

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland-July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

Staff Office-Individual:

Russia/Ukraine/Eurasian Affairs

Original OA/ID Number:

1025

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Anthony Lake to the President, re: Your Trip to Poland (5 pages)	07/01/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
002. briefing	Re: Arrival Ceremonies at Warsaw Okęcie Airport, Presidential Palace (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
003. briefing	Re: Meeting with Polish President Lech Walesa (4 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
004. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)
005. briefing	Re: Dinner Hosted by Polish President Lech Walesa (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
006. briefing	Re: Wreath Laying Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
007. briefing	Re: Ceremony at Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
008. briefing	Re: Meeting with Polish Parliamentary Speakers Sejm Marshal Olesky and Senate Marshal Sturzik (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
009. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)
010. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)
011. briefing	Re: Meeting with Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak (3 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
012. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2202

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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013. briefing	Re: Speech to the Polish Parliament (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ 9/21/2023
014. briefing	Re: Ceremony at the Warsaw Uprising Memorial (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
015. briefing	Re: Reception for CEE Foreign Ministers (3 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
016. briefing	Re: Meeting with American Community (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
017. briefing	Re: U.S. Investment in Poland (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
018. briefing	Re: Poland, NATO and the Partnership for Peace (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
019. briefing	Re: European Union-Polish Relations (1 page)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
020. briefing	Re: U.S. - Poland Bilateral Issues (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ
021. briefing	Re: Prague Initiatives Checklist (2 pages)	ea. 07/1994	P1/b(1) VZ

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Divider Title: LATVIA

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Divider Title: POLAND

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By YDE NARA, Date 9/30/03

2011-1037-F

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Your Trip to Poland, July 6-7, 1994

Your visit to Poland includes meetings with President Walesa and Prime Minister Pawlak, a state dinner hosted by Walesa, a major speech at the Polish parliament, an informal meeting/reception with assembled CEE Foreign Ministers and ceremonial events connected with the Polish and Jewish communities. Your public remarks will be provided separately. This briefing book contains:

SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS

SCOPE MEMORANDUM

ARRIVAL CEREMONIES

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT WALESZA

PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH PRESIDENT WALESZA

STATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT WALESZA

WREATH LAYING AT TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

CEREMONY AT WARSAW GHETTO MEMORIAL

COURTESY MEETING WITH SPEAKERS OF BOTH HOUSES

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER PAWLAK

SPEECH AT THE POLISH PARLIAMENT

CEREMONY AT WARSAW UPRISING MEMORIAL

RECEPTION WITH CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS

AMERICAN COMMUNITY EVENT

DEPARTURE CEREMONIES

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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Divider Title: **SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS**

SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS

ARRIVAL CEREMONIES

BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT WALESIA

PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH PRESIDENT WALESIA

STATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT WALESIA

WREATH LAYING CEREMONY AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

WREATH LAYING CEREMONY AT THE WARSAW GHETTO MEMORIAL

MEETING WITH POLISH PARLIAMENT SPEAKERS

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER OF POLAND

SPEECH TO THE POLISH PARLIAMENT

MEMORIAL CEREMONY AT THE WARSAW UPRISING MEMORIAL

RECEPTION WITH CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS

GREET U.S. EMBASSY STAFF AND FAMILIES

DEPARTURE CEREMONIES

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Divider Title: SCOPE MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1994

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓
SUBJECT: Your Trip to Poland

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2014-0314-M-2 (3.25)
6/20/2023 RZ

OVERVIEW

You visit Poland July 6-7, just after Riga and before the G-7 Summit and German/EU stops. The Warsaw stop is bilateral; Secretary Christopher will hold a concurrent Ministerial with his Central and East European counterparts. Your events include meetings with President Walesa and Prime Minister Pawlak, a speech at Parliament, a meeting with the CEE foreign ministers and ceremonial events. With you will be U.S. business executives, American Jewish and Polish-American Community leaders and Lane Kirkland.

Poland pioneered the communist world's democratic transformation in 1989 and has made major, even inspiring, strides. But success is not assured and remaining problems are daunting. The economy is growing rapidly but unevenly. Large-scale unemployment and other social stresses from wrenching change weakened support for reform. The outcome was the victory, in September 1993 elections, of parties with roots in the old regime. Reforms have been maintained but are at risk. The widespread and corrosive sense of economic insecurity is compounded by Poles' sense of exposure to the unstable NIS and, in their view, a deteriorating Russia. Many Poles fear the West will never accept CEE, but keep it at arms length as a vulnerable buffer zone.

Poland represents a key test of our objective of enlarging the world's community of market democracies. If Poland "makes it" -- carries its democratic and market transformation to irreversibility -- then our goals for the post-communist world will be vindicated in a major post-communist country. The outcome in Poland is up to the Poles, not us. Poland is close to success. What we say and do can make a difference while Poland and the post-communist world stand at a critical balance.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Confirm to the Poles and all CEE's that we welcome their membership in the family of democratic nations.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

- o Support continued market economic reforms by emphasizing Poland's tremendous strides since 1989 and offering new initiatives.
- o Support Polish efforts to ameliorate human problems created by the collapse of the Soviet-style economic system.
- o Reassure an apprehensive Polish society that America remains committed to it and its future in Europe; that Russia does not have a veto over Poland's integration with the West; that you are prepared to advance NATO's stated objective of expansion to Eastern democracies.

POLAND'S PROGRESS; POLAND'S PROBLEMS

The Economic Dimension. Poland invented "shock therapy" market reforms and proved these bring results. What Poles call "Poland A" -- fast-track, modernizing, entrepreneurial -- has made major gains. After an initial sharp decline (18% of GDP), the economy grew at 4% in 1993 and may do even better this year, one of Europe's best rates. GDP is over 50% private. While core heavy industries are still state owned, manufacturing is about 40% private and that share is rising; construction and services are overwhelmingly private. Warsaw and other big cities are transformed, with growing middle classes and pockets of affluence.

But millions are left behind. "Poland B" -- insecure, depressed, disoriented -- represents the majority of the country. Unemployment has levelled off at 16% but is uneven: single digit in Warsaw and 25% or higher in some areas. Workers in some heavy industries and the public sector -- used to socialist-era entitlements -- have seen living standards drop and insecurity rise. New opportunities are abundant in some big cities but sparse in the provinces. Housing shortages limit workers' ability to move to jobs in dynamic areas. Crime is growing and it feeds a sense of insecurity. Around 20% of the country may be considered middle class or better; about 20% impoverished; the remainder is just getting by.

Poland's economic hardships result from the collapse of the Soviet trading system, recession in Western Europe, inherent deficiencies of communist economies and Poland's transformation to a market system. But many Poles blame the reforms for all their difficulties. Poland's lesson is that a flourishing private sector is necessary for successful reform, but not sufficient. Democratic government has a role in providing necessary services, regulation and helping people whom the new economy has not yet reached. Without this, reform's political base may erode faster than the new economy can strengthen it.

The Political Dimension. The Solidarity forces which took power in 1989 knew their political base might erode before they turned the economy around. The economic upturn they counted on arrived, but too late and too unevenly. September 1993 elections brought to power a coalition of the ex-communist Democratic Left Alliance

(SLD) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), which used to be a communist front in the farm areas. PSL's leader Waldemar Pawlak took over as Prime Minister; SLD reformers took the difficult economic portfolios. Walesa, exercising his constitutional power, named the foreign affairs, defense and interior ministers. Strains among these power centers are growing.

Leaving behind their anti-reform campaign rhetoric, SLD leaders have continued the economic reforms of previous Solidarity-based governments. Most top SLD leaders appear to be genuine converts to democracy and market reforms. But PSL tends toward social conservatism and statism. Their electorates -- SLD's industrial and some white collar workers and pensioners and PSL's peasants -- are ambivalent about reform, tempted by protectionism and inflationary subsidies. The prospect of integration into the West, emotional attachment to the U.S. and a deep desire to be part of a "normal" country has persuaded Pawlak and his PSL to acquiesce in reform. But unless more is done to address social strains feeding disillusionment, reform could be badly damaged.

The Security Dimension. The Poles, Walesa especially, push security as the core of the relationship. Like most CEE's, Poles feel exposed to what they see as a chaotic NIS and a neo-imperialist Russia. They do not feel immediately threatened but fear the West will, perhaps tacitly, allow Russia to reassume hegemony in CEE. The Polish government -- including Walesa in a recent letter to you -- has focussed on a request for \$25 million in bilateral military support and on NATO's expansion as symbolic of our intentions. Their concerns are often put in stark terms; they are quick to suspect the worst about a U.S. or NATO "special relationship" with Russia. Politically, lack of confidence in the West works against reformers committed to the Western option.

Warsaw's concerns are exaggerated but reflect Polish history. The Poles know the importance of a positive outcome in Russia. But they seek assurances that we will not, for the sake of our Russian equities, sacrifice them; that the road is open to Poland's (and CEE's) integration into the West; that NATO's expansion to new democracies is, as you said in Prague, a matter of when and how. The Poles seek an expanded NATO to include CEE, a strengthened NATO-Russian relationship, and more robust European institutional ties (e.g., via CSCE). After initial grousing, the Poles accepted PFP and are playing an active role; the first PFP exercise on former Warsaw Pact territory, scheduled for September, will take place in Poland, including U.S. forces. The Poles want a robust exercise.

OUR AGENDA

The Entrepreneurial Side. We should emphasize to Pawlak in particular that Poland's achievements in quelling inflation and achieving stability can still be undone; that an erosion of support for restructuring and privatization can leave the economy at an untenable half-way point on the verge of success. You can note past, ongoing and future U.S. efforts. Aside from bilateral assistance, we have taken the lead in coordination between the

U.S., EU, IFI's and key Western governments in providing economic support and assistance. You will be able to announce:

- A \$65 million Poland Partners Fund -- result of your Prague initiative to increase OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) engagement in CEE. Half the Fund comes from U.S. labor unions.
- An initiative to provide at least \$75 million equity for newly-privatized firms, working with the Enterprise Fund and EBRD.

