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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Letter to Specialist Carlos E. Rodriguez. (1 page)		b(6)
002. minutes	Minutes of the Deputies Committee Meeting, November 1, 1993. Subject: U.S. Policy on Comprehensive Test Ban....Record ID: 9321251. (9 pages)	11/08/1993	P1/b(1)
003. memo	For Lynn Davis et al From Robert Bell. Subject: CTB Task Force on Permitted Activities. (1 page)	11/08/1993	P1/b(1)
004. letter	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	10/28/1993	b(6)

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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
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P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President
and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

White House Press Guidance -- 10:00 A.M.
Monday, November 8, 1993

(NOTE: The following press guidance was prepared for the President's appearance on "Meet the Press" on Sunday, November 7. It provides current over-all messages and specific guidances on foreign policy issues.)

Basic Points on Over-All Foreign Policy Performance

- Our focus on immediate and dramatic issues cannot allow us to lose sight of achievements and progress over the last nine months. We have raised global economic issues to the top of the agenda, encouraged democratic reform in Russia, promoted peace in the Middle East, emphasized non-proliferation, built new ties to Asia, and promoted environmental protection. (See Q/A on performance)

- America's engagement is essential in this new era of change. This is a time of new opportunities for us to strengthen the emerging democracies and market economies. Our ability to lead in this period will have a fundamental impact on our security and prosperity in the decades ahead.

- Over the past month, we've faced tough outstanding issues of societies tearing themselves apart, as in Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia. More and more, this is the uncharted ground that will confront us in this new era. We have to ask the tough questions about where we will engage, but we can't turn our back on involvement when our interest are at stake. On these issues:
 - o In Somalia, we resisted the calls for immediate withdrawal, and our new policy is on track and working.
 - o In Haiti, we're supporting the return of democracy by leading an international coalition engaging in diplomatic efforts and imposing the toughest sanctions ever in the Hemisphere.
 - o In Bosnia, we're doing what we can to encourage a peace settlement and assisting through humanitarian assistance (airlifts and airdrops), enforcement of sanctions against Serbia and the no-fly zone, and NATO's threat of airstrikes.

Elaboration on Foreign Policy Performance

- Even as we focus on the more dramatic and immediate foreign policy issues of the past month, it's important not to lose sight of the real progress we're making on the most vital issues of national security of this era.
- We've raised the issue of stimulating world growth to the top of the global agenda, helping to create American jobs and exports.
 - o We've pursued this through our work on NAFTA and the Uruguay Round, opening Japanese markets through our framework talks, coordinating economic policies with our G-7 allies, and meeting later this month with the 15 leaders of the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation -- whose economies make up half the world's GNP.
- Our steadfast support for democratic and market reform in Russia has helped President Yeltsin overcome numerous threats from reactionary forces.
 - o A successful transition in Russia will allow us to continue to cut defense spending, open markets of hundreds of millions of consumers and eliminate for good the destructive Cold War competition.
- Secretary Christopher's work to reinvigorate the Middle East peace talks created an environment that allowed the momentous achievements over the past months, including the Israeli-PLO peace signing at the White House.
- On defense issues, Secretary Aspin's "Bottom Up Review" has given us a road-map for restructuring the military to face the challenges of the post Cold War world, ensuring continued security while allowing us to make even greater defense cuts.
 - o We've also unveiled a proposal -- embraced by our allies, Russia and others -- to offer former Soviet republics and East European nations closer ties with NATO, helping to adapt NATO to the post-Cold War world and promote transatlantic security.
- Over the past months, we've announced new policies to stem the flow of illegal immigration and to combat international drug trafficking. We've also provided new global impetus to efforts to protect the global environment and to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.
- On the issues that confronted us when we came to office, there have been some difficult times over the past six weeks, but we are making progress.

- In Somalia, we are already seeing results from the policy the President announced on October 7. African leaders are promoting political reconciliation; attacks on U.S. and U.N. forces have ceased; the Rangers have been brought home; and a commission of inquiry is being set up to hold those responsible for the attack of U.N. peacekeepers accountable for their actions.
 - o We cannot rebuild Somalia -- the Somali people must do that for themselves -- but our commitment to remain through March is giving them a chance to avoid a return to anarchy and starvation that resulted in 350,000 deaths before our engagement began last December.
- In Haiti, we have tough international sanctions in place and diplomatic discussions underway in an effort to restore democracy and President Aristide to that country in line with the Governor's Island process. The anti-democratic forces must understand they cannot thwart the will and commitment of the Haitian people and the international community.
 - o We have strong national interests in helping foster democracy and human rights on our doorsteps in the Caribbean, protecting 1000 American citizens in Haiti and preventing a recurrence of mass illegal migration, often with disastrous results.

Lessons of the Past Month

- We've faced some tough problems over the past month that have captured Americans' attention. The situations in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia are not unique: in the uncharted ground after the end of the Cold War, we're likely to face more and more instances in which societies are tearing themselves apart.
 - o Often, these situations will impact on our national security because of the potential for the spread of instability throughout whole regions, mass migration of people, or terrorism and proliferation of weapons.
- We intend to work more closely with Congress and the American people to define our interests in these cases and to build consensus for policies that address.
 - o At the U.N. a month ago, the President laid out conditions and questions we must consider before we become involved in these situations: what are our national interests; what are our specific goals; can our involvement really make a difference; what is the exit strategy.
 - o We welcome the emergence of a new bipartisan spirit of consultation and cooperation on these issues as well as Congressional reaffirmation of the President's authority to conduct foreign policy.

Questions on Over-All Foreign Policy

Q. Does our backing down or waffling in Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia call into question America's ability to lead in the post-Cold War era?

-- First, it's not true that we've backed down in these cases.

- o In **Somalia**, the President **resisted a chorus of calls to pull out our troops out immediately** after the tragic events of October 3. Instead, the President insisted that we complete our mission there in a disciplined manner. We are seeing the results of that decisions: attacks on U.S. and U.N. peacekeepers have stopped; the political reconciliation process, led by the Africans themselves, is moving ahead; and the Somalis have a chance to avoid a return to anarchy and starvation that killed 350,000 people before our involvement.
- o In **Haiti**, our military trainers had been invited by all the parties as part of the Governor's Island process. When the **Haitian military broke its commitment**, it was no longer appropriate for a training mission to go forward and we led the effort to put in place the **toughest economic sanctions ever adopted in this hemisphere**, enforced by an international flotilla led by American naval vessels. We are now engaged in intense diplomatic efforts to resolve this situation.
- o In **Bosnia**, we're **doing what we can** to ease that tragic situation by providing **humanitarian assistance** through an airlift and airdrops, enforcing the no-fly zone, enforcing sanctions on Serbia and preventing the strangulation of Sarajevo through the threat of NATO airstrikes. It is up to the parties there to return to the peace table -- once an agreement has been reached, we will consider helping to enforce it through NATO.

-- But there are other **less dramatic but more important cases where we're displaying American leadership**. Like in **Russia**, where we've led an international coalition to support the process of political and market reform, one of the most important developments of our time. Or the **Middle East**, where Secretary Christopher's determined efforts created an environment where historic agreements could be achieved. Or **NATO**, where we are proposing a new structure to build ties with central and eastern European countries that can put an end to the division of Europe. Or in **Asia**, where we are building new forms of cooperation in the world's most dynamic and fast-growing region.

- o We have also redefined the international agenda, raising issues of **trade and growth** to the top of the list, focussing new attention on preventing the **proliferation of weapons of mass destruction** and increasing international awareness on **environmental** issues. We've have new programs to address **illegal immigration** and **international drug trafficking**.

- o These efforts may be less dramatic and immediate than the events over the last month, but they are of great importance to the security and prosperity of Americans.

Q. What's wrong with the formulation or execution of American foreign policy? Is the problem the policy or the team? Aren't you going to change your team?

-- There has been successes and some setbacks. But I'd match our record of achievement over the past nine months against any other period in recent times.

- o In **Russia**, we've led an international coalition to support the process of political and market reform, one of the most important developments of our time.
- o In the **Middle East**, Secretary Christopher's determined efforts created an environment where the historic agreement between Israel and PLO may be just the beginning of regional peace accords.
- o In Europe, we've proposed a new "**Partnership for Peace**" that will build ties between NATO and central and eastern European countries and put an end to the division of Europe.
- o Secretary Aspin's "**Bottom Up Review**" of our military has given us a road-map for restructuring our forces to face the challenges of the post Cold War world, ensuring continued security while allowing us to make even greater cuts.
- o We've built **new ties to Asia**, including an agreement to expand our access to **Japanese markets**; a policy to engage **China** on human rights, non-proliferation, and trade; and the first-ever meeting of the leaders of the **Asia-Pacific economies** later this month in Seattle to consider new forms of economic cooperation.
- o We've redefined the international agenda, raising **economic issues** to the top of the list through **NAFTA**, the **G-7** and the **Uruguay Round**, focussing new attention of preventing the **proliferation** of weapons of mass destruction and increasing international awareness on **environmental issues**.
- o We've also prepared new programs to deal with **illegal immigration** and international **drug trafficking**.

-- With this record in nine months, the President has confidence in his national security team and their performance.

Q. Do you delegate too much authority to your national security team? Do you need to be more personally engaged?

-- Like every President before him, President Clinton gets up most mornings and goes to bed most nights thinking about the

responsibilities that come with being Commander-in-Chief.
It's a constant part of this job.

- We're also living in a time of extraordinary change and challenge in the world, and there is an enormous amount we can do to make the world **safer, stronger, and more prosperous** for ourselves and our children.
- The President generally feel good about what we've achieved over the past nine months in foreign affairs.
 - o On **Russia**, we've led an international coalition to support the process of political and market reform, the most important development of our time. In the **Middle East**, Secretary Christopher's determined efforts created an environment where the historic agreement between Israel and PLO may be just the beginning of regional peace accords.
 - o In Europe, we've proposed a new "**Partnership for Peace**" that will build ties between NATO and central and eastern European countries and put an end to the division of Europe.
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 - o We've re-ordered the international agenda, raising issues of **trade and growth** to the top of the list, focussing new attention of preventing the **proliferation** of weapons of mass destruction and increasing international awareness on **environmental issues**.
 - o We've prepared new programs to deal with **illegal immigration** and international **drug trafficking**.
 - o I'm proud of this record of achievement in just nine months.
- Q. If your record is so good, why are there so many calls for the resignation of your senior officials and why is an isolationist trend building up in the United States?
 - We no longer have one single principle -- stopping communism -- that defined nearly every foreign policy decision for almost the last 50 years. America is defining a new role for itself in the world: strengthening the **global economy**, promoting the growth of **democracy**, getting tougher on such global problems as the spread of **nuclear weapons, terrorism,**

and **environmental decay**. Not every problem has a self-evident or made-in-America answer.

- Our attitudes towards foreign affairs also are increasingly defined by the images we see from abroad on an immediate basis. The President shared the revulsion of all American to the images scenes from Mogadishu a month ago. He can understand the reaction of many Americans of wanting to pull back from engagement in situations abroad that put Americans in harm's way.
- But we cannot and we **must not disengage** from the world, especially at this moment when our values are sweeping the globe and when there are **unprecedented opportunities** to ensure our future **security and prosperity** by expanding the community of democracies and market economies around the world.
- This makes it all the more important that we do the best job we can of explaining to the American people in forums like this our national interest in encouraging reform in **Russia**, in bringing peace to the **Middle East**, in expanding our ties to the growing market economies in **Asia and Latin America**, in combatting the **proliferation** of weapons of mass destruction, in attacking **drug trafficking**, and in helping to alleviate the suffering of others through selective **humanitarian** efforts.
- The President intends to do more to build a national consensus to **resist the voices of isolationism** and seize the opportunities of international engagement.

