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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. report	re: Lithuania (3 pages) <i>Partial release - KBH 11/20/2023</i>	03/07/1995	P1/b(1)
002. report	U.S. Government Report (4 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1), P6/b(6)
003. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
004. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	12/30/1994	P1/b(1)
005. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	06/15/1994	P1/b(1)
006. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/18/1994	P1/b(1)
007. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	01/05/1995	P1/b(1)
008. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	03/31/1994	P1/b(1)
009. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	09/15/1994	P1/b(1)
010. report	U.S. Government Report (4 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
011. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	06/21/1994	P1/b(1)
012. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
013. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Central and Eastern European Affairs (Daniel Fried)
OA/Box Number: 893

FOLDER TITLE:

Lithuania - Richard Schifter

2011-1038-F
kh1039

RESTRICTION CODES

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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015. report	U.S. Government Report (4 pages)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
016. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)
017. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
018. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	10/19/1994	P1/b(1)
019. report	re: Kaliningrad Transit Agreement (6 pages) <i>Partial release - KBM 11/20/2023</i>	09/07/1994	P1/b(1)
020. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	03/06/1995	P1/b(1)

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Intelligence Report

Office of Slavic and Eurasian Analysis

7 March 1995

Lithuania: Political and Economic Overview (U)

Lithuania has the most stable, cohesive government of the three Baltic states, due in large part to the dominance of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDDP), the successor to the proindependence wing of the Lithuanian Communist Party. Lithuania's political stability, however, provides a stark contrast to the currently unstable character of its economic reform process.

3.5(c)

The LDDP won unusually strong support from the population in the fall 1992 parliamentary elections, winning 73 of 141 seats in the Seimas (parliament). The country reaffirmed its support for the LDDP in February 1993 when over 60 percent of the voters cast their ballots for the party's nominal leader, President Brazauskas.

- The LDDP consolidated its hold on power in March 1993 with the appointment of an LDDP cabinet by newly elected President Brazauskas.
- *Despite its fall from the top spot in several recent public opinion polls, the LDDP does not face any serious threat to its hold on power.* The LDDP's principal opponent, the vocal, rightwing opposition Homeland Union--led by the former Sajudis government's leader, Vytautas Landsbergis--pursues a staunchly anti-Russian, anti-Brazauskas course, but wields little real power, probably as a result of the reactionary approach it takes on most issues.
- The results of local elections in Lithuania later this month should provide a current indication of the popularity of the government and the LDDP. Elections for a new Seimas will be held in 1996, and presidential elections are scheduled for 1997.

3.5(c)

Until recently, the government of Prime Minister Slezevicius, which came to power in the fall of 1992, had reaffirmed a program of close cooperation with the IMF by implementing economic reform and embracing antiinflationary policies. The government had done so despite a campaign platform that appealed to voter resentment over the costs of economic reform and despite increasingly vocal criticism of its economic policies from the opposition. Recent trends in fiscal policy and legislation passed by the Seimas, however, are not encouraging,

1.4(c), 1.4(d)

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OSE IR 95-40077

3.5(c)

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- As of January, Lithuania had privatized more than two-thirds of its industrial facilities—5,152 of the 6,634 government enterprises slated for privatization—as well as most housing and agricultural enterprises. *An IMF mission to Lithuania in February expressed concern, however, that the number of firms exempt from privatization was excessive.*
- Although most price controls had been abolished and the government adhered to tight monetary and fiscal policies for much of 1994, *new agricultural policies violate GATT rules by allowing for support prices, production quotas, import restrictions, and a provision that import prices can be no lower than domestic prices.*
- An informal review by the IMF in February indicated that Lithuania has failed to meet IMF performance criteria for the budget deficit—mandated by the IMF at 1.5 percent of GDP. *In January, Slezevicius stated that the projected budget deficit for 1995 would be 1.9 percent of GDP.*
- The Central Bank had resisted credit emissions for much of the past two years, but is under pressure from the government to backslide on several key economic and fiscal policies [REDACTED] 1.4(c), 1.4(d)

3.5(c)

Lithuania's disciplined economic policies have allowed it to check inflation, but the country's economic decline is only beginning to bottom out and its stability is precarious.