The Social and Human Side. Your Administration recognizes the importance of attention to the human impact of economic dislocation. You announced this shift of approach in Prague and we have since sought to put it in programmatic terms. We should not suggest the U.S. or any outsider can resolve these problems, or that we should no longer stress continued macroeconomic stabilization and privatization. But we have worked with the Poles, and IFI's and the EU, to develop programs for the benefit of those who have suffered greatly as a result of economic decline. As examples of our efforts, you can announce:

- A micro-lending program to help set up businesses, targeted at high unemployment areas.
- A sustained effort to increase Polish housing construction -- perhaps the most depressed sector in the economy -- both by accelerating existing programs and setting up pilot demonstration projects.
- Joint efforts with the Poles to modernize their pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- A regional law enforcement initiative to fight white collar and organized crime.

Security and Poland's Integration. While deflecting exaggerated Polish concerns, you should confirm our interest in Polish security, our rejection of a Russian veto over CEE's integration into the West or a "special relationship" with NATO at CEE's expense and our intention to proceed on the course you charted in January. We then said NATO would expand and PFP was the best road to that expansion. We also said we would reorient bilateral military programs with CEE to support PFP. You can take next steps by announcing:

- Our intention that NATO expand on country-by-country basis, not just in the event of failure of democratic reform in Russia.
- The political bases for eventual NATO membership, including democracy, market economies and responsible security policies.

- Offer to seek \$100 million including \$25 million for Poland, starting in FY '96, for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives.
- U.S. willingness to support a meaningful PFP exercise in Poland this September, the first to be held on former Warsaw Pact territory.

Bilateral Issues

- We may be able during the visit to exchange Instruments of Ratification for our Bilateral Economic Treaty (BET). You would simply note the event.
- As Pawlak mentioned in Prague, the Poles want to conclude our bilateral agreement on Poland's GATT reaccession. Final issues include poultry quotas and aircraft and semi-conductor tariffs.
- We are concerned about an on-again, off-again Polish tank sale to Iran.
- We have asked the Poles to set aside the sentence of former Polish Colonel Kuklinski, who, motivated by ideology, worked nine years for the CIA before being exfiltrated in 1981. This is sensitive in Poland.
- The Poles have pressed hard for Vice President Gore to attend their 50th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.

EVENTS

Meetings with Walesa and PM Pawlak. The Walesa meeting will take place the first evening, followed by a press availability and State Dinner. You should discuss security, urge continued reforms and convey our awareness of social dislocation. With Pawlak the next day, you can stress market reforms and discuss our initiatives in greater detail.

Wreath Layings. You have three: the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; a monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, accompanied by American Jewish Community leaders and; a monument to the Warsaw Uprising, whose 50th Anniversary falls August 1, accompanied by a Polish-American group. The Uprising is deeply-felt by all Poles.

Speech. You will address the Polish Parliament and guests the second day, also meeting briefly beforehand with the Marshals (speakers) of Parliament's two Houses.

CEE Foreign Ministers. After the speech you and Walesa will meet with the CEE Foreign Ministers, who will have held a Ministerial with Secretary Christopher.

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Divider Title: ARRIVAL CEREMONIES

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ARRIVAL CEREMONIES AT
WARSAW OKECIE AIRPORT, PRESIDENTIAL PALACE

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The Poles organize a set-piece arrival ceremony for every Official Visit. Your ceremony will be different because airport ceremony will be very brief and the major protocolary event will take place at the newly-renovated Presidential Palace (the Radziwill Palace). There will be no arrival statements.

BACKGROUND

Airport. You will be met by Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski (o-la-HOFF-ski) and other Polish government officials. Among them will be Jan Piekarski, (pye-KAR-ski), the new Deputy Chief of Protocol but until recently head of the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad. Piekarski earned high praise (and a Superior Honor Award) from the State Department and deep thanks from Senator Boren for his work, including efforts on behalf of an arrested American citizen. Also among them will be newly-named Ambassador to the U.S. Jerzy Kozminski (kozH-MEEN-ski), whose credentials you accepted in June.

For the U.S., Ambassador Nicholas Rey and Mrs. Rey will be present, and others from the Embassy. Rey is a direct descendent of Mikolaj Rej, the greatest literary figure of the Polish Renaissance.

You will walk through an honor guard cordon to your limousine and depart for the Marriott Hotel.

Presidential Palace. This is a set piece, rather elaborate ceremony taking place both outside and inside the Palace.

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

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Divider Title: **MEETING WITH PRESIDENT WALES**

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MEETING WITH
POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESZA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Walesa (va-WHEN-sa) considers himself the guarantor of Polish reforms; President since 1990, he has used his limited constitutional powers to push and prod Poland's market transformation and integration into the West. As you recall, Walesa's style combines deliberate (and frustrating) unpredictability, metaphors either colorful or opaque and natural forcefulness. Sometimes insightful and inspired, Walesa can be abrupt or rambling. Despite occasional populist rhetoric, Walesa has supported reform at virtually every difficult moment -- and there have been many -- even at considerable political cost to himself.

Walesa has held center stage in Poland since 1980, but in recent years his popularity has dropped sharply (only 25% support him, according to a recent poll). This stems partly from Walesa's difficulty in finding a Presidential as opposed to Tribune's voice, partly from his solo leadership style and partly from disillusionment with the reform program. Walesa will run for reelection in late 1995; he has not decided whether to run as an "anti-communist" outsider against the current government or as a Presidential figure above politics. He may look to his standing in the West to help him at home.

Despite an appreciation of the West's support before and after 1989, Walesa is uncertain of the West's commitment to CEE. He has more faith in the U.S. than in Western Europe, but worries we are tempted by isolationism or a "naive" pro-Russian tilt. Walesa has stated that the West's response to the democratic breakthrough in 1989 was inadequate and stressed to visitors that the overwhelming majority of Poles has suffered deprivation in the wake of the Communist collapse. He believes that the West should be of greater help to Poland.

Security will be central to Walesa's agenda -- he regards as inevitable Russia's return to neo-imperialism. He will press for movement on NATO expansion and assurance that Poland will not be left in an insecure "grey zone" outside the West. He has again staked out a position on NATO expansion and requested bilateral security assistance (\$25 million to support PFP activities), though less aggressively than before the Prague Summit. The Poles will host PFP's first exercise on former Warsaw Pact territory this September; we will take part. The Poles want a "muscular" exercise; we want to be supportive without turning it into a provocative event.

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,76)

6/20/2023 N

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Declassify on: OADR

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Affirm that Poland's future lies with the democratic, free-market West and that the U.S. is committed to helping Poland on that road.
- o Set out U.S. views on European security, including our policy of NATO's gradual expansion to Eastern democracies such as Poland.
- o Affirm U.S. support for Poland's market transformation.
- o Convey your awareness of human problems created by the collapse of the old regime's economic system and our willingness to help Poland ameliorate them.

CORE POINTS

European Security, NATO, Poland

- o Expansion of democracy central goal of U.S. foreign policy. Want Poland, other CEEs, to take full-fledged place in a secure Europe. Reject insecure "grey zone" for CEE.
- o Led by U.S., NATO took firm decision in January to expand to Europe's new democracies. Should work together to make it happen in way that increases security, not confrontation.
- o The way ahead is open.
 - NATO's expansion will take place country by country.
 - New members must be democracies, market economies, responsible in their security and foreign policies.
 - PFP is the practical road to NATO membership. Militaries need time to work together. PFP provides means. Pleased Poland is active Partner.
 - Good that Poland will host first PFP exercise in former Warsaw Pact in September. Want exercise to be as robust as possible.
 - Russia cannot veto this process. A catastrophe in Russia would accelerate expansion, but expansion does not depend on democracy's failure in Russia.
- o Should work together to get Russia used to idea of NATO's expansion; to see it as stabilizing, not threat.
- o This will take time but direction is clear. Hope while President to welcome new democracies as new allies.

Bilateral Military Program

- o Have considered Poland's request for \$25 million to support your participation in PFP. You make good case that applies to other new partners, too.
- o Our next budget -- for year beginning October 1 -- is nearly set: I'm asking Congress for about \$25 million for military cooperation with CEE countries.
- o Will try to do more the year after. Will ask Congress for \$100 million for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives. Request will include \$25 million for Poland.

Support for Free Market Reforms

- o Admire Poland's achievements since 1989; you're on the right track, proving free market transformation is possible.
- o Your role in supporting reforms is essential; I respect it. Keep fighting inflation; implement Mass Privatization.
- o Proud of U.S. support since 1989: \$200 million of the \$1 billion Stabilization Fund, unprecedented official debt reduction worth \$2.4 billion, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund capitalized at \$240 million. I intervened to support London Club (commercial debt) reduction deal expected to be worth over \$5 billion to Poland.
- o Will keep helping:
 - Seek more U.S. investment in Poland. Have brought U.S. executives here.
 - Will announce \$65 million Poland Partners Fund, a capital investment fund set up by OPIC. Half the Fund financed by American labor unions, so Lane Kirkland is part of this too.
 - Will announce initiative with Enterprise Fund and EBRD to bring \$75 million of capital resources to newly-privatized firms under Mass Privatization program.
 - Supporting Poland's accession to OECD.
- o Will improve coordination with EU, other Western supporters of Poland, CEE. Energize EU; make most of resources.
- o Want to finish up Business and Economic Treaty. We're ready to exchange Instruments of Ratification when Poland adheres to Berne Convention on intellectual property.
- o Should conclude our bilateral GATT reaccession talks. Very few issues remain; can compromise on poultry quotas; hope we can move semi-conductors and aircraft.

- o [If asked] Want to ensure greatest possible market access for Polish, other CEE products in U.S., EU. Free trade agreement might complicate Polish membership in EU.