Somalia

Points

- Over the past month, since the President announced the strengthening of our forces in Somalia and revitalizing diplomatic efforts for a **political reconciliation**, we've seen hopeful actions in Somalia, including the **cessation of attacks on the U.S. and U.N. peacekeepers** and the release of CWO Durant.
- We have been pleased with reports coming out of the region on the political reconciliation process, especially the work of President Meles of Ethiopia and leaders of the OAU.
 - o It would be up to the **African leaders** to determine who could participate in this process. Ambassador Oakley has just returned from the region again where he met with U.S. and U.N. officials and representatives of various Somali groups.
- We will complete our withdrawal soon, but **we must leave on our terms**. Our enhanced troop deployment is designed to:
 - o **Protect our troops and our bases;**
 - o Keep open and secure the roads and **lines of communications** essential to keep the flow of food, supplies and people moving;
 - o Keep **pressure on any who cut off relief supplies** and attack our people;
 - o Enable the **Somali people to reach agreements among themselves, supported by the U.N. and African nations.**
- We believe the time between now and March 31 is a reasonable period to try to accomplish this and our forces will be out by then.

Questions on Somalia

- Q. Is the United States still trying to capture Aideed?
- We are no longer focussed on capturing Aideed. Our **focus is on providing security for humanitarian relief efforts and facilitating the political reconciliation process** that gives the Somalis the best chance of bringing peace and stability to their own country.
 - At the same time, we are seriously committed to working with African leaders and the U.N. to establish an impartial commission to **investigate the killing of the U.N. peacekeepers and to holding accountable those responsible for the action.**
 - While it's not our job to rebuild Somalia's society or political structure -- the Somalis have to do that for themselves -- the President's decision to **withdraw in a disciplined manner** is giving them enough time to have a

chance to succeed and to **prevent a return to the chaos and anarchy that cost 350,000 lives** before the U.S. and U.N. intervened.

Q. If you've backed down in your hunt for Aideed, what would you say to the parents of the men who lost their lives in a futile attempt to capture him? Did their sons die in vain?

-- We have to remember why the United States went to Somalia in the first place. Recall the **images of last year: a thousand Somali people were dying every day** and our humanitarian impulses told us we could not allow that to continue. Due in large part to that decision, the **killing fields of Somalia have vanished and are now replaced by the planting and harvesting of crops**, the opening of schools and hospital, and the return of normal life to nearly all of Somalia.

-- Our military personnel in Somalia have been there to provide a secure environment for the delivery of food and medicine and to protect the U.S. and U.N. peacekeepers. This effort involved risks, and some of our brave servicemen paid the ultimate price. The President is **proud and grateful** for the role they played in this mission.

Q. Would these young men be alive today if Secretary Aspin had approved the request for additional protection for them from General Montgomery?

-- We have acknowledged that we **would have reacted differently** if we had the benefit of **hindsight**, given the tragic events of October 3. Secretary Aspin said that right after the tragedy occurred.

-- But I'd like to point out that Secretary Aspin was one of the key players in getting our **policy on Somalia back on track**. The steps the President announced on October 7 are working. The political reconciliation process in Somalia is moving ahead under the leadership of the African leaders, the attacks on U.S. and U.N. peacekeepers have stopped, and the Rangers have been brought home.

Q. Are we putting American troops right back in harm's way with the recent decision to have them move back into a new set of rules of engagement?

-- The mission in Somalia now is exactly as the President announced it on October 7 -- to **keep open and secure the road and lines of communications** essential to keep the flow of humanitarian assistance moving. We are making every effort to do that peacefully in cooperation with the various factions in Mogadishu.

-- For additional details on the commands and rules of engagement for our troops in Somalia, I would steer you to the Pentagon.

Haiti

Points

- We are committed to the **restoration of democracy and the return of President Aristide to Haiti**. We have important national interests there:
 - o Ensuring the **safety of Americans** in Haiti
 - o Promoting **democracy, human rights and stability on our doorstep** in the Caribbean
 - o Limiting the potential for a **new exodus of illegal migration**, which runs the risk of a disastrous humanitarian situation from the loss of life at sea.
- We regret the refusal of the military leaders in Haiti to participate in Friday's "conclave" to provide new impetus to the next steps in the Governors Island process.
 - o Anti-democratic forces in Haiti must understand that the **international community is firmly united** in this effort, and that tough sanctions will remain in place until they fulfill commitments under the Governors Island process.
- We continue to support effective **sanctions targeted at the anti-democratic forces** in Haiti.
 - o We've been in contact with various governments about adoption on an international basis of measures such as a freezing of assets and a ban on visas to those resisting the Governors Island process.
 - o Even as we keep these sanctions in place, we are assisting programs in Haiti which are **feeding 500,000 people a day** and providing health facilities for 2 million.

Questions on Haiti

- Q. Is your Administration still committed to returning Aristide to power, given the reports that have been providing to the Hill on his mental state? Is Aristide capable of ruling in Haiti? Is the CIA wrong?
- We have been aware of the reports on Aristide. In our dealings with him, he has been **responsible**, has had the best interests of his people at heart, and has **lived up to the commitments** he has made.
- It is not for us to choose the leaders of Haiti -- that is something only the Haitian people can decide. And they **elected President Aristide with more than two-thirds** of the vote. It is also true that during his time in office, **human rights abuses declined** dramatically.

Q. Is your own CIA trying to undercut your policy by providing a briefing to Senators on Aristide's mental state the day before an important vote?

-- No. The **Senate asked for a briefing** and the CIA has the responsibility to respond to requests based on the information they have.

Q. Why did you pull back the Harlan County so quickly when faced with a small group of thugs?

-- Our troops were going to Haiti at the invitation of all parties on a **cooperative mission** to help train the Haitian military -- this was **not a peacekeeping operation**. Once it became clear that the very military forces they were there to train were allowing thwarting their entry, it made no sense to continue the operation.

-- We decided to draw the ship back to Guantanamo Naval Facility because we wanted the focus of attention to be on the **anti-democratic forces who were blocking the Governor's Island process**, not on whether this mission could go ahead. We immediately led the U.N. to reimpose **tough sanctions**, moved six vessels into place to join an international flotilla to enforce the sanctions and have been working on political and diplomatic means of pushing the process ahead.

Q. Why did you go forward with the military mission in Haiti which had a low probability of success?

-- Training for the Haitian military was agreed as part of the Governor's Island process, accepted by the parties for returning democratic government to Haiti. Up until that points, the **parties had been living up to their agreements**.

o A new government under Prime Minister Malval had been formed; President Aristide had proclaimed an amnesty for those involved in the coup against him; and some of the international presence was already in Haiti, including human rights monitors and police monitors from other nations.

o As a participant in that accord, it is **inconceivable that we would be the ones to break it**.

-- But once it became clear that the **military** for whom the training mission was to occur **broke faith** and blocked their arrival in Port-au-Prince, we could not proceed with the mission and enlisted an international effort to impose the toughest sanctions ever adopted in the Western Hemisphere.

Q. Are you going to maintain the policy of direct return of Haitian would-be refugees?

-- The only way to relieve the pressures which led to such migration is to address Haiti's pressing social and economic

problems. That's why the President has given such a high priority to restoring democracy to Haiti and returning President Aristide to office.

- The President has deep sympathy for the people involved in these cases. In March, after careful review, he decided to maintain the practice of direct return of Haitian migrants interdicted on the high seas. This action is necessary to **avert a humanitarian tragedy that would result from a potential large-scale boat exodus.** The Supreme Court upheld in June our authority to carry out the practice of direct return.
- At the same time, we have taken steps to address concerns about possibly turning away individuals who may have a legitimate claim to refugee status. We have procedures to identify possible legitimate claimants on-board Coast Guard cutters before they are returned so they can be placed into refugee processing. We've also enhanced our ability to process requests from potential refugees in Haiti.

Bosnia

Points

- This is an **extraordinarily difficult** problem that two Administrations have struggled with. We have interests in what happens in Bosnia, including humanitarian and concern over a wider conflict, but the President believes that the Europeans and we must act in concert on this issue.
 - o As a result, we have not done everything we would have liked to do, but we have not been uninvolved. We have tried to **encourage a fair settlement**, provided **humanitarian assistance**, enforced **sanctions** against Serbia, and threatened NATO airstrikes to **prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo**.
- We continue to believe that this tragic conflict can be resolved only at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield.
 - o We have urged the parties to resume their talks.
 - o We call on them to respect agreements for cease-fires, unimpeded delivery of humanitarian aid and release of detainees.
- NATO will maintain its commitment to potential air strikes to ensure that humanitarian assistance flows unimpeded and to prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo and other population centers. We are watching the current events in Sarajevo closely.
- In terms of conditions for a possible U.S. involvement in the implementation of an agreement, we must be certain any agreement is entered into in **good faith** by all the parties.
 - o Enforcement of any agreement should take place through **NATO**, which has command and control structures capable of launching a significant mission of this kind.
 - o **Congress will be consulted** fully with respect to U.S. involvement in an implementation mission.
- We're very concerned about the humanitarian situation in Bosnia as winter approaches: there are reports that there will be about 2.7 million needy people in Bosnia this winter, including tens of thousands of people without adequate winter shelter, food and water.
 - o Along with our allies and the UNHCR, we taking steps to address this situation, including exploring means of increasing convoys and air drops.

Background for Questions on Bosnia/NATO

We are proposing a Partnership for Peace as the vehicle for military cooperation between NATO and eastern militaries. The Partnership will transform the North Atlantic Cooperation Council from a body limited to conferences and exchanges to one in which eastern and western militaries plan, train, and exercise together. The Partnership will be open to all members and neutral and non-aligned countries. This represents an inclusive approach to deepening NATO's engagement in the east and drawing new democracies into the west.

Q: Doesn't the failure of NATO to reach agreement on taking action in Bosnia make all the talk about NATO's relevance and expansion lose its credibility?

-- As for the Bosnian crisis, NATO has used its forces to provide humanitarian assistance, enforce the no-fly zone, and threaten airstrikes if the strangulation of Sarajevo resumes or humanitarian assistance is disrupted. NATO is prepared to help implement a peace settlement if the warring parties can reach an agreement.

-- NATO continues to be the **cornerstone of a vital transatlantic alliance** that has provided stability and peace and continues to be an important part of the glue that holds it together.

-- The steps we have proposed to transform NATO are intended to help **prevent future crises** like the one now occurring in the former Yugoslavia. The Partnership for Peace, by pulling Eastern states into Western institutions and practices, will facilitate the process of peaceful transition in the newly emerging democracies. As the Partnership evolves, it will also develop means of **dampening and preventing ethnic conflict**.

Q. Can you tell us the status of Operation provide Comfort?

-- Operation Provide Comfort, the operation of airlifts and airdrops in Bosnia, became in October 1993 the longest sustained humanitarian air supply operation in American history, surpassing the Berlin Airlift. Since the beginning of its operation, we have supplied about 30,000 tons of food and medicine through airlifts to Bosnia, and an additional 10,000 tons in airdrops to isolated regions in the country.

Peacekeeping/Multilateralism

Questions

Q. Have you ceded control over U.S. foreign policy to Boutros Ghali, and having done so, is it fair to use him as a scapegoat for U.S. foreign policy failures?

-- Boutros Ghali is doing a good job at the United Nations, but **the President is not about to cede control over U.S. foreign policy or our military forces to anyone.** Multilateral efforts -- in effect, **burden sharing** -- are only one among many tools at our disposal to achieve U.S. foreign policy goals. The U.S. will always preserve the ability to act unilaterally when necessary. We will use multilateral means when it is appropriate to the situation, such as Provide Comfort in northern Iraq, Sinai peacekeeping, and Desert Storm.

-- Peacekeeping can be a very useful way to resolve certain conflicts -- particularly in sharing the burden of international actions -- but it's not appropriate for every situation. As the President said in his **U.N. speech**, we will ask tough questions before we agree to use peacekeeping so that we are sure that we have the right tool for the job: **what's the mission, what are the real risks, what's the end point?**

-- To make peacekeeping as effective as possible when used, we must work with the U.N. and member states to **improve the U.N.'s peacekeeping capabilities.** This is essential so that we can share with other nations the costs and burden of preserving the peace.

Q. Senator Dole said that restoring Aristide to power in Haiti wasn't worth a single American life. As Commander-in-Chief, when do you think we should put Americans in harm's way?

