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Folder Title:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland-July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

Staff Office-Individual:

Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs

Original OA/ID Number:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Visit to Latvia (3 pages)	07/01/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
002. briefing	Re: Bilateral Meeting and Signing Ceremony with Latvian Prime Minister Birkavs (3 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
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

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Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs
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FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F

ke2201

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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013. briefing	Re: Estonia: Political Economic Overview (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
014. briefing	Re: Lithuania: Political Economic Overview (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023

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2011-1037-F



**President Clinton's Trip to
Riga, Latvia
and
Warsaw, Poland
July 1994**

John Beyrle

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July 1, 2 PM

William Jefferson Clinton
Statement Upon Departure for the G-7 Trip
July 5, 1994

It is fitting that we should gather in this grand hall. For it was here, last year, that I signed into law the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA was a defining moment in our history. It was ratified only after a principled and momentous debate over how the United States will enter this new postwar era.

As the old era gives way to the new, our nation faced a very clear and crucial choice: Would we hunker down, shroud ourselves in protectionism, suffer a slow and steady decline in our living standards? Will we, in short, build new walls where old ones have crumbled? Or will we embrace eagerly the challenges of a new economy, creating high-wage jobs and preparing our people to fill them?

With our decision in NAFTA, America gave its answer. We chose to embrace the world; now we must choose what kind of world it will be. This moment in history demands that we master the rapid, almost dazzling pace of economic change, and ensure that our people have the confidence and skills to reap the rewards of a growing world economy. In our dealings with the world, as here at home, we must build for a future that does one thing above all others: puts people first.

I believe with all my heart that if our people have the confidence to seize this moment, we will do what Americans do best: we will lead. We have it in our power to make a new season of renewal, for ourselves and the world.

That is the mission, the purpose and the strategy of my Presidency. And that is the goal of the trip upon which I embark today. At the G-7 summit in Naples and in visits to Latvia, Poland and Germany, we will seek to create jobs and make our workforce better prepared for the work of the future; to develop the infrastructure for the new economy; to commit to sustainable development; and to continue the economic, political and security integration of the new democracies into the family of free nations.

The central fact of our time is this: even as we speak, powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world. A new global economy, constant innovation, and instant communication are cutting through our world like a new river, providing both power and disruption to the people who live along its course. Information and investments flash across national lines at stunning speed. The Cold War has given way to a new birth of freedom in Central Europe and Russia. This new era offers enormous opportunities for our nation. From gene splicing to virtual reality, from Saturns to supercomputers, America once again makes the things the world wants

to buy. Every billion dollars in exports creates 20,000 jobs, and those jobs pay 22% above average. But this is not enough. We also know that working people can find themselves cut loose from their moorings -- facing stagnant incomes or shrinking job prospects.

Here in America, we are pursuing a vision that embraces this new world. Our strategy is clear. We are putting our fiscal house in order, cutting our deficit in half. We are aggressively opening up foreign markets to our exports. Yet we know that all those victories will mean little if working people lack the confidence, the tools, the adaptability to secure prosperity in a changing economy. That is why we are creating a world-class education and job training system, and that is why we will give our people health care security. All the efforts to repair our social fabric aim to give our people the confidence to compete. From the first day of pre-school, to the first day on the job, to the last day before retirement, every American worker should know this: whatever the economy brings, you will be prepared to make the best of it.

Even as we sow the seeds of our own renewal, we recognize that what happens around the world affects us here at home. If global markets grow, our exports boom, and that means high paying jobs in America. If workers in other nations embrace protectionism, that means a race to the bottom in which all our people lose. If the nations of Central and Eastern Europe fall backward into chaos or authoritarianism, then legitimate security needs will soak up an ever-greater part of our federal budget. Our challenge is a challenge for all the advanced nations. We will only act effectively if we act together.

We began to do that a year ago in Tokyo, at the first G-7 summit of my presidency. In the past year, we replaced a decade of drift with a new era of action. Sluggish growth was replaced by accelerating expansion. Trade talks were stalled for years; we closed the deal. And with our help, the once crippled Russian economy is struggling to its feet. We have shown that when the free-market democracies join together, we can produce results. The decisions made at the G-7 summits, bit by bit, year by year, can reshape the world.

Now we must use this upcoming summit to target our efforts to the real needs of our people -- how to give the citizens of all nations the confidence that they will prosper in uncertain times. We will move from coping with crises to planning for prosperity. In short, our purpose is to begin laying the foundations for the economy of the 21st Century.