Coping with Social Dislocation

- o Know people have been hurt by collapse of the old system. Unemployment and insecurity can generate social, political problems, even as Polish economy now grows fast.
- o Outsiders cannot solve problem; answer lies in growth, led by private sector. But cannot ignore human side.
- o Our governments have been consulting closely in recent weeks, discussing some ideas; listening to yours.
 - Want to accelerate housing construction: get existing program moving, start demonstration projects.
 - To fight unemployment, want to establish micro-lending program to help small businesses, especially in high unemployment areas.
 - U.S. prepared to send teams to help you modernize your pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- o We're both concerned about new mafias, some from outside Poland. Will announce new CEE law enforcement initiative to help Poles, others, fight white collar, organized crime.

Warsaw Uprising

- o (If asked). Admire Poland's decision to make this important commemoration a ceremony of reconciliation with Germans, Russians invited. U.S. will be represented at high level.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	04/28/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2202

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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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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Divider Title: **PRESS AVAILABILITY W/PRESIDENT WALES****A**

PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Bilateral Relations

Q: How would you characterize U.S.-Polish relations?

- A.
- Excellent and growing.
 - Polish, American people linked by history: Polish support for American Independence; U.S. support for Polish independence; WWII Allies -- Polish Army at Normandy; solidarity with Polish people through Cold War.
 - Linked today by shared objective of integrated Europe with Poland in it. Poland:
 - o A Democracy.
 - o Building vibrant, growing market economy.
 - o "Stability exporter"; good relations with neighbors.
 - Polish security important to the U.S; reject "grey zone" of insecurity for Poland, CEE.
 - U.S.-Polish dialogue very strong. Saw President Walesa, Prime Minister Pawlak in January in Prague; since then, Polish Foreign, Defense Ministers; Deputy Prime Minister travelled to Washington.
 - U.S.-Polish security partnership growing -- bilaterally and through PFP. Poland will host first PFP exercise in former Warsaw Pact in September.
 - Economic partnership important. Poland a success story; good place for investment. Among highest growth rates in Europe. U.S. hosting CEE Trade and Investment Conference this fall.
 - U.S.-Poland working together to help with social problems caused by collapse of old system.

Poland, Russia, NATO

Q: Can Poland join NATO?

- A. - In January, NATO made historic decision to expand to new democracies. Not whether but when and how.
- NATO's expansion not directed against any country; when it comes, will enhance Europe's security.
 - NATO requires serious commitments. Our pledge to defend Poland; Poland's pledge to defend all NATO members.
 - Not to be expanded lightly, in haste, or in ways that increase tensions.
 - Need to get ready -- via PFP as best road to NATO membership -- for NATO's obligations.

Q: Does U.S. have a "Russia First" policy; give Russia veto over Poland's joining NATO?

- A. - No. Want democracy, free markets, responsible security policies to succeed everywhere; new Europe to extend as far East as possible.
- Prepared to deal with a lesser outcome, if necessary; consolidate democracy where it takes root.
 - No non-NATO country -- neither Russia nor anyone else -- has a veto over NATO's expansion.

PFP

Q: How does the Partnership for Peace address Polish security needs?

- A. - PFP the best way to NATO membership.
- PFP means practical military cooperation, not talk.
 - Poland an exemplary Partner; moving out fast to prepare PFP work program.
 - Polish officers already at NATO Headquarters, in permanent offices.
 - Poland will host first PFP exercise in former Warsaw Pact this September. U.S., Polish, other Partner forces working together. Strong beginning.

Q: Will Russia have a privileged position in PFP?

- A. - No. Russia will be important member of PFP, but equal with all others. No "special relationship" at others' expense.
- NATO's strong, productive relations with Russia in everyone's interest. Natural that NATO and Russia will work on nuclear arms issues, other matters of common concern.

Complexion of Polish Government

Q: How does U.S. assess the post-Communist Polish Government?

- A. - Democracy, market reform, responsible security policies are key. Important what government does.
- Pleased that Polish government -- freely elected last September -- committed to market reforms, integration with democratic family of nations.
- Respect Prime Minister Pawlak's contribution; value President Walesa's role in supporting reforms consistently since his election in 1990.

Polish Economic Reforms

Q: How does U.S. assess Poland's economic reforms?

- A. - Poland has made great strides. Impressive 4 percent growth last year; highest in Europe. First new democracy country to turn corner.
- Poland proves transformation can work, and democratically.
- Poland's progress a tribute to Polish people: courage, patriotism, patience, talent.
- Poland a good place to do business, investment.
- Battle not yet over: need to keep fighting inflation, maintain budget discipline, continue restructuring, privatization.
- Don't minimize hardship, unemployment caused by old system's collapse. Reform the cure, not the cause.

U.S. Economic Support

Q: How can U.S. help Poland's reforms?

- A.
- Proud of U.S. support for Polish reforms.
 - U.S. biggest investor in Poland by far.
 - o \$1.2 billion by 1993. Coca Cola, Procter and Gamble, Ameritech, Levi Strauss, Gerber, Dupont Conoco, Int'l Paper, others investing; providing jobs for Americans, Poles.
 - Poland largest recipient of U.S. financial support in region.
 - o U.S. organized \$1 billion Stabilization Fund, \$2.4 billion in debt relief, Polish-American Enterprise Fund with capital base of over \$340 million; support commercial bank debt reduction (London Club) this year.
 - Want to work with Poland to increase trade and investment: represents the future.
 - o Look forward to CEE Trade and Investment Conference this fall.
 - o U.S. OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) has established a \$65 million Poland Partners Fund to support investment.
 - o Working to resolve final issues, allow Poland to reaccede to GATT as market economy.
 - o Most Polish goods enter U.S. market duty free. Designated Poland as market economy for purposes of anti-dumping laws; under Uruguay Round, U.S. committed to liberalization and then elimination of all cheese and textile quotas in ten years.
 - o Poland should keep improving conditions for foreign investors: streamline regulations, tax laws; develop infrastructure.
 - U.S., Poland working together to manage social problems from the past. Want:
 - o To stimulate housing construction, reduce unemployment through job creation, fight organized and white collar crime.
 - o Working in partnership to help Poland reform social security systems, make compatible with market economy.

Market Access

Q: What is U.S. doing to increase market access to Poland, CEE?

- A:
- Future prosperity depends on trade and investment to allow reformed economies to grow fast. Working with EU to ensure we all do our part.
 - U.S. has extended MFN and GSP (duty-free entry for a wide range of products) to all CEE, except Serbia/Montenegro.
 - Have reduced few barriers that remain: e.g., by negotiating generous textile agreements with most CEEs. Will eliminate additional barriers to CEE exports through Uruguay Round.
 - No quotas for Poland except textiles and cheese, and these will be eliminated under Uruguay.

Warsaw Uprising

Q: Who will represent U.S. at Warsaw Uprising Commemoration?

- A:
- Warsaw Uprising heroic event -- tribute to Allied Poland; entire Polish people.
 - Commend President Walesa's determination to making Commemoration an act of reconciliation.
 - U.S. will be represented at a high level.

"Rifle Affair"/Szwonder Case

Q: Why did U.S. Customs Service Entrap Six Innocent Poles?
(NOTE: In 1992, U.S. Customs arrested six Poles in Germany after a sting operation on weapons trafficking charges. Poles regarded this as set-up; many accused U.S. of behaving like USSR. New York trial resulted in acquittals.

- A:
- Six Poles were arrested in Germany on charges of seeking to export weapons to Iraq, through the U.S. U.S. trial returned not guilty verdicts.
 - Judicial, not legal matter. Should put behind us.

Radio Free Europe

Q: Why are you shutting down RFE's Polish service, moving rump to Warsaw as commercial station?

- A. - All are proud of RFE's role as voice of truth and freedom during long decades of imposed communist rule in Poland.
- World has changed; RFE reorganizing, changing.
- We're looking for best formulas.

Colonel Kuklinski

Q: Is U.S. asking Poland to set aside sentence against former CIA spy Colonel Kuklinski? (NOTE: Kuklinski worked in place for CIA prior to martial law; now in U.S. We recently asked Poland to set aside sentence. Very sensitive case in Poland.)

- A. - Matter is complex; not here to discuss this matter.
- (If pressed). Kuklinski's actions took place in different era, different world.

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Divider Title: **DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT WALES**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DINNER HOSTED BY
POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESZA

DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

7016-0314-M-2 (3128)

6/20/2023 VZ

CONTEXT OF EVENT

This will be a large, formal dinner -- the first at the newly-refurbished Presidential (Radziwill) Palace. The occasion gives you the chance to continue with topics not fully covered in the earlier bilateral. It is Walesa's usual style to be aggressive at the start of meetings, so by the dinner you may have heard a lot about Polish NATO membership and the alleged inadequacies of the West's response to post-1989 Europe. At the dinner itself, however, Walesa may be comparatively relaxed. It is a good chance to discuss regional developments, Russia and Poland's transformation and Walesa's role in it. You and Walesa will exchange toasts.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore U.S. commitment to Poland's reforms and to Poland's becoming a full member of an integrated Euro-Atlantic world.
- o Reiterate Walesa's important role in keeping Poland's reforms on track.
- o Emphasize your recognition of Poland's progress to date, while stressing the need to continue market reforms and deal with social dislocations.
- o Urge that U.S. and Poland work together to handle Euro-Atlantic expansion carefully, rejecting any suggestion that the U.S. will give Russia a tacit or explicit veto over the process.

CORE POINTS (Text of toast to be provided separately)

U.S. Commitment

- o Poland key to our objective of a secure Europe of market democracies.
- o Committed to Poland's full integration: reject "grey zone" for CEE; no Russian veto; Polish security important.
- o U.S. is rejecting neo-isolationism. Will stay engaged.

Walesa's role

- o Respect your historic role as Solidarity's leader, first President of new Poland. Kept reforms on track.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

- o Value your pledge to be guarantor of reforms.
- o Pleased you signed Polish budget; boosts international confidence.

Poland's Progress, Problems

- o Poland a success; shows radical reforms work.
- o Impressive growth; new preliminary IMF Stand-by Agreement, increasing interest by investors show promising future.
- o "Poland A" -- growing, entrepreneurial, active Poland -- is the future. But "Poland B" -- mired in depression, unemployment, less private activity -- can drag you down.
- o U.S. wants to keep supporting entrepreneurial Poland fulfill potential; at same time, help you cope with social, human dislocation. U.S. working with IFI's and EU to organize joint efforts.

