

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs

Original OA/ID Number:

1025

Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:	Stack:
48	3	5	3	V

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Trip to Latvia (3 pages)	07/01/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
002. briefing	Re: Bilateral Meeting and Signing Ceremony with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs (3 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
003. report	U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages)	06/14/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
004. briefing	Re: Working Lunch with the Presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (4 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
005. report	U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
006. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1)
007. report	U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
008. briefing	Re: Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
009. briefing	Re: Russian Troop Withdrawals (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
010. briefing	Re: The Russian Minority in the Baltic States (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
011. briefing	Re: Paldiski Naval Base (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
012. briefing	Re: Latvia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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013. briefing	Re: Estonia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
014. briefing	Re: Lithuanian: Political Economic Overview (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
015. paper	Aide Memoire (2 pages)	06/15/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
016. letter	Vice President Al Gore to Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
017. briefing	Excerpt from briefing paper for meeting with Baltic Presidents (1 page)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
018. memo	Anthony Lake and Ricki Seidman to the President, re: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in July (2 pages)	ea. 05/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
019. paper	Re: Russian-Estonian Negotiations (2 pages)	06/09/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
020. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	05/03/1994	b(6)
021. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1994	b(6)
022. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1994	b(6)

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023. memo	William Itoh to Marc Grossman, re: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy, and Germany, July 5-12, 1994 (6 pages)	06/03/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023

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JRB-

your copy

NB

JDB-

an extra-
save it useful
to see if not

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By YDL NARA, Date 09/30/2013
2011-1037-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE 

SUBJECT: Your Trip to Latvia, July 6

Your trip to Latvia is an historic visit. While only a short stop, you will be the first American President to visit the Baltic states. This visit will include a bilateral meeting and signing ceremony with Prime Minister Birkavs and a working lunch with the three Baltic Presidents. Your open air speech at Freedom Monument is expected to be publicly viewed by perhaps as many as ten thousand people. Your public remarks will be provided separately. This briefing book contains:

SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS

SCOPE MEMORANDUM

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

BILATERAL AND SIGNING CEREMONY WITH PRIME MINISTER BIRKAUS

WORKING LUNCH WITH BALTIC PRESIDENTS

PRESS AVAILABILITY

SPEECH AT FREEDOM PLAZA

MEETING WITH LATVIAN POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS

MEETING WITH U.S. EMBASSY STAFF

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Divider Title: **SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS**

SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS

Wednesday, July 6

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

BILATERAL AND SIGNING CEREMONY WITH PRIME MINISTER BIRKAUS

WORKING LUNCH WITH BALTIC PRESIDENTS

PRESS AVAILABILITY

MEETING WITH LATVIAN POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS

FLOWER LAYING AND SPEECH AT FREEDOM PLAZA

MEET AND GREET WITH U.S. EMBASSY STAFF FROM LATVIA, ESTONIA AND LITHUANIA

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Divider Title: **SCOPE MEMORANDUM**

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE *AL*
SUBJECT: Your Visit to Latvia

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,113)

6/20/2023 VZ

OVERVIEW

Your seven-hour stop in Riga July 6 represents a highly symbolic and dramatic kickoff for your third trip to Europe this year. The symbolism lies in the message you convey by the very fact of your visit: America champions the sovereignty of the Baltic states and supports their reintegration into the Western fold, rejecting any pretension of a Russian sphere of influence in the region. The drama of your visit is historical. America sheltered the flame of Baltic independence during five decades of Soviet occupation. Your arrival as the first American President to set foot on Baltic soil constitutes a decisive affirmation of the rebirth of these three small states as independent nations. The theme of the continuing consolidation of a new post-Cold War Europe will recur at every stop of your trip, from your discussions with President Walesa, through your meeting with Yeltsin in a new political "G-8" in Naples, to your walk through the Brandenburg Gate in an undivided Berlin. But your visit to Riga, climaxed by an open air speech to thousands of Baltic citizens, will underscore in a simple yet powerful way the epochal nature of the change that has come to Europe.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate our continued staunch support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic States.
- o Highlight the importance of the Russian troop withdrawal this summer and our role in promoting it. Seek to bridge differences between Estonia and Russia on troop withdrawal talks.
- o Emphasize the continued security and economic integration of the Baltic states as a priority U.S. goal for the future.

BACKGROUND

Support for the Independence of the Baltic Countries. You meet this objective largely by the very fact of your visit, which has already generated great excitement among the governments and

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peoples of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This central message of support resonates well among the Baltic people, who were by far the most Westernized in the former USSR and are looking firmly toward Europe and North America in search of full reintegration. They have not forgotten that the U.S. never recognized the Soviet Union's occupation from 1940 to 1991; that we maintained and financed their exiled legations to Washington during those five decades; and that we promptly returned the gold reserves that we safeguarded for their eventual independence.

History has taught the people of the Baltics to fear that their periods of sovereignty will be short-lived; many are convinced that a resurgent Russia will sooner or later threaten them once again. Your meeting in Riga with the three Baltic heads of state will send a clear message that we do not recognize a Russian "sphere of influence" in the region and will demonstrate that we are not willing to countenance Russia's presence in every part of the former Soviet Union. For these reasons, the Riga stop will also resonate at home with the nearly one million Baltic-Americans who have been so vocal and active with us and the Congress in support of Baltic independence.

Highlight the U.S. Role in Russian Troop Withdrawals. The central issue of your discussions in Riga and a major topic of your outdoor speech will be our involvement in promoting the final withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics this summer. Russian forces are out of Lithuania and will be close to gone from Latvia by the time you arrive. Russia and Estonia are nearing the end of their negotiations; we expect to be able to take advantage of your visit and your meeting with Yeltsin four days later, to promote final agreement there, as well. Specifically, we are encouraging Estonian President Meri to give you a letter in Riga with his near-bottom-line positions on the withdrawal talks for transferral to Yeltsin four days later in Naples. Coupled with the pullout from Germany in late August, agreement on the Estonian withdrawal means that the Russian military will, for the first time since 1945, be back inside the pre-WWII borders of the former Soviet Union.

The United States has been the most influential country in convincing the Russians to leave the Baltics. Although the previous administration began the battle, you can rightly claim the lion's share of the credit. Your personal diplomacy with Yeltsin, our funding of 5,000 houses for departing Russian officers and our financial assistance to dismantle the Skrunda ABM site have all been crucial tactical contributions to the success of the withdrawal talks.

While you can credibly defend the right of the Baltic states to live without Russian troops, you should also leave an important public message with the Baltic leaders and publics: they need to live in peace with Russia. This relates to the large ethnic Russian minority that will remain in the Baltics after the troops are gone. The Balts need to treat this group with decency and work to include them in the social and political fabric of their societies. This is consistent with the approach we have

maintained since you took office. It is also good politics for our relationship with Yeltsin and Russia.

The Future of U.S.-Baltic Relations. Much of the emphasis of your visit will be placed on our actions in the past to promote Baltic independence. The third major objective of your visit should be to talk about the future. There is concern that once the Russian troops are removed, America will forget about the Baltics. You can counter that argument by spelling out the remarkably broad program of cooperation that we envision in the economic and security spheres. We have welcomed all three states into PFP and will work to make theirs a meaningful membership through a \$10 million FY-95 program to help train the nascent Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion. On the economic side, you will announce the \$50 million capitalization of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund, sign a trade pact with the Latvians and look forward to further expansion of trade and investment through a Baltic business development mission this fall.

The economic success story of the Baltics will help reinforce the point that Western assistance alone cannot assure prosperity; privatization, growth and trade are the surest guarantees of longterm political stability and normal, neighborly relations with Russia. Our support for this continuing economic integration with the West will in many ways be our most durable and valuable legacy to the people and governments of the Baltic states.

KEY EVENTS

Baltic Presidents Lunch. This is the centerpiece of the visit, the original concept event for the trip. You will meet over lunch for an hour and a half with Presidents Meri, Brazauskas and Ulmanis in a structure as informal as we can make it in order to allow for a more relaxed and natural discussion. We expect a heavy focus on the Russian-Estonian withdrawal talks, there should also be a good exchange on economic and security issues of concern to the three Presidents.

Open Air Speech. Against the backdrop of Freedom Monument in downtown Riga, you will address a crowd in the surrounding square that could number well over ten thousand. The central theme of your brief remarks will be America's celebration of the Baltic rebirth of freedom and our determination to stand by the region as it completes its reintegration into the Western fold.

Latvian Bilateral Events. You will have a brief meeting with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs, followed by a ceremony to sign the bilateral trade agreement. Later, President Ulmanis will host a reception where you will have the chance to meet Latvia's political, cultural and business leadership. The reception will be held in Riga's newly re-opened Stock Exchange.

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Divider Title: ARRIVAL CEREMONY

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

You are the first serving American President to set foot on Baltic soil, making your arrival historic. Your visit to Riga to meet with the three Baltic Presidents symbolizes our support and respect for the sovereignty and independence of these nations. Mindful of the quadrilateral nature of this event, the Latvians have dispensed with the full retinue of bilateral honors and have planned a colorful but short ceremony at which you will be formally introduced to the three Baltic delegations.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Convey a sense of the historical significance of your visit.
- o Highlight your presence in the Baltics as a demonstration of support for the nationhood of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

CORE POINTS

- o This is truly an historic moment. The arrival of an American President in the Baltics is a symbolic affirmation of the long road you have travelled to achieve true sovereignty and independence.
- o I look forward to our discussions today as a chance to bolster your reintegration with Europe and North America.

BACKGROUND

Upon arrival, you and the First Lady will be greeted by the Presidents of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and then introduced to their delegations. You will introduce the U.S. delegation to the Latvian President.

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Divider Title: **BILAT/SIGNING W/PM BIRKAVS**

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BILATERAL MEETING AND SIGNING CEREMONY
WITH LATVIAN PRIME MINISTER BIRKAVS

CONTEXT OF THE MEETING

This half-hour meeting and signing ceremony is a mark of appreciation for the Latvian government's agreement to act as host for your multilateral visit. Your interlocutor is Prime Minister Birkavs, whose role as head of government has been eclipsed in recent months by the need to conduct business at the Presidential level between you, Yeltsin and President Ulmanis, whose role in Latvian politics is largely ceremonial. Birkavs is also serving as Acting Foreign Minister following the resignation of the former FM over allegations he cooperated with the KGB before Latvia's independence.

The Latvian government is honored by your decision to visit Riga, and deeply appreciates your personal efforts to help Latvia and Russia sign the troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. The Russians have indicated that their pullout is likely to be completed before the August 31 deadline. In fulfillment of our commitment to help the Latvians dismantle the Skrunda radar site, a U.S. team recently visited Riga to begin coordinating the joint effort. We have now doubled our contribution to the Skrunda dismantlement fund, from \$2 million to \$4 million. The meeting will also afford an opportunity to reiterate our concerns about Latvia's draft citizenship law, which contains an unacceptably small quota for non-Latvians.

At the conclusion of your meeting, you and Prime Minister Birkavs will sign the Bilateral Trade Agreement, underscoring our support for Latvia's future integration into the Western economic fold.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Reassure Latvia about continuing U.S. interest in smooth implementation of the troop withdrawal agreement, citing Skrunda dismantlement and housing vouchers.
- o Stress our strong interest in strengthening bilateral relations through increased emphasis on trade and investment and broadening security ties.
- o Encourage passage of a generous and inclusive citizenship law.

Introduction and thanks

- o I want to reiterate my thanks to you and President Ulmanis for inviting me to Riga and acting as host for the meeting with Presidents Meri and Brazauskas.

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-03/14-M-2 (3,14)

4/20/2023 v2

- o The statesmanship Latvia has displayed in concluding the troop withdrawal agreement with Moscow has earned the respect of all of us. We look forward to working with you and with Moscow to ensure full, timely implementation.

Skrunda dismantlement

- o When I met President Ulmanis in Washington in May, I told him we would provide at least \$2 million to fulfill our promise to help you take down the large structure at Skrunda.
- o An American team recently visited Skrunda and met your experts. We are well on the way to coordinating our efforts. But it appears dismantlement will cost more than we first thought.
- o We have identified another \$2 million in funding for the project; brings our total commitment to \$4 million. We will continue to encourage other states to contribute, as well.

Housing vouchers

- o We have tried to provide a real incentive for Russian compliance with the withdrawal deadline through our \$160 million program to resettle demobilized officers.
- o You have helped us by working with the Russians to identify specific officers who qualify for the program. We have increased the number of vouchers available from 1,000 to 2,500, split equally between Latvia and Estonia.

Bilateral issues

- o The troop withdrawal sends a positive signal to traders and investors. I am announcing today the board members of the Baltic American Enterprise Fund to be chaired by Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, President of the Atlantic Council, which will have \$50 million in investment capital to support private business development in the Baltics.
- o Looking forward to the Central Europe trade and investment conference in Washington this fall. Afterwards, we will send out a trade development mission to the Baltics, including participation by major U.S. firms.
- o Your active participation in Partnership for Peace will help strengthen your security ties to the West. We have also asked our Congress to provide \$10 million in FY95 funds to support regional peacekeeping forces, including the Baltic Peacekeeping battalion.

- o (IF ASKED ABOUT JOINTLY DEVELOPING RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE SITE AT VENTSPILS AS A SCIENCE/TELECOMMUNICATIONS CENTER):
 - Intriguing proposal. Would be happy to explore details to see if we could make this work.
- o (IF ASKED ABOUT WILLINGNESS TO PURCHASE U.S. EMBASSY BUILDING IN RIGA, ENABLING LATVIA TO BUY NEW BUILDING IN D.C.):
 - I am told that our present tight budget still will not allow us to purchase the building here. If the funds become available, we will raise this with you again.

Naturalization law

- o Pleased that President Ulmanis remanded this law to parliament. We share view of CSCE and others that the citizenship quota is far too restrictive.
- o Encourage you to find ways to include your large Russian minority in political and social life of your country.
- o Know this is difficult issue here but we are convinced you will be better off in the long-term if Russians are treated fairly.