- Inflation, which plummeted from monthly averages approaching 30 percent in late 1992 to averages of 3.3 percent in 1994, increased to an average of over 5 percent in the first two months of 1995. Although acknowledging the early 1995 rise in inflation, *Slezevicius predicted that annual inflation in 1995 will not exceed 25 percent.* [REDACTED] 1.4(c), 1.4(d)
- In February, Brazauskas said that the current 4.5-percent unemployment rate was artificially low and that the actual number of unemployed persons was much higher than registered. [REDACTED] 1.4(c), 1.4(d)
- Although Brazauskas claimed that GDP in 1994 had grown by 1.5 to 2 percent, government forecasts and other economic indicators suggest that Lithuania's GDP dropped by as much as 7 percent last year—following three years of even greater decline. [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

This report was requested by the National Security Council in advance of Vice President Gore's planned visit to Estonia. It was prepared by 13526 6.2 Office of Slavic and Eurasian Analysis. Comments and queries are welcome and may be directed to Chief, [REDACTED] 3.5(c) OSE,

3.5(c)

(U)

Lithuania's continued difficulties are attributable in large part to its late start in shifting ties away from the deteriorating economies of the former Soviet Union (FSU) to the more vibrant economies of the West.

- Lithuania has been slower than the other Baltic states in diversifying its trade away from the FSU because of its greater structural dependence on Russian energy imports and CIS-bound agricultural exports, and because its port facilities are less developed than in Latvia and Estonia. Lithuania has reduced its trade dependence on the FSU from around 85 percent in 1991 to about 50 percent in 1994, but Russia remains Lithuania's leading trading partner, accounting for 36 percent of total trade.
- Foreign investment in Lithuania in 1994 was far below that of Estonia and Latvia. In 1993, foreign investment totaled only about \$25 million, and increased to about \$30 million in the first seven months of 1994. In January 1995, government statistics indicated that over \$60 million had been invested in Lithuania in 1994, still far below the \$350 million foreign investment in Estonia. This does not include \$201 million pledged to Lithuania by the IMF. 3.5(c)

Popular support for reforms is wavering, while pressure to move away from IMF-inspired policies is increasing.

- Although an opposition-inspired referendum on a proposal to index bank savings to inflation--which the government claimed would have derailed its reform programs--failed in August, government manipulation of the Central Bank and the Currency Board in the latter part of 1994 and a ballooning budget deficit have caused the IMF serious alarm.
- 1.4(c), 1.4(d) reported in February that the Government of Lithuania was still leery of taking the necessary tough action against bankrupt farmers and state-owned enterprises, and voiced concern that the Seimas was increasingly inclined to force the government to retreat on key reforms. 3.5(c)

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: POLICY-BASED SUPPORT FROM IFI'S

<u>Country</u>	<u>IMF Programs</u>	<u>IBRD Policy-Based Programs</u>
Lithuania	-- \$36 million credit under Stand-by Arrangement(SBA) (10/22/93) - Policy Focus: Complete price liberalization, implement incomes and wage policies, carry out prudent fiscal policy, reduce inflation, & accelerate structural reforms. -- \$73 million credit under Systemic Transformation Facility (STF) (10/22/93) - Policy Focus: BOP support.	-- \$60 million Enterprise and Financial Sector Project Loan (under neg.). Policy Focus: Support enterprise and financial sector restructuring and privatization. Strengthen the financial sector's ability to support the development of the private sector.

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009. report	U.S. Government Report (1 page)	09/15/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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National Security Council
Central and Eastern European Affairs (Daniel Fried)
OA/Box Number: 893

FOLDER TITLE:

Lithuania - Richard Schifter

2011-1038-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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016. report	U.S. Government Report (2 pages)	11/25/1994	P1/b(1)

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Central and Eastern European Affairs (Daniel Fried)
OA/Box Number: 893

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
019. report	re: Kaliningrad Transit Agreement [partial] (6 pages)	09/07/1994	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

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φ Lithuania

Secret

3.5(c)

Intelligence Report

Office of Slavic and Eurasian Analysis

7 September 1994

The Kaliningrad Transit Agreement: Who Needs It? (U)

Russia and Lithuania have failed to date to reach an agreement covering the transit of Russian military personnel and equipment to and from the Russian Federation's Kaliningrad Oblast across Lithuanian territory. Closure on the much delayed agreement, however, *is a low risk, low cost means for Russia and Lithuania to improve stability and facilitate trade in the Baltic region.* 3.5(c)

