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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting
Series/Staff Member: Michael Waldman
Subseries:
OA/ID Number: 13646
FolderID:

Folder Title:
President Clinton’s Trip to Riga, Latvia and Warsaw, Poland July 1994 [Binder]

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Section: 3
Shelf: 4
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2006-0469-F
db1460

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db1460

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MICHAEL WALDMAN
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SCHEDULE OF KEY EVENTS

Wednesday, July 6

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

BILATERAL AND SIGNING CEREMONY WITH PRIME MINISTER BIRKAVS

WORKING LUNCH WITH BALTIC PRESIDENTS

PRESS AVAILABILITY

MEETING WITH LATVIAN POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND BUSINESS LEADERS

FLOWER LAYING AND SPEECH AT FREEDOM PLAZA

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

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

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

YOUR OBJECTIVES

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

CORE POINTS

- This is truly an historic moment. The arrival of an American President in the Baltics is a symbolic affirmation of the long road you have travelled to achieve true sovereignty and independence.

- I look forward to our discussions today as a chance to bolster your reintegration with Europe and North America.

BACKGROUND

Upon arrival, you and the First Lady will be greeted by the Presidents of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and then introduced to their delegations. You will introduce the U.S. delegation to the Latvian President.
BILATERAL SIGNING W/ PM BIRKAVS
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Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13646

**FOLDER TITLE:**
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PRESS
AVAILABILITY
PRESS QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

BALTIC ECONOMIC SITUATION

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

A. - Baltic region a model for how states can make the transition to a market economy. All three countries have strong currencies and relatively low inflation.

- Estonia is predicted to have the highest growth rate in all of Europe this year -- 6%.

- Latvia and Lithuania are not far behind; both are privatizing well and have followed IMF recommendations.

- Overall, trade and investment prospects here are excellent. We are committed to help it improve even more.

- I don’t want to minimize the hardships that this economic transition imposes. I know that many families are suffering. But we are confident that these hardships will lessen as each country continues its turnaround.

POST-COMMunist RETURN

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

A. - I’m more interested in a government’s policies and results than in the political labels that apply to it.

- We are committed to work with any democratically elected government that supports political and economic reform, human rights, respect for neighbors and good relations with the United States.

- Our relations with Lithuania and Poland are excellent.
SKRUNDA

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

A. - No, we understood the Russian need to maintain their early warning capacity at Skrunda temporarily, until it could be replaced. It will close after a specified period of time. My talks with Presidents Ulmanis and Yeltsin helped find a time frame that both sides could accept for keeping the radar open and under civilian control.

- There are no secret agreements. Everything is public.

- At Latvia’s request, we have committed $4 million dollars to help with the dismantlement of the large, unfinished structure at Skrunda.

U.S.-BALTIC SECURITY RELATIONSHIP

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

A. - We have active bilateral and multilateral security relationships with all three countries.

- We recently had consultations on regional security, defense cooperation and bilateral assistance with each of the Baltic states.

- We also have a program of high-level visits, ship visits and exchanges of defense officials.

- We have also proposed to Congress a $10 million program in FY95 to support regional peacekeeping units in Central and Eastern Europe. Some of this money would support the Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion being established jointly by these three states.

- We also hope to expand our security cooperation through NATO’s Partnership for Peace, in which all of the Baltic States participate.

- Baltic countries are important to the West. Delighted they will take part in PFP.
NATO ISSUES

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

A. - Russia has not vetoed membership in NATO for any nation. No state outside NATO has a veto on membership. At the January Summit of NATO we said we expect that NATO will eventually expand eastward.

- As we consider expansion, we will be looking at the overall European security situation and the ability of prospective members to meet the responsibilities that NATO membership entails.

- Active participation in PFP is an important factor. The enthusiasm the Baltic states have shown over their membership PFP is a very good trend.

ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN TALKS

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

A. - President Meri and I had a good discussion of the state of play. I have no doubt that the Estonians are committed to reach agreement to permit troops to leave by August 31. I believe the Russian side shares that commitment. There are just a few outstanding issues.

- The U.S. did not mediate the Russian-Latvian talks, and we have no intention of playing that role here.

- I do expect to discuss the negotiations when I see President Yeltsin in Naples on Sunday.

- I expect that Russia will meet the August 31 deadline it has set for withdrawal of its forces from Latvia and Estonia.
ETHNIC RUSSIANS IN ESTONIA AND LATVIA

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

A. - From the very start, we have encouraged the governments of all the Baltic countries to adopt an inclusive approach to dealing with their minority populations.

- There have been numerous international groups monitoring the minority situation in the Baltics. We agree with their findings that there are no abuses of human rights among the minority population.

- At the same time, I have urged all three Presidents to find ways to include ethnic minorities in the social and political life of the country.

- On the Latvian citizenship law, we agree with CSCE, the Council of Europe and the EU. The current draft has some improvements over earlier versions, but it still sets an unfairly low quota for non-Latvians to become citizens.

- I think President Ulmanis was right to send it back to Parliament, and I hope they will make the necessary corrections to it.

