awakened. Revenge has a different psychology. Its logic is implacable. First there is a purge of yesterday's adversaries, the partisans of the old regime. Then comes the purge of yesterday's fellow oppositionists who now oppose the idea of revenge. Finally there is a purge of those who defend them. A psychology of vengeance and hatred develops."

IN the final section of "The Haunted Land," where she reviews how East Germany's past is being dealt with, Ms. Rosenberg focuses on the experiences of four border guards charged with shooting a young waiter, the last victim to be killed trying to escape over the Berlin wall. Again, she goes far beyond what turns out to be the banal story of men carrying out orders. She talks to East German high officials, to spies and spymasters, all of whom have avoided tribunals, public judgment and even self-examination.

East Germans, who spied on each other with the greatest enthusiasm, have, she says, done better than the Czechs by letting victims read their files. But her conversations with the informers are mostly characterized by a sense of their defensiveness that leaves her wondering whether for the second time in this century significant numbers of Germans are seeking ways to evade responsibility for the small and large enabling acts of totalitarianism.

In describing the predicaments and yearnings of people poised between easy-to-repress memories and hard-to-fulfill dreams, Ms. Rosenberg shows shrewd understanding. She has talked boldly to everyone, listened well and written a sad and important story that is certain to unfold in sad and important ways for a very long time.

"The opposite of Communism is not anti-Communism, which at times resembles it greatly," Ms. Rosenberg writes toward the end of her book. "The opposite is tolerance and the rule of law."

FOCUS - 5 OF 190 STORIES

Copyright 1996 The Seattle Times Company
The Seattle Times

May 12, 1996, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: BOOKS; Pg. M3

LENGTH: 1160 words

HEADLINE: NEW TO READ: 'FACING EUROPE'S GHOSTS'

BYLINE: BY MICHAEL UPCHURCH; SPECIAL TO THE SEATTLE TIMES

BODY:

Paperback pick of the week

"The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts After Communism," by Tina Rosenberg (Vintage, \$ 13). Winner of both the National Book Award and Pulitzer Prize for nonfiction, Tina Rosenberg's examination of lives private and political in three former Soviet satellites is reportage at its finest.

Supple and remarkably lucid in its dissection of tangled political history, "The Haunted Land" is as reader-friendly as it is informative. Rosenberg has a welcome knack for finding the connection between the epic and the particular as she traces the crumbling of seemingly inviolable political monoliths. Best of all, she draws superb prose-portraits of any individual she meets, whether it's Poland's General Wojciech Jaruzelski, four befuddled Berlin Wall border guards or a feisty Czech professor of economics who spent 20 years as a manual laborer after refusing to endorse the 1968 Soviet invasion of his country.

All six men, it turns out, are on trial under post-Communist regimes attempting to purge their governing institutions of Communist influence. The problem with such retroactive justice, Rosenberg points out, is that "what seem like certainties today can become uncertainties tomorrow, and judging past actions by present standards is precarious work indeed." Purgative efforts go particularly overboard in Prague, where, as if in some Kafka theme park, the trials just keep on coming.

Rosenberg's eye for irony is sharp, and her sympathy is deep. She scrupulously points out that Nazi ghosts still haunt these countries as much as any Communist specter, and capitalism may not live up to hopes inspired by 1989 post-Wall euphoria in regions where "the West refuses to arrive in manageable pieces."

This gripping, illuminating journey is well deserving of the honors it has received.

Nonfiction

"Out of Egypt," by Andre Aciman (Riverhead, \$ 14). An account of three generations of colorfully eccentric Jewish family life in the port city of Alexandria, from the turn of the century to the 1960s, when the author and his family were expelled from Egypt. Seattle Times reviewer Deloris Tarzan Ament

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1996

Dear Mr. Nowak,

I can't thank you enough for taking the time to talk to me about Mrs. Clinton's upcoming speeches in Central and Eastern Europe. Any ideas or information you can provide will be extremely helpful -- and appreciated.

You can reach me as follows:

At work:

-- 202-456-2935 (direct line) or 456-2777 (main number for speechwriters)

-- 202-456-5709 (fax)

At home: 202-337-3171

Home fax: 202-337-0589

As always, it was a pleasure talking to you this morning. I'll look forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