Our first job . . . will be to create jobs -- and develop the high-skill workforce to fill them. In Tokyo, we agreed on a strategy to spur expansion. Today, growth in the G-7 is 2 1/2 times faster than a year ago. America has powered this expansion, producing fully three quarters of the total growth. Our

exports are rising faster than any other nation's. And America accounts for all the job growth in the industrialized world, 3.4 million jobs since we took office.

For years, our out-of-control budget deficit robbed us of the standing to press our partners to act. Year after year, we were hammered to cut our deficit. Last year, we did; our deficit is proportionately the second smallest of any G-7 nation. We now have the standing to speak and the credibility to be heard. And we will say to our partners: we have done our part; you must do yours.

Now we will push -- harder and further -- to expand trade. Last year, we took decisive steps to break seven years of global gridlock, which led to the signing of the most important trade pact ever -- the Uruguay Round of the GATT. Now we must lead the world in ratifying it. The GATT means a \$744 billion tax cut over the next decade for the industrialized countries, and half a million new jobs for our citizens over the next decade. Congress must pass this bill, this year.

But all the trade agreements, all the exports, even all the new jobs, will not be enough if these nations do not give their people the confidence that they will prosper in uncertain times. At the Detroit Jobs Conference earlier this year, for the first time, finance ministers and labor ministers began a serious conversation about the economic well-being of working people. For all the advanced countries, new competition from rapidly developing nations places an ever greater premium on the skills of our workforce. We learned that we have much to learn; the German apprenticeship system, the French child care system, the adaptable American labor market, offer lessons to teach the others. In Naples, I want us to press forward with a joint statement of principles on job creation and workforce skills. And we will seek to return, next year in Halifax, with an agenda for action on jobs and training.

Our second goal in Naples will be to build a new infrastructure for this new economy. A 20th century city needs sturdy roads and bridges to carry the flow of goods that enriches us all. In the 21st century, the global city needs a nerve system that can carry the flow of ideas, information and investment that will be the lifeblood of the new economy. At Naples, we will begin to lay plans for this new information infrastructure. By investing in job creating technologies, by building an information superhighway that spans the oceans, we will create new markets that can benefit everyone by expanding overall growth.

Third, we will truly look ahead and confront the global population and environmental crisis. In coming years, economic growth and security will depend more than ever before on progress on the environment and sustainable development. That's why our emerging trade system must be sensitive to these tinderbox issues. And we must stabilize population growth, because poverty is both a cause and an effect of an exploding global population. Otherwise, we will

find ourselves with a worsening shortage of the food to feed future generations, and a shortage of the jobs to sustain them.

Fourth, we will continue to help Russia and the other new democracies make the difficult transition from command economies to free markets, from repressive regimes to open societies. When we gathered in Tokyo, Russia was in dire economic straits. We mustered the international community to provide emergency aid for Russian reform. Slowly but surely, it is working. Since we gathered in Tokyo, the Russian budget deficit is lower than in some European countries, Russian monthly inflation has dropped to single digits, and half of all workers work in the private sector. Life in Russia is still bitterly hard, but now her people have tangible reason to hope. And at Naples, President Yeltsin will join our ranks as a full participant. It will be the first time that his country has enjoyed such representation. And given the history of this tortured century, that is a truly momentous development.

The G-7 will strive to bring the economies of Eastern Europe fully into the world economic system, with trade and long-range reform, not short-term relief. But the process of renewal will only be complete if Europe is whole, if the young democracies are fully integrated into the security and society of that continent.

That is why we have created the Partnership for Peace, which will link the peaceful nations of Europe from the [Atlantic] to the [Adriatic]. We want the nations of Central Europe to look west with confidence, not east with fear. They must have the confidence and courage to believe that their journey is worthwhile.

That is why I will visit Riga, Latvia, the first American President to touch Baltic soil. That is why I will visit Warsaw, where a free people is coming into its own. And then I will end my trip in Berlin, where for 50 years American Presidents have made a pilgrimage to proclaim the defense of freedom and the cause of democracy. It will be my privilege to represent you as the first President to visit that city since that fateful, glorious day when Germans united to topple the Berlin Wall. There, I will witness the end of a proud chapter in our history, as the last American brigade -- the last detail on freedom's frontier -- prepares to come home.

As that brigade leaves, it is all the more important that we remember the dire consequences that ensued when America withdrew after World War I. These troops may leave, but 100,000 others will stay; America will remain in the world.

A month ago, I represented our country in Europe on a journey of remembrance to honor the generation that saved the world. Tonight, I return, on a mission to join others in renewing the world that they left to us. It will serve us well to remember that when World War II was won, profound uncertainty clouded

the future. Europe and Japan were buried in rubble, their peoples worn weary. The Iron Curtain cut Europe in half. America was triumphant yet troubled, fearful that peace would bring hardship as it had after the First World War.