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Valdis BIRKAVS
(Phonetic: BEERkavs)

*Prime Minister (since July 1993);
Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs
(since 7 June 1994)*

Addressed as: Mr. Prime Minister

Valdis Birkavs has had to rely on his considerable legal expertise and political savvy to keep his minority coalition government on a proreform path, EO 13526 1.4c
He assumed the Foreign Ministry portfolio when his predecessor, Georgs Andrejevs, resigned—after admitting to having worked for the KGB in the early 1960s. EO 13526 1.4c

Birkavs will hold the post until a new minister is named, which they say may not be until the fall of 1994. He has been termed a crisp, clearheaded, tough-talking politician by the Baltic press. 1.4(c)

EO 13526 1.4c

1.4(c)

3.5c

The Prime Minister has steered the government toward areas that he considers key to transforming Latvia into a market economy and to drawing the country into Western organizations—economic reform continues to move forward, an agreement has been reached on Russian troop withdrawal, and Latvia has joined the Partnership for Peace program. However, Birkavs still faces the ethnically touchy issue of establishing a citizenship law, the resolution of which is needed for the country's incorporation into organizations such as the Council of Europe. 3.5c

Birkavs was born on 27 July 1942 in Riga. After attending the Riga Polytechnic Institute, he performed his mandatory service in the Soviet army. Birkavs subsequently earned a law degree (with honors) from Latvian State University's law school in 1969. He also holds a Ph.D. in criminology. Birkavs began his career at the Latvian Justice Ministry's Forensic and Criminology Laboratory, which provides expert

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EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

witnesses for the court system. In 1988 he established the Latvian Lawyers' Association, the first independent bar organization in what was then the Soviet Union, and he was elected its first president. He became involved in the independence movement in 1990 when he was elected to the Saeima (parliament) as a proindependence Popular Front candidate. He served as one of the parliament's experts on legislation matters and, according to press reports, he frequently was sought out by other members of parliament for advice on procedure and phraseology; he became a deputy speaker in 1992. 3.5c

The press describes Birkavs—who speaks English, Russian, and Latvian—as a refined intellectual. He admitted in an interview that because of his knowledge and experience, he never

E.O. 13526 3.5(c)

(continued)
E.O. 13526 3.5(c)

has suffered from an inferiority complex. Birkavs enjoys vacationing at his summer house by the Baltic Sea; he says that proximity to the sea provides him creative and physical freedom to think and write. He also enjoys sports—skiing, tennis, and sailing (in which he once competed at the international professional level). In a January 1994

basketball match, Birkavs led members of his Cabinet to victory over a team drawn from the Lithuanian Cabinet; he quickly fouled out of the game. Birkavs and his wife, Aina, have a son.

3.5c

14 June 1994

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Divider Title: **WORKING LUNCH W/BALTIC PRESIDENTS**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WORKING LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENTS
OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

This meeting is the centerpiece of your visit to the Baltics: an opportunity to convey to the Baltic heads of state, as a group, the assurances of America's commitment to the future of their independent nations and to the prosperity and development the Baltic region as a whole. All three Baltic Presidents deeply appreciate your personal involvement in promoting the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltics, and you will be able to provide them evidence of our commitment to ensure smooth implementation of the withdrawal agreements. The Estonian-Russian talks are at a sensitive endgame phase, and your discussions with President Meri may yield enough progress on the outstanding issues to allow the outlines of a final deal to take shape when you meet President Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday.

Beyond the troop withdrawal issue, though, this luncheon should focus on the future. History and geopolitical realities inspire deep pessimism among the Baltic people and their leaders. There is great fear of resurgent Russian nationalism and a lingering suspicion that America will put the Baltics on the back burner once the Russian troops are gone. There is also uncertainty, especially in Latvia and Lithuania, that a successful transition to a market economy is in sight. The single overriding message for you to leave with your Baltic counterparts is our determination to help them reintegrate into the Western security and economic fold and our rejection of the idea of a Russian "sphere of influence" in the Baltics. The surest guarantee of long-term Baltic sovereignty and prosperity lies in close integration with Europe and North America and, simultaneously, normal relations with a reforming, stable Russia. In this respect, the Baltic leaders will value your assurances that our relations with Russia remain healthy, resilient and realistic.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Hail progress in achieving full Russian troop withdrawal and our commitment to the implementation phase of the process.
- o Express readiness to help conclude the Russia-Estonia talks, specifically by carrying a message from President Meri to your meeting with Yeltsin in Naples.
- o Stress need for an enlightened policy of including the Russian ethnic minority in political and social life.
- o Make clear our steadfast support for Baltic security and economic integration with the West.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3.16)

6/20/2023 v2

- o Stress the strength of our ties with Moscow, but reject any suggestion of a Russian sphere of influence in the Baltics.

CORE POINTS

Russian Troop Withdrawals

- o Congratulations to all three on progress in withdrawal of Russian forces. These agreements will help you establish normal relations with your big neighbor and create a better climate for reforms and trade and investment.
- o August 31 is a firm deadline as far as we are concerned. We've told Russia that withdrawals cannot drag on past then. I believe Yeltsin is committed to deadline -- doesn't want this as a long-term problem in our relations.
- o We are committed to make these agreements work. Have made ready 2,500 housing vouchers so that departing officers can buy apartments in Russia. The Russians are responding. The first vouchers are already being handed over to qualified officers.
- o Our contribution to Skrunda dismantlement now totals \$4 million. We are providing over \$1 million to the international fund to help clean up Paldiski. We will also work closely within CSCE to monitor implementation.
- o Estonian-Russian talks seem close to final agreement. President Meri, we want to be helpful. I will see Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday; what will it take to close the deal? Can I be helpful?
- o I believe you need to close the deal with President Yeltsin personally and not allow this to go back to mid-level negotiators.

Separate points for Meri pull-aside:

- o Believe the Russians will accept that their officers have the same rights to privatize their flats as Estonians; no more no less. Will support you fully on this.
- o Regarding cutoff date for residence permit applications, urge you to be flexible. Our housing vouchers can "buy off" some of the disputed group.
- o On Paldiski reactors, key is the status of the facility. Russians will likely agree to civilian status for the interim period -- personnel would not wear uniforms. We will support you in pushing for shortest period -- 6-12 months.
- o Key is a signed agreement with date of August 31.

Russia and Russian Ethnic Minority

- o We've survived some rough spots in our relations with Russia. Yeltsin and I are committed to keeping things on track. We have learned to manage disagreements through frequent diplomatic consultation. Yeltsin and I call or write frequently to give direction and keep things moving.
- o We've been impressed by Chernomyrdin and his pragmatism on economic decisions. Vice President Gore has close personal relationship with him. Overall, reform process is still moving forward.
- o I mention this because a large part of **your** security depends on a stable, reforming Russia. Helping Russia make that hard transition is still my top foreign policy priority.
- o We reject any suggestion that the Baltics lie in any sort of Russian "sphere of influence." We are watching Russian actions closely in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh, but the Baltic states are in a completely different category. You are pointed westward and we want you to remain that way.
- o The Russian minority in your countries is a fact of life you must deal with. I know it's difficult. I urge you to find ways to include them in the social and political life of your countries, consistent with CSCE and other multilateral suggestions. Make it a priority to keep this problem manageable. Let us know how we can help.

Bilateral and Multilateral Security Relations

- o Expanding our security relations with your countries is a priority for us. It emphasizes our support for your sovereignty. The first sessions of the bilateral working groups on defense matters were a good start to build upon.
- o We strongly support your integration into the Euroatlantic community multilaterally. You are already playing a constructive role in the CSCE and NACC.
- o Now, we welcome you into the Partnership for Peace. Your membership will play a pivotal role in your integration.
- o I strongly support the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion initiative and have asked Congress to give us \$10 million in our FY95 budget to support this and other regional peacekeeping groups. The battalion is an excellent example of regional cooperation and a model for other Central and East European states.

Economic Cooperation and Support

- o Your progress toward building market democracies is remarkable. I realize that the battle is far from won and urge you to stay the course.

- o Our economic assistance for the Baltic region will fall a bit in the coming year, in line with cuts to all other countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former USSR.
- o We have placed a renewed emphasis on trade and investment. I have just approved the board of the Baltic American Enterprise fund. It will be headed by Rozanne Ridgway, our former Ambassador to Finland and East Germany and Assistant Secretary of State for Europe. She is now President of the Atlantic Council.
- o I know you have been waiting a while for the Fund to start up. I have put it on a fast track to start making the first grants from its \$50 million before September.
- o The White House is also sponsoring a Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe this fall. Afterwards, we will send to your countries a major Baltic Business Development Mission, bringing many top U.S. firms with it.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. report	U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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3.5c

Lennart MERI
(Phonetic: MAYree)

President (since 1992)

Addressed as: Mr. President

Estonia's first president since 1940, Lennart Meri
EO 13526 1.4c is publicly
committed to integrating his country with the West
and eradicating the vestiges of 50 years of Soviet
occupation. He is adamant in urging the withdrawal
of Russian military forces from Estonian territory by
31 August 1994 and does not pass up an opportunity
to assail their continued presence in talks with
Western officials and in the press. EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

Meri did avoid major conflict with Russia in July
1993 when he rejected at the eleventh hour an anti-
Russian Aliens Law that would have put tight
restrictions on granting citizenship to non-Estonians.

EO 13526 1.4c he remains
sensitive to Moscow's charges of discrimination
against ethnic Russians living in Estonia. 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

Background and Personal Notes

Meri is an ethnic Estonian. He was born on
29 March 1929 in Tallinn, the son of a post-World
War I Estonian diplomat who had served in Paris
and Berlin. In 1941, his family was deported to
Siberia after the republic was occupied by the

3.5c

3.5c

ESTONIA

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EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

Soviets. After returning to his homeland after World
War II, Meri graduated from Tartu University in
1953 with a degree in history. He was a well-known
reformist intellectual before entering politics in the
late 1980s, having spent much of the preceding three
decades as a radio editor, documentary filmmaker,
and author of books on Finnic-Ugric ethnic groups
in the Soviet Union. By 1989, Meri had emerged as
a prominent member of the independence-minded
Popular Front. After serving as Foreign Minister, he
was Ambassador to Finland for several months.

3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c

(continued)

3.5c

3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c . He is capable of carrying on several conversations in multiple languages simultaneously—in addition to his native Estonian, he speaks English, French, German, Finnish, Italian, Danish, and Swedish. Meri is an electronics junkie and has many phones. His wife, Helle, is about 30 years his junior and is an actress and an opera singer. The couple has a young daughter, Tulle, who was born around 1985. Meri also has two sons from a previous marriage. 3.5c

17 June 1994

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
006. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/17/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
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OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F

ke2200

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Algirdas Mikolas BRAZAUSKAS
(Phonetic: brahZOWskas)

President (since February 1993)

Addressed as: Mr. President

LITHUANIA

Declassified
in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-2
(3.19) 6/20/23
VZ



Algirdas Brazauskas is EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

1.4(c) his country's most popular
politician in a poll published in March 1994.

3.5c

Brazauskas supports cultivating good relations
with Western countries, especially the United
States. EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

He has energetically expanded economic and security ties with the West, and he was the first Baltic leader to apply for NATO membership. He wants to attract Western investment, but he has warned that Lithuania also needs to improve relations with its eastern neighbors, according to press reports. Brazauskas, who has publicly noted Lithuania's dependence on Russia as its main energy supplier, has made liberalizing trade with Russia a top priority. 3.5c

EO 13526 1.4c, 3.5c

Party Politics

Brazauskas was born on 22 September 1932. He holds a candidate's degree in both construction engineering and economics (roughly equivalent to a Ph.D. in this country). After a Soviet apparatchik career in successive positions of increasing responsibility in the construction and supply sector and in the Communist Party apparatus of Lithuania, Brazauskas was named first secretary of Lithuania's Communist Party in 1988. In late 1989 he drew the

3.5c

proindependence Lithuanian Communist Party out from under the umbrella of the Soviet Communist Party. The Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party was formed from the remnants of that party in 1990, and he headed it until April 1993. After Lithuania gained independence in 1991, Brazauskas unsuccessfully ran for chairman of the parliament.

3.5c

United States.

EO 13526 1.4c

EO 13526 1.4c

1.4(c) Married to a retired doctor, he has twin daughters and several grandchildren.

3.5c

Personal Notes

17 June 1994

Brazauskas does not speak English but reads it well. He speaks Russian and Polish, as well as Lithuanian. He has traveled widely, including to the

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Divider Title: **PRESS AVAILABILITY**

PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

BALTIC ECONOMIC SITUATION

Q: How do you rate the economic situation in the Baltic States?

- A.
- Baltic region a model for how states can make the transition to a market economy. All three countries have strong currencies and relatively low inflation.
 - Estonia is predicted to have the highest growth rate in all of Europe this year -- 6%.
 - Latvia and Lithuania are not far behind; both are privatizing well and have followed IMF recommendations.
 - Overall, trade and investment prospects here are excellent. We are committed to help it improve even more.
 - I don't want to minimize the hardships that this economic transition imposes. I know that many families are suffering. But we are confident that these hardships will lessen as each country continues its turnaround.

POST-COMMUNIST RETURN

Q: How do you view the return of former communists to power in a number of Central and Eastern European countries, such as Lithuania and Poland?

- A.
- I'm more interested in a government's policies and results than in the political labels that apply to it.
 - We are committed to work with any democratically elected government that supports political and economic reform, human rights, respect for neighbors and good relations with the United States.
 - Our relations with Lithuania and Poland are excellent.

SKRUNDA

Q: Did the United States make a deal with Russia over the disposition of the Skrunda radar facility?

- A. - No, we understood the Russian need to maintain their early warning capacity at Skrunda temporarily, until it could be replaced. It will close after a specified period of time. My talks with Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin helped find a time frame that both sides could accept for keeping the radar open and under civilian control.
- There are no secret agreements. Everything is public.
- At Latvia's request, we have committed \$4 million dollars to help with the dismantlement of the large, unfinished structure at Skrunda.

U.S.-BALTIC SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

Q: What type of defense or security relationship does the United States have with the Baltic States?

- A. - We have active bilateral and multilateral security relationships with all three countries.
- We recently had consultations on regional security, defense cooperation and bilateral assistance with each of the Baltic states.
- We also have a program of high-level visits, ship visits and exchanges of defense officials.
- We have also proposed to Congress a \$10 million program in FY95 to support regional peacekeeping units in Central and Eastern Europe. Some of this money would support the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion being established jointly by these three states.
- We also hope to expand our security cooperation through NATO's Partnership for Peace, in which all of the Baltic States participate.
- Baltic countries are important to the West. Delighted they will take part in PFP.

NATO ISSUES

Q: Why has the U.S. allowed Russia to veto the Baltic states and other countries in CEE from joining NATO?

- A. - Russia has not vetoed membership in NATO for any nation. No state outside NATO has a veto on membership. At the January Summit of NATO we said we expect that NATO will eventually expand eastward.
- As we consider expansion, we will be looking at the overall European security situation and the ability of prospective members to meet the responsibilities that NATO membership entails.
 - Active participation in PFP is an important factor. The enthusiasm the Baltic states have shown over their membership PFP is a very good trend.

ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN TALKS

Q: What is the status of the Estonian-Russian troop withdrawal negotiations? Will the U.S. mediate these talks as you did between the Russians and Latvians?

- A. - President Meri and I had a good discussion of the state of play. I have no doubt that the Estonians are committed to reach agreement to permit troops to leave by August 31. I believe the Russian side shares that commitment. There are just a few outstanding issues.
- The U.S. did not mediate the Russian-Latvian talks, and we have no intention of playing that role here.
 - I do expect to discuss the negotiations when I see President Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday.
 - I expect that Russia will meet the August 31 deadline it has set for withdrawal of its forces from Latvia and Estonia.