Russia wants to sign a long-term transit agreement as a guarantee of uninterrupted access to its forces in the Kaliningrad region, regardless of how the political situation in Vilnius evolves. 1.4(c)

- The linchpin of Russia's negotiating position has been that settlement of the transit issue is a precondition for implementation of the conditions of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status, granted to Lithuania in November 1993.
- Lithuania's approach to the negotiations, however, has been to avoid any agreement that accords Russia any "special status," brings into question its sovereignty, or impairs its ability to integrate fully into the EC, NATO, and other Western security structures. Lithuania has also been pushing for an agreement that is renewed annually. 3.5(c)

Both sides--as well as Kaliningrad's local government--see a transit agreement as a means to expand trade and facilitate movement across the border between Lithuania and Kaliningrad.

- Kaliningrad recently opened a business and trade mission in Vilnius, following the opening of a Lithuanian mission in Kaliningrad last year,

1.4(c), 3.5(c)

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PER E. O. 13526

2016-0384-M [1.34]

KBH 6/23/2023

3.5(c)

Russia and Lithuania agree on 95 percent of the transit agreement text 1.4(c)

[REDACTED] Movement toward breaking the *deadlock* on several key terms of the Russian-Lithuanian military transit agreement, however, has been held up for the past several months.

- Vilnius primarily has been seeking payment of transit fees and specific information on the number and type of troops involved in each transit, [REDACTED] 1.4(c) provisions which Moscow so far has been unwilling to accept.
- Lithuania is also concerned about controlling illegal immigration from the Caucasus and Central Asia. Lithuania wants Russia to ensure that all passengers transiting Lithuania have proper identification and documentation. Moreover, Lithuania wants Russia to take responsibility for processing and repatriating all persons attempting to enter Lithuania illegally or conducting illicit business transactions as part of their travel.

3.5(c)

The military transit agreement has become the latest rallying point for Lithuania's vocal right-wing opposition. The opposition, led by former President Landsbergis, opposes in principle any formal military transit agreement with Russia. Landsbergis has claimed that any agreement will threaten Lithuania's sovereignty and inevitably involve Lithuania in Russia's military entanglements [REDACTED] 1.4(c), 3.5(c)

President Brazauskas and the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party (LDDP), bolstered by the recent defeat of the referendum on the indexation of savings and illegal privatization sponsored by the right-wing opposition, probably will have more freedom to make concessions to Russia to bring the agreement to closure.

- In mid-August, Brazauskas expressed concern that his key negotiator was delaying implementation of the accord by pressing for too many restrictions on Russian transit, [REDACTED] 1.4(c) By early September, the Lithuanian government had solicited advice from Russia and several European countries on how to accelerate the negotiating process [REDACTED] 1.4(c)

3.5(c)

queries are welcome and may be directed to [REDACTED] Comments and [REDACTED] OSE, or [REDACTED] (U)

- A senior Russian Foreign Ministry official, [REDACTED] 1.4(c) [REDACTED] that negotiators were close to resolving the remaining issues and predicted that a transit agreement could be signed by the end of the month.
- Russian Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko, following his 5-6 September visit to Vilnius, stated that Russia will accord MFN status to Lithuania "in the very near future," [REDACTED] 1.4(c) [REDACTED]. Moreover, Shumeyko stated his belief that proposed regulations governing military transit within Lithuania now under review by the Seimas will ultimately be accepted by both the Lithuanian and Russian governments.

3.5(c)

Lithuania's Hand

Lithuania supplies electricity to Kaliningrad and controls a major natural gas pipeline (Vilnius-Kaunas-Kaliningrad) and an important rail line that are used to transport petroleum products and other goods to the Russian oblast. As a result, it is in a fairly strong position to influence events in Kaliningrad through economic pressure. While Vilnius has, in the past, threatened to blockade these lines in response to economic pressure from Moscow, it has not actually carried out its threats. [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

Russia's Hand

Although Russia initially stated that the military transit agreement was an independent issue, *Lithuania's initial intransigence in resolving the matter probably led Moscow to link the transit agreement to implementation of MFN status*. Lithuanian enterprises doing business with Russia have been forced to pay twice the normal trade tariffs, making Lithuanian goods noncompetitive on the Russian market. Moreover, Russia has threatened to bypass Lithuania altogether--effectively barring Lithuania from imposing and collecting on any new transit fees--by operating via Poland or transiting by sea from the port at Baltiysk to St. Petersburg, unless an agreement is finalized [REDACTED] 1.4(c)