-- As Commander-in-Chief, these are the **most important decisions the President faces.** There are clear cases when our vital national interests are at stake, either because of **attacks or threats to the U.S., our people, or our allies.** In these cases, we cannot and will not shrink from taking military action, including **unilateral** action, as in our attack on Baghdad.

-- There are other, more difficult, cases where vital national interests may not be at stake, but where we decide that we have other interests (e.g., refugees, risk of wider conflict, humanitarian) and that our involvement, usually with others, makes sense. These cases may involve peacekeeping operations, and we must ask hard questions: what are our interests, what are the risks, will our involvement make a difference, what is the strategy for exit, do the American people support it?

-- It is also important to remember that most actions we take in defense of our national security do not involve the use of our military at all, including efforts to open trade and investment or diplomatic efforts to control the

• proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and promote democracies.

China

Background

Recent news reports suggest a change in U.S. policy towards China. The thrust of these stories is that the Administration is trying to eliminate the "frictions" in our relationship with China in recognition of its important role in the Asia-Pacific region in the future, but also trying to achieve progress on issues related to human rights, non-proliferation and trade.

Evidence for Administration efforts to improve the relationship is seen in the recent visit to Beijing of Assistant Secretary of Defense Freeman, a "prelude" to the November 19 meeting between President Clinton and President Jiang in Seattle. Also cited are the recent visits to Beijing of Secretary Espy and Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Shattuck.

Points

- The President is looking forward to his meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Seattle.
- My administration has **never adopted a policy of isolating China**. We recognize and value the increasing importance of this relationship, and have sought to engage China in discussions of issues of deep concern to us.
- These broader discussions provide a serious context in which we can discuss our interests in:
 - o Stemming the **proliferation** of weapons of mass destruction, enhancing respect for **human rights**, and **opening markets**.
- We have not hesitated to act decisively in these areas, as was the case with the sanctions we imposed on China for missile proliferation.
- Assistant Secretary Freeman's visit to Beijing did not mean a lifting of sanctions on arms or military-related sales to China.
 - o Rather, it reflects the need to discuss with the Chinese military issues of regional security and engage them on issues of common global concerns, including non-proliferation.

Nuclear Issues with North Korea

Background

Reports say that the U.S. is engaged in talks with North Korea in which we are considering such steps as diplomatic recognition of North Korea in exchange for Pyongyang's agreeing to full IAEA inspections. IAEA's Blix has issued a statement critical of North Korea for its nuclear actions, but stating that its surveillance of North Korea's nuclear facilities "has not been broken." Meanwhile, some columnists have criticized us for what they believe is either inattention to this issue or an overly conciliatory tone in our discussion with North Korea.

Secretary Aspin returned last Friday from South Korea -- in his departure statements, he has warned North Korea that American patience is wearing thin with their failure to make progress on these issues and seemed to imply that North Korea is preparing for aggressive action.

Points

- North Korea's nuclear ambitions represent **one of the most dangerous challenges to world peace** and our own security. We have been, and will remain, actively engaged in meeting this challenge.
- We have acted consistently and resolutely to prevent nuclear proliferation by North Korea. We seek a non-nuclear Korean peninsula and robust global rules against proliferation.
 - o **Last summer in Korea**, the President reaffirmed our steadfast **commitment to South Korea's security** and made clear that there would be very serious consequences should North Korea threaten its neighbors with nuclear arms.
- Since then, we have worked intensively with Japan and South Korea, our other allies, China, and other countries to make clear to North Korea that the entire international community demands that it **abide by its nonproliferation obligations**.
 - o Just this week, 140 nations joined in a UN resolution calling on the North Korea to comply with its IAEA safeguards commitments.
- We've engaged in direct diplomatic talks with North Korea to persuade them to accept full international (IAEA) inspections of their nuclear facilities and implementation of the denuclearization agreement they signed with South Korea.
 - o In these talks we've stressed that better economic and political relations with North Korea can come about only through resolution of the nuclear issue. Our goal is not endless discussion, but verifiable compliance.

Russian Democracy Issues

Background

There are reports that President Yeltsin told the press yesterday that he no longer favors Presidential elections in June but intends instead to serve out his full five-year term until 1996. This would contradict a decree he issued in September calling for Presidential elections after the parliamentary elections in December. This move, together with the recent announcement of a new Russian military doctrine and the Russian threat of a UNSC veto of the Libyan sanctions have prompted some to question the value of our close relationship with Yeltsin.

Questions

Q. Boris Yeltsin has made a series of decisions lately -- issuing a new and aggressive military doctrine and threatening to veto the UNSC sanctions on Libya -- that appear contrary to our interests. What is the value of a close U.S. relationship with Yeltsin?

A:

- We continue to believe strongly that our partnership with Yeltsin and the other Russian reformers is in our best interest. We are working together to **reduce the threat of nuclear war**. Our new partnership is the best route to securing a **permanent end to the Cold War** and the creation of a peace in Europe into the next century.
 - o These two achievements will allow us to **cut further our defense spending** and turn more of our resources to problems here at home.
- As for Yeltsin's recent decisions, he has **demonstrated time and again his democratic credentials**. He has consistently taken the toughest political issues to the Russian people -- in the April referendum and in the upcoming elections in December.
- We have advised the Russian government to do everything possible to **ensure the December elections are democratic and fair**. American observers will join many others from around the world to help with this process.
- On the other issues you mentioned:
 - o We believe the U.N. should pass a **Libyan sanctions** resolution and are working hard to convince the Russians to join us in that effort.
 - o We don't view the new military doctrine as especially surprising since it tracks with policies that have been in place for some time.
 - o Having said that, we are determined to assure that the **independence and sovereignty of Russia's neighbors** is preserved and that Russia's interactions with them are consistent with international principles.

Q. President Yeltsin announced yesterday that he does not favor Presidential elections next June, to which he had committed himself earlier. Should not this decision cause us to question his commitment to democracy?

-- We remain convinced that President Yeltsin is committed to reform and democracy.

o He has proven that commitment time and again, including his support for the national referendum in April.

-- As you know, he has called parliamentary elections for December and a referendum on a new constitution at the same time.

-- His willingness to let the Russian people decide on the future direction of the country is a pretty good indication of his democratic credentials.

-- As for his statement on Presidential elections, we have not had a chance to discuss it with Yeltsin or with senior Russian government officials to understand its full meaning. We intend to do that soon.

-- The President has avoided commenting on the ins and outs of internal Russian politics -- that would not be appropriate. But we imagine Yeltsin will want to discuss this issue of Presidential elections with the new Parliament.

-- We will continue to support the Russian Government, but of course that support has never been unconditional.

o We have pressed for a free, fair and open political process and we will continue to do that in the coming weeks.

U.S. Assistance for Russia

Background

The \$1.6 billion bilateral assistance package to Russia announced in Vancouver in April has now been fully obligated -- all these funds are being spent on humanitarian and technical assistance programs. We are well on the way to implementing our subsequent \$2.5 billion assistance package passed by Congress in September.

Points

- Our assistance for Russia is one of the **best investments** we can make in our own future. By making this investment now, we're helping to build a **more secure world** which will enable us to devote **less money to defense** and more here at home to our own domestic programs.
 - o The \$1.6 billion assistance package for Russia we announced in Vancouver in April has already been fully obligated.
- During our next summit in Moscow in January we will discuss the steps the U.S. has already taken to implement the additional \$2.5 billion assistance package passed by Congress in September.
- Wherever possible, we are **getting other nations and financial institutions to follow our lead** in supporting Russia's reform effort. Our G-7 partners are active, as are the IMF and World Bank.

Space Station

Background

This week, NASA and the Russian Space Agency announced an accelerated plan for an international Space Station involving Russia as a full partner (along with Europe, Canada and Japan). Developed in the context of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, this project has the potential to replace thirty years of competition in space with full-fledged U.S-Russian cooperation. As such, it is an important achievement in building a long-term partnership with Russia.

Points

- Our Space Station cooperation with Russia is **another benefit from our emerging relationship with Russia.**
 - o They have proven over thirty years their success as a space-faring nation. This cooperation will allow us to develop a more capable station at lower cost. This program is to our advantage and to the advantage of all of our international partners.
- Cooperation with the Russians will produce jobs in certain sectors of the space industry as we work to integrate hardware and operations.

Russian Military Doctrine

Background

Russia this past week approved a new military doctrine that sparked much publicity because it appeared to sanction a role for the Russian military in conflicts outside Russia's borders. We are talking with the Russians to learn more, but it seems the language deals mostly with the kind of peacekeeping activities Russia is already engaged in.

In addition, the new military doctrine allows the use of nuclear weapons "against states, nuclear or non-nuclear, which have undertaken aggression against Russia or supported such aggression." This would be a reversal of the Soviet Union's policy of no-first-use.

U.S. policy on the "first use" of nuclear weapons remains as articulated by Secretary Vance in 1978. It says that the United States will not use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapons state party to the NPT except in the case of an attack on the United States or its allies by such a state allied to a nuclear-weapons state in carrying out the attack (e.g., there were non-nuclear Warsaw Pact states that were members of the NPT and were aligned with the Soviet Union.)

Points

- While Russia has abandoned the declared Soviet doctrine of "no-first-use", we and our allies **never took the former Soviet declared doctrine as a serious indication** of what the USSR might employ their nuclear weapons in case of war.

Questions on Russian Military Doctrine

Q: What about Russia's new military doctrine that sanctions the use of military force beyond Russia's borders? Isn't this evidence Russia is seeking to re-establish the old empire?

A.

- We are still consulting with the Russians to get a better sense of the doctrine and its implications.
- One of the basic objectives is the **eventual withdrawal of Russian forces** that are currently stationed outside of Russia in neighboring countries. We welcome a restatement of that commitment in the military doctrine.
- The doctrine does make a provision for Russian troops to operate abroad in certain situations, such as peacekeeping in former Soviet republics along the Russian border.
- In our discussions with the Russians, we've stressed -- and they've agreed -- that such operations must **comply with international standards**, such as U.N. principles. They can only be carried out with the consent of the states involved. Nothing we have seen or heard in connection with the new doctrine contradicts this crucial principle.

Middle East

Q: What can you tell us about press reports and comments by Israeli officials regarding dramatic breakthroughs with Jordan and possibly Syria?

A:

-- We are committed to achieving a comprehensive peace. This means **breakthroughs on all negotiating tracks**. We are actively engaged with all the parties to accomplish this goal. (If pressed: It's for the parties in the region to give status reports.)

Q: What about the Israel-Palestinian talks on implementing the Declaration of Principles signed September 13? Aren't these negotiations in serious trouble? Is the U.S. just a bystander?

A:

-- The parties are now engaged in **direct discussion** of very important issues. There are inevitably going to be points in these negotiations which are more difficult to resolve than others. Both sides realize the importance of implementing the Declaration, however, and we are hopeful that productive talks will resume very shortly.

-- These talks are direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians. We remain in close contact with the parties as the talks proceed.

Iraqi Assassination Attempt Against Bush

Background

The New Yorker has published an article by Seymour Hersh saying that there is no evidence directly linking Saddam Hussein or his intelligence services in the assassination attempt against President Bush. Hersh cites a number of "munitions experts" who deny that the explosive devices involved in the attack had characteristics linking them to Iraq.

Points

- On April 14, while former President Bush was in Kuwait City, Kuwaiti authorities thwarted a terrorist plot, seizing a powerful car bomb and other explosive devices and arresting 16 suspects who were led by two Iraqi nationals.
 - o The car bomb had a devastating power: forensic experts have concluded that it had the power to kill people within a radius of 400 yards.
- In the succeeding two months, U.S. investigative teams from the FBI and the intelligence community conducted an **extremely thorough investigation** of this operation. Based on that review, the Justice Department and the CIA concluded that **Iraq planned, equipped and ran** the terrorist operation. This was based on:
 - o A wide body of forensics evidence
 - o Human evidence, including FBI interviews with the two main suspects
 - o Iraqi statements before the attack indicating their intention to seek vengeance against President Bush for his role in the Gulf War
 - o Other materials
- **We stand firmly behind these conclusions**, and took an appropriate response with our attack on the Iraqi Intelligence Service headquarters on June 26. We have seen nothing in any reports since then that challenge our firm belief that this was an Iraqi planned attempt to assassinate former President Bush.