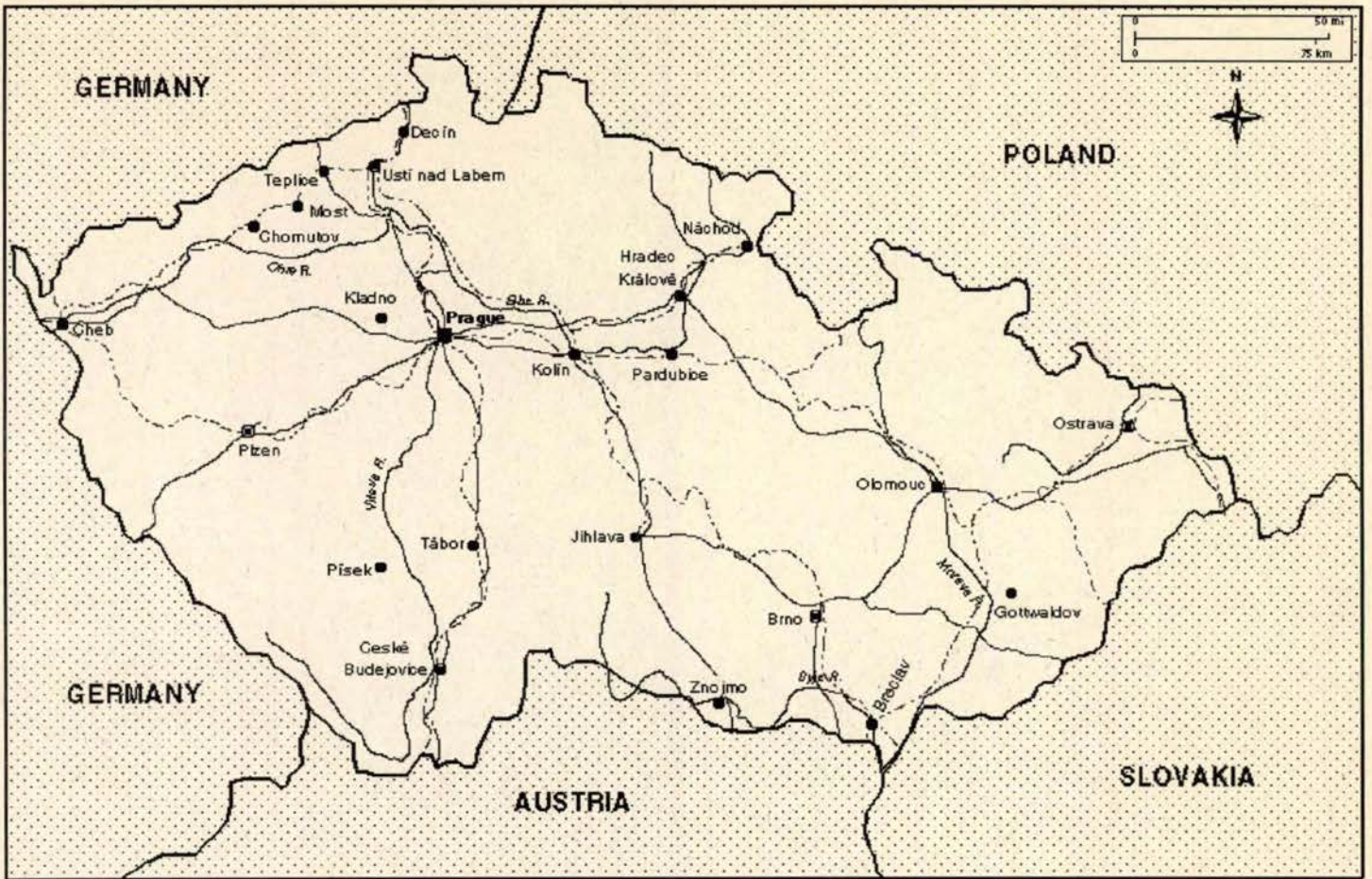


Lissa Muscatine

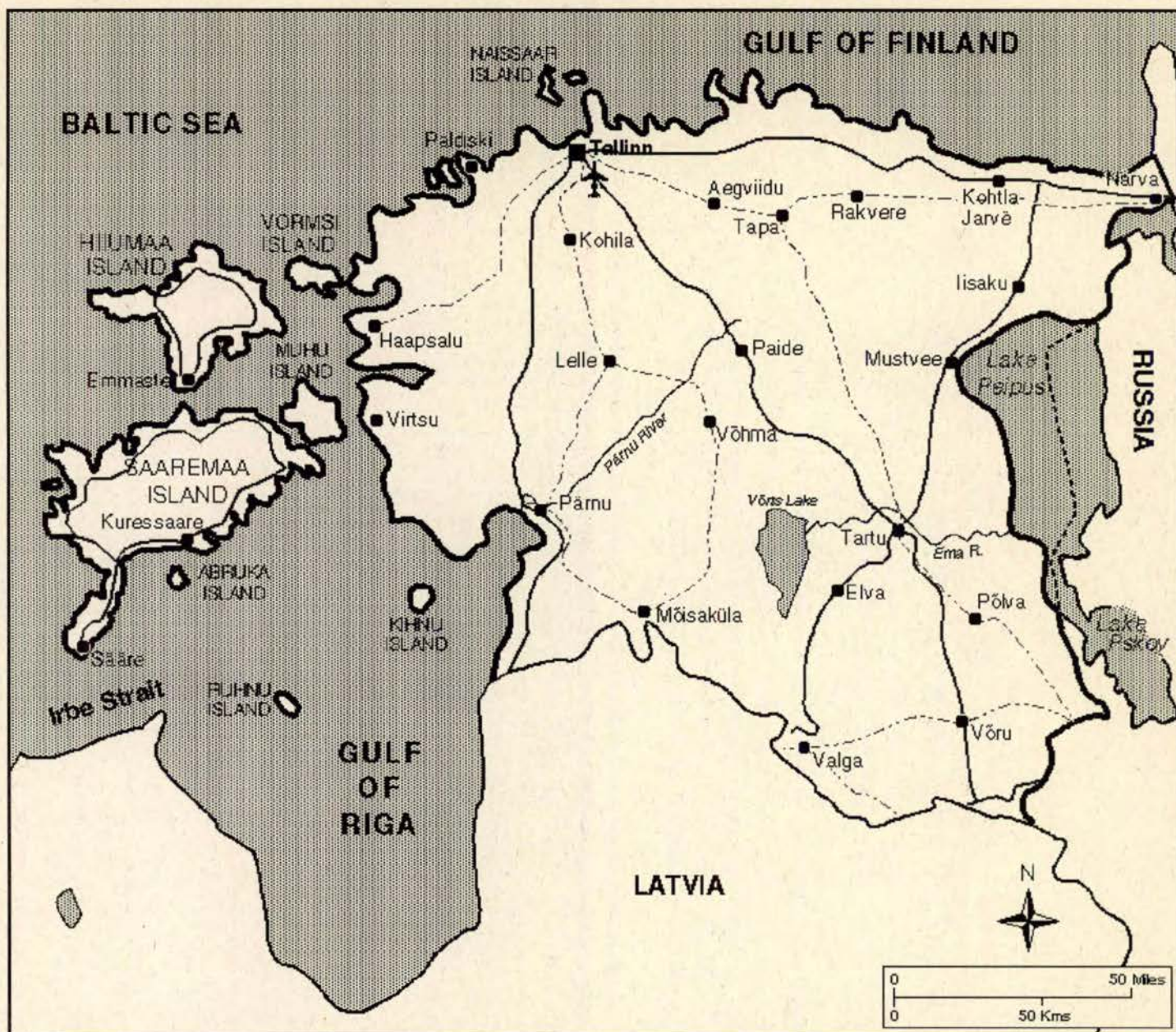
Eastern Europe