ETHNIC RUSSIANS IN ESTONIA AND LATVIA

Q: What is the United States position on the status of ethnic Russians in Estonia and Latvia? What about the Latvian citizenship law?

- A. - From the very start, we have encouraged the governments of all the Baltic countries to adopt an inclusive approach to dealing with their minority populations.
- There have been numerous international groups monitoring the minority situation in the Baltics. We agree with their findings that there are no abuses of human rights among the minority population.
 - At the same time, I have urged all three Presidents to find ways to include ethnic minorities in the social and political life of the country.
 - On the Latvian citizenship law, we agree with CSCE, the Council of Europe and the EU. The current draft has some improvements over earlier versions, but it still sets an unfairly low quota for non-Latvians to become citizens.
 - I think President Ulmanis was right to send it back to Parliament, and I hope they will make the necessary corrections to it.

KALININGRAD

Q: What is the U.S. position on the status of Kaliningrad?

- A. - Kaliningrad is part of Russia.
- We are aware of the high concentration of Russian forces in the region and understand the desire of others in the region to see that concentration reduced, or to demilitarize Kaliningrad completely.
 - We hope that as Russia begins to resolve its housing shortage for military personnel, Kaliningrad's force concentration can be reduced.

AID PHASEOUT IN ESTONIA

Q: Why did the United States decide to cut off economic assistance to Estonia?

- A. - We have agreed with the Estonians to move from aid to trade.
- Estonia is reaching that stage in its economic development where trade and investment has a greater effect than economic assistance. When that happens, we begin to phase out some of the assistance.
- The Estonian government fully understands and supports this policy. It is the best vote of confidence we can give them.

STABILITY PACT

Q: What does the U.S. think of the Baltic Table of the European Stability Pact?

- A. - We are consulting closely with the European Union on its proposal to establish a Baltic Table. We intend to work with the EU to ensure that this initiative contributes to the success of efforts already underway in the CSCE and elsewhere.

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Divider Title: **SPEECH AT FREEDOM PLAZA**

CEREMONY AND SPEECH AT FREEDOM MONUMENT

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

Your open air speech in central Riga will underscore in dramatic fashion the central themes of your visit: strong public support for Baltic sovereignty; America's role in promoting the withdrawal of Russian troops; our commitment to the security and economic integration of the Baltics with the West. A large crowd -- perhaps as many as ten thousand people -- is expected to gather in the square before the monument. Latvian workers have been given the afternoon off to attend the event, and you encouraged Estonians and Lithuanians to join you in Riga in your videotaped message to the Baltic peoples.

Upon arrival at Freedom Monument, you will be greeted by President Ulmanis and will lay flowers at the base of the monument. You will then proceed to the adjacent stage, where President Ulmanis will make introductory remarks. The three Baltic Presidents will be seated on the stage during your speech, which will be interpreted consecutively into Latvian. We will provide the text of your speech separately.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Impress upon your audience the steadfastness of America's support for the Baltics.
- o Underscore our commitment to the full implementation of the troop withdrawal agreements.
- o Describe your vision of a prosperous, stable Baltic region at peace with its neighbors and integrated with the West.

BACKGROUND

Freedom Square is Riga's most historically significant location. In Czarist times, a statue of Peter the Great stood on the spot, and the site was called "Peter's Square." The statue was removed after World War I, and the current Freedom Monument was erected in 1935 as a symbol of Latvia's new-found statehood and liberty. When the "Latvian Awakening" began in 1987, the Freedom Monument became a rallying point for opponents of the Communist regime. Since independence, the square and monument have often been the site of public gatherings in support of reform. All visiting foreign dignitaries lay flowers at the Monument.

The 146-foot high stone obelisk is topped by a bronze statue of Liberty holding three stars, symbolizing the unity of Latvia's three regions. The four stone sculptures at the base depict national and cultural themes. The inscription on the Monument reads "For Fatherland and Freedom."

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Divider Title: MTG WITH LATVIAN LEADERS

MEETING AT THE STOCK EXCHANGE

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

This is your opportunity to meet a broad spectrum of Latvian opinion- and decision-makers. You will be meeting with Latvian and American business, political and cultural figures at the Riga Stock Exchange immediately prior to delivering your speech at Freedom Square. Among the Latvians you will meet are the Minister of Government Reform and the President of the Bank of Latvia. The guest list also includes the Board of Directors of the American Chamber of Commerce and the General Manager of Kellogg's cereal, the largest U.S. investor in Latvia. The meeting will be closed to the Press.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Highlight the role of American trade and business in Latvia's recovery.
- o Underscore our support for Latvia's future development with a broad group of leaders.

CORE POINTS (text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

Latvia has been very successful in stabilizing its economy. It has the lowest inflation rate of any NIS or Baltic country. Its private sector has grown rapidly: there is now one private company registered for every fifty Latvians. The town of Riga has emerged as a regional banking, business and transportation hub.

The U.S. has made a significant contribution to Latvia's recovery. The U.S. is one of the largest foreign investors in Latvia (\$75-100 million in planned investment). Bilateral trade was \$113 million in 1993 and is expanding rapidly. Riga is home to a growing and dynamic business community which is represented by an active chamber of commerce.

The venue of the meeting, the old Riga Stock Exchange Building, is scheduled to become the home of a functioning stock exchange and stock registry in the first quarter of 1996.

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Divider Title: **MTG WITH U.S. EMBASSY STAFF**

MEETING WITH STAFFS OF U.S. EMBASSIES IN THE BALTICS

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

This is your opportunity to thank the official American communities in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia for their hard work toward supporting our policy goals in the region and for their efforts to make your visit a success. The staffs of our embassies in Tallinn and Vilnius have travelled by bus to join their colleagues in Riga for this event. You will meet the group following your Freedom Square speech, immediately before departing for the airport.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Recognize the hard work and dedication of the Americans (and their families) who represent the U.S. in the Baltics and the Foreign Service National employees who support them.
- o Impress upon the group your personal commitment to strengthen U.S. relations with the Baltic nations and their important role in making that commitment a reality.

CORE POINTS (text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

The United States re-established full diplomatic ties with Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia in September, 1991, following the aborted effort to oust Soviet President Gorbachev. We have had Ambassadors in the three countries since mid-1992. The Embassy staffs are small, but growing as our relationships broaden. Counting all agencies represented, each post currently has about 15 full-time resident professional members and 30-45 locally-hired support personnel, either Foreign Service national employees or officer's spouses.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

BACKGROUND PAPERS

Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance

Russian Troop Withdrawals

The Russian Minority in the Baltic States

Paldiski Naval Base

Baltic-American Enterprise Fund

Latvia: Political-Economic Overview

Estonia: Political-Economic Overview

Lithuania: Political-Economic Overview

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SKRUNDA RADAR SITE: DISMANTLEMENT ASSISTANCE

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

Construction of the third site, a large phased-array radar (LPAR), began in 1986 in order to replace the older Hen House radars. These buildings were near external completion when construction was halted in early 1992. Although inoperable, the 18-storied skyscraper stands as a symbolically ominous reminder to Latvians of Soviet/Russian presence. For this reason the Latvians want the LPAR destroyed quickly. Our \$4 million dismantlement assistance package is designed to help them do so.

On April 30, 1994, the Latvians and Russians signed a troop withdrawal agreement that included Russia's consent to turn over the LPAR immediately to Latvian control. Under the terms of agreement, the CSCE is to establish a mission to help monitor implementation of the Skrunda provisions (4 years of continued operation by the Russians plus another 18 months for dismantlement). We are encouraging the Latvians and the Russians in Vienna to give the CSCE an idea of the composition and mandate for the CSCE mission.

The Latvians have now taken over the LPAR, although Russians guard the site. In addition to our \$4 million toward dismantlement, the Swedes have also committed \$1 million and the British have agreed to help resolve Latvia's environmental concerns over radio waves from the site. We have asked other Western donors to contribute to this project.

An interagency technical assessment team visited Latvia in mid-June to assess dismantlement parameters and to determine project costs. The team will assist in preparation of bid specifications for contractors to complete demolition as soon as possible.

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RUSSIAN TROOP WITHDRAWALS

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

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

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

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

Lithuania

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

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

Latvia

In order to promote a Latvian-Russian troop withdrawal agreement, at the Moscow Summit in January you suggested a compromise of four years and 18 months for the continuing operation and

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subsequent dismantlement of the Skrunda radar facility. Yeltsin accepted the compromise, and the Latvian Government also agreed to it.

That compromise formed the basis for the resolution of remaining issues, and Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin signed a troop withdrawal agreement on April 30. Less than 7,000 Russian soldiers now remain in Latvia, and Russia has stated that it will withdraw most of the rest by as early as July 31. The Russian navy already departed on June 1.

Estonia

Negotiators admit that more than 90% of the issues connected with a troop withdrawal agreement were resolved long ago. No progress was made until recently when, at your initiative, Russia agreed to raise its level of representation in the talks. FM Kozyrev and Estonian President Meri held a productive private meeting in Tallinn on May 25, and Russian DFM Churkin traveled to Tallinn the next week to negotiate directly with FM Luik. Despite some progress, the negotiations have again stalled over three main issues:

Application for residence permits by retired officers. The Estonians insist that applicants must have retired before August 21, 1991 (their "independence day") to be considered. The Russians want a broader formulation: anyone can apply, and the Estonians can deny whomever they want based on their laws. We are recommending that the Estonians throw in the towel here and accept the Russian formula; we have told them that we will front-load our housing vouchers in favor of the post-August 21 group they are concerned about.

Housing for retired officers. Moscow has revived an earlier position that retired officers should have an automatic right to privatize and thus take cost-free ownership of the apartments they live in. Even Estonians do not have this right; they must buy the right to privatize. Here, the Russians need to give.

Paldiski. This is the naval nuclear reactor training facility that the Russians are abandoning. They want the right to remove the fissile core and unspecified "secret" parts, which means they would need to remain at the facility for some time after the August 31 withdrawal date. The Estonians want all troops out by that date. The obvious, Skrunda-like solution is for the two sides to agree on an interim period (6-12 months is reasonable) for "civilianized" (i.e., non-uniformed) Russian personnel to carry out the defueling and related work.

Now that the United States, Sweden and other nations will be active in a multilateral effort on environmental cleanup of the two land-based nuclear submarine training reactors at Paldiski, this issue also should be easily resolved. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million.

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THE RUSSIAN MINORITY IN THE BALTIC STATES

Aside from our usual human rights concerns, a major part of our strategy to promote the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States has been to press for fair and equitable treatment of the Russian minority. Russia routinely accuses Estonia and Latvia of massive violations of the human rights of their large Russian-speaking population, and often some Russian officials have tried to link these issues with the troop withdrawal issue.

We have supported the visits to Estonia and Latvia of numerous international human rights experts from non-government and inter-governmental organizations. We have agreed with their conclusions that there is no pattern of human rights violations there. Estonia accepted a CSCE mission in December 1992, and Latvia accepted a CSCE mission in November 1993. We are very pleased with the results of these missions in resolving a number of problems, such as the Aliens Law controversy in Estonia and the provocative behavior of the former Latvian Citizenship and Naturalization Department Director. The CSCE mission in Latvia is headed by an American Foreign Service Officer.

Lithuania

Ethnic Russians comprise only seven percent of Lithuania's population, and most of them automatically became citizens under Lithuania's liberal citizenship law of December, 1991. Unlike its Baltic neighbors, Lithuania did not experience a dramatic proportional rise in the number of postwar non-ethnic Lithuanians. This happened because border adjustments reintroduced a large number of ethnic Lithuanians. In addition, Stalin's Russification policy was not implemented as harshly in agricultural Lithuania as elsewhere.

Estonia

Estonia generally has taken a very pragmatic course in addressing the issue of its large ethnic Russian noncitizen community. Roughly 38 percent of its inhabitants are noncitizens; about 33 percent are ethnic Russian, most of whom live in the urban, industrialized Northeast. Estonia allowed its noncitizens to vote in municipal elections and granted citizenship to practically all noncitizens who wanted to run to office. For the elderly and handicapped, Estonia has dropped its language requirement for citizenship, and its citizenship law requires only a three-year residency, two years of which are retroactive. Estonia agreed to most of the revisions proposed by the CSCE to its Law on Aliens from last summer, which substantially eased a potential crisis in Russian-Estonian relations.

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Latvia

Latvia has taken a much more hesitant and legalistic approach to dealing with its large noncitizen community. Part of this may be related to the dynamics of the troop withdrawal process and part from doubts about the loyalty of these ethnics, even though they have not shown an inclination toward organizing politically. As in Estonia, a majority of ethnic Russians supported independence. However, a large number did not and are overwhelmingly anti-Yeltsin in sentiment. Few speak Latvian. While ethnic Russians comprise about the same percentage of the population as in Estonia, ethnic Slavs are 48 percent of Latvia's inhabitants and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy. The law on naturalization, with its strict quota system is contentious and unacceptable to us and most other European countries. We encouraged Latvia to review this aspect of the draft law, and it has been remanded to the Parliament for more work.

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PALDISKI NAVAL BASE

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

Russia made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the reactors at Paldiski and is expected to begin removing the reactors this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts.

During a recent visit, the Estonian Prime Minister mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. The Energy Department has committed its support for this effort with a package of evaluation and training measures worth approximately \$2 million. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region will also join the effort once the United States officially participates.

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

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Department of State Guidelines, November 1994
By VL NARA, Date 6/6/2023
2016-0314-M-2

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BALTIC-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND

During your visit to Riga, you will announce the establishment of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund (BAEF). The Fund will be capitalized with \$50 million in foreign assistance appropriations over a 3-4 year period. The purpose of the Fund is to promote private-sector development in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Fund's Board will be chaired by Rozanne Ridgway, former Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Ambassador to East Germany and Finland.

The Fund will have the authority to make equity investments and loans and, as appropriate, offer technical assistance to promote new private initiatives, entrepreneurs and privatization, with special emphasis on the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises. In particular, the Fund may support joint ventures involving U.S. and other foreign investors with Baltic country partners.

The Fund will be similar to the existing enterprise funds in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic and Bulgaria. Our experience in these countries has shown that enterprise funds can play an important role in providing financing for the private sector, as well as leading the way for other investors. As with all the enterprise funds, the Baltic Fund will be managed by a private sector board of directors selected with the concurrence of the White House.

The Fund will be expected to maintain a meaningful presence both in terms of representation and its investment portfolio in all three Baltic States. The Fund will be encouraged to use its U.S. capitalization to attract other resources for private sector development in the Baltic States.