APEC

Points

- I'm looking forward to meeting with the leaders of the Asia Pacific region in Seattle in two weeks.
 - o These leaders represent countries that **produce half the world's GNP**.
 - o This is an historic gathering, the first time Asian-Pacific leaders have assembled together, and we have a unique opportunity to discuss efforts to enhance our cooperation in **promoting expanded trade and job creation** for all of our nations.
- We hope we will be able to develop a common vision of the direction we want this region to go in the near term and look to steps we could take to promote freer trade and investment in the region.
 - o We need to begin to work together on pragmatic programs to open up new opportunities in areas like telecommunications, tourism, transportation, human resource development and trade promotion.
- I'm also looking forward to holding a number of **bilateral meetings** during the APEC meeting, and hosting the Presidents of South Korea and the Philippines here in Washington during the following week.

NATO Summit and Enlargement

Background

Outlines of U.S. proposals for the January NATO Summit were unveiled to allies last month. A key element is that NATO should decide in principle to expand membership to new democracies in Europe's east, demonstrating that the Alliance is adapting to post-Cold War Europe. At this uncertain point in the process of democratic transition in the east, we do want to identify criteria or a timetable for expansion in order to avoid -- even if only implicitly -- drawing new lines in Europe.

We are proposing a Partnership for Peace as the vehicle for military cooperation between NATO and eastern militaries. The Partnership will transform the North Atlantic Cooperation Council from a body limited to conferences and exchanges to one in which eastern and western militaries plan, train, and exercise together. The Partnership will be open to all members and neutral and non-aligned countries. This represents an inclusive approach to deepening NATO's engagement in the east and drawing new democracies into the west.

Points

- We have been exploring new proposals for **adapting NATO to the post Cold War era**, proposals that have already won broad support from our NATO allies, Russia, Hungary, and others.
- We are proposing that the NATO Summit declare in principle that NATO in time should expand to include new democracies in Europe's east, but that **NATO's expansion will be an evolutionary process**.
 - o Its pace will depend on how and when democracy takes hold in Europe's former communist states.
 - o We will also fully consider the impact of any expansion of NATO on the stability of Europe as a whole.
- The European situation is far too fluid for us to set timetables or suggest which states might be the first new members. We want to take an inclusive approach and **avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe**.

Libyan Sanctions

Background

There have been reports that the Russian government is threatening to veto the U.S. resolution against further sanctions against Libya in the case of the Pan Am 103 bombing suspects. The Libyan government owes the Russian government a considerable sum in foreign debt (\$4 billion in debt, and an additional \$4 billion in unfulfilled contracts). The Russian government would like the assets freeze portion of the new sanctions resolution which we are proposing to the UN Security Council with our partners, the U.K. and France, to not jeopardize their ability to collect on the Libyan debt.

Points

- We are resolute on this matter. The international community must **keep maximum pressure of Libya** to hand over the suspects in the Lockerbie bombing.
 - o We are urging all countries, including the Russians, to support a tightening of sanctions on Libya in this regard.
 - o We must take all appropriate measures in our continuing international effort to bring terrorists to justice. We cannot continue to tolerate Libyan intransigence on this issue.

Trade Embargo on Vietnam

Points

- My action in September to extend the trade embargo on Vietnam but to allow U.S. companies to participate in projects of international institutions supported our strong efforts to achieve the **fullest possible accounting of POW/MIAs**.
 - o This decision recognizes that **Vietnam has made some progress, but also makes it clear to the Vietnamese that more needs to be done.**
- The question of whether Vietnam has made enough progress in POW/MIA accounting to lift the trade embargo will remain under constant review.
 - o In deciding how best to achieve the fullest possible accounting, the President looks forward to continued counsel of the families of those who are missing and veterans whose fellow soldiers did not come home.

Drug Enforcement Efforts

Background

This week, the President signed a Directive on international counternarcotics policy which places greater emphasis on efforts to address production of narcotics in source countries and combatting narcotrafficking operations in addition to a focus on transit zone and border interdiction.

Points

- When the President took office, he directed a review of our counternarcotics policies, looking to enhance effective programs and discard those that haven't.
- We have just concluded our review on the international effort in this hemisphere.
 - o We found that we have been spending 70 percent of the international effort in trying to stop the flow of drugs in the transit zone.
 - o Yet, despite record seizures, this effort has not significantly reduced the availability of drugs in the U.S.
- As a result, the President has directed a **more balanced effort that continues selective interdiction efforts along the border, transit and source zones, but also allows greater support to source countries fighting illegal narcotic production and to efforts to combat criminal narco-syndicates.**
- At the same time, he has directed Director of National Drug Control Policy Lee Brown to develop a national strategy aimed at reducing the demand.
 - o As long as the demand remains as high as it is, our international support programs have no chance for success.

UNGA Vote on Cuba

Background

The UN voted this week 88 in favor, 4 opposed and 57 abstaining on a vote to end the U.S. economic embargo against Cuba.

Points

- The UNGA vote does not indicate increased international support for the Castro regime. Many of the member states voting against us on this resolution have voted with us on resolutions condemning Cuba's deplorable record on human rights.
- There are misperceptions about U.S. embargo policy and the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992. The U.S. embargo only affects persons and companies under U.S. jurisdiction and is an expression of the internationally held, sovereign right of countries to trade with whom they chose. We chose not to trade with Cuba. However, Cuba may trade with any other country on earth.
- If Cuba wants us to lift the embargo it has the power to do so by undertaking democratic reforms, including free and open elections under international observation and ending human rights abuses.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

8701

November 5, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT G. BELL *Rob*

FROM: PETER FEAVER *PDF*

SUBJECT: Letter from the President to SPC Rodriguez

The President promised SPC Rodriguez's parents that he would write a personal letter to their son. SPC Carlos E. Rodriguez is an Army Ranger severely wounded in the Somali firefight last month.

The President and Mrs. Clinton saw SPC Rodriguez during their recent visit to Walter Reed. He has been discharged but will return for follow-on treatment on November 8th.

You asked that a letter for the President be drafted today. The draft at Tab A expresses our pride and thanks to this brave soldier.

Concurrence by: *[Signature]* Steve Jones

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to the President.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A Draft Letter to SPC Rodriguez

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8701

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT: Letter to Army SPC Carlos Rodriguez

Purpose

To fulfill your promise to write a letter to SPC Carlos Rodriguez.

Background

You recently promised SPC Rodriguez's parents that you would write a personal letter to their son. You visited SPC Rodriguez recently at Walter Reed. He has been discharged but will return for follow-on treatment at Walter Reed on November 8th. The draft letter expresses our pride and thanks to this brave soldier.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Letter to SPC Rodriguez

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. draft	Letter to Specialist Carlos E. Rodriguez. (1 page)		b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
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Chron File - November 1993 #1 [4]

2016-0152-F
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- 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.

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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]

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

05-Nov-1993 13:55 EDT

UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEE BELOW

FROM: Cathy Millison
(MILLISON)

SUBJECT: Letter to SPC Rodriquez

The President promised SPC Rodriquez's parents that he would write their son a personal letter. He was wounded in Somalia and has been receiving treatment at Walter Reed.

Mr. Lake's office has asked that the letter for the President be drafted today and submitted as soon as possible. I am sending over on the next run a sheet which gives some background information on SPC Rodriquez.

Thanks.

Distribution:

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 7, 1993

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON "MEET THE PRESS"

The Oval Office

9:00 A.M. EST

MR. RUSSERT: Welcome again to "Meet The Press." Today a special edition live from the White House. I'm with my colleague, Tom Brokaw.

Mr. President, this is our 46th birthday. You're 47. You strike me as the kind of guy who maybe watched the first program from your cradle. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: I wish I could. I didn't have a television then. I was one when you started, but I was nine I think when we got our first television in 1956. So I couldn't start, but I did watch it often after that.

MR. RUSSERT: Well, it's great to have you here. Let's start -- we'll have to talk about it today -- let's start with NAFTA, the North America Free Trade Agreement.

Your closest supporters say that if the vote were held today you're still 30 votes short. True?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think we're quite that short, but we're 30 votes short of having explicit expressed commitments. I think we'll make it, however.

MR. RUSSERT: What role has Ross Perot played in this debate?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he's kept things stirred up. That's what he likes to do. But I think, frankly, the vociferous organized opposition of most of the unions -- telling these members in private they'll never give them any money again, they'll get them opponents in the primary, the real roughshod, muscle-bound tactics -- plus the fact that a lot of the business supporters of NAFTA have not gotten their employees and rank and file people to call and say they're for it. In any issue like this, the intensity is always with people who are against it. Those things are difficult.

But again I will say I have been quite heartened by the responses of the last 10 days. More and more of these members of Congress, men and women who want to do right by their country, don't want to hurt the United States, and understand that NAFTA means more jobs, not just in Mexico, but throughout Latin America -- a huge trading bloc of people helping to take us to the 21st century.

MR. RUSSERT: Bob Dole mentioned last night that you were elevating Ross Perot. Are you concerned that you're going to recreate a monster?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I -- Ross Perot has got enough money to elevate himself. He can buy his way on national television and

MORE

buy his own exposure and have very little accountability, except when he makes the mistake of coming on this program with you.

MR. RUSSERT: Without his charts. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. The same mistake I made today. (Laughter.) I think the Vice President will do well. Ross Perot is the master of the one-liner and the emotional retort, but I believe that the Vice President has an unusual command of the facts and a real commitment, a profound commitment to this issue. And the American people who watch Larry King will see that it's no accident that all the Presidents --living Presidents -- and all the living Nobel Prize winning economists and 41 of the 50 governors are for this. It's good for the American people.

MR. RUSSERT: Are you trying to demonstrate to the undecided Democratic congressmen, listen, this is a choice between Clinton-Gore and Perot?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely not. He is a visible spokesperson for this. As I said to you, at least for the undecided Democrats, our big problem is the raw muscle, the sort of the naked pressure that the labor forces have put on.

MR. RUSSERT: Do you think the Democratic congressmen are in the pocket of labor?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't say that. But I said that a lot of them are saying, "Well, I'm not hearing from -- these business people who are for it, their employees are not telling me they're for it. And I'm hearing from all these people either pleading me based on friendship or threatening me based on money and work in the campaign, and I don't hear it."

So I think what we want to do, and what the Vice President's trying to do here -- and this was his idea -- is to let the American people listen. Yes, Ross Perot is against it. Yes, a number of other people, Pat Buchanan and others, are against it. But if all the Presidents are for it, all the Secretaries of State, all the Nobel Prize winning economists who will never agree on anything the rest of their lives probably, and virtually all of the governors are for it, it must be good for the American economy.

MR. RUSSERT: We have, in fact, lost jobs to Mexico. And their concern is we'll lose more and also the depressed wages. There's a clause in the treaty which, with six months notice, any side can void it. Would you say to the American people that if the treaty passes, you'll monitor it? And if, say, in two years you are convinced there is a sucking of jobs and a depression of wages, you would move to abrogate the treaty?

THE PRESIDENT: If I thought the treaty were bad for the American economy, of course, I would do that. But let me tell you, there's another provision of the treaty that we negotiated that I also want to emphasize, because it goes more to the heart of what many Americans are worried about. It deals with the so-called "surge" problem. That's a term of art which in common language means, well, what if this is a good deal for America and a good deal for Mexico, but some part of our economy -- or theirs, to be fair -- has an overwhelmingly negative impact, if something that nobody ever dreamed happened -- there's also a provision that allows us to slow the agreement down as it applies to that.

So there's no question that we have the protections we need. We can get out in six months if it's bad for us, and we can stop anything horrible and unforeseen. This treaty is going to make the problems with Mexico of the last 15 years better. It will raise labor costs in Mexico, it will raise the environmental investments in

Mexico, it will reduce the trade barriers to our selling products in Mexico. It means more sales and more jobs.