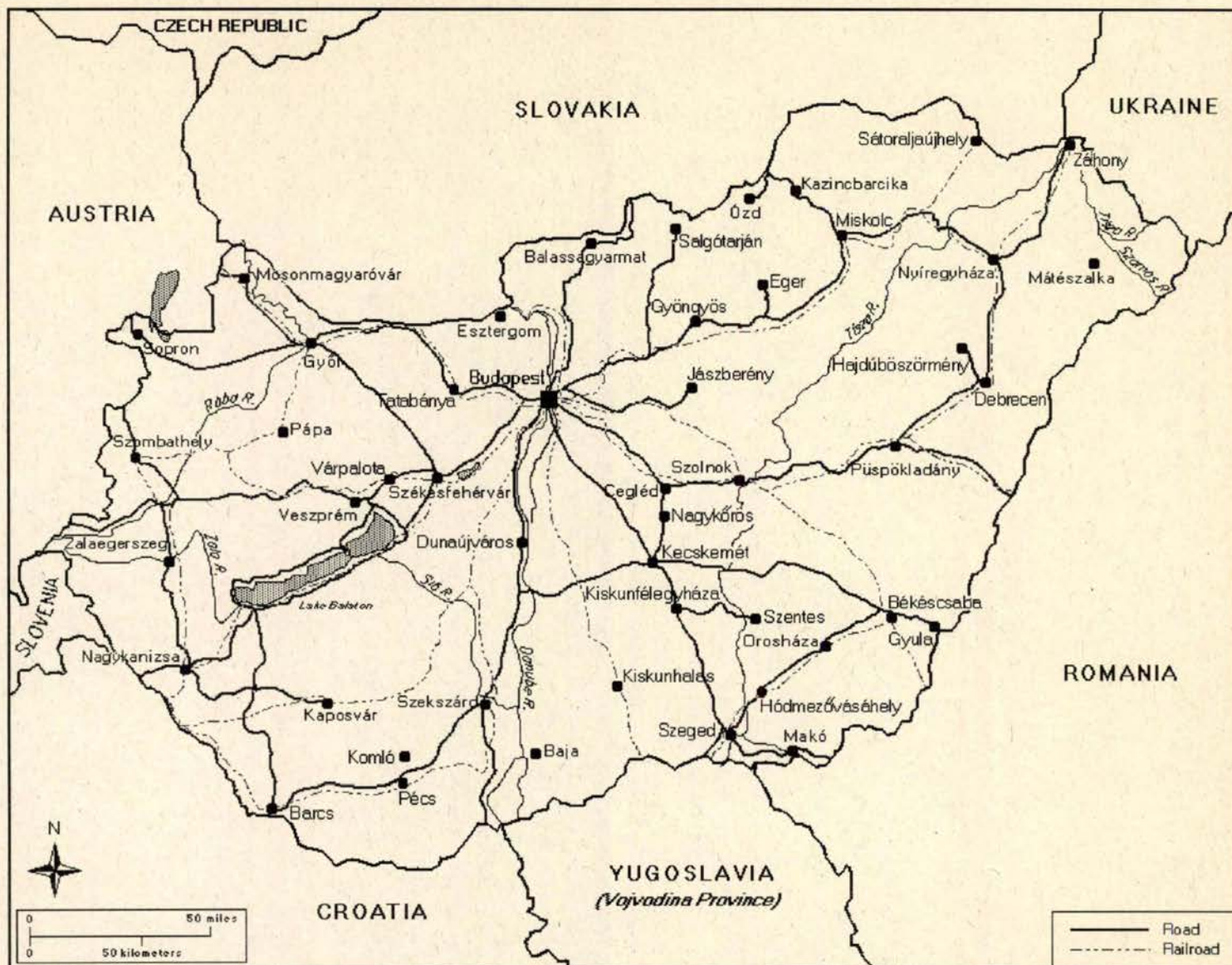
Czech Republic



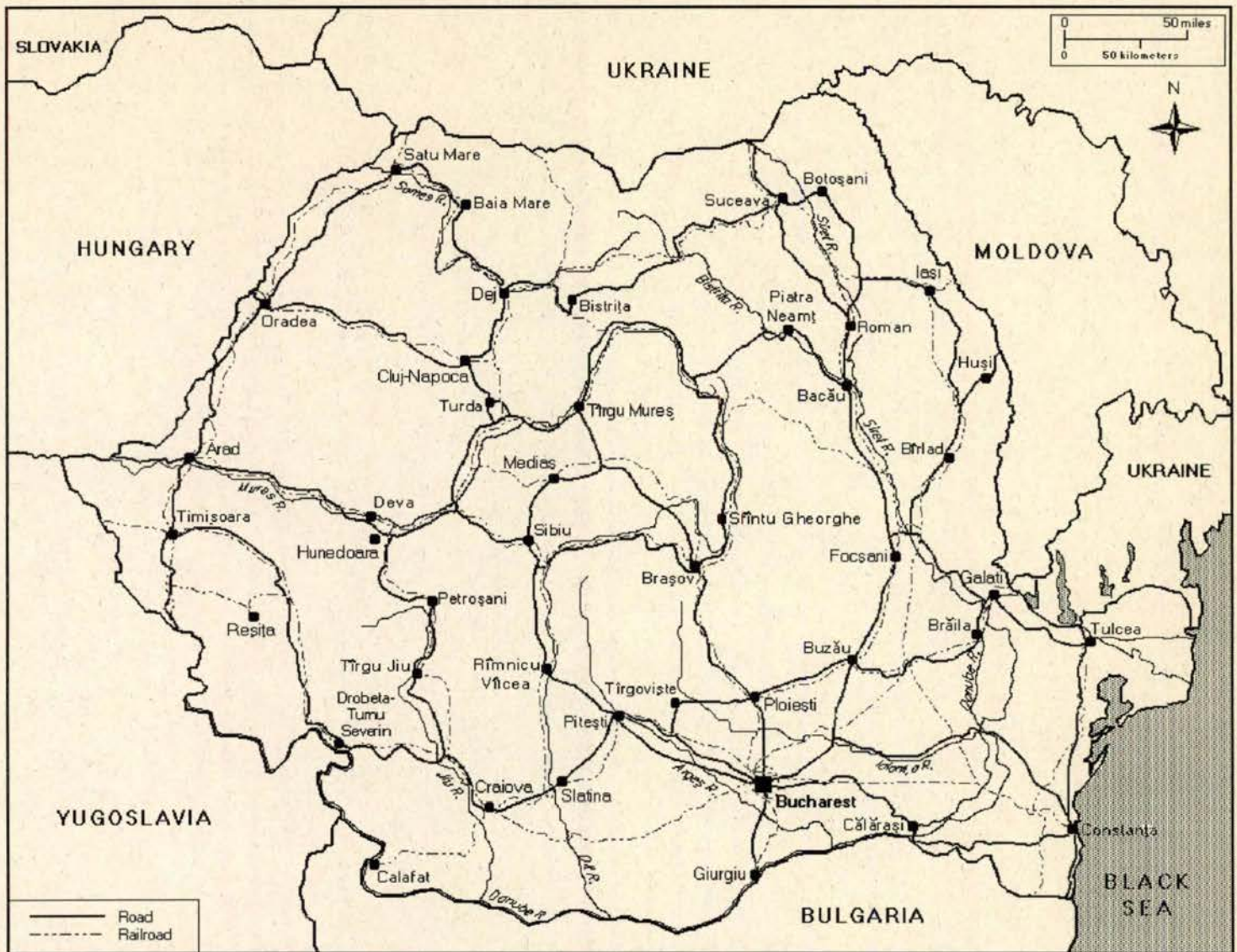