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LATVIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

The Latvian Ambassador calls Latvia "a nation of lawyers" in mentality. Culturally, Latvians most reflect their Lutheran German heritage and emulate Swedes. The Latvian language is neither Slavic nor Germanic, but a Baltic tongue related to Lithuanian. Under Hanseatic and German influence since the 13th century, Latvia always has used its geographic location as an important commercial trading center.

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

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

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

Latvia's economic situation is steadily improving. The country enjoys a positive trade balance, relatively restrained inflation, and a very stable currency. Latvia still imports 90 percent of its energy from the NIS. De facto agricultural privatization also has occurred. Ethnic Slavs comprise 48 percent of the populace and control an estimated 80 percent of the economy.

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

With the withdrawal agreement, Latvia now needs to focus on privatization as well as citizenship and naturalization legislation. The Latvian citizenship law emerged from Parliament with unacceptably low quotas for citizenship by non-Latvians

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VZ NARA, Date 6/6/2023
2016-0314-M-2

(i.e., Russians), in direct contradiction to suggestions from CSCE and the Council of Europe for greater inclusivity. President Ulmanis has remanded the law back to Parliament for a rewrite. The United States has defended Latvia's human rights record against Russian accusations. We remain engaged in the issue and have supported the presence of a resident CSCE mission to promote harmonious relations between ethnic Russians and Latvians.

Relations with the United States and the West

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

The U.S. established diplomatic relations with Latvia on July 28, 1922, and reestablished ties on September 2, 1991. Latvian representation in the U.S. continued uninterrupted for over 70 years. The U.S. never recognized the forcible incorporation of Latvia into the USSR. About 85,000 Americans of Latvian descent play an active role in bilateral relations.

Latvia enjoys MFN status and GSP privileges. We will sign a Bilateral Trade and Intellectual Property Protection Agreement during your visit. In 1993, Latvia exported to the U.S. \$22.6 million and imported \$89.5 million, the latter being chiefly agricultural commodities under concessional programs. American firms registered \$35 million out of a total \$110 million in foreign investment. The U.S. is the largest Western investor in Latvia and, by far, Kellogg's is the biggest single U.S. investor.

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ESTONIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

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

The infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop pact brought an end to Estonian independence by 1940. The next decade brought 10,000 Soviet deportations and 5,500 deaths in Nazi camps. Ten percent of the population fled to the West. Soviet rule brought large numbers of urban Slavic immigrants to industrialize Estonia's northeast.

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

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

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

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an association partner of the WEU, Estonia seeks GATT membership. Estonia actively pursues Western security relationships and eagerly signed on to Partnership for Peace (PFP).

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

Estonia's phased graduation from AID's assistance programs, to be completed by 1996, recognizes Estonia's position at the vanguard of Eastern European reform. In 1993, Estonian trade with the

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Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

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

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LITHUANIA: POLITICAL-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

Lithuania is a staunchly Catholic nation with a strong sense of national identity dating back to its glory days as a medieval empire, when it stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Subsequently tied in a union with Poland for centuries, Lithuania was an independent nation again from 1918 to 1940, when it was annexed by the USSR.

Under the leadership of intellectuals, the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis was formed in mid-1988, declaring a program of democratic and national rights. After 50 years of occupation, in 1990 the Lithuanian Supreme Council declared Lithuania independent from the Soviet Union. The USSR responded with the imposition of a harsh economic blockade, and in January 1991 unsuccessfully tried to overthrow the elected government, killing 13 civilians and injuring hundreds. Lithuania finally regained its full independence in August 1991.

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

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

Relations with the United States and the West

A member of the UN, CSCE, NACC and COE, and an associate partner of the WEU, Lithuania also seeks GATT membership. Lithuania actively pursues Western security relationships, has formally applied to join NATO, and already has submitted its presentation document for Partnership for Peace (PFP).

Through 1993, the U.S. has committed over \$66 million to Lithuania's economic and political transformation and to address humanitarian needs; annual assistance under the SEED program totals over \$9 million. In 1993 Lithuania exported \$16.1 million in goods to the U.S. and imported \$56.8 million, primarily agricultural commodities under concessional programs. U.S.-Lithuanian firms registered 235 of 3,674 foreign joint ventures, and of \$115 million in total foreign investment, the U.S. holds a \$35 million share. Philip Morris is a major investor.

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2016-0314-M-2



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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TO: John Beyrle NSC
(name) (agency)

395-1239
(fax number) (phone number)

FROM: Andrew L. Silski
Foreign Affairs Officer for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

SUBJECT: Skunda C-175

COMMENTS: We are at loggerheads with DoD over the issue of who has authority to negotiate the agreement. State (PM in specific) wants to be included in any phrase that mentions DoD,

Rationale behind this is to ensure that the job gets done as cost- and time efficiently as possible (DoD is talking about a \$500,000 COE feasibility study, & we believe the job can be done for \$1.7 million at by late summer-according to Parley Newman and demolition expert Mark Loizeaux of Natl. Geographic fame). We'd appreciate a well-placed phone call to DoD ASAP.

number of pages to follow:

Can you help?



United States Department of State

Washington, D. C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED**ACTION MEMORANDUM****S/S****TO:** The Deputy Secretary**THROUGH:** T - Dr. Davis
P - Mr. Tarnoff**FROM:** EUR - Stephen A. Oxman
PM - Robert L. Gallucci**SUBJECT:** Circular 175: Request for Authority to Negotiate and Conclude Agreement with Latvia Regarding Demilitarization of Conventional Weapons Systems and Facilities in Connection with Assistance in Dismantling Skrunda LPAR FacilityIssue for Decision

Whether to authorize the negotiation and conclusion of an agreement with Latvia regarding demilitarization of conventional weapons systems and facilities in connection with assistance in dismantling Skrunda LPAR facility.

Essential Factors

To help broker the Russian-Latvian agreement or Russian troop withdrawals, the President and the Secretary told the Latvians several months ago that we would assist in the dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR radar. DOD has already identified up to \$2 million that it is prepared to make available for these efforts under its Project Peace program, and we are seeking to identify an additional \$2 million in foreign aid funds that could also be provided, subject to a determination of total project costs. Other countries, including Sweden (which already has committed \$1 million) and the UK have indicated that they either are or may be willing to contribute.

DOD and State have sent an assessment team of technical experts to Latvia to identify with greater precision the areas in which we could provide assistance. At the same time, we will need to begin discussions with the Latvians for an agreement that would govern these activities and provides appropriate legal protections for the United States.

The draft agreement attached at Tab A is modeled on government-to-government agreements that we have concluded with eligible NIS in connection with the provision of assistance under the Nunn-Lugar program, and would be an umbrella

- 2 -

agreement governing the way that this and any other assistance that the US might provide for demilitarization of conventional weapons systems and facilities in Latvia is carried out.

This umbrella agreement provides an overall structure for our contemplated assistance efforts -- e.g., that Latvia shall not use or transfer assistance for purposes other than those for which it has been furnished, personnel implementing the agreement shall be accorded privileges and immunities, and that the USG will enjoy tax and customs exemptions and have audit rights to ensure that the Latvians are complying with the agreement. The agreement would designate DOD and State as "Executive Agents" to implement the agreement for the United States.

We would simultaneously negotiate an implementing agreement specifically covering up to \$2 million of dismantlement assistance for Skrunda, to be concluded between DOD and State with the Latvian Ministry of Defense (Tab B). The implementing agreement authorizes DOD and State to oversee the work of a demolition contractor in a number of areas: e.g., planning, studying and designing dismantlement; provision of equipment, supplies and training; demolition of all or part of the facility; and disposal and salvage operations. This agreement could be amended, or -- with the concurrence of the Department of State -- similar agreements concluded, if we identify funds to make an additional USG contribution for the assistance.

Although there is no legal requirement that Congress be consulted before the negotiation and conclusion of such agreements, there has been strong congressional interest in the issue of assistance for Skrunda dismantlement. Accordingly, we intend to work with DOD to inform the staff of relevant committees of the agreements at an appropriate time following the return of the DOD assessment team from Latvia.

The proposed agreements do not require environmental documentation under Executive Order 12114 (January 4, 1979). The negotiation and conclusion of these agreements will not entail the commitment of personnel or funding by the Department of State.

Recommendation

That you authorize the negotiation and conclusion of the agreements attached at Tab A, subject to the concurrence of EUR, PM, L and DOD in changes in the text.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments:

- Tab 1 - Draft Umbrella Agreement
- Tab 2 - Draft Implementing Agreement
- Tab 3 - Memorandum of Law

UNCLASSIFIED

DRAFT: JUNE 9, 1994

AGREEMENT
BETWEEN
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND
THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA
CONCERNING
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE RELATED TO
THE DEMILITARIZATION OF CONVENTIONAL
WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND FACILITIES

The United States of America and the Republic of Latvia,
hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Desiring to undertake projects related to the elimination or
demilitarization of mutually agreed conventional weapons systems
and facilities located in the Republic of Latvia;

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Subject to the terms of this Agreement, the United States
of America shall assist the Republic of Latvia in the elimination
or demilitarization of mutually agreed conventional weapons
systems and facilities located in the Republic of Latvia.

ARTICLE II

Each Party shall designate an Executive Agent to implement
this Agreement. For the United States of America, the Executive
Agent shall be the Department of Defense. For the Republic of
Latvia, the Executive Agent shall be the Ministry of _____.

ARTICLE III

The Parties, through their Executive Agents, shall, as
appropriate, enter into detailed supporting agreements for the
implementation of this Agreement, hereinafter referred to as
implementing agreements, to accomplish the objectives set forth
in Article I of this Agreement. In case of any inconsistency
between this Agreement and implementing agreements, the
provisions of this Agreement shall prevail.

ARTICLE IV

The terms of this Agreement shall apply to all material, training, or services provided in accordance with this Agreement or implementing agreements, and to all activities and personnel related to the implementation of all of the above agreements.

ARTICLE V

1. The Republic of Latvia shall facilitate the entry and exit of military and civilian personnel of the Government of the United States of America and contractor personnel of the United States of America into and out of the territory of the Republic of Latvia for the purpose of carrying out activities in accordance with this Agreement.

2. Aircraft, other than regularly scheduled commercial aircraft, used by the United States of America in connection with activities in the Republic of Latvia pursuant to this Agreement, shall be free of customs charges, landing fees, navigation charges, airport charges, and any other charges assessed on the territory of the Republic of Latvia. Aircraft owned or operated by the United States Department of Defense shall be free of customs inspections.

3. If an aircraft other than a regularly scheduled commercial aircraft is used by the United States of America for transportation to the Republic of Latvia, its flight plan shall be filed in accordance with the procedures of the International Civil Aviation Organization applicable to civil aircraft, including in the remarks section of the flight plan a confirmation that the appropriate clearance has been obtained. The Republic of Latvia shall provide, at no expense to the United States, parking, security protection, and servicing for aircraft of the United States of America.

ARTICLE VI

Unless the written consent of the United States of America has first been obtained, the Republic of Latvia shall not transfer any material, training, or services which have been provided pursuant to this Agreement, nor title thereto, to any entity, other than an officer, employee, or agent of the Republic of Latvia and shall not permit the use of such material, knowledge, or services for purposes other than those for which it has been furnished.

ARTICLE VII

1. The Republic of Latvia shall indemnify, hold harmless and bring no legal proceedings against the United States of America, its personnel, contractors, and contractors' personnel of the United States of America, for damage to or loss of property owned by the Republic of Latvia, or death or injury to any personnel of the Republic of Latvia, arising out of activities related to this Agreement.

2. Claims by third parties, arising out of the acts or omissions of any personnel of the United States of America or contractors or contractors' personnel of the United States of America related to this Agreement, shall be the responsibility of the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Latvia shall indemnify the United States of America and its personnel, contractors and contractors' personnel against such claims.

3. The provisions of this Article shall not prevent the Parties from providing compensation in accordance with their national laws. Nothing in this Agreement shall be construed to prevent the Republic of Latvia from bringing claims against nationals of the Republic of Latvia or permanent residents of the Republic of Latvia.

ARTICLE VIII

The activities of the United States of America under this Agreement are subject to the availability of funds appropriated in accordance with the laws of the United States of America.

ARTICLE IX

Military and civilian personnel of the Government of the United States of America present in the territory of the Republic of Latvia for the purpose of implementing this Agreement shall be accorded privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded administrative and technical staff personnel in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961.

ARTICLE X

1. The United States of America, its personnel, contractors, and contractors' personnel shall not be liable in connection with activities under this Agreement to pay any tax or similar charge assessed on the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

2. The United States of America, its personnel, contractors, and contractors' personnel may import into, and export out of, the Republic of Latvia any material, equipment, supplies, or services which are required to be imported or exported in order to implement this Agreement. Such import and export of material or services shall not be subject to:

- (a) any duties, customs, taxes or other charges or fees assessed on the territory of the Republic of Latvia, and,
- (b) any licensing, customs inspections, or similar restrictive procedures by the Republic of Latvia or its authorized agents.

ARTICLE XI

In the event that the United States of America awards contracts for the acquisition of material and services, including construction, to implement this Agreement, such contracts shall be awarded in accordance with the laws and regulations of the United States of America. Acquisition of material and services in the Republic of Latvia by or on behalf of the United States of America for implementing this Agreement shall not be subject to any taxes, fees, or similar charges on the territory of the Republic of Latvia.

ARTICLE XII

The Republic of Latvia shall take all reasonable measures within its power to ensure the security of material, training, or services provided pursuant to this Agreement and shall protect them against seizure or improper use.

ARTICLE XIII

Upon written request provided thirty days in advance, representatives of the Government of the United States of America shall have the right, during the period of this Agreement and for three years thereafter, to audit and examine the use of any material, training, or services provided in accordance with this Agreement at sites of their location or use, and shall have the right to audit and examine any and all records or documentation related to the use of material, training, or services provided in accordance with this Agreement.

ARTICLE XIV

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force for five years or until ninety days after the receipt by either Party of written notification from the other Party of its intention to terminate this Agreement. This Agreement may be amended or extended by the written agreement of the Parties. Notwithstanding the termination of this Agreement or the implementing agreements, the obligations of the Republic of Latvia in accordance with Articles VI and VII of this Agreement shall continue to apply without respect to time, unless otherwise agreed in writing by the Parties.

DONE at _____, this ____ day of ___, 1994, in two copies, each in the English and Latvian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA:

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF
LATVIA:

DRAFT: JUNE 13, 1994

AGREEMENT
BETWEEN
THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AND
THE MINISTRY OF _____ OF THE
REPUBLIC OF LATVIA
CONCERNING
THE PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE
RELATED TO THE DISMANTLEMENT OF THE SKRUNDA LPAR FACILITY

The Department of Defense of the United States of America and the Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Desiring to facilitate the dismantlement of buildings constructed for a large-phased array radar transmitter and receiver located near the city of Skrunda, Latvia, hereinafter referred to as the "Skrunda LPAR Facility," in an effective, expeditious, and environmentally sound manner,

Taking into account the intention, on the part of the Department of Defense of the United States of America, to accomplish the goals of Project Peace related to demilitarization of conventional weapons systems in Latvia,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

1. In order to assist the Republic of Latvia in the dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR Facility, the Department of Defense of the United States of America shall provide at no cost to the Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia the assistance specified in this Agreement, according to the terms contained herein.