And also -- keep in mind, Mexico is just five percent of the American economy. It will improve our relationships with our biggest neighbor, and thereby help us to take this kind of deal to the rest of Latin America so that we can establish a 700-million-person trading bloc. That's real jobs for America.

MR. RUSSERT: The day after the vote, November 17th, the next day on the 18th you leave for Seattle to meet with 14 other nations -- China, Japan. If you go there having lost NAFTA what does it do to your standing?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'd say I'd sure rather not do it. Let me give you the flip side. If I go there and NAFTA passes in the House, it will be a clear statement to Asia, number one, that the United States is not withdrawing from the world; that we are determined to be the world's leading economic power by competing and winning, not from running away. Number two, I will be able to say what I have been saying to the Asians. Asia is important to us, but we want free trade, we want access to your markets.

They will see us developing the NAFTA market, which is not just Mexico, it's Latin America, Canada, the whole nine yards. And that will be enormous pressure on them to conclude these world trade agreements, these GATT talks by the end of the year. It will also help us with Europe to do that.

So I can't tell you how important I think it will be. If we go out there without this agreement, they may say, well, President Clinton wants to have an open door to Asia, but is he really going to be a tough competitor? They ran away from Latin America, their best friends and best consumers. And can he deliver? Will the Congress run away from him even if he tries to expand trade? My ability to get done what is plainly in the economic interest of this country will be weakened.

Now, that's very important, because almost all these people who are against NAFTA are still for the GATT talks, for the big treaty on world trade. They all know it will create hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs for America. They should consider how much harder it's going to be to get GATT if the House votes NAFTA down, and how much easier it will be to get GATT if the House adopts NAFTA.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, let's talk about health care. There's been a lot of confusion about the numbers coming out of the White House. Mrs. Clinton went to the Hill and said that if the Clinton plan passes, costs will go up for about 35 percent to 37 percent of those now covered. Then Donna Shalala, Secretary of Health and Human Services, said 40 percent. Last week, Leon Panetta said 30 percent. Even your strongest advocates, like Jay Rockefeller, were holding their heads, in effect, in anguish. Another Democrat said, "We've got to prove the Democrats can count." Hasn't your credibility been hurt on the whole cost issue?

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe, but what I would like to emphasize is we're the only people who have a plan. It's very easy for everybody else to sit up in the peanut gallery. This is a very complex thing. And keep in mind, you're talking about small amounts of money -- is this person going to pay \$6 more a month or \$60 less a month, trying to calculate how it would go if this plan would be passed just as it is.

Now, let me say what was wrong with the other figures, where they said 40 percent of the people with insurance would pay more. Here's what was wrong with them, why they were too high. Of

the people who have insurance today we now think that 70 percent will pay the same or less for the same or better benefits. Why did they say 60 before? Because they neglected to calculate this: A lot of people who have insurance don't really have it. That is, they have \$5,000 deductibles. So they're paying every year. They just may not be paying it in their insurance premium.

So they went back and calculated based on what we now know about how much out-of-pocket people pay. You have \$2,500, \$3,000, \$5,000 deductible. That is something they neglected to think about.

So now who will pay more under this who has insurance already? People who have essentially catastrophic policies, that have very limited benefits; and young, single workers will pay more because if they pay more it will enable us to have what's called community rating, so that if a working family -- middle-aged working family -- with a sick child can still get insurance at an affordable cost. And all young workers who don't have insurance will be brought into the insurance system.

And even they will get something for it. That is, what they get for it is none of their insurance can ever be taken away. There will be a floor.

Finally, let me say this: If you look at the experience of the last 12 years, when health costs really started to take off, and then you think about what it will be like five years from now, 100 percent of the American people will pay more five years from now than the rate of inflation if we don't do something. In other words, at least what we're trying to do will lower the rate of increase for all the American people. So within five years everybody will be better off, I believe.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, no one disagrees with the idea that you have engaged the country in a debate about health care which is long overdue. But the fact is that you want to add 37 million people to the insurance pool. There are new technologies coming on board all the time that cost a lot more money. You're willing to pick up the early retirement benefits for corporations. You've added mental health and free prescriptions. It seems to a lot of folks that you ought to be going slower and that you ought to accept kind of phased-in universal health care coverage in five years. Would that be acceptable to you?

THE PRESIDENT: But the problem is -- we are phasing it in over three years, through all of '90 -- we're anticipating passing this program in '94 and then letting people have '95, '96 and '97. But let me emphasize, Tom, the people who make that argument assume something that we assume all the time in America -- that we just can't do things that other people can do. We tolerate conditions in America that are intolerable in other countries.

Now, the condition we tolerate by not having everybody insured is higher health care costs. That is, you've got folks in medicine in your family; you know this -- not insuring everybody raises health care costs because all those people without insurance, if they need health care will get it. They'll get it when it's too late, too expensive, and someone else will pay for it. And that rifles the cost. So by accelerating the moment of universal coverage you not only do the morally right thing, by finally letting America join the ranks of all these other advanced countries in giving everybody health security, you immediately begin to lower the rate at which costs increase.

So you can argue about all these other things, but it seems to me delaying the time of universal coverage will aggravate the price battle, not make it better. We assume that universal

coverage will cost more when every other country that has universal coverage is paying much less than we are and having less inflation.

MR. BROKAW: Would you sign a living will publicly? About one-third of our health care costs in America go to the last year of life. Mrs. Clinton has talked about you doing that. Are you prepared to do that?

THE PRESIDENT: I certainly would sign one. I don't know if I would do it in public, but I'd be glad to tell you what's in it. I don't know, there's something sort of -- I don't know, I've never thought about a public demonstration of a private act like that. But we've given a lot of thought to it because of the experience I had with my stepfather when he died, when Hillary's dad died earlier this year. I think that families should think about living wills and should have them. It's not something that government should impose on them. But we do have a lot of extra costs that most people believe are unnecessary in the system, and that's one way to weed some of them out.

MR. BROKAW: And ultimately, are we going to have to come to health rationing in America, especially those heroic procedures that are long on odds and very expensive, take that money and spend it on prenatal care and other procedures that might extend life at the beginning, not at the end?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me say before we make that decision, we should acknowledge two things. One is, we're rationing health care right now. There's a huge rationing going on now. It's just a roll of the dice whether you have it or not and what you get.

What we do know is that if our plan passes and we put more emphasis on primary and preventive health care and primary physicians getting out there and taking care of people and stopping bad things from happening, we'll have less need for those extreme procedures.

I do not believe we want America to pull back from the technological advances that we all treasure. I do not believe we want to tell people they can't have procedures that have a realistic chance of saving their lives or returning them to normal. So I suspect they'll always be willing to pay a little more than any other country in the world to do that. But if we do more on the primary side, we'll be better off.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, you're still confident we'll get a health care bill by next year?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think we will, absolutely.

MR. RUSSERT: We have to take a break. We'll be back with more from President Bill Clinton in the Oval Office. We'll talk a little bit about foreign policy.

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MR. RUSSERT: We're back live from the Oval Office.

Mr. President, a lot of growing concern about North Korea, a country that we fought some 40 years ago. Will you allow North Korea to build a nuclear bomb?

THE PRESIDENT: North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb. We have to be very firm about it. This is a difficult moment in our relationship with them and I think a difficult moment for them. They're one of the most, perhaps the most, isolated country in the world, with enormous economic problems,

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trying to decide what direction to take now; sometimes seeming to reach out to South Korea, sometimes seeming to draw back.

I spend a lot of time on this issue. It's very, very major issue. We have got to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and particularly North Korea needs to stay in the control regime. They don't need to withdraw. Now, there is a lot of disagreement about what we should do now. I just want to assure you and the American people that we are doing everything we possibly can to make the best decisions, to be firm in this.

We are consulting with our allies in South Korea and Japan. They are most immediately affected by what we do and how we do it. And we have worked with the Chinese, who, despite our other differences, have helped us to try to work through this.

MR. RUSSERT: Would one of the options be a preemptive strike, the way the Israelis took out the Iraqi nuclear reactor?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I should discuss any specific options today. All I can tell you that I tried to issue the sternest, clearest possible statement about this when I was in Korea. Nothing has changed since then. I think you asked me a question about it one time also, Tom. This is a very grave issue for the United States.

MR. RUSSERT: There are 800,000 North Korean troops amassed on the South Korean border. If the North Koreans invaded South Korea, would that, in effect, be an attack on the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. We have our soldiers there. They know that. We still have people stationed near the Bridge of No Return. I was up there on the bridge, I was in those bunkers with our young Americans. They know that any attack on South Korea is an attack on the United States.

MR. BROKAW: President Yeltsin of Russia has said over the weekend that he wants to now delay the presidential election until 1996. That is a full term for him, but he had said publicly that he would do it in the spring of next year. You had endorsed that. Now for him to pull back from that public commitment to elections next spring, is that a mistake on his part?

THE PRESIDENT: Let me first say, reading -- I have not spoken with him directly, because I didn't -- late yesterday evening I was made aware of his comments, so I'm not sure exactly what he said and exactly what he meant. His comments are subject to more than one interpretation. I do think the following things. I think he had always assumed he would run for reelection, and his comments seem to indicate that he may not want to do that and he may want to simply finish his term.

As long as he is promoting democracy, as long as he is promoting human rights, as long as he is promoting reform, I think the United States should support him. He has been brave and consistent. I think on this issue, we'll have to see how it plays out. I'm sure after the elections of the Parliament in December, they will have something to say about it.

One of the things that Boris Yeltsin has really understood is that it's not good if he's the only source of legitimate democratic power in Russia. And he is now. He's been elected twice by the Russian people in the last couple of years. After December, we'll have another major player, sort of like the President and the Congress here. And, as we know, there will be a different source of legitimate democratic power, and we'll see how it works out.

MR. BROKAW: Let me ask you about China. You said during the course of the campaign that President Bush coddles China despite a continuing crackdown on democratic reformers, the brutal subjugation of Tibet, the irresponsible exportation of military and nuclear technology. Your administration now is demonstrably warming up toward China. Have conditions changed there?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, let's talk about what we've done. The Chinese have complained because they think we've been so much firmer and colder. We imposed sanctions because of weapons technology transfers that the Chinese engaged in that we opposed. So we have taken steps there that were not taken previously.

But we also have had a consistent economic relationship with them. The United States this year will purchase 38 percent of China's exports -- little known fact. The American people -- not the American business community that wants to invest there, American people have been very good to the Chinese people in supporting their economic advances. We believe their movement toward market reform and decentralization will promote more democracy in China and better policies.

I want to engage President Jiang on that, and I think we can do so. But we also have to be very firm on these issues of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and human rights. But I think we have to pursue both courses at once. I don't think you can isolate a country as big as China and as important to the world's future as China, but neither can you simply turn away from things that you cannot abide. And that's what we've tried to do. We've tried to strike the right balance, and I think we have.

MR. BROKAW: Even some of your partisans in the Capitol Hill believe that you've not shown a strong enough hand on foreign policy. After your experience in Somalia will you be as eager to get involved with the United Nations in operations of that kind in the future?

THE PRESIDENT: I think what we have to do is to recognize that the United Nations peacekeeping function is still very important and sometimes works very, very well. What they've done in Cambodia with our financial support, but with no Americans there is truly remarkable. Will it transform Cambodia? Who knows. Maybe it will all go back to the way it was, but at least the United Nations has given Cambodia a chance.

That is what we are doing for Somalia. Will they be able to overcome their historic, deeply embedded clan warfare? I'm not sure. But at least we're giving them a chance.

What's wrong with the United Nations peacekeeping operations is that it's too much of an ad hoc thing; some work, some don't, and a lot of the command and control operations, a lot of the training details, a lot of the simple organizational things that are important have not been worked through. So the United States favors a substantial restructuring and upgrading of the peacekeeping operations in ways that would permit us to participate in the future with a much higher level of confidence.