- [REDACTED] 1.4(c) [REDACTED] Russia is in the process of establishing a new transportation route from Kaliningrad that does not cross Lithuanian territory. A ferry service, which press reports indicate will be inaugurated this year, reportedly will link Kaliningrad with St. Petersburg. [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

The Russian Perspective

Russian leaders characterize the incorporation of the Kaliningrad territory--until 1945 part of German East Prussia--into the Russian Federation as a closed matter. Moscow has warned Germany and other regional states against any territorial

claims. Foreign Minister Kozyrev said in March 1993, for example, that Russia's naval presence in the territory thwarts "crazy plans by German or regional extremist groups to annex Kaliningrad," [REDACTED] 1.4(c) For its part, Germany formally recognized Russia's sovereignty over Kaliningrad in the Two-plus-Four agreements of 1990. In 1993, German Foreign Minister Kinkel reaffirmed publicly [REDACTED] 1.4(c) that Bonn had renounced any claim to the region. [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

Russia's western-most territory, Kaliningrad is now its last "forward presence" in Europe. Moscow's control over Kaliningrad and the extensive Russian military presence in the oblast underscore arguments made by Russian officials that Russia remains a European power--its military pullout from Germany, Eastern Europe, and the Baltic states notwithstanding.

- Russian officials publicly have acknowledged that the large numbers of naval and ground forces deployed in Kaliningrad have raised concerns in neighboring states, particularly Poland and Lithuania, but argue that the troops and naval personnel pose no threat to any country.
- In March, Shumeyko asserted that it was solely Moscow's business where in Russia it stations its army and vowed that Kaliningrad would never be demilitarized [REDACTED] 1.4(c), 3.5(c)

Military Significance. Through early 1993, Kaliningrad was a major transit point for Russian troops and military equipment withdrawn from Eastern Europe. As part of this process, one tank division was redeployed to the area and many of the resident units received newer equipment and additional personnel. The most significant military increase, however, resulted from the relocation of the Baltic Fleet to Kaliningrad when it lost its bases in the Baltic states. [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

Major Russian ground combat units in Kaliningrad Oblast include two motorized rifle divisions, one tank division, one tank brigade, one airborne brigade, a naval infantry brigade, and a coastal defense artillery brigade. Aviation assets consist of about 150 fixed-wing aircraft and 50 helicopters--organized into two regiments of naval aviation strike aircraft--one regiment of air defense fighters, and several naval helicopter squadrons (*see box*). If these units were maintained at close to full strength--which is unlikely--we estimate that the total Russian military manpower in Kaliningrad would total no more than 100,000 personnel. Russian and Lithuanian claims of the troop strength vary wildly.

- [REDACTED] 1.4(c)
[REDACTED] as
of July, Russia maintained some 200,000 troops in the Kaliningrad region.

Although in June the chief Lithuanian negotiator claimed that the number of troops remaining in Kaliningrad was closer to 50,000, more recent press [REDACTED] reporting put the total number of combat troops in Kaliningrad at fewer than 30,000. [REDACTED]

Russian Combat Equipment in Kaliningrad (DOI: 1 July 1994)

Tanks	900
Armored Combat Vehicles	1,200
Artillery	700
Surface-to-surface Missiles	40
Surface-to-air Missiles	190
Attack Helicopters	40
Combat Aircraft	100
Surface Combatants	< 45

This box is [REDACTED] 3.5(c)

A variety of recent statements from both civilian and military spokesmen indicate that *Moscow intends to retain a significant military presence in Kaliningrad.*

[REDACTED] 1.4(c) [REDACTED] units in Kaliningrad will constitute an independent territorial command where all branches of service will be under a unified command structure, which is itself directly subordinate to the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. [REDACTED]

According to the restructuring program currently underway in the Russian military, units in the oblast probably will eventually be downsized. As a result, a ground force structure of a single corps composed of brigades--and possibly a tank division--is likely by the end of the decade. Due to the oblast's geographic position, the naval presence probably will remain large and the number and modernity of aviation assets deployed there could increase. [REDACTED]

1.4(c), 1.4(d), 3.5(c)

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