2. The Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia shall use all material, training and services provided in accordance with this Agreement exclusively for the purpose of facilitating the dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR Facility.

3. This Agreement and all activities undertaken in accordance with this Agreement shall be subject to the provisions of the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Latvia Concerning Technical Assistance Related to the Demilitarization of Conventional Weapons Systems of _____, 1994.

4. All assistance to be provided under this Agreement is subject to the Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia providing to the Department of Defense of the United States of America, in advance of the provision of such assistance, written assurance that implementation of this Agreement is consistent with any obligations made by the Republic of Latvia with any third country.

ARTICLE II

1. Each Party to this Agreement shall have the right, following written notification to the other Party, to delegate responsibilities for the implementation of this Agreement to other agencies, departments or units of their respective governments.

2. Each Party to this Agreement shall have the right, following written notification to the other Party, to designate technical liaison representatives for material, training and services provided pursuant to this Agreement.

ARTICLE III

1. The total cost of material, training and services provided pursuant to this Agreement and associated expenses, including costs related to the transportation of material and personnel to and from the Republic of Latvia, to the Department of Defense of the United States of America shall not exceed two million U.S. dollars.

2. All material to be provided pursuant to this Agreement shall be delivered to a mutually agreed point of entry. The Department of Defense of the United States of America or its designated agents shall notify the Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia of the planned date of each shipment at least 72 hours in advance. The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Latvia shall take immediate possession of all such material upon its arrival at point of entry in the Republic of Latvia.

3. The Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia shall examine any material received pursuant to this Agreement and provide confirmation to the Department of Defense of the United States of America or its designated agents within ten days of receipt that it conforms with the specifications established by the Department of Defense of the United States of America or its designated agents and made available in advance to the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Latvia. Any material failing to conform with these specifications shall be returned to the United States of America through the Embassy of the United States of America at Riga within 30 days of receipt for replacement.

4. The Department of Defense of the United States of America shall not be responsible for ensuring the proper use of material, training or services provided in accordance with this Agreement or that the material, training or services achieve intended levels of performance.

ARTICLE IV

1. The Department of Defense of the United States of America may, at its discretion and based on its assessment of the requirements, provide assistance to the Ministry of _____ of the Republic of Latvia in any of the following areas related to the dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR Facility:

- a. Planning, studying and designing dismantlement of the LPAR Facility, which may include determination of recommended methods of demolition, identification of possible hazardous material and recommendations related to disposal thereof, development of an overall disposal plan, identification of salvage opportunities, identification of equipment needs, and identification of potential facility conversion or use of land;
- b. Provision of equipment, supplies and training required for demolition;
- c. Demolition of all or a portion of the LPAR Facility; and,
- d. Disposal and salvage operations related to the LPAR Facility.

2. The Department of Defense of the United States may consider requests by the Ministry of _____ for assistance related to the dismantlement of the LPAR Facility in addition to those areas included in paragraph 1 of this Article.

ARTICLE V

As appropriate, the Parties may enter into implementing arrangements to carry out the provisions of this Agreement. In case of any inconsistency between this Agreement and any such arrangements, the provisions of this Agreement shall prevail.

ARTICLE VI

This Agreement shall enter into force upon signature and shall remain in force for three years or for the duration of the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of Latvia Concerning Technical Assistance Related to the Demilitarization of Conventional Weapons Systems of _____, 1994, whichever terminates earlier. This Agreement may be amended or extended by the written agreement of the Parties and may be terminated by either Party upon ninety days written notification to the other Party of its intention to do so.

DONE at _____, this ____th day of _____, 1992, in two copies, each in the English and Latvian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

FOR THE MINISTRY OF _____
OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA:

MEMORANDUM OF LAW

The accompanying Circular 175 action memorandum requests authority to negotiate and conclude an umbrella and implementing agreement with Latvia regarding demilitarization of conventional weapons systems and facilities in connection with assistance in dismantling Skrunda LPAR facility.

As described in the action memorandum, the umbrella agreement is intended to provide an overall structure for contemplated USG assistance activities assistance efforts in the area of demilitarization of conventional weapons systems and facilities with Latvia, and would be concluded between the two governments. It contains a number of provisions that would govern the provision of assistance -- e.g., that Latvia shall not use or transfer assistance for purposes other than those for which it has been furnished, personnel implementing the agreement shall be accorded privileges and immunities, and that the USG will enjoy tax and customs exemptions and have audit rights to ensure that the Latvians are complying with the agreement. The umbrella agreement would not obligate the United States to provide any particular amount of assistance, and all obligations of the United States under the agreement would be subject to the availability of funds appropriated in accordance with United States law.

The implementing agreement would contain additional provisions specifically applicable to assistance provided for dismantlement of the Skrunda LPAR facility, and would be concluded between the Department of Defense and the Latvian Ministry of Defense. Under it, the United States would provide up to two million dollars in material, training and services to assist Latvia in the dismantlement of this facility. Under Article 1(3), all activities undertaken in accordance with the implementing agreement would be subject to the provisions of the umbrella agreement, including the above-mentioned provision in the umbrella agreement regarding availability of funds.

Legal authority to negotiate and conclude the agreements is provided by the President's constitutional responsibilities for the conduct of foreign relations (Article II, section 1) and the Secretary of State's authority for the day-to-day conduct of foreign relations (22 U.S.C. §2656).

The Office of General Counsel of the Department of Defense has reviewed the draft agreements and assured us that it perceives no legal impediment to their conclusion or implementation.

- 2 -

For the foregoing reasons, I have concluded that there is no legal objection to the negotiation and conclusion of the proposed agreements as described in the accompanying action memorandum, subject to the concurrence of EUR, PM, L and DOD in changes in the text.

Todd F. Buchwald
Assistant Legal Adviser for
European and Canadian Affairs

cleared:L/T:WTeel
L:MJMatheson
L/PM:ERCummings
OSD/GC:JBeard

Circular 175: Skruna assistance

Drafted: L/EUR:TBurghwald//EUR/EE:ASilsk*

7-3188, 6/13/94 SEEYBAL 2326

Cleared: EUR/EE:THGert*
PM:DHunter* PO'Brien* (check MOU language)

S/NIS:SPifer*

EUR/ISCA:WLucas*

L:MJMatheson

L/T:WTeen*

FMP:AFairchild*

H:RTatger*

DOD/OASD:KSavit*



**EMBASSY OF ESTONIA
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

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*Tel: (202) 789-0320
Fax (202) 789-0471*

To: National Security Council

Date: June 15, 1994

Att. to: Mr. Nicholas Burns

Fax: 395-1239

From: Toomas Hendrik Ilves

Number of pages, including this cover sheet: 3

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2016-0314-M-2 (3,23)
6/20/2023 H

Aide Memoire

1. On 13 June 1994, Russian Federation Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaly Churkin and Estonian Foreign Ministry Deputy Secretary-General Raul Mälk met in Moscow. This was the third such meeting (the first was held on 4 June in Geneva, the second on 7-8 June in Tallinn) since the Council of Baltic Sea States ministerial in Tallinn at the end of May, when Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, Estonian President Lennart Meri and Foreign Minister Jüri Luik agreed to try breaking the deadlock in Russian-Estonian troop withdrawal negotiations by continuing talks at the deputy foreign minister level. In addition, expert working groups met parallel to the Churkin-Mälk meeting on 13-15 June, also in Moscow.
2. This round of talks focused on three issues--the general troop withdrawal, Paldiski and retired military officers. In discussion over the general agreement on troop withdrawals, Churkin said that he did not exclude the possibility that the final deadline of 31 August 1994 could be altered one way or another. The clear implication of this statement, however, was that Russia may not hold to the deadline. In addition, the Russian side did not attach any particular importance to international reaction should the troops remain in Estonia after 31 August, saying that nothing would happen if the deadline came and went.
3. During talks on Paldiski, both sides handed over new versions of the draft agreement. The major points of contention were demilitarization of the facility including the nuts and bolts of "civilian control", the timetable of withdrawing the fuel rods, dismantling and handing over the facility; and the relationship between the Paldiski agreement and the general troop withdrawal agreement. For the first time, the Russian side directly linked these two agreements in the draft text. The Estonian side reiterated that the troop withdrawal must be unconditional, and the general agreement must not be linked to any other agreements under negotiation. Estonia also said that an agreement on Paldiski was not necessary to begin withdrawal of the fuel rods, since the agreement would enter into force only after the rods are out. While there was some progress at the Churkin-Mälk level as far as agreement over civilian control of the facility, the military officers took a different position, insisting on some element of Russian military control over Paldiski even after 31 August 1994.
4. The new Russian version of the draft agreement on retired military officers handed over at this meeting represented a significant setback in talks on this issue. Specifically, a number of paragraphs that had already been negotiated and agreed upon in the earlier two Churkin-Mälk meetings reappeared in the 13.6.94 draft, and had to be discussed over again. Given this

situation, resolution of the retirees issue is further off now than it was before the Moscow meeting took place.

5. The Estonian side voiced concern that Russia continues, even today, to retire and demobilise active service officers on Estonian territory and reiterated the unacceptability of this practice. Churkin's response was unclear--he neither confirmed nor denied that Russia is continuing to retire troops in Estonia, and instead called on Estonia to allow all military pensioners, including those who will retire tomorrow, to apply for residence permits in Estonia.

6. There was a marked lack of consistency between the Russian MOD experts, led by Colonel-General Nironov, and the MFA's Churkin. This inconsistency on substance came out in discussions over Paldiski as well as on retired military officers and suggests a lack of co-ordination between civilian and military representatives that continues to obstruct real progress. In addition, the Russian side, after Churkin's departure, refused to acknowledge those parts of the text which had been previously agreed upon by Churkin and Mälk. This calls into question the utility of seeking a breakthrough at the Deputy Foreign Minister level.

7. The lack of progress in these negotiations can be seen on the background of the recent NACC Foreign Minister's meeting in Istanbul and the ongoing CSCE CSO meeting in Prague. Therefore, we appeal for your continuing support to conclude the troop withdrawal by 31 August 1994.

8. The two sides agreed to maintain contact over the next week, and to continue discussions either in Tallinn or in a third location in the near future.

Tallinn
15.6.94

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EMBASSY OF LATVIA

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Nick Burns**John Beyrle****FROM: Ojars Kalnins****DATE: June 14, 1994**

Thank you for the press release on the President's visit to Latvia. I have already informed President Ulmanis this morning and faxed him a copy.

Could you please confirm for me ASAP whether Mrs. Clinton will be accompanying the President to Riga. If so, we will have a letter to Mrs. Clinton from President Ulmanis, inviting her to meet with some of our healthcare officials and talk about healthcare reform. This is a critical issue in Latvia and Mrs. Clinton's thoughts on the subject would have a longterm impact. To my knowledge, this may be the first time Mrs. Clinton has been invited to share her expertise on this subject in a foreign country. If this is a go, we can provide Mrs. Clinton with all the background she needs on the situation in Latvia so that she can prepare an appropriate approach to the subject. In particular, I would like to invite Irma Johnson, President of the Latvian Renaissance Association to Washington to help with the briefing. She is the Number One US-based expert on Latvian healthcare, and a great admirer of Mrs. Clinton. Irma is also planning to be in Riga during the Presidential visit and will be meeting with Latvian healthcare officials at that time. Even just a short advance meeting with Mrs. Clinton and her staff in Washington could be very useful all the way around, and would help focus attention on the issue in advance.

With President Clinton addressing security and economic issues, and Mrs. Clinton focusing on children and healthcare, the Presidential visit to Riga will be more than historic - it will have enormous social and political consequences in Latvia.

P.S. I don't know if you realize this, but for the last 5 or 6 years, today, June 14, was always commemorated in the United States as "Baltic Freedom Day". It used to be a Congressional decree that was signed and issued by the President. June 14, 1941 was the "Night of Terror", when the Soviets began the mass deportations of Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians to Siberia. Although it was always a day of sorrow for Balts, the Congressional decree turned it into a call for Baltic independence, since it is the only historic date shared by all three countries. You may want to make reference to this in some future communique or statement, i.e. "for many years on June 14, US Presidents publicly proclaimed their support for the independence of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. This year, President Clinton marked this historic day by announcing the first ever visit of a US President to the Baltic States....."



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 17, 1994

The Honorable Hazel O'Leary
Secretary of Energy
Department of Energy
Washington, DC

Dear Hazel:

We have placed a high priority on promoting the withdrawal of Russian forces from the Baltic States. So far, our efforts have contributed to the complete withdrawal of forces from Lithuania and to the Russian-Latvian agreement that was signed in Moscow April 30. There is now an opportunity now to help bring the Russian-Estonian talks to a successful conclusion as well as help ensure the smooth implementation of an agreement once it is signed. Seizing this opportunity requires the Department of Energy's assistance, both in terms of resources and technical expertise. I hope you will do what you can to respond favorably to this proposal.

Russia has made a commitment to decommission and dismantle the nuclear submarine training reactor at Paldiski in Estonia. This facility was used by all Soviet nuclear submarine crews for training purposes. It is expected that Russia will begin removing the fuel rods later this summer in accordance with a plan that was discussed with an international group of nuclear experts earlier this year. An official from the Department of Energy attended that conference in Stockholm.

During my meeting with Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar on April 19, he mentioned the importance of U.S. support for a multilateral effort to help clean up the Paldiski site. I told the Prime Minister that the United States wanted to be helpful in that effort. The Swedish government has already committed \$1.25 million to this cleanup project, and it appears likely that other interested governments in the region would also join the effort, particularly if the United States were to participate.

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

Furthermore, the Department's involvement in this project could be an opportunity for the United States to use its national laboratories and other institutions in safely developing and maintaining our competitive technological edge at home and abroad. Several benefits that could be explored are the implementation of new technologies, application of risk-based environmental regulations as a potential model for domestic use, and broadening our acquisition of technology through transfer programs with Russia and other countries in the region. Estonia could provide a useful conduit for this purpose.

I believe your Department's support in the Paldiski cleanup program would greatly advance U.S. interests and, if announced within the near future, could help break the current stalemate in Estonian-Russian talks.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Al Gore", is written over the word "Sincerely,".

Al Gore

AG:rs



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

OFFICE OF EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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(name) (agency)

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(phone number)

FROM: Andrew L. Silski
Foreign Affairs Officer for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania

SUBJECT: Additonal Backgrounder for the President's Meeting with the
Baltic Presidents (seen below):

COMMENTS:

- o The Baltic States could provide a useful lever to gain greater access to EU markets.