MR. RUSSERT: Let's turn to Somalia, Mr. President. The reports yesterday that the United States troops will take again a very visible role. What does that mean?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, when I announced that we would pursue the political objective a few weeks ago I also said we would stay there and complete our mission. Our mission there is to deliver the humanitarian supplies and to keep the lines of communications

open. We stood down from patrolling the roads when the voluntary cease-fire was announced in Somalia to try to let things calm down and to try to get the political process going. Now that there is a political process, as always is the case, there's also a lot of maneuvering in a quasi-military sort of way. We cannot allow that to undermine the humanitarian mission, and our people cannot be expected, our young soldiers there cannot be expected to just sort of hunker down and stay behind walls. It almost puts them at greater risk. So we have to go out now and make sure the ordinary conditions of the U.N. peacekeeping mission are continued even in Mogadishu. And that's what we're doing.

MR. RUSSERT: The Secretary General of the U.N. Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that unless you disarm the warlords and the clans and put together and fashion a political settlement before you leave, the mission will have been a failure.

THE PRESIDENT: I disagree with that. First of all, that's the argument he made to the Bush administration. President Bush's administration simply refused to get involved in disarmament. Arguably, it would have been easier then at the moment when we came in when everybody was starving and we were at our moment of maximum popularity and leverage, but I'm not sure that decision is wrong.

In the end, the international community will have to broker political resolutions within countries. But our ability to stop people within national boundaries from killing each other is somewhat limited, and will be for the foreseeable future. I mean, they are going to have to make up their mind. I think the better course is to get these African nations -- to get Ethiopia, to get Eritrea, to get their neighbors involved in trying to work out a political solution.

Those people now remember what it was like before we came there. We're going to do everything we can in the next several months to get this political solution going. But for us to go in and disarm would run the risk of our becoming, in effect, combatants on one side or the other, particularly if some said, yes, we'll disarm, and others said no.

MR. RUSSERT: In retrospect then, it was a mistake for you to send the Rangers to try to capture Mr. Aideed?

THE PRESIDENT: No, that was a different issue. The mistake was -- and I want to clarify this, because I am proud of what those Rangers did; the ones who gave their lives did not die in vain. The ones who gave their lives and were wounded in the last instance did it because of the tradition of the Rangers of never leaving anybody behind, even someone who has been killed. And I feel terrible about what happened.

But what they were doing is trying to enforce the law. Their mission was to try to arrest people who were suspected of murdering the Pakistani U.N. soldiers. The mistake was not that they were trying to do that. The mistake was that we were out doing that, and while we were doing that the political dialogue shut down, so that the people that were associated with Aideed thought we, the U.N. -- not we, the U.S. -- but we, the U.N., were trying to cut them out of Somalia's future. And what we had tried to do is to lower our profile on the military police side so that the political dialogue can start again. Now that that's going on, we're going to do the U.N. mandate.

MR. RUSSERT: And all troops will be out by March 31st?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. RUSSERT: Quickly on Haiti.

THE PRESIDENT: If I can go back to my statement. They'll be out by March 31st, except for a couple of hundred support personnel who may be there to do just logistical things that --

MR. RUSSERT: Which is what you said before.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

MR. RUSSERT: Haiti. The military leaders have refused to meet. Your policy, the United States' policy is to reinstate Mr. Aristide. Is it now time to broaden the embargo from just fuel to everything?

THE PRESIDENT: We have to strengthen the embargo. There are two options. We can, in effect, have a total embargo and try to shut the country down. That will be more painful in the near term to the average Haitians who are already suffering. We can also try to do something that will target those people that are causing this problem, which is to get all of the other nations in the world to side with us in freezing the assets of the wealthy Haitians who are plundering that country, keeping democracy from taking root and supporting the police chief and the military.

I would prefer to do that, but I'm not going to rule out the other things. And we're following this on a daily basis, spending a lot of time with it.

MR. RUSSERT: So we could have a complete embargo on all goods?

THE PRESIDENT: That is an option, but I also hope that the other wealthy nations of the world that have assets deposited from these Haitian interests who are keeping democracy from returning will join us in freezing those assets. That would really help. That would do more in less time to change the political climate than anything.

MR. RUSSERT: President Bush invaded Panama to remove Noriega. Would you consider invading Haiti to reinstate Aristide?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't want to rule anything in or out. But let me just say that there's a difference here, though. He went to Panama not only to remove Noriega for the Panamanians, but because Noriega, himself, was wanted for violating American law as a drug runner.

Prime Minister Malval and President Aristide have both not called for us to do that. In fact, one of the problems we had with the Governors Island Agreement is that neither they nor the other side wanted the United States or the U.N. there in a police function. That is, those folks we were trying to land there the other day were supposed to train the army to be the Army Corps of Engineers, to rebuild the country. Neither side has wanted that and they had these bad memories of invasion. Last time the Americans went there in 1915, we stayed nearly 20 years.

So they have not asked for that. But I don't think we should rule anything in or out.

MR. RUSSERT: Your stated policy of the United States is to reinstate Mr. Aristide. The CIA has gone around this town saying that Aristide is mentally unstable. Can you as Commander in Chief tolerate that insubordination by the CIA?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think you have to ask yourself whether it's insubordination or not. And let me tell you what I mean by that. The CIA is duty-bound to tell the Congress what it knows.

That's the law. Just like the Joint Chiefs of Staff are duty-bound to go, when asked, express their personal opinion if they have an opinion different than the President, even though they work for me.

In secret hearings the CIA told the Senate what they told me before, which is that they thought they had some evidence which questioned Mr. Aristide's ability to be President of Haiti. All I can tell you is -- and I'm glad in a way that it came out, since it had been whispered around -- that based on my personal experience, the Vice President's repeated contacts with him, the willingness of Aristide to work with our people -- he has done everything he said he would do. And more importantly, he agreed to put in Mr. Malval, who is a respected businessman, to give some balance.

Aristide may not be like you and me, he's had a very different life. But two-thirds of the Haitians voted for him, and he has shown a willingness to reach out and broaden his base. So I just disagree with -- and I also disagree that the old CIA reports are conclusive in their evidence. But they had a legal responsibility to tell the Senate. If I had put the thumb on them, you'd be asking me, why are you gagging the CIA from giving American intelligence to the Senate Intelligence Committee.

MR. RUSSERT: I might ask you that.

THE PRESIDENT: You would.

MR. RUSSERT: Finally in this round, a lot of calls or suggestions that Secretary of Defense Aspin, Secretary of State Christopher resign. Are they secure in their positions?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think that the President should even discuss that sort of thing, those personnel things. Let me say this: I think they deserve credit for doing well on many big things. This administration has secured the interest of America in dealing with Russia, in dealing with the Middle East, and raising economic issues to a new high, in conducting a thorough security bottoms-up review of the Pentagon and our military operations and in many other areas.

We found three problems that we inherited here when we got in that are very difficult problems -- in Bosnia, Somalia and Haiti. And every day, you can pick up the newspaper and see opinions on both sides about what we should do, or a myriad of sides. We're doing the best we can on those. And we're going to do it, and we're going to do it with the team we've got, as long as we're all working together. I think that they have worked very hard, and I think that some of the attacks on them have been quite unfair.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, we have to take a break. We'll be back with more from the Oval Office and talk about crime and kids in America.

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MR. RUSSERT: We're back on "Meet the Press." I'm with my colleague, Tom Brokaw, talking to the President of the United States in the Oval Office.

Mr. President, in recent months on "Meet the Press," we've talked to Senator Pat Moynihan, Washington Post columnist William Raspberry, the Reverend Jesse Jackson about the problem of kids and crime. And they are in agreement that the breakup of the traditional family as we know it -- two out of every three black kids born this year will be born out of wedlock; two out of five white children born out of wedlock. Is the breakup of the traditional family unit a national crisis?

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THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. It is absolutely a crisis.

MR. RUSSERT: And what can you do about it as President?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that as President I have to do two things. One is to speak about it and to focus the attention of the nation on it. I went to the University of North Carolina recently and spoke to the 200th commencement -- anniversary there of the university, and gave a major speech trying to deal with the combined impact of the breakdown of the family and the rise in violence and the rise in drugs and the lack of economic opportunity and --

MR. RUSSERT: Is there a correlation between crime and drugs and breakdown of the family?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. And to me -- let me back up and say I think America has two big challenges. One is to change in ways that will permit us to go into the 21st century winning as a country and as individuals. The second is to provide security in the face of all these changes so that people can have a coherent life, and that we can't do that with economic stagnation or with social disintegration, and we're fighting with both.

I mean, today in The Washington Post, there's a story of four people killed over the weekend, nine people wounded. A guy picks up a one-year-old daughter -- maybe his daughter -- a one-year-old child, drives away, and people drive after him, shoot him in the head, and the bullet then goes through the girl's body and blows her shoe off. You know, three or four days ago, an 11-year-old girl planning her own funeral. I mean, these things are terrible.

Let me just say, I've called the Attorney General last night; we talked for 30 minutes about this on the phone. We have got to use this administration to awaken in all Americans an understanding of this and to get everyone to ask what their personal responsibility is to try to help rebuild the family and the conditions of community. Then we have to follow policies which will do that.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, do you think that there has been enough dialogue within the black community about this whole issue -- families without fathers? Jesse Jackson recently has started a campaign on black and black violence. But there really -- among the activists in the black community, there hasn't been much public dialogue. Has that disappointed you?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me say this. I think there should be more. And I think that we should all be willing to face up to all the reasons why this has occurred. The famous African American sociologist -- at least he's famous in our circles -- William Julius Wilson at the University of Chicago wrote a little book a couple of years ago called "The Truly Disadvantaged." It's only about 180 pages long, but it graphically shows you what has happened to black families in the inner cities and how the decline of the black family is associated not simply with the rise of welfare, but with the evaporation of jobs for black males in those areas.

So I think -- first, we ought to pass our crime bill here and put another 100,000 police on the street and do it right in community policing. But we also have to get work back into the lives of people. You know, you can't have generation after generation not knowing work and expect there to be structure and order in people's lives. That's one of the things that Colin Powell retired as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- he talked about maybe he could be a role model for people outside of the military who have

none of the structure that's what makes the military go in this country.

MR. BROKAW: So much of this is driven by drugs. Your administration has kind of taken drugs off the radar screen. Do you think you're going to have to take a harder line on drugs?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I don't think that's a fair characterization. The administration has had to subject the drug budget to the same ruthless discipline that nearly every other budget has been subject to. So that while we have increased some drug funding, like in the block grant program, some of the rest of it has not been increased. What I have tried to do is to get people to see the drug problem, first of all, in terms of stopping the major sources, and then here at home, focusing on drugs in terms of treatment and education, and integrating it with our overall strategy on law enforcement and violence.

I think this country needs a community strategy which deals with the crises of drugs, violence, crime, the family and work. And we need to go not only nationally, but at the grass-roots level. And we need to understand that there's some basic things we have to do. If you want families to stay together, you've got to make it possible for people to be successful workers and successful parents.

If I could just briefly tell this one story -- a couple of Sundays ago, we had a family in here taking a tour; a man, a wife, three daughters. One of these children was in a wheelchair. She was in this Make-A-Wish program, you know, a sick child wants to go see the President. I say, hello, we have a picture, on the way out. The man says, "Mr. President, just in case you think that one person doesn't make a difference," he said, "you signed the family leave bill, which gives me the right to spend time with my sick child and not lose my job. If you hadn't done that, if Congress hadn't passed it, I would have had to choose between spending this precious time with my daughter who's probably not going to live, or keeping my job for my other two daughters and my wife. And I don't have to chose now. Don't ever think that what you do doesn't make a difference."

A few days later that little girl died. But that man knows that he was a good parent and a good worker. If you want -- that's just one example of the kind of things we have to do that have moral content even though they may be public policies. But no matter what we do, there has to be a reawakening of responsibility in every community.

That goes back to your other question: Should the black community be debating this? They should. Should the white community be debating this? We should.

MR. BROKAW: All of this, it seems to me, is fueling greater racial tensions, especially in the urban areas. Do you think that the racial tension and the racial climate in urban America now is better or worse than it was, say, 10 years ago?

THE PRESIDENT: I think for middle class people it's much better. I think the level of comfort among people of different races is much higher. I think the appreciation for diversity is greater. I think for people who are outside the economic mainstream, it is much, much worse.