Estonia



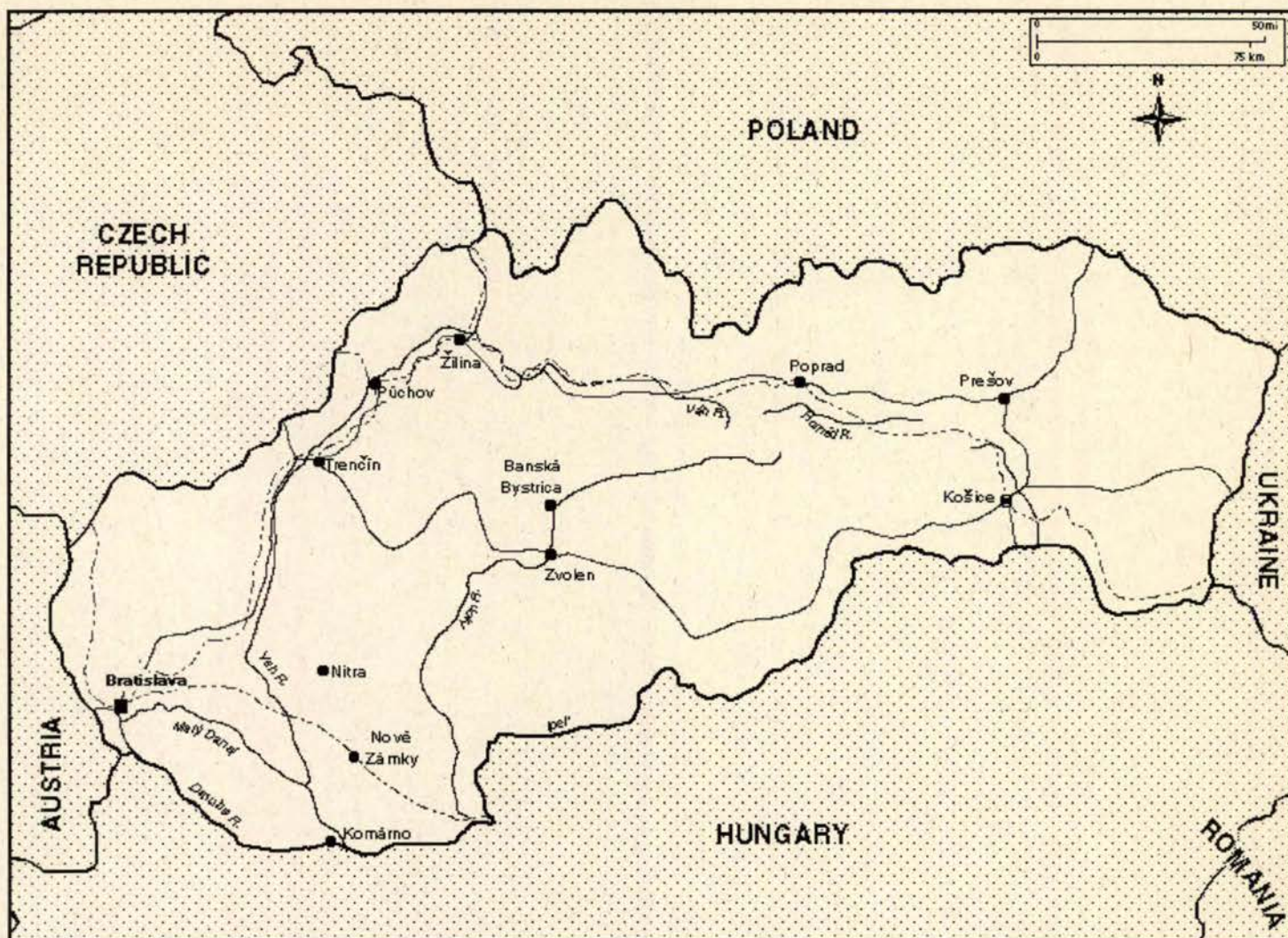
Hungary



Romania



Slovakia



Poland





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CZECH REPUBLIC
TELEPHONE (011-42-2) 2112-3000
FAX (011-42-2) 2112-3002