But we were lifted up by a vision embedded in our victory. Americans of that generation rejected the temptation to turn inward. They created the postwar world of open trade that produced prosperity, and collective security that contained communism. And in their season of renewal they built what we now remember, for all the tensions of the cold war, as a golden age.

Today, we face sobering challenges. But we must never forget those confronted by the generation of Truman and Acheson, Marshall and Monnet, Keynes and Kennan. They had to create order out of disorder, prosperity out of the utter ruin of war, all the while facing the threat of a new tyranny. We have the chance to build on an era of peace -- to hasten the spread of democracy, to harness the awesome power of the marketplace and to reinforce our structure for security.

At such epochal moments, it is hardest to see the path forward. But the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, NATO -- all were created only after years of searching and struggle. This year alone, we will pass the GATT, meet for the second time with the leaders of the Asian-Pacific economies, and convene the first-ever summit of the Americas. If we have the patience and perseverance to cut through the fog and move toward the light, we will create that new season of renewal.

In Naples, near the site of the G-7 summit, is the grave of the great Roman poet Virgil. Over 2,000 years ago, hailing a new golden age, he wrote words that now appear on the Great Seal of the United States of America: *Novus ordo Seclorum* -- "The great cycle of the ages is renewed." Our moment of renewal has arrived.

CONTINGENCY WREATH-LAYING STATEMENT
IN LATVIA

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC STATEMENT

I stand here today before the Freedom Monument to honor the sacrifices made by the people of Latvia for their devotion to country and liberty, or as they are described here, "To Fatherland and Freedom." Over the centuries the Latvian people have struggled valiantly against foreign invaders and have bravely faced death, exile, and endured the pains of oppression. Yet you remained resilient and faithful to our common ideals of freedom and liberty until you regained your dreams at last.

Yesterday, we as Americans celebrated the 219th anniversary of our independence. We and the Baltic peoples are bound by our love for freedom; we are inspired by your vigilant defense of liberty and reflect upon the sacrifices made long ago by our own patriots and heroes.

This statue of Liberty was long the rallying point for those who kept alive the values of freedom, independence and democracy and sought to topple tyranny and oppression. Independent Latvia is now reborn, and the people of Latvia are embarked on an historic transformation through democracy and free-market economic reform.

As we honor the sacrifices of the past, let us now accept the challenges of the future and rededicate ourselves to the protection of liberty through an ever more democratic, just and tolerant society. Let us continue to work closely together for the benefit of both our nations and peoples and for all humanity.

LATVIA: CONTINGENCY ARRIVAL STATEMENT

I am pleased to be able to begin this important visit to Europe, my third this year, in Riga, and I am delighted to be the first American President to visit Latvia.

Through five dark decades the American people and their government kept faith with the people of Latvia and refused to recognize the Soviet occupation of your country. We maintained not only strong bonds of friendship but also diplomatic recognition. We thrilled as the people of Latvia courageously reasserted their independence, and we were proud to send our first Ambassador to your land.

You and your Government have made impressive strides in three brief years in creating a democratic society and a free-market economy. We applaud the agreements recently reached between Latvia and Russia for the withdrawal of Russian forces. We strongly support your efforts, and I am looking forward to seeing your accomplishments at first hand and exchanging views with your leaders.

I plan to meet here in Riga with the leaders of all three Baltic States and to continue our important dialogue. I salute the governments and people of Lithuania and Estonia as well for the impressive progress they too have made. I am especially

pleased by the broad cooperation among the three Baltic States, ranging from a free trade agreement to the formation of a joint Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion, and by the keep interest of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia for ever closer collaboration with the United States and with European and Transatlantic institutions.

CONTINGENCY DEPARTURE STATEMENT
IN LATVIA

17333

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC STATEMENT

This event-filled day has given me a superb opportunity to experience directly the dramatic progress that the government and people of Latvia have made in restoring democracy and in building a vibrant free-market economy. I was especially pleased to have a chance to see so much of your magnificent and historic capital and to speak with its residents. You can be justly proud of your achievements.

My special thanks to President Ulmanis and Prime Minister Birkavs for their hospitality, which also provided me the occasion once again to meet with my colleagues from Lithuania and Estonia as well. It was a special satisfaction to continue in person our important dialogue. Our wide-ranging discussions today centered on broadening and deepening our bilateral cooperation. The agreements signed on trade and investment and on scientific and technological cooperation are testimony of our intentions.

I am pleased to have been the first American president to have visited any of the Baltic States. The United States is committed to the success and prosperity of the free and democratic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and to working with you in a European and a Transatlantic context. Thank you.