European Integration

- o NATO's decision to expand, PFP, put us on road to expansion of Western democratic community.
- o Appreciate Poland's constructive policy toward Eastern neighbors. Your friendship with Ukraine helps; Kravchuk cites your arguments in his decision to agree to denuclearize Ukraine.
- o We know your history with Russia. Always danger of history repeating itself. But for first time Russian people have voice. If democracy takes root, Russia will turn toward improving lives of its people.
- o Aware of past; are prepared for adversarial relations if we must; but must work for better outcome if we can.

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Divider Title: **TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER**

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WREATH LAYING TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

This is a standard ceremonial event for State visits. The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier is a four column single-story structure -- all that remains of the Saxon Palace blown up by the retreating Germans. The ceremony is a set piece without formal remarks. You will be asked to sign the Book of Remembrance adding appropriate comments. Invited guests will include Polish-Americans accompanying you.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate U.S. respect for Polish independence and those who defended it.
- o Note Poland's role as WWII Ally, as noted in the Tomb's inscriptions of battles in Polish history.

CORE POINTS

- o Poland and the world owe much to the valor of Polish soldiers.
- o Poland is taking rightful place as member of Western, democratic family: once an ally, now a friend, perhaps an ally again.

BACKGROUND

Inscribed on the tomb are the names of significant battles in Polish history, including defeat of the Teutonic Knights in 1410. The taking of Moscow in 1610, the failed Kosciuszko Uprising in 1794, the defeat of the Bolsheviks in 1920, the Warsaw Jewish Ghetto Uprising in 1943, the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, and WWII battles in which the Poles fought as Allies. Democratic governments after 1989 added the names of many battles consigned to "non-history" under the old regime.

CEREMONY

A military band and honor guard will be to your right; guests to your left. You will follow soldiers bearing the wreath and marching at a slow step. The soldiers place the wreath while you place your hand over your heart as the military band sounds a trumpet call. Afterwards, a Polish officer will brief you on the history of the Tomb and Polish military history. You sign the book at the end. You will not make any remarks.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

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

By VR NARA, Date 6/6/2023

2016-0314-M-2

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Divider Title: **CEREMONY AT WARSAW GHETTO MEMORIAL**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CEREMONY AT
WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING MEMORIAL

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The event marks our respect for the heroes of the Jewish Ghetto who took up arms in courageous, hopeless defiance. In April 1993, Vice President Gore attended the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, organized by Lech Walesa. You will make brief public remarks in this candle-lighting ceremony. A small group of leaders from the American and Polish Jewish communities will be present. The monument is located in what was a pre-War Jewish neighborhood and then part of the Ghetto. The Germans razed the entire area; the apartments now standing are post-war.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Demonstrate our undiminished memory of the Holocaust.
- o While acknowledging the uniquely horrible character of the Holocaust, note that the dark purveyors of ethnic and racial hatred are still among us.

BACKGROUND

Pre-WWII Poland was a multi-ethnic society with a significant Jewish minority (9 percent of the population, 30 percent of pre-War Warsaw). Jews had been present in Poland since the 14th century; a large percentage of American Jews trace their ancestry to lands now or once Polish. The German occupiers built the Warsaw Ghetto in 1940; Jews found outside without permission were put to death at once. After the systematic mass killings began in 1941, hundreds of thousands of Jews were taken from the Ghetto and transported to death camps from an embarkation point three blocks north of the Monument.

With only about 60,000 Jews left alive and German intentions clear, several hundred mostly young Jews took up arms in an effort to die fighting. The Uprising began on April 19, 1943, during Passover. They beat back initial German assaults and held out for 22 days. The Germans burnt the Ghetto down and flushed out the fighters building by building. Some escaped through the sewers. A few survive to this day, including one of the leaders, Marek Edelman, who remained in Poland and became a Solidarity activist and celebrated Polish hero.

Poland's tiny (under 10,000) Jewish community -- while mostly old and impoverished -- has been strengthened since 1989 by some young families who have rediscovered their ethnic heritage.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 8, 2015

By 70 VZ NARA, Date 6/6/2022
2016-0314-M-1

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Divider Title: **MEETING W/SPEAKERS OF BOTH HOUSES**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEETING WITH POLISH PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKERS
SEJM MARSHAL OLEKSY AND SENATE MARSHAL STRUZIK

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Shortly before your speech in the Sejm ("same"), you will proceed for a brief meeting in the Parliament Building with the Marshals (speakers) of the Sejm and Senate. Poland's provisional constitution (a permanent constitution is being drafted) provides for a parliamentary system of government. The Sejm is by far the more powerful body and its Marshal an influential figure. The Senate, in existence only since 1989, is little more than advisory.

Sejm Marshal Jozef Oleksy (o-LEK-see) is a leader of the largest Parliamentary party, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), one of the two ruling parties. Both SLD and its governing partner, Prime Minister Pawlak's Polish Peasant Party (PSL), have old regime antecedents but so far have maintained a generally reformist direction. Widely regarded as reformist, Oleksy describes himself as a Western social democrat as opposed to "left populists" in his party. Nevertheless, Oleksy has been publicly skeptical about reliance on the U.S. to support Polish integration into the West. In this, he reflects a view, held by a variety of political figures, that the U.S. is not genuinely interested in CEE and that Poland has to explore alternatives to an (allegedly) futile search for Western acceptance.

Struzik (STRU-zhik) is a less dynamic figure, with mixed PSL and Solidarity background. He is a doctor and has managed a provincial hospital in the city of Plock. Personally close to Pawlak, Struzik is the closest thing to a modern, reformed PSL leader. He speaks of PSL building on its conservative base rather than old regime past and becoming a Polish version of the German CDU/CSU.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Stress U.S. commitment to support democratic Poland's full integration into the West.
- o Confirm U.S. willingness to work with Poland's democratically-elected government on the basis of its programs, not its ideological antecedents.
- o Urge continuation of Poland's bold, successful market reforms.
- o Note U.S. interest in helping Poland deal with human and social dislocation caused by the failed former system.

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PER E.O. 13526

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

6/20/2023 v2

CORE POINTS

U.S. Goals

- o U.S. seeks expansion of democratic family of nations from Euro-Atlantic base. Poland included.
- o Our vision inclusive: no anti-Russian encirclement or bloc.
- o No Russian veto either; reject CEE in "grey zone."
- o Must manage expansion of trans-Atlantic, other institutions (NATO) in way that increases everyone's security.
- o Pleased by Polish participation in PFP. Is road to increased Polish security, NATO membership. Hope Parliament will support this program.

Polish Reforms

- o Basis of U.S.-Polish relations remains democratic, market reforms in Poland and U.S. support.
- o Poland's progress since 1989 impressive. Past the worst.
 - Important to continue market transformation, mass privatization, continued macroeconomic stability; keep inflation from returning and destroying gains.
 - Aware of human and social dislocation caused by collapse of old system. Want to help; U.S. ready with specifics.
- o Reject "third way" of statist protectionism. Has been tried -- Africa, Latin America, South Asia -- always failed.
- o Sejm, Senate passed sound budget; now IMF has concluded another preliminary agreement with GOP worth \$773 million. Will parliament maintain reformist direction?

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
009. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2202

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
010. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	06/16/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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Divider Title: **MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER PAWLAK**

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MEETING WITH
POLISH PRIME MINISTER WALDEMAR PAWLAK

CONTEXT OF MEETING

Pawlak (PAHV-lak) is young, a farmer as well as politician and a product of post-1989 Poland rather than an apparatchik. He owes much of his rise to Lech Walesa, who once saw him as a protegee. Pawlak's lack of outward sophistication has led friends and enemies to underestimate him. Soft-spoken, adept at maneuver and skilled at hiding his considerable ambition, Pawlak is ambivalent about to Poland's market reforms. As Premier, he supported a sound 1994 budget that earned IMF support.

Pawlak's Polish Peasant Party (PSL), however, is an anti-reform bastion. It seeks to represent the interest of the more than 30% of the population living on farms. The party is a direct descendent of a communist satellite party and its internal structures are less remade than those of its coalition partner, the reborn former communists. PSL's committed electorate -- small-holding peasants -- are conservative on social issues, isolationist on foreign policy and statist and protectionist on economic issues. PSL's social conservatism has garnered considerable Catholic Church support. The Party's popularity is rising, as it avoids association with tough economic reforms.

Pawlak has little responsibility for foreign affairs. He focusses on economic issues, and there is considerable tension between PSL and the reformers -- young intellectuals from the ex-communist party -- who run key economic ministries. Pawlak plays a balancing game, maintaining macroeconomic stability, keeping privatization on track though at a lesser pace and pushing PSL patronage interests hard behind the scenes. While the Polish economy is growing strongly, a lack of GOP leadership could weaken reform at a midpoint and allow inflation to return.

You met Pawlak in Prague last January. One notion he suggested, without elaboration then or since, was an economic "Partnership for Prosperity." This meeting is a place to focus on economic and social issues and he may bring up his "PFP"; you should not. Pawlak wants an invitation to the U.S. in 1995 but we should be careful: Presidential elections will be held that fall and Pawlak may run against Walesa. In May, Pawlak sent you an e-mail greetings on Internet and will appreciate your referring to it.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Strengthen Pawlak's commitment to Poland's market transformation, stressing the need to fight inflation and continue structural transformation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DECLASSIFIED

PER E.O. 13526

2016-03/4-M-2 (332)

6/20/2023 v2

- o Convey your awareness of human problems created by the collapse of the old regime's economic system and our willingness to help Poland ameliorate them.
- o Raise bilateral trade issues.
- o Affirm that Poland's future lies with the democratic, free-market West and that the U.S. is committed to helping a democratic Poland on that road.