KEVIN KLOSE
President

Dear Lisa -

*It was great talking with you yesterday -
With very best wishes for a mutually great
July Fourth!*

Best to Brad and the rug-rats -

Kevin

**RFE/RL Coverage of the 19-21 March 1996 Visit to Prague of
Secretary of State Warren Christopher,
and his foreign policy address at Chernin Palace, 20 March 1996**

Coverage of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's Prague visit, 19-21 March 1996, and his major foreign policy address during the visit dominated programs of all RFE/RL broadcast services. RFE/RL's coverage of this event demonstrates the Radios' unique ability to amplify and project an important event across the entire broadcast area.

RFE/RL's reports, analysis and round-table discussions of the Secretary's entire trip — from Sharm-el-Sheik to Moscow— were substantially more comprehensive, and provided more explanatory context, than reporting by local media in any of the former Soviet bloc countries.

RFE/RL reporting of the Secretary's trip, and particularly his Prague speech, illustrates the value added by surrogate or alternative broadcasting:

- In countries like the Baltic states, where media are essentially independent but lack the resources to cover important events outside their territory, RFE/RL compensates for that deficit.

- In countries like Slovakia and Bulgaria, where media are still subject to state political controls, RFE/RL is the main alternative source of comprehensive, balanced reporting and analysis.

Visits to RFE/RL headquarters this week by the Romanian and Latvian foreign ministers — to hold news conferences for the broadcast services — underscore the Radios' ability to interconnect its audience countries. The Romanian and Latvian services aired the foreign ministers' positive reactions to the Christopher speech and comments on other issues, as did services broadcasting to neighboring countries — including Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria and Slovakia.

Highlights of RFE/RL coverage of the Secretary's address and bilateral ministerial meetings in Prague:

- **Russian Service:** Within two hours, the Russian Service translated and broadcast the Christopher speech in full, with Russian voice-over, for an audience encompassing the entire former Soviet Union. This broadcast was followed by extensive reports and analysis of reactions ranging from U.S. foreign policy analysts to members of the Russian Duma.

- **Ukrainian Service:** Following extensive, on-the-scene coverage of the Secretary's visit to Kiev by RFE/RL's Kiev bureau, the service aired extensive excerpts of the Prague speech as well reports on Christopher's conversations with Central European foreign ministers. Programming drew particular attention to unanimity of President Kuchma's and Secretary Christopher's critical views of the Russian Duma's vote to denounce the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

- **South Slavic Service (to former Yugoslavia):** Broadcast nearly the full speech (except for salutations) with voice-over in Serbo-Croatian, followed in later programs by extensive summaries.

- **Romanian Service:** Devoted more than half its daily international news program to the Christopher speech and ministerial meetings on 20 March, followed the next day by reviews of reaction as reported by major world media. Aired special interview with Romanian foreign minister from RFE/RL studios, including his positive reaction to speech.

- **Bulgarian Service:** Aired extensive, translated excerpts and a live two-way discussion of the speech between an RFE/RL Bulgarian correspondent at the Czech Foreign Ministry and the program moderator in Sofia. Bulgarian state radio and television — though subject to increasing political controls by the socialist-led government — asked RFE/RL to provide summary reports of the speech, which they aired nationwide. In contrast to Bulgarian media, RFE/RL drew attention to the absence of Bulgaria's foreign minister in Prague and to the Sofia government's ambiguous position on NATO expansion.

• **Czech Service (RSE):** Broadcast the Christopher speech live, in full, with voiced-over translation, on the nationwide AM network it shares with Czech public radio. No other Czech broadcast medium aired the speech in full.

• **Slovak Service:** Although Bratislava is only a short drive from Prague, local media — including one of two independent newspapers in the country — relied exclusively on the state-controlled news agency TASR for coverage of the Christopher speech. Reflecting heavy-handed political control of state media, TASR ignored all references in Christopher's speech to Slovakia. Extensive coverage by RFE/RL's Slovak service set the record straight.