KALININGRAD

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

A. - Kaliningrad is part of Russia.

- We are aware of the high concentration of Russian forces in the region and understand the desire of others in the region to see that concentration reduced, or to demilitarize Kaliningrad completely.

- We hope that as Russia begins to resolve its housing shortage for military personnel, Kaliningrad’s force concentration can be reduced.
AID PHASEOUT IN ESTONIA

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

A. - We have agreed with the Estonians to move from aid to trade.

- Estonia is reaching that stage in its economic development where trade and investment has a greater effect than economic assistance. When that happens, we begin to phase out some of the assistance.

- The Estonian government fully understands and supports this policy. It is the best vote of confidence we can give them.

STABILITY PACT

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

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

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

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

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

YOUR OBJECTIVES

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

BACKGROUND

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

The 146-foot high stone obelisk is topped by a bronze statue of Liberty holding three stars, symbolizing the unity of Latvia’s three regions. The four stone sculptures at the base depict national and cultural themes. The inscription on the Monument reads "For Fatherland and Freedom."
MTG WITH LATVIAN LEADERS
MEETING AT THE STOCK EXCHANGE

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

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

YOUR OBJECTIVES

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

CORE POINTS (text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

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

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

The venue of the meeting, the old Riga Stock Exchange Building, is scheduled to become the home of a functioning stock exchange and stock registry in the first quarter of 1996.
MTG WITH U.S. EMBASSY STAFF
MEETING WITH STAFFS OF U.S. EMBASSIES IN THE BALTICS

CONTEXT OF THE EVENT

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

YOUR OBJECTIVES

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

CORE POINTS (text of remarks to be provided)

BACKGROUND

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

Skrunda Radar Site: Dismantlement Assistance
Russian Troop Withdrawals
The Russian Minority in the Baltic States
Paldiski Naval Base
Baltic-American Enterprise Fund
Latvia: Political-Economic Overview
Estonia: Political-Economic Overview
Lithuania: Political-Economic Overview
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During your visit to Riga, you will announce the establishment of the Baltic-American Enterprise Fund (BAEF). The Fund will be capitalized with $50 million in foreign assistance appropriations over a 3-4 year period. The purpose of the Fund is to promote private-sector development in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The Fund’s Board will be chaired by Rozanne Ridgway, former Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Ambassador to East Germany and Finland.

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

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

The Fund will be expected to maintain a meaningful presence both in terms of representation and its investment portfolio in all three Baltic States. The Fund will be encouraged to use its U.S. capitalization to attract other resources for private sector development in the Baltic States.
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
Speechwriting  
Michael Waldman  
OA/Bx Number: 13646

**FOLDER TITLE:**
President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia, and Warsaw, Poland July 1994 [Binder]

**RESTRICITION CODES**

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- **RR.** Document will be reviewed upon request.

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Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13646

FOLDER TITLE:
President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia, and Warsaw, Poland July 1994 [Binder]

2006-0469-F
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RESTRICITION CODES

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Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

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001 p. memo | Lake to the President; RE: Trip to Poland (1 page) | 07/01/1994 | P1/b(1)

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ARRIVAL CEREMONIES

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PRESS AVAILABILITY WITH PRESIDENT WALESA

STATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT WALESA

WREATH LAYING CEREMONY AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

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MEETING WITH POLISH PARLIAMENT SPEAKERS

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER OF POLAND

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GREET U.S. EMBASSY STAFF AND FAMILIES

DEPARTURE CEREMONIES
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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.

- Poland largest recipient of U.S. financial support in region.
  - 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.
  - Look forward to CEE Trade and Investment Conference this fall.
  - U.S. OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) has established a $65 million Poland Partners Fund to support investment.
  - Working to resolve final issues, allow Poland to reaccede to GATT as market economy.
  - 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.
  - 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:
  - To stimulate housing construction, reduce unemployment through job creation, fight organized and white collar crime.
  - 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.
DINNER HOSTED BY
PRESIDENT WALESAS
001u. briefing paper
RE: Dinner hosted by Polish President Lech Walesa (2 pages)
n.d. P1/b(1)
TOMB OF UNKNOWN SOLDIER
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OF BOTH HOUSES
001x. briefing paper

RE: Meeting with Polish Parliamentary Speakers (2 pages)  
n.d.  
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Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13646

FOLDER TITLE:
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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 convertability 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.)
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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Michael Waldman
OA/Box Number: 13646

**FOLDER TITLE:**
President Clinton's Trip to Riga, Latvia, and Warsaw, Poland July 1994 [Binder]

**RESTRICATION CODES**

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information ([a](1) of the PRA)
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office ([a](2) of the PRA)
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute ([a](3) of the PRA)
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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 convertability 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.)
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.
001zk. briefing paper
RE: U.S. - Polish Bilateral Issues (2 pages)  n.d.  P1/b(1)
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.
**Withdrawal/Redaction Marker**

Clinton Library

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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- Speechwriting
- Michael Waldman
- OA/Box Number: 13646

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