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

EMBASSY OF LATVIA

4325 17th St.NW

Washington, D.C. 20011

TEL: 202-726-8213 FAX: 202-726-6785

MEMORANDUM
TO: Nick Burns**John Beyerle****FROM: Ojars Kalnins****DATE: June 22, 1994****RE: Parliament passes citizenship law in Latvia**

Although I had hoped this subject wouldn't be an issue during the President's visit to Riga, in light of yesterday's passage of the law I thought I should brief you on the facts as we know them.

The citizenship law which was passed yesterday in the Latvian parliament contains a provision (paragraph 14, point 3) which would introduce quotas. Essentially, after the year 2000, the number of new naturalized citizens per year cannot exceed 10% of the total number of existing citizens.

This provision in the law has been criticized by the Council of Europe and CSCE; presently it would appear that Latvia will not be accepted into the Council of Europe as long as this quote exists.

The Latvian Government opposed the quota provision, but was not able to muster the votes in the parliament which would strike the quota from the law. Presently, the law does not go into effect until President Ulmanis approves it. Subsequently, the Cabinet of Ministers (government) has asked that President Ulmanis reject this law and return it to the parliament for further revisions. At the moment, President Ulmanis has not taken a public position on this law.

It would appear that nothing further will be resolved on this issue by the time President Clinton arrives. Prime Minister Birkavs has told the press that the fate of this law may only be determined in parliament's September session. The LR Government (i.e. Latvia's Way party) has pledged it will try to change this law in the fall, because its policy is based on rapid reintegration into Europe, and that the law as it presently stands will block this reintegration. (There is now a very real fear that Russia will be accepted into the Council of Europe before Latvia, and thus further block Latvia's chances of joining later.) In addition, Birkavs indicated that a failure to change the law, and thus a failure of Latvia's Way European policy, could force him to resign and thus bring down the government.

Let me emphasize, that the Latvian Government does not support the law as it stands. Birkavs indicated that he feels confident that President Ulmanis will reject the law. Opposition leaders, in their press statements, disagree with this prediction. Although Ulmanis has yet to take a

position, his party, the Farmer's Union, supports the quotas. This has led to a major split in the ruling coalition made up of Latvia's Way and the Farmer's Union.

There will be a lot of political maneuvering and posturing in the coming weeks and months on this issue. What President Clinton says on this issue, if anything, either publicly or privately, could have an impact one way or another. Right now it's too early to predict the outcome, or the offer any suggestions on how to approach this issue during the Clinton visit in Riga. I will keep you posted.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

14-Jun-1994 10:51 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR:

VAX_MAIL@OEOB
BURNS@A1@OEOB
BEYRLE@A1@OEOB

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

SUBJECT: ***NO SUBJECT FOUND***

<DIST>

SIT: BEYRLE BURNS NSC VAX

<PREC>

IMMEDIATE

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UNCLASSIFIED

<OSRI>

RUEHRA

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141418Z JUN 94

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AMEMBASSY RIGA

<TO>

RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4609

RHEHAAA/THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC IMMEDIATE

<SUBJ>

NO SUBJECT FOUND

<TEXT>

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 RIGA 001575

NSC FOR BURNS/BEYRLU

STATE FOR EUR, EUR/EE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, LG, USMMSUNNECT: PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH THEMES

REF: SILINS-BURNS/BEYRLE TELCONS

THERE FOLLOW SUGGESTED THEMES FOR A SPEECH PRESIDENT

CLINTON MIGHT MAKE IN DOM SQUARE, 'AT THE HEART OF

RIGA'S OLD TOWN.

THEME: THE BALTIC SUCCESS STORIES

O IN TODAY'S TROUBLED WORLD, THE BALTIC STATES ARE
BRIGHT EXAMPLES OF PEACEFUL CHANGE.

O A SECURE BASE FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROSPERITY IS BEING
BUILT BY NATIONS THAT JUST THREE YEARS AGO WERE STILL
STRUGGLING TO BREAK FREE FROM THE SOVIET EMPIRE.

O BALTIC INFLATION RATES DROPPED FROM A THOUSAND
PERCENT PER YEAR JUST AFTER INDEPENDENCE TO AS LOW AS

35 PERCENT LAST YEAR HERE IN LATVIA. ALL THREE HAVE
HEALTHY CURRENCIES AND A REVIVING BUSINESS SECTOR.
THEIR LINKS TO THE WEST ARE MULTIPLYING.

THEME: A PEACEFUL BUT IRRESISTIBLE DRIVE FOR
INDEPENDENCE

O THE WORLD SHOULD HAVE REALIZED ON AUGUST 23, 1989
THAT THE BALTIC DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE WAS UNSTOPPABLE.
O ON THAT DATE, THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOLOTOV-
RIBBENTROP PACT THAT CONSIGNED THEM TO THE SOVIET
SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, THE PEOPLES OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND
LITHUANIA JOINED HANDS IN AN UNBROKEN CHAIN FROM
TALLINN TO VILNIUS, DEMONSTRATING THAT NOTHING COULD
DIVIDE THEM PERMANENTLY NOR KEEP THEM IN SUBJUGATION
FOR EVER.

O MUSIC, NOT VIOLENCE, WAS THE BALTIC WEAPON OF
CHOICE. THE BALTIC "SINGING REVOLUTIONS" BECAME A
CATALYST FOR THE RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENTIRE USSR.
O UNARMED THOUSANDS OF LATVIANS GATHERED IN DOM SQUARE
FOR SEVERAL DAYS AND NIGHTS IN JANUARY 1991. AS THEY
GATHERED TO WARD OFF ANTICIPATED ATTACKS AGAINST THE
RADIO BUILDING AND PARLIAMENT, SINGING WARMED THEIR
SPIRITS DURING THE COLD DAYS AND NIGHTS.

O THIS WAS REMINISCENT OF THE CHOIRS FROM DIFFERENT
PARISHES THAT CAME TOGETHER IN LATVIA IN THE SECOND
HALF OF THE LAST CENTURY AND HELPED FORGE THE IDEA OF A
COMMON PEOPLE, A COMMON CULTURE, A COMMON DESTINY.

O THIS DECADE'S DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE WAS NOT
EXCLUSIVE. PEOPLE OF DIVERSE ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS
ORALLIED TO THE POPULAR FRONT'S CALL. LATVIANS AND
RUSSIANS STOOD SIDE BY SIDE AT THE BARRICADES HERE.

O THE BEAUTIFULLY DIVERSE ARCHITECTURE #R/UND THIS
SQUARE IS ANOTHER REMINDER THAT LATVIA DRAWS ITS RICH
CULTURAL HERITAGE FROM MANY SOURCES.

THEME: STRONG U.S. SUPPORT FOR BALTIC INDEPENDENCE

O U.S. SUPPORT FOR DISTINCT BALTIC IDENTITIES IS FIRM
AND ENDURING. WE NEVER ACCEPTED SOVIET ANNEXATION OF
THE BALTIC STATES, ARE NOW WORKING TO BUTTREQS YOURM
INDEPENDENCE.

O WE UNDERSTAND HOW MUCH PAIN YOU ENDURED DURING THE
PAST HALF-CENTURY, REALIZE THE DIFFICULTIES THAT STILL
LIE AHEAD, BUT ARE IMPRESSED BY THE COURAGE AND
DETERMINATION WITH WHICH YOU ARE MEETING THE CHALLENGE.

O THE U.S. IS WORKING TO STRENGTHEN YOUR SOVEREIGNTY,
REINVIGORATE YOUR DEMOCRATIC INSOVITUTIONS, SPEED YOUR
RETURN TO PROSPERITY AND REINFORCE REGIONAL SECURITY.

O THIS VISIT TO RIGA, THE FIRST IN HISTORY BY AN
AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHILE IN OFFICE, SYMBOLIZES HIGH
U.S. INTEREST AND SUPPORT.

O EUROPEANS TEND TO SEE THEIR SECURITY AQ INDIVISIBLE
FROM BALTIC SECURITY. LAST MONTH'S D-DAY COMMEMORATION
IN FRANCE WAS A MOVING REMINDER THAT U.S. SECURITY IS
INTERWOVEN WITH EUROPEAN SECURITY. SO OUR DESTINIES

ARE LINKED.

O NATO'S PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF THE
NEW INSTITUTIONAL BONDS THAT WILL BUTTRESS BALTIC
INDEPENDENCE.

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 RIGA 01575

NSC FOR BURNS/BEYRL

STATE FOR EUR, EUR/EE

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: PREL, LG, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH THEMES

THEME: THE BALTIC BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

O THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR LATVIA'S BRIGHT FUTURE AND
THAT OF ITS BALTIC NEIGHBORS IS GOOD RELATIONS WITH
BOTH EAST AND WEST.

O RIGA WAS A TRADE CENTER EVEN BEFORE THE DAYS OF THE
HANSEATIC LEAGUE, GOING BACK TO THE VIKING TRADE
ROUTES.

O CLOSER TIES WITH EUROPE WY/L HELP DIVERSIFY AND
STRENGTHEN THE BALTIC ECONOMIES, CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR
RECOVERY. (TRADE, NOT AID, IS THE BEST RECIPE FOR
SUCCESS.)

O AT THE SAME TIME, THE BALTIC STATES COULD PROFIT AS
A BRIDGE FOR COMMERCE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE WEST.

O GRATIFYING TO SEE BALTIC STATES BUILDING STRONG
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LINKS WITH EACH OTHER AS A FIRM
FOUNDATION FOR PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH EAST AND WEST.

THEME: CHALLENGES AHEAD

O BALTIC STATES ALREADY OFFER VALUABLE PROOF THAT
POST-SOVIET SOCIETIES CAN MAKE THE TRANSITION TO
DEMOCRACY AND A FREE MARKET.

O INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED, BUT IMPORTANT CHALLENGES
STILL LIE AHEAD.

O ALL YOUR PROVEN COURAGE AND WISDOM ARE STILL NEEDED
TO COMPLETE THE TASK OF MAKING YOUR SOCIETIES WHOLE AGAIN.

O WE UNDERSTAND LATVIA'S AND ESTONIA'S EXTRAORDINARILY
DIFFICULT HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION. DON'T
CLAIM THE RIGHT OR THE WISDOM TO PRESCRIBE SOLUTIONS
FOR YOU. THE CHOICE WILL BE YOURS.

O CAN ONLY OFFER OUR EXPERIENCE THAT STRONG SOCIETIES
ARE BUILT BY CREATING BONDS BETWEEN DIFFERING
POPULATION\$GROUPS, NOT BY REINFORCING BARRIERS OF
ALIENATION DIVIDING THEM.

O WE AND YOUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS STAND WITH YOU IN THIS
TASK AND WILL LEND WHAT HELP WE CAN.

THEME: MESSAGE TO RUSSIA

O THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NO UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE IN
THE BALTIC STATES AT RUSSIA'S EXPENSE.

O RUSSIA BENEFITS FROM HAVING PROSPEROUS, INDEPENDENT
AND FRIENDLY BALTIC NEIGHBORS RATHER THAN REPRESSED,
RESENTFUL DEPENDENCIES.

O THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES HAS BEEN

INTERWOVEN FOR CENTURIES. MANY PAGES BEAR THE STAMP OF QTRAGEDY.

O A NEW PAGE WAS TURNED WITH RUSSIA'S RECOGNITION OF
BALTIC INDEPENDENCE IN 1991.

O CAN RUSSIA CRAFT A RESPONSIBLE POLICY TOWARD THE
BALTIC STATES THAT TAKES ITS PREVIOUS, SOMETIMES
ABUSIVE ROLE HERE INTO ACCOUNT? IF SO, RUSSIA WILL
HAVE MATURED AS A MODERN, PEACEFUL AND DEMOCRATIC STATE.

O RUSSIA HAS A RIGHT TO EXPECT THE BALTIC STATES TO
RESPECT INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS EVEN IN INTERNAL
MATTERS, ESPECIALLY THOSE AFFECTING HUMAN RYGHTS.

O BUT THERE IS NO EXTRA-TERRITORIAL RUSSIAN RIGHT TO
"PROTECT" ETHNIC RUSSIANS IN THE BALTIC STATES.

SILINS

BT

#1575

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SECTION: 01 OF 02

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1575

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SECTION: 02 OF 02

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940614103608 M1098499

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 14, 1994

PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO LATVIA AND POLAND

President Clinton has accepted an invitation from Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis to visit Riga on July 6 for a meeting with him as well as the Presidents of Estonia and Lithuania. This will mark the first visit ever by an American President to the Baltics. The President looks forward to this opportunity to demonstrate his strong support for the sovereignty and independence of the Baltic countries and to highlight their remarkable progress in democratic and economic reform. The agenda for his meeting with the three Presidents will include discussion of economic support for continued reform and the excellent prospects for trade and investment in the Baltics. Security issues will also be discussed, including questions related to the continuing withdrawal of Russian military forces from the region and the participation of the Baltic countries in the Partnership for Peace.

From Latvia, the President will travel to Warsaw for an official visit July 6-7 at the invitation of President Lech Walesa. The President looks forward to meeting again with President Walesa and Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, to observing first hand the great progress Poland has made in democratic and market economic reforms since 1989 and to expressing his support for Poland's security. Agenda topics for his meetings will include trade and investment, support for Poland's continuing reforms, Polish efforts to deal with major social and economic challenges, and issues related to European security, including Poland's participation in the Partnership for Peace.

The President will then attend the G-7 Economic Summit in Naples, Italy July 8-10 and then travel to Germany for meetings with Chancellor Kohl and other German officials.

~~SECRET~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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re-do

Chron

May 18, 1994

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By *YRC* NARA, Date *9/30/2013*

2011-1037-F

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM: NICHOLAS BURNS *NB*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President Recommending He Visit
Riga, Latvia at the end of the July Trip

Attached at Tab A is a memorandum from you and Ricki Seidman to the President recommending that he choose Riga, capital of Latvia, as the site for his meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached memorandum to the President.

Attachment

Tab A Memorandum to the President

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, May 16, 2017

By VL NARA, Date 6/12/2023

2016-0314-M-2

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
RICKI SEIDMANSUBJECT: Recommendation That You Choose Riga, Latvia as the
Site for Your Meeting with Baltic Leaders in JulyPurpose

To decide which of the Baltic capitals to visit for your meeting with the three Baltic Presidents at the end of the July trip.

Background

Now that you have decided to add a Baltic stop to your July trip to Europe, you need to decide which of the capitals to visit. For logistical reasons, Riga, Latvia is the only practical option. Neither Tallinn nor Vilnius has a long enough airport runway to accommodate Air Force One. You would meet the three Baltic Presidents in Riga, give an outdoor speech (you will attract a large, enthusiastic crowd) and visit one of our assistance projects. You would then return directly to Washington.