• **Baltic Services:** Coverage by all three RFE/RL services compensated for an absence of Baltic broadcast media in Prague. Lithuanian state television asked RFE/RL's Lithuanian service director for a synopsis of the speech, and broadcast it on the main evening news program. Baltic diplomats in Prague asked RFE/RL to provide tape of Christopher's press conference remarks on Baltic inclusion in NATO; the Secretary's remarks came in response to a news conference question by a member of the Lithuanian service.



RFE/RL: BACKGROUND

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) broadcasts news and current affairs programs daily in 23 languages to a regular audience of 25 million listeners across Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The most popular foreign radio station in this strategically vital region, RFE/RL is a unique media organization - funded by grants from the U. S. Congress, and chartered in Delaware as a private, non-profit corporation.

This assures RFE/RL's journalistic independence to fulfill its role as a "surrogate," alternative "home service" for nations of the former Soviet bloc.

Established more than 45 years ago, the Radios today are a leading means of Western communication to, and engagement with, newly independent nations struggling to build democratic societies and free market economies.

In contrast to the Voice of America, the U.S. government radio focused on American society and policies, RFE/RL concentrates on developments within its audience countries. News and analysis from within the region is edited by RFE/RL to the highest standards of Western broadcasting.

RFE/RL operates a comprehensive regional news organization, with 18 bureaus across 11 time zones of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. More than 200 freelancers and stringers report local news and current affairs on programs in the following 23 languages:

Armenian, Azerbaijani, Belarusian, Bulgarian, Czech, Estonian, Georgian, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Serbian/Croatian, Slovak, Tatar-Bashkir, Tajik, Turkmen, Ukrainian, and Uzbek. (Czech and Polish services are provided by contractors.)

RFE/RL broadcasts 760 hours a week on shortwave and, increasingly, on AM and FM networks and private stations across the region.

Relocation to Prague

The station relocated in 1995 to the former Czechoslovak Parliament building from its longtime headquarters in Munich, Germany.

Czech President Vaclav Havel, who proposed the Prague move, said relocation "demonstrates in very clear terms the American commitment to strengthening democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union."

President Clinton ordered the move in July 1994, as a symbol of U.S. commitment to democratic change in Central Europe and to cuts costs. Congress concurred in August, 1994. RFE/RL has cut staff from 1,100 to 420 in the past 2 years and cut its budget to \$75 million from \$220 million — while maintaining program quality and broadcast hours.

Audience and Mission:

- Rated by surveys as the region's most popular foreign broadcaster.
- 25-30 million regular listeners in Central Europe/former USSR.
- Highest listening rates (up to 60%) by opinion and decision-makers.
- Emblem of U.S. support for democratic change in Central Europe.
- Region's democratic leaders strongly support RFE/RL.
- Widely accepted as a model for high-quality journalism.
- Strengthens democratic change with accurate, objective news.
- Supplement or provide alternative to struggling local media.
- Move information across regional borders, to foster mutual understanding among newly independent states, combat ethnic tensions.
- Project Western democratic values and self-rule in a context relevant to diverse cultures of 380 million people.
- Encourage independent journalism, by example and training.

Organization:

RFE/RL is a private, non-profit, 501(c)3 tax-exempt corporation chartered in Delaware. It receives federal grants as a private grantee. The corporate board of directors is comprised of the nine Presidential appointees to the U.S. Broadcasting Board of Governors, which has oversight responsibility for all U.S. government-financed international broadcasting activities.

Chairman of the Board is David W. Burke, Consultant and Director of Dreyfus Funds, and former President of CBS News.

The President of RFE/RL, Inc. is Kevin Klose, former Moscow bureau chief of *The Washington Post*. The Director of Broadcasting is Robert E. Gillette, former Moscow and Warsaw bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times*.

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President Vaclav Havel's Speech
on the occasion of the
RFE/RL Inauguration, 8 September 1995,
Parliament Building, Prague

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with a certain amount of excitement that I welcome Free Europe and Radio Liberty to Prague. This excitement stems from a number of things. Mainly because I came to know and understand at first hand the meaning of these radio stations.

During the period of the Cold War these stations spread objective information about the world, spread the ideas of freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. For many years, I, myself, was one of those who could address their fellow countrymen mainly or even solely through the medium of this radio station. I am not sure that I would not have been in prison for another couple of years were it not for a certain amount of publicity which I had because of these radio stations. This applies of course not only to me, but to the whole of the opposition in Czechoslovakia as it was.

I believe that these radio stations are significant even today, after the end of the Cold War. Not only because human rights are not fully respected in all countries which have shaken off totalitarianism, or because democracy has not yet fully matured in them, but also because through their sources of information and by their professionalism they can set a standard for the new independent media in this country, creating a healthy competitive environment.

It seems to me that the continued work of these stations is important and is, among other things, an expression of the responsibility taken by the United States for the world situation.