CORE POINTS

Support for Free Market Reforms

- o Poland's achievements since 1989 impressed the world; on the right track but more to do. Inflation could return and wipe out gains. Important to carry out Mass Privatization.
 - Continued reforms require leadership to continue. Hope we can count on you.
- o Proud of U.S. support: Stabilization Fund, unprecedented official debt reduction, Enterprise Fund. I supported successful London Club (commercial debt) reduction.
- o We'll keep helping:
 - Seek more U.S. investment in Poland. Have brought U.S. executives here.
 - Will announce \$65 million Poland Partners Fund, a capital investment fund set up by OPIC.
 - Will announce initiative with Enterprise Fund and EBRD to bring \$75 million of capital resources to newly privatized firms.
 - Support Poland's accession to OECD.
- o Will improve coordination with EU, other Western supporters of Poland, CEE. Energize EU; make most of resources.
- o Want to finish up Business and Economic Treaty. We're ready to exchange Instruments of Ratification when Poland adheres to Berne Convention on intellectual property.
- o Agree we should conclude our bilateral GATT reaccession talks. Very few issues remain; can compromise on poultry quotas; hope we can move semi-conductors and aircraft.
- o (If asked) Want to ensure greatest possible market access for Polish, other CEE products in U.S., EU. Free trade agreement might complicate Polish membership in EU.

Coping with Social Dislocation

- o People have been hurt by collapse of the old system. Unemployment and insecurity can generate social, political problems, even as Polish economy grows fast.
- o Outsiders cannot solve problem; answer lies in growth, led by private sector. But cannot ignore human side.
- o Our governments have been consulting closely in recent weeks, discussing some ideas; listening to yours.
 - Want to accelerate housing construction: get existing program moving, start demonstration projects.
 - To fight unemployment, want to establish micro-lending program to help small businesses, especially in high unemployment areas.
 - U.S. prepared to send teams to help you modernize your pension, welfare and health policy systems.
- o We're both concerned about new mafias, some from outside Poland. Will announce a new CEE law enforcement initiative to help Poles, others, fight white collar, organized crime.

European Security, NATO, Poland

- o Expansion of democracy central goal of U.S. foreign policy. Want Poland, other CEEs, to take full-fledged place in a secure Europe. Reject insecure "grey zone" for CEE.
- o Led by U.S., NATO took firm decision in January to expand to Europe's new democracies. Should work together to make it happen in way that increases security, not confrontation.
- o Should work together to get Russia used to idea of NATO's expansion; to see it as stabilizing, not threat.

Bilateral Military Program

- o Have considered Poland's request for \$25 million to support your participation in PFP. Your case applies to other new partners, too.
- o Our next budget -- for year beginning October 1 -- is nearly set: I'm asking Congress for about \$25 million for military cooperation with CEE countries.
- o Will try to do more the year after. Will ask Congress for \$100 million for military cooperation with new Partners to support PFP initiatives. Request will include \$25 million for Poland.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	06/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland - July 1994 (Briefing Book) [2]

2011-1037-F
ke2202

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

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Divider Title: **SPEECH AT POLISH PARLIAMENT**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SPEECH TO THE POLISH PARLIAMENT

CONTEXT OF EVENT

This is the major speech of the July trip and intended to reach CEE, all-European and U.S., as well as Polish, audiences. Both Houses of the Polish Parliament (the Sejm and Senate) will be in attendance; guests will include Americans accompanying you from the U.S. A peripheral body under the old regime, since 1989 the Polish parliament has been a center of the country's political life. President Bush addressed the Parliament in July 1989; Vice President Gore did so in April 1993.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore the U.S. objective of building a bigger trans-Atlantic community, including as many of the new CEE and NIS democracies as possible.
- o Affirm your commitment to Polish democracy, security and market reform.
- o Make clear our intention that NATO expand to new democracies, including a democratic Poland.
- o Strengthen Polish commitment to reform at a difficult mid-way point, stressing U.S. respect for Polish accomplishments to date and awareness of social and human dislocation.
- o Showcase U.S. initiatives to help Poland further its transformation begun in 1989.
- o Link the liberation of Europe begun in Normandy with our own efforts today.

CORE POINTS (Speech text to be provided)

BACKGROUND

You will be speaking to a special session of the Sejm ("SAME"). The main chamber seats 546 people on the main floor with another 200 in the gallery. The building dates from the 1920's; it was rebuilt after WWII.

September 1993 elections produced, from 36 percent of the popular vote, a nearly 65 percent majority for two parties with antecedents in the old regime -- the Alliance of the Democratic Left and the Polish Peasant Party -- who constitute the government coalition. Post-Solidarity parties constitute most of the opposition. You are speaking at the formal invitation of Sejm Marshal (speaker) Jozef Oleksy, one of the most pro-reform ex-communist leaders.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By 12 NARA, Date 6/6/2013

2016-0314-14-2

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Divider Title: **CEREMONY AT WARSAW UPRISING MEMORIAL**

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CEREMONY AT
WARSAW UPRISING MEMORIAL

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The Warsaw Uprising beginning August 1, 1944 was the high point of Polish resistance to Germany during WWII and an event of stirring heroism as well as terrible suffering. The Uprising has enormous significance to Poles everywhere, and your participation in a commemorative ceremony at one of Warsaw's monuments to the Uprising will be appreciated. You will be accompanied by a group of Polish-Americans who came with you to Warsaw. One of several monuments to the Uprising, the "Little Soldier" Monument commemorates children who fought in the Uprising. It stands by the Medieval old city wall.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Pay tribute to the heroes of the Uprising and, more broadly, to Poland's contribution to the Allied effort in WWII.
- o Link Polish resistance in WWII to our themes from Normandy and our objectives of expanding democracy in Europe today.

CORE POINTS (Remarks to be provided separately)

BACKGROUND

In the summer of 1944 the Soviet Army was pushing back the Germans along a broad front in Poland and appeared ready to take Warsaw. But the pro-Western London Government-in-exile and its Home Army in Poland were worried about Soviet political intentions. The Poles believed they could forestall a communist takeover only if they themselves liberated their capital before the Soviets arrived.

As the Soviets approached Warsaw, the Home Army launched its Uprising on August 1, 1944 and quickly seized control of most of the city. But they failed to capture the Vistula River bridges and major roads. At that point, the Soviet advance came to a halt just outside Warsaw, probably on Stalin's orders. With the Soviets standing still across the river, the Germans had time to crush the Uprising. Bitter fighting took place for two months as the German ring tightened. Stalin complicated U.S. and British efforts to supply the Home Army by air (though our efforts are still remembered fondly by Home Army veterans). In October, the Home Army surrendered. The Germans dynamited what was left of Warsaw. The Soviets resumed their advance in January, 1945 and installed a communist regime that lasted until 1989.

The Poles seek high-level U.S. attendance at the 50th Anniversary Commemorative event to be held this August 1. Mitterrand, Major, Herzog and possibly Chernomyrdin are planning to attend and the Poles have pressed for the Vice President to represent us.

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

By VZ NARA, Date 6/6/2023

2016-0314-41-2

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Divider Title: **RECEPTION WITH CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS**

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RECEPTION FOR
CEE FOREIGN MINISTERS

CONTEXT OF EVENT

While your visit is bilateral, the Warsaw stop also reinforces our commitment to democracy, security and market economic reform in Central and Eastern Europe as a whole. This point is especially important for southern tier states -- Romania and Bulgaria, Albania -- who believe themselves to have made major sacrifices in adherence to the Serbian sanctions regime and worry they have decidedly second-tier status in our thinking.

The Poles easily accepted our request and invited the CEE Foreign Ministers: Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, FYROM, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia to meet with Secretary Christopher; we later added Croatia and Bosnia. Your meeting with them takes the form of a reception at the Presidential (Radziwill) Palace following your speech to the Polish Parliament and two ceremonial events.

While each foreign minister has separate concerns, all support continued U.S. engagement in Europe and CEE, seek greater U.S. investment in their countries and urge that the U.S. not consign their region to a Russian sphere of influence or security "grey zone." Secretary Christopher will have met with the CEE Foreign Ministers for two hours that afternoon; he will brief you on the results of the meeting. You will meet with each Foreign Minister briefly and informally in the course of the reception.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Underscore U.S. support for democracy, security and economic reform throughout CEE.
- o Emphasize to southern-tier CEE's -- especially Bulgaria and Romania -- that we do not consign them to inferior status but that our relations will be a function of their progress toward democracy and economic reform, and conduct of responsible foreign policies.
- o Emphasize to front-line states that we appreciate their support for Serbian sanctions and hope for a settlement soon.
- o Convey particular points to individual Foreign Ministers.

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2016-0314-M-2 (3,34)

6/20/2023 RZ

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CORE POINTS

U.S. Objectives in CEE

- o U.S. seeks expansion of democratic family of nations from Euro-Atlantic base. All CEE can be part.
- o Our vision inclusive: no anti-Russian encirclement or bloc; no Russian veto either; reject CEE in "grey zone."
- o Must manage expansion of trans-Atlantic, other institutions, e.g., NATO, in way that increases everyone's security.
- o Pleased by CEE participation in PFP. Is road to NATO membership. Hope your governments will continue to support.

CEE Reforms

- o Basis of U.S. relations with CEE's remains democratic, market reforms, U.S. support for transformation.
- o Progress impressive. Some CEE's past the worst, show way for others.
 - Important to continue market transformation, mass privatization, macroeconomic stability.
 - Aware of human and social dislocation caused by collapse of old system. Want to help.
- o Reject "third way" of statist protectionism. Has been tried -- Africa, Latin America, south Asia -- always failed.
- o Reforms not the cause of problems but the cure. Slowing reforms not answer.
- o U.S. engaged: greater coordination with EU, major Western countries, IFI's to help across board; Trade and Investment Conference in fall, expanded OPIC programs; new efforts to help with social dislocation. Try in Poland; perhaps expand.

Specific Country Points

- o **Bulgaria, Romania, Macedonia, Hungary:** Urge continued adherence to Serbian sanctions; understand how difficult, joint efforts on transport corridors, infrastructure can ease some burden.
- o **Romania:** (FM Teodor Melescanu (meh-lesh-KAH-noo)): Pleased by Romania's progress with IMF, World Bank; support for PFP. Important now to continue reforms.