Riga would be a strong candidate even without its long runway. Latvia has a strong reformist government, and lies geographically in the center of the Baltic littoral. A stop in Riga would also highlight your success as a behind-the-scenes intermediary on troop withdrawals over the past year (especially regarding the Skrunda site in Latvia). This is a foreign policy success story that deserves more attention. A stop in Latvia would give the U.S. role more prominence, and might also help the Russian-Estonian negotiations, which could be at a critical stage in early July, if they have not been concluded before your visit.

We believe that you can stop in Riga without causing a problem with Yeltsin. You will have just seen him in Naples and can explain to him that your visit is intended in part to highlight Russia's ongoing withdrawal from Latvia, while promoting similar progress in the Russian-Estonian talks. Yeltsin would also be reassured to hear that you will include in your public remarks a reference to the Russian minorities in the Baltics and the need for their basic rights to be respected.

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

- We would not have recommended a stop in Vilnius because Lithuania's neo-communist government is the least reformist in the Baltic region. By inviting Lithuanian President Brazauskas to join you in Riga, however, you will earn some credit with the large Lithuanian-American community in the U.S.

Latvian President Ulmanis will be visiting the U.S. the week of May 23 and has requested a brief meeting with you; we have sent a separate request to schedule this. This meeting would offer an ideal opportunity to propose a Latvia stop and get Ulmanis' agreement to host the other Baltic presidents as well.

RECOMMENDATION

That you choose Riga, Latvia as the site for your meeting with Baltic leaders in July.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

NB

NON PAPER: RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN NEGOTIATIONS

- On June 7-8, Prime Minister Bildt visited Estonia and had extensive talks with Estonian President Lennart Meri, Prime Minister Mart Laar and Foreign Minister Jüri Luik.
 - On June 8, he visited the nuclear submarine training facility at Paldiski, where he was greeted by the commanding general Aleksandr Vasilyevich Olchovikov. The visit proved highly valuable. The Prime Minister would like to express his high appreciation to the Russian authorities who made it possible, as well as personally to the admiral who guided him through the site with courtesy, expertise and as much openness as one could reasonably expect.
 - Our impression from our contacts with the Estonians is that negotiations on the issue of military retirees are now making considerable progress. Foreign Minister Kozyrev's personal interest - his extensive talks with Estonian leaders in Tallinn May 24-25, the subsequent appointment of Deputy Minister Vitaly Churkin as Special Envoy for the Russian-Estonian negotiations - has clearly been of crucial importance.
- We welcome this development warmly. We urge the parties to preserve momentum.
- The stumbling block now seems to be Paldiski.

Prime Minister Bildt will shortly brief Ambassador Grinevsky on his visit to Paldiski. The Ambassador will no doubt report to you on that meeting. Pending that, our views on the issue may be summarized as follows.

7(7)

In contrast to Skrunda, the Paldiski training facility is no longer in use. It is not a "live" facility.

The dismantlement of the Paldiski training facility and the closing down of the submarine training school is therefore a political, not a technical problem.

All issues connected with Paldiski must be solved along with other matters related to the troop withdrawal. The Estonian side will not sign a withdrawal agreement that would leave Paldiski unresolved.

"Demilitarization" of the Paldiski training facility - defuelling and 'removal of secret parts' - should be technically possible by August 31, 1994.

After demilitarization, the Paldiski training facility should be placed under Estonian sovereignty. The Estonian side is quite prepared to let further nuclear clean-up work be conducted under international supervision.

Russia's demand to remove 'secret parts' from the training facility before it is turned over to the Republic of Estonia is militarily understandable. But politically the argument is of course not tenable.

Reportedly, the last crew to be trained at the Paldiski training facility left the school in May 1992 and according to some reports, the reactors have been closed down since 1989. Against this background, it is not immediately obvious why preparations to evacuate the facility have made so little headway.

According to information given to Prime Minister Bildt by the Estonian side during his visit, there will be a meeting at the Russian Foreign Ministry concerning Paldiski next week. We hope Foreign Minister Kozyrev will find the time to take a personal interest in this aspect of the negotiations as well. As was the case concerning the military retirees, this may prove essential to move the matter forward.

- To meet the August 31 deadline, it seems to us an agreement would have to be reached during July at the latest. Time is short. Yet, given good will on both sides this should be possible.

Stockholm June 9, 1994

- ① - Will U.S. pressure Russia to remove all sensitive equipment from Paldiski?
② - Will U.S. help pay for clean-up?
- need to get money very soon.

DATE

PRESS RELEASE

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCES
BALTIC-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND BOARD

The White House announced today that the following persons have been appointed to the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund: Rozanne Ridgway (Chairperson), Co-Chair of the Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C., and previously, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs and U.S. Ambassador to Finland; Kim Davis, General Partner, Kohlberg & Co., a private investment firm specializing in acquiring small and medium-sized enterprises; Hughlyn Fierce, Senior Vice President of Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.; Paul Elicker, consultant for privatization and previously Executive Director of the Center for Privatization (Virginia) and Chairman and CEO of SMC Corporation; Juris Padegs, Member of Board of Scudder, Stevens and Clark, Inc. of New York; and Daniel Rose, President and CEO of Rose Associates, Inc., a New York based real estate development and construction firm.

The purpose of the Fund will be to promote private sector development in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. It will be capitalized at \$50 million in foreign assistance appropriations over a 3-4 year period.

The Fund will have authority to make equity investments and loans and, as appropriate, offer technical assistance to promote new private initiatives, entrepreneurs and privatization, with special emphasis on the promotion of small and medium-sized enterprises. In particular, the Fund may support joint ventures that involve U.S. and other foreign investors with Baltic country partners.

The Fund will be expected to maintain a meaningful presence both in terms of representation and in its investment portfolio in all three Baltic States. The Fund will be encouraged to use its U.S. capitalization to attract other resources for private sector development in the Baltic States.

President has appointed

and East Germany;

balanced

also

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

copies to NB + RF
orig to me.

June

thanks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 3, 1994

94 MAY 11 P 9:45

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. VERONICA BIGGINS, Director of Presidential Personnel
ANTHONY LAKE, Assistant to the President for National Security

RE: BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CENTRAL ASIA REGIONAL ENTERPRISE FUND

I. BACKGROUND

The Central Asian Regional Enterprise Fund has been created with the primary purpose of financing new business development in Central Asia and to take equity positions on private Central Asian firms. In addition, the Fund will provide technical assistance and advice to Central Asian companies. The Fund has been allocated \$30 million for FY94 and a total of \$150 million over the next three to four years.

II. DISCUSSION

Our recommendations for the U.S. candidates for the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund are as follows:

III. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you approve the appointment of the following individuals:

CHAIR

THE HON. STEPHEN SOLARZ, Democrat of New York, to be Chair and member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Mr. Solarz is a former Congressman from New York and was under recent consideration for an ambassadorship to India.

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

FINANCE EXPERTS

SCOTT SPERLING, Democrat of Massachusetts, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Mr. Sperling is Managing Partner of Boston's Aneas Group, a private market investment organization responsible for venture capital, company buyouts, real estate, special situation and energy investing. He was a very active fundraiser for Clinton/Gore. He also serves as member of the corporation of the Brigham and Womens Hospital and Medical Center and a director of the American Technion Society.

Sponsor(s): ~~Fred Seigel~~ (D-MA), Alan Leventhal (D-MA), DNC.

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

SANFORD ROBERTSON, Democrat of California, to be member and Chair of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Mr. Robertson is a Partner in Robertson, Stephens & Company, a well-established investment bank and venture capital firm. Robertson has extensive international experience, including recent underwriting in the former Soviet Union.

Sponsor(s): ~~John Emerson~~ (D-CA).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

MONICA VACHHER, Democrat of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Ms. Vachher is President of The Astor Group, a consulting firm to financial institutions. Vachher also has a background in financial services and law, e.g., founded an investment banking group within Union Bank of Switzerland, which was ranked leading underwriter of asset-backed securities in 1989 and 1990. Vachher immigrated to U.S. from India after high school.

Sponsor(s): ~~Alan Patricoff~~ (D-NY).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

CORPORATE CEO

JERRY PEARLMAN, Democrat of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Mr. Pearlman is Chairman and CEO of Zenith Electronics Corporation where he began his

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
020. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	05/03/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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]

Sponsor(s): Caren Wilcox (D-PA).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

MARTHA BRILL OLCOTT, Democrat of New York, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Ms. Olcott is a Professor of Political Science at Colgate University in New York and a Central Asian specialist who is fluent in Russian and speaks several local Turkic Central Asian languages.

Sponsor(s): ~~NSC.~~

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

WALTER WHITE, Democrat of Wisconsin, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Asia Regional Enterprise Fund. Mr. White is a partner in Quarles & Brady. He is a former Commissioner of Securities for the State of Wisconsin. White is fluent in Russian and an expert on business law in the former Soviet Union. He is a member of several charitable and civic boards including the Council on Foreign Relations and the Wisconsin Black Lawyers Association.

Sponsor(s): Brady Williamson (D-WT), Hannah Rosenthal (D-WT).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

[020]

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CENTRAL ASIA REGIONAL
ENTERPRISE FUND
BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: The President announces the establishment of the Enterprise Fund with the naming of the Board of Directors.

AUTHORIZING STATUTE OR EXECUTIVE ORDER: The SEED (Support for Eastern European Democracy) Act, enacted in 1989. The SEED Act was also followed by the Freedom Support Act, enacted in 1992, which extended the Enterprise Fund to other countries, including the former Soviet Union and newly independent states.

CABINET DEPARTMENT AFFILIATION: Independent.

TERM LENGTHS: Three years.

COMPENSATION: None.

METHOD OF CHAIR SELECTION: The State Department and United States Agency for International Development (US AID) approves the Chair upon the advice of the President.

CURRENT MEMBERSHIP: This is an inaugural board, so there are no current members.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

94 MAY 11 P 9:45

April 28, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. VERONICA BIGGINS, Director of Presidential Personnel
ANTHONY LAKE, Assistant to the President for National Security

RE: BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE WESTERN NIS ENTERPRISE FUND

I. BACKGROUND

The Western NIS Enterprise Fund has been created with the primary purpose of financing new business development in Belarus, Moldova and the Ukraine and to take equity positions on private firms in those countries. In addition, the Fund will provide technical assistance and advice to companies in the Western NIS region. The Fund has been allocated \$45 million for FY94 and a total of \$100 million over the next three to four years.

II. DISCUSSION

Our recommendations for the U.S. candidates for the Western NIS Enterprise Fund Board are as follows:

III. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you approve the appointment of the following individuals:

CHAIR

GLENN HUTCHINS, Democrat of Massachusetts, to be Chair and member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Mr. Hutchins is currently an adviser to the White House health care reform effort. He is the former Managing Director of the Thomas H. Lee Company, the leading U.S.

firm for mid-sized buy-outs. He also serves on the Board of Directors of CARE and is co-founder of Caresbac. In addition, he has overseas experience in Poland and Egypt.

Sponsor(s): Fred Seigel (D-MA), Alan Leventhal (D-MA).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

ATTORNEYS

ROBERT COTTEN, Democrat of California, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Mr. Cotten serves as International Counsel of Hughes Aircraft Company. He was previously an attorney-advisor for AID and Deputy City Attorney for the City of Los Angeles.

Sponsor(s): AID and Ginger Lew, General Counsel for Dept. of Commerce (D-CA).

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

JAROSLAWA ZELINSKY JOHNSON, Democrat of Illinois, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Ms. Johnson is Partner, Altheimer & Gray and director of its Kiev Office, which specialized in acquisitions, privatizations and government relations in the Ukraine and Russia. She also organizes and administers the Firm's Kiev office. Ms. Johnson is fluent in Ukrainian, Polish, Russian and French.

Sponsor(s): State.

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

FINANCE EXPERTS

JEFFREY C. NEAL, Democrat of Illinois, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Mr. Neal is Vice-Chairman, Investment Banking at Merrill Lynch in Chicago. He was previously a First

Vice President at White Weld & Co. and Assistant Director for the Bureau of the Budget for the State of Illinois.

Sponsor(s): Ruth Harkin, OPIC.

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

PAUL A. LAUDICINA, Democrat of New York, is Vice-President of A.T. Kearney and head of the firm's Global Business Policy Group. He is widely recognized as an authority on investment and export promotion. He was previously vice president of SRI International and former director of Pre-Investment Studies for Mobil Corporation. He has also served with the Overseas Development Council and the United Nations Center for Economic and Social Information.

Sponsor(s): Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE), Cong. Tom Lantos (D-CA).

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

CORPORATE CEOs

DENNIS JOHNSON, Democrat of Minnesota, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Mr. Johnson is President and CEO of St. Paul Bank for Cooperatives. He was previously Senior Vice-President of Farm Credit Services. He participated in several Agricultural Cooperative Development International Board of Directors' Missions to Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary.

Sponsor(s): Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT).

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

REGIONAL EXPERTS

WILLIAM B. BADER, Democrat of Washington, D.C., to be member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund. Mr. Bader is President of Eurasia Foundation, former Vice President and Senior Officer of SRI International and former Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff Director.

Sponsor(s): State.

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
021. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- 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]

PAULA J. DOBRIANSKY, Republican of New York, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Western NIS Enterprise Fund and Advisor at the law firm Hunton & Williams. She has served in a variety of national security positions at NSC, State and USIA during under Carter and Reagan Administrations.

Sponsor(s): ~~Zbigniew Brzezinski, NSC.~~

Approve: _____ Disapprove: _____

IV. OTHERS CONSIDERED

(b)(6)

[021]

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE WESTERN NIS FUND
BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: The President announces the establishment of the Enterprise Fund with the naming of the Board of Directors.

AUTHORIZING STATUTE OR EXECUTIVE ORDER: The SEED (Support for Eastern European Democracy) Act, enacted in 1989. The SEED Act was also followed by the Freedom Support Act, enacted in 1992, which extended the Enterprise Fund to other countries, including the former Soviet Union and newly independent states.

CABINET DEPARTMENT AFFILIATION: Independent.

TERM LENGTHS: Three years.

COMPENSATION: None.

METHOD OF CHAIR SELECTION: The State Department and United States Agency for International Development (US AID) approve the Chair upon the advice of the President.

CURRENT MEMBERSHIP: This is an inaugural board, so there are no current members.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1994 **MAY 11 9:45****MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

FROM: J. VERONICA BIGGINS, Director of Presidential Personnel *VB*
ANTHONY LAKE, Assistant to the President for National Security *AL*

RE: **BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BALTIC-AMERICAN
ENTERPRISE FUND**

I. BACKGROUND

The Baltic-American Enterprise Fund has been created with the primary purpose of financing new business development and to take equity positions on private firms in the Baltic states. In addition, the Fund will provide technical assistance and advice to companies in the Baltic region. The Fund has been allocated \$10 million for FY94 and a total of \$50 million over the next three to four years.