My God, we've got kids planning their funerals, 11-year-old kids. But the crying shame is, those people also want to be a part of mainstream America. I mean, look at these children. When they make these plans for their funerals, are they out there breaking the law? And one thing I'd like to say to the rest of America is, you read these horrible stories about how many people get killed on the weekends -- most of the people that lived in all of those

neighborhoods never break the law, work for a living for modest wages, pay their taxes, trying to do right by their kids. I mean, this country is falling apart because we have allowed a whole group of us to drift away. It's not an under class anymore, it's an outer class.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, can we talk about this in direct terms without a cloud of political correctness hovering over the subject?

THE PRESIDENT: I think we have to. I think we've got to -- I think Jesse Jackson, frankly, has performed a good service by going out and starting this debate again when the American people are willing to listen. We've got to be able to sit down and tell people what we think. There can -- I think that the American people are willing to put aside political correctness. But if we want to say tough things about the breakdown of the family and the responsibility of people who live in these communities, we also have to say tough things to the rest of America about how you can't just ignore these people until you have to read about how they're having children -- children having children, and nobody's married and they're having babies, and these kids are dying. You've got to have some structure in these communities and some opportunity. If you want to preach the American Dream to them, there's got to be something there at the end of the road. So there's something for all of us to do here.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, we have to take another break. We'll be back in just a moment to talk about Bill Clinton's first year in office.

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MR. RUSSERT: We're back with the President of the United States in the Oval Office.

Mr. President, your poll numbers are low, but the one that's most striking to me is that since you've been President, the number of people who think the country is on the wrong track has doubled. What happened?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they may not know what's going on. And I think we should all ask ourselves what responsibility that has. Let's look at the facts. Let's just look at the facts. Since I became President, we have lowered the deficit, lowered interest rates, kept inflation down. This economy has produced more private sector jobs in the first nine months than in the previous four years. Jobs are up and investment is up. We have shown discipline and direction in the budget. It was a remarkable achievement. Not only that, in that budget we did something that has not been done for 20 years -- we tried to reverse the inequality of incomes. We asked the wealthy to pay more, and we gave over 15 million working families, comprising about 50 million Americans, a tax cut because they're working hard and still hovering around the poverty line. Most Americans don't know that.

MR. RUSSERT: So it's just a communications problem?

THE PRESIDENT: Well -- let me finish.

MR. RUSSERT: Please.

THE PRESIDENT: In that program, one of the things I promised the American people to do to try to add more security to their lives was to open the doors of college education to everybody. We reformed the college loan program, we lowered the interest rates, we strung out the repayments. Most Americans don't know that. We passed the family leave law, which I just spoke about. We have a major health care proposal on the table. We have opened any number

of economic avenues of opportunity that everyone agrees with. We've got \$37 billion more in high-tech equipment up for exports now -- created hundreds of thousands of jobs.

So the economic record of this administration in only nine months is very good. The educational record of this administration is good. What we're doing on health care is unprecedented in our lifetime.

The foreign policy record on the issues that really affect our national security is good. There are the problems that nobody's figured out how to resolve; I concede that. I do not know what the answer to this is. But I know this: I believe that when historians look at this first year, they will be hard-pressed to find many first years of presidencies that equal ours.

The Congressional Quarterly said the other day that only President Eisenhower had had a higher success rate in Congress than I have. If you go out and ask the average American, they think I hardly ever get anything passed.

MR. RUSSERT: But the voters --

THE PRESIDENT: Now, that may be -- that's right -- that may be my fault, it may be somebody else's fault. But the reality is, the economy is going in the right direction, I'm keeping the commitments of the campaign to empower people through education and through health care initiatives and through all these other things. Why don't they know that? I don't know. But I'm sure -- I gave a speech the other day to 250 people from my home town, my home state who were up here, and I just went through these specific things, and they said there must have been a conspiracy to keep this a secret; we didn't know any of this.

MR. RUSSERT: But in six states since you've been President, Senate seats in Texas and Georgia, governorships in Virginia, New Jersey, mayoralties in New York and Los Angeles have all gone Republican. There must be some small message in there for you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think the message is people still want change. But you're from Buffalo. Don't you believe that all politics is local? I was a governor for 12 years, and I can honestly say, with 150 governors I served with I never heard one say -- not one -- that he or she won or lost an election because of the President.

Now, what are these things say? They say people are still upset at crime, they upset at the lack of jobs, they're upset when they're paying more taxes and think they're not getting something else for it. But we are addressing each of those things. Whether it's in the economic program, the health care program, the reinventing program, expanding trade -- we are addressing those things.

I think that what I have to do is to do a better job of getting out there and getting the record there. But what happens here is every day is just a new battle. I don't know anybody who's out there who believes that all these elections are any more than a referendum on what people want for their mayors and their governors.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, Jimmy Carter used to complain that the White House press was here simply to play 'gotcha'. Are you saying, in effect, that the press coverage has failed you and failed the country?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Well, I don't know about -- I think it may have failed the country some, but I don't take it personally

and I don't think it's a 'gotcha' thing. I think, in a way it may be my fault. I keep -- I go from one thing to another, so we have one moment on national service, for example -- a signature idea of my campaign, something we know the American people care about. And it happens, but it happens in the middle of all these other things so nobody knows it happened. I think that's the big problem.

MR. BROKAW: Let me ask you about 1996. You had a meeting in the White House the other day with Colin Powell; he endorsed NAFTA. Do you think Colin Powell is a Democrat or a Republican? And do you think he'll run for office in '96?

THE PRESIDENT: You'll have to ask him that. I don't think I should speak for him.

MR. BROKAW: Well, what's your instinct?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't have an instinct. I think -- let me just say this: What I have determined to do is to get up every day and do what I think is right, and try to move this country forward, and keep the commitments I made to the American people, and follow it through with real conviction, and just let everything else happen. I can't control a lot of the events. But I do think it is astonishing to me -- and I take this on myself maybe more than you, but that -- is to go back to Al Gore's line in the campaign, what should be up is up; what should be down is down. We're moving in the right direction -- and people should know that. And if they don't, then I have to examine why they don't. But perhaps you do, too.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, we have to take a break. We'll be right back after this break.

* * * *

MR. RUSSERT: We're back with the President. Tom Brokaw, you have a question.

MR. BROKAW: Even in the Oval Office, you can hear the local protest outside about fire fighters or something in Washington, D.C. You know that it is like living in fishbowl here. Comedians have had a lot of fun with the fact that you run every day, but you don't seem to lose any weight. In fact, what can you tell us about your personal health? Have you lost weight?

THE PRESIDENT: A little bit.

MR. BROKAW: And have you changed your eating habits?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, quite a bit since I've been here. I have lost weight. I gained a lot of weight in the campaign. I'm now almost back to where I was two years ago. I've lost weight and lost, I don't know, two or three inches off my waist. But I run six days a week, and I just try to -- it's like everything else -- I think you just have to get up, sort of show up every day and try to make a little progress. I think that's what you do in life.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr President, a friend of yours told me that you jokingly sometimes refer to life in the White House as "the crown jewel of the federal penitentiary system."

THE PRESIDENT: That's right.

MR. RUSSERT: How confining has it been?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it's pretty confining. I always say I don't know whether it's the finest public housing in America or the crown jewel of the prison system. It's a very isolating life. And one of the things that frustrates me is that I get more easily

out of touch, and maybe even out of harmony with the American people -- that's the question you asked me earlier. I also know that every little word I say can be sort of twisted, you know? And again, I don't fault anybody, but I just have to be careful.

MR. RUSSERT: We have just a few seconds.

THE PRESIDENT: Did you see what Gergen just did? He brought in this thing saying that the headline is now that Clinton accused labor of roughshod tactics -- I mean, those guys are my friends. I just don't agree with them on NAFTA. We're going to all work together --

MR. RUSSERT: We have just a few seconds. Is there one thing that, a year ago, you were absolutely certain of that you're not quite sure about now?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I was absolutely certain a year ago that I could pursue this aggressive agenda of change, and that every step along the way I'd be able to tell the American people what I was doing and convince them that we're going right. We are pursuing it, we're making in a way a little more progress than I thought we would, but there's a big gap between what we've done and what I've been able to tell the people about. I've got to do a better job.

MR. RUSSERT: Thank you for letting us join you in the Oval Office today. I take it this is the room you'll invite the Buffalo Bills after they win the Superbowl?

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. The Buffalo Bills will be here if they win the Super Bowl this year.

MR. RUSSERT: Mr. President, thank you very much.

MR. BROKAW: You'll be in office a long time if that's the case. (Laughter.)

MR. RUSSERT: You can see this interview in its entirety tonight on CNBC at 8:00 p.m. Eastern Time, and highlights tomorrow on the Today program, and then Nightly News with my old buddy, Tom Brokaw. That's all for today. We'll be back next week. If it's Sunday, it's "Meet The Press."

END

9:57 A.M. EST

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

21251

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 8, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL BERGER

THROUGH: ROBERT G. BELL *RGB*
FROM: STEVEN P. ANDREASEN *SAA*
SUBJECT: Minutes of November 1 DC Meeting on U.S. Policy on
CTB Monitoring and Verification

Attached for your review are the Minutes from the November 1, 1993 Deputies Committee meeting on U.S. Policy on CTB monitoring and verification.

RECOMMENDATION

That you review the attached Minutes at Tab I.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachments
Tab I Minutes

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *VR* NARA, Date *12/3/2006*
2016-0152-F

~~SECRET~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~SECRET~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
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002. minutes	Minutes of the Deputies Committee Meeting, November 1, 1993. Subject: U.S. Policy on Comprehensive Test Ban....Record ID: 9321251. (9 pages)	11/08/1993	P1/b(1)
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COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 48

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - November 1993 #1 [4]

2016-0152-F
vz4499

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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. memo	For Lynn Davis et al From Robert Bell. Subject: CTB Task Force on Permitted Activities. (1 page)	11/08/1993	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 48

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - November 1993 #1 [4]

2016-0152-F

vz4499

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- 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]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: SABO, MARTIN O

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 08 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY
INTL TRADE

ARMS SALES
NCO

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: LTR FM REP SABO ON LAND MINIES MORATORIUM

ACTION: LAKE SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 19 OCT 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAHN

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

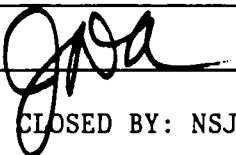
FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELE
NSC CHRON
WITKOWSKY
ROSNER

COMMENTS:

DISPATCHED BY  DATE 10/8 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 4 OF 4

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9308018

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 HAHN	Z 93101518 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
001 STATE	Z 93101910 DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG
002	Z 93102819 RECD STATE DRAFT REPLY
002 HAHN	Z 93102819 PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE
003 LAKE	Z 93110512 FOR SIGNATURE
004	X 93110812 LAKE SGD LTR

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

004 931108 SABO, MARTIN O

UNCLASSIFIED

TO: LAKE

FROM: SABO, MARTIN O

DOC DATE: 13 OCT 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: DEFENSE POLICY
INTL TRADE

ARMS SALES
NCO

*rec'd 10/18
HAW*

PERSONS:

SUBJECT: REP SABO REQUESTS ADMIN POSITION ON WHETHER TO EXTEND EXISTING
MORATORIUM ON EXPORT OF US PRODUCED LAND MINES

ACTION: PREPARE MEMO FOR LAKE

DUE DATE: 19 OCT 93 STATUS: S

STAFF OFFICER: HAHN

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

HAHN

FOR CONCURRENCE

BELL
FAUVER
FROMAN
GOTTEMOELLER
PONEMAN
ROSNER
WILSON

FOR INFO

GROSS
ITOH
JONES

COMMENTS:

TO STATE FOR DRAFT REPLY

10/18

Anne Wilkowsky

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY:

DOC 1 OF 1

Rec'd '15 2:44pm JWR 11/5

National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: [Signature] LOG # 8018
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG not A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
DepExecSec <u>[Signature]</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>A</u>
ExecSec			
Staff Director			
D/APNSA	<u>2</u>	<u>cy provided</u>	
APNSA	<u>3</u>		
Situation Room		Natl Sec Advisor <u>has been</u>	
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>[Signature] 11/8</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>[Signature] 11/8</u>	<u>D</u>

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1993

Dear Representative Sabo:

Thank you for your letter of October 13 requesting the Administration's position on the issue of a global land mine export moratorium.