- o **Bulgaria:** (FM Stanislav Daskalov (DAWS-kloff)): Important to restart reform momentum. Want to see Bulgaria succeed; important to avoid false sense of isolation or neglect.
- o **Hungary:** (State Secretary Janos Martonyi (MAHR-tohn-yee) will head delegation; FM designate Kovacs (KO-vach) will be in delegation): Look forward to working with new government. Appreciated President Goncz's assurance that Hungary's reforms and pro-Western policies would continue.
- o **Albania:** (FM Alfred Serregi (seh-RECH-ee)): Encourage progress in treatment of its ethnic Greek minority. Understand concern about Kosovo; very much on U.S. agenda.
- o **Slovakia:** (FM Edward Kukan (KU-kahn)): Support new government's reformist direction; intensifying efforts to help. Hope September elections support continued reforms. Welcome President Kovac's commitment to reform from June 21 meeting.
- o **Czech Republic:** (FM Josef Zieleniec (ZHE-len-ets)): Republic doing well. Each country's integration to West will be individual; we look to new democracies to cooperate regionally, too. (If asked: Hope to resolve complex budgetary issue of possible RFE/RL move to Prague.)
- o **Slovenia:** (FM Alojz Peterle (PAY-ter-lay)): Slovenia becoming success story. We support your integration into West and have made that point with GOI. Difficult to lift arms embargo, but want to find ways to recognize Slovenia's status as apart from conflict in former Yugoslavia.
- o **Croatia:** (FM Mato Granic (GRA-nich)): All parties should accept Contact Group territorial compromise. Negotiations only road to peace. Peace your first step to West. Should renew UNPROFOR.
- o **Bosnia:** (FM Irfan Ljubijankic (lyoo-BYAN-kich)): Pleased Congact Group produced realistic, serious territorial compromise; is best chance for peace. International will to enforce strong; serious incentives and disincentives.
- o **Poland:** (FM Andrzej Olechowski (o-la-HOFF-ski)): Appreciate Polish hosting meeting. Understand Polish interest in moving rapidly toward Western integration; are making progress.

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Divider Title: AMERICAN COMMUNITY EVENT

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MEETING WITH AMERICAN COMMUNITY

CONTEXT OF EVENT

This is your opportunity to make contact directly with the large and diverse official American community in Warsaw. Ambassador Nicholas Rey has been at post since the fall.

YOUR OBJECTIVES

- o Acknowledge the work of Americans and their families representing the U.S. in Poland and the Polish employees who support them.
- o Note the broad scope of work the community is engaged in; new missions for a new Europe.

CORE POINTS (Text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

The Warsaw Embassy, a small Iron Curtain reporting post in 1989, is now hub of a strong American effort to help Poland complete its transformation. The official community numbers 270, including Peace Corps, long-term advisors and Embassy staff. There are 154 American family members not employed by the Embassy and 440 Polish nationals working for the Embassy. The Peace Corps presence is among the largest in the world. We also have Consulates General in Krakow and Poznan.

The meeting will take place following the formal Departure Ceremony at the Presidential Palace at the Ambassador's Residence. Built in the early-1960's, the Residence is located in an attractive neighborhood.

The Residence took on special significance during the mid- and late-1980's, when it served as unofficial haven and meeting place for Solidarity intellectuals. Jaruzelski once remarked derisively that "Solidarity was just a bunch of intellectuals who went to dinner at (then Ambassador) John Davis' house." One year later, Jaruzelski sat down to lunch with the newly-empowered Solidarity leadership and President Bush. After 1989, the Residence (then home to former Ambassador Tom Simons) served as a place where Poles of all political persuasion could meet and conduct business.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By 12 NARA, Date 6/6/2023
2016-0314-11-1

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Divider Title: DEPARTURE CEREMONIES

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

DEPARTURE CEREMONIES AT
THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AND OKECIE AIRPORT

CONTEXT OF EVENT

The by-the-numbers departure ceremonies, standard for every Official Visit, are the exact reverse of the Arrival Ceremonies. No remarks are required.

BACKGROUND

The elaborate departure ceremony will take place at the Presidential Palace. You will proceed to the airport immediately after greeting the official American community at the Ambassador's Residence.

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Divider Title: **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Index

U.S. Investment in Poland
U.S. Economic Assistance to Poland
Poland, NATO and the Partnership for Peace
European Union-Polish Relations
U.S. Economic Assistance to Poland
U.S.-Polish Trade Issues
U.S.-Polish Bilateral Issues
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Prague Initiatives Checklist

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

U.S. INVESTMENT IN POLAND

U.S. investment in Poland has grown rapidly as the Polish economy recovered from the initial shocks imposed by adjustment and the breakdown of the CEMA trading area. At the close of 1993, U.S. investments in Poland totalled approximately \$1.2 billion, with another \$1.0 billion committed to future projects. U.S. investment, in fact, dwarfs that of other nations, accounting for approximately 44 percent of total foreign investment in Poland. Italy (11 percent), France (7 percent) and Germany (6 percent) follow. Major U.S. corporate investors include Coca Cola, Proctor and Gamble, Ameritech, Levi Strauss, Gerber and Dupont Conoco. U.S. interest in portfolio investment in Poland has also grown rapidly.

This U.S. investment interest stems first from Poland's consistent reform effort and strong macroeconomic performance. Poland was the first country in Eastern Europe to return to growth during the 1990s, with a 1.5 percent increase in real GDP in 1992 and a further 4.0 percent increase in 1993. In 1994, that growth is expected to further accelerate to between 4.5 and 5.0 percent. Investors cite Poland's large internal market (35 million people), skilled workforce, relatively low manpower costs, improving intellectual property rights protection and growing access to markets in the European Union (with whom Poland has negotiated an association agreement, which will provide for essentially free trade within a decade). U.S. investors have benefitted from strong support from the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Trade and Development Agency and the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Investors remain concerned about the poor state of Polish infrastructure, an inefficient and risk-adverse banking system, a still poorly developed capital market and the unexpectedly slow pace of large-scale privatization, which has left many major industrial plants in the hands of the government. Residual concerns exist about regional stability, popular support for reform within Poland, and the longer-term economic policies of the center-left coalition elected in September, 1993.

To stimulate further trade and investment, the U.S. will sponsor a Conference on Trade and Investment in Central and Eastern Europe during the fall of 1994. This conference will bring together investors from the United States with policy-makers from CEE countries. Its purpose is to focus attention on the potential for U.S. trade and investment in the region, obstacles and steps CEE governments can take to promote it.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
Department of State Guidelines, November 6, 2015
By N NARA, Date 6/6/2023
2016-0314-M-1

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U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO POLAND

With cumulative U.S. commitments exceeding \$4 billion, Poland is by far the largest recipient of U.S. assistance in Central and Eastern Europe. The total includes \$2.4 billion in debt reduction, a debt-for-environment swap, Eximbank and OPIC programs and food assistance.

SEED Act Support: We have provided, through the first half of FY 1994, nearly \$660 million of Support for East European Democracy (SEED) funds for Poland -- almost half of the entire SEED total for the region. SEED priorities for Poland focus on private sector and enterprise development; financial sector development and economic restructuring; and strengthening public and private institutions essential to a market economy and democracy. This Administration has sharpened our focus. We will cut extraneous programs and concentrate on a) entrepreneurial development and b) programs to help cope with social dislocation.

The Polish-American Enterprise Fund (PAEF): The Enterprise Fund is the largest single activity in the U.S. assistance portfolio and regarded as one of the most successful. With \$240 million of USG funds and total capital of over \$340 million, the Fund offers loans, equity capital and technical assistance directly to private firms to promote private sector development. The PAEF's small loan program has provided over 2,500 loans, worth over \$60 million, to private entrepreneurs, resulting in the creation of nearly 10,000 new jobs.

Stabilization Fund: In 1989, the U.S. initiated establishment of a multi-donor reserve of \$1 billion to support the convertibility of the Polish zloty. (The U.S. contribution was \$200 million.) By 1993, the stabilization fund had served its purpose. In its place the Polish Government (GOP) and bilateral donors established the Polish Bank Privatization Fund. It is intended to support the GOP's efforts to recapitalize, restructure and privatize its state-owned commercial banks and state-owned commercial enterprises in accordance with a program designed with the World Bank.

Technical Assistance: Through long-term advisers and training, the U.S. Treasury Department, USAID, and the SEC are providing technical assistance to modernize Poland's banking and financial services sector. The U.S. continues its commitment to support Poland's privatization efforts by working with the Ministry of Privatization and in strategic sectors.

Housing: USAID is implementing a \$25-million Housing Investment Guarantee Program for Poland which, in cooperation with World Bank and EBRD activities, promotes market-based mortgage and construction financing in the housing sector. A new initiative will help accelerate the program. (See separate paper.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POLAND, NATO AND THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE

Integration into Western economic and security structures -- above all, the EU and NATO -- is a key Polish foreign policy goal. It has enormous political and emotional significance. The Poles had hoped that Yeltsin's August 1993 declaration in Warsaw (to the effect that Russia would not object to Poland's joining NATO, quickly walked back) would open the way for rapid progress toward this goal. Prior to the NATO summit, Walesa and other officials were vocal and sometimes strident in calling for NATO membership to ensure Poland was not left in a "security vacuum" or the victim of a "new Yalta."

The Poles have since come around to the view that, since PFP is what NATO has on offer, they should take an active role in it. Poland was the third state to join PFP, the first to submit its Presentation Document and the first to draft with NATO an Individual Partnership Program (currently being reviewed in Warsaw prior to NAC approval). Poland has offered to host the first PFP field exercise in a Partner country later this year, but is not satisfied with the scope of the exercise being offered by NATO military officials. There is also U.S. interest in whether Poland might (as it suggested in the past) permanently dedicate a former Soviet exercise area as a peacekeeping training/exercise facility.