I believe that it is a great honor and a great sign of confidence in the Czech Republic that the headquarters of these radio stations have been located here. It is an uplifting thought that the message of freedom, democracy and human rights will ring out from Prague and that the name of Prague will in a way be perceived as a source of this message.

I also take it as a sign that the Czech Republic is widely perceived as part of the democratic world, sharing its values, prepared to defend them and also prepared to disseminate them.

I wish these radio stations great success in their new premises and also wish them well in making this somewhat inhuman place more and more human as time goes on.

What Leaders Say About RFE/RL

"These radio stations are significant even after the end of the Cold War... not only because human rights are not fully respected (and) democracy has not yet fully matured, but also because they set a goal for the new independent media, creating a healthy competitive environment. . . I wish them well."

--Vaclav Havel, Czech President

"As long as a danger exists of restoration of the totalitarian regime, even in one country of the former socialist camp, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty will be of paramount importance to peace and stability in Europe."

-- Eduard Shevardnadze, Head of State, Republic of Georgia

"It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of your contribution to the destruction of the totalitarian (Soviet) regime. No less important are your efforts to inform listeners in Russia about events in our country and abroad. We...rely on your objective illumination of Russian and international events... and in protecting democratic reforms."

*-- Statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the
40th Anniversary of Radio Liberty, March , 1993*

"Given the fragile nature of government in Russia and the CIS, Radio Liberty plays an extremely important role providing objective information and as an unbiased source of news. This broadcast service stands as a wedge against censorship which could threaten the young democratic institutions in the country. "

-- Bogdan Lisovich, Deputy U.N. Representative in Ukraine

"That Prague has been chosen as the seat of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty means we are part of the democratic world, that we are pushing freedom's boundaries further East. I firmly believe Free Europe and Radio Liberty will remain true to their splendid tradition and send out objective, verified information..."

-- Jan Ruml, Minister of the Interior, Czech Republic

RFE/RL Calendar

DATA	NAME OF EVENT	COORDINATOR	PLACE	NOTES
MAY				
6-7	Election	Center for Independent Journalism	Center for Independent Journalism	2 one day seminar on role of reporters in elections info Milada Cholujova tel: 2421 7316 Lucerna-2 floor, Vodickova 36, Praha 1
12	Foundation for a Civil Society	Foundation, Jeff Crane/Jan Obrman	Prague 546	Directors meeting
12	Robert Goldman	M. Rauch	Prague	Visitor
13	Jan Nowak	M. Rauch, L. Gawlikowski	Prague	Visitor
13	Petre Roman	R. Gillette	Prague	Former Romanian Prime Minister visiting RFE/RL
13-17	Eastern Journalists	B. Mihalka	Prague 214	Intern training program for young journalists from the broadcast area
17	Young Christian Democratic Leaders under CSCE Parliamentary Assembly	K. Klose R. Gillette	Prague 274	Briefing on political and economic development in Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union
20 (15:00)	National War College	Mr. Gillette	Prague	Visitors tour of RFE/RL Broadcasting Center
22	Dutch students	D. Hill	Prague 209	D. Hill and Dutch Students from Rolland Hollst College in Hilversum will talk about life in the Czech Republic
20-24	Eastern Journalists	B. Mihalka	Prague 214	Intern training program for young journalists from the broadcast area

RFE/RL Calendar

28	Preparatory meeting for HFCC conference	L. Springer	261	Preparatory meeting for High Frequency Coordination Conference that will take place in August at RFE/RL building
June				
3-4	Susan Epstein from Congressional Research Service	M. Rauch		Visitor
3	USG-IBB-ESC-OTT (U.S. Government-IBB Organizational Task Team).	M. Evling	Prague	Discussions with RFE/RL management
3-10	Media Workshop	VOA P. Vaseopolus	Prague 214 or 274	Training by IBB Office International 20 people/214
8-12	BBG in Prague	J. Lester, M. Rauch	Prague	
July				
8-August 2	School of Journalism	B. Mihalka	Prague 214	Intern Program
13/7-3/8	The Fund for American Studies	The fund (AIPES)..	Prague 209	Interdisciplinary Course in Political Economy for American, Eastern and Central Europe students
August				
19-23	High Frequency Coordination Conference	L. Springer	208, Club	info will follow
September				

RFE/RL Calendar

5-8	Roper-Starch-Worldwide (Tom Miller)	Gene Parta	Prague 214 and 546	Conference on theme "Progress in building democracy in Russia" -info will follow
11-12	Conference on Development of Towns and Cities in the Czech Rep.	Urban Research	Prague	info will follow
October				
November				
6-8	Conference of International Broadcasters	K. Klose	?	info will follow