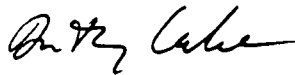
The Administration supports a moratorium on the export of all anti-personnel mines, with or without self-neutralizing devices. While the Conventional Weapons Convention addresses the use of land mines, it does not at present address the export of these lethal weapons. We believe both export and use controls are constructive approaches.

The Administration is pursuing the global land mine problem on several fronts. We are developing programs aimed at raising mine awareness in countries with land mine problems, and we intend to establish de-mining training programs as well. We also believe that we should encourage land mine exporting nations to join us in an export moratorium in an effort to reduce the availability of land mines worldwide.

More generally, the Administration is undertaking a comprehensive review of arms transfer policies that will include consideration of policies in this area.

I hope this information will be useful to you as the House of Representatives considers extending the existing, unilateral export moratorium.

Sincerely,



Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Martin Olav Sabo
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8018

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 2, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RBB*
FROM: ANNE WITKOWSKY *AW*
SUBJECT: Letter from Congressman Sabo on Land Mines
Moratorium

Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

Attached is a draft response to a letter from Congressman Sabo seeking the Administration's views on the extension of an export moratorium on land mines produced by the United States.

As stated in the response, the United States supports a moratorium on the export of all land mines. We have been pursuing this policy in the form of a draft resolution in the UN General Assembly's First Committee. The question of land mine exports will also be part of our Review on conventional arms transfers.

Concurrences by: *(E)* Jeremy Rosner, *SR* Steve Aoki, *(S)* Eric Schwartz

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Draft Reply
Tab A Letter from Congressman Sabo

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006
By *VL* NARA, Date *10/3/2016*
7016-0152-F

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MARTIN OLAV SABO
5th District, Minnesota

2336 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4755

462 Federal Courts Building
110 South 4th Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
(612) 348-1649



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

8018
COMMITTEE ON BUDGET
Chairman

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Subcommittees:
Defense Transportation
Treasury-Postal Service-General Government
DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP

October 13, 1993

Mr. Anthony Lake
National Security Advisor
Old Executive Office Building
17th Street & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Mr. Lake:

As you know, Congress is considering whether to extend the existing moratorium on the export of U.S.-produced land mines. Whether or not this effort to continue the moratorium succeeds, I believe Congress would benefit from the National Security Council's review of the issues involved.

Everyone agrees we should do something to control the threat to civilian populations from the uncontrolled distribution of land mines. Thousands of people around the world have suffered from the indiscriminate use of land mines, and the failure of efforts to retrieve them once conflict ends.

As I understand it, there are basically two ways the United States can approach this problem. First, we can ban the export of all U.S.-produced land mines, relying on formal or informal pressure on other countries to follow our lead. As an alternative, we can focus on those types of landmines which create the greatest threat by negotiating an international agreement banning the manufacture, sale, and export of landmines lacking self-destructing and/or self-neutralizing devices. Such an agreement would supplement or amend the CUCHIE Treaty (not yet ratified by the United States) banning the employment of mines without self-neutralizing devices.

I would appreciate knowing the Administration's position on this issue, and in particular whether you have determined that one of these approaches (or another) provides the best opportunity to address this horrible problem.

Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

Martin Olav Sabo
Member of Congress

MOS:cm

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S_ 9324139

Date_ October 27, 1993

FOR: Mr. William Itoh
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE: Congressional Inquiry

To: Mr. Anthony Lake
From: Representative Martin Olav Sabo
Date: October 13, 1993
Subj: Global Land Mine Export Moratorium

WH Referral Dated: 10-19-93

NSCS ID# (if any): 9308018

_____ The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

- xxxx A draft reply is attached.
_____ A draft reply will be forwarded.
_____ A translation is attached.
_____ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
_____ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
_____ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
_____ Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

Cheryl L. DeBellefleur
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

Dear Mr. Sabo:

Thank you for your letter of October 13 requesting the Administration's position on the issue of a global land mine export moratorium.

The Administration supports a moratorium on the export of all anti-personnel mines, with or without self-neutralizing devices. While the Conventional Weapons Convention addresses the use of land mines, it does not at present address the export of these lethal weapons. We believe both export and use controls are constructive approaches.

The Administration is pursuing the global land mine problem on several fronts. We are developing programs aimed at raising mine awareness in countries with land mine problems, and we intend to establish demining training programs as well. We also believe that we should encourage land mine exporting nations to join us in an export moratorium in an effort to reduce the availability of land mines worldwide.

I hope this information will be useful to you as the House of Representatives considers extending the existing, unilateral export moratorium.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
National Security Advisor

The Honorable
Martin Olav Sabo
House of Representatives
Washington

More generally, the Administration is undertaking a comprehensive review of arms transfer policies, that will include consideration of ~~broad policy issues~~ policies in this area.

REFERRAL

DATE: 19 OCT 93

MEMORANDUM FOR: GROSSMAN, M

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: LAKE

SOURCE: SABO, MARTIN O

DATE: 13 OCT 93

SUBJ: REP SABO REQUESTS ADMIN POSITION ON WHETHER TO EXTEND EXISTING
MORATORIUM ON EXPORT OF US PRODUCED LAND MINES

REQUIRED ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 23 OCT 93

COMMENT:


FOR WILLIAM H. LEARY
NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9308018

REFERRAL

DATE: 19 OCT 93

MEMORANDUM FOR: GROSSMAN, M

STATE SECRETARIAT

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: LAKE

9324139

'93 OCT-19 3:56 PM

SOURCE: SABO, MARTIN O

DATE: 13 OCT 93

SUBJ: REP SABO REQUESTS ADMIN POSITION ON WHETHER TO EXTEND EXISTING
MORATORIUM ON EXPORT OF US PRODUCED LAND MINES

REQUIRED ACTION: DRAFT REPLY FOR WH SIG

DUE DATE: 23 OCT 93

COMMENT:


FOR WILLIAM H. LEARY

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

*Filed in PM
11/19/93
St*

MARTIN OLAV SABO
5th District, Minnesota

2336 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4755

482 Federal Courts Building
110 South 4th Street
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401
(612) 348-1649



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

October 13, 1993

8018
COMMITTEE ON BUDGET
Chairman

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Subcommittees:
Defense Transportation
Treasury-Postal Service-General Government
DEPUTY MAJORITY WHIP

Mr. Anthony Lake
National Security Advisor
Old Executive Office Building
17th Street & Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20506

Dear Mr. Lake:

As you know, Congress is considering whether to extend the existing moratorium on the export of U.S.-produced land mines. Whether or not this effort to continue the moratorium succeeds, I believe Congress would benefit from the National Security Council's review of the issues involved.

Everyone agrees we should do something to control the threat to civilian populations from the uncontrolled distribution of land mines. Thousands of people around the world have suffered from the indiscriminate use of land mines, and the failure of efforts to retrieve them once conflict ends.

As I understand it, there are basically two ways the United States can approach this problem. First, we can ban the export of all U.S.-produced land mines, relying on formal or informal pressure on other countries to follow our lead. As an alternative, we can focus on those types of landmines which create the greatest threat by negotiating an international agreement banning the manufacture, sale, and export of landmines lacking self-destructing and/or self-neutralizing devices. Such an agreement would supplement or amend the CUCHIE Treaty (not yet ratified by the United States) banning the employment of mines without self-neutralizing devices.

I would appreciate knowing the Administration's position on this issue, and in particular whether you have determined that one of these approaches (or another) provides the best opportunity to address this horrible problem.

Thank you for your cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

Martin Olav Sabo
Member of Congress

MOS:cm

TO: PODESTA, J

FROM: LAKE

DOC DATE: 08 NOV 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: MILITARY NOMINATIONS

PERSONS: GRANT, HAROLD E

SUBJECT: MILITARY NOMINATION FOR GRANT

ACTION: LAKE SGD WH REFERRAL

DUE DATE: 09 NOV 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: HAHN

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

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

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

BELL
HAHN
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSJDA

DOC 2 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 9308692

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 LAKE
002

Z 93110520 COMMENTS/CONCURRENCE
X 93110812 LAKE SGD WH REFERRAL

DISPATCH DATA SUMMARY REPORT

DOC DATE DISPATCH FOR ACTION

DISPATCH FOR INFO

002 931108 PODESTA, J

UNCLASSIFIED

Rec'd '15 2:44pm JWR 11/5
National Security Council
The White House

PROOFED BY: [Signature] LOG # 8018
URGENT NOT PROOFED: _____ SYSTEM PRS NSC INT
BYPASSED WW DESK: _____ DOCLOG not A/O _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
DepExecSec	<u>1</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>	<u>A</u>
ExecSec	_____	_____	_____
Staff Director	_____	_____	_____
D/APNSA	<u>2</u>	<u>cy provided</u>	_____
APNSA	<u>3</u>	_____	_____
Situation Room	_____	Natl Sec Advisor <u>has seen</u>	_____
West Wing Desk	<u>4</u>	<u>[Signature] 11/8</u>	<u>[Signature]</u>
NSC Secretariat	<u>5</u>	<u>[Signature] 11/8</u>	<u>D</u>
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

A = Action I = Information D = Dispatch R = Retain N = No Further Action

cc: VP McLarty Other _____

Should be seen by: _____
(Date/Time)

COMMENTS:

DISPATCH INSTRUCTIONS:

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/04/93 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/08/93

SUBJECT: MILITARY NOMINATION: REAR ADMIRAL HAROLD E. GRANT, USN

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	PASTER	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
NEEL	☐	☐	RUBIN	☐	☐
PANETTA	☐	☐	SEGAL	☐	☐
BAGGETT	☐	☐	SEIDMAN	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☐	☐
GEARAN	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GERGEN	☐	☐	VARNEY	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	WATKINS	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☐	☐
HERMAN	☐	☐	BELL	☒	☐
LAKE	☐	☐	CLERK	☐	☒
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐
McGINTY	☐	☐		☐	☐
MYERS	☐	☐		☐	☐
NUSSBAUM	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Do you have any objections?

November 8, 1993

RESPONSE:

The National Security Council staff concurs in the attached military nomination.


Anthony Lake

JOHN D. PODESTA
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

NOV 3 2:30

November 2, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:


~~JOSEPH A. GAUGHAN~~

DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT:

Navy Flag Officer Nomination

Forwarded for your approval and signature is the nomination of Rear Admiral Harold E. Grant, United States Navy, for reappointment to grade of rear admiral and a recommendation for his assignment as Judge Advocate General of the Navy under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148.

This nomination has been staffed by the Secretary of the Navy and approved by the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Recommend you approve and sign the attached.

Attachment



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301-1000



28 OCT 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Flag Officer Nomination

On behalf of the Secretary of Defense, I recommend you nominate Rear Admiral Harold E. Grant, United States Navy, as the Judge Advocate General of the Navy, and for reappointment to the grade of rear admiral. Under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5148, Admiral Grant is entitled to the rank and grade of rear admiral while serving as Judge Advocate General of the Navy. Admiral Grant, who is 49 years of age, is currently serving as the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Navy. He will succeed Rear Admiral William L. Schachte, Jr., who is currently serving as Acting Judge Advocate General of the Navy.

This action will not result in the Navy exceeding the number of officers authorized to be serving in the grade of rear admiral.

William J. Perry

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. letter	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	10/28/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 48

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - November 1993 #1 [4]

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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]

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]

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.

The White House

Washington

To the Senate of the United States:

I nominate:

The following named officer for appointment as Judge Advocate General of the Navy and reappointment to the grade of rear admiral under Title 10, United States Code, Section 5148(b):

To be Judge Advocate General of the Navy

To be Rear Admiral

Rear Admiral Harold E. Grant, Judge Advocate General's Corps, [004]
U. S. Navy, (b)(6)