The Poles miss no opportunity, however, to reiterate their interest in early NATO membership and their desire for either a direct commitment or an indirect "signal" (e.g., announcement of NATO membership criteria) that their accession will not be long delayed. Walesa's letter to President Clinton of June 10 said that "we expect, Mr. President, that during your visit to Poland you will state that Poland will soon find itself among the members of the Alliance."

The Poles are particularly sensitive to any suggestion of a Russian droit de regard over their relationship with NATO and threatened to withdraw from PFP if Moscow were granted a "special status" within the Partnership. The June 9 NAC Ministerial in Istanbul made clear that NATO will not enter into a formal "special relationship" with Russia and that Russia will enter PFP on the same basis as other partners.

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PER E.O. 13526

2016-0314-M-2 (3,35)

6/20/2023 VZ

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EUROPEAN UNION-POLISH RELATIONS

European Union membership is near the top of Polish foreign policy objectives. EU-Polish relations have remained good, despite changes in Polish governments.

Poland's EU Association Agreement (AA) addresses a broad range of trade and political relations and envisions but does not guarantee eventual EU membership. In April, Poland formally applied for EU membership; the GOP understands that the EU will not begin serious consideration of its application before 1997. The biggest obstacles to Polish membership are the relative weakness of its economic development and its large agricultural sector. If Poland were admitted, it would be entitled to huge subsidies under the EU's Common Agricultural Policy and economic development funds. Nevertheless, the Germans have been strong advocates of Polish membership.

EU-Polish contacts at high levels are frequent. The EU has been Poland's greatest source of economic assistance; from 1990 through June 1993, the EU and member states had committed over \$8.5 billion to Poland, including debt forgiveness (U.S. figure for the period was \$3.9 billion).

Trade and Market Access: Poland has complained about access to EU markets, usually following the imposition of an EU trade restriction on Polish exports, notably on steel and agricultural products. These should become more rare as the AA is fully implemented, though the Poles will be watching EU application of its safeguard provisions. Under the AA, most Polish industrial goods will enter the EU duty- and quota-free beginning on January 1, 1995; restrictions on steel and textiles will be lifted later. The EU and Poland will have free trade in all non-agricultural sectors by January 1, 1997. Thanks in part to the AA, Polish exports to the EU rose over 40% from 1990 to 1993, despite the European recession; however, imports from the EU more than doubled, thanks to increased consumer demand in Poland and the appreciation of the zloty in real terms. As a result, Poland's billion dollar-plus trade surplus with the EU in 1990 became a \$2.5 billion deficit in 1993.

European Stability Pact ("Balladur Pact"): The GOP remains unhappy with the European Stability Pact; it does not consider itself to be an "object" of the Pact as it argues, with some justice, that Poland has no border or minority problems. The Poles did not participate in bilateral meetings with the EU on the Pact and maintain that at a minimum the Pact's focus needs to be diverted to "good neighborly" relations including, in particular, economic cooperation, in order to make it possible for them to participate. It would also like its agreement with Germany to be included in the Pact. Germany is not enthused.

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2016-0314-M-2 (3,36)

6/20/2023 VZ

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U.S.-POLISH TRADE ISSUES

The United States accounts for a small but growing share of Poland's trade. Poland liberalized its pre-1989 trade regime extensively as part of its market-oriented reforms. Poland has MFN status and was extended GSP privileges in 1989.

Levels: Bilateral trade with the U.S. amounted to 4 percent of Poland's total trade. U.S. exports to Poland were \$916 million during 1993, double their 1991 levels. Polish exports to the United States increased from \$351 million in 1991 to \$454 million in 1993. Poland's 1993 trade deficit with the United States of \$462 million accounted for 20 percent of its global trade deficit. Leading U.S. exports and imports are agricultural products.

Barriers to U.S. Exports: Poland's 1992 Association Agreement with the European Union (EU), which establishes an eventual free market in manufactured goods, includes tariff preferences for the EU which have placed some U.S. exporters at a significant long-term disadvantage. The U.S. requested and received temporary tariff reductions for semiconductors, computers and certain agricultural products in 1993. We want Poland to sustain these concessions and lower additional tariffs as part of its reaccession to the GATT. Poland's new copyright law addresses our key intellectual property concerns and resulted in Poland's removal from the Special 301 Watch List. Industry groups remain concerned about protection of U.S. sound recordings.

GATT Re-Accession: In 1990, Poland requested renegotiation of its GATT Protocol to reflect that it now has a market economy. This includes renegotiating its tariff schedule. Negotiations began in 1991 and are nearing completion. To conclude, we must resolve the issues of high tariffs on aircraft parts, quotas on U.S. poultry exports and continued tariff reductions on computers and semiconductors. Poland wants to conclude these negotiations in time to join the new World Trade Organization as a founding member (by January 1995).

Business and Economic Treaty: The U.S. and Poland signed the treaty in 1990. The U.S. ratified it in 1990; Poland did so in 1994. It provides investors guarantees of national treatment, protection from expropriation and assurances regarding the repatriation of funds. Poland, however, must still satisfy two conditions -- appointment of an "ombudsman" for U.S. investors and adherence to the Paris Act for the Bern Convention on the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works -- before the treaty can enter into force.

Airworthiness Certification of Polish Aircraft: In April, Poland requested expedited FAA airworthiness certification for a Polish produced commuter aircraft, which would be fitted with U.S. engines, for sale to Venezuela and perhaps other countries. The FAA certification is the standard many countries look for when

buying aircraft. The FAA, however, has a limited staff of technicians and the certification process is lengthy. In addition, there is a long queue of countries awaiting FAA inspection and certification for their aviation products. Nevertheless, FAA has told NSC staff that it would put the Polish case to the head of the waiting list. We have not yet informed the Poles.

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U.S.-POLISH BILATERAL ISSUES

General: Bilateral relations are very good. Nevertheless, both sides, after decades of mutual admiration and little actual interaction, are learning to deal with the inevitable negatives in relations, including trade issues, Polish security concerns and arms sales.

Security Issues: Integration into Western economic and security structures -- above all, the EU and NATO -- is a key Polish foreign policy goal, and Warsaw presses for NATO membership at every opportunity. Developments in Moscow have increased the Poles' sense of urgency for NATO membership.

Initially, the Poles were disappointed with the Partnership for Peace (PFP), hoping instead for a commitment to early Polish membership in NATO. The Poles have since taken a vigorous, even model, approach to PFP. Poland was the first country to submit the completed Presentation Document identifying the resources it plans to contribute to PFP activities, and has also agreed to host a PFP field exercise (involving U.S. forces) in Fall 1994.

Iraq Protecting Power: Poland serves as the protecting power for the U.S. in Iraq and has done a superlative job in defending U.S. interests and citizens there. Particularly notable were Polish Ambassador Piekarski's efforts to get detained American businessman Kenneth Beaty released and to ensure his well-being during his prolonged detention by Iraqi authorities. Beaty was freed in November. In February, President Clinton wrote to President Walesa in praise of Piekarski's work. Piekarski received a U.S. Superior Honor Award from the State Department for his efforts.

Tank Sale to Iran: In 1991, the Polish government agreed to sell 115 T-72 tanks to Iran. The Poles told us repeatedly it was a one-time-only transaction, not the beginning of an arms relationship. Earlier this year the deal appeared to fall through for financial reasons and the Poles told us informally it was off. We repeatedly made senior-level warnings to the GOP (including one from Vice President Gore) that the transaction "would not be cost free" to U.S.-Polish relations. Internally, we decided to grandfather the Polish tank sale in exchange for a commitment that Poland will avoid all objectionable trade in the future and will fully abide by the terms of the COCOM successor regime. With the apparent collapse of the tank deal, no action was taken. On instruction, Embassy Warsaw has asked the GOP whether the transaction is definitively off. We know from special intelligence that some tanks have been shipped.

Kuklinski Case: In 1971 Col. Ryszard Kuklinski, a member of the Polish general staff, volunteered to provide intelligence to the U.S. He did so -- motivated by ideology -- until 1981 and was

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exfiltrated shortly before martial law. His contributions were extremely valuable. Poland's communist authorities tried him in absentia and convicted him of treason for his activities. None of Poland's post-1989 governments has been eager to reverse the treason verdict, a move that much of the Polish officer corps (not just ostensible pro-communists) would regard as an insult. However, given the circumstances of Kuklinski's action during a period of Poland's subjugation to Soviet hegemony, we have urged the Poles to set aside the sentence.

RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

Consolidation: Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) are being consolidated and reduced in size. Many technical activities of RFE/RL will be taken over by USIA's Voice of America (VOA), and over one thousand of RFE/RL's employees in Munich will be laid off. The 1994 appropriations bill mandated that RFE/RL's present annual budget of \$220 million be reduced to \$75 million. The current Board of International Broadcasting (BIB) is to be replaced by an independent Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG), which will operate under the USIA umbrella.

In order to reach the \$75 million budget level the present BIB terminated RFE's Hungarian service and has decided to privatize the Polish and Czech services at the end of 1995. Some Poles have been unhappy with the decision to terminate the Polish service and move a transformed service to Warsaw. A well-attended "wake" for RFE's Polish service was held in June in Poznan. We hope the privatization process will help strengthen independent broadcasting in Poland but the issue is sensitive in Poland.

Prague Move: The Czech Government has offered the Federal Parliament Building as a rent-free site for the radios if they were to move to Prague from Munich (although maintenance costs would be approximately \$2 million annually). The USG is considering the Czech offer, but budgetary and Congressional issues have complicated our reaching a decision on the move. It is not popular in Poland and you should not raise it.

Research Institute: On May 31, the Board of International Broadcasting (BIB) and financier George Soros' Open Society Institute announced that the Research Institute and the accompanying archives would be transferred from Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) control to a new institute funded by Soros. The new facility will probably be located in Prague.

The GOP and some Polish-Americans expressed concern the Polish portion of the archives would not be available to the Poles unless it was located in Warsaw. BIB and Soros have since announced that they will microfilm the entire archive and will provide a complete copy to the Polish Government as well as to other governments in the region. Polish scholars will also eventually have direct computer access to the archives.