17334

CONTINGENCY WREATH-LAYING STATEMENT
IN LATVIA

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL PUBLIC STATEMENT

I stand here today before the Freedom Monument to honor the sacrifices made by the people of Latvia for their devotion to country and liberty, or as they are described here, "To Fatherland and Freedom." Over the centuries the Latvian people have struggled valiantly against foreign invaders and have bravely faced death, exile, and endured the pains of oppression. Yet you remained resilient and faithful to our common ideals of freedom and liberty until you regained your dreams at last.

Yesterday, we as Americans celebrated the 219th anniversary of our independence. We and the Baltic peoples are bound by our love for freedom; we are inspired by your vigilant defense of liberty and reflect upon the sacrifices made long ago by our own patriots and heroes.

This statue of Liberty was long the rallying point for those who kept alive the values of freedom, independence and democracy and sought to topple tyranny and oppression.

Independent Latvia is now reborn, and the people of Latvia are embarked on an historic transformation through democracy and free-market economic reform.

As we honor the sacrifices of the past, let us now accept the challenges of the future and rededicate ourselves to the protection of liberty through an ever more democratic, just and tolerant society. Let us continue to work closely together for the benefit of both our nations and peoples and for all humanity.

Ambassador Silins, Ladies and Gentlemen,

To get from Washington to Riga, I had to travel four thousand miles and cross seven time zones. That's a reminder that in physical terms, the United States and Latvia are pretty far apart. But you who work for the American Mission in Riga know that in other respects, the United States and this remarkable country are already very close, and they're growing closer all the time.

That's why I'm here.

Before the Second World War, America and Latvia also enjoyed good relations. To be honest, though, both countries were really focusing their attentions elsewhere. Latvia was working hard to strengthen economic and political ties with its European neighbors. The U.S. Legation in Riga was, as George Kennan so well described, a vantage point to observe what was happening inside the Soviet Union, especially in the years before the United States opened an Embassy in Moscow.

Today, I know this mission gives top priority to developments in Latvia. That's because Latvia's success story is important to us. This country's difficult transition from a Soviet-style regime to a modern democratic society shows what can be done with courage, persistence, and a little help from one's friends. There are important lessons here for Latvia's neighbors--and probably some for the United States as well.

The Americans in this room had a front-row seat at this exciting drama; the Latvians here lived it. All of you can take pride in having helped, through this mission, to build a vigorous partnership between Latvia and the United States. It is my goal to see that this partnership helps renew Latvia's liberty and democratic institution, contributes to her prosperity, and strengthens the foundations of regional stability.

I know that establishing an Embassy in the tumultuous days after Latvia regained her independence was an arduous and challenging job. You've carried out your assignments extraordinarily well. I extend my thanks and my congratulations to each of you.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By KZ NARA, Date 9/30/2015

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 BIRKAVS

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

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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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 BIRKAVS

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 ✓
SUBJECT: Your Visit to Latvia

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-1 (1.11)
6/12/2023 RZ

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**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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PER E.O. 13526

2011-0314-M-1 (1.22)

6/12/2023 RZ

- 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.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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003. report	U.S. Government Report [Released in Part] (2 pages)	06/14/1994	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F
ke2201

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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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

(continued)

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

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

3.5c

14 June 1994

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

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WORKING LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENTS
OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
216-0314-M-1 (1,24)
6/12/2013 VL

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~~

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

CORE POINTS

Russian Troop Withdrawals

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

Separate points for Meri pull-aside:

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

Russia and Russian Ethnic Minority

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

Bilateral and Multilateral Security Relations

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

Economic Cooperation and Support

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

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

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

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [1]

2011-1037-F

ke2201

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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3.5c

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

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ESTONIA

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

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EO 13526 1.4c

(continued)

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EO 13526 1.4c

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

17 June 1994

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

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

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ke2201

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COLLECTION:

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- 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]

3.5c

Algirdas Mikolas BRAZAUSKAS
(Phonetic: brahZOWskas)

President (since February 1993)

Addressed as: Mr. President

LITHUANIA

Declassified
in Part
Per E.O. 13526
2016-0314-M-1
(1.27) 6/12/2023
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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

3.5c

(continued)

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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.-BAL TIC 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.

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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 populaces equitably. We have done this through establishment of resident CSCE missions in Estonia and Latvia and multilateral programs to support the teaching of Estonian and Latvian to the Slavic communities, for example.

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

Lithuania

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

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

Latvia

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

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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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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015

By VR NARA, Date 6/12/2023

2016-0314-M-2

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 6/12/2023

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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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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DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By VL NARA, Date 6/12/2023
2016-0314-M-2