II. DISCUSSION

Our recommendations for the U.S. candidates for the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund Board are as follows:

III. RECOMMENDATION

We recommend that you approve the appointment of the following individuals:

CHAIR

ROZANNE RIDGWAY, Independent of California, to be Chair and member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund.

She is Co-Chair of the Atlantic Council, Washington, D.C. and previously Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs and Ambassador to Finland.

Sponsor(s): State.

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

FINANCE EXPERT

KIM DAVIS, Democrat of New York, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund. Mr. Davis is General Partner, Kohlberg & Co., a private firm specializing in acquiring small and medium-sized enterprises.

Sponsor(s): Paul Carey (D-NY).

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

HUGHLYN FIERCE, Democrat of New York, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund. Mr. Pierce is Regional Bank Executive and Senior Vice-President of Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A. He served as Chase's acting general manager in Singapore and as a Francophone Africa Group Executive in New York.

Sponsor(s): Alan Patricoff (D-NY), Vernon Jordan (D-DC).

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

REGIONAL EXPERT

PAUL ELICKER, ? of Washington, D.C., to be member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund. Mr. Elicker served as Executive Director of the Center for Privatization. He was previously Chair and CEO of SCM, a conglomerate consisting of Glidden and Smith-Corona and other products. Mr. Elicker performs privatization consulting services in nearly 60 countries under contract with US AID, but has done no work in the Baltic region.

Sponsor(s): Nick Burns (NSC).

Approve: ☒ Disapprove: ☐

JURIS PADEGS, Democrat of New York, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund. Mr. Padegs is member of the Board of Directors of Scudder, Steves and Clark, Inc. He also holds

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
022. memo	J. Veronica Biggins and Anthony Lake to the President, re: Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1994	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
OA/Box Number: 1025

FOLDER TITLE:

POTUS [President of the United States] Trip to Latvia, July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2200

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

outside directorships in ICI Mutual Insurance Company and Baltic International Airlines, a Latvian Corporation.

Sponsor(s): State.

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

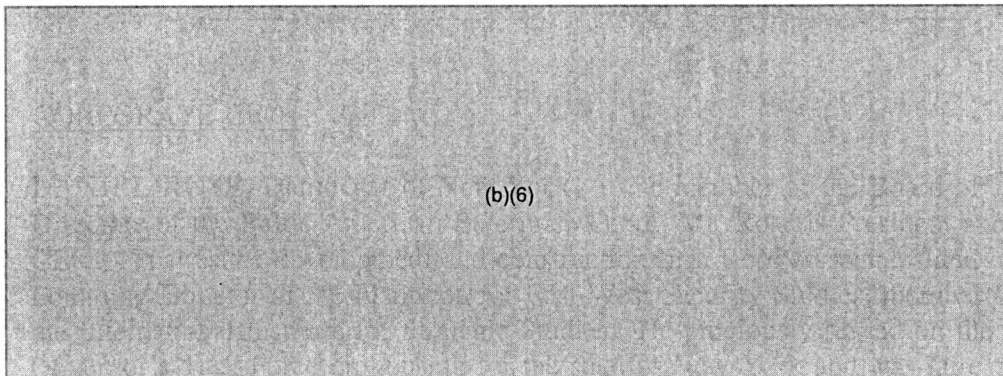
CORPORATE CEOs

DANIEL ROSE, Democrat of New York, to be member of the Board of Directors of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund. Mr. Rose is President and CEO of real estate development and construction firm Rose Associates and Founding Director of the Institutue for East-West Security Studies, member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He previously served on the Governor's Task Force on housing for the state of New York and was Director of the New York Convention Center Development Corporation. He is also a member of the Board of Directors for the New York Institute for Humanistic Studies.

Sponsor(s): Senator Patrick Moynihan (D-NY), Paul Carey (D-NY).

Approve: ✓ Disapprove: _____

IV. OTHERS CONSIDERED



(b)(6)

[022]

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE BALTIC-AMERICAN ENTERPRISE FUND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

METHOD OF APPOINTMENT: The President announces the establishment of the Enterprise Fund with the naming of the Board of Directors.

AUTHORIZING STATUTE OR EXECUTIVE ORDER: The SEED (Support for Eastern European Democracy) Act, enacted in 1989. The SEED Act was also followed by the Freedom Support Act, enacted in 1992, which extended the Enterprise Fund to other countries, including the former Soviet Union and newly independent states.

CABINET DEPARTMENT AFFILIATION: Independent.

TERM LENGTHS: Three years.

COMPENSATION: None.

METHOD OF CHAIR SELECTION: The State Department and United States Agency for International Development (US AID) approve the Chair upon the advice of the President.

CURRENT MEMBERSHIP: This is an inaugural board, so there are no current members.

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NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9404405
RECEIVED: 03 JUN 94 13

TO: GROSSMAN, M

FROM: ITOH

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By ~~KDE~~ NARA, Date 9/30/2013
2011-1037-F

DOC DATE: 03 JUN 94
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LATVIA
ITALY
PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

POLAND
GERMANY

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: AGENCY TASKER - BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR PRES TRIP TO LATVIA / POLAND
ITALY & GERMANY 5 - 12 JUL

ACTION: KENNEY SGD MEMO

DUE DATE: 07 JUN 94 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ITOH

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BEYRLE
BURNS
EXECSEC
FRIED
ITOH
KENNEY
LEBOURGEOIS
SODERBERG
WALKER

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 6/4 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSASK

CLOSED BY: NSKDB

DOC 1 OF 1

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
DISTRIBUTION RECEIPT

LOG 9404405
DATE 03 JUN 94

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR PRES JULY TRIP 5 - 12 JULY 1994
DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:	DATE	TIME	SIGNATURE
MR. MARC GROSSMAN DEPARTMENT OF STATE ROOM 7224, MAIN STATE 2201 C STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20520	_____	_____	_____ PRINT NAME: _____ COPY: <u>ORIGINAL</u>
MR. EDWARD S. KNIGHT DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY ROOM 3408, MAIN TREASURY 1500 PENNSYLVANIA AVE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20220	_____	_____	_____ PRINT NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u>
COL ROBERT P. MCALEER DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ROOM 3E880 PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000	_____	_____	_____ PRINT NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u>
MR. MICHAEL KERR DEPARTMENT OF LABOR ROOM S-2018 200 CONSTITUTION AVE, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20210	_____	_____	_____ PRINT NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u>
MR. FRED MONTGOMERY U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE ROOM 416, WINDER BUILDING 600 17TH STREET, NW WASHINGTON, DC 20506	_____	_____	_____ PRINT NAME: _____ COPY: <u>1</u>

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

PAGE 01 OF 01 PAGES

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4405

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 3, 1994

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,24)

6/20/2023 RZ

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MARC GROSSMAN
Executive Secretary
Department of State

SUBJECT: Briefing Materials for the President's Trip to
Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany, July 5-12, 1994
(U)

The Department of State should provide appropriate briefing materials for the President's July trip to Latvia, Poland, Italy and Germany. The Department of State should coordinate with other concerned USG agencies in preparing this material. All materials are **due no later than COB June 17**. Additional briefing materials will be requested in a separate tasker for the G-7 Summit portion of the trip early next week. This material should include, but is not limited to the following: ~~(S)~~

PUBLIC STATEMENTS:

(Double-spaced on plain bond paper)

Latvia

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at Freedom Monument
Contingency Remarks to U.S. Embassy Staff

Poland

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Ghetto Uprising
Draft Remarks for Wreath Laying Ceremony at the Monument
to Warsaw Uprising
Draft Remarks for at the Praga Labor Training Center
Draft Remarks for Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
Draft Remarks for Meeting with U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner

Italy

Contingency Arrival Statement
Contingency Departure Statement

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Declassify on: OADR

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2

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Germany

Contingency Bonn Arrival Statement
Contingency Berlin Arrival Statement
Berlin Arrival Statements
Contingency Departure Statement
Remarks to U.S. Embassy
Draft Toast for State Dinner
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Bonn Citizens
Draft Remarks for Greeting to Berlin Citizens

PRESS MATERIAL:

(Double-spaced on plain bond paper; Q's and A's should be single-spaced with double space in between each one)

Latvia

Press Statement (after meeting w/Three Baltic Presidents)
Press Qs and As

Poland

Press Statement (after meeting with President Walesa)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak)
Press Qs and As

Italy (G-7)

Press Statement (after meeting with President Yeltsin)
Press Statement
Press Qs and As (to include Russia, Japan and Canadian
Qs and As)
Press Statement (after meeting with Prime Minister Hata)

Germany

Press Statement (after meeting with President Herzog)
Press Statement (after meeting with Chancellor Kohl)
Press Statement (after EU Summit)
Qs and As (to include EU issues)

BACKGROUND PAPERS:

(One page long with the exception of very complex topics, single-spaced in full sentence format)

Latvia

Political/Economic Overview for Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia
U.S. Assistance to the Baltics
Russia's Relations with the Baltic Countries
Status of Troop Withdrawals: Latvia/Lithuania
Status of Russia-Estonia Withdrawal Negotiations
Baltic-American Enterprise Fund
Russia's Ethnic Minority in the Baltic Countries
Kaliningrad

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3

Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance
Paldiski Naval Base Clean-up
U.S. Embassy Riga

Poland

U.S. Missions in Poland
Polish Politics
Polish Economic Achievements, Problems
NATO, PFP and Poland
Russian Views of CEE; Russia-NATO Relations
Polish-EU Relations; Market Access; Balladur Pact
U.S.-Polish Bilateral Issues
U.S.-Polish Trade Issues: Business and Economic Agreement,
GATT Reaccession, Market Access, FAA Certification
U.S.-Polish Military Relations (**DoD Lead**)
Prague Initiatives Checklist, including state-of-play on
each
U.S. Investment in Poland: Current, Prospects, Obstacles;
CEE Trade and Investment Conference
Post-1989 U.S. Assistance to Poland
IFI Programs with Poland (**Treasury Lead**)
RFE/RL
Future Directions for Cooperation, Assistance (including
initiatives under interagency review):
Post-Privatization Assistance
Social Sector Restructuring
Housing
Micro-lending/training
Law Enforcement
Labor Programs in Poland, Past and Prospective (**Labor
Lead**)
One page paper for each Foreign Minister at Ministerial,
including: Serbian Sanctions/Balkan Beltway, Regional
Issues, PFP, Assistance

U.S.-EU Summit

CEE: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
NIS: Economic Needs, Prospects; U.S. and EU Policies and
coordination
U.S.-EU Relations: Requirements, Status, Implementation
of 1990 Declaration; Prospects for Future Cooperation
on "Third Pillar" Issues
Middle East/Maghreb: EU concerns and Assistance Programs
Bosnia/Former Yugoslavia
Status of Uruguay Round Implementation and Leftover Issues
(e.g., audio-visuals)
Post Uruguay Round Trade Agenda (**USTR Lead**)
Dispute Over Competencies between Commission and Member
States
Bilateral Economic Disputes (e.g., French Fish, Spanish
Dubbing, etc.) (**USTR Lead**)
EU Views of Macro-economic Coordination/Policy (**Treasury
Lead**)

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4

Germany

Political/Military:

- Germany and the East
- Military Drawdown in Germany/Europe
- Burdensharing and Residual Value
- Germany's Role in Peacekeeping and Out-of-Area
- Berlin Brigade

Bilateral Issues:

- Hugo Princz
- Claims
- Berlin Document Center
- German-American Academic Council
- New Traditions
- The Move to Berlin
- U.S. Missions in Germany

Domestic Issues:

- Domestic Political Situation
- Right-wing Extremism
- Minorities in Germany
- Domestic Economic Situation and Unification
- Germany's Social Safety Net

International Issues:

- Germany's International Role
- Germany and the EU Presidency
- Germany and the East: Economic Relations/Assistance
- Germany and Iran

BRIEFING MATERIALS:

(Two-page paper with a paragraph on "Context of Meeting", a paragraph on "Your Objectives" and suggested talking points)

Latvia

- Meeting with Three Baltic Presidents
- Business Event

Poland

- Meeting with President Walesa
- State Dinner Hosted by President Walesa
- Meeting with Prime Minister Pawlak
- Meeting with Marshalls (Speakers) of Sejm and Senate (Brief)
- Reception with CEE Foreign Ministers
- Contingency Meeting for U.S. Business Community Event

Italy (G-7)

- Meeting with President Yeltsin
- Meeting with Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi
- Meeting with Canadian Prime Minister Cretien
- Meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Hata

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

For all foreign Heads of State or Government who will be present at the G-7 Summit, one-page contingency briefing papers should be prepared for each country represented. These papers should have one to two paragraphs of talking points and background.

Germany

Official Dinner Hosted by Chancellor Kohl in Bonn
Meeting with President Herzog
Meeting with Chancellor Kohl
Meeting with Party Chairman Waigel
Meeting with Party Chairman Scharping
Meeting with Party Chairman Kinkel
Meeting with Mayor Hans Daniels
Meeting with Mayor E. Diepgen
Private Dinner at Oggersheim
EU Summit
Inactivation of Berlin Brigade

SCENESETTERS:

For all cultural or recreational events in which the President or Mrs. Clinton might participate, ONE-page papers should be prepared which briefly lay out background and information on the site to be visited. These should be in full sentence style, single spaced with the title centered on the page. At a minimum, scenesetters should be prepared on the following potential sites:

Latvia

Freedom Monument
Government Meeting House
Old Town Square

Poland

Presidential Palace
Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
Monument to Ghetto Uprising
Monument to Warsaw Uprising
Polish-American Building Crafts Training Center
Polish Parliament Building (Seim)
Stock Exchange
Warsaw Old Town

Italy

Background on the City of Naples

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6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

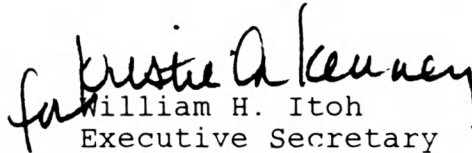
Germany

Villa Hammerschmidt
Chancellor Office
Oggersheim
Petersberg
Bonn Marketplace
Plittersdorf
Tegel Airport
Brandenburg Gate
Reichstag
Clay Casern
Oranienburg Synagogue
Mozart House

BIOGRAPHIES:

Biographies should be provided on all foreign officials that the President or Mrs. Clinton may meet during their stay in Europe.

While the State Department bears primary responsibility for the preparation of these briefing materials, all other appropriate agencies should be closely involved in the preparation of these papers and all final papers should be fully cleared. All briefing material should include an IBM compatible diskette as well as a hard copy. ~~TC~~


William H. Itoh
Executive Secretary

cc: Mr. Edward Knight
Executive Secretary
Department of the Treasury

COL. Robert P. McAleer
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

Mr. Michael Kerr
Executive Secretary
Department of Labor

Mr. Fred Montgomery
Executive Director for Policy Coordination
U.S. Trade Representative

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~