The Poles have also asked RFE/RL turn over to the GOP the complete broadcast transcripts of RFE's Polish broadcasts over the past forty years. BIB hopes to eventually be able to turn the tapes over to the Poles, but must first make copies for the archives of the Library of Congress. The Poles are sensitive about this material, which represents a source for their "lost history" during the Cold War.

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PRAGUE INITIATIVES CHECKLIST

Sustained High Level of Engagement: Since your Prague trip there has been sustained high level engagement with Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries. Cabinet members and senior level travellers include: UN Amb. Albright and Gen. Shalikashvili (throughout the region), Commerce Sec. Brown (Warsaw), Atty. Gen. Reno (planned - Budapest), Deputy Sec. Talbott (Warsaw and Bratislava), Under Sec. Tarnoff (Warsaw, Budapest and Prague), Under Sec. Davis (Budapest, Bratislava, Sofia and Skopje) and NSC Senior Director Schifter (Bucharest, Sofia, Warsaw, Bratislava and Budapest).

Democracy Network: USAID expects to start awarding grants for the "Democracy Network" this summer. We will provide about \$30 million in grants to U.S. NGOs over the next 3-5 years. In turn, the selected U.S. NGOs will cooperate with and support CEE counterparts involved in public policy.

Improved Market Access: We have agreed with the EU to avoid megaphone diplomacy on this sensitive matter. We can do little more to expand CEE access to our markets; the EU cites "domestic political realities" as preventing its further concessions. The U.S. is interested in working with CEE states to address their own sizeable barriers to exports and could work with the EU.

U.S. Trade Remedy Laws: NEC Deputies agreed to explore Congressional receptivity to a proposal to establish an inquiry-based trade remedy for CEE/NIS "economies in transition." The new remedy would apply in lieu of current market surge and anti-dumping provisions applied to non-market economies.

U.S.-sponsored Conference on CEE Investment and Trade: This proposal has sparked great interest in the CEE. It will probably take place in Cleveland in September or October. We are arranging for U.S. private sector cooperation in hosting the conference. The conference will focus not only on both trade and investment opportunities in the region, but also on what measures these countries should take to make their business climate more attractive. Key CEE ministers -- but not heads of government -- will be invited to attend and learn.

Early OECD Membership for Visegrad Countries: With strong U.S. leadership the OECD Ministerial Communique stated our intention to begin negotiation with the V-4 on membership as soon as possible. Eventual OECD membership will depend largely on how quickly Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia can bring their laws, regulations and practices into conformity with OECD guidelines on trade, investment and the environment.

Regional Infrastructure Improvements: At a February 1994 meeting in Vienna, the USG and CSCE partners developed a regional road

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infrastructure plan for short-term projects in the southern CEE countries. The EU has been slow to provide its share of the funding necessary to implement these projects. TDA is working on a series of special infrastructure programs; it has been funded to the level of \$3 million for regional programs. State and Customs continue to lead an effort to develop a transport corridor around Serbia for perishable agricultural commodities from the southern Balkans. We are trying to identify possible sources of funding for the "Highways for Peace" proposal.

Regional Civil/Military Airspace Management: DoD has provided \$500,000 toward the cost of a preliminary study of a regional integrated civil air traffic control system/military air sovereignty regime. The Visegrad states other than the Czech Republic have endorsed this initiative. The target date for completion of the preliminary study is the end of FY94.

Social Sector Restructuring Assistance: Using primarily existing assistance resources, and coordinating with other international donors, we have launched an initiative to help Poland in this area. Our focus is the financing and provision of retirement and disability pensions, poverty relief, health care, housing and job generation. We will draw on our experience in Poland to assist other CEE countries.

Post-privatization Assistance: Treasury has developed a proposal involving at least \$50 million from the EBRD, \$15 million from the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and up to \$10 million of USG technical assistance) to support companies newly privatized under the Polish Mass Privatization Program.

Bilateral Working Groups on Security: So far this year alone, we have held BWGs -- consultations on regional security, defense relations and bilateral assistance -- with ten CEE non-combatants (all except Hungary, with whom we will meet in the fall and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).

Peacekeeping Units: With our support, the Baltic states have launched a joint peacekeeping battalion initiative. We have requested \$10 million for FY95 to support CEE peacekeeping, including the Baltic Battalion.

Removing Cold War-era Restrictions: We have finished removing all CEE states (except those subject to the Yugoslav arms embargo) from the International Traffic in Arms proscribed destination list. In addition, we and our allies removed Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland -- but not Romania or Bulgaria -- from the COCOM proscribed destination list before the termination of COCOM on March 31. Finally, this year you signed Presidential Determinations (PDs) for all CEE states not already covered by PDs and not subject to the Yugoslav arms embargo. These PDs make these states eligible to participate in the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program.

JRB -

I gave these changes
to Carter Wilkin

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7/6/94 5:45pm

PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
REMARKS AFTER MEETING WITH BALTIC PRESIDENTS
RIGA CASTLE, RIGA, LATVIA
WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1994

Last year, I had the pleasure to meet with Presidents Ulmanis [OOL-mah-niss], Meri [merry] and Brazauskas [brah-ZOW-skus] during the opening of the U.N. General Assembly. It is an even greater pleasure to see them again as the first American President to set foot on free Baltic soil.

On Monday, my country celebrated the birth of democracy in America 218 years ago. Today, on behalf of all Americans, I salute ~~you~~ ^{the Baltic countries} for another birth of democracy and for the courage, the perseverance and the discipline of the Baltic people that made independence possible.

We have just had a very productive session. We noted the considerable progress ~~the three Presidents have~~ made since we met last year and focused on the goals we all share: To expand democracy, security and ~~the broad integration of Europe to your~~ ^{our hope for an} lands. ^{with the West}

Much of our discussion focused on ~~what we all expect will be~~ the historic withdrawal of the last Russian troops from Latvia and Estonia by August 31. ~~All freedom loving people look forward to that day with great hope.~~ I congratulate President Ulmanis on the withdrawal agreement he and President Veltsin signed in Moscow. The United States is prepared to double the assistance it is providing -- up to \$4 million -- to help Latvia take down the unfinished radar structure at Skrunda.

President Meri and I discussed the status of the Russian-Estonian talks on a withdrawal agreement. I believe the remaining differences are quite narrow and can be resolved with flexibility on both sides. I told President Meri of my intention to discuss this subject with President Veltsin in Naples.

To help reach this milestone, the United States has more than doubled the housing vouchers we will provide to qualified Russian officers who want to resettle from Latvia and Estonia to Russia. The United States is also providing a \$2 million package ^{of assistance} as part of the international effort to restore the environment at the former nuclear training site in Paldiski, Estonia.

We also discussed the ~~crucial~~ issue of ethnic minorities. I believe all three Presidents share my view on this matter: A tolerant and inclusive approach is needed to integrate these groups into the political and social life of all three countries.

We discussed our progress in developing active bilateral and multilateral defense relationships. I am pleased that Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were among the first states to join the Partnership for Peace. In recognition of their role, I have

asked Congress in the budget for 1995 for \$10 million for the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion and other peacekeeping groups in central and Eastern Europe.

Our discussions today also covered the remarkable progress the Baltic nations have made in reforming their economies. Supporting the economic re-integration of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania with the West is a top priority of the United States. The hardships of transition are real, but the prospect of better times is visible.

The trade and investment prospects are excellent. Just yesterday in Washington, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation signed an agreement with US West Telephone Corporation to insure a \$200 million telecommunications deal with Lithuania. Today, we're announcing the American membership of the Board of Directors of the Baltic American Enterprise Fund, headed by Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway. Over the next several years, this fund will provide \$50 million to develop businesses in the Baltic states.

From our own history, Americans know that winning the fight for independence is followed by even more arduous struggles for economic stability and national security. The people of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have hard work ahead. But our meeting here today convinces me that it can and will be done.

7/4/94 6:00pm

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REMARKS TO BALTIC POLITICAL, BUSINESS AND CULTURAL LEADERS
STOCK MARKET BUILDING, RIGA, LATVIA
WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1994

Ambassador Silinž (SY-lens), Minister (confirm title) Gailis (GUY-liss), thank you for all of the hard work you have done to help coordinate this trip. It is truly an honor to be the first American President to set foot on free and independent Baltic soil -- and to step into this beautiful, historic city.

Secretary of State Christopher still talks about how he jogged through Riga one morning on his birthday last year, and what a great way it was to see everything here. I wish I were able to jog through Riga on my birthday next month, and I hope more Americans will be able to see the Baltic countries for themselves soon.

I'm sure nobody is more proud to be here today than the leaders of the Baltic-American communities. During five decades of Soviet occupation, they helped shelter the flame of Baltic independence. Now, they join us here knowing that the hard work of building these nations has only begun.

Economic reform is the key to re-integrating the Baltic countries into a broader, more open, free and democratic Europe. That's why the United States is taking important steps to help you along that path.

Today, we announced the American Membership of the Board of Directors of the Baltic American Enterprise Fund. Headed by Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, this fund will invest \$50 million to develop businesses in the Baltic States over the next several years.

In just a few months, the United States will sponsor a business conference on central Europe, and the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation will lead a trade and investment mission to your countries. With Russian troops on the way out and your economies growing, the prospects for trade and investment in the Baltics has never been better.

This process will be difficult. It will take time. But we will move forward with you into the new century.

We know the Baltic people are a brave and courageous people. We know that you will maintain the spirit and dedication necessary to redeem the sacrifices for freedom you have already made. Through centuries of invasions and hardships, you have never lost your unconquerable yearning to be free. I am reminded of what the Latvian poet Auseklis (OW-seck-leese) wrote about his homeland more than a century ago.

He compared it to a castle set atop a mountain, battered

down through time. But one day, the ancient castle would rise,
he said. He wrote:

"The fame of the nation would spread...
red and white flags would flutter...
the songs of the ancient spirits would deeply resound...
the light would dawn and the Castle of Light would rise again."

That day has come. The light is rising. Let it shine upon
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